N°38

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI.

GICURASI 1992

KA02 1658

- INGUTIYA Z'IBIZUNGEREZI ZISIGAYE ZINUKIRA ABAHUTU.
- ESE BUGYANA NA MUG... BABI BAREBANA AY'INGW...
- AGAKUNGU KA MDR NA PL.
- AHO NO KU NY...NDO IKI... KYE KIKIRAZA GUTURIKA
- NIGANIRIYE NA NSENGIYAREMYE.

CDR IGIPIMO CY'UBUHUTU

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EDITORIAL

GUVERINOMA YA NSENGIYAREMYE ITEYE ITE ?

KA02 1659

Muri iyi minsi imitwe irashyushye kurushaho. Byatangiye cyane cyane aho Perezida HABYARIMANA abanje, mbere yo gushyiraho Guverinoma ya kabiri y'inzibacyuho, gusaba ishyaka MDR gutanga abakandida batandatu bashobora kuvamo Minisitri w'Intebe. Bamwe babonye ko byoroshye kubabona mu ishyaka rimwe, ariko ntibisobanure. Abandi bavuze ko bigoye ndetse bakisobanura. Baragize bati: "abantu batandatu ntibanganya ubushobozi. Muri urwo rwego rw'ubushobozi haboneka uwa mbere, abari hagati n'uwa nyuma. Ibyo kandi bishobora kubonwa na ba nyiri ishyaka bonyine. None se Prezida wa Repubulika aramutse abahitiyemo ufite ubushobozi buke, ntiyaba abagushijemo?". Hari abageze aho bibaza niba kiriya cyemezo cyo kwaka abantu batandatu kitari kigamije gushyira ahagaragara amakimbirane y'uturere ari hagati y'abarwanashyaka ba MDR. Nka TWAGIRAMUNGU wadukanye intero yo kuvuga ngo abakiga bagomba kubambura ubutegetsi, yari kwemera akaba icyo ntazi ariko ntihagire umukandida wo mu majyaruguru utangwa. Ni muri urwo rwego ari mu bagiye kubonana na Perezida wa Repubulika, bakamusobanurira ko kubona batandatu mu masaha 24 bigoye, mbese bidashoboka.

Perezida wa Repubulika ntabwo yatinze kubumva. Ubwo aba abemereye uwo bashakaga. Ibyo byumvikaniye kuri Radiyo Rwanda ku mugoroba wo kuwa 02 Mata 1992. Nta wundi ni Muganga w'Amatungo NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas. Yasabwe kugira vuba agashyiraho Guverinoma izamufasha gukemura ibibazo igihugu kirimo, cyane cyane ikibazo cy'intambara. Ndumva icyo kibazo kitazagora Minisitiri wacu wa kabiri w'Intebe kuko iruhande rwe azaba afite abaminisitiri bagenzi be baturutse muri ya mashyaka aririmba ko afite insinzi y'intambara. Abanyarwanda bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara barifuza ko ari cyo gitego cyonyine abatsindira aho kuririmba ko bagitsinze babona Minisitiri w'Intebe. Kuri bo ibindi bizaza nyuma.

Noneho NSANZIMANA ntiyahiriwe na politiki ye yo gushaka igikundiro muri Guverinoma yashinzwe.

Dusubiye inyuma tukareba imikorere y'uwamubanjirije, dusanga mu gihe gito ubutegetsi yarabuzambije kurushaho. Bamubwiye gushyira abakozi aho babura we akeka ko ari ukwirukana no kwikiza abo adashaka. Mu kujyaho yari azi neza ko Guverinoma ayoboye ari inzibacyuho, ariko yiha gutanga imigambi y'imyaka itanu. Ese yifuzaga ko turangiza iyo myaka yose turi muri ayo! Si ibyo gusa. Hari abantu yatumye basohora amafranga ya Leta batabifitiye uburenganzira, hari abirukanye abakozi nta bubasha bafite, Mineprisec ayisinyira ibyo itemerewe gukora. Ibyo bijyana na kamere afite yo gushaka igikundiro mu bo ayobora, aho gukora nyabyo imirimo ashinzwe. Nk'uko yari ahawe kuyobora Guverinoma, abantu bamubanye benshi ku buryo amayeri yamupfubanye maze akarushaho "kuzikama mu gatama". Nyamara akiri Ministri w'Ubutabera abari baraguye muri uwo mutego w'igikundiro ni benshi, noneho bamukekaho ubushobozi bibeshya.

Minisitiri w'Intebe wa kabiri, Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas asabwe kwitegereza amakosa yakozwe n'uwamubanjirije maze bikamubera isomo. Abanyarwanda bakeneye intwari ibakiza mbere na mbere iyi ntambara. Ibyo ishyaka rye ryanengaga NSANZIMANA, agomba kugaragaza ko akwiye kubirenga. Bitabaye ibyo nawe kamuhagararana mu gihe gito. Ikindi NSENGIYAREMYE atagomba kwibagirwa, ni uko ari we byaba byaragaragayeho ko afite ubushobozi bwo kuyobora Guverinoma aturutse muri MDR. Naramuka azindaye rero, hazagerageza irindi shyaka.

Kunigira rubanda nyamwinshi muri politiki.

Impunzi niziramuka zitashye akiri mu mwanya w'Intebe, azibuke ko zizazamo abadogiteri beshyi bashobora kuba baruta abo u Rwanda rufite ubu, kimwe n'abandi banyamashuri batari bake kandi b'ingeri zose. Birazwi cyane ko mu bihugu impunzi zirimo zaranzwe (kandi biracyakomeza) no kwiga kurusha ibindi byose. Icyo kibazo kiramutse kitizwe neza, zagera mu Rwanda, noneho kubera amashuri yazo menshi ugasanga zahawe imyanya itabarika mu butegetsi. Ingaruka ikaba kunigira rubanda nyamwinshi muri Politiki. Bityo ubwinshi ku bw'umubare bukaganzwa na bake ariko mu by'ukuri akaba aribo - muri icyo gihe- benshi mu bitekerezo. Ahari aho PL isanzwe ikorana na MDR izacengeza ibitekerezo bya "nta cyo bitwaye"!

Amashyaka nayo muri iki gihe ntiyorohewe. Imyanya yahawe ishobora guhungabanya amashyaka ubwayo. Nka MRND yahawe imyanya idahwanye n'umubare w'amaperefegitura. Byarayigoye rero kubona abayihagararira muri Guverinoma kandi baturutse mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda. Mu gihe icyo kibazo cyayigoye kandi ifite imyanya icyenda yose, andi mashyaka yo "yarebaga imirari". MDR yagerageje gusaranganya imyanya itatu gusa yahawe ariko bamwe mu bayoboke barayirega ivangura ry'uturere, no ku yandi mashyaka icyo kibazo kirahari.

Kugira ngo imyanya ibashe gusaranganywa neza amashyaka yose icyarimwe, twasanze yarageragaje kwita kuri ibi bikurikira:

a) Muri perefegitgura iyi n'iyi tuhafite ingufu zihagije. Kubera iyo mpamvu tuhakuye Minisitiri byadufasha mu gukomeza kuhagwiza abayoboke.
b) Perefegitura ishyaka rifitemo abayoboke bake, ryashoboye kuhakura umunisitiri kugira ngo azashake abayoboke iwabo benshi kurushaho.
c) Amashyaka avangura amoko

yashoboye kujijisha, noneho atanga umuminisitiri w'agakingirizo.

d) Umuntu ukundwa cyane muri Perefegitura avukamo, kandi ufite ubushobozi yabaye Minisitiri.

e) Ishyaka ritagifite icyo riramira muri Perefegitura iyi n'iyi, ntiryahageneye umuminisitiri.

Izo ngingo uko ari eshanu twazihawe n'abantu 175 twabashije gukoraho iperereza mu mujyi wa Kigali. Bageze aho batubwira abantu batekerezaga ko bashobora kuba barabaye ba Minisitiri ariko dusanze atari ngombwa kubavuga amazina.

Ikindi gitangaje muri iyi Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ya kabiri ni Perefegitura ya Kibuye yahawe akato. Indwara yaba irwaye ituma batayegereza izindi Perefegitura ntawayimenya. Nyamara amashyaka yose ari muri Guverinoma ahafite abayoboke bafite ubushake, ubushobozi... Hagati aho hanze aha baravugako Murego natagirwa Perezida wa MDR azaba akubiswe "ishoka".

GITARAMA niyo yiganza muri Guverinoma ikaba ifite abaminisitiri bane wongeyeho na Minisitiri w'Intebe. Nyamara Kibuye barayikarabije. Yagorwa, yagorwa bahu!! Aho si uburyo bwo gukanda ka gahanda ka kaburimbo kayihuza na GITARAMA yari igiye kwibonera!!!

"Minisitiri w'Intebe azashobora kumvisha Inkotanyi ko zireka kurwana" ?

Dore Guverinoma ya kabiri y'inzibacyuho izamara amezi 12.

Perefegitura	AMAZINA	ISHYAKA	MINISITERI
1. KIGALI	1. MUNYAZESA F.	MRND	MININTER
	2. NDENGEJEHO P.	MDR	MININFOR
	3. NDASINGWA L.	PL	MINITRASO
2. GITARAMA	1. NZABONIMANA C.	MRND	MIJEUMA
	2. RUHUMURIZA G.	PDC	ubukerarugendo n'ibidukikije
	3. RUGENERA M.	PSD	MINIFIN
	4. NTAMABYARIRO A.	PL	MINICOMART
3. BUTARE	1. GATABAZI F.	PSD	MINITRAPE
	2. UWILINGIYIMANA A.	MDR	MINEPRISEC
	3. NYIRAMASUHUKO P.	MRND	Umuryango no guteza imbere abategarugori
4. GIKONGORO	1. MBANGURA D.	MRND	MINESUPRES
	2. NZAMURAMBAHO F.	PSD	MINAGRI
5. CYANGUGU	1. NTAGERURA A.	MRND	MINITRANSCO
6. KIBUYE	0	0	0
7. GISENYI	1. NGIRABATWARE A.	MRND	MINIPLAN
8. RUHENGERI	1. BIZIMUNGU C.	MRND	MINISANTE
	2. NGURINZIRA B.	MDR	MINAFFET
	3. NBONAMPEKA S.	PL	MINIJUST
9. BYUMBA	1. GASANA J.	MRND	MINADEF
10. KIBUNGO	1. MUGIRANEZA P.	MRND	MINIFOP

KA02 1660

NTIBISANZWE MU NGABO Z'U RWANDA.

Hashize imyaka irenga makumyabiri ingabo z'u Rwanda zifite minisitiri w'umusirikari. Ubu rero ingabo zacu zahawe umuninistiri mushya w'umusivili. Benshi bemeza ariko ko byagoranye kumushyiraho. Uwo ni GASANA James. Iyo umuntu yibajije impamvu NDINDIRIYIMANA atahamanye uwo mwanya asanga byaratewe n'uko abasirikari batemerewe kujya muri politiki nk'uko itegekonshinga ribivuga. Cyakora NDINDIRIYIMANA ashobora kuba Chef d'Etat-Major Général. Ibyo ntibisobanura ko afite amahirwe yose yo gufata uwo mwanya. Ubu dosiye ye ihanganye n'iya NSABIMANA. Ni umwanya utoroshye kuko GASANA azareba ibya politiki y'ingabo n'aho Chef d'Etat-Major Général akaba umuhuzabikorwa bya gisirikari.

Umutekano uhangayikishije benshi:

Hari abantu bicwa bahohotewe. Ubwo bugizi bwa nabi bukorwa n'ibisambo kimwe n'abagamije kwegeka amakosa kuri Repubulika ya II mu buryo bushoboka bwose. Ni muri urwo rwego haba hari amashyaka atega za "mines" agatera amagrenadi mu ngo no mu baturage. Aha umuntu yakwibaza niba ubwo bunyamaswa butagiye guhagarara kubera ko bene gukekwa kubitega binjijwe muri guverinoma ndetse n'abafunzwe mu byitso bakaba baragabiwe kuba ba minisitiri.

Izindi mpamvu zituma umutekano uhangayikisha benshi ni ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, ubucamanza bukora nabi muri rusange, abo Leta yasenyeye ntibishyure, abakozi bafashwe nabi n'abakoresha babo, abafite inyota yo gusahura muri ibi bihe by'inzibacyuho, kuba hari abitiranya demokarasi n'inyungu z'akarere cyangwa izabo bwite, politiki itinya umuturanyi ku buryo budasanzwe...

NYABYENDA Issa

KA02 1661

CDR, IGIPIMO CY'UBUHUTU.

"Iyo umuntu yatse ikarita ya CDR bashyira intoki ebyiri muri buri zuru rye zakwirwamo akabona kwemererwa kuba umuyoboke w'iryo shyaka". Iyo ni imwe mu mvugo usangana abitabiriye guharabika CDR. Icyakora nyine nubwo babivuga mu rwenya byari bikwiye kubera umuhutu isomo. Abandi nabo ngo iryo shyaka ritanga ikarita, ikibiriti n'umupanga. Ubwo koko murumva ako gashinyaguro; zaba ari Imana zidasanzwe u Rwanda rwibarutse ishyaka riha umuturage igikoresho akenera buri munsi. Ese kuki abo ba bwenge buke batavuga ko PL yo itanga ikarita iherekejwe na mine, kalashinikove na katiyusha. Ari umuhoro ari bombe ikirimbura imbaga nyamwinshi ni ikihe?

Muri iyi nkubi y'amashyaka menshi birasanzwe ko hagira amapariti ahangana koko ku mugaragaro. Byarabaye nyine: nka MDR na MRND byakanyujijeho bipfa ubutegetsi gusa, byarimba hakivangamo n'ikibazo cy'uturere. Ku bitekerezo nakwita ibya politiki (idéologie) ho ayo mashyaka ntaho ataniye na busa. Ashobora guhererekanya amahame-remezo na sitati biyagenga ntihagire ubona ko hari icyahindutse. Gusa MDR yikanze ahari ko MRND yayirusha ubukaka maze ihitamo yo kwiyegereza PL na PSR. Abazi gushishoza ariko basanze ayo mashyaka MDR yiyambaje ari udushami twa FPR y'inkotanyi izi zari zigambiriye kurimbura icyitwa umuhutu cyose. Maze abari bizeye ko MDR ari ya PARMEHUTU igarutse kubarengera nko mu bihe bya Revolusiyo ya 1959 barumirwa.

Abahutu b'inkwakuzi babonye akagambane ka MDR no guhuzagurika kwa MRND yari imaze kunanirwa kandi igakomeza kwita ku nyungu z'abatutsi gusa batanayibishimira, bahanga CDR ishyaka rirengera Demokarasi na Repubulika, rigaharanira byimazeyo umutekano n'imibereho myiza bya rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu. Amahame-shingiro yaryo arabisobanura ku buryo bwumvikana. Ngaho rero wowe wiyita umuhutu byerekane dore igipimo cyabonetse! Ibyaribyo byose biteye agahinda kubona umuhutu yihanukira agasebya ishyaka ryita mbere na mbere ku bwoko bwe ahubwo ugasanga arakundwakaza iry'abatifuza ko anabaho. Ese mu by'ukuri iyo inkotanyi zitsinda ninde muhutu wibwira ko aba agitaratamba kuri iyi si? Kurwanya ubutegetsi buriho nicyo koko cyatuma umuntu ata ubwenge bikagera naho yicira ubwe urwo gupfa? Nyamuneka tujye dushyira mu gaciro; Kangura ihora ibyibutsa uretse ko kwigisha ibigoryi ubanza bisa no kugosorera mu rucaca. Ntabwo twese dushyigikiye MRND ndetse bamwe tuyirwanya ku mugaragaro; ariko ntibyagombye na busa kubera umurwanashyaka uzwiho ubushishozi intandaro yo kuroha umuhutu mu menyo ya za rubamba ngo ni ugushaka guhirika ingoma ya Habyarimana. Ese uwamukuraho mu nzira ya demokarasi atagombye kwisunga umwanzi wa twese kandi ko bishoboka yaba ahombye iki, ko ndetse na rubanda rwose rwamwanva?

Ingero ni nyinshi zigaragaza ko CDR yagombaga koko kuvuka maze abiharangaga ngo nabo ni abahutu bakerekana ubuhutu bwabo aho bushingiye n'aho bwapimirwa. Umututsi we rwose yiyerekanye uko ari, arengera inyungu z'abo bahuje ubwoko bonyine nta kuzuyaza. Nimwibuke namwe inkotanyi z'abatutsi zateye igihugu zicyoreka mu miborogo no mu midugararo idateze kurangira, abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi b'abasivili n'abasirikari barapfa, hangizwa ibintu igihugu kitazongera kugeraho ukundi. Maze abashinzwe umutekano bihaye gufata ibyitso byiganjemo nyine abatutsi byafatanywe igihanga amahanga arahaguruka-ariko avumbuwe n'abatutsi-arengera abo babisha, ba avoka b'isi yose barasizora ngo ubwo bwoko bw'Imana ntibukorweho naho bwakosa gute. Nyamara abahutu bo na n'ubu bakicwa nk'imibu kuva intambara yatangira ntabwo bafatwa nk'ikiremwa-muntu gikwiye kurenganurwa nk'uko induru zavugiwe ku Bagogwe. N'ejo bundi mu Bugesera abatutsi bashoje urugamba bafata iya mbere mu kwica no gutwikira abahutu ariko amahanga na Leta y'u Rwanda bihagurukira kurengera umututsi wenyine no gushyirisha mu kagozi abahutu gusa kandi barengana. Hari n'aho koko umuminisitiri w'ubutabera yavuga ngo hagomba gufungwa abahutu kuko basanzwe ari nabo benshi mu gihugu. Ese iringaniza ryananiranye ahandi ku buryo ryateje imbere umututsi gusa rigiye noneho kuzajya ryubahirizwa muri gereza kugira ngo huzuzwemo abahutu basa? Maze kubera ko ari abahutu bafunzwe nta n'inyoni yo mu kirere ibitaho ngo babe banaburanirwa. N'abashoboye kwigaragaza ni abo kunganira parike mu kurushaho gukanda utwo dusimba tw'abahutu.

Ubwo hagati aho ariko CDR iba yaritaye mu gutwi maze yiyemeza kuburanira iyo rubanda nyamwinshi yo mu Bugesera ishaka guhohoterwa. Ubwo iba ihatsinze igitego cy'umutwe abantu benshi batasobanukiwe kandi iracyakomeza. Buri muhutu wese araritswe rero gushyigikira icyo gikorwa cy'ingirakamaro cya CDR no kunganira muri byose iryo shyaka. Ese mama kuki ubutegetsi budafata ababyeyi bohereza abana babo babishaka mu nkotanyi ziturasa? Kuki budakurikirana abishe umukonseye n'abandi baturage bo muri ako karere bahowe ko ari abahutu? Kuki Mugenzi na PL ye bashoje imvururu zahitanye abantu n'ibintu hanyuma hagafungwa abahutu basagariwe ngo ni uko bashatse kwitabara? Ahubwo biratangaje kubona ishyaka nka MDR ryifatanya n'umwanzi "waryo" mu kurwanya ryihanukiriye umuhutu ngo ubwo ahari rirahima ubutegetsi.

Nta minsi ishize u Burundi bushyize u Rwanda mu majwi ngo rufasha ababutera. Icyakora ibinyoma byambaye ubusa byabwo byo biramenyerewe. Buri gihe iyo buhuye n'ikibazo cy'umutekano iwabwo cyangwa cy'amakimbirane hagati y'amoko usanga abo bategetsi b'abatutsi gusa bitakana u Rwanda

kandi rurengana. Baba bashaka intandaro yo gutikiza abahutu babo. Ni ukubyitondera ariko kuko bishoboka ko ari imwe mu migambi y'inkotanyi mu cyiciro zigezemo; zirashaka wenda kuvundurukira noneho i Burundi! Icyo tutari tumenyereye ariko ni inkunga ishyaka MDR abantu benshi bari bayobotse ritera abo banyabinyoma. Uwasomye itangazo riherutse gushishimurwa na bamwe mu bari ku isonga ya MDR ntiyabuze kwifata impungenge. Icyakora umuntu yakwibaza niba abayoboke b'iryo shyaka bashyigikiye koko imyifatire-bukotanyi y'ababayobora. Kuki izo ngambanyi zitavuze nibura ko zitazi neza ibyo bintu maze zigasaba ahubwo ubutegetsi kwisobanura neza aho gusa n'izemeza iby'u Burundi burindagiriramo burimanganya.

Ntibyaciriye aho ahubwo iryo tangazo risekeje rishaka kwikoma CDR. Aho ho ishyaka ryaryitiriwe rishatse ryacisha make kuko rikomeje kwiha guharabika rubanda nyamwinshi n'abaharanira inyungu zarwo byarigora. Ubu se ko abanyarwanda bagize igice kinini cy'abaturage bayobotse CDR n'abari bakijijinganya bakaba barayigarukiye ubudasubirwaho ubwo izo nyanga-rubanda zindi zizahagararira ku ki? Nta soni koko kumva umuhutu yunganira u Burundi nkaho ari igicucu kitazi ibihabera. Rero bamwe bagaragariye mu mahanga aho batagize akabanga ko gushyigikira ibikorwa by'ubugome n'ibinyoma bisesuye by'umwanzi. Abandi nabo bagashishikarira gusebya ingabo zacu mu biganiro mbwirwaruhame no muri za mitingi. Niba baba bagira ngo abasirikare bacu baracika intege cyangwa babe basubiranamo aho ho imibare yabo yabapfanye uruhenu. Inzirabwoba ziri maso, zizahora zirengera ubusugire bwa Repubulika n'imibereho myiza y'abaturarwanda.

Njya nibaza nk'umuntu uri ku isonga y'ishyaka -yabitorerwa cyangwa ataranatowe- werura agatsindagira intero y'abadutera n'ibyitso byabo ukuntu yabigenza aramutse ageze ku butegetsi bw'igihugu. Icyakora cyeretse nabwo yishyizeho ku ngufu z'amasasu nk'uko inyenzi-nkotanyi zabigerageje bikazipfana naho ubundi nta n'ijwi rya kirazira yakwisarurira mu baturage batagipfa kubesheshwa amahomvu. CDR itaraza abantu benshi bagiye mu ma pariti anyuranye kubera impamvu zitandukanye; bamwe babikuraga ku mutima abandi bagakurikira butama. None rero ubwo haje iryo shyaka rifite intego zihamye kandi zidafifitse zo kurengera umuhutu, igihe kirageze cyo kuriyoboka no kuriyoboramo buri munyarwanda wese w'umutima witaye mbere na mbere kubifitiye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Uwaba yari yaranyuze ahandi ntibyamubuza kugaruka mu murongo uboneye wa CDR kuko kugeza ubu inkotanyi arizo zitava ku izima. CDR nayo izakomeza kubera abanyarwanda bose urumuri rutazima n'ingabo y'umutamenwa, ishusho n'igipimo cya bwa buhutu butari ubwo mu ndangamuntu gusa.

KANGURA.

UBUTIRIGANYA N'UBUSHIZI BW'ISONI BYA TWAGIRAMUNGU FAUSTIN BIFITE INKOMOKO.

Twasomye N° 40 Bis y'ISIBO aho bavugaga ibyerekeye Twagiramungu Fawusitini, none tubonye ari ngombwa kugira icyo tubibabwiraho kuko twe tumuzi neza kubarusha. Uwo TWAGIRAMUNGU turaturanye hano iwacu i CYANGUGU, Komini GISHOMA ahitwa i KIRANGA. Turabasaba ko mwaza ino iwacu, mugakora iperereza risesuye kubyo tugiye kubabwira. Twizeye rero ko iyi nyandiko muzayitangaza mu kinyamakuru cyanyu mugatangaza n'iperereza muzaba mwakoze abasomyi bakagereranya; kuko twe tubona ibyo bamuvugaho bishoboka cyane. Turababwira ku nkomoko ye tubabwire n'ibiranga umuryango wabo kuko tubona ibyo byombi ari ngombwa ku muntu uhagarariye ishyaka nka MDR.

1. Inkomoko ya Twagiramungu.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ni umuhungu wa GISHUNGU. Umuryango wabo witwa IBISHUGI ukomoka muri Zayire ari naho abenshi batuye n'ubu. Uwo muryango w'IBISHUGI ni nawo RUKEBA urya wayoboye inyenzi akomokamo. Twatangajwe n'uko Abanyamateka bakunze kuvuga ko uwo RUKEBA yari Umuhutu kandi tuzi ko atari byo, kuko tuzi kandi twemeza ko Ibishugi byose ari Abatutsi buzuye batagira n'umuhutu n'umwe mu gisekuruza cyabo. Impamvu yatumye bihisha mu bahutu bikemerwa, ni uko twe twabitaga Abashi gusa tutazi ko no muri Zayire haba Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Ubwo rero mubimenye Twagiramungu ni umututsi wuzuye na bene wabo bose. Ikindi twemera ni uko GISHUNGU na mukuru we GIFARINGA bimukiye mu Rwanda kera; bagera i Rwanda abari bene wa-

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bo bakabagabira imisozi bagategeka; ndetse ngo byabanje kuvugisha abandi batutsi batari bazi iryo banga, aho babimenyeye baryumaho.

2. Ibiranga umuryango w'Ibishugi.

– GUTUKANA: Bene wabo na Twagiramungu ni abantu bazi kuvuga cyane ariko bakunda gutukana cyane kandi babizi. Twe twarabamenyereye kuko tubita abashi. Muri uwo muryango niyo agukunze ashaka kugusubiza neza ashyiramo igitutsi.

– UBUTIRIGANYA: Bene GISHUNGU na bene GIFARINGA aho bava bakagera ni abantu bazi kwirwanaho mu bibi no mu byiza. Ndetse reka tubamenere ibanga rimwe mu mabanga yabo menshi tuzi. Muzapererereze ku buryo burambuye ku byerekeye Impamyabushobozi (Diplôme) y'uwitwa BAVUGIRIJE Nicolas uvukana na Twagiramungu ubu akaba afite farumasi aho i Kigali. Tuzi ko iyo mpamyabusobozi yigeze imugira umuyobozi mukuru (Directeur général) muri Minisiteri, nyuma akavaho ariko akayigenderaho kugeza abonye pansiyo; nyamara twe tuzi neza ko atigeze arenga umwaka wa kane muri Zayire.

UMWANZURO:

Ibya "Rukokoma" twakomeje kubihishira kuko twamushimagira kuyoboka ishyaka dukunda kandi tumwita Umushi kuko ino twikundira Abazayirwa cyane. Ariko twaje kumwibazaho cyane aho Kangura itangiriye kuvuga ko akorana n'Inkotanyi. Byaduteye akantu kuko twibukaga neza ko inyenzi zateye mu Bugarama no mu Bweyeye harimo bene wabo benshi cyane. Ni naho twahereye dukora iperereza ku bishugi byo muri Zayire tumenya neza ko ari Abatutsi.

Twizeye ko muzatwumva, mukikoreshereza iryanyu perereza niba mukeka ko twaba turi abayoboke ba MRND bashaka guharabika igihangange cya MDR. Tubasabye kubyiga vuba kuko uwo mugabo ashobora kuyobya imbaga kubera akarimi keza ka gitutsi.

Murakoze.

Abayoboke batatu ba MDR, GISHOMA-CYANGUGU.

NIGANIRIRE NA NSENGIYAREMYE.

Ntibyari bisanzwe muri Afurika ko ubutegetsi busangirwa. Nko mu ijambo rye ryo ku wa 12/12/1962 ritangaza itegeko-nshinga rya mbere ry'u Rwanda uwari Perezida Kayibanda ntiyazuyaje avuga ko ariwe mukuru w'igihugu akaba n'uwa guverinoma. Yagize ati: "Iteka-Nshinga ntiryemeye ko Prezida w'Igihugu aduburwa na Ministre Mukuru. Prezida w'Igihugu niwe uzajya anayobora Leta, ayobore politiki y'igihugu cyose afatanyije na ba Ministre atoye mu baturage b'u Rwanda" (ibi biri mu gatabo kitwa "LE PRESIDENT KAYIBANDA VOUS PARLE", page 38, 1er juillet 1964). Habyarimana nawe yabigenje atyo imyaka irashira indi irataha ntawe ukopfora. Muri ibi bihe by'amashyaka menshi rero byabaye ngombwa ko hashyirwaho Minisitiri w'Intebe kuko n'amahanga yatitirizaga ubutegetsi ngo bigende gutyo. Icyakora hari byinshi bitarasobanuka neza mu mikoranire y'inzego zose z'ubutegetsi.

Mu minsi ishize saa yine z'ijoro nibwo Radio-Rwanda yatugejejeho ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubulika rimenyesha abaturarwanda ko umugabo NSENGIYAREMYE Disimasi, umuhutu w'i Gitarama, ariwe yashinze gushyiraho Leta y'inzibacyuho. Mu bikorwa byihutirwa uwo mu minisitiri wa mbere mushya yiyemeje harimo kurangiza intambara, kuzahura ubukungu no guhamya umutekano wa rubanda. Ubwo rero duteze amaso n'amatwi icyo we na Guverinoma ye bazigezaho. Nk'uwashobora se kuganira mu ibanga n'uwo mu Minisitiri Mukuru ku bibazo bimwe na bimwe murakeka ko yabivugaho iki? Umuntu se yakwizera ko amagambo ye azajyana n'ibikorwa rubanda nyamwinshi rumutezeho?

A. POLITIKI MURI RUSANGE:

Ikibazo "Q": Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe ishyaka ryawe n'umukuru w'igihugu bamaze kukugirira icyizere gikomeye bagushinga imirimo itoroshye yo gushyiraho no kuyobora Leta nshya no kubonera umuti w'ibibazo igihugu gifite muri iki gihe. Ubwo se umuntu yahita yizera ko ibyo mwavugiraga muri za mitingi n'ahandi witeguye kubishyira mu bikorwa kandi ukagera ku ntego wiyemeje?

Igisubizo "R": Nashimishijwe n'icyo cyizere nagiriwe kandi nkaba nizeye ko n'abanyarwanda bakimfitiye. Ntabwo ariko mvuze igihango nk'uko tujya tubyumvana bamwe kuko nta kindi umutegetsi apfana n'umuturage uretse kuyoborwa no kuyobora mu gihe cyabigenewe kandi hakurikijwe amategeko ariho. Naho ibyo gushyiraho Guverinoma byo ni ukunyitirirwa gusa kuko amashyaka ubwayo na Perezida wa Repubulika ubwe babifitemo uruhare ndetse rusumbye urwanjye. Nzayobora abo negetsweho! Ibyerekeye umuti w'ingorane u Rwanda ruhura nazo ntabwo nakubeshya ko uzahita uboneka. Ibya za mitingi byo ni mitingi nyine kuko utabusya hari igihe abwita amamera nubwo yaba azi ko ari insobe. Tuzakora ibishoboka twigengesera ariko kubera ko amatora ari hafi, tuyobye ho gato byaturangirana. Ikindi nakumenyesha ni uko jye ntazatsimbarara ku butegetsi. Nimbona bishaka kumbera urujijo nzasubiza iyi kanzu uwayinyambitse. Sinteze kuba aka Nsanzimana wihambiraga ku butegetsi yagombaga kubona ko nta rufatiro ruzima bufite. Amashuri nize, umutungo maze kugeraho nubwo ukiri mutoya n'imbaraga ngifite birampagije ku buryo kugundira ubutware ntabirota no mu nzozi. Nzirinda no kuba igikoresho icyaricyo cyose.

Q: Ubu abantu benshi banenga uburyo amashyaka yateye imirwi za minisiteri asa n'asahuranwa bikagaragara ko yishakiraga inyungu zayo zonyine, byumvikaniye no mu biganiro byacaga kuri radiyo. Hanyuma se ni ukuvuga ko buri minisiteri izagendera kuri porogarame y'ishyaka ryayigabanye? Abakozi se bazajya bashyirwa mu myanya hakurikijwe amashyaka barimo? Ubwo muzabuza gute za minisiteri mwaguriye PL ikorana n'inkotanyi kuba indiri y'abatutsi bafatanyije n'umwanzi?

R: Ubundi nubwo nigeze kuvuga ko gukora politiki bidasobanura kujya muri guverinoma byanze bikunze, ishyaka rirushaho gukomera iyo rishoboye kwerekana no kumvisha ibitekerezo byaryo ariko cyane cyane rikabona uburyo ribishyira mu bikorwa. Mu butegetsi rero niho ryigaragaza neza. Leta yanjye y'inzibacyuho izagendera kuri politiki na porogarame yemewe n'amashyaka yitabiriye kuyijyamo ariko bitabujije n'andi yasigaye gutanga ibitekerezo byayo. Iyo porogaramu si iy'ishyaka iri n'iri ahubwo ni ikubiyemo ingingo ya mashyaka atanu yemeranijweho. Nta mukozi n'umwe uzirukanwa cyangwa uhindurirwa imirimo kubera ishyaka arimo cyereka nawe niyigira kagarara ntashake gukurikiza amabwiriza ya guverinoma iriho. Kandi rero mwibuke ko ari Perezida wa Repubulika ugaba imyanya yo hejuru nubwo na Minisitiri bireba agomba kubigiramo ijambo. Naho iyo PL wihase ntabwo bivuga ko za minisiteri izayobora zizahita ziba izayo, ni iz'igihugu. Nta vangura cyangwa irondamoko bi-

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gomba kuzirangwamo. Kandi ibyaribyo byose turi muri demokarasi, uwajya abona ibikocamye byose abwirijwe guhita abyasasa bigakosorwa hakiri kare kuko Minisitiri atari we ububasha bugarukiraho.

Q: Uretse abashaka kwirengagiza ukuri, mu Rwanda ikibazo cy'amoko giteye inkeke kuko cyamennye amaraso n'ubu kandi bikaba ari ibicika ku mipaka y'u Rwanda na Uganda, n'imbere mu gihugu ibirunga biratutumba. Nko mu Bugesera, uretse ko abanyamashyaka bamwe na bamwe batazi ibyo bakora n'ibyo bavuga bashaka kubihererereza ku mashyaka nyine, amoko niyo yasubiranyemo yonyine. Umututsi dore ko ari nawe gashozamidugararo- yivugaga umuhutu atabanje kureba ishyaka rye. Umuhutu nawe wasagariwe akitabara atwikira umututsi wo mu ishyaka iryariryo ryose. Unyomoza azajye kwibariza bene ubwite. Guverinoma yawe irumva izabyifatamo ite?

R: *Uvuze ukuri rwose abakurikiye amateka y'u Rwanda bazi ko amoko yahasibaniye n'ubu kandi bigakomeza. Mu 1959 nibwo abahutu bivumbuye birukana ingoma ya gihake-ntutsi. Abatutsi batarenze icumi kw'ijana (10%) by'abanyarwanda bose ntibanyurwa ahubwo bahitamo kugaba ibitero impande n'impande ngo bisubize ubutegetsi. Jye mbona ariko amakosa menshi ari aya za Repubulika zombi cyane cyane iya kabiri. Icyakora nyine abatutsi ni ba ntamunoza. Bagombye rwose kuzibukira burundu irari ryo gushaka gutegeka uru Rwanda bonyine. Kuko urebye imyanya bafite mu nzego zose za politiki, z'ubutegetsi n'iz'ubukungu yagombye kubahaza maze bakanasigaza ariko bo baracyashaka kwikubira byose. Ibyo rero abahutu nabo ntibashobora kubyihanganira narindi bazi urwaba rubategereje baramutse beguriye abatutsi ubutegetsi bwose. Jye ndasaba rwose nkomeje abatutsi iyo bava bakagera kurushaho gushyira mu gaciro bakemera ko amahame ya demokarasi yubahirizwa uko ateye. Ntabwo abake aribo bategeka abenshi! Guverinoma yanjye nayo izirinda ikintu cyose cyakurura amakimbirane hagati y'amoko. Ntabwo tuzamera nk'abategetsi ba Repubulika ya mbere bananiwe gusibanganya imyiryane mu bana b'u Rwanda kuko nk'iyo havukaga ikibazo kitanafitanye isano n'amoko babanzaga gusopanyisha abahutu n'abatutsi. Maze bagerekaho no kudashishikazwa na busa n'ikibazo cyo gutahuka kw'impunzi. Repubulika ya kabiri nayo yabeshyeshye rubanda ubumwe budafashe kuko ari nta n'icyo bwagezeho kubera ko ari nta n'umwe wabushakaga. Ndetse ari abahutu, ari abatutsi buri wese yavugaga ko aryamirwa. Maze kubera ko n'uturere tw'amajyepfo twiganjemo abatutsi dusa n'utwari twaragizwe ruvumwa byatumye ubwo bwoko bwishyiramo nabwo ko buhagwiramo bityo ntibushire amakenga ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana umuhutu wa ruguru. Kureba ay'ingwe hutu-tutsi byakomeje gushyushywa mu mitwe y'abantu mu mvugo no mu migirire, haba mu mijyi cyangwa mu byaro.*

Simpamya ko tuzagera igihe amoko asibangana kuko atari na byiza ariko Leta nyobora izashimangira umwuka w'amahoro n'ubusabane mu banyarwanda bose nta bwironde. Ikindi kandi twagombye kumva ko imyaka mirongo itatu (30) ishize abatutsi bambuwe Karinga ari mike cyane mu mateka y'igihugu ugereranije na magana ane (400) n'imisago bategetse bica bagakiza. Erega utirwe ujya na kure reba imyaka Habyarimana amaze ku ngoma ameze nk'Imana Ishobora byose ni hafi makumyabiri (20). Wibwira se ko ibi murimo by'amashyaka menshi byari byamugeramo neza? Ashwi da! Ariko nyamara uko ibihe bigenda byisunika ni nako ari abo batutsi ari na Perezida wacu bazajya basanga ko ibintu bigomba guhinduka bitagira kibuza. Ku batutsi icyakora ni ukuzategereza ubuvivi n'ubuvivuza kuko no mu myaka itaha bazaba bagishaka kwigarurira u Rwanda ku ngufu z'amasasu.

Q: Naho iby'uturere? Dore nkawe uri uw'i Gitarama, ubwo se uzakorana ute n'umuntu utararebeye izuba ako gace mu 1973?

R: *Akarere nta kibazo na kimwe kazatera. Ibyo byose byakujijwe n'abatutsi bahora bishimira ko abahutu bacagagurana. Nyamara umututsi we nta karere agira. Kandi koko niko bigomba kugenda kuko akarere ntacyo gashingiyeho na gito; ntikaba mu maraso, ntikaba mu bwonko nk'ubwoko. Nk'ubu mbarirwa mu banyagitarama hanyuma se mpinduye ifishi nkaba umunyabyumba mu Rukiga hari aho se naba ngihuriye na Nduga. Naho ubwoko bwo naho nakwimukira mu Buhindi bwankurikirana kuko buri muri kamere yanjye. Ikibabaje ni uko Leta zambanjirije zashyizemo umunyu ubwazo zigenda zikurura ubwironde bw'uturere. Perezida Kayibanda yirengagije inshingano yo gukorera no gukunda abanyarwanda bose ahubwo atangira ibyo gukundwakaza akarere ke ka Gitarama. Umusimbuye Jenerali Habyarimana bwa bwironde abukuba inshuro cumi umukiga ashyirwa imbere, umunyagisenyi asumba abakomoka ahandi, umushiru we aba nyir'ingoma y'abidishyi. Tugarutse ku byakorewe abari abategetsi baturuka i Gitarama mu 1973, wenda byazazikurwa na rukokoma mu gihe yemerewe kuba, naho jyeweho mbifata nk'impitagihe; mpanze amaso ibiri imbere gusa. Ni nk'ibyo bya rukokoma: ese izahera ryari? Mu 1500? Mu 1919? Mu 1959? Mu 1973? Gukorana neza mu bwumvikane no mu bwizerane na Nyakubahwa Perezida Habyarimana byo ni intego ntashobora gutezukaho na rimwe. Icy'ingenzi mu butegetsi bwacu ni uguharanira inyungu z'igihugu cyose n'iz'abanyarwanda uko bangana icyo baba aricyo cyose naho baba bakomoka hose. Iby'irondakarere byo mboneyeho umwanya wo gukurira inzira ku murima ababa bakibitsimbarayeho; nta mwanya na mutoya bifite muri Leta nyobora. Kuri iyo ngingo abakiga rwose nibasubize umutima mu gitereko.*

Q: Guverinoma yawe izakora iki kugira ngo imwe mu myifatire mibi ya gihake ikendere nk'ifuni iheze? Ubwo ndashaka kuvuga nk'icyorezo cyo guhakwa, kubeshya, kudashyira mu gaciro, kwerekana ibitekerezo bigufi, gutikura, kwangana, kurimanganya, kwironda n'ibindi. Ibyinshi byagaragariye no muri iyi nkubi y'amashyaka menshi aho abayoboke b'ishyaka iri n'iri bahimbahimba nk'inkuru isebya irindi shyaka bagatura aho cyangwa bakishimira kwemera no gukwirakwiza ibinyoma, bagakurura inzangano zidafite shinge na rugero, bagafatanya kubera ubucucu n'umwanzi w'abahutu bose (mu gihe nabo ari abahutu) ubashuka ngo ni ukugira ngo batembagaze ubutegetsi butabari ku nzoka.

R: *Nk'uko nyine ubyivugiye, ibyo byose bikomoka kuri gihake yari yarapfukiranye umunyarwanda ikamuhindura igishushungwe bakoresha amafuti yose kikemera. Ubutegetsi bwitiriwe abahutu nabwo bwarushijeho kubidobya bushyira buri gihe ku ibere abarangwaho n'iyo myifatire yo kwamaganwa. Umukozi udashoboye amatiku, cyangwa utazi kuyoboka shebuja amutura ibigambo by'amahomvu, ntarenga umutaru. Ubwironde muri byose bwahawe intebe ikomeye maze abategetsi akaba aribo babitangamo urugero rubi. Guverinoma yanjye yo izihatira gusenya buhoro buhoro ibyo bishyitsi kuko ntawakwirarira ngo mu mwaka umwe rutoki azarandurana n'imizi umuco umaze ibinyejana bitanu. Ibyemezo tuzajya dufata byose bizashingira ku mategeko yanditse, bityo abantu ntibakore ibyo bishakiye. Tuzirinda gukorera mu bwiru, tuzatoza urubyiruko imyifatire iboneye ihuje n'igihe tugezemo by'umucyo.*

Q: Ku byerekeye umubano w'u Rwanda n'amahanga utekereza iki ku binyoma biteye isoni biherutse gutangazwa n'u Burundi ngo hari ababuteye baturutse ino aho bitoreza?

R: *Ahubwo jye ntangazwa n'ibigambo abategetsi bambanjirije birirwaga bahuragura ngo umubano w'u Rwanda n'ibihugu bidukikije ntugira amakemwa hanyuma bwacya ukumva ko ari nta kigenda. Biragaragara ko ari nta politiki y'ububanyi n'amahanga ihamye u Rwanda rwigeze rugira. Nko muri iyi ntambara uretse Zayire nayo kubera ubucuti bwihariye bw'abakuru b'ibihugu byombi gusa. Mobutu na Habyarimana, nta kindi gihugu mu byo duhana imbibi cyagaragaje ko kidushyigikiye. Bose bari babogamiye ku ruhande rw'umwanzi wadusagariye. I Burayi naho nta Leta yari isigaye yumva u Rwanda. Amerika na Kanada nabyo byari byaraguzwe n'abaduteye, ba ambasaderi bacu bituramiye cyereka niba nabo bari barahawe ku makotanyi. Leta yanjye izakangurira abanyarwanda bakunda igihugu baba mu mahanga inshingano yabo yo kurengera mbere na mbere inyungu n'umutekano by'urwababyaye. Tuzanoza umu-*

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bano ku buryo bw'umwihariko n'ibihugu duturanye n'ibifite uruhare mu majyambere y'u Rwanda. Imikorere ya minisiteri ibishinzwe izasubirwamo ku buryo bugaragara. Iby'u Burundi byo nta mayobera arimo. Icyo gihugu kiracyategekwa n'ubwoko bw'abatutsi batarenze cumi na batanu ku ijana (15%) by'abarundi bose. Birumvikana rero ko bakora uko bashoboye kose ngo bagumane ubutegetsi. Niyo mpamvu bahora bica urubozo abahutu bahereye kubazi gusoma no kwandika. Ntabwo rero u Burundi buteze kumvikana n'u Rwanda mu gihe cyose ikibazo cy'amoko kitazabonerwa umuti ushimishije impande zose. Ibivugwa n'abategetsi b'u Burundi byo ni amayeri yo kuyobya amarari y'ibibera iwabo no gushaka intandaro yo kumarira ku icumu abahutu babo nk'uko babimenyereye.

Q: Ariko ngo Perezida Buyoya ashaka kwerekana ko ashyigikiye ubumwe bw'abarundi na demokarasi. Ubwo se abahutu batera imvururu bayobowe na parti itemewe i Burundi PALIPEHUTU ntibashobora kumuca intege maze akaba yakwisubiraho noneho akagarukira bene wabo barimo Mbonimpa na Kazatsa batifuza ko umuhutu yagira ijambo n'ubuzima mu Burundi.

R. *Ndi mu ba mbere bashyigikiye biturutse ku mutima amatwara ya Buyoya ntatinya kugereranya na De Klerk wo muri Afurika y'epfo. Ibyo gucika intege byo hacika izisanzwe zijegajega. We rero ni umwe mu batutsi, kuko babaho, bafite ibitekerezo byubaka kandi bidapfa guhungabanywa n'ibije byose. Gusa ntibyoroshye kugira icyizere gisesuye mu cyitwa umututsi kuko akenshi usanga ibyo avuga ari ntaho bihuriye n'amarorerwa akora. Ni nk'inzoka. Jye ariko ndacyakomeye kuri perezida Buyoya agomba gushyigikirwa, ndetse niwe nzasura bwa mbere mu bakuru b'ibihugu. Nkaba kandi nsaba nkomeje abahutu b'i Burundi kwirinda imvururu n'ubwicanyi ubwaribwo bwose kuko bavuniye ibiti mu matwi ari ntacyo baba barushije ababatoteza. Bakwiye gukomeza gusaba mu mahoro no mu bwumvikane ko ibintu byahinduka muri demokarasi yuzuye. Intambara ntacyo ubwayo ishobora kubagezaho na rindi abatutsi bo bayiteguye bihagije. Gusa inguma zavushijwe ziracyari mbisi ku buryo ubusabane bw'amoko agize icyo gihugu atari ubwa nonaha.*

Q: Guverinoma yawe se izakorana ite n'iy'u Burundi?

R: *Icyo ni ikibazo mu by'ukuri gikomeye gusubiza kuko icyo ibyo bihugu bipfa ntaho cyagiye. Amoko ahasibanira aracyahari, hamwe harakitwa ko hategeka abahutu ahandi abatutsi; kandi ubutegetsi babukomeyeho. Leta yanjye izihatira guhanagura mu mvugo no mu bikorwa iyo ntero. U Rwanda rugomba gutegekwa n'abanyarwanda bose ntabwo igihugu ari icy'ubwoko bumwe gusa. Ntiruzivanga mu bireba u Burundi cyeretse ruhambariwe rushaka kurengera inyungu zarwo. Nta gikorwa na kimwe kibangamiye u Burundi kizarangwa iwacu. Impunzi zizakirwa nk'uko bisanzwe hakurikijwe n'amategeko mpuzamahanga abyerekeye? Nta n'imwe rwose izemererwa guhungabanya umutekano w'abavandimwe bacu b'abarundi. Sinzamera nka Museveni wihaye gufasha inkotanyi aziha intwaro, abasirikare, amafaranga, anazishyigikira mu rubuga rw'amahanga. Gusa ntabwo u Rwanda ruzihanganira abifuza gukomeza kurukora mu jisho.*

NDEKEZI Bonaparte

NDRL: *Muri nimero itaha tuzabagezaho igice cya kabiri cy'ikiganiro-ntekerezo Ni ikiganiro kizibanda ku ntambara n'umutekano.*

N.I.

YA NYENYERI YA PL IZAZIMYWA N'IZUBA RYA CDR.

Afurika yose muri iki gihe yugarijwe n'ibibazo byinshi by'ingorabahizi. Ku buryo ibihugu by'ibihangage byaboneyeho umwanya wo gutegura imigambi yo gukoloniza noneho burundu ibihugu bikennye cyane cyane ibyo muri Afurika.

Ndetse n'ibihugu byari byiyizeye mu bukungu kamere ariko bikiri mu nzira y'amajyambere, aho byemereye amashyaka menshi, abatuye ibyo bihugu batangiye kuryana.

Mu Rwanda aho bikomereye ni uko amashyaka menshi yaje turwana n'inyenzi inkotanyi zari zifite ibyitso byinshi mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda. None rero ubu ibyitso byacengeye amashyaka yose akorera mu Rwanda. Mbese ubu mu rwego rwa politiki hahorwa ugushaka kw'ibyitso. Kuko ibyitso byinshi byibumbiye muri PL ibindi bikwirakwira mu mashyaka menshi.

Amahirwe abahutu bagira ni uko mu minsi yashize hari abahanga b'abahutu biyemeje gushyiraho ishyaka rirengera rubanda nyamwinshi cyane cyane urw'abahutu; abatutsi bica urubozo muri iyi ntambara. Iryo shyaka ryitwa CDR aho rivukiye abatutsi bagishaka kuduhaka bacitse ururondogoro. Kuko bazi ko ya nyenyeri yo mu ibendera rya PL yari yihaye gusumba izindi igiye kuzima burundu. Iriya nyenyeri yo hejuru mu ibendera rya Pl igiye kuzima nta kundi byagenda kuko izuba rya CDR ubu rigiye kumurikira abahutu aho bari hose maze bakamenya ko umwanzi w'abahutu aho bari hose ari umwe ari nawe washoje iyi ntambara.

Ababeshya ngo CDR ni ishyaka rivangura amoko baribeshya kuko izuba riri hagati mu ibendera rya ririya shyaka rimurikira abanyarwanda bose. Kandi mwese muzi ko izuba rimurikira abatuye isi yacu ritavanguye. Ariko na none hari

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abantu babona urumuri rw'izuba bakaruhunga bagahitamo kwibera mu buvumo bwuzuye icuraburindi. Abandi bagahitamo kujya kwihisha mu ishyamba. None se nka ziriya nyeshyamba zidutera kandi zizi neza ko zidashobora gutsinda, uwavuga ko zikiri mu mwijima abanyarwanda barimo mbere ya za 1959 hari ubwo yaba yibeshye? CDR kubera ko ari ishyaka ryemeje gukorera abanyarwanda bose, rizakuraho ubuvumo n'ibihuru inkotanyi zihishamo kugira ngo ziriya nkotanyi zimurikirwe n'izuba rya CDR. Naho abibeshya ngo bashobora kumurikirwa n'inyenyeri imwe ishaka gukandamiza izindi kandi idafite urumuri ruhagije, nibagaruke mu nzira kuko imirasire y'izuba rya CDR izamurikira rimwe abanyarwanda bose ndetse n'abanyamahanga bose bifuza kugendera mu nzira y'ukuri n'ubutabera kuri bose.

Kubera ko hari abitwaza ubukungu basahuye, bakibeshya ko bushobora gutuma bahaka abandi, CDR mu kumurikira abantu bose, izaharanira ko ubukungu bwose bw'igihugu bwakoreshwa mu kukizamura atari ukugisenya.

Umugambi wa mbere wa CDR ni uwo kurangiza intambara. Akarusho izanye mu rwego rwo kurangiza intambara ni uko yo yerekana neza aho umwanzi udutera ari, aho gukomeza kurya indimi nk'uko andi mashyaka yayibanjirije yabigenje.

RUBERA Papias.

INGUTIYA Z'IBIZUNGEREZI ZISIGAYE ZINUKIRA ABAHUTU PEE !!

Nyuma ya PSD, hasigaye MDR, PSR, maze tukaba twipakuruye ingoyi PL yari igiye kudutanikaho ! N'andi mashyaka y'abahutu nagire yiyunge vuba abe ishyaka rimwe rya rubanda nyamwinshi cyangwa se abiri, maze ahasigaye duhangane n'abavuga ko bamanutse kw'ijuru bafite imirizo, bagera hasi ngo bakayitema ! Ubwo se niyo watema umurizo umwana ubyaye ntawuvukana ? Mbega ikinyoma ! Ahari ubwana iyo bwavukaga bahitaga bayibukataho nk'uko bakata indegeya !! Mbibutse ariko ko uguhangana n'abo bantu mvuga imbere mu gihugu atari ukurwana ahubwo ni uguhangana mu matora, naho kubari hanze banze gutaha ku neza bo (FPR) birumvikana ko ku mipaka ari uguhangana nabo n'amasasu kuko nabo bashaka kwinjira ku ngufu bayafite !!

Shuhuhuuu ! BAZIMAZIKI Obed muri KANGUKA N°53 uti "MRND yiyimitse ibeshya ngo izanye ubumwe, amahoro n'amajyambere !! Ese ubundi mwe mwemera iki ? Kereka UBWAMI nibwo mwemera gusa !! Ngaho reru muti revolisiyo ya 59 ntiyigeze ibaho, none ngo muri 73 nta bumwe nta mahoro byavutse, ngo MRND yabahenze ubwenge burya !! Nyamara kuba muriho mukigira gutyo mubikesha yo! None hari icyo mujya mwemera !?

Muri iyo KANGUKA yanyu hari aho mubaza umunyamakuru NYIRASAFARI, ngo niba hari ubushinyaguzi burenze ubwo bagiriye GATERA n'abagogwe, mu ijambo ry'ibanze rya NYIRASAFARI, hari aho avuga se ko abagogwe na GATERA bakorewe ibintu byiza ? Ariko ni kuki, ni kuki, iyo mwiriza mwirengagiza ukuri, ko tutarumva muhingutsa cyangwa mwandika mwamagana igitero cy'inyenzi, cyangwa ngo mwamagane urugomo batugirira badusenyera ibyo twari tumaze kugeraho? Ariko nanjye nshatse kwibaza nkana, ibyo se mwabyamagana muhereye he, kandi mwivugira ko nta majyambere yigeze arangwa muri uru Rwanda !! Mwarenga kuri ibyo se maze mukabura kwamagana abavuga ko Butaro yashegeshwe n'umwanzi !!

Muziriza mugere he ? Ko akanyu kashobotse, ubwo n'uruhinja ruvuka ruzi amayeri, ibinyoma, no kwiriza kwanyu ? KAGAME yapfuye mu kwezi kwa 7, ariko mwe ngo kugeza mu kwezi kwa 12 abantu bari bakimubona, bande ? Ubwo mu minsi mike muzaba muvuga ko yahindutse ikindi kintu !! Ubwo noneho azahinduka iki ? Nyabingi ?

Muri 59 mujya guhemangurika mwanze ababiligi ngo murashaka za indepandansi za huti huti, ubwo muba muguye mu gifuma !! None ngaho musingiriye abafaransa, bo kandi murabashakaho iki ? Twe rubanda nyamwinshi (ndarukangisha, kuko n'ubwo turi mu mashyaka menshi, ku rundi ruhande dushya-

miranye n'abatifuza ukubaho kwacu !) dukeneye abandi bafaransa benshi (barwanira ku butaka, mu mazi, mu kirere no mu mazi) kugira ngo badutoreze ingabo zikomeze guhashya mwebwe ba FPR/PL. None se kuki FPR yitoreje muri CUBA iby'ubunyeshyamba, ndetse abanyakiba bakaza bahe..keje FPR mu ntambara y'ukwakira (uretse ko bayabangiye ingata babonye orgue de staline itashye i Kigali atari ku bushake bwabo !!) mwe kuki mutifuriza ingabo zacu ubwenge buhanitse mu byerekeye intambara ?
Sinzi akenshi niba muba mwibagiwe ukuntu amagambo meza abacika birantangaza, akaba ari nayo mpamvu mvuga nti rimwe na rimwe murasara mukagwa ku ijambo ? Murivuga muti "Abafaransa ntibakwihanganira ko igifaransa cyabo kigenda !" Kigenda kijya he ? Ntiwumva ko akuzuye umutima gasesekara ku munwa ? Ubwo nta kabuza abashakaga kugitwara murabazi, nta kuntu rero ba nyiri ibintu bareka ibintu byabo bikarembera gutyo babireba, knadi bataboshywe. Mwifuza ko babambura ibyabo ku ngufu barebera gusaaa !! Mbese ubwo bwoba ni ubw'iki ? Muri mwe ko nta n'umwe uzigera anoshwa n'umufaransa ! Niba mwe abafaransa babangamiye mukaba mutekereza ko baramutse bagiye bene wanyu bahita babona iminyago, mukureyo amaso.

Yego ibyo mwandika cyangwa se muvuga muba mubwira bene wanyu (kuko nta muhutu wakwishingira ayo mateshwa), ariko mbonye inshuti y'umututsi igiye kuyoba bitewe n'inyandiko z'agatsiko kamwe, ntacyambuza kuyigarura mu nzira iboneye, kuko ntituzahora mu migani ngo "UTUMA ABATUTSI ATUMA BENSHI !".

Twebwe rubanda nyamwinshi uko twaririmbaga muri 59 ko dukunze ababiligi, n'ubu tugomba gukomeza indirimbo yacu ko dukunze abafaransa, niba se abanyarwanda bava ino bakajya mu bufaransa kwigayo, kuki abafaransa bo bataza ino kwigishirizayo, ngira ngo nibyo byiza !! Niba mubifitemo akantu, namwe muririmba Uganda n'abandi babatera inkunga (nk'uko ya ndirimbo NTA MPONGANO Y'UMWANZI ibivuga). Ndababwira ukuri ijijisha ryanyu rimaze kurambirana, harya abakuru b'inkotanyi basabaga ko ngo abasirikare b'abanyamahanga bataha (hagati ya le 1/10/90 na 5/10/90 bashakaga iki ? Murataratáza ay'ubusa ! Ngo abafaransa batabaye Hissen Habré ngo bageze aho baramutererana ! Mwumve rwose ayo mayeri y'inyenzi, mureke urwo rugero tube turuhigitse, dufate urwa KOWEIT, byagenze bite harya ? MUSEVENI nako SADDAM HUSSEIN ibitoki ntiyabisesetse mu mazuru !!? Ngo ingabo za FPR zikubye kabiri (ni za zindi za Simba Batallion baherutse gutsinsurira muri Butaro), abana banyu bavutse mu kwakira ntibarageza imyaka yo kwinjira mu gisirikare (itanu) cya NRA/FPR, abasirikare bandi bavuye he ? Abasirikare ba Uganda ko aribo bahanganye n'abacu iyo ku mupaka, abanyarwanda babuza abaganda n'udukotanyi duke twacitse ku isasu mu Mutara. Muri za Kanguka zanyu mwagaragaje abakuru b'inkotanyi bashiriye kw'icumu, maze muri ya mayeri yanyu tutayobewe mumadikaho na MUVUNANYAMBO, kuko mwagize amahirwe mukabona umuhutu wo kwerekana kandi arimwe mwamwiyiciye, ni namwe kandi mwamutorokesheje aho yari afungiye azira ibyaha yakoze, kugira ngo mubagire ibikoresho, none mutangiye kubarambirwa muti RUHUGA ntimuyizira ! Ha haa nguko uko muzabigenzereza n'abandi bahutu babishinze, ba birenge nimwe mubwirwa, numva ngo KANYARENGWE we ngo yaba yarakukumbye amashilingi yose mwamuhaye yo kugura intwaro, ayabangira ingata aritorokera, umuhutu asiga abitikije ati ndagiye BIRAMUKA !! Kandi mu minsi mike KANYARENGWE azivugana NDUGUTEYE, kubera ko mwamwiciye umuntu ariwe MUVUNANYAMBO.

Muri KANGUKA yanyu murakomeza muti: Kuri Kangura yo gutunga agatoki ni Salaama, mwe se bibabuze gufata umuzindaro wanyu muwuborogeramo mwiriza mutabaza amahanga, mutabaza MITTERAND, mwarangiza ngo yaguye mu mutego, mwigisha amateka ya Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika nkaho tutayazi (guhakirizwa kwanyu ko kurasanzwe) mukarira mugahogora ngo barabamaze, kandi nta n'ubariye urwara !!

Dore ukuntu mwatutse uriya musaza Depite RUGIRA Amandini ngo ni isega (LOUP-GIRA), ubwo se uriya musaza atanze ikirego abarega ko mwamututse ku mugaragaro, mwatangira gutarataza mubeshya ko ari irindi jambo mwiyandikiye ? Icyo gihe mwarisobanura. Rugira se, niwe wabarundanije muri PL ku ngufu ? Ko tuzi ko umuntu ajya mu ishyaka yihitiyemo nta gahato ? Ubushumba bwanyu butuma mugirira Perezida HABYARIMANA ishyari ngo azi igifaransa, sinabonye se kandi mushyiraho amashyaka, murahatanira gusimbura ubarusha igifaransa muzabivamo ? Ahubwo mwe muragana he ? Atari u Rwanda !! Nk'uriya mwanya mu mvaho wazize iki ? Ngo bashyiraho ifoto ya RWABUKWISI n'ishyaka rye, umuswa nka RAVI waririrwa akoronga nk'abashumba yashobora ate kuba umukuru w'igihugu, yewe niyo ishyaka ryawe rizemerwa, nta ntebe n'imwe uzabona mu nteko ishinga amategeko. Ese nyine bigeze he ? Waremerewe cyangwa wasanze ari ugukina mu bikomeye!

Itegeko rigenga itangaza makuru mwaharaniye kuva kera ryaraje, none mutangiye gukora ibinyuranye naryo. KAMEYA na MUGABE nibakora ibinyuranye naryo bagahanwa mutangire kuvugira muri wa muzindaro wanyu mwiriza, none se mushaka ko abantu basumba amategeko, aribyo mwamaganye kuva kera ? Nguko uko mwabaye ! Ntacyo mwemera !!. Banyarwanda dusangiye igihugu, niba mutegereje ubwami, ndabona muzarira mugahogora kuko muri iki gihugu ubwami ni inzozi !!

Hehehee, heiii ! Ako gatwenge muzi impamvu zako ? Kera iyo umusore wabaga afite inkombe cyangwa se amabinga yarambagizaga umukobwa, noneho uwo musore akaza nko gutemberera ku musore w'iwabo w'umukobwa, maze akagira ibyago agahura n'uwo mu-

Komeza ku rup. rwa 15.

AKANYAFU MURI MINEPRISEC YA MBANGURA.

Nk'uko ibyo mu Rwanda tubimenyereye umuminisitiri n'undi muyobozi w'ikigo cya Leta cyangwa cyigenga ahesha abakozi be imigati akurikije ikimenyane, uguhakwa ndetse n'akarere. Iyo uwo mutegetsi ari umututsi ho imyanya iryoshye ihabwa abo bahuje ubwoko gusa. Mu minsi ishize rero Minisitiri MBANGURA yagufatiye umuyobozi mukuru witwa KAYINAMURA Selesitini wo mu Ruhengeri umaze muri Minisiteri y'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye igihe kinini kandi ushimwa na bose uretse nyine abo mu kazu ka MBANGURA amusimbuza umunyagikongoro KARERA Agusitini mu buryo budasobanutse na buhoro. Icyakora bisanzwe bizwi ko uwo KARERA afite impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga mu kubeshya no mu matiku.

Byaje rero kuzurungutana maze KAYINAMURA asubizwa mu mirimo ye naho uwo KARERA akozwe n'ikimwaro, dore ko ari nawe wari wihaye ubuyobozi bukuru agashyira no mu yindi myanya bene wabo, ahita afata konji y'amezi menshi. Ariko se niba ibyo MBANGURA yari yakoze byari byo kuki yemeye gusinya ko KAYINAMURA agaruka ? Ndetse yanabitegekwa ku ngufu agahitamo kwegura. Ibyo aribyo byose yakubiswe akanyafu adateze kuzibagirwa. Ariko se no ku rundi ruhande kuki bene ubwite batashakiye KAYINAMURA undi mwanya uryoshye w'ubutegetsi aho kumugarurira uwo batajya imbizi. Ubwo se akazi ka Leta si ko gashobora kuhababarira naho abana b'abahungu bagihigana ubutwari.

Icyakora si KARERA gusa wagabiwe mu mafuti. Hari nk'umugore utarusha umuhate akanyamasyo utazi na ruhe na ruhe kuby'iyo minisiteri bagize umuyobozi wa serivisi ubusanzwe isaba umukozi w'umunyamurava, ubishoboye kandi uboneka buri gihe, ngo ni uko uwo munyendugakazi azi kuregana no guhakirizwa. Nyamara muri iyo minisiteri hapakiyemo intiti z'inararibonye mu by'amashuri, ziragwa n'umurava no kuba inyangamugayo ariko zaheze hasi nk'amano ngo ni uko zitazi kubeshya, gupfukama no kugira akarimi karyoshye. Hari n'abandi nyine usanga barahawe amapete kandi barananiwe n'akazi kose. Twizere ko Guverinoma zitaha zizihatira gukosora amarorerwa nk'ayo.

Muri "KANGURA MAGAZINE/Version Internationale" nomero ya cyenda ku rupapuro rwa cumi umwanditsi yibukije ko ubutegetsi bwa NSANZIMANA bwaranzwe n'amafuti atakwihanganirwa. Uruhiriri rwashyizwe mu myanya mu buryo bunyuranyije n'amategeko kuko batigeze basinyirwa n'inzego zibishinzwe kandi n'abitwa ngo barambuwe bagakomeza ,guhemberwa ibyo batagikora.
Ubu se nk'urukiko rw'imari ya Leta rubajije ukuntu umutungo w'igihugu usinyirwa n'abatabifitiye ububasha bwanditse hari icyo rwaba rukoshejeho ? Wa wundi KARERA nawe yageze mu biro akoresha igitaraganya ikashe y'imirimo atarahabwa ku mugaragaro atanga amashuri biratinda (igihembwe cya kabiri kirangiye !), asinyira abakozi adategeka amashimwe, ahagararira Leta ku bitamureba n'ibindi n'ibindi. Ubwo se hari uguhohotera Leta kurenze uko. None se nk'abanyeshuri barenze 25 birukanwe n'uwiyitiriraga umwanya atigeze ahabwa mu buryo bw'amategeko ntibagombye gushinga urubanza n'uwo muntu n'uwamutumye.

Hanze aha abana babuze amashuri ni benshi kandi bararira ayo kwarika ndetse na Minisitiri yayobewe uko abyifatamo kubera imyanya mike. Uri KARERA nawe ati amashuri yose abaye ayanjye. Maze mu minsi mike aba asinyiye abana batari hasi ya 20 b'ababyeyi bamunyuzeho abishyigikiwemo n'uwashatse kumuha ubwo burenganzira mu bufifiko. Nk'abo bana se biga baroherejwe n'iyihe Leta. Hari n'akandi kayabo k'amadosiye uwo mugabo yasinyiye asa n'usahuranwa kandi bitamureba. None se ubwo Minisiteri izishingira ibyashyizweho umukono n'abo banyamakosa. None ngo batangiye gucukumbura amakosa KAYINAMURA yaba yarakoze yose dore ko n'ugushungura atakuburamo urukumbi. Ubu se nyuma y'amezi abiri amaze hanze mu bushomeri butumvikana niho bibutse kugenzura imikorere ye.

Tudasubiye mu byo bigeze kunengaho MBANGURA mu binyamakuru hambere twakongeraho ko nubwo byari byarakwijwe hose ko amashuri asigaye ahabwa abana b'abahanga gusa ndetse ngo kuko bikorwa na oridinateri birazwi neza ko izo mashini zisohora ibyo bazitamitse. Nk'amalisiti yitirirwa "abatsinze" ntagira umubare; kugeza mu gihembwe cya gatatu kandi amashuri aba agitangwa. Ubwo se ahabwa bande ? Aho si ba bandi baba bitwaje ibihumbi mirongo irindwi cyangwa ijana byo gupfumbatisha umutware n'ibyegera bye cyangwa inshuti ze.

Muri Minisiteri ya MBANGURA kandi abashinzwe imirimo iyi n'iyi usanga batambamirwa n'abari ku ibere badafite aho bahuriye nayo cyane cyane usanga babifitemo inyungu. Ako gatsiko kivanga mu bitakareba ni nako gahabwa ibyo gashatse byose: amashuri, inguzanyo, za mission mu gihugu no hanze, amahugurwa, kuzamurwa mu ntera n'ibindi tutarondoye. Kageza naho kamushuka kwisubiza serivisi zari zarashyizwe mu yindi minisiteri bikwiranye nk'iya buruse y'icyiciro cya mbere cya kaminuza. Nk'uwo KARERA yafashe ubugenzuzi bw'amashuri abucomeka mu buyobozi yari ashinzwe, ejobundi yigabiye ibirenze yimukana na bwa bugenzuzi, none ngo azongera abusubize aho bamugumishije. Ubwo se banabikora bizeye ko bazagumana akaramata imbehe babarijwe. Uburyo ibigo by'amashuri byubakwa hakurikijwe hakurikijwe akarere bivanzemo no kunyereza, kuzaririza amadosiye yihutirwa, kutita na busa ku bikenewe na minisiteri kurusha izindi nk'integanyanyigisho nabyo biri mu myifatire ya nyakubahwa Danyeli izambya uburezi mu Rwanda.

H.P./ MINESUPRES.

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UMUTEGO W'IKINYOMA USHIBUKANA NYENEWO AWUBONA.

Barundi, Barundikazi, umugambwe wacu wa PALIPEHUTU ntiwigera uhengeshanya mu kuduha inyigisho z'ukuri zitwereka ubwenge abatutsi bakoresha na ntaryo bagomba guhenda abahutu n'abatwa. Twaranabibonye kuri iyi ntwaro ya Buyoya, ingene ubwo bwenge b wakoreshejwe nko muri arya matora y'urusakisaki, yaba ay'amasezerano y'ubumwe, ay'ibwirizwa nshingiro n'ayandi baba bariko bategura tutazi. Ivyo vyose bagira ntakindi babigirira atari ukurondera gutsimbataza irya ntwaro y'abatutsi bonyene, abahutu n'abatwa nabo bakaguma ari abaja babo. Abo batutsi nibo uzokumva bavuga ngo Buyoya, atanze igihugu cabo, ngw'agihaye abahutu nyamara kandi bakibagirwa ko u Burundi atar'ubw'ubwoko bumwe gusa, abo batutsi kandi bavuga nk'ivyo baba bariko bitwengera kandi baba bariko bacurira abahutu, kuko Buyoya atashobora gutanga igihugu, twese turazi kwi ivyo Buyoya ariko arakora ubuu vyose arivyo gutsimbataza intwaro yabo gusa.

Jewe, ndunganiye PALIPEHUTU nti, rirya bwirizwa-shingiro baherutse kwegeka ku Barundi, niryo kugirango intwaro yabo yame ihangamye. Nibareke rero kubesha Abarundi n'amakungu ngo bashaka gushiraho intwaro ya bose, ngo uwariwe wese yishire yizane. Ivyarivyo vyose turetse ko bacishimiye vyabikoho bakura mu kuya k'Abahutu, ubwenge bwobwo bwari butangiye kugwa ingese. Raba ingene na ya ntwaro yabo bita ngo, niy'ubumwe n'amahoro iza imaze kurangwa n'urudigidigi rw'amaraso, kuko ushika n'uyu munsi ndiko ndabandikira, Abatutsi barica abahutu, abandi bagafungirwa ubusa bazira kwari abahutu n'abandi bakangazwa. Ahubwo sinumva igituma Abatutsi batashaka kwemerera amakungu kw'intwaro yabo ishimikiye kumacakubiri, nyamara kandi uravye ingene abahutu bacimirwa mu mirimo myinshi bari bafisiye ubushobozi bwo kuyirangura mu gihugu cabibarutse, nko mugisirikare, mu biro bishinzwe gusuma urusaku n'iyindi mirimo myinshi. No muri bino bihe vy'imigambwe myinshi Abatutsi bama bashaka kugendera kuri ayo macakubiri akumira abahutu n'abatwa, uravye ingene babima uburenganzira bwo gushinga imigambwe uko bavyishakiye. Ngo umutego w'ikinyoma ushibukana nyenewo awubona, nka Buyoya yubahuka akifatira amakungu abesha ngo abasirikare 30 bo mw'ikambi ya Muzinda, ngo baraye bahatswe kumukura kubutegetsi uretse ko batavuga uwarabarongoye uwariwe canke ngo bavuge amagarade bafise. Ikibabaje n'uko iyo ntwaro ya Buyoya imaze kubura insiguro zikwiye itanga mu makungu atashoboye kumva neza ingene abo basirikare 30 baneshejwe atarusoro na rumwe rusohotse mu nkoho, kandi bavuga ko bari biciye mw'imigwi itari mike, bagafata ibibanza vyose bikomakomeye bafise n'ibikoho vya rutura bagafatwa ataco bakoze, ubutegetsi bw'Abatutsi bwaciye bumaramarana PALIPEHUTU ngo, ifatanije na Bagaza kugira bakure Buyoya k'ubutegetsi. Bagaza n'umututsi yagiriye inabi Abahutu kandi abanka, ku buryo na Buyoya asanzwe abizi ko. umugambwe PALIPEHUTU ataho uhuriye n'uyo mwansi w'abahutu. Ahubwo ivyo abatutsi babigira babizi, kuko ico bashaka ari ukugira babeshere umugambwe wa Palipehutu n'abahutu bose, ngo amakungu yumveko bo badashaka demokarasi Buyoya yirigwa ariyitirira ngo aratsimbataza nabo bakarondera kumucirwamwo ngo bamwononera. Ariko ivyo vyose agira Abarundi n'amakungu baramuhinyuye. Ingaruka y'ivyo vyose n'ukwicwa kw'abahutu nk'uko tubibona muri ino misi kuko mugihe abatutsi baremantanya ibintu bitaja na nzina babita ku Bahutu, baba bashaka kurondera imvo n'imvano yaho bakura abahutu, cane cane niko, mur'ino misi ngo bategerezwa kwica abahutu bose b'incabwenge bo mu mugambwe wa Palipehutu, kugirango imigambwe myinshi ize itangure gukorera ahabona ata muhutu yubahuka kuvuguruza umututsi akiriho.

Abatutsi barazi neza ko, bitagenze ukoo, Uprona yabo yohasiga agatwe kuri wamusi w'amatora, kuko atamututsi yoba akibesha Abahutu ngo abashakira ineza ngo baheze bamutore, mbere biranagoye ingene bamushinga amabanga y'igihugu, kuko baba bazi ikibi umututsi yagiriye abahutu. Naho Abahutu bamaze gutahura ubwenge bw'abatutsi bakoresha babahenda, bakwiye kurikanura kurusha kandi bakagerageza gusigurira bene wabo batarasobanukirwa nirya mitego Abatutsi badasiba kudutega, kanatsinda ntaco babuze kandi ntibaryamye.

Ehe raba ingene umugambwe wabo Uprona wanyoye amaraso y'abahutu atari bake, abandi benshi urabangaza ikitavuzwe coco n'abafungirwa ubusa bazira uko Imana yabaremye, none Abatutsi babonye ko tugiye mu ikiringo c'imigambwe myinshi bawugwatirije umuhutu. Nikolas Mayugi ngo awurongore. Abo babonye ko Uprona ata mututsi yoba agishoboye kuwurongora? Imyaka ireze mirongw'itatu yose Uprona irongowe n'abatutsi gusa none ubu niho babonye ko abahutu aribo bashoboye kuwurongora? Canke n'uko abatutsi baravye bagasanga bagiriye ko abahutu ikibi kibishe kandi bishimikije Uprona ati: none abanyagihugu ntibazotwumva neza, reka dushiremwo urwa muhutu mwene wabo abe ariw'ubatugarurira. Barundi, Barundikazi namwe Rwaruka muraze mubamenye, abo bose bashaka kutuyovya maze mubatere utwatsi; mwese ntimuyobewe umugambwe wahangaye Abatutsi na Uprona, ugashira ahabona amabi yose umututsi yagiriye umuhutu, uwo s'uwundi niwamugambwe wacu PALIPEHUTU twazaniwe n'umugabo atar'umugani GAHUTU Rémy. Barundi mwese, musanzwe mu-

zi ko, abatutsi bita abahutu ngo: turi bampema yuzuye, basumir'inda. abo batutsi rero ntahandi babivana n'uko iyo babonye abahutu b'ibipfamutima bahendesha amafranga akemera akagira ico cose kandi abona ko, ico kintu bagiye kumugirisha arico kugirira nabi abahutu benewabo akavyemera atatenyenye, nikwo kutwita ivyo bitutsi, ngirango mwese mumaze kubona koko, ko mubahutu harimwo bansumir'inda. Nyamara kandi ico nobwira Nicolas, n'uko uriya mwanya w'umukuru w'umugambwe Uprona ataruw'umuhutu, kuko naho abarundi bawutora kubera wowe nkumenyesheje ko, abatutsi boca bakwica kugirango ubavire mu mwanya.

Mw'itora ry'amasezerano y'ubumwe, Buyoya yagize ati: intibagirwa ntibana, ngo turazetubaharirane, nyamara sinuyumvira ukuntu dushobora kubabarira abakiriho baraduhekura ibibondo vyacu, abandi batugize impyuvyi kandi nanubu bakiriho none arumva tuzibagirwa bigenze gute? Buyoya rero akwiye kumenya ko, ata murundi w'umutima yovyibagirwa kandi bigumya kwiyongera kandi kubera ivyo bikorwa bibi abatutsi bagumya kugirira abahutu, vyatumye abahutu twese tumenya gutandukanya urwamfu n'ururo.

Harageze rero aho Buyoya n'abatutsi benewabo bisubirako bagategura imitego yose bateze abahutu; Buyoya yategerezwa gutoza itora ku batutsi bene wabo gusa akaba aribo bemera canke bakahakana, kugendera ku intwaro y'imigambwe myinshi, iryo niryo tora ryari rikwiriye kuba mu Burundi ahako kugirisha itora ry'ibwirizwa-shingiro abatutsi bene-wabo na Buyoya batemeye, kuba kandi abatutsi bagumya kurwanya ririya bwirizwashingiro bica vyibonekeza rwose ko intwaro y'u Burundi ariy'amacakubiri nkuko iyo muri Afurika yepfo yari imeze. None Abatutsi barakenyeye ngo igihugu cacu abe arico gisigarana intwaro y'amacakubiri muri Afrika yose nyuma yaho Afrika y'epfo yisubiyeko? None u Burundi bwacu nibwo bugiye gusubirira ico gihugu mu gufatirwa ibihano nk'uko igihugu c'ubudage kiza co, carabitanguye? Basokuru barayamaze bati: akataretse kaba gasema.

Umusomyi wa Kangura i Bujumbura.

MANENO Venasi.

MU MUGI WA NYANZA UMUTEKANO NI MUKE.

Ku Kinyamakuru KANGURA,

Nejejwe cyane no kubandikira mbashimira inyandiko zanyu mutugezaho ziberanye n'ibibazo biriho kandi mukagerageza kuvugisha ukuri kwanyu kose. Ndi umwe mu basomyi ba KANGURA, cyane cyane abatuye mu karere ka NYANZA, ndetse ntibagiwe n'abandi bose bakeneye kumenya ibibera mu mujyi wa NYANZA. Dore ibyo nshaka kubagezaho :

ABATUTSI B'I NYANZA BARISHAKIRA UMWAMI WABO.

Abategetsi bategetse Komini ya NYABISINDU, ntibakunze kumara igihe ku butegetsi kubera kuba ibikoresho by'abatutsi baho, dore ko babayoberezaga mu macupa y'inzoga, bakabajyana aho bashaka. Komini ya Nyabisindu, ubusanzwe yiganjemo abatutsi benshi b'abimukira, hari abaje mu gihe cya cyami, hari n'abandi bari bahasanzwe. Ariko iyo witegereje usanga rwose n'abitwa abahutu bamwe ari abatutsi bahinduje bakigira abahutu kandi ataribo. Abahutu nibo bake kandi ni n'abakene. Service zihari, inyinshi zikorwamo n'abatutsi ku buryo nta muhutu uhafite ijambo, bikaba ari nayo mpamvu bahora bigengesereye ngo batazabura uwo biyambaza mu gihe bagize iki bazo. Amahirwe ni uko abashefu ba service zimwe na zimwe ari abahutu.

IBYAPFUYE, BYAPFUYE KERA.

Nka service ya Recensement ya Komini yabanje gukorwamo n'umututsi, maze si uguhindura amafishi ya bene wabo avayo. Arayahindura karahava. Na n'ubu uyikoramo, ni umututsi wihinduje yigira umuhutu ngo ni uko yarerewe mu bahutu akiri umwana. Aho akuriye yisunze bene wabo b'abatutsi, ariko ntakunde kwigaragaza cyane. Burugumesitiri ajye akora uko ashoboye amukurukirire hafi, niba atari amuzi abimenye, cyangwa nawe azibarize. Uwo mugabo wa mbere rero wakoze muri recensement byageze n'aho yohereza bene wabo bari barahunze kera indangamuntu.

UBU BIMEZE GUTE ?

Aho amashyaka aziye, ubu abatutsi barakamejeje ngo barashaka ko i NYABISINDU hategekwa n'umututsi. Buri gihe usanga abatutsi bari mutunama, bakorera mu masaro biga ukuntu bazavanaho ubutegetsi bwose bufitwe n'umuhutu muri iyo Komini, bahereye cyane cyane kuri Burugumesitiri na Superefe wa Superefegitura ya Nyabisindu. Intwaro bakoresha ni ugusebanya, iyo bitagize icyo bitanga, bashaka ukuntu bahungabanya umutekano. Iyo urebye kandi ababikora usanga atari ab'i Nyabisindu kavukire. Ahubwo usanga ari abahatuye bahafite akazi ka Leta cyangwa bahacururiza ariko batanditswe muri iyo Komini.

UTABIZI ASANGA ARI AMAYOBERA.

Nk'uko nabibabwiye ko abenshi bahinduye ubwoko bakaba biyita abahutu, utabizi yagirango abasabota bagahungabanya umutekano, ni imvange y'amoko yose. Reka da ! Ni abatutsi bonyine gusa. Amenge aragwira, uko kwihinduza kwa hano i Nyabisindu, ntawari uzi icyo kugamije.

ABACURUZI B'ABATUTSI BAHERUTSE GUKORA IMYIGARAGAMBYO.

Bayobowe n'uwitwa NGARAMBE Gérard, utazi neza no gusoma, yashatse agatsiko ka bene wabo, b'abatutsi ngo bazange gutanga umusogongero wa Komini. Abahutu bashishoza banze iki gitekerezo maze bo batangana umunezero uwo musogongero. Abandi kubera ubwoba bw'umubare nyamwinshi w'abatutsi bemeye kubakurikira. Nyuma y'umunsi bari bafunze amaduka, abahutu bamwe batangiye kumva ibyo aribyo. Abaturage bo bari batangiye kukameza ngo nibadafungura amaduka barajya kuyifungurira bihe ibyo bakeneye. Imana irakabyara kuko ibyo bitabaye, abategetsi bakabikemurira hafi. Uwo murengwe wabo wari guhita ushirira aho ukabaha isomo.

TURASHIMIRA BURUGUMESITIRI NA SUPEREFE BA NYABISINDU.

Abo bagabo ni nk'Imana yaboherеje ngo bazure Komini ya NYABISINDU yari imaze igihe iri mu kajagari. Barahageze bashaka kuringaniza amoko yose batavanguye. Ariko kugeza ubu ntabwo byanejeje abatutsi, ahubwo byarabarakaje none ubu ngo bakeneye Burugumesitiri na Superefe b'abatutsi kuko abo bari baramenyereye, uwahoze ari Burugumesitiri SEKIMONYO na Superefe GASANA bari barabahumye babakoresha icyo bashaka. Ubu abahutu bo muri NYABISINDU barashima cyane ubutegetsi buriho bwa Komini n'ubwa Superefegitura. NGIRUWONSANGA na HABUMUGISHA nimurambe TURABASHYIGIKIYE.

UTUNAMA TW'ABA BATUTSI TUZARIKORA.

Aba batutsi niba bafite ubwenge butekereza kure, nibisubireho, umwami bategereje, bazamusange aho ari kuko hano i NYANZA tudateze kumwemerera ubutegetsi. Mwemere mureke utwo tunama muze muganire n'abandi.

Aba bagabo rero sinzi icyo bashaka kugeraho :

1. RWAGAHUNGU Innocent (IPJ)
2. MUREKEZI Raphaël (Enseignant)
3. HAMANA (Professeur ENP Nyanza)
4. NZARAMBA Alexandre (Professeur ESN)
5. KALIBWENDE Alphonse (Enseignant)
6. NGARAMBE Gérard (Commerçant)
7. GAHUNZIRE (Commerçant)
8. Twagiramutara (Retraité)
9. GAKUBA Tharcisse (Pharmacien)
10. KAGORORA Emmanuel (Enseignant)
11. FURAHA Justin (Curé de la Paroisse)
12. BAZIGA Elie (Photographe)
13. MUTAGANDA Corneille (HUTSI, conseiller vendu)
14. NTAGUGURA Antoine (Professeur ESN)
15. MUGANGA Narcisse (Agronome)
16. MUGEMANA (Directeur de l'ESPANYA)

Umusomyi wa KANGURA
BAZIMAZIKI J. Pierre

ABAKOZI B'ABARAKARE.

Abarakare mu gihugu baragenda barushaho kwiyongera. Akanya gato cyane ndagaharira abakozi bo muri Minisiteri ya Finansi na BRALIRWA. Mbere yuko ariko ngira icyo mvuga, mu Rwanda birarushaho kugaragara ko mu bigo bitanga ibihembo ku bakozi babyo cyangwa bamwe muri abo bakozi bakaba bafite ukuntu ruswa ibageraho, birangwa n'ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abakozi n'abakoresha.

Mu rwego rw'amashimwe, urugero rwiza rufatika, rwerekana amakimbirane abyarwa no guha abasanzwe bafite kandi bidasobanura ko ari bo bavunika cyane, ugakarabya abavunika kandi bahembwa make, ruboneka muri BRALIRWA (uruganda rwenga byeri n'ibinyobwa bidasindisha).
Abafite imishahara iri mu bihumbi magana nibo bahabwa amasukari, imiceri, ibinyobwa. Ibyo bakabyita "ration". Bakongera bakishyurirwa amazu, amazi, amashanyarazi, téléphone, ingendo zibajyana zikanabavana ku kazi. Ariko se dufashe nk'abakanishi ba BRALIRWA basa nk'aho ari bo mu by'ukuri umutima utuma uruganda rutera imbere tukababaza niba ziriya "avantage" zibageraho badusubiza ngo iki ! Benshi muri bo twabonanye, akababaro kabo bagahina batya: "Muri BRALIRWA ni muri Afurika y'epfo, politiki yaho ni apartheid". Abo bakozi barangiza bagira bati: "Ubwo imyigaragambyo yahawe indi sura, kandi tukaba twiyemeje kuzarwanya ruswa abazungu baba batanga, turizera ko ivangura hagati y'abakozi rigiye kuranduka".

Urugero nafashe ni urwa BRALIRWA, kubera ko rwujuje ibyangombwa byose mu bijyana no gutonesha abakozi bamwe mu buryo budafututse, no gupyinagaza abandi n'umwete ukataje. Ibyo ntibisobanura ko nirengagije akarengane ka bamwe mu bakozi ba UTEXRWA, SONARWA, CROIX ROUGE, uruganda rukora ibiringiti (RWANTEXCO), RWANDEX n'ahandi... Nyuma y'amashimo, ikindi gitera impagarara ndetse kikanabyara abakozi b'abarakare ni ruswa. Ijambo ruswa ryaba ryarazanywe mu Rwanda n'umwaduko w'Ababiligi, rikaba rituruka ku gifaransa "reçois", gisobanura ngo akira.

Nyamara uko mbitekereza, abazungu sibo bazanye mu Banyarwanda ingeso yo gutanga no kwakira amaturo, ahubwo ni umwe mu muco nyarwanda n'ubwo atari mwiza.
Nk'imigani ya kera irabyerekana. Urugero: Ururimi rusa ntirusabira inka igisigati. Hari uri bumbwire se ko uwo mugani nawo wazanywe n'abazungu ?

Nyamara hari abafite igisigati.

Muri rusange, abakozi ba Leta ntibahabwa amashimo akabije k'uburyo byatera rwaserera hagati yabo. Ndetse n'amafaranga bagombye guhabwa kubera gukora nyuma y'amasaha bayasimbuje ibiruhuko baremera kandi ntaho byabaye. Ubundi iyo umukozi udashobora kumuha ibyo agomba, ntumukoresha. Bikaba bishaka gusobanura ko Leta y'u Rwanda nta burenganzira ifite bwo gukoresha abakozi bayo nyuma y'amasaha y'akazi kuko itabibahembera.

Rwose ikiruhuko ku muntu waraye izamu si cyo gihembo cye. Nta mukozi ukorera guhembwa kuruhuka. Oya kirazira. Hafi y'abakozi ba Leta bose bahembwa umushahara udashobora kubatunga ukwezi kose. Niyo mpamvu abenshi usanga bamara guhembwa bagahita bishyura amadeni ariko ntibwire batongeye gufata andi. Hakaba ndetse ubwo ababanye menshi ntibabe bacyishyuye. Abazi amayeri y'ubuzima bakaka umwenda hano kugira ngo bishyure hariya.

Nyamara bose si kimwe. Hari abafite "igisigati". Waramuka ushaka kugisaba ukirinda gushora ururimi gusa. Abadafite icyo "gisigati" baba abarakare, kuko nabo bakibonye ntibakwihanganira kutaka ruswa. Nk'uko nabibasezeranije, urugero rw'amakimbirane ruturuka ku bakozi bamwe babona ruswa abandi ntibayibone, turarufata muri Minisiteri y'Imari.

Hari imvugo ihanze mu bakozi b'iyo minisiteri. Uhura n'umukozi waho ukamubaza uti "ese ukora muri finansi ?" Akagusubiza ngo "oya, nkora kuri finansi". Iyo umubajije itandukaniro riri hagati agusubiza ababaye ati "iyo ubundi umuntu yinjiye mu nzu Minisiteri ya finansi ikoreramo, iyo akiri mu mazu yo hasi nibwo aba ari muri finansi. Ariko uko azamuka yerekeza mu miturirwa yo hejuru, niko mu by'ukuri aba asohoka muri finansi, agana hejuru ya finansi". Iyo ntekerezo ubundi irashaka kuvuga ko abakorera mu mazu yo hasi aribo babona ruswa. Kandi ni mu gihe kuko aribo barimo abaka imisoro n'amahoro, n'abagenzuzi b'imisoro abacuruzi bagize indahiro.
Mbese nk'uko nakomeje kubivuga, abakora mu mazu yo hasi bafite igisigati kidasabirwa inka hakoreshejwe ururimi gusa. Abakora mu mazu yo hejuru rero, babonana n'impapuro nsa nsa. Nta gisigati bagira; sérum yabo bayitera imirwi, k'ubw'amahirwe bakabona bahuje imitwe yombi y'ukwezi. Ariko ntibabure kubabazwa no kubona bagenzi babo barushaho kubyibuha inda. Kugira ngo bishyire mu mutuzo, nk'abarangije amashuri yisumbuye, ibihumbi byabo cumi na bitatu n'amagana hejuru, babyita miliyoni cumi n'eshatu n'ibihumbi magana atandantu bisaga. Nyamara ushobora gusanga uwo mutuzo biha ari akababaro bahishe mu bwenge butuje (businziriye).

Natanze ibibazo bibiri: icy'amashimo n'icya ruswa. Icya mbere gishobora kubonerwa umuti. Abakozi ubwabo nibo bazivana mu buvumo, maze bajye ahagaragara. Bagomba kwibohora ubwabo. Ikibazo cya kabiri nta muti gishobora kubonerwa kuko ari kamere. Icyizere kigihari ni za soni z'ubunyarwanda zo kudasaba ruswa "nyama kwa nyama", mbese ku mugaragaro. Ako gahenge karacyahari rwose. Nako ariko gashobora gukendera kuko uko ifaranga ry'u Rwanda rizagenda rirushaho guta agaciro, ni nako umukozi azajya yimenyereza ku mihindukire y'ubuzima. Ibyo akazabigeraho ashaka amafaranga ku buryo ubwo aribwo bwose no kwaka ruswa birimo.

NYABYENDA Issa.

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kobwa ari hamwe n'abandi bakobwa benshi (ikipe), icyo gihe iyo uwo mukobwa atashakaga uwo musore, yahitaga atungira agatoki ya kipe y'abakobwa, maze si uguseka bakihirika (na kariya gatwenge), umusore yagira ngo arakebutse, kubera abo bakobwa maze noneho bagaseka bagaturagara, ndetse bakarashya imigeri. Ariko uko nabibonye umusore nawe ntiyarekeraga aho, iyo yabaga amaze kumenya ko ariwe baseka, yakoraga uko ashoboye agashaka kubereka ko ari agasore keza, ndetse ko n'amabinga cyangwa inkombe babona ataribyo, yabaga yongera igitwenge kuri ba bakobwa !! Murumva ko nyamusore yatahaga amwaye ndetse ntasubire iyo nzira !! KANGUKA, LE TRIBUN DU PEUPLE, RWANDA RUSHYA mwe se bite ? Amabinga n'inkombe byanyu mushaka guhisha ko tubibona !!
Ndangije nshimira cyane kiriya kiganiro cyahise kuri Radio kúwa 6/3/92 (Cercle des républiques progressistes), nkashima cyane abari muri iryo teraniro nka Dogiteri BINYANGE na NAHIMANA Ferdinand. Abandi bagishaka kugwa mu mitego y'abanzi kuko nabo bavuze nkabumva, bo ndabasaba gukurikiza amagambo meza yaturutse mu kanwa ka Dr BINYANGE, uyu wanyuma ndamusaba kuzatugezaho ariya magambo yavuze muri KANGURA.

HARAKABAHO DEMOKARASI !!
KARANGIRA Déo

IBIDASANZWE MURI KANGURA.

Guhera kuri iyi nimero tuzajya tubagezaho ibyahishuwe. Ni ukuvuga amarorerwa akorwa n'Abategetsi cyangwa se abantu ku giti cyabo bagenda bakora bazi ko bitazamenyekana. Ibyo bose tuzagenda tubitangaza. Ubutaha tuzahera ku mugambi urimo guteguwa na Minisitiri ushinzwe Ububanyi n'Amahanga Bwana NGURINZIRA ngo yaba yaraguzwe na Guverinoma y'u Burundi.

Minisitiri w'Intebe nawe dufite ibyo tuzamuvugaho, gusa turacyakora iperereza ngo turebe ko bataba bashaka kumushuka.

Umugabo HITIMANA Noheri ntakiri Umunyamakuru wa KANGURA. Icyatumye yirukanwa tuzakibagezaho nibiba ngombwa. Gusa turasaba abantu bose agenda yereka Ikarita y'Ubunyamakuru ya KANGURA ko iyo karita nta gaciro ifite. Nayikoresha azafatwe nk'abandi basambo kuko yanze kuyigarura.

ESE BUCYANA (CDR) NA MUGENZI (PL) BAREBANA AY'INGWE ?

Bucyana «B» (akiryamiye) : Allo, allo ! ninde tuvugana ?

Mugenzi «M» - Ni Yusitini Mugenzi, perezida wa PL, wize i Makerere ho muri Uganda nkaba ubu mfite uruganda SORWACI. Nagiraga ngo nkwibarize ahandi muteganya kujya gutwika muri iyi minsi....

B : *Umva kandi, dore ibyo bigambo byawe bitameshe nibyo byateye imvururu mu Bugesera, none urashaka no gukongeza igihugu cyose. Ubwo koko ni ibyo unyabirije muri uyu museso; ubwo se niba wararanye n'umushingwe aho uwo mwaku ndawuhonoka. Ese ko numva ibinyoni n'injereri aho ntiwaba uri muri Chuya Forest hamwe n'inkotanyi zawe mwitegura kugaba ibitero muri Butaro n'ahandi. Harya ni he haramukiwe mwitegura guturikisha bya mine ?*

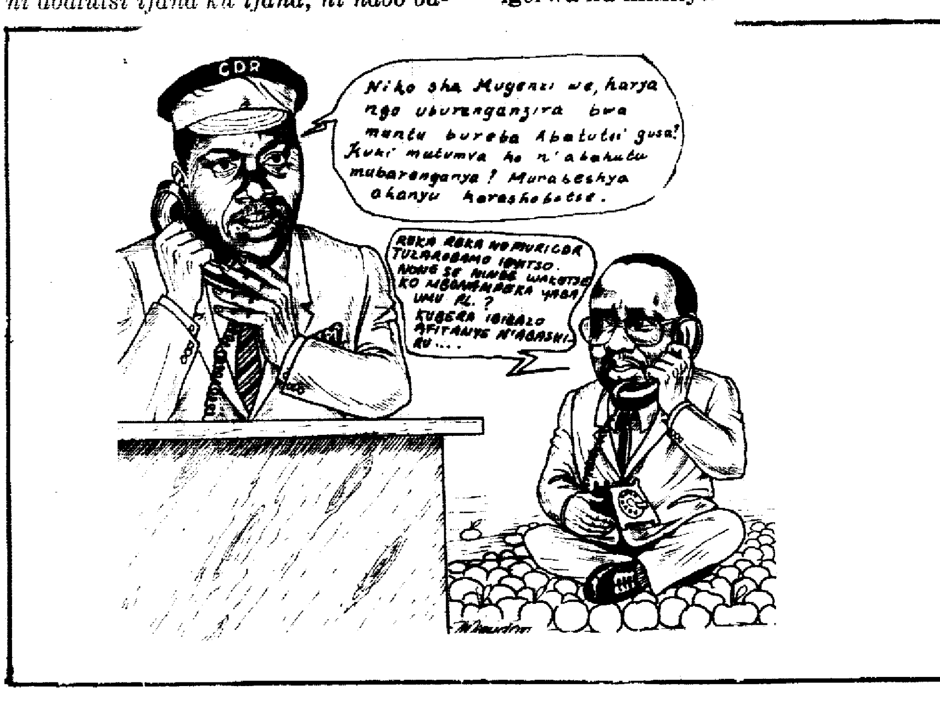
M : Maze mujye mureka kubeshya twarabamenye; impuzamugambi zawe n'intera hamwe za MRND babifashijwemwo n'ubutegetsi bwananiwe nibo ba gashozantambara. None se sibo bajyanye lisansi n'imipanga mu Bugesera kwa Rwambuka byo kwica abatutsi. Izo nkotanyi bagereka kuri PL si Habyarimana wazibujije amahwemo yanga ko zitahuka na Bizimungu azitukagura ngo ni imihirimbiri; reka zibumvishe nanjye ndazishyigikiye. Naho bya mine byo nta gihamya ko ari PL n'abatutsi dore ko aribo mwikoma babitega. N'abasirikare banyu bashobora kubiturikisha bashaka amayeri yo gushyiraho amategeko adasanzwe kugira ngo baburizemo demokarasi yari itangiye gushinga imizi. Kandi naho byaduturukaho byaba aribwo buryo bwiza bwo gukanda ingoma y'igitugu, y'ikinyoma, yo gusahura iriho no kwumvisha abaturage mu magambo no mu bikorwa ko nta mutekano bafite bitewe na Habyarimana n'abambari be.

B : *Ariko ubundi ko bavuga ko uri umuhutu nubwo uri icyimanyi waje koko kuyoboka ute ishyaka rya Lunari, rikaba n'agashami ka FPR kugeza naho uribera umuyobozi ukanamamaza ku mugaragaro ubugome bw'inkotanyi-ntutsi. Abantu benshi bemeza kandi ko wariye akayabo k'amadorari y'inyenzi baguhereye i Kampala, Bujumbura na Kigali.*

M : Maze rero twumvikane, ntabwo PL ari ishyaka ry'abatutsi si n'iry'inkotanyi kuko Mbonampeka, Zirimwabagabo, wa mugore n'abandi benshi atari bo. Naho iby'amafaranga naba narahawe ni ikinyoma gitereye aho. Niba ubyemera ni ukuvuga ko abayobozi b'amashyaka bose ndetse nawe udasigaye baba baratamiye.

B : *Ushatse rwose wacisha make kuko ari ntawe ushobora kukwemera. Uzajye ureba mitingi zose za PL nta muntu n'umwe ufite izuru nk'iri ryanjye waharabukwa, bose aba ari abatutsi gusa kandi n'imvugo zose akaba ari iza gitutsi nsa. Nkubu PL yirirwa ibomborana mu Rwanda no mu mahanga ngo abatutsi b'i Bugesera barashize ariko sindumva aho ivuga ko abahutu bo muri Butaro, Kidaho, Muvumba n'ahandi bamerewe nabi kubera inkotanyi. N'izihe mfashanyo ishyaka ryawe rimaze gutanga ngo rigoboke abakuwe mu byabo n'imfubyi z'intambara ? Abahutu bo bamwikingiriza ibyo rwose ni ibisanzwe kandi ntibibuza ihame gukomeza kuba ryo. None se wakwiharanga ngo inkotanyi si abatutsi kubera ko harimo Kanyarengwe, Pasteur cyangwa Barahinyura wazisezeyemo. Inkotanyi ni abatutsi ijana ku ijana, ni nabo bateje iyi ntambara ntagushakishiriza ahandi. Na ya mashyaka mwanywanye arabizi uretse ko abyirengagiza ashishikajwe yo no kugera ku butegetsi gusa. CDR yo ni ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi ndetse nawe wagombaga kuba urimo uretse ko wahabye nk'igihunyira cya ku manywa. CDR nta bwoko na bumwe yanga, ntishyigikiye na busa imvururu izarizo zose. Ahubwo witegereje usanga ariyo irengera abatutsi kuko ibibutsa ko batagomba kuvutswa inyungu zabo zose naho ayandi mashyaka yo agamije kubamira mu cyayenge yitwaje ubumwe budateze kuzabaho ndetse n'abatutsi batifuza na buhoro. Icyakora nyine twongeraho ko n'inyungu z'ayandi moko zigomba nazo kubahirizwa mu mahoro, mu bwumvikane no mu butabera. Abatutsi rwose bashyitse umutima mu nda nta mu CDR n'umwe uzabarya urwara ahubwo CDR izabatabara mu gihe hagize ushaka kubahohotera. Nawe Mugenzi uryame usinzire ntabwo CDR iteze kukwambura abayoboke kimwe nuko nawe ari ntawe uteze kuyishimutaho mu bayo.*

M: Reka noneho tujye mu rwenya; hari abavuga ngo CDR na PL niyo mashyaka azasigara muri iki gihugu mu myaka iri imbere. Jye mbona atari byo kuko MDR ihagaze bwuma idashobora kuranduka vuba naho MRND yo iminsi isigaje igerwa ku mashyi.



B : *Nanjye nigeze kubyumva ariko nyine nabifashe nk'urwenya uretse ko bishoboka. Niba abahutu bose bemeye gushyira mu gaciro, bakimenya, bakazirikana inshingano z'abarwanashyaka ba mbere ba PARMEHUTU ndumva bazayoboka CDR uko bakabaye. MDR uvuga yo kuranduka ni nk'aho mvugiye aha, cyereka n'ihindura imikorere yayo igashyira ku buyobozi bwayo abahagarariye rubanda nyamwinshi koko kandi ikipakurura burundu gufatanya n'umwanzi; ubwo ibikoze gutyo rero nayo yaba yinjiye muri CDR. Nk'ubu usanga intego y'ibanze ya MDR ari uguhirika ubutegetsi buriho; ubwo se si ukuvuga ko nibumara kuvaho izahita nayo isenyuka kuko izaba yageze ku ntego yayo. Erega ubundi uburyarya bwanyu nibwo buzarikora, murinda mwisunga MDR maze nayo igasamara muyobewe ko ari inzigo; murayishuka gusa kugira ngo ibabere inkingi mushamikiraho maze mwagera ku migambi yanyu yo gusenya ingoma-mputu zose no gutikiza icyitwa umuhutu cyose muyipakururе kuko muba mwanamaze kuyisenya. Ibyaribyo byose ikibazo kiri mu Rwanda ni icy'amoko bamwe mu banyapolitiki badashaka kumva ahubwo bakavangitiranyamo ibindi bibazo by'uturere, by'imitungo bidafashe. Harya ngo PL bayihaye imyanya akandare kandi ikomeye muri Guverinoma kandi ikorana n'umwanzi, ntabwo tubyemera na busa uretse ko muzanabirwaniramo twigaramiye.*

M : Urayishinyagurira data, MRND n'utwitso twayo se bakunze. Ntacyo ariko, tuzi uko tuzakoresha ayandi mashyaka maze ibitekerezo byacu bijye biyahitiramo ku mayere. Ahubwo mfite ubwoba bw'amatora kuko PL bayiharabitse maze bikaba byayibuza amajwi y'abahutu benshi, icyakora ay'abatutsi bo turizeye.

B : *Twe twagize Imana murwanira imyanya tudahari bityo nibibananira, kuko bigomba kuzabananira, igihugu gisigare cyiyambaza CDR umucunguzi wacyo. CDR yizeye mirongo icyenda ku ijana by'amajwi y'abazatora bose. Ndetse twe turifuza ko minisiteri n'izindi serivisi zimwe na zimwe zikomatanyirizwa mu zindi, maze Leta igashobora kuzigama amafaranga yakoresha mu mishinga inyuranye y'amajyambere ikanagoboka abazahajwe n'intambara. Ubundi minisiteri cumi zirahagije; n'ibigo byinshi bimara umutungo w'igihugu byaba muri serivisi zisanzwe za minisiteri. Ko ibigo by'amashuri cyangwa amavuriro bitagira ubutegetsi n'umutungo byihariye bibibuza gukora neza ?*

M : Maze turarira ngo batugeneye utwanya tudahagije maze n'utwariho ugashaka kudukubita ishoka ?

B : *Ibyo nyine biragaragaza umururumba mwerekanye mu kugabagabana za minisiteri. Sinaba mbeshye mvuze ko buri shyaka na buri muntu mu bayabereye ku isonga bagamije inyungu zabo bwite gusa kuko n'ubundi nta na politiki ihamye bafite uretse kurwanira ubutegetsi. CDR yo ifite ingamba ya politiki (idéologie) itajegajega yo kurengera Repubublika no gushimangira ibyiza twazaniwe na Revolisiyo ya rubanda yo mu wa 1959.*

KANGURA.

AHO NO KU NYUNDO IKIBYIMBYE NTIKIRAZA GUTURIKA?

Abanyamakuru ba KANGURA twanyarukiye ku Nyundo mu ifunga ry'igihembwe cya kabiri cy'amashuri dusanga mu kigo cy'abakobwa byacitse. Abahutukazi bahiga n'abahutu bahigisha bari barakaye umujinya ngo kubera ko bari bongeye gukorwa mu jisho. Ikibazo kiri ku Nyundo gikwiye gukurikirwa mu maguru mashya kikabonerwa umuti amazi atararenga inkombe. Amakuru twakuye ku Nyundo ni maremare, ariko reka tuyahine kuko ari mabi.

Nk'ibindi byabo byose biri mu Rwanda, icyuka kibi kiri ku Nyundo cyakuruwe n'abatutsi. Namwe mwisomere izi nyandiko zafatanwe agatsiko k'abatutsi biga aho ku Nyundo. Inyandiko ya mbere ngo ni indirimbo umunyeshurikazi yaba yarandukuye ayumvise kuri Radiyo Muhabura! namwe muzi uko ivuga!!

Wabonye duhunze ntiwashirwa
Utanze amafranga ngo batumarireyo
Iyaturemye ikinga akaboko
Kugeza na nubu tukiriho
Reka tukubwire uko dukora
Mu Bubiligi wirirwa niho dukorera
Ibiro bikuru byacu biri i Kigali
Naho ibyitso byacu nibyo musangira
Ureke bariya wabeshyeye

Reka tukubwire uko wibeshya
Kwirirwa ubeshya abaturage ngo Inkotanyi
Ntizize zirabashuka
Radio Muhabura mbese yavuze
Ko wumva tutize turi injiji?

Iyi nyandiko yafatanywe abatutsikazi bitwa Uwanyirigira Yvonne na Mpinganzima Martine. Directrice w'ikigo yarabyiherеranye ntiyabibwira abarimu nubwo atazi ikinyarwanda, kandi n'abamusemurira bakaba ari abatutsikazi. Kugirango yemeze abandi banyeshuri ko ari indirimbo koko, yafashe umututsikazi umwe amujyana mu mashuri yose ngo ayiririmbe. Umwana arayiririmba koko, ariko uko aririmba neza bikarushaho kurakaza abahutukazi bayumvaga. Abanyeshuri bababajwe no kubona abo bana barahanishijwe kubavanaho amanota atanu ya discipline gusa. Nyuma y'iminsi ibiri, abatutsikazi basohoye inyandiko ikurikira:

"Umuhutu amenya inzara ntamenya inzigo! Mwa bicucu mwe by'abahutu ko mwabonye agapapuro kacu mwadutwaye iki? Mfura za Kigeli ntimubabazwe n'uko mugenzi wanyu bamukuyemo amanota atanu. Muhumure ubwenge bw'abahutu burabaze. Ntabwo bwakuzura urushyi. Rero noneho twabonye umugabo PL. Naza FPR zose zisigaye zituvugira kandi no mu kigo abayobozi ntibatwumva nabi uretse kamwe.

Dukomere kuri wa mugambi wacu umunsi uzaba umwe ibyo bicucu by'ibihutu byo byatangiye gusubiranamo!!! Erega n'ubundi mukomere ku ntego, ku mugambi!!!

Iyi nyandiko nayo yashyikirijwe umuyobozi w'ikigo nayo ayisemurirwa n'abatutsikazi bamubwira ko ntacyo ivuze ngo ari amahomvu y'abana b'injiji b'ubu. Icyakora uwo muyobozi yabonaga ko abanyeshuri barushijeho kurakara biramuyobera nibwo atumije inama y'abarimu ikitaraganya. Abarimu basuzumye inyandiko bahita bavukamo ibice bibiri. Abatutsi bati iyi nyandiko ni iy'abahutu, abahutu bati ni iy'abatutsi. Hari umututsi

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umwe wafunguwe muri bya byitso wihandagaje ngo iriya nyandiko yanditse nka Kangura ngo ubwo ni iy'abahutu, nta mututsi wakwandika kuriya. Mu gihe abarimu bari bagiye gufatana mu mashati, isaha y'inama y'abanyeshuri iba irageze. Abanyeshuri babajije ikibazo Kimwe gusa. Bati ko muzi abafatanywe iriya ndirimbo, nimubaduhe tubatunganye birangire. Igisubizo bahawe ntabwo cyabanyuze, bahisemo noneho gusubika iyo nama ikazakomeza mu ntangiriro y'igihembwe cya gatatu. Ubwo abarimu biyemeje gutaha, ku munsi ukurikiyeho bazindukira mu makaye y'abanyeshuri ngo barebe ko batahura inyandiko ihuje n'iriya yatukaga abahutu. Abahutu baje gutahura inyandiko y'umututsikazi, abatutsi nabo batahura iy'umuhutukazi, rubura gica. Bashatse ko haba itora ngo abahutu baranga kuko babonaga aribo bake bagatinya gutsindwa. Nuko abatutsi barivovota bati mbese ubundi uwafatwa kubera ariya mahomvu yahanishwa iki? Abahutu bati igihano cyoroheje cyaba icyo kwirukana kariya gatsiko k'abatutsikazi ibi byakomotseho. Abatutsi bati reka da! Bati tutababababariye twabimurira mu kindi kigo. Abahutu babonye ko nibarwana n'abatutsi batsindwa kubera ubuke bwabo ngo bahitamo gusohoka, bemeza ko inama izakomeza mu ntangiriro z'igihembwe gitaha.

Abo barimu twahuye bataha ukabona Abahutu bijimye naho abatutsi bakeye, bafite akanyamuneza nk'ikipe yatsinze bitanu ku busa. Batubwiye ko ikibazo cyo ku Nyundo kimaze igihe kirekire ndetse ko ngo hari n'abarimu bahora bahungira mu bigo by'amashuri. Umwaka ushize mu kwezi kwa kabiri bahungiye mu iseminari. Mu guhunguka, Musenyeri Karibushi yahaye buri muryango 25.000 Frw, umufuka w'umuceri, ikarito y'amavuta, ikarito y'amasabune, n'amabaro abiri y'imyenda. Ubwo ngo iyo ni ya Caritas yo ku Nyundo yabagobokaga. Ejo bundi mu kwa kabiri na none bongeye guhungira mu iseminari no muri Lycée. Ariko noneho batashye bimyiza imoso kuko na Musenyeri yamenye ko ari umutwe batekaga ntiyagira icyo abarebera. Rero ngo nta mfura imwara da! Abahutu b'inyangamugayo barababajije bati ese ko muhunguka mugasanga ntacyangirijwe mu ngo zanyu, hariya muhungira bibaye ngombwa niho tutagera? IPJ wa Komini Kanama nawe yabikozeho anketi twaramusuye atubwira ko buriya ari uburyo abatutsi bafite bwo kugaragariza amahanga ko bamerewe nabi mu Rwanda kandi mu byukuri ntacyo babaye. Ngo yarababajije ati ese ko mwahungutse, ikibazo mwapfaga n'abahutu cyarangiye? Babuze icyo bamusubiza.

Twaje kubarura ingo z'abatutsi batuye ku Nyundo dusanga zitarenze icumi, muri zo ingo zirindwi zikaba iz'abarimu bigisha ku Nyundo, akaba ari zo zitera uwo mwuka mubi ku Nyundo. Abo barimu bishyira ukwabo, saa yine ngo bajya kunywa ikivuguto ku mukobwa wa Musenyeri ukibategurira, nta muhutu ngo wakivumbaho. Iyo nkumi ya Musenyeri niyo ishinzwe discipline y'abanyeshuri aho mu kigo, ariko we usanga ashishikajwe no gutanya amoko mu bikorwa bye byose. Abahutukazi abaryamisha ukwabo, n'abatutsikazi ukwabo. Abatutsikazi bamwe nabo bafite igihe bajya kunywera amata iwe. Ni nawe wateje ikibazo igihembwe cya mbere kijya kurangira ubwo yategekaga abatutsikazi gutaha mbere, abahutukazi bagataha umunsi ukurikiyeho. Nabyo byatumye abanyeshuri barakara, bacubywa n'uko umuyobozi w'ikigo yabasezeranije ko mu gihembwe cya kabiri bari gusanga yarasimbujwe undi.

Batangajwe no kubona ibyo bitarubahirijwe. Undi mwarimu ngo waba akurura amacakukbiri aho ku Nyundo ngo ni umwe mubafunguwe amaze amezi atandatu hamwe n'ibindi byitso. Abantu bakibaza impamvu yagaruwe muri icyo kigo kandi icyemezo cya Ministiri w'amashuri Mbangura Daniel cyaravugaga ko abarimu n'abanyeshuri bafungiwe kuba ibyitso baragombaga kwimurirwa mu bigo batari basanzwemo. Ibyo biri mu Mvaho N° 910, tariki ya 2-8 Nzeri 1991 ku rupapuro rwa gatatu. Tukibaza impamvu Ministiri yamusinyiye ngo agaruke aho yahoze azirikana kiriya cyemezo yafashe.

Umwanzuro twafatira kiriya kibazo ni uwuhe? Mu nama zose zabaye, byaragaragaye ko abarimu barimo ibice bibiri, n'abanyeshuri ni uko. Abo bantu bazabana bate? Ko abanyeshuri biyemeje kuzatangira igihembwe cya gatatu bigaragambya banga kwiga, bizagenda gute? Twasaba abayobozi b'ikigo guhana bigaragara bariya barimu bahora bahunga kuko bereka abanyeshuri ububi bw'Abahutu kandi bababeshyera. Rwose twumvise ibyabereye i Gahini, ntawakwifuza ko byabera ino ku Nyundo kandi cyari ikigo cyaranzwe no kwitwara neza muri ibi bihe. Turashimira n'abagoyi ukuntu bihanganiye kugeza ubu ruriya rubwa baterwa n'abahunga ubusa.

NGEZE Hassan.

NDIBARIZA ABASENYERI BO MU BURUNDI NGO IBANGA RY'UKWEMERA N'AGATANGAZA.

Kwitabira ngwengo cane Mukama, turemera ugupfa kwawe kandi turashemeza izuka ryawe gushika aho uzogarukira. Bavandimwe twibutsanye kw'ijambo ry'Imana muri "Matayo 10 ku murongo wa 16 ukagera kuwa 23 Ngo nibabarenganya (uwo n'umurongo umwe muri yo) ngw'arije muzira ngo kuko atari mwe muzoba muvuga ahubwo nije nzoba ndabibabwira"· None nimba mutinya kuvuga ngo abategetsi b'iki gihugu c'u Burundi ko barenganya muzovuga iki imbere y'Imana kwari mwebwe abatumwa u Burundi bufise ? Emwe nzirikana kubwa BAGAZA mwararenganijwe ariko Imana irabereka ko mudakwiye guhangayika. Mwongere mwibuke mu gitabo cya Esiteri ukuntu Hamani yashaka guhorwa Abayuda hanyuma Maridekai akabibwira umwamikazi Esiteri hanyuma Esiteri akabahakigwa ku mwami agashiraho itegeko ryo kubavugira (Esiteri, igice ca 4 n'ica 5) none mwatumenyera natwe ko muri mwebwe hazovamwo umukiza nka Esiteri ? Isi yose uko mvyumva abacinyizwa nibo bavugigwa nimwanka kubikora Imana izobidukorera. Mugabo sinzi ico muzovuga imbere y'ayo.

NDABACEKURE Asterie.

AGAKUNGU KA RWANDA ?

MDR na PL KARAGANISHA HE URU

MDR na PL ni amashyaka yemewe mu Rwanda ndetse akaba ari amwe mu y'ikubitiro.

MDR (Mouvement Démocratique Républicain) mu kinyarwanda Ishyaka riharanira Demokarasi muri Repubulika ngo ni rya rindi ryitwaga PARMEHUTU ryariho muri Repubulika ya mbere, ryatsinze amatora muri 1961 rikaba ryarishingikirizaga kuva kera Revolisiyo yo muri 1959.
Parmehutu rero nta na rimwe yigeze kwemera gukorana na UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise) y'abatutsi kuko Parmehutu nyine nk'uko izina ribigaragaza- yari iy'abahutu: icyo gihe PARMEHUTU na UNAR rimwe ryari umwanzi wa mbere w'irindi.

Ibyo UNAR yarwanyaga ni ibyashyigikirwaga na PARMEHUTU no ku ruhande rwa PARMEHUTU bikaba uko. None ngo MDR y'ubu ishyigikiye bimwe na PL (UNAR y'ubu) ndetse yigurutsa andi mashyaka yiganjemo abahutu. Koko iyo MDR y'ubu yaba ari ParmeHUTU , cyangwa ni Par,-meTUTSI ? Iriya MDR y'ubu yatekerejwe n'Abatutsi cyangwa ibyimanyi byitwikira ubuhutu bigamije gutanguranwa n'Abahutu nyabo bagombaga kuritekereza kubera ko ryabagiriye mbere akamaro. Nta kuntu rero bagombaga gushyiraho indi MDR. Amayeri y'Abatutsi !! Abo "BAHUTSI" (hutu-tutsi) ubwo bashinganga riiya shyaka baryitirira PARMEHUTU, bashakaga ko Abahutu batakwishyira hamwe kuko batinya ubumwe bwabo kuva kera. Niba MDR ari PARMEHUTU koko yari ikwiye gushyigikira ubumwe bw'abahutu aho gushyigikira ubw'abatutsi.

Niyo mpamvu njye ntemera kariya gakungu k'Abatutsi bita ngo ni ubufatanye. Mu by'ukuri ubuzima bwa MDR · Parmehutu bushingiye kuri Revolisiyo yo muri 1959 naho PL ngo ntinayemera ko yabayeho nk'uko UNAR yakomeje kuvuga ko ari urugomo rwakozwe n'abahutu babambura ubutegetsi kandi bo bemeza ko bavukiye gutegeka; ubuzima bwa MDR ni urupfu rwa UNAR ariyo PL ubu.

Niba rero atari amacenga agaragaza ko ariya mashyaka yombi yashinzwe n'abantu bamwe bagamije guhungabanya ubumwe bw'abahutu, Abahutu bari muri MDR bakwiye gutekereza bihagije kuri kariya gakungu abayobozi b'ayo mashyaka bitirira ubufatanye.

Ejobundi kuwa 31/03/1992 MDR igira itya ifatanya na PL mu kuvuguruza mu itangazo sipesiyali n°4, ibyavuzwe na NAHIMANA kuri Radiyo-Rwanda ku mugabo MUGENZI Yusitini wagiye mu Bufaransa aherekejwe n'umwe mu basirikari b'Inkotanyi yitwaje ko ngo ahagarariye amashyaka atavuga rumwe na MRND. Mu kiganiro mbwirwaruhame batanze, MUGENZI yemeje -kuko atabivuguruje- ko iyo ngirwa musirikari yari ivuye mu gace k'u Rwanda Inyenzi zigaruriye, kandi muri iyo minsi mbere y'uko ajya mu Bufaransa, yari aherutse ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda hamwe n'abandi bahagarariye amashyaka, bagasanga abasirikari bacu bafashe neza umupaka, nta nyenzi n'imwe iri mu gace k'u Rwanda, akabirengaho bagafatanya kwandagaza u Rwanda.

Niba nta mugambi bari bafatanije n'iyo ngirwa musirikari, kuki atabivuguruje kandi abizi ? Ahubwo agashyigikira ibyo avuze ndetse nawe yongeraho ko ari ubutegetsi bwishe abagogwe, abahima n'abandi batutsi nko mu Bugesera akirengagiza abahutu bapfa urw'agashinyaguro.

Niba atari ugutiza umwanzi umurindi, nawe ubwe ni Inkotanyi. Rero ngo barakotanira demokarasi. Njye ndemeza rwose ko ariyo. Birababaje kubona abayobozi ba MDR bemera gusinyira iriya nyandiko yateguwe na PL batabanje gusuzuma ngo barebe icyo igamije kugeraho. Ibi ndabyemeza maze kwiyumvisha umurongo MDR ParmeHUTU yiyemeje kugenderamo; niba bariya bayobozi baremeye kuyisinyira bamaze kuyisuzuma, ndongera nemeze ko abashinze ariya mashyaka bashobora kuba ari bamwe.

Kariya gakungu ka MDR na PL ntigashingiye ku busa, niyo mpamvu Abahutu bose bagifite umutima wo guharanira ubusugire bwa Repubulika y'u Rwanda bakwiye kuba maso kugira ngo ziriya nyenzi nkotanyi zidutera ziturutse i Bugande, zidafata ubutegetsi mu Rwanda zikadusubiza ku buhake nka mbere ya 1959. Abahutu bari muri MDR bakwiye kubitekerezaho bihagije.

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