



Werurwe 1993

N° 41

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHI

KA02 1777



GITERA ATI :
**«UMUGOME NI UWO
MUTUTSI UHORA
YIKUZA»**

— GOMN, umutwe w'abasiri-kari ushinzwe gukorera Inkotanyi

— HABYARIMANA yaba abite-kerezaho iki ?

**- Radiyo Rwanda
igeze aho gutinya
kuvuga ijambo
«inyenzi» !**

BIMENSUEL INDEPENDANT
EDITEUR : GISENYI-INFO
REDACTEUR ET DISTRIBUTEUR : GISENYI-INFO
R.P. 19 GISENYI, R.P. 1312 KIGALI

Abonnement annuel : Rwanda : 5.000 FRW
Afrique : 12.000 FRW
Europe - Amérique - Asie : 25.000 FRW
Sur place BCR - 14273/14 KIGALI

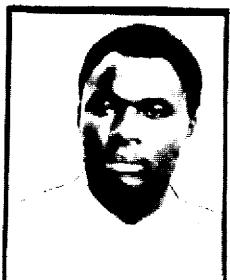
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Tiré sur les presses
de l'Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda

EDITORIAL

HABYARIMANA NAVEHO NIBA ANANIWE GUSEZERERA NSENGIYAREMYE.



NGEZE Hassan

Ibyifuzo by'umugabo bigaragari-
ra mu byo avuga naho ubutwari bwe
bukagaragarira mu byo akora. Inshuti
yawe niyo ituma bamenya icyo uricyo.

Nk'uko bizwi ingoma yose igira
intangiriro n'iherezo. Ishobora kugira
intangiriro mbi ariko iherezo rikaba ryi-
za nk'uko intangiriro ishobora kuba
nziza iherezo rikaba ribi. Itangira ribi,
iherezo ryiza, biboneka iyo abagize i-
ngomacyangwa ibyegera byayobafite
umutima w'ubutwari, umutima weme-
ra ibitekereo by'abandi ukabasha
kwikosora. Kugira uwo mutima biso-
banurakuba umugaragu w'abo utege-
ka. Iyo bigenze bityo abatangiye ba-
rwanya ingoma yawe bagera aho ba-
kabonako bayihora ubusa noneho ba-
kayiha amahoro, igasugira ikototera
kugira iherezo ryiza. Ingoma itangira
neza ikarangira nabi igaragara iyo abari
ku butegetsi bakoresha amadisikuru
ataratsa, abwira abaturage ko ubute-
getsi ari ubwabo, bugenda burushaho
kubegera kandi akaba aribo bukorera.
Umuturage wumvise ayo magambo
ahita ayoboka ubwo butegetsi n'umu-
timi umwe. Nyamara urebye hirya no
hino muri Afurika usanga abafashe
akarimi keza nk'ingabo bari bafite indi
migambi ihemukira rubanda gusahura
igihugu kurenganya abatishoboye,
gutegekesha igitugu. Mbese muri ma-
ke izo disikuru zikora umurimo wo gu-
humu, kuroga ubwenge bwa rubanda.
Ni bwo usanga abategetsi bakataza
mu gukungahara ubutazakena n'aba-
kene bakivuruguta mu butindi ubuta-
zabubyukamo.

Iyo ngoma imeze ityo bishyira kera
umuturage agahumuka akarutswa a-
marozi maze ubwenge bugakora neza,
ubwo akanga urunuka ya ngoma ya-
mubesheye ariko uko ateye hejuru aya-
magana agahohoterwa mu buryo
bwose kandi ari inzirakarengane. Ni
bwo usanga mu turere hafi ya twose

tw'igihugu barijunditse abategetsi ba-
gahora basaba ko bahindurwa. Nguko
uko ubutegetsi butangira neza buka-
rangira nabi.

**Ibyifuzo by'umugabo bigaragari-
ra mu byo avuga.**

Iyi guverinoma ijya kujuhaho yijeje
abanyarwanda ibitangaza. Bayiyoba-
ka baziko igiye kubakiza iyi nyatsi y'i-
ntambara. Mu yandi magambo iyi gu-
verinoma yashatse kwereka abaturage
ko ari nziza, ariko ubu mu marembera
yayo biragaragara ko atari nziza na ga-
to. HABYARIMANA ayishyiraho ya-
vuze nk'uyiseka ngo bavuzeko baza-
rangiza iyi ntambara, ngaho nibajyeho
turebe. Icyo twabonye na guverinoma
ikaba yarakibonye, ni uko intambara
igikomeza.

HABYARIMANA yabivuze abizi
kuko yari azi ubuswa bwa Nsengiyare-
mye n'ubukotanyi bwa bamwe mu
bayigize. Icyo atabashije kumenya ni
abaministiri bo muri MRND bagara-
gayehokuba "imitako" ya guverinoma
Nsengiyaremye. Abensi muri bo ba-
kora nk'aba cancuro nta rukundo na
mba rw'ishyaka. Ibyemezo Nsengiyare-
mye yagize yifuzaga ko biggerwaho
byagezwaho n'ubwo byabaga biga-
mijegutesha agaciro MRND. Byerekanye
ko ba ministriri b'iri shyaka ari
umurimbo. Ahubwo byaje kugaragara
ko iyi guverinoma izarangiza intamba-
ra ari uko u Rwanda rufashwe. Yaje ari
icyambu cy'inkotanyi. Dore nawe iki-
mara kujuhaho nibwo inyenzi zafashe
henshi ku butaka bw'u Rwanda; none
mu gihe cyo gusezera irikubashakira
uburyo yabaha n'ahasigaye. Nyamara
Habyarimana ntako atabwiwe guse-
zerera iriya guverinoma akurikije ubu-
basha ahabwa n'itegeko nshinga! Aho
izajugunya abanyarwanda niwe uza-
habazwa mbere na mbere.

Muri iyi guverinoma ya II y'inziba
cyuho, HABYARIMANA nta butwari
yagaragaje, yaranzwe na disikuru
nyinshi zidaherekejwe n'ibikorwa.
Ibyemezo yagiye afata Nsengiyaremye
yagiye abiburizamo arora n'imigambi
ishyaka rye rya MRND ryifatiye. Ha-
byarimana ubwe akayitesha agaciro.
Byageze aho abayoboke b'ishyaka rye
bavugana uburakari bat: "Habyarima-
na nakomeza kudutaba mu nama tu-

zamwirukana mu ishyaka ahasigaye
dukomeze urugendo. Ibyemezo byacu
atacyumva bishobora gutuma ishyaka
ritsindwa." Abaturage bavanywe mu
byabo nabo baribaza icyo HABYARI-
MANA ategereje kugira ngo abakize
guverinoma ibagambanira.

**Inshuti yawe ishobora gutuma
bamenya icyo uri cyo.**

Amashyaka yiyunze na MRND
yakunze gusaba HABYARIMANA
gushyiram mu bikorwa ibyo ahora avuga
ariko byaramunaniye. Natisubiraho i-
shyaka rye rizatakaza abayoboke benshi
guhera tariki 16 Werurwe nk'uko twa-
bibwiwe n'abayoboke ba MRND bo
mu maperefegitura atandukanye.

Ubwiyunge bwa MRND na CDR
bwatumye CDR ihatakariza abayobo-
ke benshi kuko mbere yabwo abayo-
bozi ba MRND bari barabwiye
abayoboke bayo ngo CDR na MRND
ni ishyakarimwe ngo singombwakwi-
rirwa uva muri MRND ngo ugiye muri
CDR. Bageze n'aho bababwira ngo
Impuzamugambi zizatora abakandida
ba MRND. Barongera ngo bagize uru-
hare mu ishingwa rya CDR. Politiki
ibyayo birazwi byaje kuba ngombwa
ko CDR na MRND byiyunga n'ubwo
ayo mashyaka yombi adahuje intego.

Umuntu wese ushyira mu gaciyo
abona ko MRND na CDR hari ingingo
zimwe ahuriraho ariko ntabwo ari i-
shyaka rimwe. None se wasobanura
ute ukuntu MRND yonyine yakwegu-
rirwa ministeri 9 zose ikabura Impuza-
mugambi icomekamo mu myanya yo
hejuru nk'uko andi mashyaka yagiye
akorera abayoboke bayo? Iyo myanya
ahubwo yayihereye abatutsi n'abandi,
ikibeshyako ari abayo. Biratangajenko
kubona muri MININTER, MINIS-
NTE, MINESUPRES... higanza mu
myanya ikomeye abakozi batari
abayoboke ba MRND. Ibyo inkuba
Uwiringiyimana A g a t a yako-
reye abagenzusi b'uturere MRND
ntiyabibonye? Abayoboke bayo bayi-
zize yabatabaye ite?

Mu gihe twateguraga iyi nyandi-
ko, mugenzi wacu Issa NYABYENDA
yabonanye n'umwe muri ba Ambasa-
deri bari mu Rwanda utarashatse ko
muvuga izina, amubaza icyo atekereza

ku bibazo byugarije u Rwanda. Intambara, inzara, ubukene, amashyaka. Uwo Ambasaderi yaje kuvuga ko abona neza ko muri guverinoma Nsengiyaremye hari abakorana n'umwanzi habamu rwego rw'ntambara. HABYARIMANA ngo aba yaravanye-ho kera iyi guverinoma ariko yanze kwiteranya n'amahanga mu masezero-no yagiranye n'andi mashyaka harimo

ko guverinoma igombakumara umwaka. Ikindi kandi iyi guverinoma iyobowe n'umuntu utabogamiye cyane HABYARIMANA nta kuntu yari gusezerera umuntu udafite icyo amutwaye kigaragara. Kuba Nsengiyaremye afite akamenyero gake muri politiki byari bikwiye kugirira HABYARIMANA akamaro kanini cyane.

HABYARIMANA rero nareke gukorera ku bwoba, nareke kujinganya

, mu gufata ibyemezo, nasezerere ingeso ye ya gipadiri kuko hirya no hino abakunzi be bamusaba kwegura niba ananiwe gusezerera guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye. Impuzamugambi zo ngo zishobora kuva muri ARD vuña aha ngaha aho kugira ngo nazo zizabe icyambu cy'inyenzi, ziragira ziti: "muri CDR siho buhungiro bw'abashaka gushyigikira MRND"

NGEZE Hassan

Ukuri mwirengagiza...

Abaturage bahamagarirwa amatora y'abagomba kubayobora aba ari benshi. Muri bo abashobora kubonana n'abo bazatora, hose kú isi, aba ari ngume. Mu yandi magambo abatora ntibabasha, kandi ntibinashoboka, kuganira imbone nkubone n'uwo bazatora. Ikintu kigomba kuziba icyo cyuho ni itangazamakuru. Mu mirimo yaryo rigomba kwigisha no gutanga amakuru mu gihe ngombwa kandi nyayo.

Twemera ko kutaniganwa ijambo n'uburenganzira bw'itangazamakuru ari inkingi za demokarasi. Nyamara iyo ari bwo ukibyegurirwa, ubijamo ukajata, wamara kumenyera ugafata umurongo uhamye, byakunanira abaturage bamaze gucengerwa na demokarasi bakakwereka ibyo bashaka, noneho ukabibakorera. Muri demokarasi biragoye cyane kugira ngo itangazamakuru ripfukirane ibibazo; haba hari ibinyamakuru binyuranye mu bitemekerezo no mu ntego ku buryo ikitavuze aha kivugwa hari. Usomye nka "Le Flambeau" n° 2 kuri pp 12, 13, 14 usanga Rizinde uhavugira ari nk'umumumarayika kuva akitu. Haramutse hagize ikindi kimwandikaho gitandukanyije intego na "Le Flambeau" wasanga Rizinde ahindutse shitani kuko cyavuga abagabo yavanye mu ngo zabo, abo yafungishirizaga ubusa, ibinyamakuru yasomeraga mu muhanda ntihabe hagira umusaba gutambuka, affaire ya Rizinde n'umwamikazi Gi-canda, amafranga abacuruzi bamuhaga kubera iterabwoba... ibyo byose bironde, hagize ikinyamakuru kibyandika ku buryo burambuye wakwibaza niba uwo muntu yarabayeho.

Tugomba kumenyera igipimo cy'ukuri.

Mu gihe tugifite itangazamakuru rigitaguza, icyo umunyarwanda akwiye kumenyera ni uko igipimo gihwite cy'ukuri ari ugushishoza guhora kuganza mu ipiganwa ry'ibitekerezo. Nka ministiri w'intebi muri guverinoma ya II y'inzibacyuho agira atya, agamije kurwanya CDR, agatangaza kuri

Radiyo Rwanda ngo nta moko ari mu Rwanda, ngo hari abanyarwanda guisa. Ibibazo guverinoma ye idakemura byabyutsa amakimbirane, ngo abatusi n'abagogwe bayiguyemo. Umunyarwanda rero ufite cya gipimo gikora neza ahita yibaza aho ayo moko yandi atari umunyarwanda avuye.

Demokarasi iyo uyigize intego kuru-sha uko uyishyira mu bikorwa irakuzembana. Ibjorwa kamere nk'ibituruka ku bumenyi bw'isi, amateka, imiterere y'abaturage n'ibindi bijyana n'amadini ntibigomba kwibagirana muri demokarasi nyayo. Ese aho abanyarwanda bajya bibaza impamvu nko muri Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, hashize imyaka magana abiri irenga, nta nwirabura wari waba Perezida kandi icyo gihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi? Ni uko abirabura se badakenye cyanbwa batifuza uwo mwanya? Igisubizo ni uko bahura n'imbogamizi nyinshi zituma badatorwa: kuba barahagejewe n'ubucakara byatumye murirusange bahora ari abakene ubagerenje n'abazungu; ubwo muri icyo gihugu demokarasi yabyaye ikindi kintu ishingiraho aricyo ubukire. Ikindi gituma badatorwa ni uko babarirwa muri Nyakamwe (minorité).

Duhereye ku bimaze kuvugwa haruguru, muri ibi bihe turimo, imiterere y'abaturage b'u Rwanda isa niyemera ko abahutu aribo bazsimburana igithe cyose ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Si ukuvuga ko ari abanyarwanda bazaba bashinze ubwo bwoko bwa demokarasi. Mwiboneye ko no mu bihugu biyidutoza ibyo bibayo. Niyo mpamvu nk'ishyaka rya CDR rigira riti: "nyakamwe niyubahe nyamwinshi na nyamwinshi arengere nyakamwe, mu bwubahane".

Demokarasi nayo iravugururwa.

Cyakora byose birashoboka kuberako uko imyaka igenda yisunkira ari nako demokarasi igenda ifata indi sura kandi igatandukana uko uva mu gihu-gu ujyamu kindi. Demokarasi yavukiye mu mugi wa Athènes mu Bugereki mu gisekuru cya V mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu,

Kristu, itandukanye n'iyo John Locke w'umwongereza na Montesquieu w'umufransa bamamaje mu gisekuru cya 17 n'icya 18. Muri ibyo bisekuru, tuributsa ko umwirabura wo muri Amerika atari afite uburenganzira bwo gutora none ubu arabufite. Ibi birerekana neza ukuntu demokarasi igenda ivugururwa. Bityo, nta wamenya, abatusi hari ukuntu nabo bashobora guhagika icenga muri demokarasi nya-rwanda maze bagatsinda abahutu. Uko biri kose, mu cyoko cy'u Rwanda, muri iyi ntambara yashojwe n'abatutsi, tubona gutsinda kwa nyakamwe na CDR iri hanze aha ari ugushaka gufatisha ukwezi amenyo.

Abahutu n'abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi.

Ukuri mwirengagizo muri iyi demokarasi duharanira n'iyo mburagasanu y'intambara turimo ni ikibazo cy'amoko. Uwo ariwe wese uhamagara abanyarwanda "ubumwe" yirengagiza intango y'iryo jambo. Mu byukuri buri wese yiyyumvisha ko ubumwe bubaho ku bantu cyangwa abantu batandukanye. Ibiremwa bidatekereza nibyo bishobora kuvangwa batababije impamvu ngo banabisobanurile icyo babivanze nabyo. Naho abantu batekereza kandi bari mu mashyaka menshi bagomba kubanza kumenya uwo bunga ubumwe nawe uwo ari we n'icyo ubwo bumwe bwabamarira. Impamvu Perezida wa Repubulika Habyarimana Yuvenali yibeshye agakeka ko abanyarwanda bari mu bwato bummwe, n'umusare umwe, mu gihugu kimwe, ni uko yabanje kubashyiriraho ikintu kibatekerereza bose uko bakhayre aricyo MRND yahanzwe mu w'1975, ubu ikaba yarasheshwe. Ubumwe yacengeje ntibwigize buhanagura ikibazo kigonganisha abahutu n'abatutsi ari cyo ubutegetsi. Icyo ayo moko yombi apfa rero kirahari kandi amatora muri politiki y'amashyaka menshi niyo yonyine azagenda agikemura buhoror.

INKOTANYIZIRAHEMUKIRA ABATUTSINAZO ZITIRETSE.

Abatazi neza amateka y'iki gihu-gu cyane cyane abanyamahanga, nibo badasobanukirwa n'ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe kandibihora bigaruka. Nta munyamahanga ushabora kwiyumvisha icyo abanyarwanda bapfa. Abantu bavugaururimurumwe, basite imico imwe, basa hafi ya bose ariko bahora mu ntambara cyane cyane ubwoko bubiri, abahutu n'abatutsi. Nyamara ayo moko aratandukanye, umuhutu atandukanye n'umututsi. Inyenzi Kagame niyo yivugiyi ubwe ko umuhutu ntaho ahuriye n'umututsi, icyo basangiyi gusa ni ighugu. Ngaho ! Kandi koko ni byo. Umuhutu n'umututsi n'ubwo bwose bavuka mu Rwanda, baratandukanye muri kamerre. Umuhutuniumuntu utagira inzika, wibagirwa vuba, ukunda kubabarira uwamukoshereje. Ari nacyo gituma umututsi akeko ko umuhutu ari ikigori. None se iyo abahutu baba ari abagome nk'abatutsi, ukeka ko ubu haha hari umututsi ukirangwa muri iki gi-hugu ? Cyane cyane iyo urebye amarorwa abatutsi bakoreye abahutu !

Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi, uko zakwiyyita kwose, ntibazibuba kuba ari abana b'abatutsi (inzoka) cyangwa se abuzukuru babo b'abaru-nari bahunze revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959 yabaciye ku kinyoma. Kan-yarengwe, Bizimungu, Lizinde, Biseruka n'utundi du «capot» (udukingirizo), ntacyo bazahindura kuri iryo ha-me. Kandi nabo tuzi ko ari ukubura uko bagira. Umunyarwanda niwe wabivuze neza agira ati: «Uhiriye mu nzu ntaho adapfunda umutwe».

Inyenzi cyangwa se Inkotanyi (Radiyo Rwanda izite uko ishaka), zibeshye kuva zahunga u Rwanda mu myaka yakuriyiye revolisiyo ya rubanda, na n'ubu zikibeshya. Iribazo cy'im-punzi z'abatutsi ntikizakemurwa n'intwaro. Utekereza atyo aribeshya kandi bimaze kugaragara.

Repubulika y'u Rwanda igishi-
ngwa, inyenzi zari zizi ko itazamara
kabiri. Zigaba ibitero zibwira ko ziza-
gwa gitumo abahutu bari bamaze kwi-
pakurura ingoyi ya eyami. Inyenzi zi-
beshye ku butwari bw'ingabo z'u
Rwanda, icyo gihe zari nke cyane. Nti-
zaniyumvishaga (inyenzi) kandi
ukuntu «ibihutu» byashobora gutege-
ka kandi nta «mbuto» byavukanye.
Inyenzi zabeshye abatutsi bene wazo
ngo nta kabuza zizatsinda, barategere-
za baraheba. Ab'inkwakuzi muri bo bi-

tegura kugaruka kwa Kigeri bituma bagomera Repubulika na Demokarasi. Nyamara ntibabihaniwa. Abategetsi ba Repubulika ya Mbere bakomeza kwizinga abo «bana b'imana» gusata-nya n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka ighugu. Uko kutabakura, abatutsi ba-ketse ko abahutu ari ba bandi, nta cya-hindutse, ari ibigoryi.

Inyenzi na n'ubu zirakibeshya ari-ko zinabeshya abatutsi bene wazo. Wabona hari n'abagitekereza ko Kigeri azagaruka ku ngoma. Kandi baraha-ri. RAVI wa Kanguka se yampaka-nya ?

Mu kwakira 1990, inyenzi muri bwa buhumyi bwazo bwogeye hose, zabe-shye abatutsi bene wazo ngo zizafata Kigali mu minsi itatu cyangwa ine. Zashukwaga n'amahoro u Rwanda rwari rwifitiye, «abatutsi barishyira barizana», ureke ibyo P.L. ibabeshya, abategetsi bakuru baragoswe n'ibi-zungerezi.... mbese habura Kigeri gu-sa ! Inyenzi zitera, zibeshye ko abahutu bose basinziriye. Niba «koloneri» yari yaramize ku bisutero, cyangwa se kuri ka «feneriga» k'abatutsikazi «kaporal» we yari «vigilant», ari ma-so. Kandi yararurwanye kugeza igihe na «koloneri» akangukiye.

Abatutsi koko burya ni abatesi. Iyo abahutu bashaka kurangiza ikiba-zo bari basitanye n'abatutsi, ntibari babonye impamvu nyayo ? Nyamara barabihoreye. Inyenzi ubwo niko ziko-meje kubeshya abatutsi ngo zaratsi-nze, ngo zifite «power» (ingusu) ! Bya-he se ko ari ukwhagararaho. None se tuvuge ko Rwigema atapfuye. Buyenezi ari mu ihugurwa azagaruka, Pe-ter Bayingana ari ku Mulindi ! Ko za-teye zirenga ibihumbi icumi, mu bat-teye ni nde usigaye ? Ko na Kagame yaje nyuma. Abandi se bari he ? Ziracyapfa kandi zizapfa. Abatutsi nabo barasetsa. Ubwira umututsi uti ibyo mukorera abahutu umunsi barakaye, ntibazaba... (tsemha!). Kandi wikini-ra udakomeje. Akagusubizanya umujinya n'akababaro utazi iyo biturutse, ngo muzabatema se mubamare ? Kuki abatutsi bumva bagomba gupfa ?

Ariko iyo urebye neza usanga bifite ishingiro. Iyo bibutse amarorerwa bakoreye abahutu, bo ubwabo basa-nga akabije, bakicira urubakwiye ! Inyenzi nizikomeze zibarohe ngo za-ratsinze !

Inyenzi wagira ngo ziba ziienza gusa, nta bushake bwo kwumvikana.

No gushyikirana nazo ntibyoroshye kuko ntacyo wageraho. Mu gihe zari zarifatiye Guverinoma y'u Rwanda Arusha, ziyisinyisha ibidashoboka, ejo bundi zigaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba, nta mpamvu igaragara uretse bwa bugome abatutsi bisanga-niwe muri kamere yabo bwo kwica. Kanjogera ibibondo by'abahutu yishe hari icyaha byari byamukoreye ? Nti-bitangaje rero abuzukuru be (inyenzi) bakomeje umuco w'ababyeyi babo.

Ntabwo u Rwanda rwari rukwiye guhura muri uwo mukino. Abari ARUSHA, nibatahuke, tubanze turangize intambara. Naho bundi ntiyazapfa irangiyi. Turwane dutsinde, cyangwa se dutsindwe (uretse ke bi-dashoboka), n'imishyikirano igire aho ihera. Na ba «Bagome» (GOMN), basigaye bita abagome, batahe kuko ntacyo bakora.

Ubu se noneho inyenzi zizongera kubeshya ko mu Rwanda na Demokarasi ihari. Ngo Leta y'u rwanda ntiyubahiriza ikiremwamuntu ? Intambwe twari tumaze gutera muri Demokarasi ntiziyirahiyo «Rudahigwa turi i Nyanza» ! Amashyaka akorana nazo (MDR, PSD, PL) mayontazengereku-beshya rubanda. Twabonye amahoro y'inyenzi ! Aye mashyaka yabonye ubwayo ko arimo gukina n'umuriro. Azigobotora inkotanyiatekonazonta-cyo wazibeshya ? Tubabwira ! Gukorana n'umwanzi ngo ni inda nimi ni ukwikora munda. Kubera isoni, ibyitso by'inkotanyi mu Rwanda byihiwa bi-beshya ingabo z'u Rwanda ngo birazi-shygikiye ! Erega na Perefe wa Butare ! Twamumenyesha ko abana yohe-reje mu NKotanyi, abenshi basize agatwe mu mirwano yo mu Ruhengeri, bivuganywe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Nashaka imibare nyayo azegere Etat-Major y'ingabo z'u Rwanda bazayi-muha.

Abatutsi nabo ubu basite ubwoba. Bo bari bazi ke imishyikirano y'Aru-sha igiye kubasubiza ku butegetsi kuberia abagambanyi nka Nsengiyare-myie na bagenzi be, none inkotanyi zibavuyemo !

Awa ! N'impunzi z'abatutsi ntizigi-tashye nkanswe guhabwa ubutegetsi. Wiringira ijosi rikakubyarira umwi-ngo. Inkotanyi ntizibyeretse abatut-si ? Ubu se abahutu biyemeje guhore-ra bene wabo baguye mu Ruhengeri no muri Byumba baba bakosheje ? Kandi byakorwa !

IBARUWA IFUNGUYE KURI PEREZIDA WA REPUBLIKA.

Ntibikiri ngombwa ko hagira uwibutsa Perezida Habyarimana ko amaze kubonana inshuro nyinshi na Perezida Museveni, ariko zose nta cyo zamugejejeho gishimishije. Muribuka Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika ko iki nyoma cya mbere "officiel" mwakigejejweho na mugenzi wanyu wa Uganda ubwo mwahuriraga i Butare. Yabapfunyikiye amazi ngo nta mpunzi zizatera ziturutse mu gihugu ayobora. Amarenga yaje kubacira murayibuka: «n'ubwo zatera zigasanga mufite ubumwe ntabwo zabatsinda».

Ku munsi wa mbere wasogongeje ku kinyoma. No ku wa nyuma mu zacurura ikindi, aka wa mugani w'abakurambere ngo "utangiye ijoro arota nabi burinda bucya". Gusa icyo twabasaba muri iki gihe ni ukwirinda ko uwo mugani uba ihame. Ibyo mukabikora mwitwara neza mu mayira abiri agoye igihugu kirimo yo guhosha intambara no guhamya politiki ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi.

Mu byukuri, Perezida Museveni, nta mbabazi, nta mpuhwe abafitiye n'ubwo mwagirana imishyikirano inshuro mirongoirindwi karindwi. Mwe ubwanyu mwivugiyе koumuntu ahitamo inshuti ariko akaba adahitamo umuturanyi. Umuturanyi wanyu rero, yabateye ubwa mbere mu w'1990 ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bugihari. Ya marenge yabaciriye atanga ingaruka nziza mu minsi ya mbere y'intambara. Umuturanyi wanyu yahise afata indi ngamba yo gusandaza ubwo bumwe.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ubu mwibonera ubwanyu ko abanyarwanda nta bumwe bagifite. Ibyo ni uruhare rugaragara inyeshyamba Museveni yagize muri iyi ntamb-

ra. Yabanje kubumvisha mbere na mbere ko azi uruhande rwanyu rwo-roshye kugira ngo abace mu rihamye.

Politiki y'ishyaka rimwe dukeka ko hari indwara yabanje mwaba mutazi cyangwa mutarivuza. Bwana Perezida byaragaragaye kenshi ko politiki y'ishyaka rimwe, irangwa n'uko uwaihanze ayivugamo ibyo yemera kandi akishyiramo ko n'abandi babyemera nka we. Yego baravuga ngo icyo umuntu ari cyo hagati y'umunyakuri n'umunyakinyoma, ni cyo akekaho abandi kuba cyo! Nyamara akensi aba yibeshya. Ngizo ingaruka mbi zo gucengeza politiki wihangiye, wemera kandi wizeraho ukuri. Muri politiki y'amashyaka menshi rero birahinduka. Abatemera ibitekerezo bya we bigaragazante kibazo noneho ukamenya aho ukuri guherereye. Icyo gihe bya bindi bavuga ngo politiki ni umwuga w'uburyarya n'uburyamirizi bihabwa intebi kuko ari cyo gihe nyacyo umunyapolitiki avuga ibitandukanye n'ibyo yemera. Iyo politiki. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ni nayo inyeshyamba zikoresha. Hagize ubasaba urugero, ndumva mwahita mu mwereka itandukaniro riri hagati y'amasezerano mugirana na Museveni n'ibikorwa abakorera. Mwanamubwira ko iyo nyeshyamba yafashe Kampala mu gihe hakorwaga imishyikirano yo kugarura amahoro muri Uganda. Nyuma mugasoza mumubwira isomo mwakuyemo.

Nimwirinde ibitekerezo bigamije guha igihugu uwigometse kuko n'abandi bashobora kwigomeka, bityo nabo bakabuhabwa, noneho igihugu kigahora muri ayo, kigahora mu mwijima kitazivutsa. Niba akabaraga kagi-hari nimwongere muhamagarire aba-

nyarwanda gukunda u Rwanda no kubona kimwe ikibazo cy'intambara. Ni-mubizeze ko politiki y'amashyaka menshi itazakorwa mu nkokora ariko bareke gutiza umwanzi umurindi. Nibba ngombwa mubumvishe ko hari uburyo bwinshi bwo guhirika ubutegetsi ubu n'ubu muri demokarasi ariko hatabaye kugembenira igihugu. Ingero zifatika zaragaragaye mu bihugu byinshi by'Afurika. Musabe abo muhanganye gucengeza mu banyarwanda politiki y'u Rwanda rumwe kuko ari byo bizongerera ingabo z'u Rwanda imbaraga zo guhangana n'umwanzi. Nimuhoze ku mutima ko ari mwe mwenyine kugeza ubu Perezida wa Repubulika, guverinoma zose mushyiraho, abanyarwanda bazifata nk'aho ari abafasha banyu mwishyiraho mu rwego rwo kubafasha imrimo. Nibaramuka babaye abafasha babi, ibyo bazonona muri iki gihugu, amateka ni mwe azabigerekaho.

Mutagize uwo muhutaza, abanyarwanda rubanda rugufi, yo nkeka ko irusha abanyapolitiki gukunda igihugu, irabasaba kugaragaza mu mvugo no mu byemezo ko turi mu ntambara. Diskuru za buri gihe si ngombwa kuko nazo hari igihe zizambya ibantu. Imvugo bifuzza ni izisaba buri wese gukora akazi ke, yaba ingabo, umutegetsi cyangwa umunyapolitiki. Ibyo byose mukabikora muzirikana politiki y'amashyaka menshi Igomba gushinga imizi. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, ducum.bikiye aha tubasa-ba kumenya hakiri kare aho Ibantu bipfira kandi Imana yonyine izabibafshemo.

NYABYENDA Issa
Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint du Journal
KANGURA

GITERA ATI : «UMUGOME NI UWО MUTUTSI UHORA YIKUZA».

«Umuhutu Gitera Joseph. Ikiderwa ubugabo n'urwagwa, icyateye imfura agahinda. Kigatera abahutu ubwuzu, rubanda rukidagadura» (GITERA Joseph Habyarimana).

Ntabwo yirarira. Ibyo yivugaho ni ukuri, yari kamere ye. Yaratinyukaga kandi igihe cyose akabikora mu kuri. Ibyinshi mu byo yagiye avuga byabaye impanuro, biba ubuhanuzi. We-

nda n'ibyo bike bitegereje igihe cyabyo. Nguwo Gitera ukomokaho imvugo igira iti: «aho kwica Gitera wakwica ikibimutera». Mu mugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda yandikiye Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Ju-vénal tariki ya 7 Gicurasi 1976 yabaye nk'umubwira ko ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bugoye kuko igituma umuhutu n'umututsi baryana kidashobora

gucika.

Umugereka dufite uri mu rurimi rw'igifaransa ariko aha twifuza ku-wushyira mu Kinyarwanda. Perezida Habyarimana ngo yabaye akiwubona agwa mu kantu ku mpamvu z'uko wari kwa kuri gusesuye kandi kuryana mu matwi. Kandi ni mu gihe kuko yamu-bwiraga ko kunea Abanyarwanda ari

umurimo ugoye ndetse waba udashoboka. Nibwo wa mugereka Perezida Habyarimana yisabiye ubwe Gitera uhise ushyingurwa iyo muri Perezidansi, ba maneko bakwizwa hirya no hino ngo bahige ahantu hose haba ha-

boneka inyandiko zose z'uwo mugerekaka. Gitera ubwe baramuhungese basanga ari igihangange. Nta bwo ibyo byagezweho kuko muri iki gihe twagiye tubona abazifite, kandi bakeme-rako bazihiwe na Gitera. Bakomeza

bavuga ko bari kwemera bagafatanwa iyo nyandiko aho gutwika cyangwa ngo bacagagure ukuri.

Nyabyenda Issa.

UMUGEREKA J. HABYARIMANA YASABYE J.H. GITERA

Joseph H. Gitera
B.P. 99
Butare

Butare tariki ya 7 Mata 1976

Impamvu : Umugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda. «ubu turashaka bundi bushya kunga abaturarwanda ubwabo. Turemeza rwose ko tutagera ku majyambere n'ubukungu bw'igihugu mu myiryane n'inrangano mu Banyarwanda».

(Manifeste ya MRND, p. 7).

Kuri Nyakubahwa Général Major Habyarimana Juvénal, Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fondateur wa MRND.

Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida,

Nejejwe n'urukundo mwampamagaranye ubwo mwasohokaga mu nzu ige-newe abashyitsi ya Kaminura y'i Butare muti : «Bwana Gitera, muzankorete umugereka wo kunga Abanyarwanda. Ubwo ni ubutumire n'itegeko rya kibeyi ry'umubyeyi w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda kugira icyo nkora kuri icyo kibazo kinini kandi kigoye, igihugu gifite.

Nshimishijwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida no kwiyunga k'ukuri kwa Manifesti ya MRND yo ishingiye ukuri kwayo n'ukubaho kwayo, k'ubwiyunge bw'abanyarwanda ubwabo kugira ngo batere imbere ikiganza mu kindi berekeza iy'amajyambere, kuko, mu by'ukuri, ni iyihe Muvoma ibumba abaturage b'igihugu ishobora kubaho mu myiryane y'inrangano, mu bitutsi n'agasuzuguro katavugwa bishingiye ku moko ?

Na none, Nyakubahwa Perezida, mpereye ku kibazo cyerekeye kunga abanyarwanda, muambajije iki kibazo «Abatutsi n'abahutu bapfuye iki, barapfa iki ?» Igisubizo cyanjye cyabaye «twapfuye kandi turapfa ubutegetsi». Ikibazo cyo kubunga whereye ku cyo barapfa, kirakomeye ndetse cyototera kudashoboka nk'uko aya mateka anononsoye abyerekana. Ishingwa ry'ubwami ntutsi nk'uko tubigezwaho n'umuco nyarwanda w'abakurambere, waba urugwa

cyangwa uwanditse. Dore iyi nshoberamahanga yuje ukuri nyamaswa kandi kwigaragambya. Ni ipsundo risobanura ijamboku rindi imitegekere n'ubwami ntutsi.

1. **Gahunda yateguve kandi iga-tsinda :**
Aubusa bwaritse ku manga
Ubwo busa bwa nyakamwe ntutsi bwarceneye bushingana imizi inkubiri mu mirambo y'ibikomangoma by'abahutu, aribo abahinza.

Muri izi nteruro nshoberamahanga, Nyakubahwa Perezida, nimukurikirane kandi mwiyumvishé uburyo n'ibyemero bigoye umututsi yakoresheje mu gutegeka umuhutu n'umutwa.

2. **Uburyo bwakoreshejwe**
Agaca karacuranga
Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga
Nk'agaca mu mishwi itagira kirengera, ni ko abatutsi bagize abahutu, mu gihe umututsikazi «Nyiramusambi» yihatiraga kubasukiranyaho ibihoro bibasinziriza, bibazindaza kugira ngo abatutsi batsinde.

3. **Ibyagezweho**
Harabaye ntihakabe
Hapsuye imbwa n'imbeba
Hasigara inka n'ingoma

Nguko ukuntu abami b'abahutu bapfuye. Birarangira ntibongera kurugwa. Izo mbwa n'imbeba z'abahutu barapfuye. Hasigaye bene inka na bene i-ingoma aribo batutsi !

Nyakubahwa Perezida, ahangaha nimucengere kandi muumve ubugome bwose n'amayeri atyaye ariko ahweke-

reye by'umututsi wa kera n'uw'ubu bagirira umuhutu.

«Agaca gacuranga» ni ubwicanyi butagira gitangira. Mu gihe «Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga». Nyine umututsikazi wishyizeho arimo aribyinira.

Uko mbikeka, ibyo biterwa n'ubucucu n'ubugoryi bw'abahutu bidakwiye kubabarirwa.

IHUNGETA N'IHIRIKWA RY'UBUTEGETSI NTUTSI

Mu w'1958, hategakaga umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa, intumwa z'abahutu bari ku isonga rya «Mouvement Social Hutu», nari mfile ikuzo ryo kuyiyobora, twagiye imbere y'umwami n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari igizwe n'abatutsi gusa usibye abahutu babiri, dusaba uwo mubyeyi wa kanyarwanda, uwo Rudahigwa, umwami waru ushyigikiye ihinduka ry'ibintu na demokarasi, intego ye ikaba «Imbaga y'inyabutatu tijya mbere», tumusaba umugabane wacu dukuviye igihugu kitwemerera, kimwe n'ubwiyunge bw'igihugu hagati y'umututsi n'umutwa.

Mu mugereka w'ubwiyunge twasabaga ko ibinyita by'abakurambere bacu byanaganaga kuri Karinga byerekana ubuhake buteye isoni butazigerabushira, kandi bukaba ugutsinda guhoraho, bimanurwa noneho bigahabwa k'umugragaro icyubahiro cyo gushyutingurwa mu buryo bwiyubashye.

Rudahigwa n'abari bamukikije baye nk'abikanga, bahita barakara. Niko kutubwira : «nta kibazo kiri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda kuko nta buvandimwe buri hagati y'umuhutu n'umututsi mu Rwanda, ntacyo duhuriyeho uretse kubategeka no kubahaka». Ubwo Rudahigwa aba ashimangiye ya nshoberamahanga : «Harabaye ntihakabe Hapsuye imbwa n'imbeba Hasigara inka n'ingoma» Rudahigwa amaze gutanga, Kigeri V n'abantu be bashatse kurangiza icyo kibazo gikomeye kandi bidashoboka. Kunga «Sakabaka na Rusake», Bahise bashinga agatsiko k'abarinari kaje kubyrara Revolisiyo yamennye amaraso hagati y'1959—1960.

ABAHUTU BAFATA UBUTEGETSI

Abahutu babaye maso, bashyira hamwe birinda kuba ibikoresho, barwana inkundura. Ukwikengera kwabo, imbaraga zabo n'ubumwe bwabo nibyo byabaviriyemo ugutsinda kudasubirwaho : hatangajwe Repubulika y'u Rwanda tariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, ubu ikaba ishinze imizi, iyobowe na Nyakubahwa Generali Major Juvénal Habyarimana. Ahangaha rero, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, nimwibonere ibibazo bibiri binini kandi by'ingutu ubutegetsi busite : umututsi hejuru y'umuhutu mu gihe cy'imyaka magana ane, n'umuhutu hejuru y'umututsi mu gihe cy'imyaka 15 (1961—1976). Bakaba kandi bagomba kungwa !!!

UBWIYUNGE

Gusaba imbabazi bisobanura kwi-hohora no gusabana imbabazi, byo kime-nyetso cy'ubuvandimwe n'igihango kidadatirwa ubuziraherezo. Abatutsi Mutara III Rudahigwa na Kigeri V Ndahindurwa n'abandi, ntabwo bashoboye kunga abatutsi n'abahutu, kuko batashoboye kwambura abatutsi ibyo banyaze abahutu ngo babibasubize.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wacu muri Repubulika y'u Rwanda, umunyarwanda w'umuhutu nk'uko bivugwa, ashobora kunga Abanyarwanda atanga ubutegetsi bw'igihugu abahutu basite hakurikijwe demokarasi izira igitotsi n'amakemwa ? Nyakubahwa Perezida, aha hari ikibazo kitifusa gukemurwa.

UMUGEREKA W'UBWIYUNGE BW'ABANYARWANDA UBWA- BO

Ubwiyunge burakorwa na nde ? Namwe, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Perezida Fonda-teri wa MRND kurusha Mutara III Rudahigwa n'Inama ye y'igihugu kuko nta bumenyi buhagije bari basite kuri icyo kibazo. Kigeri V n'abantu be nabu muzabarusha kuko icyo kibazo bashatse kugikemuza kumena amaraso. Na Kayibanda muzamurusha kuko Parmehutu yavanguye amoko n'uturere.

Mukurusha abo bose, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika, mufite amahirwe n'inshingano yo kunga Abanyarwanda ubwabo, bitabaye ibyo, Manifeste programe na stati za MRND zagaragara nk'aho ari amagambo meza gusa.

Icyo kibazo kihutirwa kandi giko-

meye cyane kizakemurwa gite ?

«Sagamba ! Sagamba ! Sagamba ! Hari umusizi w'umunyarwanda, ufile indirimbo nziza «Sagamba» dutega amatwitiwishiye kuri Radiyo Rwanda, cyane cyane mu bice bikurikira : «Sagamba urandura ibisigisigi By'amatiku n'amatiriganya mu Rwanda, Sagamba ushyigikiwe n'urugamba, Uwica umugambi si Umunyarwanda». Uwo musizi w'umunyarwanda aralanga impinategko ishimishije y'umugereka wo kunga igihugu. Ariko cyane cyane, dutege amatwi uyu musizi wa kera w'ibakwe mu mvugo ishikamye kandi yerekeza k'umutima wa Général Major Perezida wa Republika, Perezida wa MRND :

*«Sugira Sagamba,
Hunga ubugeri,
Umugome ari k'umugozzi
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma !»
Zirimo Nyamukurura,
Mukuru w'Ingoma,
Kurura wishyira,
Wange amadumbu».*

Nyakubahwa Général Major, iki gisigo cyamamaye hose mu izina ryacyo «Sugira, Sagamba» kikaba icy'umusizi wo hambere, imikarago yacyo yuje inyigisho ntinyutse kuyigira iyanje kugira ngo nyiture umutima wanyu na roho yanu, nyiture abafasha banju ba hafi, bahangayikishije kimwe namwe n'icyazana amahoro, ubumwe, uburinganire n'ubuvandimwe bw'Abanyarwanda bunzwe.

*Yego Nyakubahwa,
«Sugira, Sagamba, Hunda
ubugeri».*

- I. Sugira, «ba isugi, Musumba bose»
Uzabe uwa mbere n'igitego mu bana b'u Rwanda bashoboye guha u Rwanda amahoro kuva rwabaho, rukabona ubumwe n'ubuvandimwe mu bwiyunge bw'igihugu no mu muvuduko rusange w'amajyambere.
«Bashokane isibo mu majyambere»
Yego, Sugira, «ba isugi Mubyara Rwanda».

- Uzabe igitego n'umubyeyi wa mbere w'igihugu cy'u Rwanda rusukuye, rufite ingusu kubera ko rwunze ubumwe : Rwanda nshya.
Pfukama ubyare umunyarwanda mushya, Nyakubahwa ! Yego, Sugira, «ube unoze kandi utavanze».
2. Sagamba, ba icyamamare cy'ubukombe.
 3. Hunda ubugeri :

Kamere yanu Nyakubahwa, izakangure kandi ibere Rwanda nziza; ibikorwa byabyu mwatangiye bizahurizwa

mu murima mwiza kandi mugari weze amajeri menshi. «Uhunze ubugeri» : Umunyarwanda mushya ufile itoto agatera irari.

Bizagenda bite ? Hazakoreshwu ubuhe buryo ?

«Umugome ari k'umugozzi»
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma. Nta bundi buryo. Yego, Nyakubahwa, abagome n'abagomoke k'urugamba rumwe, bose bambaye bimwe bakagira n'intwaro zi-mwe, ni he haturuka ugutsinda ?

Cyangwa na none nyuma y'ugutsinda kuruhije, abatsinze n'abatsinze bagahurira ku meza amwe, ariko abo batsinze bafite inzika, ugutsinda kwaba kuvuze iki ?

Yego, Nyakubahwa, Mwebwe n'u Rwanda mushaka guha indi sura, ntumushobora «gusugira, gusagamba, guhunda ubugeri, umugome atari k'umugozzi, umugomoke atari ku ngoma». Ntabwo bishoboka !

1. Umugome ni nde ?
2. Umugomoke ni nde ?
3. Umugome ari k'umugozzi ate ?
4. Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ate ?

I. Umugome ni nde ?

Ni uwo mututsi uhora yikuza, ufatanya n'umugaragu we w'umuhutu ki-mwe n'umutwa w'umuhigi bahunganye kubera ubugome bwabo none bakaba badhwema kugomera igihugu n'Abanyarwanda. Na none kandi ni uwo mututsi w'umunyenzika n'uwo muhutu w'inkomashyi n'uwo mutwa uhorera gutegekwa, bose bazine mayora nk'inzokc yitegura kurya u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda bari mu icuraburindi. Ibi bice by'abatutsi uko ari bibiri byohererezanya amakuru buri gihe kandi bikorana k'uburyo bw'ibanga, mu rwego rwo kwhorera kuri Repubulika, ngo abayishenze n'abayifite banze umwami.

Ni iyo nzoka y'igihindugembe ifite imitwe ibiri, umwe inyuma y'u Rwanda undi imbere. Nguwo umugome. Ukubaho kwe ntabwo gukwiye guhakanwa kuriho rwose.

2. Umugomoke ni nde ?

Ni uwo Munyarwanda warangije kubona inzira ye mu byishimo kandi ubuzi herezo. Ashyigikiye Repubulika 100%. Ni Militant wa MRND abikuye kuri roho no k'umutima. Ni Umunyarwanda mushya ufile roho yahanaguweho kumva igomba gusuzugurika mu buhake. Atege-reje cyane Itegeko-nshinga rizamugenga muri Repubulika ya II. Nguwo umugomoke.

3. Umugome ari k'umugozi ate ?

Byaba ari umwanda, ubunyamaswa ndetse byaba bidakwiye ubugiraneza bwa Repubulika yacu, ubw'abaperezida iyo, ababungirije, baharanira bose amahoro n'ubumwe turamuse tugaruye ubugome ntutsi : kwica, gutemagura, kumanika ibinyita by'abo bagome mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ugutsinda.

Uko mbikeka, umugome naramuka agaragaye azahanwa by'intangarugero n'amategeko y'itegeko-nshinga, avumwe, yamburwe ubwenegihugu. Yaba hanze cyangwa mu gihugu, umugome ntakongere kubona Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'abayo, ntazongere na rimwe kuba Umunyarwanda. Nta kabe mu Banayaruwanda afiliye umujinya wo kuzica. Umutungo we uzaba umutungo w'igihugu.

Umugomoke ari ku ngoma ate ?

Kuri uwo munyarwanda mushya wishimye, amahoro, ubumwe, ubuvandimwe n'uburinganire bwa kivandimwe. Umututsi wikuza, w'amayeri yihariye nta wuhari : ubwicanyi, ruswa, amayeri, ibinyoma.

Wa mutwa w'imbwu y'impigi, wica uko shebuja w'umututsi abimutegetse nta kiraho.

Nta kiriho, wa muhutu w'umugaragu uteye agahinda, utunzwe gusa n'imiringa ya shebuja w'umututsi.

Hehe n'abo bose kuko ubu ari Abanyarwanda bashya, bashyigikiye Repubulika bakaba n'aba milita ba MRND. Bose basatanyije mu gushinga Rwanda nshya. None reto, umugomoke nahabwe u Rwanda n'ibyiza byarwo, n'inema zarwo, n'ubwiza bwarwo mu mahoro, mu bumwe no mu majyambere (...)

*Joseph Gitera Habyarimana.
(sé)*

NDLR : Ibyo tutabagejejeho ni inama Gitera agira Perezida Habyarimana, izo nama ziri mu ngingo eshatu :

— Gukurura wishyira

— Gusenya amarumba

— Kwanga amadumbu

Izo nama Habyarimana Juvenal yaba yarazikurikije ?

Abifusa inyandiko ya Gitera mu rurimi rw'igifaransa, bashobora kuyisanga muri Kangura N°6 pp. 12, 13, 14, 15. Hagati aho ngaho turashimira umudepite waduhaye iyo nyandiko mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo 1990, akimara kubona ko iryo gitera yavuze ritashye. Tubitekerezeho !

N.I.

GOMN, UMETWE W'ABASIRIKARI USHINZWE KUNEKERA INKOTANYI.

Abanyakigali cyangwa se abahagenda mukunze kubona imodoka zitagira «plaques» zizenguruka umugi. Zikunze kuba zanditseho amagambo ahinnye haba mu rurimi rw'igifaransa cyangwa se mu cyongereza. Amagambo yanditse kuri izo modoka z'amavatiri, amajipe, minibisi, ndetse no kuri Benz imwe, ni GOMN, NMOG, OUA cyangwa se OAU.

Abazigendamo ni abasirikari bose bambaye ingofero z'umweru zifite ikiranga ntego cy'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA). Hafi y'abo basirikari bose ni ba ofisiye. Kubatandukanya biragoye kuko bose ari abirabura, nta muzungu ubarimo. Abazungu b'abasirikari mukunze kubona ni abafaransa baje kurengera bene wabo bari ino. Ntimuzabitiranye rero.

Kumenya ko abo basirikari bo muri GOMN baturuka mu bihugu binyuranye, keretse ushishoje neza kuntu zabo kuko uhasanga amabendera y'ibihugu baturukamo. Uzabona abaturuka muri Nijeriya, Senegali, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, ndetse n'inkotanyi izi za... vrais !

GOMN mu rurimi rw'igifaransa bivuga «Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres». Mu cyongereza

rero ayo magambo ahinduka NM-OG aribyo kuvuga mu magambo arambuye, «Neutral Military Observers Group». Tugenekereje mu kinyarwanda, twavuga ko bisobanura «umutwe w'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye». Bayobowe n'«ikinani» gikomoka muri Nijeriya. Nacyo gifite ipeti rya Général-Major. Uwo ni uwitwa Ekundayo Opaleye. Ntumbaze icyo iryo zina risobanura. Ntitwanavuga ko se yamwise nabi dore ko ako kazina ntaho kamwaye n'ubwo bwose tutazi icyo gasobanura.

Bene iyo «mitwe y'abasirikari badafite aho babogamiye», turayimyereye kuva aho intambara itangiriye mu Kwakira 1990. Uriya mutwe wa Général-Major Ekundayo Opaleye ni uwa gatatu uje mu gihugu cyacu kugenzura imirwano. Inshingano za bariya basirikari ni ukujya ku rugamba bakareba abashotora abandi, bagatanga raporo mu muryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika dore ko ari wo wanabohereje. Ntabwo rero bashinzwe guhagarika imirwano. Impamu zirumvikana, Ni bake cyane, kandi ni abasirikari bakuru kuburyo atari bo bafata imbunda ngo bajye mu myobo ! Ibyo guhagarika imirwano bituru-

ka ku bushake bw'abashyamiranye.

Gusa aba «gome» bari mu gihugu cyacu ari n'abahavuye, baranzwe cyane po kubogama. Babogamira ku Nkotanyi ndetse bakanazinekera. Bazibwira ibirindiro by'ingabo z'u Rwanda aho biri, abasirikari u Rwanda rufite, intwaro n'ibindi byinshi by'amabanga ya gisirikari. Ku buryo inkotanyi iyo ziteye ziba zifite ibya ngombwa byose kugirango ibitero zigabye bize ari simusiga. Twababwiye ko uriya mutwe uri mu Rwanda ari uwa gatatu witwa ko utagira aho ubagamiye. Umetwe wabanje ino waru ugizwe n'abasirikari baturutse mu bihugu duhana imbibibi bifite aho bihuriye n'iyo ntambara : harimo abasirikari b'abazayruwa, abagande n'abanyarwanda. Uwo mutwe wari uyobowe n'urnunyatanzaniya, Hachim Mbita, ufile ipeti rya Général. Uwo musirikari mukuru akaba akora muri OUA, aho ashinzwe guhosha intambara muri Afurika.

Ntacyo dupfa n'uwo muvandimwe, ariko tubamenyesheje ko nta ntambara n'imwe yari yahosha, ntiyatutenganya ! N'iyo mu Rwanda yamunaniye ityo. Azize kubogama. Kandi ga ni no kumurenganya. Na-



we se umuntu wiganye na Museveni i Dar-Es-Salaam, yari kumuhen-mukira ? Bikubitiyeho n'uko icyo gihe Hachim Mbita yari mu Rwanda, Yoweri Museveni niwe wari Perezida (chairman) wa OUA. Mwibuke kandi ko umwera uturutse ibukuru bucya wakwiriye hose.

Indi mpamvu uwo mutwe wa Hachim Mbita wasabwe guhambira utwawo ntacyo ugezeho ni uko warri ugizwe n'abantu umuntu atakwizera. Nubwo bwose ku mugara-garo nta «nkotanyi» yari iwurimo, nta wari kuwushiira amakenga. Kandi ni mu gihe.

Wafata inyeshyamba zo muri NRA, abatutsi b'i Burundi, ugakubita aho ngo nibagenzure imirwano ! Icyo bakoze ni ukunekera inkotanyi bazibwira uko ingabo z'u Rwanda zihagaze. Ku buryo igihe uwo mutwe wari ino, ibitero by'inkotanyi byarushijeho gukaza umurego. No-

ne se si mu gihe ! Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabaza Général Mbita iby'ubwo butasi akarya iminwa kuko yabaga abizi.

Uwo mutwe wa Mbita umaze qusezererwa, habaye ikibazo cyo gushaka undi wawusimbura. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda isaba ko bayikiza inzoka z'abarundi, n'inyeshyamba za Museveni. Hagasigara abazayiruwa bari berekanye ko bakora akazi kabu neza badahishira inkotanyi. Bakongeraho n'abanyatanzaniya kuko, naba nabo, bapfa gucisha mu gaciyo. Inkotanyi zibibonye gutyo ziragarama zisabota uwo mutwe ku buryo utashcboye gukora. Biba ngombwa ko nawo useswa.

Hashyirwaho umutwe wa gatatu ariwo uraho ubu. Abanyarwanda bari bawufitiye ikizere dore ko ugizwe n'abantu utakeka ko bazi amatiku ari hagati y'abahutu n'innyenzi z'abatutsi. Twari twizeye ko bazakora

akazi kabo ntaho babogamiye dore ko baturuka mu bihugu bya kure. Nyamara rero siko bimeze. Ibzungerezi by'abatutsikazi byarangije kubifatira. Dore ko nabyo binukirwa n'amakashi. Kandi ku ba «gome», amakashi si cyo kibazo. Hari abasigaye babateraho urwenya ngo bashinzwe «kugenzura» ibizunge-rezi, ibyimirwano ntacyo bibabwiye. Hari n'abemeza ko ahubwo ab'inkwakuzi muri abo basirikari barangije kwibaruka utwana. Ku buryo mu myaka iri imbere, ni mwumva abasore bitwa ba «Ekundayo, Diakite, Ndiaye, n'abandi nka Nkomo, Mugabe...» ntibizabatangaze. Ntawe ubujije abo basirikari kwishimisha cyangwa se gu-kunda «bashiki» bacu. Barisanga wenda bazanavamo n'«abakwe» beza. Ariko ikibazo ni uko ibyo bizungerezi bibakuramo amabanga ya gisirikari byoherereza inkotanyi. Dore ko noneho uwo mutwe harimo n'inkotanyi z'umwimerere zi-yobowe n'uwitwa Karenzi Karake. Akazi k'izo nyenzi murakumva ni ukwirirwa zinekera zene wazo. Umpakanya azambwire niba ibitero byo mu Ruhengeri na Byumba GOMN itari ibizi. Ikimenyimenyi ni abanyeshuri b'ibyitso biga muri Kaminuza i Nyakinama abo «bagome» habwiye ngo be gusubirana n'abandi mu Ruhengeri igihe bazaga mu marushanwa ya Volley Ball i Kigali. Abandi bana ntibisi-gariye i Kigali mu gihe bagenzi babo batemaga ijoro basubiyre kuri «campus», batazi ko urusasu ru-rara ruduhira !

KANGURA.

HABYARIMANA YABA ABITEKEREZAHO IKI ?

Perezida Mobutu wa Zayire a-herutse gutangaza ko iyo abantu badakomeza gushinga ubutegetsi bwe ibikwasi aba yareguye kera. Ibyo ni amatakirangoi kuko kuva mu 1965 yategetse wenylene ntawe umuvugiramo, ntawe umurwanya ku buryo bugaragara. Ejo bundi nibwo hadutse inkubi ya demokarasi ishi-njiye ku mashyaka menshi maze abaturage basa n'abahumutse babitewemo inkunga n'amahanga. Bahise rero batinyuka kwereka Mobu-

tu ko bamaze kumurambirwa, ko bamagana imikorere mibi ya za Leta ze zose zazahaje ubukungu bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza y'abazayirwa muri rusange.

Iwacu mu Rwanda ho se bimeze bite ? Hari abavuga ko Habyarimana yakoze ikosa ryo kudatanga imyanya mbere y'iyi ntambara na mbere y'ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi. Ngo nko muri disikuru ye yo kuwa 5/7/1990 aba

yaragejeje icyo cyemezo cya kigabo -ku banyarwanda. We rero yakomeje gutsimbarara ku butegetsi yibwira ahari ko ibya kera aribyo by'ubu. Yongeye kubizambya yitoresha kuyobora ishyaka MRND ndetse agahita aniyamariza ubuperezida kandi ige cyabyo kitaragera. Yibwiy'e ahari ko agikunze cyangwa agitinywe nka mbere na bose kandi ibintu byarahindutse.

Niba se atareguye icyo gihe ni

ukuvuga ko ubu bitagishobotse ? Nyamara birashoboka cyane kuko ari nta gihe cya ngombwa cyo kuguma byanzé bikunze ku butegetsi; kwegura biteganyijwe mu Itegeko—Nshinga no mu yandi mategeko. Ahubwo abambari be n'abandi bakungahajwe n'ingoma ye nibo bamugira inama yo gukomeza gutegeka kugira ngo babone uko bakomeza kwirira no kuzingitiranya amarorerwa baba barakoreye igihu-gu n'abagituye.

Hari abashobora kwitwaza ko tukiri mu ntambara, ko perezida atagomba gutererana abanyarwanda muri aki kaga. Nyamara ibyo ntacyo bivuze kuko atari we kamara, uwamusimbura yakomeza imrimo y'ighugu yose. None se ko intambara yo mu kwakira 1990 yarose ari hanze abasigaye ntibayoboye urugamba ? Ko inkotanyi zo-ngeye gutera minisitiri Gasana w'ingabo ari Arusha byabujije se inzirabwoba gukora akazi kazo ? Abandi ngo twasubiranamo turwanira ubutegetsi. Kubera se iki kandi amategeko ateganya uko bigomba kugenda ? Erega umuntu avugwa cyangwa akomera ari uko akiri ku isonga y'ubutegetsi ! Na Habyarimana avuyeho ntawakongera kumwita, yaba umuturage nk'abandi. Ahubwo uwamusimbura niwe twahanga amaso. Ninde ugishyira mu majwi Nsekaliye, Nzirorera n'i-bindu bihangange byari byaramama-jwe muri uru Rwanda ?

Abandi bati yeguye yaba atabye mu nama MRND ye ngo kuko yabura abayoboke. Cyereka niba nawe yari ahagarariye ishyaka ritagira imizi ihame. Nyamara wenda naho ryarushaho kugira ingufu kuko riba ritakigendera ku muntu umwe. Hariho abarizibukira ariko abasigaye baba koko intarumikwa muri ryo. Bajye barebera kuri CDR; nta muntu n'uyu cyangwa ubutegetsi yishingikirijeho ariko uko iminsi hita niko igenda itsinda ibitego. Ntiyaba abaye n'ikigwari mu kwanza kugira uwo bahangana muri uru ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi. Ahubwo yaba agaragaje ubutwari no kutikubira abererekeye n'abandi ku butegetsi bw'ikirenga.

Ariko se yapfa kugenda gu-saaa, aho abamuhi gaga bamugere-kaho amahano atazi amavu n'ama-vuko ntibaba babonye urwaho rwo kumugirira nabi ? Biterwa n'uko aba nawe yateguye iyegura rye ka-ndi ndibwira ko Leta ifite inshinga-no yo gushyiraho amategeko abo-neye yo kurengera abahoze ari abaku-ku b'ighugu, nko kurinda umu-tekan wabo no kwita bihagije ku mibereho myiza yabo. Kandi nk'u-ko byavuzwe haruguru, ntawako-ngergera kwibuka ko yategetse. Ubu se Nyerere, Senghor, Kaunda, Ké-rékou n'abandi bahoze ari abapere-zida ntibamerewe neza ? Gusa ntitu-zu neza niba Habyarimana yaba yarateguye umuntu WE wo kumu-simbura bibaye ngombwa cyangwa abyishakiye ubwe. Kuko nabwo igihe hashyiraho uwo bafitanye inzigo y'injyanamuntu maze aka-mwihimuraho.

Kuki se akwiye kwegura ? A-banyarwanda n'ighugu cyose bahu-nukira iki ? Iryo ni ihurizo ryasubi-wa ku buryo bunyuranye bitewe n'uko buri wese abyumva. Gusa a-bantu bagombye kwiyumvisha ko ntawavukanye imbuto yo gutegeka ubuziraherezo. Umuntu umwe nta n'icyo avuze imbere ya rubanda rwose. Ni nayo mpamvu twago-mbye twese kwamagana imyifatire y'ubugome buvanze n'ubwenge bu-ke bw'abataye roho nka Kanyarengwe, Pasteur n'abandi biyemeza gukotana n'inyenzi ngo ni ukugira ngo bahirike Habyarimana. Aho gu-tsema imbaga washaka uburyo bwose, kandi ntibubuze, bwo kwi-vugana wa wundi umwe ushaka. Yaku-nanira ukabyihorera byose. Nti-waharanira n'inyungu z'akarere ka-we — dore ngo ko nako kagezwe-ho — ushyigikira inkoramarszo zo muri FPR nawe zitakurebera izuba.

Kuri Habyarimana hari impamvu nyinshi zatuma yegura. Ariko tubyumvikaneho, si ukuvuga ko u-gereranje n'ahandi mu Rwanda ari nta kigenda. Ndetse ahubwo wabari-ria perezida wacu mu bategetsi bo muri Afurika bitwaye neza mu bu-yobozi bw'abo bashinzwe no muri ibi bihe by'amashyaka menshi. Icyakora nyine ntibigomba kuba

intandaro y'ubukonde. Imyaka ma-kumyabiri ku butegetsi irahagije. N'umuburugumesitiri cyangwa umuperef iyo abumazeho igihe kire-kire ageraho akarambirana. Ni no gusuzugura abenegihugu wagira ngo babuze undi muntu wabategeka. Haziramo n'umunaniro, gukundwa-kaza buri gihe agatsiko k'abantu b-mwe gusa no kudatera imbere mu bitekerezo no mu mikorere.

Niba ari uguza cyangwa se ari ko asanzwe ateye ubona Jenerali atikangarira bihagije, adashimangira ingoma ye nk'uko bikwiye. Hari n'abakibaza ukuntu yatekereje gu-kora (cyangwa gukoresha) kudeta yavanyeho Kayibanda. Mu ntambara yerekanye ubwoba n'ikiniqa (byagaragariraga mu mibonano ya-giranaga n'abanyamahanga) no ku-dashikama ku byifuzo by'u Rwanda ukaba wagira ngo nirwo rwari mu makosa maze bigatiza inkotanyi umurindi. Yatinye kuvuga rugikubi-ta ko twatewe n'ikindi gihugu ari-cyo Uganda; yihutira ahubwo kwe-mera ibyo FPR n'abayishyigikiye bifuza kandi yagombye kumenya neza ko bamuryarya.

Mu mashyaka menshi ho bya-baye umwaku; yifashe neza imbere y'abamurwanya maze atera umugo-ngo abayoboke be n'abandi batamutaranga nka bya byitso bya za nyenzi byamubujije amahwemo. Yi-vuguruza uko bwije n'uko bukeye ku buryo ari ntawe ukimwizera cyane.

Uyu munsi ati amasezerano yo kuwa 30/10/92 n'ayo kuwa 9/1/93 agomba gusubirwamo kuko ateye nabi; bwacya akayemera ha-tavungutseho n'inyuguti n'imwe ndetse agashaka ko hakwigwa vuba uburyo yashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni akumiro ! Ibyo ba Kazimiru na Ngirumpatse batangaje uwo mutware bagitinya akabivugururiza mu biko-rwa, abarwanashyaka be bakifata impungenge... Koko amahanga — agendera kuri poropagande y'ibi-nyoma y'inkotanyi — azamurisha n'uburozi ngo ni ukugira ngo aya-shimishe ? Niba we abyemera i-mbagwa nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda yo ntibishyigikiye.

Zimwe mu nyungu zo kwegura kwa Habyarimana rero ni uko igihugu cyahumeka umwuka mushya. Ntawateganya neza uko uwo mwuka waba uteye by'ukuri, ariko waba udasanzwe. Abamurwanya ntibazaba bakibonye urundi rwitwazo rwo guteza imvururu n'akaduruvayo mu gihugu nk'uko amashyaka MDR, PSD na PL babigize ihame babyongorewe na FPR n'i-bitso byayo. Za mitingi zizabwira abaturage amatwara ya buri shyaka ato kwibanda gusa mu gutuka no gu sebya Habyarimana. Radiyo Ndegejeho na bya binyabinyoma ngo ni ibinyamakuru bikoreshwa n'i-bitso by'inkotanyi ntibazongera kwiheranga ngo ni Jenerali ubanganiye amahoro, ubukungu n'imibe-reho myiza y'abaturage.

Na FPR—inyenzi—inkotanyi-tutsi ishyize mu gaciro yahita ihagarika intambara yashoje n'ubu kandi igikomezanya ubugizi bwa nabi butihishira. Ariko yo ni ukuyitondera kuko itarwanya umuntu ku giti cye,

yaba Kayibanda, Habyarimana cyangwa Nsengiyaremye (uyu ishaka gushyira mu kwaha). FPR yo igami-je guhirika ingoma yose y'umuhutu kugira ngo igarure ubutegetsi bwa Gatutsi n'ibibi byabwo byose nk'uko ibigaragariza muri iyi ntambara yoreka imbaga y'abahutu urw'agashinyaguro. Byari bikwiye no kubera isomo amashyaka yiha gufata-nya n'uwo mwanzsi. Ntabwo «machin-guns» zayo zitoranya amasinya-ka cyangwa uturere.

Amahanga nayo yakwakirana amaboko yombi umutware mushya kuko azaba akiri umuziranenge, mu gihe nave bataramuharabika. Za mfashanyo yatekerezaga guhagarika ahubwo zizongerwa kugira ngo Leta igezweho nayo yirwarize. Abanyaburayi na Amerika bazasha u' Rwanda «rushya» kwumvisha za nyabusa z'inkotanyi igikiwiye. Aho ho bizaba ari ukugosorera mu rucaca kuko intego yazo ari imwe rukumbi : gufata ubutegetsi bwose no kugira umuhutu inga-

ruzwamabombe zihereye kuri bari-ya bagambanyi bakorana nazo bu-humyi.

Hanyuma se yasimburwa na nde? Ubusanzwe muri demokarasi twese duhoza ku rurimi ariko mu bikorwa tukayiniga amatora niyo kamarampaka nziza yo kwihitiramo abayobozi. Amashyaka yose yagombye noneho kuyemera kuko Habyarimana azaba yakuyemo ake ka-renge, bityo ntazaba akiyafifitse nk'uko babitinyaga. Yabanza ariko kwipakurura ubucuti amwe afitan-ye na cya cyago FPR kuko cyo kitifuza amatora na busa kandi ntawakirenganya kuko kitabona intebi mu Rwanda. Ayo matora yaba mu nzego zose z'ubutegetsi no mu bagize inteko y'abadepite. Twaba tunasezereye neza iyi rwa-serera ya za guverinoma z'inziba-cyuho itera impaka zitarangira n'i-bibazo by'ingutu mu butegetsi no mu mibereho ya rubanda.

Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Arusha, Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam.... nta muti nta rukingo.

Abumvishije amagambo Minisitiri w'Intebi, Dismasi Nsengiyaremye yatangaje avuye i Dar-Es-Salam tariki ya 7 Werurwe, ntibubijje gutangara. Ari nako bumiwe. Batangajwe n'ikinyoma cy'umukuru wa Guverinoma, wijeje abanyarwanda ko intambara irangiye. Abeshya abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara ko bagiye kubisubiramo vuba aha...

Nyamara ukuri kugaragaza ko imishyikirano Nsengiyaremye yagiranye na Kanyarengwe i Dar-Es-Salaam, ari amacenga n'uburyarya bwa FPR yagaragaje kuva i N'sele, Arusha, Bujumbura, kugera i Dar-Es-Salaam. Ubwo buryarya nibwo Nsengiyaremye akomeje kwita «amasezerano y'amahoro».

Ibijya gupfa bipfa kare. Inyenzi zigize gutya zirengagiza ibyari bigiye kugerwaho mu mishyikirano y'i Arusha, zigabye ibitero simusiga mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Impamvu FPR yatanze isobanura ibyi-

byo bitero ntituzitindaho. Amarerwa inyenzi zakoze mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba ntaho yaduhishe. Cy-

kora yatweretse ko inyenzi zidakina. Imyanya yose bari bazemereye i Arusha ntacyo izibwiye ngo ke-



retse zihariye ubutegetsi zonyine. Museveni ntifashe Kampala, Okello yamwemereye umwanya wa visi-Perezida ? Mumbwire namwe ibyo turimo ngo turashyikirana n'inyenzi ?

Burya koko ibijya gupfa mu itangiro, Ngizo za N'sele, Arusha (ibyciro binel), Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salam... Aho hose ngo ni ugushaka amahoro. Ntitukamenye ko umwanzi we yifitiye indi migambi. Igiteye impungenge ni uko iyo mishyikirano yose igenda ivuguruzanya kandi ihuje abantu bamwe, FPR na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. N'ibyo bemeranije inyenzi zikabirengaho. Nsengiyaremye rero arasetsa iyo avuga ngo impande zombi zimaze gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro i Dar-Es-Salaam. Nyamaru twari tuzi ko inama zabereye i Bujumbura, Dar-Es-Salaam, ari ibiganiro atari imishyikirano. Ubwo rero bihindutse, imishyikirano, Arusha imaze iki ? Dore ko Nsengiyaremye yabaye nk'ubwira abanyarwanda ko intambara ayirangirije i Dar-Es-Salaam.

Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba atazi Museveni n'inkotanyi ze, i Dar-Es-Salaam bamweretse «balingga» agirango intambara irahagaze. Urebye gahunda yafatiwe i Dar-Es-Salaam wakwibaza icyo guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yari itegerewe ngo itange wa «muti» w'intambara yakangishaga abanyarwanda. Niba atari ubuswa yisanganiwe, venterineri Nsengiyaremye agomba kuba ari n'umutesi. Aranasetsa cyane !

Umuntu wemeza ko imirwano izahagarara tariki iyi n'iyi (ku wa kabiri tariki ya 9 Werurwe), isaha iyi n'iyi (saa sita z'ijoro) ngo ni uko inkotanyi zabimubwiye ! Ni ryari se zitatanze gahunda ntiziyubahirize ? Inyenzi ntizeretse Nsengiyaremye aho zibera mbi zigaba igitero muri Nkumba ku wa mbere tariki 8 Werurwe ! Nawe ngo intambara izahagarara...

Inyenzi zategetse Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye kongera kurindagira mu mishyikirano i Arusha bitarenze tariki ya 15 Werurwe 1993. «Amasezerano» akaba agomba gu-

shyirwaho umukono mu cyumweru cya mbere cy'ukwezi kwa kane. Gahunda yaturutse i Dar-Es-Salaam inatubwira ko «ingabo z'amahanga zigomba kuva mu Rwanda uretse i-z'Abafaransa. Kanyarengwe wasinyiye i Bujumbura ko Abafaransa ari abanzi bagomba kwirukanwa mu gihugu cyacu «yemeye» noneho ko abo baferansa bari mu rwego rw'ubutwererane buri hagati y'u Rwanda n'icyo gihugu. Abasagutse bakaba bacunga umutekanzo w'abanyamahanga. Aka kanya FPR ihinuuye imvugo ? Yo yemezaga ko abo baferansa barwana ku ruhande rw'ingabo z'u Rwanda ! Ntacyo ariko kuko ari u Rwanda ruhazamukira.

Uburyarya bwa FPR bukarira aho ibeshya ko inyenzi zateye tariki ya 8 'Gashyantare zizata aho zafashe, «zikisubiza» mu birindiro zahozemo mbere. Ntawe uzakuye ! Izo mpuhwe...

Aho Nsengiyaremye aca agahigo mu gushinyagura ni aho yemeza ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubiramo!!! Ngo azabashyira mu gace kazasigara hagati y'ingabo z'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi. Ako gaceakanatwizeza ko kazaba ka-genzwurwa n'ingabo z'amahanga (OUA) cyangwa za (ONU) nanone zidafite aho zibogamiye. Intambara ikarangira ityo. Sinje wahera hahera Nsengiyaremye n'buswa bwe !

Nsengiyaremye acishije mu ga-

ciro abona koko ko inkotanyi zahozze mbere ntawe uzakuye. Nizo se zitishimiye ko igihugu cyazo basigaye bita «inkotanyiland» cyakura ? Twemere da ko inkotanyi zisubije mu birindiro zahozemo mbere, izo ngabo z'amahanga bavuga zizava he ? Zizaza ryari ? Zizakora iki iza mbere zitakoze ?

Naho kuvuga ko abavanywe mu byabo n'iyi ntambara bazabisubizwamo ni ukwibeshya kuko hari amakomini menshi inkotanyi zari zifitemo ibirindiro mbere y'uko zubura imirwano muri Gashyantare. Cyeretse ahari zisubije ubwazo muri Uganda. Kandi gushyira abo bantu bangara hagati y'ingabo zishyamiranye ni nko kubaroha kuko nta mutekano bazigera bagira, bazahora baraswaho, inkotanyi zizakomeza kubiraramo zibice nk'uko bimeze ubu. Ntabwo rero ari ingabo z'amahanga zabakingira. Uretse ko zizaba ari na nkeya, nta n'ubwo zabishobora.

Ibihe turimo bisa n'ibyo ubutegetsi bwa Tito Okello bwarimo i-gihe Museveni yari hafi guacakira Kampala mu w'1986. Uwo musaza Okello, bamwijeje ibitangaza i Nairobi kugeza naho aharira Museveni umwanya wa visi-Perezida, ashiduka byarangiye akizwa n'amaguru. Na Habyarimana se nibyo ashaka ? Dore zageze i Tare, niba ari uhunga yafata utwangushye !

KANGURA.

UMWANA WA NGULINZIRA SI NK'ABANDI

Igihe za nkoramaraso z'inyenzi inkotanyi zarasukiraga mu Ruhengeri ku bugambanyi bw'ibyitsyo byiganje mu Rwanda hose, abanyeshuri barenze magana arindwi bo ku Musanze bakwiye imishwaro. Ubu bose bari hanze uretse rero uwa Nyakubawa Minisitiri Ngulinzira woherejwe na munywanyi we wo mw'ishyaka Agata wamize isoni bunguri akarangwa n'ubugome burusha ubumara ubwa FPR - kwiga muri Lycée de Kigali.

Ni amahano kubona umwana wa Minisitiri muzima ariwe ugorirwa impuhwe nkaho ise abuze amafaranga yo kumurihira mu mashuri yigenga

cyangwa mu y'amahanga. Iyo baha ako kanya umwana w'umukene nyakujya byo ahari byari kugira inzira. Ariko nabyo ntibyaba blhwitse kuko ikibazo kireba abo bana bose bakuwe mu mashuri n'inkotanyi. Agata na Ngulinzira baba ahubwo baritonze gato bakabonera urwo rubyiruko rwose umuti w'ibibazo rurimo aho gusebesha MINEPRISEC n'ubutegetsi bajumburaramo abana bamwe bamwe b'ibikomerezwa. Harya ngo MDR yaje irwanya akarengane n'uburyamirane ? Tuzabirebera ku myifatire no ku mikorere y'abambari bayo.... !

NY. P. /Etudiante au L.K.

UGANDA : MUSEVENI YARIYE INKA YA NYANGARA KUYISHYURA BIZAMUGORA.....

Kurya ni ukwishyura. Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni yariye umwenda w'impuzi z'abatutsi none kuwihyura byamubereye ikibazo. Museveni afata ubutegetsi muri Uganda mu w'1986, yabifashijwemo cyane n'impuzi z'abatutsi bamurwaniye igihe kirekire. Nawe abizeza ko azabasubiza ubutegetsi bambuwe na revolusiyo ya rubanda yo mu w'1959. Nyamara ubwo ntiyari azi ko akina mu bikomeye. Ntiyari azi ko izo mpunzi z'abatutsi zivuga zikomeje kandi ko n'ibyo yazemereye ko bidashoboka. Tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, Museveni nibwo yatangiye kwishyura inka ya Nyangara yariye. Afata igice kimwe cy'ingabo ze, n'ibikoresho agishumuriza u Rwanda. Na n'ubu...

Inkuru yabaye impamo. Ingabo za Uganda (NRA) zisigaye zirwana kuruhande rw'inzenzi. Kuvuga ko ingabo za Uganda zifasha inyenzi ziziha ibikoresho bya gisirikari birasanze. Nta n'ubo byari bikwiye gutangaza. Ariko noneho ingabo za Uganda zisigaye ziwa mu mirwano ku mugaragaro. Ukwivanga kwa NRA mu mirwano bizatumwa intambara ihindura indi sura ndetse no mu rwego rwa politiki. Ingabo z'u Rwanda zigomba kongererwa abasirikari n'ibikoresho nk'uko umwanzi yabenje. Muri politiki, u Rwandarukumvisha amahanga ko Uganda ifite uruhare runini muri iyintambara. Kandi nta gitangaza kirimo kuko Uganda nta gihe itafashije inyenzi ziwise inkotanyi.

Inyenzi inkotanyi zitera u Rwanda tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni na Perezida Habyarimana bombi bari muri Amerika. Bari bagiye mu nama yari yateguwe na UNICEF, ryashamir'umuryango w'abibumbye ryita ku bana. Perezida Habyarimana agize ngo araba Museveni iby'icyo gitero, Museveni amusubiza ko nawe "cyamutunguye". Amwumvishako ari abasirikari "bamutorotse", bakiba n'intwarz. Nyamara Museveni nta kuntu atari azi iby'icyo gitero dore ko cyari kiyobowe n'inschuti ye y'amagara. Fred Rwigema ndetse na mwene nyina, Salim Saleh.

Hari amakuru yemeza ko Museveni yari mu bagiraga inama Fred Rwigema na bagenzi be. Rwigema yaba yarasabye Museveni inyeshyamba ibihumbi makumyabiri (ni ukuvuga "di-

visions" ebyiri) Museveni akamubwira ko "division" imwe (abasirikari ibihumbi icumi) bihagije. Museveni nyine yibwiraga ko u Rwanda nta basirikarirufite, ndetse konta n'intwarz dore ko yitaga ingabo z'u Rwanda "boys scouts", abagereranya n'abasikuti. Nyamara yari atarababona. Museveni ageze Entebbe avuye muri Amerika nibwo yivuyemo. Mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru, yemezaga ko inyenzi zizatsinda nta kabuza. Ngo abahungu be, ("my boys"), arabizeye bamenyerereye intambara. Inyenzi zukubiswe inshuro, Museveni arababara cyane atangira no kuzitakana. Nibwo ahinduye imvugo, yemeza ko abaduttera ari inyeshyamba zigometse ku butegetsi bwa Habyarimana. Ngo Uganda ntaho ihuriye n'irya ntambara. Icyo kinyoma yakigeje no mu nama y'abakuru b'igihugu by'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika iherutse kubera Abuja muri Nijeriya. Amaze gukorwa n'isoni, Museveni icyo gihe wari Perezida wa OUA, yavuze ko Perezida Habyarimana ngo atari akwiye kwita inyenzi "umwanzi" wateye aturutse muri Uganda. Ngo navuge ko ari abanyarwanda bigometse ku butegetsi bwe!

Nyamara ubwo ntiyari azi ko amahanga yarangije kumenya ukuri. Byaranagaragaye aho Abuja, aho abakuru b'ibihugu bigize umuryango wa OUA, barimo na Perezida wa Nijeriya Ibrahim Babangida wari umaze kumusimbura ku mwanya w'ubuyobozi bw'ubo muryango, bumvaga ibinyoma bya Museveni bakisekera. Kuba Museveni yarafashije inyenzi na n'ubu akizifasha, ni umwenda azrimo. Ntazagire rero uwo abeshya. Twatangiye tuvuga ko inyenzi zateye u Rwanda mu Kwakira 1990 ari zo zarwaniye Museveni, zimutereka ku butegetsi. Nawe azemerera ko azazifasha kugaruka mu Rwanda ku ngufu, zigategeka. Bityo byari no kumufasha cyane. Ntawe uyobewe ko muri Uganda, Museveni batamwemera. Dore ko akomoka mu bwoko bw'abatutsi b'abahima batagize na kimwe ku ijana cy'abanya Uganda. Nawe azi neza ko ari ku butegetsi ku ngufu z'imbunda. Yizeraga rero ko abatutsi bene wabo nibafata Kigali, azaba ategeka ibihugu bibiri, Uganda n'u Rwanda. Byamukomerana muri Uganda, agahungira i Kigali, aho bene wabo bari kumwakira nk'umubyeyi.

Bakaba banongera kumufasha gusubira ku butegetsi. Bidashobotse se kabuza icyo gihugu amahoro.

Ikindi abanyarwanda batagomba kwibagirwa ni uko Museveni ari inyeshyamba n'icyo bisobanura cyose. Inyeshyamba nta rukundo iba ifitiye igihugu. Icyo iba icunga, ni inyungayayo gusa. Inyeshyamba kandi nta tegeko riwigenga dore ko nta n'iryo yubahiriza. Inyeshyamba ikanga icyitwa amahoro yose, ihora yifuza ko intambara yarota. Mu myaka irindwi rero Museveni amaze ku butegetsi, sibwo uburere bwe bwaba buhindutse. Dore ko igihe yari i Butare mu w'1987 yivugye ubwe ko ari "Baringa". Kuba rero Museveni afasha inyenzi, ntibitangaje kandi biragaragara kuko ibimenyetso bhari. Vuba aha, Museveni yahimbye amayeri, avuga ko agiye kwirukana mu ngabo ze abo yise "abasinzi" cyangwa se "abanywa ibiyobya bwenge". Icyo cyemezo cyarebaga abasirikari ba NRA barenga ibihumbi magana abiri (200.000). Abo bantu bose niko ari "abasinzi" cyangwa se "abanywa ibiyobya bwenge". Birumvikana ko bwari uburyo bwo gufata igice cya NRA akacyohereza gufasha Inkotanyi. Ikimenyimenyi ni uko serivisi z'Uburanso zishinzwe iperereza zemeza ko ingabo za Museveni zifasha inkotanyi muri ikigire. Inyenzi zambara imyenda isa n'iyabasirikari ba NRA, zikagira intwarz zimwe, zikaba no mu bigo bimwe.

Igitero inyenzi zagabye tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 cyarikigamije gufata imigi ya Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Byumba, na Kigali, nk'uko izo serivisi zibyemeza. Museveni yahaye inyenzi abasirikari bageze kuri "bataillons" icumi ni ukuvuga abantu bagera ku ibihumbi umunani (8.000). Anabaha n'intwarz za rutura zimwe bita "artillerie". Muri icyo gitero kandi abasirikari b'abatutsi baba muri NRA nibo bari kwisonga. Umwe mu basirikari bakuru bayobora imirwano mu gace ka Byumba niwe uherutse kubisobanura neza. Igihe yavugaga ko bitumvikana ukuntu umutwe w'inyeshyamba (FPR) wagira abasirikari n'ibikoresho biruta iby'ibihugu byinshi byigenga. Ni aho kwibaza.

Museveni akomeje kwitiranya u Rwanda na Uganda.

U Rwanda si Uganda, kandi ubutegetsi buriho, niyo bwaba atari shya-shya si kimwe n'ubwari muri Uganda kubwa Idi Amin, Obote cyangwase Tito Okelo. Aha rero niho Museveni yibeshyera. Kuko usanga uburyo Inkotanyi zakoresheje zigiterakandi zigiko-

resha busa neza neza n'ubwinyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje zifata Kampala mu w'1986. Icyo gihe inyeshyamba za Museveni zabanje kujeza ubutegetsi bwariho muri Uganda zibwangisha abaturage. Inyeshyamba za Museveni zakoresheje iterabwoba, zica abaturage ku buryo umutekano wabaye muke cyane, abaturage bagahora mu kintu cy'ubwoba.

Zikurikizaho kujya mu mishyikirano i Nairobi bya nyirarureshwah noho ubwo zirisuganya kugeza igithe zibusiingiriye. Museveni amenye rero ko uwo mutwe ushaje. Abanyarwanda (abahutu) bari maso, biyemeje gufatanya n'ingabo zabo bagahashya umwanzi n'ibyitso bye.

KANGURA

NSENGIYAREMYE ARAKINA MU BIKOMEYE

Bajya bavuga ngo Imana yirirwa ahanda igataha i Rwanda. Muri ibi bihe ariko, umenya iyo Mana idaherukaino. Kuko iyo bitaba ibyo yadukiza abanzi bakomeje kudutera, ikanaduhanira abagambanyi nka Nsengiyaremye. Nsengiyaremye niba koko "asenga iyamuremye", igithe kirageze ngo ajye muri penetensiya akihana ibyaha yakoreye kandi agikorera iki gihugu kuva yaterekwa ku ntebe y'ubutware. Urwobo Ministiri w'Intebe yaroshymo uru Rwanda rugana urwo inyenzi Kigeli V Ndahindurwa yarusizemo mu w'1959 naho ureke ibyo babeshyeye Kayibanda.

Amahirwe abanyarwanda bagifite ni uko guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye ishigaje igithe gito. Dore ko manda y'yo guverinoma yagaragaje "ingufu" mu bugambanyi izarangira ejo bundi mu kwezi kwa kane 1993. Naho ubundi abanyarwanda bashiduka igihugu cyabo Nsengiyaremye yacyometse kuri Uganda. Kuba Nsengiyaremye n'ishyaka rye bakorana n'Inkotanyi, byari amahirwe kuko dukeka ko yari kuzinginga zikaba ziretse kudutera mu gihe twari dutegereje ikizava Arusha. Cyokora ibitero inkotanyi zagabye mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byatweretse ko nta wazizera. Nta gihe tutabwiye Nsengiyaremye na bagenzi be ko kunga ubumwe n'umututsi (cyane cyane w'inyenzi) ari nko kurya umwenda w'inkuba. Nsengiyaremye nave yarabyiboneye kandi aranabizi kuturusha dore ko nave ari "inkuba".

Ibitero inyenzi zisherutse kugaba mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba byanatweretse kandi ko tutagomba gukomeza kwishinga Nsengiyaremye ukomeje kwitwara nk'umwana w'igitambambuga. Ibihe tugezemo si ibyo gukina kuko twazabyumva dushaje.

Mujambo Ministiri w'Intebe aherutse kugeza ku banyarwanda, twari twizeye ko noneho agiye kwamagana ubugome bw'inkotanyi nave yiboneye. Si bwo twumiwe! Veterineri wa-

we, uretse no kwamagana Inkotanyi, yahindukiranye abanyarwanda abumisha ko ngo igithe cy'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu n'imbunda cyarangiye. Mu gihe abasirikari bahatanaga ku rugamba, abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba inkotanyi zabamaze. Nsengiyaremye we ngo ntawe ugomba kwitwaza intambara ngo anige demokarasi. Aho guha abo baturage bangara, babuze iyo bagana ka "pole", Nsengiyaremye ngo intambara ntigomba guhagarika ubuzimal! Ngo igithe cyo guhiga ibyitso cyararangiye. Kuri we abari ku rugamba ngo bari ku kazi kabu, abandi nabo bari ku kabo.



Hari uwigeze kuvuga ati uwafata Nsengiyaremye, ukamushyira muri kajugujugu, "kamatereka muri Komini Kinigi cyangwa se muri Kivuye, iyo za Byumba. Maze tukareba ko yongera gutetal Rahira ko inkotanyi zitamushahura. Ahariyakwemera ko inkotanyi ari ingome, akumva icyo ubutegetsi bw'imbunda icyo ari cyo. Nibwo ybona demokarasi y'inyenzi icyo ari cyo. Nibwo yakumva kandi akibonera ukuntu inyenzi ari "abavandimwe". Nsengiyaremye yari akwiye gukura akareka gukina mu bikomeye. Nta kuntu wakoheresa abasirikari kurwana n'inyenzi iyo ku mipaka, usize izindi -

imbere mu gihugu. Kuki ibyitso bitashakishwa? kuki amarondo atakorwa? Kuki mitingi z'amashyaka zitahagara? Tukabanza tukarwana intambara yamasasu, iy'amagambo ikazaza nyuma. Nsengiyaremye ngo mitingi z'amashyaka nizikomeze mu turere tutaberamo imirwano! Ubwo ni uburyo bwo kumvisha abaturage batuye aho inyenzi zibasiye ngo birwarize. Nyamaru se uretse ko inyenzi zateye ziturtse mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, umunsi zaturutse mu majyepfo biza-genda gute ? Nabo bazirwarize !

Ibitero by'inyenzi mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatumye abantu bibaza ibyo turimo Arusha ngo ni imishyikirano. Gushyikirana ni ngombwa kuko intambara yica, igasenya. Ariko imishyikirano ntigombakuba uburyo bwo kugabiza igihugu inyeshyamba zidafite n'ubushake bwo gushyikirana. Ibyo Ngurinzira yasinyiye (n'ubwo bida-shobora gushyirwa mu bikorwa), ntibyari bihagije ngo inyenzi zishime? Ariko se ntimwabonye ibyo zakoze?

Inyenzi kuru Kagame (benshi bita Kagome kubera ubugome bwe) yemeza ko inyenzi zitera Byumba na Ruhengeri zari zije guhorera abagogwe (ubwoko bwa kane!) n'abatutsi baguye mu mvururu zisherutse kubera mu maperefegitura ya Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Kibuye. Hazagire rero uwongera kuvuga ko FPR atari ishyaka ry'abatutsi, rirwania abatutsi?

Iyo Nsengiyaremye abu umuntu ushyira mu gaciro, yasabye Guverinoma ye guhagarika imishyikirano y'Arusha. Nta kuntu umuntu yaza aka-guhukura, warangiza mukicarana ku meza amwe ngo murareba ukuntu ya-zagaruka (kwica)! Ikindi kitumvikana muri iriya mishyikirano ni uko abayrimo (cyane cyane intumwa za Guverinoma y'u Rwanda), batanya batunga agatoki abategetsi ba Uganda kandi aribo bagize uruhare runini muri iyi ntambara. Kandi baracyakomeza. Intumwa za guverinoma y'u Rwanda

mu mishyikirano y'Arusha zogombye gusaba Perezida wa Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, kwerura, akabwira amahanga niba akomeje gufasha inkotanyi, u Rwanda narwo rukamenya neza uko rwakwifata. Hari umusirikari uru ku rugamba i Byumba uherutse kuvuga ati uretse ibibazo bya politiki naho ubundi inkotanyi twazigeza i Kabale. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda niba koko i-shaka amahoro yari ikwiye guha uruhushya ingabo zacu zikagarura ubutaka bw'u Rwanda bwose. Byaba na ngombwa zigakurikirana umwanzi no

munndiri, , andi irazwi. Naho ubundi ntu kuntu intambara yapfa irangiye. Inkotanyi zizakomeza zitere, nizitsindwa zisubirire muri Uganda ziruhuke. Biriya by'imishyikirano birazifasha cyane. Imishyikirano ituma zisuganya, ikanatumza zimenyekana cyane dore ko ari uburyo bwiza bwo kwiyamamaza. Kuko ku munyamahanga, kuba u Rwanda rwemera gusiragira Arusha ari uko rwemera ko inkotanyi nazo zifite ingufu, mbesi habuze uwatsinda n'uwartsindwa, kandi atari ko bimeze.

Abategetsu b'u Rwanda, ntibari bakwiye kwishinga amahanga. Iyi ntambara ntizarangirizwa Arusha, Addis Abeba cyangwa se ahandi. Dore ko byanagaragaye ko uretse n'umuryango w'abibumbye (ONU), umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA), nta ntambara n'imwe wigeze ukemura mu mateka y'Afurika. Liberia, Somalia, Angola Mozambique, Sudani bitubere urugero. None se akimuhana ntikaza imvura ihise?

KANGURA

RADIYO RWANDA IGEZE AHO GUTINYA KUVUGA IJAMBO «INYENZI» !

Minisitiri w'itangazamakuru, aka-ban'umumotsi wa guverinoma, Pascal Bayironi Ndenegejeho, niwe uherutse kuvuga ngo Radiyo Rwanda ni radiyo y'amahoro. Iryo jambo ryateye abantu benshi kwibaza ku mikorere ya Radiyo y'igihugu cyane cyane muri iki gihe iri mu maboko y'ishyaka abahanga basigaye bita iry "umushyo" MDR-FPR. Muri Kangura n° 39 twabwiye abasomyi bacu ko Radiyo Rwanda isigaye ari Radiyo Muhabura, ishami ryayo (station relais) rivugira i Kigali. Bamwe babifasheho urwenya, abandi ngo ni ugusebanya! Nyamara ukuri kurage nda gutsinda, ariko kugenda kugaragara. Ibitero inyenzi zagabye mu Ruhengeri na Byumba byatwerc tseko Radiyo y'igihugu umwanzi yafite mu ntoki ze.

Inkotanyi zitera i Byumba no mu Ruhengeri tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, utaritonzo nge atege amatwi neza, byaramutonze kugira ngo amenye niba ari inyenzi zongeye kugaba ibitero. Umuyamakuru wa Radiyo Rwanda (tuyito gutyo ntawashobore) yatumenyesheje ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda bahanganye n'abasirikari be FPR. Abensi bagize ngo ni undi mwanzo wiqabiye igihugu kandi ari inyenzi (izi tuzi), Radiyo Rwanda yahaye amapeti ikazigeza ku rwego rw'abasirikari zivuye ku bunyeshiyumba. Radiyo Rwanda ngo isigavo ari Radiyo y'"amahoro". Nge ni Radiyo iteranya abanyarwanda!

Uwazuve ayo magamho niba atari ubwenge buke yisanganiwe cyangwa se atazi icyo akora, ni umucanshuromu bandi bacanshuro. Kandi ntibitangaje. Ubundi se ni ryari Radiyo Rwanda iti-geze iba Radiyo y'amahoro? Niriyari yigeze iteranya abanyarwanda? Icyo tuzi Radiyo Rwanda yakoze ni uko buri gi-

he yagiye yifatanya n'abanyarwanda guhangana n'ibibazo bahuye nabyo, ari iby'ubukene cyangwa se ibyo mu rwegerwa politiki. Nimuri urwo rwego rero inyenzi ziteye mu Kwakira 1990 Radiyo Rwanda yifatanije n'abanyarwanda, bashyigikira ingabo z'igihugu zihashya inyenzi. Ingabo zarwanye iyamasasu, Radiyo Rwanda (itangazamakuru rya Leta muri rusange na Kangura) irwana iy'ibitekerezo. Inyenzi zitsindwa hose. Sinzi rero niba ibi ari byo twakwita guteranya abanyarwanda!

Pascal Ndenegejeho, hari byinshi yiyibagiza. Radiyo y'igihugu, ikinyamakuru cya Leta Televiziyo y'igihugu bikorera igihugu, bikarenge inyungi z'igihugu. Azabaze bezamusobanurira. Hose niko bigenda. No mu bishugu byadutanze amajyambere niko bimeze. Ntuzumva na nimwa nka RFI, ivuga nabi Ubuferansa, Deutch Wele ivuga nabi Ubudage, VOA ivuga nabi Leta Zunze Ubiumwe z'Amerika, BBC ivuga nabi Ithwongereza ntibishoboka. Hari abantu bigeze gusaba ko RFI yashyirwa mu maboko y'abikorera ku giticyabo. Maze umutegetsi umwe arababwira ati: "RFI, c'est la voix de la France éternelle". Ari byo kuvuga ngo iyo Radiyo RFI ni iyi ry'Ubutaranca buhoreho. Si iyi rya guverinoma iyi n'iyo, cyangwa se iry'ishyake iyi n'iyo ryaba irya Perezida wa Republiko cyangwa Ministri w'intebi. Abantu baragenda igihugu kigasigara.

Ntawe uyobewe uruhare Radiyo Rwanda yagize mu guhashya inyenzi. Yagiye konshi ihangana n'inyenzi mu bitekerezo. Muhi mwese ukuntu inkotanyi zari zarifiatiye amahanga zaradu teranyije n'insuti, ziharabika igihugu cyacu. Radiyo Rwanda yashoboyeku-

nyomoza ibyo binyoma, ishobora kumvisha amahanga harimo n'abadufasha, aho ukuri guherereye. Radiyo Rwanda yatije umurindi ingabo z'igihugu, izishyiriraho indirimbo zizongererera "moral". Zaba indirimbo ingabo zihimbiye ubwazo cyangwa se iz'abandi bahanzi harimo icyamamore Bikindi. Radiyo Rwanda yakomeje kugira inama abanyarwanda, ibabwira uko umwanzi atey, uko bahangana nawe.

Radiyo Rwanda yashegeshe umwanzi kuqeza aho avuga ko Radiyo Rwanda nno ari iya Habyarimana. Impamvu ntayindi ni uko yari (Radiyo Rwanda) yarananiye inyenzi. Kuva reto aho MDR yeguriwe Ministri y'itangazamakuru, inkotanyi zabyinive ku rukoma. Kandi ni mu gihe! Intware vari yarazishegeshe zari zivica kive. Radiyo Rwanda ihitila iba neza neza iy'inyenzi, Radiyo Rwanda yunga nira Radiyo Muhabura kwamamaza amatwara y'inyenzi... "copie conforme" ...

Nuhwo intambara yari igikomeza, Radiyo Rwanda yo yihatiye guca integre ingabo z'u Rwanda. Yunvisha abanyarwanda ko intambara idateze kurangira, ko bo n'ingabo zabo batatsinze kandi badateze gutsinda inyenzi. Amagambo umwanzi icyitso, inyenzi acika mu mvugo y'ahanyamakuru. Indirimbo zateraga incabo z'u Rwanda akanyabugabo barazishyingura, zishyirwa muri "ingo". Mbosse Radiyo Rwanda yifatanya n'"abavandimwe" kurwanya icyo yita ubutegetsu hw'igitugu, no kuzana demokarasi... Muri uwo murimo, yunganira ibinyamakuru bisanzwe bikorera inkotanyi ku mugragaro nka Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, Le Flambeau, Kiberinka n'ibindi. Bi-

NGURINZIRA NA GASANA BAKORAGA IKI ARUSHA ?.....NTACYO.

Bavuga ko Ngulinzira yagambaniye igitugu na rubanda nyamwinshi kuko ubutegetsi bwose yabweguriye FPR, izirana na Repubulika na Demokarasi abishyigikiwemo na ya mashyaka ayiri mu kwaha afite intego yo guhrika ingoma ya Habyarimana akoresheje uburyo bushoboka bwose nubwo byaba ari ugutatira igihango cya Revolisiyo y'1959.

Gasana we yamurushije gutaha imbokoboko no kudasanganirwa n'ibututsi byinshi cyangwa imvururu kuko yaje ari ntacyo asinyiye. Nabwo ariko ya mashyaka akorana n'umwanzi azaboneraho umwanya wo gukomeza kubeshyera MRND na perezida wayo ko aribo badindiza imishyikirano, badasaka amahoro yabaye urwitwazo. Kuri FPR yo byose ni kimwe kuko icyo ishaka ari imirwano yo kuyigeza ku bu-tegetsi nta kindi.

Ubundi mu gihe inkotanyi zacaga ku masezerano vo guhagarika intambara Gasana n'intumwa hajyanze heba horishe hazinga akorago ari nta n'uve bagishije inama maze ibindi bi-

kazaba byigirwa i Kigali ho mu Rwanda. Nah'ubundi u Rwanda rusa n'urwihije ibyaha byose kubona rusa-garirwa rugakomeza kuvugana n'umwanzi ? Nabo bahuza ndetse n'umuyamabanga mukuru wa OUA b'abatanzaniya baraturimanganya, nabo babogamiye ku ruhande rwa FPR kimwe na ba basirikare bagize umutwe wa GOMN. Nabo rero ntawabizera.

Gasana yagombaga guhita aza kureba uko ingabo ze zihagaze akamenya neza ibyo zikeneye, ibibuze akajya kubishaka mu bishugu by'inshuti. None se nk'ingabo zazu iyo zishirirwa ku masasu no ku bindi bikoresho bya ngombwa aho Nsabimana yari kubona igithe cyo kuyobora urugamba no kujya gutereta intwaro. Perezida wa Repubulika we asa n'uweguye kuri byose. Nko mu minsi ya mbere y'intambara twumvaga ko yagiye mu Misiri, mu Busaransa, mu Bubiligi, ko yohereje intumwa muri Amerika, Kanada, Ubudage, Afurika v'enfo n'ahandi n'ahandi none nta kindi tumwumvaho ureto disikuru yo guhamuriza ingabo n'umwanze milie agurana na bantuwe mu bantagariye

ibihugu byabomurwanda. Cyerekana-ba abiharira Leta ya Nsengiyaremye abanyarwanda batizeye, cyane cyane ku kibazo cy'inkotanyi....(?)

Tubivuge rero tubisubire ntabwo rwose inyenzi zishishikajwe n'imishyikirano iyariyo yose ahubwo zirayikwena zitegurira ibitero bya simusiga. Ibyaribyo byose sizi neza ko n'ubwo baziha ibya mirenge abaturage badeze kuzakira no kubana nazo neza. Mu mijyi wenda ho bishashoboka ariko nta nkotanyi izoherezwa mu giturage ngo iharare kabiri naho abapolisi na jandarumeri byashyirwa mu maboko ya FPR. Ntabwo umusirikare wasimbutse amasasu y'izonkenya maze bene wabo bagashirira ku icumu, abandi bagacika amaboko n'amaguru azashobokana na ba bandi temulushije. Micombero yarivugije ati : nkompuha njewesinzomuhusha... ! Ny FPR irabizi ni nayo mpamvu idashaka ubutegetsi busangiwe. Abanyakapitaliki n'abasirikare bacu nibakaze ahubwo umurya wo guhangana nayo aho gukomeza gukilkira no kwerekeza ibibazo aho bitari. Ndekezi Bonaparte.

Radiyo Rwanda iqeze...

UURURIKIRA URUPAPURO RWA 15.

kindi aracecekeshwa. Kavirebwa ahawa urubuga! Radiyo Rwanda ikorera umwanzi biratinda kugeza ubwo iciye agahigo ejo bundi inyenzi zongeye gutera.

Nibarize abanyamakuru ba Radiyo Rwanda. Ko ijambo inyenzi atari mwe mwarihimbye, muritinyira iki? Emwe ko atari n'igitutsi! Inyenzi nizo ziyise gutyo kandi zizi icyo zashakaga kuvuga. Iz'ubu zongeraho Inkotanyi ariko zikiri inyenzi. Kuvuga ko kanaka ari kanaka atari wowe ubimwise, ikibazo kiri he? None se "amavubi", "intamba", "Léopards", "lions", si amazina y'amakipe y'ibihugu yiyubashye? Harya ngo muba mwanga kwiteranya n'abavandimwe ra? Nyamara rero inyenzi ngo utayise inyenzi mwabipfa! Sibyo Mukezamfu...?

KANGURA

UBUGOME BWVA MINISITIRI AGATA BURENZE IMANIRO

Akarimi keza ntikabuzaumurozi kugarika ingogo. Bigaragarira kuri Minisitiri Uwilingivimana Agata uvuga ko abana bose ari ab'igihugu, ko aharanira demokarasi ariko mu kuronda akarere n'ishyaka akarusha abazima n'abapfuye. Yagize kwima amashuri abo yita abakiga, ugereranyije n'imyanya bagombaga kubona hukurijwe iringaniza ridarifite, none n'abo vayahaye - nahwo basabiwe n'abo muri ya mashyaka yiyunze n'umwanzi - arababurabuza afunga ibigo bigamo nka Muramba na Shyira kandi atari ngombwa. Ubu ho arabyinira ku rukoma kuko inkotanyi zamafashije kwirukana abigaga mu mashuri ya Ruhengeri na Byumba. Kugeza uyu munsi iyonkuba yasebyaga Mbangura ngo we akora amalisti menshi y'abemerewe iracyohereza abana na mashuri. Si nk'Umutebo nibura wakurikiza ga amanota ahubwo iyo Nzambiyakazi yamize isoni yo yihera ab'iwabogusa n'abasabiwe n'abarwanashyaka ba ya mashyaka y'ingambanyi ariko cyane cyane aba MDR.

Gumyusenge Jumapili.

LANDO ARASHAKA KUMARIRA KU ISASU ABAKUWE MU BYABO BOSE

Mu ijambo yavugije kuri Radiyo ku itariki ya 18/2/93 Minisitiri Landc, umututsi ukorana bikomeye na FPR-inkotanyi, yasabye ko abakuwe mu byabo n'inyenzi barundanywa hamwe bose ndetse n'abategetsi babo kugira ngo inkotanyi zibone uko zibarasira hamwe nk'uko ziri kubigenza mu duce zihingutseme ntihasigare n'ubo kubara uko bvagenze. Nk'ubwo koko Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri (we) w'Intebi baracyategereje iki kugira ngo bambure uwo mwanzi wa rubanda nyamwinshi Ndasingwa Minisiteri y'imibereho myizza y'abatutsigusa (bambe y'abaturage). Cyerekana-ba ari ibitso bya FPR. Ibyaribyo byose Habyara na Nsenga babe bitegura kuzaryozwa ubuzima bw'izo nzirakarengane zose.

Rukubayihunga Georges.

AMADENI YA FPR N'UMUGAMBI WAYO WO KOMEKA U RWANDA KURI UGANDA NIBYO BIDINDIZA IMISHYIKIRANO.

Nta narinwe tutavuze ko inyenzi zidashobora guhemukira ikinyoma. Ndetse muribuka ko mbere y'uko imishyikirano y'i Arusha itangira twari twabivuze. Ibyo zisherutse gukora guhera tariki ya 8 Gashyantare byerekanye ko rwose inyenzi zikundira ikinyo-makurusha byose. Impamvu ziteraiyo ngeso ni nyinshi : inyenzi zariye imyenda myinshi zidashobora kwishyura haramutse habaye gusa igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Kereka igihugu cyose zicyeguriwe cyangwa zikacyiha. Ni bwo buryo bwonyine bushoboka kugira ngo zishyure. Aha biragaragara ko libikorerwa Arusha n'ahandi ari uburyo bwo kurangaza mbere na mbere ingabo z'u Rwanda n'amahanga. Amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yo muri Kanama 1991 yakorewe kugira ngo inyenzi zongere zisuganye, zishake ibikoresho n'abantu maze zibutse imirwano. Zabigezeho zitwikiriye imishyikirano ya Arusha.

Abacengera cyane iyi ntambara bemeza ko ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi ariko ku mpande zombi habuze ubihingutsa. FPR ifite abahutu b'udukingirizo bayifasha kubeshya amahanga n'aho u Rwanda rwabuze intwari isobanura mu kuriuko iyi ntambara iteye. Iyo ntwari igomba kuva hagati ya Perezida wa Repubulika na Minisitiri w'Intebe. Abo bantu bombi nibo batuma iyi ntambara itarangira. Turizera ko umunsi batangarije kuri Radiyo Rwanda ko iyi ntambara ari iy'abahutu n'abatutsi itazamara amezi atatu itararangira. Bitabaye ibyo, iyi ntambara ifitenk'indi myaka itatu imbere yayo.

Gahunda ya Museveni yerekana-ko u Rwanda rugomba komekwa kuri Uganda. Muri icyogihe abahutu bo mu Nduga no mu Rukiga bazatemagurwa nta kureba ishyaka barimo cyangwa akamaro bagiriye inyenzi kugira ngo zitsinde. Museveni yabeshye Libiya ko u Rwanda nirumara gusatwa rwo na Uganda bizahita bihinduka igihugu cy'abayisilamu. N'u Burundi ngo busobora kuzomekwa kuri icyo gihugu.

Banyarwanda mugikunze igihugu cyanyu, muribonera neza ko iyo migambi idashobora kugerwaho habaye igabana ry'ubutegetsi. Tubikutseko hari igitekerezo inkotanyi zigeze gu-

tanga muri Arusha I cy'uko Guverino-ma y'u Rwanda yakwisyura kimwe cya kabiri cy'amasafaranga zakoresheje zirwana. Icyo gitekerezo ntabwo cyatinzweho. Noneho zabonye biteye isoni. Uko biri kose, tuzirikane ko icyo kintu cyavuzzwe.

Gr. Kayibanda ati : «ugomera igihugu si umunyarwanda». Twe twate-kerezaga ko iriya mishyikirano ya Arusha izabuza inyenzi kugomera u rwanda noneho zikaba Abanyarwanda nk'abandi. Mu kwakira 1990 ubwo za-teraga zarwanye mu buryo bwa gisirikari buzwi (guerre classique) nyamara icyo gihe tukazita inyeshyamba. None ubu ziri kurwana bunyeshyamba ni-bwo badusaba kuzita ahavandimwe. Abenshi mu banyapolitiki b'uru Rwanda aho baketse kuzasanga umutwe bazahasanga amaguru maze bumirwe !

Mbere ya tariki 8 Gashyantare, abakunzi b'Inkotanyi bari bamaze kwiyongera, none ubu ibintu birage-nda birushaho kuzamba. Uko abayo-boke hamwe na bamwe b'amashyaka batahura ubusuma bw'inyenzi niko mu mashyaka harimo hagenda havuka ikibazo cyo kutabona kimwe umwanzi.

Ni muri urwo rwego muri MDR bata-nyiye gutanga andi makarita mashya y'abaparmehutu. Ngo abatabyemera baziivremo n'ubundi nta cyo bari bammariye iringa shyaka ry'umueyo usibye gutuma riseba. Tariki ya 25/02/1992, MDR yasohove itangazo rivuga ibibazo igihugu kirimo birebana n'amashyaka n'intambara. Muri iringa tangazo harimo icyifuzo cy'uko ingabo z'u Bufaransa zagirwa nyinshi kurushaho, zikageranku bishumbi mirongo itatu (30.000).

Nyamara mu gihugu cy'i Burundi, Twagiramungu Faustin, Perezida wa MDR, ari mu basinyiye ko Abafaransa batahuka, PSD na PDC nayo yageze i Bujumbura asinyira amaseze-rano atandukanye n'ibyo abayoboke b'ayo mashyaka bari basabye. Mu yandi magambo FPR iragenda igonganisha abayoboke b'ishyaka iri n'iri kugira ngo ibone uburyo ikomeza gusaru-rira mu nduru.

Arusha, Bujumbura,, Dar-Es-

Salam ni muzunga FPR ishaka kubiyanisha abanyamashyaka kugira ngo ibone uko ifata ubutegetsi. Guhura bahindagura ahabera imishyikirano si-byo bizagarura amahoro ahubwo ni uburyo bwo kujijisha. Naho ubundi ntabwo FPR izemera kugabana ubutegetsi n'ishyaka iringa ari ryo ryose. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo irusheho kugira icyizere cy'umutekano w'abayoboke bayo baranzwe n'ubugome. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo ibashe kwikoreramo noneho yishyure imyenda y'abandi cyane cyane iya MUSEVENI. Ibukeneye yonyine kugira ngo, idindize demokarasi nk'uke Museveni yayidindije muri Uganda.

Kangura.

GATABAZI ARASONGA ABAKU-WE MU BYABO:

Mu basenyerwa na MINITRA-PÉ higanjemo abanyaruhengeri n'abanyabyumba bahungiyre mu mujiyi wa Kigali. Abenshi bagerageza kuzingazinga ututuri aho babonaga hadatuwe bamaze kumvikana na konseye n'umugenzu i w'imyubakire mu mujiyi. Hari igihe rero kateripirari iza igakubita hasi inzu yuzuye, maze za mpunzi zikabura epfo na ruguru. Ubu se ko zirushaho kwiyongera kandi zikaba zidashoboye kwiyubakira za «cadastres» zizakomeza kuba mu kirenenk'ibisiga. Ese mama aho uwo Gatabazi wanga urunuka abo mu majayaru-guru basee ntianabikorera ubugome ngo yumvishe abo bakiga ? Icyakora agize umutima-muntu w'imbabazi ya-reka izo ngorwa zikabona nazo aho zikinga nka we.

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INZOZI ZA KARENZI KARAKE, UMUKURU W'INYENZI ZO MURI GOMN

Soma Karenzi nk'uko wavuga Kabera. Karenzi birumvikana ko ari izina ry'abatutsi. Nawe niwe, kimwe n'inkotanyi bene wabo. Ni inyenzi mu zindi. Karenzi we cyokora nta bwo asa na ya "mihirimbi itunzwe n'ibitiriri". Casimir Bizimungu yajaga atubwira. Yarize! Azi iby'amategeko, akaba yarananyuze mu ishuri (rikuru?) rya gisirikari iyo za Tanzaniya, "Tanzania Military Academy". N'ubwo akiri umusore, ubu ni "commander" mu nyenzi, nako muri RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army), ishami rya gisirikari ry'umutwe wa RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front). Ni "umukozi" wa OUA kimwe na bagenzi be bo mu Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Sénégéal, Nigeria, bari muri GOMN.

Inyenzi zo muri uwo mutwe w'abasirikari "badafite aho baboga miye", uko ari eshanu, uzibwirwa n'imyambaro itagira amapeti nk'uko kuri bagenzi babo bo mu bindi bihugu bigaragara. Icyapa bafite ni icya OUA, umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afrika. Cyokora iyo witegereje neza isura yabd usanga iteye ukwayo. Ni naho uhita ubona ko uri kumwe n'abantu badasanzwe muri iki gihugu cyokora basa nabene Musingaababa... vrais! Cyane cyane uwitwa Sarto. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabagiriye akabanga muri iyi minsi ibemerera noneho kwambara ibendera ry'u Rwanda n'ubwo bamwe bataryikoza. Wakumva bavuga iki nyarwanda ukibaza niba ari ingabo z'u Rwanda zahindutse abatutsi gusa guisa, ntamuhutu uzirimo. Iyo muganiriye akanya ukumva ibitekerezo by'abo bantu niho ubona ko waguye mu nyenzi z'ingome.

Nizo «ngorane» KANGURA yagize igihe General Ekundayo Opaleye yariyaga kwereka abanyamakuru aho inkotanyi zihanganyo n'ingabo z'u Rwanda mu karere ka Ngarama KANGURA yagize "amatirwe"? yu kujiana mu modoka imwe n'inyenzi Karake Karenzi, "afande" w'inkotanyi ziri muri GOMN, atubohoza kuva i Kigali kugera i Ngaramakugenda no kugaruka. Uwo musore arota byinshi. Iyo nyenzi "ipinga" revolisiyo va rubanda ye mu w'1959, ikaba itanayemora. Birumvikana kandi kuko iyo revolisiyo ariyo yakuye ba sekuru ku kinyoma. Karenzi Karake iwabo ni i Bulinga ya Gitarama. We anemeza ko iyo revolisiyo niba yaranabaye, ngo yapfubye! Cyane cyane ngo tariki ya 5 Nyakanga

1973 igihe ingabo z'iglihugu zagobokaga u Rwanda zikaruvana mu gisimu abanyapolitiki bari baruroshyemo. Twagerageje kumvisha uwo "muvalndimwe" ko revolisiyo "morale" yaje ishimangira iyo mu w'1959, Karenzi azinga umunya. Muri bwa bugome bwazo atti: Habyarimana ntiyafashe imbunda "agashimangira" revolisiyo yo mu w'1959? Natwe rero twaje "kuyishimangira"... n'imbunda.

abafaransa bivangamu bibazo by'abanyarwanda bitabareba. Wamubaza iby'inkunga Museveni atera inkotanyi, Karenzi Karake agaca. Ngo Museveni ni tumureke, yimereye neza n'abanya Uganda. Ni nde se uyobewe ko Museveni yibye abanya Uganda igihugu cyabo. Ngo kubona Museveni adushumuriza inkotanyi ni amakosa ya Habyarimana n'ubutegetsi bwe!!



Impuzamugambi ntabwo ari agatsiko k'aba G.P. 200 nk'uko Karenzi Karake abiota mu bunyenzi bwe.

Karenzi ngo ababazwa nk'uko u Rwanda rutitaye ku kibazo cy'impunzi kugera igihe zitereye. Tumubwira ko ari urwitwazo kuko inyenzi zateye iki-bazo cy'impunzi kiri hafi gukemurwa. Atuvanira inzira ku murima yemeza ko iyo mishyikirano bari barimo ntacyo yari kugeraho. Duhita twibaza niba iy'Arusha nayo itazaba nk'iyo ya mberre. "Commander" Karake arota inkotanyi, zefataga Ruhengeri, Byumba, zageze i Rwamagana, ziconga mbore mpa kada. Nyamijos! Iyo zigeze i rare, ni i Rulindo ngo ziri vo Karenzi ntivivumvicha ukurta ingabo z'u Rwanda dzisiribiza inyuma zikaha zazigezaho muri Uganda. Ngo abu "banda" (inkotanyi) bararakaye, ari nako atweneza ko igihugu cyabo "inkotanyiland" kigenda gikura. Nyamara iyo nyenzi ntimenye ko uretse guverinoma y'icytso ya Nsengiyaremye yahagaritsi imi rwano, invenzi va nvuma iba ibarizwa ku mupaka!

Mu bibabaza cyane "commander" Karenzi harimo abasirikari b'Abafaransa bari ino ariko cyane cyane Prezida w'icyo gihugu, François Mitterrand yita "interahamwe". Kuri we ngo

Karenzikimwen'inyenzi bene wabo bari mu karere ka Ngarama, bemeza ko bagaba ibitero mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 bari bagamije "kububa Leta ya Habyarimana gukomeza kwica abatutsi n'abagogwe". Wamubaza niba kuza wica abaturage b'inzirakarengane ariko guhosha imviruru, agahakana ko inyenzi atarizo zishe abaturage mu Ruhengeri n'i Byumba. Ngo abapfuye bisinwe ku buryo bw'impanuka cyaringwa se bivuqanwe n'ingabo z'u Rwanda! Ni nde se uyobewe ko inyenzi zefataga abahutu cyane cyane bo muri MRND na CDR zikabashyira mu nzu zairangiza zikabatwikiramo? Wapta by'impanuka warangiza ukirundarunda (waptrive) hamwe n'abandi? Karenzi Karake iyo muganiriye usanga afite amayeri menshi. Ibyo birasanzwe dore ko ari n inkotanyi. Ari nako ahishe byinshi. Umuntu ukumvisha ko nta moko mu Rwanda abaho! Ngo umuyarwanda nta bwoko agira, nta muhutu, nta mututsi, nta mutwa. Nyamara iyo urebye imirambo y'inyenzi, ikiyiranga ni uburebure n'utuzuru tureture. Kandi gutinya kuvuga ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi byonyine bihishe byinshi.

BURUNDI : Buyoya arasiganwa n'igihe.

Umugabo Petero Buyoya, Perezida w'u Burundi, yatewe atunguwe. Afata ubutegetsi tariki ya gatatu Nzeri 1987 yari azi ko azamara igihe kirekire ku butegetsi bityo agakomeza umurage wa ba sekuru be b'abatutsi wo gu-kandamiza abahutu b'i Burundi uko ingoma na Repubulika ntutsi bizaya bisimburana. Nyamara Buyoya yasenze yaribeshe. Iminsi y'igisambo iba ibaze. Bavuga ko ari mirongo ine n'u-mwe. Buyoya nawe ari hafi kwibonera ukuri twagiye tumubwira akakwirengangiza. Ubwoba afite nibwo butuma atakiba i Bujumbura akaba yirirwa azengurika intara z'u Burundi kugira ngo arebe ko ikinyoma cye cyafashe. Icyo tuzi ni uko azatangara.

Buyoya yatewe atunguwe kuko ntiyari azi ko mu Burundi havuka andi mashyaka atari ay'abatutsi gusa. Igihe kiregereje ngo abana b'abahutu nabolice ku ntebe y'ubutegetsi. Na Buyoya arabibona. Amezi asigaye arabarirwa ku mitwe y'intoki. Ni ejo bundi me kwe gatendatu ukuri kugatsinda binyuze mu matora. Ni ejo bundi, ukuri Buyoya n'abatutsi bene wabo bako-meje kwirengangiza, kukakya ahagaragara. Uko kuri guteye gutya: imbaga nyamwinshi y'abahutu i Burundi igize 85 ku ijana y'Abarundi bose izipakura agatsiko k'abatutsi nyakamwe batarenze 14 ku ijana by'abaturage. Ako gatsiko kakaba kari kamaze ibinyejana

Kubwira Karenzi ko hari ishyaka CDR riharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu, uba ushaka ko mushwana. Kuri we, CDR ngo ni "abicyani" b'aba GP (barinda Perezida wa Repubulika) batarenze... 200! CDR ngo akaba ari "ikibwana" cya MRND. Ngo kuba FPR yaremereye CDR umwanya umwe mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko (abadepite) muri guverinoma itaha, ni imbabazi. Ukipaza icyo inyenzi ari cyo kugira ngo zitegeke abantu bagize 85 ku ijana by'abanyarwanda bose. Inzozi za Karenzi uwazirondora ntiyarangiza. Gusa iyo nyenzi buri gihe ishiduka isanga ingabo z'u Rwanda zihagaze neza ku rugamba, imirambo y'inyenzi ari yose. Icyizere cye kigahita kiyoyoka. Burya koko inzozi zigira nkana. Hari igihe Karenzi nawe (aka ya ndirimbo) rimwe azarota... sa cherie!

bine ku ngoma, kica, kagakiza. Buyoya kubona yirirwa mu ntara z'u Burundi, si ugukunda abaturage ashinzwe kuyobora. Dore ko abatuye icyaro mu Burundi, abenshi ari abahutu. Nibo batunze abatutsi badakozwa imirimo y'amaboko. Abo bananganenzi b'abatutsi bibera mu migi cyane cyane i Bujumbura.

dahumuka muri politiki abatutsi bongere bibe ubutegetsi. Ari nayo mpamvu ashiracyane cyane imbere Uprona ndetse n'igikomangoma, Louis Rwagasore. Ni uko yizera ko abarundi batari bavumbura amayeri y'abatutsi. Burya rero si bunno. Buyoya abe ashaka aho azahungira abahutu bamaze gu-tsinda. Kuko rubanda izamubaza ibyo



Buyoya niba yirirwa azenguruka intara z'i Burundi aba agamije kureba niba ikinyoma cye cyarafashe. Aba ashaka kureba niba abaturage bagisinzirije na bwa "bumwe" bw'abarundi abeshyeshya kugira ngo aramuke. Radiyo Burundi, twemeza ko iri mu maboko y'abatutsi, kandi birumvika-na, nayo yunganira buri gihe Buyoya mu kinyoma cye. Niyo yirirwa "isamira" yemeza ko ngo "ubumwe" bw'abarundi bwagezweho! None se Buyoya ahangayikishijwe n'iki ko "ubumwe" bw'abarundi buhari?

Ikihitisha Buyoya turakizi. Arashaka kuroha abarundi mu matora ya hutu hutu kugira ngo abafatanye no ku-

abatutsi bene wabo bakoze. Ubuungirotibubuze, mukuru we Museveni azamwakira nk'uko yakiriye Bagaza. Cyokora yagira vuba kuko hari igihe atazaba agishoboye no guhunga. Kandi ni vuba. Nta na rimwe Kangura yigeze itsindwa imanza zerekerye n'ibyo yandika kuri Buyoya na guverinoma ye. Bahutu mwese rero b'i Burundi ni mwumve ko ibyo twavuze kandi tuvuga kuri Buyoya ari ukuri: arangwa n'igitugu, ubwicanyi, irondakoko, isahuramutungo, n'ibindi... Bahutu rero nimushyira hamwe, gas Zamvururu Major Pierre Buyoya aza-byara ibuhumye nka ya mbwa...



Uhereye ibumoso ugana iburyo ni ba conseillers J. B. Barayagwiza.

H. Ngeze na Perezida Bucyana ba CDR

«Gushyira abavanywe mu byabo n'inyenzi hagati y'Inzirabwoba n'Inkotanyi ni ubugambanyi».