

KANAGURA



S U R A I T

N° 43

**UWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURIRA NO
KURENGERA RUBANDA
NYAMWINSHU.**

100 FRW

JUIN -1993



NGEZE Hassan asezeraye ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi muri Afurika yo hagati.

BUYOYA ashobora gutoza abandi demokarasi.

GAPYISI: tuzatahura abamwishe Minititiri w'Intebe naduha ubushobozi.

Umugore wa BIZIMANA arakwaka mu batega ibisasu ku Gisenyi.



GISENYI : NSENGIYAREMYE ADATABAYE VUBA KOMANDA BIZIMANA YASHOZAIZINDIMVURURU ZAGWAMO BENSHI.

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BUYOYA ASHOBORA GUTOZA ABANDI DEMOKARASI.



Nk'uko byagiye bigenda n'ahandi, abanyafurika taracyari abana muri politiki cyane cyane icyo tuvuye ku twerekeza inzira ya demokarasi. Ni muri urwo rwego ibihugu by'ibihangange ku isi, abanyaburayi, leta Zunze Ubumwe z'America biduhutira gukurikira inzira ya demokarasi, no kubahiriza amategekako twishyiriyeho. Aha bagasabwa no gushyiraho amategekako arengera iruvungu za benshi. Nushyirweho kurengera inyuma y'ubari ku tutegetsi gusa.

Iyo ibyo byose byubahirijwe nibwo usanga intwari z'amahanga ziza nta kibazo. Impamvu nta yindi ni uko icyo igihugu kigendera ku mutwari ya demokarasi, bigoye kunyereza umutungo wacyo cyangwa kwica, aho mutwari umwe, bagira aho mutumvikana impunzi za politiki....

Iyo igihugu kirangwa na demokarasi, kirasurwa cyikizwa na benshi. Demokarasi rero igendana n'amatora adafitse yemejwe na benshi. Kandi utsinze ukumva ko agamba gutegekana n'uwatsinzwe kuko bangana imbere y'amategekako.

GUTSINDWA MURI DEMOKARASI NTA CYAHA KIRIMO:

Ahubwo icyaha ni ukutemera ko watsinzwe n'amajwi ya benshi cyanywa se wabyemera nyuma ugashyira imvururu ugamije kumena amaraso. Iyo wemeye gufika kigabo ugategereze andi matora, ugukosora muri politiki yawe icyatumye utsinze icyo aho uba intwari. Kandi birashoboka kuko hari n'aba umukuru w'igihugu amaze imyaka hafi makumyabiri abihatanira n'abandi, yatsindwa ugahindurira ingingo zitu-

ma atsindwa nk'uko byagiye bigenda kuri Mitterand w'u Butaransa n'abandi benshi.

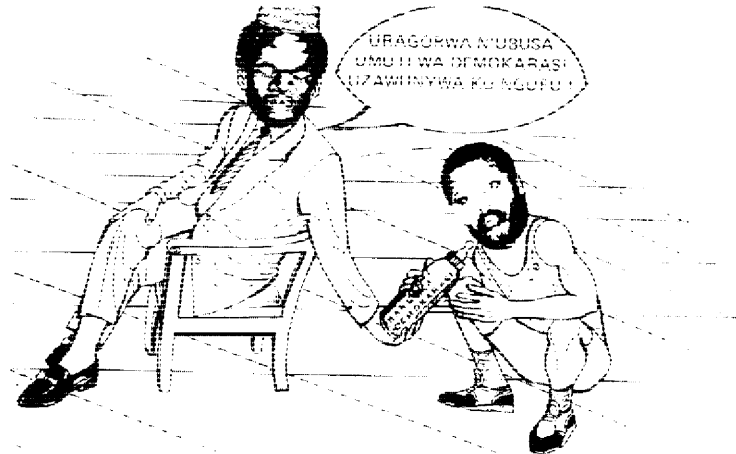
TUGARUKE KU MATORA Y'I BURUNDI:

Buyoya yamvaga ko abaturage bazamwizera bakamutera. icyo yaheragaho ni umusezerano y'ubumwe hwa'abaturanyi yamvaga ko abahutu yaharagaye kandi bayemeye. Nyamara yaje gusanga ko yibeshya kuko aya masezerano n'abatutsi bene wabo yari afitiye akamaro batayashyiraga mu bikorwa.

Nko kubona nta mututsi urongora umuhutukazi, mu gihe abahutu bo batungora abaturutsikazi. Ingero ni nyinshi. Kuko n'uwavuye ko abahu-

no kubonerwa indi mirimo mu nzege mpuzamahanga. Abarundi bakamwohereza nko mu miryango ikomeye.

Bitaba ibyo agahabwa akazi ko gutoza demokarasi nk'uko n'abandi bagiye bagahabwa na biriya bihugu by'ibihangange ku isi. Urwego ni abari baje kumutoza kwemera demokarasi i Bujumbura. Kandi nabo barabaye abakuru b'ibihugu. Ibyo nibimucika abumuri inyuma bagashyira imvururu, baza zigwamo uri benshi kandi noneho urujinya w'abahutu uvuke. Bibuke ibyo bakorewe kuva kera maze amasaziye ye abe mabi. Abe impunzi mu gihe abandi bazaba baratashye.



tu byari bigoye kubibagiza ukuntu rimwe mu myaka itatu bicwaga n'ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi. Ibyo byose Buyoya ntiyabitekereje. Niyo kandi abitekereza nta kundi yari kubigenza kuko abazungu bari babyifuje. Buyoya amaze gutsindwa yemeye ku mugaragaro ko atsinzwe usiba abamuri inyuma kubahiriza amahame ya demokarasi. Aha umuntu yakwibaza niba ba batutsi bamenyereye guhaka bazemera kubona n'abahutu muri demokarasi. Bakumva ko demokarasi ivuye ubutegetsi buri mu mahoko ya benshi. Agize amahirwe bigashoboka ntiha-gire... imvururu abatutsi bashyira, Buyoya yaba abaye intwari. Nacyo yezaba ndetse n'ibyo yakoreye abahutu muri Ntega na Marangara umuntu yabyihanganira kuko nta mahoro ahora. icyo gihe ashobora

Nagaragaze rero ubutwari yemere ibyo abafaransa hamubwira, yime amatwi ababirigi basa nk'aho batayemere isura. Dore ko bamaze gusezererwa aho bari bakomeye : Rwanda, Burundi, Zaïre, kubera kwivanga mu bitabareba.

Aha Buyoya arasabwa gusaba abamuri inyuma bese bagacisha make, bagahabera urwaje kuko ntawe urusimbuka rwamubonye. Maze turerebe ko Buyoya atazitwa intwari iruta abamubanjirije mu butegetsi bw'igitugu. Inama za Kangura nazo zizamugirira akamaro nabyitwarimo neza. Twe mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru tuzakomeza gukurikirira hafi imigendekere ya demokarasi i Bujumbura.

NGEZE Hassan.

IBARWA NZOZI YANDIKIWE NYAKWIGENDERA MUTOMBO

NGEZE Hassan
C/O UBUZIMAKWISI
B.P. ABAHUTUBOSE
AFURIKA

Kigali, le 6/06/93

Ku nshuti yanjye MUTOMBO
Yozefu
C/O IRUHANDE RWA
RUREMA

Ku wari inshuti yanjye, kandi agapfa mu mwanya wanjye. Wowe wazize ko warengeraga abahutu bari bugarijwe maze ugasiga abana bagera ku icumi batagira kirengera. Ni wowe nkeka ko wakoreye intashima nandikiye. Ni wowe wita ngiye abandi bigatuma ugenda nki- gukeneye, n'abo wari ushinzwe ku rera bataragera igihe cyo kwiha. Ni wowe nizeraga ko ufite inshuti nyinshi z'ingirakamara kandi ari za nyamwigendaho. Nkwandikiye nura ngo nkubaze uko umerewe iruhande rwa Gihanga wahanze u Rwanda, ariko mu gihe ngitegereje igisubizo, njye mbabajwe n'uko ariye kukugezaho inkuru idashimi- shije.

Inkuru nkugezaho, abo dusa- nyaye abanyaka, ndumva iri bubaba- ze, ndetse bamwe ibatere ikumwa- ra. Ndayuguranye cyane cyane abari mu buyobozi bukuru twariyo. Barababara twose kuko maze kwibone- ra kenshi ko umuhutu wo muri uru Rwanda umubwira ukuri muka- bipfa. Avubusa ariko uwo mwira- to uzabashyiramo kuko ari Buru- ndi twababwiyeye ukuri bakakumva n'ab' Rwanda bizabageraho.

Mbere yo kuvuga uko kuri indagira ngo nibanze ngusabe kum- bira kuri Nyagasani ngo antere- inkunga yo guhora nzirikana abo wasize. Imana izampe umutima n'ububasha byo kugira icyo man- a byibura abana bane. Umugisha w'abo bana sinkagononwe kuwuba- dezaho mu gihe cyose imana iwu- nyujije kuri njye. Ibyo nibigera- ho bizaba ari rumwe mu ngero uzi- naza ko ntoza abahutu.

N'ubwo ubu utagifite umubiri nizeye neza ko roho yawe ari nzi- ma. Kandi burya umubiri niwo utwoshya ugatuma tubabara kandi ukaturoha mu bujiji. Erekeza roho yawe kuri uru rwandiko maze nkugayire abayobozi ba CDR.

Uribuka turi hamwe muri gere- za ubwo twamenyaga ko abatutsi bohereje uburozi bwo kudukuraho. icyo gihe tuba twarapfuye twembi. N'uma y'ibyo haje gutegurwa imy- qaragambyo n'abanzi bifuzaga ko twiyigwamo twembi. Mu gihe utara- shyirwa mu bikorwa, Perezida wa CDR adushingana muri mitingiri yo ku Rushashi. Byaduteye akanyabu- gabo twumvako n'uwapfa ishyaka ryamuzirikana. Wowe waje kugira ingorane kuko undi mugambi w'u- burozi waje gutwaza akaba ari wo waqubitanye. Nasanze burya ka kanyabugabo kwari ukwibeshya. Uwo washyingurwaga iwawe, Ko- mini Kanama, nta muntu n'umwe wo muri Komite ya CDR naha- bonye. Nakira umurambo wawe mu mva nabyibajijeho ndumirwa. Ni- nterahamwe zari inshuti zawe zaje kugushyigurira ziturutse i Kiga- li zabonye itike izubizayo ku bwa burembe.

Unaze kwitambukira, abanyaka nti- ryigeze risubira inyuma ngo rimbo- aho urubyarwo rwawe rusigaye none ut u amezi abiri arihantse.

Uribuka ko CDR wari urimo yashinzwe n'abahutu baje kukuge- zaho ibitekerezo by'ishyaka bikaku- gwa ku mutima maze ukariyoboka. Byaje kukuviramo na kubeshyerwa ngo wahanuye ikizangerezi gitwite mu muturirwa. Ukuri kwaje gutsi- nda uzarusimbuka. Komite yaba yambajije impamvu wagiye uzira ishyaka? Oya, icyo biba, ubu iba imaze gusura umuryango wasize byibura rimwe. Niba ubuyobozi bwa CDR bwigisha ibyo budako- ra biteye isoni. Ntaho baba batan- niye na ba bahutu batanyeye duho- ra twifuzaga kugarura mu buryo.



Mutombo muvandimwe mu bi- tekerezo, nyemerera ngusabe ikindi kintu. Ngwino muri ino minsi ya vuba, nkurote, nkubone mu nzuzi. Maze muri zo umpe igisubizo cy'ibyo maze kukugezaho. Ndabi- kwemerereye nanjye, icyo gisubizo nzakigeza bidatinze ku zindi nshuti zawe, nkoresheje uburyo bw'ika- ranu.

Impuzamugambi zindi ziragu- tashya kandi ngo muzongera musa- bane. Zabuze uzitumaho ngo zihu- rize hamwe icyatera ingabo mu bitugu abo wasize. Uzabonekere komite yose, maze irote uyigaya. Komeza utere uLwoba abakwishe kuko ubu amaraso yawe yababu- jije amahwemo. Abazaryoza urupfu rwawe ubu barabagera amajanja.

Muto I ndangije aka gaketu nkutwira ibibabaje, wakakako kuva utuvuyemo tutigeze na gato tugira agahenge? Byagutera kongera ku- tugirira impufiwe. Byaha ari byiza kuzitugirira ariko nanjye ndashaka kukubwira inkuru iguha umuneze- ro. Ya ngoma y'igitugu y'i Buju- mbura yari irongowe na Petero Buyoya yahanutse ku masomo ya demokarasi. Akazi k'i Bururi kara- hiye none ubu abatutsi bazinze twa turago wasize babandi bavuye. Hirya na hino baremera uruhara KANGURA yabigizemo. Isuku ya SAHWANYA-FRODEBU yari iri abahutu barakanguka.

Mu gihe ngitegereje indoto zawe uziza, nibaye ngushimiye muvandimwe.

NGEZE Hassan.

TELEGARAMU Y'ISHIMWE KANGURA YOHEREREJE NYAKUBAHWA MELCHIOR NDADAYE PEREZIDA WA REPUBLIKA Y'U BURUNDI.

Kuri Nyakubahwa Perezida wa
Repubulika y'u Burundi
Melchior NDADAYE
Bujumbura/BURUNDI.

Nyakubahwa Bwana Perezida
wa Repubulika,

Ikinyamakuru KANGURA mu
izina ry'abahutu bose aho bava
bakagera cyanejwe cyane n'uku-
ntu amatara y'umukuru w'igihugu
yagenze mu Burundi. Itariki ya
mbere Kamena 1993 ntizibagirana
mu mateka y'icyo gihugu. Uwo
munsi nibwo bene wacu b'abahutu
b'i Burundi bipakuruye ingoma
ntutsi yabakandamije imyaka irenga
magana ane.

Itariki ya mbere Kamena 1993
yibutsa abahutu bo mu Rwanda
umwaka w'1959 ubwo bipakurura-
ga ingoma ya cyami na gihake y'a-
batutsi. Revolisiyo ya rubanda aba-
hutu bo mu Rwanda bakoze mu
w'1959, mwe mwayikoze tariki ya
mbere Kamena 1993.

Bahutu b'i Burundi bavandimwe,
n'ubwo mwatinze kwipakurura i-
nçoyi y'abatutsi, icya ngombwa ni
uko icyo mwaharaniye mukigezeho.
Kandi mwakigezeho. Turabibashi-
miye cyane. Ntimwirare kuko inta-
mbara igikomeza.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Re-
pubulika, ugutsinda kwanyu niko
gutsinda kw'abarundi rubanda rugu-
fi. Amajwi mwabonye 64 ijana, a-
yeretse amahanga ukuri ubutegets-
i bw'abatutsi b'i Burundi bakomeje
guhisha. Abatutsi b'i Burundi uhe-
reya ku Bami kugeza kuri Repubu-
lika ntutsi uko zagiye zisimburana
(Micombero--Bagaza--Buyoya) ba-
komeje guhisha amahanga akarenga-
ne ka rubanda rugufi. Abahutu
n'Abatwa b'i Burundi bagize hafi
90 ku ijana by'Abarundi bose
bakomeje guhezwa mu nzego zose
z'ubutegets-
i, bahezwa n'agatsiko
k'abantu bibwira ko aribo bareme-
we gutegeka. Rero ngo bavukanye
imbuto. Nyakubahwa Perezida wa
Repubulika intambara iracyari nce-

nce nubwo bwose intambwe ya
ngombwa mwayiteye tariki ya
mbere Kamena 1993.

Nk'uko mwiyeje muri Poro-
garamu yanyu guhindura ibintu,
hari byinshi koko bigomba guhi-
nduka mu Burundi. icya mbere
ni uguhindura ibitekerezo. Abatutsi
bakemera ko bataremewe gutegeka
bonyine. Abahutu n'Abatwa nabo
kandi nibo benshi, bakumva ko
nabo bafite ubushobozi bwo kuy-
obora igihugu cyababyaye.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repu-
lika, muhutu mwene wacu, mufite
akazi gakomeye ariko turizera ko
muzabyitwaramo kigabo. Abatutsi
baracyafite imyanya yose y'ubute-
gets-
i. Mu gisirikari baracyari ijana
ku ijana, uhereye kuri Koloneri
ukageza ku musirikari uyu usanzwe.
Mu butegets-
i abatutsi baracyari
bo basa. Guhera ku mukozi wa Leta
wo hasi ukageza kuri Gouverneur
wa Province. Abahagarariye u Bu-
rundi ntu mahanga baracyari abatu-
tsi gusa. Radiyo na Televiziyo y'u
Burundi bifitwe n'abatutsi ni nabo
babikoraho.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Re-
pubulika, akazi kabategereje ntiko
roshye. Nimwe abahutu b'i Burundi
batezeho kubaho kwabo. Ni mwe
muri ku isonga rya revolisiyo bako-
ze tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993.
Ntimuzabatenguhe ! Kandi ni mu
gihwe murashyigikiwe.

Amajwi abahutu babahundagajeho
mu matora ya Perezida wa Repu-
bulika niyo bazaha ishyaka ryabo
«SAHWANYA—FRODEBU» mu
matora y'abadepite azaba tariki ya
29 Kamena 1993. Abantu basigaye
bavuga ko KANGURA iragura.
Ntituragura bya gipfumu ahubwo
dusesengura ibintu uko tubibona,
tukavuga uko tubitekereza. Niba
rero KANGURA izi gusesengura
neza ntiyabizira.

Nyuma y'ibyabaye tariki ya
mbere Kamena 1993, muri KA-
NGURA turareba tugasanga nta ka-
luza n'amatora y'abadepite muza-

yegukana. Ishyaka ryanyu ari naryo
ry'abahutu «SAHWANYA—FRO-
DEBU» rigomba kwegukana intebe
zigera kuri 84 ku ijana. Impamvu
FRODEBU igomba kwegukana a-
majwi angana atyo zirumvikana.
Abahutu n'Abatwa b'i Burundi
bagize hafi 90 ku ijana Kandi bose
bagomba guha amajwi ishyaka rya-
bo. N'abahutu bari barigize abaga-
mbanyi nka ba François NGEZE,
Adrien SIBOMANA, Nicolas MA-
YUGI n'abandi bashobora kwisubi-
raho bakagaruka mu muryango.
Abahutu ntituri abagome twabaha
imbabazi.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Re-
pubulika, kugira ngo imbaga nya-
mwinshi y'Abarundi itsinde, habaye
ah'abagabo. Mwibuke abahutu ba-
pfuye kuva muri za mirongo itanda-
tu kugeza magingo aya. Na mwe
ubwanyu Nyakubahwa Perezida wa
Repubulika, muribuka neza ukuntu
abatutsi babirukanye mu ishuri mu
w'1972 mugahungira mu Rwanda.
Bityo mugashobora gukomereza a-
mashuri yanyu muri Groupe Scolai-
re i Butare idetse na Kaminuza mu-
kayigira mu Rwanda i Ruhande.
Nyuma mwaje no kwigisha i Save
ndetse no muri Kaminuza y'u
Rwanda. Amakuba abahutu b'i
Burundi banyuzemo namwe mwa-
yanyuzemo. Kuva ku itariki ya 24
Ukwakira kugeza tariki ya 28 Uku-
boza 1988 mwarafunzwe muzira
ibitekerezo byanyu.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Re-
pubulika, intambara ntimwayirwe-
nye mwenyine. Yabaye iy'abahutu
bose. Ab'i Burundi babimburirwe
n'ishyaka PALIPEHUTU rya Ny-
kwigendera Gahutu Remy waguye
ku rugamba. N'abahutu bo mu
Rwanda ntitwari dusinziriye. Iki-
nyamakuru cy'abahutu KANGU-
RA, ijwi rigamije gukangura no ku-
rengerera rubanda nyamwinshi, cy-
aharwanye inkundura kandi kiracya-
komeza. Umuyobozi wacyo, Ngezeri
Hassan, umuvugizi w'abahutu, yafu-
nzwe inshuro nyinshi azira koy-

FORA ! BUYOYA NA UPRONA BAZIZE IKI ?

Umucuranzi w'icyamamare Salif Keita bamubajije impamvu ataririmbira Perezida w'igihugu cye Mali, arashyamba ati: "indirimbo namuririmbira avuyeho bajyana. Nkaba ndahombye". Yabivuze hambere aha muri za 80. icyo gihe abaperezida bose bo muri Afurika basabaga abaturage bayobora kubaririmbira ibyiza birimo ubutwari, umurava no gukunda igihugu kandi atari ko bimeze. Ubu iyo ngeso iragenda ihanagurwa n'inkubiri ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi. Ariko Bwana Buyoya w'ubwo yemeye amashyamba menshi batseta ibirenge, yarakomeje taririmbira ku nsamirizi no kuri televiziyo. Yakomeje kumva inkomashyamba zikaraga umuhogo ngo BUYOYA ni umugabo w'ubumwe n'amahoro. Ariko se izo ndirimbo tuzongere tuzumve vuba aha ?

Urundi rugero ruri buze kudufasha gusesengura itsindwa rya BUYOYA na UPRONA turaruvana kuri Musenyeri A. KAGAME, mu gisubizo cye yahaye abanyeshuri yigishaga kuri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. icyo gisubizo kimeze nk'urwenya ariko gihatse ubwenge n'ubushishozi bitari bike. Mu by'ukuri, umwe mu banyeshuri yabajije Musenyeri A. KAGAME ati: "mwaba muzi inyaga"? Ubundi inyaga ku munyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda bisobanura mbere na mbere umukobwa "utanga". Noneho bikongera bigasobanura icyo abazi ikinyarwanda bose babona kuri iryo jambo. Musenyeri rero, ibyo byose yari abizi. Nibwo, mbere yo gusubiza, abanje kwitegereza wa munyeshuri ku buryo bumucengera wese cyane cyane mu bwoko.

Noneho aramusubiza ati: "... n'umwobo wayo nawukandagijemo ikirenge". Mu yandi magambo Musenyeri A. KAGAME yari azi neza inyaga akamenya n'aho ziba. Ikindi kandi yeretse uwo munyeshuri ko yamenye aho iki nyabupfura cye kigarukiye.

Petero BUYOYA rero nawe yabajije abaturage vari ayoboye niba bazi amahoro n'ubumwe. Abibabaza hakozwe amatora. Igitugu cy'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi UPRONA aba arieyo cyerekana ko abarundi bazi amahoro n'ubumwe. Nyamara mu mitima ya rubanda nyamwinshi harushaho kwiyandikira amahoro... nako imyururu zo muri Ntega na Marangara, imyururu zo mu Gushyamba 1991. Izo myururu zose ziza ziyongera ku maraso y'Abahutu yandi...

ba BUYOYA aribo Mikayire MICOMBERO na Yohani Batista BAGAZA. Tube dutegereje kureba ukuntu abahutu baje gutanga igisubizo kirimo ubwenge.

Intambara igihugu cy'u Rwanda kirimo yatumye BUYOYA atagataga hagati y'abahutu n'abatutsi. Ku mpande zombi habura abamwemera: rubanda nyamwinshi iti: "ikinamico rya nyakamwe turarizi". Abatutsi nabo bati "BUYOYA atubereye ikijuju". Akaba ariyo mpamvu umututsi Cyprien MBONIMPA n'agaco ke bashatse guhirika ubutegetsi bwe ariko bikanga. Ugutagataga kwa BUYOYA kwaturutse ku gutinya intambara simuziga impunzi z'abahutu h'abarundi zari zimaze igihe kirekire zitegura.

Ndetse hari iyapfubye mu mpera z'umwaka w'1986. icyo gihe Perezida wari uriho yari abangamiye cyane abandi ba Perezida babiri b'ibihugu by'afurika.

Byatumye bategura imigambi ibiri: uwa mbere wari uboroheye wari uwo guhirika ubutegetsi bwe bagashyiraho undi. Uwa kabiri wari uwo gufasha impunzi z'abarundi zigahirika ubutegetsi zikoresheje intwari. Abo ba Perezida bahamagaje zimwe mu mpunzi bazigezaho uwo mugambi maze zirawemera.

Nyamara amaso yaheze mu kirere kuwo nk'uko bimaze kuvugwa, ba ba Perezida bagerageje wa mugambi wari uboroheye uhita urya, impunzi baba barazibagiwe, zikaraba zityo. Ibyo byose BUYOYA arabizi kandi akanyasira bwo yibagiwe igihugu ingabo zaturutse zije gusa kubahiriza umutekano akimara guhirikirwa ubutegetsi bwa mubyara we.

Uko biri kose bari bakwiye kumva BUYOYA kubera ko abakijije intambara. Kandi mu gihe abahutu bari gufatira ubutegetsi ku munwa w'imibunda nta cyari kubabuzza kwiyi-



shyurira. None uwo bitagenze uko hari agahenge. Rubanda nyamwinshi rero i Burundi itsinze mu matora, ariko iryamire amajanja. Icungire hafi inkurikizi ya "ndatsinzwe ntibura ndarenganywe". Gutsinda BUYOYA rero bisobanura gutsinda umugambwe UPRONA kuko we nawe ari iri niri i None se ko guhera mu w'1985 uwo mugambwe wica ahahutu kugera magingo aya. BUYOYA akarenga akawuturura ibihozo murumuna hari aho bataniye? Ahari aho muri w'1988 n'azaba akiriho azongera yiyamamaze? Ntacyo azagaruke abahutu bamusekere bamuho urw'amenyo.

Habayeho ah'umugabo n'abagabo

Bwana M. NDADAYE niwe watsinze amatora. Byatangiyeho nk'aka wa mugani ugira uti: "akazika ibisiga kava iwabo wa Sakabaka". Ijambo FRODEBU ryaje kuba ishyamba rya politiki i Burundi, ryabayeho mbere y'uko politiki y'amashyamba menshi yemerwa mu Burundi. Kibaho rite indi sura kandi ari ikintu gisa n'igishamikiye kuri UPRONA. Muri icyo gihe NDADAYE yabonaga ko ibibazo biri mu Burundi bidashamikiye ku moko

ubwayo ko ahubwo bishamikiye ku bakire n'abanyabwenge baboneka mu bahutu n'abatutsi noneho rubanda rugufi ikabigwamo mu maherere.

Mu gihe cyo kwemera amashyamba menshi FRODERU nta kibazo yagize mu butegetsi bw'igitugu bwa BUYOYA. Uyu mugambwe yaketse ko FRODEBU izakomeza kuba icyitso cy'UPRONA. Nyamara ngo inda ntuyibwira icyo wayirajemo ahubwo uyibwira icyo wayirariye. Ku rundi ruhande, ikibazo cy'abanyabwenge n'abakire hagati yabo, PALIPEHUTU, ryashyamba BUYOYA azira cyane, ntiyigeze icyumvikanaho na FRODEBU. Abayobozi b'ayo mashyamba yombi bagiye bahura bakungurana inama, ku buryo baje guhurira ku kintu cyo gucungura GASHUTU.

Ibyo bitaba ibyo, iyi nsinzi NDADAYE ntiyari kuyirukana. Ndetse, dukurikirana amatora y'i Burundi, mu minsi ya nyuma yayo. Abapalipehutu bari i Burundi, kandi nibwo benshi, bari bagize ikibazo cyo gutora NDADAYE. Ariko ubutumwa bubasaba kumutora bwabagezeho bonyuze kuri ya mipaka BUYOYA yari yafunze, bubasaba gutora umuhutu mwene wabo. Ubutumwa bwahabwiraga ko ari ama-

hirwe badakwiye kwiyambura. Ubwo buryo bwakoreshejwe nta matora bwishe kuko ari icengezamatwara kandi n'impunzi z'abarundi ni abarundi bagombye kumenya ibibazo by'igihugu cyabo nk'ahandi.

NDADAYE naramuka asabye gutahuka kw'impunzi, ashobora guhura n'ibibazo bitari bike. PALIPEHUTU ubwayo irateganyaga naramuka yemewe. Kuzasaba abayobozi guhaha, abasiviri bakajya mu bandi, n'intwaramuheto zayo zikajya mu zindi. Ingabo yari yaratoje zigomba gushakirwa imirimo mu ngabo z'u Burundi imana izakore ibyayo icyo kibazo gike murwe mu mahoro.

Muri rusange, amatora ya Perezida abahutu barayatsinze, beretse BUYOYA ko bwa bumwe n'amahoro babuzi kandi bakaba barabibayemo muri Ntega na Marangara mu mwaka w'1988, bakaza no kujya kubisura i Bujumbura mu Gushyamba 1991. Ngiyeho igisubizo abahutu batekerejeho kugira ngo bagisubize Majoro Petero BUYOYA ubwo yababazaga niba bemeye ubumwe n'amahoro. Waha umuntu ibyo bintu byombi koko akanga kugutora mu by'ukuri?

Issa NYABYENDA

UBUTWARI BWA KANGURA NTIBUKIGIRWAHO IMPAKA.

KANGURA iwuka yaje ari ijwi rigamije kwibutsa abahutu ko bagomba kunga ubumwe. Bakareka kumarana, bagasubiza umututsi wari ubugarije bakamutereka mu mwanya we. Ingorane zari nyinshi mu kugera ku ntegano zacu: amikoro make, kutumva kw'abahutu... Dutangira twaje dukenewe. Duhanura intambara abatutsi bari barateguye imyaka 30 iby'ibonywe ku duhira kuko naje kubifungirwa nsubirwa igihano cy'imyaka 20 y'igifungo nka ko ngo navuze ko abatutsi bitegura kudusubiza ku ngoyi. Nyuma y'amezi icyenda namaze mu buroko, intambara yaje kurwara. Ubwo ndarekurwaga maze mpangana n'abatutsi bari barwigize akari aha kajya he. Dusanga ari ngombwa ko tubatunga agatoki twereka rubanda ko hari ibyitso bikururimo maze si ukutwiyandika turatinda ibyitso birafatwa birakurwara maze si ukukotana birasizora.

Abategetsu b'ibyitso

Ubwo naje gusubizwa mu buroko nzira ko nerekanye abategetsu bafatanyaga n'inyenzi. Nabwo mu gihe gito mba ndarekuwe ariko biba ari uko abategetsu bese bavanywe mu myanya

yabo kuko ubugambanyi bwabo bwari bumaze kubahama.

KANGURA yaje gutatwa nka Bibiliya.

Kubera ko abahutu bese bari bamaze kutwizera kubera ubushishozi bwacu n'ubuhanga mu gusesengura ibizaba, abatutsi nabo baje kutwiyandika maze bashyamba ibinyamakuru byo kutwivugurura. Biba byinshi, barotamwo amakotanyi, demokarasi mu itangazamakuru ibatwigeze aho twifuzaga. Ikizere abahutu batwariye, batwerekako ari twe batezeho amizero ya nyuma, ko ubwiyunge bwabo ari twe batatezeho. Nibyo byage gutuma dutera intera ndende.

Uburwayi bw'abahutu.

Umuhutu akomeye agushyigikira akoresheje amashyamba gusa. Wamubabwirako kugutera inkunga y'amafaranga, ubwo mukangana ururuka, icyo kibazo cy'amafaranga cyaje kutugora kuko twari dusanzwe turi ba "mikoro make". Ukareba uko uzahangana n'abatutsi bakize muri kano karere ukagira ubwoba. Ubwo twogera umusenyeri w'umuhutu, tumugisha inama atw-

bwira ko ukorera umuhutu atamutegerezaho imfashanyo. Ko ari ugukora ukazagorerwa n'imana yonyine. Atubwira kandi ko umunyapolitiki mukorana agamije inyungu ze gusa. Cyangwa se akagutururana. Niko byangendekoye ubwo nafungwaga inshuro zirenze 20 muri gereza, na 35 muri za kasho za burigade. Nta munyapolitiki n'umwe wibutsa ko twajyaga dushyikirana. Naje gufusha umwana, yitaba imana ndi muri gereza. Ariko nta munyapolitiki n'umwe waranzwe mu ishyamba yariye. Ahomfungurirwe naje guturura kugisha inama Musenyeri izindi nama. Ambwira ko ubutwari bwaboneka mu buruhamba. Ubwo twasanzwe tutakomeza kuvuga ko tuvugira abahutu kandi i Burundi bapfa urubozo.

KANGURA n'ikibazo cy'i Burundi.

Twaje kwegera abarundi b'impunzi baba mu Rwanda badutekereze akabababwirako. Batubwirako ko n'ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda ntacyo bwakoze ngo bwumvikanisho ikibazo cyabo. Ko ahubwo n'ugize ngo aravugaga arahambirizwa. Ubwo baduhaye n'abarundi bandi baba hirya no hino ku isi twagira imishyikirano. Batubwi-

ra ko amizero yabo bari bayateze ku bu-tegetsi bw'u Rwanda. Ko ariko byana-niranye. Baduhishurira ko n'u Rwanda narwo rwaguye mu mutego w'abatutsi bifuzwa kwigarurira akarere kose k'Afurika yo hagati. Izo mpunzi z'abarundi zemezaga ko n'umutegetsi w'umuhutu washakaga kumva ikibazo cyabo yababwaga amafanga maze akicecekerwa cyangwa agahabwa ikizungerezi. Bo mbese ntibabonaga uko bazava muri ubwo bukoloni.

KANGURA n'abahutu b'umuti-ma.

Naje kwegera batanu, umwe w'umunyamabanki, undi uyobora iki-go cya Leta, undi w'umucuruzi (Baheza Esdras). n'undi wigeze kuba umutegetsi maze mbasaba ko twafatanyaga, bagafasha Kangura mu gusezerera burundu ingoma ya gitutsi yo muri Afurika yo hagati. Nibwo hashyizweho Kangura y'igifaransa "Kangura-Magazine-Version Internationale, yagu-rishirizwaga mu bihugu byinshi by'i Burayi ahari impunzi z'Abarundi. icyo kinyamakuru gikora gihomba kuko ahanini cyoherezwaga imiryango mpuzamahanga ifasha u Burundi. icyo kinyamakuru icyo miryango yacyibone-raga ubuntu. Kuko icyo twaharariraga kwari ugusobanura ikibazo cy'abahutu bicwa urubozo bakabura kivugira. Ibyo nabyo ntibyaje kuduhira kuko naje gufungwa inshuro 8 zose nzira ko mpungabanyaga umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ibyo ntibyandiyeho ingege kuko abahutu b'i Burundi banyandiki-raga buri umunsi bakanyereka ko amize-ro yabo bayateze kuri Kangura. Ubwo Kangura ifatwa nk'umukiza. Buri mu-hutu akagura Kangura akajya gusome-ra abatazi gusoma bityo isi yose iba imenye uko abahutu bakandamijwe. Ni muri urwo rwego. Ndadaye Mel-chior yanyuze i Kigali aya i Burayi ya-nga gukomeza atatubwiyeho ko turi kumwe. Ubwo yari acumbitse muri Hotel des Mille Collines ahamagara Hitimana Noeli umunyamakuru wa Kangura anamusaba ko bazana aho dukorera. Ubwo yatweretse ko adu-shyigikiye biradushimisha natwe tu-mubwira ko tutazatezuka ku nlogo twiyemeje.

Buyoya aterwa ubwoba na Kan-gura.

Icyadushimishije ni uko Buyoya yagaragaje ko ku isi atinya Kangura. Ubwo tumenya ko ari twe atinya. Ni-bwo dusabye abahutu b'i Burundi ku-rushaho gucengeza amatwara ya Kan-gura no mu cyaro. Buyoya avuye ko

Kangura ifashwa n'ubutegetsi bukuru i Kigali. Ubwo arega u Rwanda kwa Mitterand, ku mwami w'Ububiligi. Kangura ayirega mu nama za CEPGL zahereye i Goma, Kinshasa, Gdadolite, Bujumbura, Gisenyi.

Ariko icyamushegeshe ni inama yabe-reye ku Gisenyi aho yaje yikoreye umu-ba wa Kangura n° 37 asaba ko inama ya CEPGL nidahagarika Kangura ko atazagaruka mu Rwanda. Ni nako bya-geze kuko Kangura itahagaritswe kandi nawe akaba atazagaruka mu na-ma ya CEPGL ari umukuru w'igihugu.

Ubwo amashyamba yari ashya miri-nye nawe yamubonyeho maze asaba abahutu bose kunga ubumwe bagahi-rika ubutegetsi bwarangwaga n ubwi-canyu kugeza ubwo babuhiritswe.

Kangura n'amatora.

Buyoya yari yaranze gushyira ho guverinoma y'inziha cyuho yibwira ko ari uguhima abahutu. Maze yihutisha amatora. Ubwo tuba twamubonye ke-ra, nibwo ducengeje mu baturage b'i Burundi ko Buyoya najya aza kwiyama-maza bajya hamubeshya ko baza-mutwara. Yamarakuhava hakaba buziko ishyamba ryabo ari FRODEBU ya Nda-daye Tubumvishako ibyo Buyoya ya-bakoreye abica urubozo batabyibagi-rwa. Ubwo icyo vanjiri ya Kangura yaje gukwirira mu Burundi bwose kugeza ubwo habaye amatora. Buyoya vere-kwa ko usibye abatutsi b'abanyarwa-nda bahungiyeho mu Burundi nta wundi umwifuzaga. Amatora araba Ndadaye Melchior n'ishyamba ry'abahutu FRO-DEBU bagukana amajwi 64 ku ijana. Petero Buyoya n'ishyamba ry'abatutsi Uprona bacyura umunyu 32 ku ijana. Tukaba twibaza niba Buyoya azamere-gusaza atanduranyije. Benshi mu banyaga gutwara bitwazaga ivanjiri ya Kangu-ra yabagayaranakorewe photocopies nyinshi. Nguko uko ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi bwahiritswe i Bujumbura.

Kangura yahawe impundu.

Inkuru ikimara gusesekera mu Rwanda, abahutu bakoresheje telefoni, fax, telex, bihuriye gushimira ubu-twan bwa Kangura maze batwereka ko akazi ka Kangura yakozwe kazashimwe n'Imana. Batwibwirira ko nta n'ubw-ona ibihembo bya Kangura.

Icyo Kangura isahwa

Gukurikiranira hafi ibibera i Burundi, kureba niba nta mitego abatutsi begi-tsimbaraye ku bwicanyi bw'ino batanga ubutegetsi bushya burangwaga na de-mokraci.

Gukurikiranira hafi Perezida mushya kugira ngo turebe niba aharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi yo yamuhesheje uriya mwanya.

Gukomeza kurandura mu mitima y'abicanyi ubwo bugome dukoresheje inzira ya demokrasi (KANGURA)

Gukomeza gushakisha icyatuma abahutu bo ku isi bavugaga rumwe. Usi-bye ko abenshi ari ibisahiranda, nya-mwigendaho.

Kumvisha abatutsi ko revolisiyo ya rubanda yo muri 1959 mu Rwanda 1993 mu Burundi, ko zose zagezweho kubera amatora bikururiye akabatama-za.

Icyo Kangura isaba ubutegetsi bushya.

Kureka ubwisanzure bw'itangaza makuru rigakorera mu mudendezo. Bi-tyo ntihabe ukwibona kwa bamwe

Guhindura amategeko akandamiza abahutu (rubanda nyamwinshi).

Kubahiriza amategeko ubutegetsi bushya buzaba bwashyizeho kandi ari mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Icyo zabafashije Kangura mu guhirika ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi basaba Ndadaye.

Kunozw umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Kuvanaho impapuro z'inzira hagati y'ibihugu byombi, gukoresha amara-ngu minni (Jusu)

Kumherera ubucuruzi bwo mu nze-go zose gukorana.

Gufasha abashakaga kwiga bakabiko-ra bitabagoye mu nzego zose.

Kumvisha abarundi ko abanyarwa-nda ari abavandimwe bakumva ko uwabateranyaga yakubiswe inshuro burundu.

Abayobozi ba Kangura batagere-jwe i Bujumbura.

Mu gite ubutegetsi buriho bwari bwarimanye impapuro z'inzira, aba-nyamakuru ba Kangura barifuzaga kuba bari mu birori by'irahira rya Perezida mushya w'u Burundi. rizabera i Bu-jumbura mu minsi iri imbere. Dutegerejwe yo n'abanyarwanda benshi bakomeye kutumenya, ari ku ruhande rwabo du-hesheje ubutegetsi nabo ku ruhande rwabo tubwambuye. N'ubwo abata-nga impapuro z'inzira muri ambasade y'u Burundi i Kigali bakiri abatutsi gu-sa, uheryo kuri ambasaderi, uko biza-genda kose tuzabibagezaho. Gusa umuyobozi wa Kangura, NGEZE Has-san arifuzaga ko be bantu batanu bafa

GUTSINDA KW'ABAHUTU B'I BURUNDI BIMARIYE IKI U RWANDA ?

Bajya baca umugani ngo "akari ku mutima gasesekara ku munwa". Abanyarwanda cyane cyane abahutu bamaze kumenya ko umuhutu mwene wabo Melchior Ndadaye yatsinze amatora barishimye cyane. Uko kwishima gufite ishingiro. Impamvu abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishima, ni uko ariya matora y'i Burundi yabayemo ubutabera. Yatumye imbaga nyamwinshi ya rubanda rugufi yo mu Burundi ihabwa ibyo yari yaravukijwe imyaka irenga magana ane n'agatsiko ka ba nyakamwe batageze no kuri 15 ku ijana by'abatwaga bese.

Reka abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishimire gutsinda kwa Ndadaye, ni mu gihe! Abatutsi bari bafite umugambi wo gutegeka aka karere ko muri Afurika y'ibiyaga bigari. Nicyo bise "Corridor Hima". Abo batutsi bari hafi kugera ku mugambi wabo. Uganda barayifite, u Burundi nabwo bwari uko. N'u Rwanda rwugarijwe n'inzenzi. Muri Zaïre naho bari baracengeye mu butegetsi bwo hejuru ku buryo bamwe bari n'abajyanama ba Perezida Mobutu, nka Bisengimana wapfuye hambere aha.

Kangura ifatanije n'abahutu b'inyangamugayo yarahitambitse maze uwo mugambi ugenda uburiramo. Mu Rwanda inyenzi zakubiswe n'ikimwaro: Abahutu baracyategeka. Mu Burundi, umututsi Buyoya "yatanze imihoho" yemera icyo rubanda nyamwinshi y'abahutu yemeje. Muri Zaïre, abatutsi bahawe gasopo. Nibakomeza ivugonyo ryabo bazibonera. Kereze Uganda niyo ikiri mu bucakara bw'inzenzi z'impunzi. Ariko abanyarwanda nabo bazagera aho bahumuke maze bipakurure iyo ngoma hima.

Indi mpamvu yatumye abahutu bo mu Rwanda bishimira ugutsinda k'umuhutu mwene wabo Ndadaye, ni uko inyenzi zitakaje indiri yazo ikomeye. Ku butegetsi bw'abatutsi, u Burundi bwari indiri y'inzenzi, bwafataga umwanya wa

kabiri inyuma ya Uganda. Kuva inyenzi zagaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, u Burundi buri mu bihugu, byazifashije cyane kandi ku mugaragaró. Inyenzi zajyaga kurwanirira FPR, inyinshi zavaga mu miryango y'abatutsi y'i Burundi. Amafaranga menshi inyenzi zakoresheje yavaga i Burundi. Na Guverinoma ntutsi ya Buyoya ntiya-



tanzwe muri ubwo bugambanyi ikajya igenera inyenzi amafaranga ivanye ku ngengo y'imari y'u Burundi. Inyenzi zavaga mu Rwanda zatwazwaga i Burundi, zikabona kwambukira muri Uganda. Kandi zikajyanwa na kompani y'indege y'u Burundi "Air Burundi". Kuva rero abahutu bene wacu aribo bategeka u Burundi, ibikorwa nk'ibyo turizera ko bitazongera. Ugutsinda kw'abahutu i Burundi gufiteye akamaro kanini u Rwanda. Impunzi z'abahutu b'Aburundi baba mu Rwanda ntibagira ingano. Kandi niko bafite akazi kagombaga gukorwa n'abanyarwanda. Abana b'izo mpunzi bariga mu mashuri kandi iyo myanya yagombye guhabwa abana b'abanyarwanda. Hari n'impunzi z'aburundi Leta y'u

Rwanda itunze, itangaho amafaranga atagira ingano.

Abo bahutu bene wacu baramutse basubiye mu byabo i Burundi, u Rwanda rwakwiruhutsa gato. Amafaranga rwatangaga ku mpunzi z'aburundi rwayatanga ku mpunzi zarwo zisigaye zibarirwa muri miliyoni imwe. Kuba abahutu baratsinze i Burundi ni amahoro. Intambara y'u Burundi n'u Rwanda nta gihe itari hafi kurota hakabura gato. Byose bitewe n'urwikekwe rwaranze buri gihe ibyo bihugu bihaha imbibwi. Umpakanyu azabaze Bagaza icyo yashakaga yimura ibyapa ku mpaka wo mu Kirundo. Azambarize Buyoya icyo yari agamije yoshya abasirikari be kurasa ku basirikari b'u Rwanda: ~~mu~~ Bugesera cyangwa se yohereza ~~mu~~ indege ze gutata. Melchior Ndadaye ~~chi~~ amaze gutsinda yatwijeje ko u Burundi butazongera gushotora u Rwanda ukundi. Yagize ati: "Kuva ubu, u Rwanda n'u Burundi nta rwikekwe". Ugutsinda kw'abahutu b'i Burundi niko gutsinda kw'abahutu bo mu Rwanda.

KANGURA

IBIKURIKIRA P.7

shije Kangura mu guhirika ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, bazabonana na Perezida mushya maze bakamanyana kuko ibyo bihembo bihagije. Turabisabye kandi tuzabihabwa.

Icyo abazungu batekereza.

Hari abazungu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda batubwiyeko ikivi Kangura yatangiye ikirangije. Ko Kangura yemerewe kuzigwa mu mateka y'isi cyane cyane ku bakenera kwandika amateka y'ukuntu ingoma ntutsi yahenutse. Abana bacu baziga amateka uko yatangiye n'uko yagenze. Nguwo umurage abanyamakuru ba Kangura bazasigira abatwaga bo muri aka karere. Igihembo Kangura isaba abahutu boku isi, ni ukuzirikana ivanyiri ikubiye mu nyandiko zayo. Harakabaho ubufatanye muri byose bwa rubanda nyamwinshi.

NGEZE Hassan

TUMENYE Melchior NDADAYE, UMUHUTU WA MBERE UYOBOYE U BURUNDI.

Melchior Ndadaye yavutse tariki ya 28 Werurwe 1953 ahitwa Murama, komini Nyabihanga, Province ya Muramvya. Afite umugore n'abana batatu. Melchior Ndadaye yize amashuri abanza guhera mu mwaka w'1960 kugeza mu w'1966. Kuva muri uwo mwaka kugeza mu w'1972, Melchior Ndadaye yinjijye mu ishuri ryisumbuye "Ecole Normale" ry'i Gitega. Yaje kuvamo mu mwaka w'1972, kubera icyicwa ry'abahutu ry'icyo gihe. Nibwo ahungiyeye mu Rwanda ari naho yarangirijye amashuri ye yisumbuye muri Groupe Scolaire y'i Butare kuva mu mwaka w'1972 kugeza mu w'1975. Kuva mu mwaka w'1975 kugeza mu w'1980, yinjijye muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda mu ishami rya "Sciences de l'Education", ahavana impamyabushobozi ihanitse "licence". Melchior Ndadaye afite kandi n'indi mpamyabushobozi mu byerekeye ibya banki.

Ku byerekeye akazi, Melchior Ndadaye yigishijye muri Groupe Scolaire i Save muri Butare guhera muri 1980 kugeza mu w'1982. Ari nako

atanga amashuri muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda. Mu w'1984, Melchior Ndadaye yakoze mu Bitaro byo mu Kamenye. Kuva mu w'1984, kugeza mu w'1988 Melchior Ndadaye yakoze mu byerekeye ukuzigama muri koperative COOPEC. Mu mwaka w'1989, Melchior Ndadaye yabaye umujyanama mu biro bya minisitiri ushinze amajyambere y'icyaro. Kuva muri uwo mwaka kugeza atorewe kuba Perezida wa Repubulika, Melchior Ndadaye yari umukozi mukuru muri Banki yitwa "Meridian Bank BIAO".

Muri Politiki, Melchior Ndadaye yatangiye kera. Akiga muri Kaminuza i Butare yashinze "Mouvement des Etudiants Progressistes Burundais au Rwanda" (BAMPERE) tariki ya 3 Mutarama 1976. Iryo "shyirahamwe ry'abanyeshuri b'abarundi baba mu Rwanda" yaribereye Perezida kugeza mu w'1979. Muri Kanama 1979 Melchior Ndadaye ari mu bashinze "Ishyamba ry'abakozi bo mu Burundi" (Parti des Travailleurs du Burundi), UBU. Muri iryo shyamba yari ashinzwe itanga-

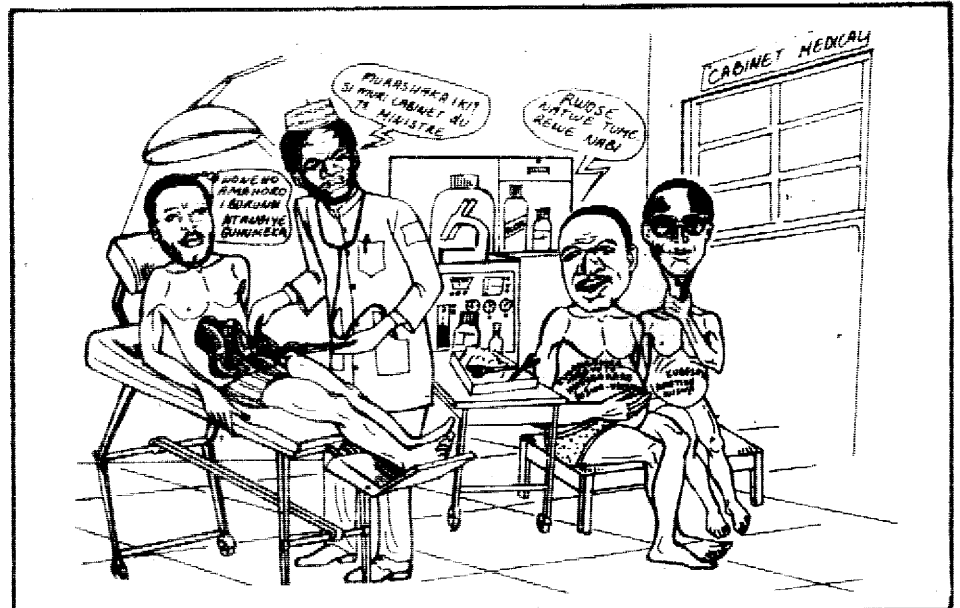
zamakuru. Melchior Ndadaye yaje kwegura muri iryo shyamba mu mwaka w'1983 asubira i Burundi tariki ya 5 Nzeri 1983.

Mu w'1988, Melchior Ndadaye yabaye Sekeretari wa mbere w'ishyirahamwe ry'abakozi b'i Burundi, "Union des Travailleurs du Burundi" mu ntara ya Gitega. Kuva tariki ya 24 Ukwakira kugeza tariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1988, Melchior Ndadaye yari mu buroko azira igitekerezo yatanze mu nama Guverineri wa Gitega yari yatumiye nyuma y'icyicwa ry'abahutu muri Ntega na Marangara. Tariki ya 16 Ukwakira 1991, Melchior Ndadaye wari muri komisiyo ishinze gutegura itegeko-nshingirishya, yareguye kubera koya-bonaga ingingo zimwe na zimwe z'iryo tegeko-nshinga zarabangamiraga demokarasi mu Burundi. icyo tutakwibagirwa ni uko Melchior Ndadaye ari umwe mu bashinze ishyamba "SAHWANYA-FRODEBU" mu w'1986 na nubu akaba akiriyobora.

BURUNDI: AMATORA: IRYO TWAVUZE RIRATASHYE. ABAHUTU BASUBIRANYE IBYABO.

Umunyarwanda yarihoreye ati: "Nyamwanga kumva ntiyanze kubona". Abatutsi b'i Burundi twakomeje kubabwira igihe kirekire baranangira. Nta gihe tutababwiyeye ko ubutegetsi bari bafite ari ubwibano. Ko igihugu bategetse imyaka irenga 400 ari igihugu bibye abahutu. Twabasabye kenshi gusubiza utw'abandi. Bagasubiza abahutu ubutegetsi babibye, bakabasubiza igihugu cyabo. Batwimye amatwi. Muri kwa kwishongora kwabo kuvanze no kutareba kure, baratunanira. None dore demokarasi ibavanye ku kinyoma. Manda y'abatutsi yarangiye tariki ya mbere Kamena 1993, kandi ni burundi. Turizera ko nta mututsi uzongera kuvogera rubanda nyamwinshi y'abarundi. Ubutegetsi bubaye noneho ubw'abaturage, bwatanzwe n'abaturage, bugiye gukorera abaturage. Natwe nibyo twasabaga.

Ibyabaye mu Burundi bitwereka ko demokarasi ariyo yonyine ishobora kurenganura abarenganye. Bibere kandi isomo abibwira ko bashobora



gupfukirana abaturage ko bidashoboka. Melchior NDADAYE yiyamamaza yibwiriye BUYOYA ko abantu we yibwira ko afite baba ari abe ku manywa, n'ijoro bakaba aba FRODEBU. Melchior NDADAYE icyo yashakaga kubwira BUYOYA n'abatutsi bo muri

UPRONA ni uko bibwiraga ko bafite abantu benshi babashyigikiye nyamara bibeshya. N'abahutu yibwiraga ko yifatiye bamweretse ko bahumutse. Burya si buno di!

Abatutsi b'i Burundi babaze nabi cyane kimwe n'umuntu wese utekere-

za nkabo. Muri demokarasi hose ku isi hari ihame ridahinduka. Nicyo bita "la loi de la majorité". Kugira ngo inyenzi nazo zumve icyo bivugaga tubishyire mu rurimi rw'icyongereza. Aho zizi icyo bita "Majority rule"? Iryo niryi shingiro rya demokarasi nyayo. Kandi demokarasi ni imwe ku isi yose. Ntihazagire rero ubeshya rubanda ari nako yibeshya, ngo hari "démocratique à la burundaise", demokarasi ndundi.

Na HABYARIMANA nawe yari yari-fatiye abantu yarababohoye mu byo yise "demokarasi resiponsabule". Iryo hame ry'uko rubanda nyamwinshi ariyo igomba gutsinda riremewe hose ku isi. Ahubwo cyane cyane mu bihugu byiyita ko bigendera kuri demokarasi by'i Burayi no muri Amerika ya ruguru. Umpakanya ambwire niba nko muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika umwirabura azapfa abaye Perezida wa Repubulika. Birashoboka ariko birakomeye. Impamvu nta yindi, si ukwanga abirabura. Impamvu ni uko muri icyo gihugu abirabura ari bake ugereranyije n'abazungu bahari.

Abakurikiranira hafi amatara aherutse kuba mu Burundi, batubwira impamvu zatunye BUYOYA atsinde. Baremeza ko BUYOYA n'ubwo yari umwicanyi, yazize cyane cyane UPRONA n'abatutsi. Radiyo "Deutsche Velle" y'Ubudage niyo yabivuze neza igira iti: "NDADAYE ntiyatsinze BUYOYA, yatsinze UPRONA n'abatutsi". Kandi koko ugasanga ari byo, UPRONA yakozwe amarorerwa menshi ku buryo abarundi, abahutu mbere na mbere yari yarabavuye ku mutima.

Kuba rero umukandida w'ishyamba nk'iryo ni ukwiyahura. Niwo mutego BUYOYA yaguyemo. Aramaze ariko kuko uwiyishye ataririrwa kandi inyenzi zose ni zimwe. SI MICOMBE RO, si BAGAZA, si BUYOYA hose ubugome ni bumwe, BUYOYA twamubwiye kenshi ukuri ku byabereye mu gihugu cyo. Aho kwikosora agakomeza kunangira umutima. Aka wamutima muhanano wabuze gihana. BUYOYA aho kwikosora yataga igihe cyabigabanyamakuru ba KANGURA ngo barasabote ubutegetsi bwe. Ukuri kwa KANGURA kwari kwashajije BUYOYA ku buryo nta nama y'abaminisitiri yateranaga itavuze KANGURA. Kuri Radiyo na Televiziyo y'u Burundi bikaba uko. Mu nama iherutse ya CEPGL, BUYOYA wagira ngo yari yasaze. Yikoreye umuha wa KANGURA n'37 ngo aje kuyeye-

reka Perezida w'u Rwanda. HABYARIMANA nawe rero ntacyo wamubeshya, yamuhaye "pole" ariko amwumvisha ko itangazamakuru mu Rwanda ryigenga. Ko nawe ritamurebera izuba icyo bibaye ngombwa.

BUYOYA afata KANGURA azibangira ingata asubira i Bujumbura. Nyuma yaje kugambana n'icyitsa cyo NSENGIYAREMYE (nawe ntaraye), umuyobozi wa KANGURA arafatwa arafungwa. Ntiyatanzemo ariko kuko ibyo hamuregaga nta shingiro byari bifite.

BUYOYA ntiyatanzemo kubona ko yibeshye. Twamubwiye kenshi ko amatara ye ya huti huti atazamushya amahoro. None se umutego mutindi ntiwica nyirawo? BUYOYA twagerageje kumwumvisha ko abarundi bahamutse. Batakiri ibicucu. Yibeshye ko KANGURA itaraba kure. Urwishigishye rero ararusoma. Amatara BUYOYA yitegurirye niyo amukozeho. Uretse ko nta kundi nyine byari ku-

genda. BUYOYA yasetse BAGAZA ngo azize amadini cyane cyane kiziyaga gatolika yakomeje gutoteza. We twavugaga ko azize iki? Tuvuze ko azize ukuri kwa KANGURA ntitwaba twibeshye. BUYOYA nagende twaramuburiye!

Mu nimeru ya KANGURA n'38 ku gifuniko hari igushushanyo cyerekana umuyobozi wa KANGURA aha BUYOYA umuti wa Demokarasi, anamuburira ko azawunywe ku ngufu. BUYOYA yabanje kuwanga none yarawunyweye burundu abishaka ababishaka. Muri icyo nimeru kandi hari inyandiko igira iti: "BUYOYA w'umututsi na NGEZE w'umuhutu hazatsinda nde?". Hatsinze nde? BUYOYA wenyine niwe wasubiza icyo kibazo. Hari icyo tutamubwiye? Hari aho twamuhishe? Ntazaturenganye.

KANGURA

UKO AMATORA YAGENZE MU BURUNDI

	FRODEBU NDADAYE Melchior	UPRONA BUYOYA Pierre
Mairie	44,72%	53,06%
BUJUMBURA RURAL	77,98%	20,08%
GITEGA	63,94%	33,91%
NGOZI	67,27%	29,33%
KAYANZA	61,82%	32,52%
BURURI	53,56%	45,53%
BUBANZA	84,15%	14,23%
CIBITOKI	84,87%	13,21%
RUTANA	58,31%	41 %
RUYIGI	70,06%	29,12%
CANKUZO	30,54%	66,04%
KARUZI	69,20%	26,69%
KIRUNDO	76,65%	21,59%
MURAMVYA	50,92%	47,19%
MAKAMBA	62,28%	35,98%
MUYINGA	67,51%	28,30%
ETRANGER	16,93%	80,66%
TOTAL	64,79%	32,47%
SOIT	1.486.785 Voix	SOIT 745.079 Voix

AFURIKA IZATEGEKWE N'INYESHYAMBA !

Umugabane w' Afurika ni umwe mu migabane y' isi babarira mu migabane ikiri inyuma mu majyambere «Tiers Monde». Muri icyo migabane harimo umugabane w' Aziya ndetse n' Amerika y' amajyepfo. Amajyambere si ukugira inganda n' amafaranga gusa. Amajyambere agaragarira no mu bitekerezo. Ibihugu bibarirwa mu bikiri inyuma mu majyambere «Tiers Monde» byakunze kwibasirwa n' amakuba y' ubwoko bwose. Iyo atari amapfa, aba ari umwuzure, cyangwa se ikirunga kikagira gutya kikivu mbura kikamenya umuriro wacyo ugahitana imbaga y' abantu.

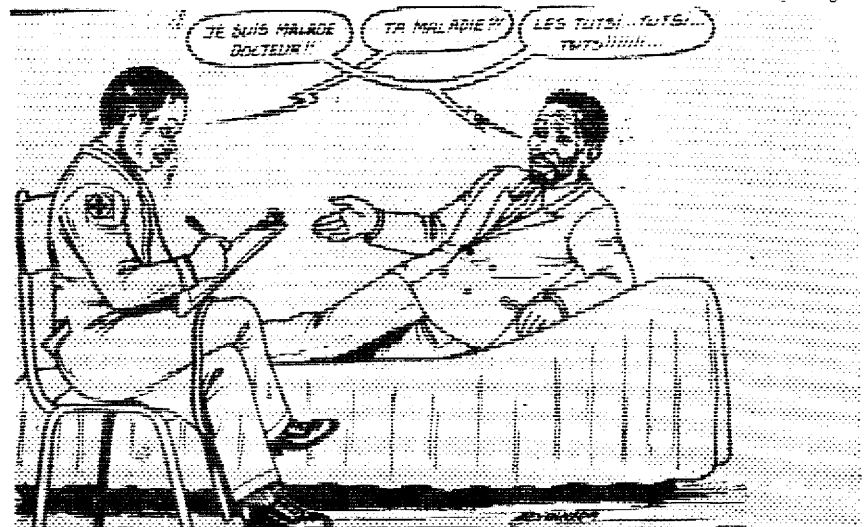
Amakuba akunze kuwirira ibihugu byo muri «Tiers Monde» ni intambara z' urudaca akenshi ziba zishingiye ku moko, ku ture, ku idini....

Ingero ni nyinshi : Liberiya, Somaliya, Cadi, Libani, Etiyopiya, Sudani, Yugosalaviya tutibagiwe n' u Rwanda. Abantu bakarwana ntacyo bapfa kigaragara. Bakaziyunga nyuma igihugu barakigize umuyonga, abantu barapfuye barashize, abahungu barahunze. Cyangwa se intambara ikarangira ari uko habonetse utsinze.

Ubundi mu mategeko mpuzamahanga nta muntu n' umwe ufite uburenganzira bwo gufata intwari ngo ahirike ubutegetsi buriko, abaturage bishyiriyeho. Niyo wowe waba utabwishimiye. Wabwamagana mu bitekerezo, mu manama mpuzamahanga ariko nta burenganzira na bumwe umuntu uwo ari we wese afite bwo kubwivanaho ku ngufu. Niyo bwaba ari ubw' igitungu, dore ko ntawe usimbuz igitungu ikindi gitungu. Muri Afurika, icyo ndwara yabaye icyorezo. Umuntu wese ufite inyota y' ubutegetsi ajya mu ishyamba. Abenshi barahirwa, abandi amahirwe akababana make. Iyo babuze uko babigira biyoberanya mu matora.

Ingero sizo zibuze. Gusa turafata zimwe muri zo zitugaragariza neza ko muri Afurika, kwigira iki-gomeke aribyo bigerweho. Ijya kurisha ihera ku rugo.

Mbere y' uko inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, mu Rwanda hariho ubutegetsi. Yego Perezida Habyarimana yagiyeho akoze «coup d'Etat» mu w' 1973, ariko sibyo byari kuba intandaro y' igitero cyo mu Kwakira 1990. Ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana n' ubwo bwose atari shyashya, bwari bumaze kumenyerwa, abaturage barabuyobotse. Nawe ubwe yakoreshye amatora, aratorwa n' ubwo bwose ari we wari umukandida wenyine kuri uwo mwanya. Mwavugaga muti nta demokarasi yari iriho kuko abanyarwanda twese yari yaratubohoye muri MRND. Ibyo ari byo byose sibyo inyenzi zari kwitwaza ngo zifate imbunda zishoze intambara mu gihugu cyigenga, gifite amategeko kigenderaho.



Ibyakurikiyeho murabizi. Inyenzi zimaze kubona ko zitagifashye igihugu mu minsi itatu nk' uko zabiteganyaga, zacishije buqufi. Ubu zirajijisha mu mishyikirano zinizera kuzahatana mu matora. Uretse ko ku nyenzi mbona bikomeye gutsinda amatora kurusha intambara y' amasasu. Muri Uganda, inyeshyamba za Museveni nazo niko zabigenje. Museveni amaze gutsindwa amatora mu w' 1982, yahisemo gufata iy' ishya mba, abeshya ko bamwibye amajwi. Icyo Museveni yahaniraga si uko demokarasi yagera muri Uganda, icyo yari yimirije imbere ni ugufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Dore ko bigeze no kumuhendahenda ngo abe Visi-Perezida wa Uganda aka-

nangira ngo keretse ariwe utegetse byanze bikunze. Yabigezeho kandi ntashaka kurekura. Demokarasi yabeshyaga ko aharanira ubu si we ufata icya mbere mu kuyiniga ?

Muri Angola, umugabo Jonas Savimbi Perezida wa UNITA agiye kumara hafi imyaka 18 ari mu ishyamba. Mu myaka ya mbere na mbere, icyo Jonas Savimbi yarwaniraga cyarimvikanaga. Uwo mugabo ari mu baharaniye ubwigenge bw' igihugu cy'e cyari mu bukoronize bw' abanyeportugali. Ariko ikitumvikana ni ukuntu Savimbi yasaba amatora, ayo matora akaba. Yamara kumenya ko yatsinzwe akongera agafata intwari intambara ikubura. Ubwo ngo aharanira kubohozwa abaturage ba Angola. Nyamara bigaragara ko

Savimbi yishakira ubutegetsi bwa wenyine. N' abanyamerika bamushyigikiye icyo myaka yose bamaze kumutahura.

Izo ngero uko ari eshatu ziragaragaza ko inyeshyamba zisigaye zarahawe intebe muri Afurika. Kandi akenshi nta cyo zirwanira kigaragara uretse unugomo. Kandi aho tugeze ubu si igihe cyo gutegeke sha iterabwoba. Iryo terabwoba niyo inyenzi zisigaye zikangisha mu mishyikirano. Paul Kagame ngo nizitsindwa mu matora zizasubira mu ishyamba. Tito Rutaremara we ngo inyenzi nizatubona 50 ku ijana by' abasirikari ngo zizarwana ! Mwumve namwe.

BA OFISIYE BACU BARAKOTANA

Nyuma y'uko dusohora KANGURA No 42, twabagejejeho ukuntu hari aba ofisiye bariye amakotanyi ngo bagambanire urwabyaye. Twabagejejeho ukuntu hari ba ofisiye baha misiyo yo guteranya abanyamakuru ba Kangura n'inzege z'ubutegets. Kangura ikimara gusohoka twaje guhagararwa kuri telefoni n'umu Koloneri utarashatse ko tumuvuga amazina maze atubwira ko Komanda Bizimana yasanze yakoze amarorerwa menshi, akaba abona Kangura niyatangaza bizamugwa nabi. Ni bwo yihimbiye umugambi wo gusebanya. Ubwo akora telegramu za buri muni abwira inzego zo hejuru ko yatahuye inkuru nshya. Ngo yamenye ko NGEZE Hassan akorana n'inzenzi. Ibyo kugira ngo byemerwe telegramu zoherezwaga mu bigo byose bya gisirikari zemeza ko Kangura yaguzwe n'umwanzi. Ngo isopanya umubano w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi maze inzenzi zidutera ariyo ziturutse.

Mwumve ubwo bwenge rari Ese iyo aza gutekereza agahimba undi mugambi kuko uwo udafite ishingiro!

Hari n'abamubajije gutanga ibindi bimenyetso arabibura, aya indimi ngo kuba twibanda ku kibazo cy'u Burundi ngo birahagije. Ese wakorera inyenzi ukanazihirika ku butegetsi nk'uko byagenze i Burundi? None se ko Kangura yasazezeye ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi mu karere k'Afurika yo hagati noneho Bizimana azatanga izihe telegramu? Etat Major imaze kurambirwa n'amatiku ye yohereje telegramu hose mu Rwanda isaba ko NGEZE Hassan atazongera kwemererwa kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari. Ese ubundi hari itegoko hari narahawe ryo kwinjira mu bigo bya gisirikari kandi nterari we? Ni akumiro...!!! Arabura gutekereza icyo azakora amaze gusukwa hanze n'imishyikirano y'Arusha akirirwa aca amatiku adafite ishingiro. Yagombye kumenya ko na Koloneri Rutayisire

Komanda Karangwa batanze telegramu nyinshi bemeza ko Kangura ikorana n'umwanzi ngo kuko ihirika ubutegetsi. Ngo kandi n'umwanzi akaba yifuza ko abategetsi bahikwa. Baje gusanga baruhira ubusa. Kuko abategetsi barwanagaho bahiritswe na Kangura No 6. Rutayisire we yaje kugwa mu mutego kuko twaje kuvumbura ko arimo ahimba telegramu maze tumutanga i bukururu tumurega ko arimo gutegura umugambi wo kuduhimbira. Maze yohereza ayo mahomvu twe twamutanze. Nyuma yaje kubimenya maze agira ikimwari none ntanagitinyuka gukandagira aho yaduteranyaga! Uhangana na Kangura nti bimugwa neza ubihakana azabaze abahiritswe nayo cyangwa se abaze Buhinja Buyoya.

NGEZE Hassan.

(a)

NGEZE Hassan
Directeur du Journal
KANGURA
Conseiller du parti C.D.R

Kigali, le 1/06/1993

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Republika y'u Rwanda
KIGALI

Impamvu: Kwishingana.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Republika,

Mbandikiye mbagezaho mugambi mubi w'ubwicanyi urimo gutegurwa na Commandant Bizimana André ushinze kuyobora abajandarume bo ku Gisenyi.

Amavu n'amavuko y'ikibazo.

Commandant BIZIMANA akimara gushingwa kubungabunga umutekano wabatuye ku Gisenyi, yanyuranyije n'integano yari ashinzwe, yigira indakoreka. Yiyibagiza

ko u Rwanda rwinjiye mu mashyamba menshi, ariya, ariya, n'ibindi byinshi muzi. Abaturage bakunze kubibagezaho babasaba ko mwamuhagarika ku kazi agashyikirizwa ubucamanza.

Akigera ku Gisenyi yari avuye i Kigali aho yarogwaga kwica abantu akoresheje inkoni n'imipanga. Abikorera yitwaza ko ari we utegeka Fichier Central. Amadosiye y'abo yagize ibimuga, murayazi: Kuko bene kwicirwa bakunze kubibagezaho. Ubu yari umukozi usanzwe, utungwa n'umushahara we nk'abandi bese. Aho atakomereje aho, yihutiye kwiba akora ibinyuranyije n'akazi ashinzwe maze Perefegitura ayigira umuyonga. Twe tubibonye, dusanga tutakomeza kwihanganira ayo marorerwa akorerwa mu karere dutitemo abayoboze 99 ku ijana by'abaturage. Dukubitiyeho ko n'itangazamakuru twaharaniye ritwemerera guceceka ayo marorerwa nibwo twiyemeje gushyira ahagaragara ubwo busambo bwe n'ubwicanyi azwiho.

Muri Kangura No 42, twasobanuye ku byo bugufi ukuntu Commandant Bizimana akorana n'icyo abaturage bamutekerezaho. Ubwo dushyiramo ilisiti y'abo yari kuzica mu biro bya Minisitiri w'Intebe. Commandant Bizimana abonye ko yatahuye nibwo yiyemeje gushyirisha umuyobozi wa Kangura NGEZE Hassan mu biroko ku mpamvu tugiyeye kubagezaho. Gusa, yiyibagiza ko abaturage bamushinje ko inzu yuzuye ku musozo wa Rubavu yababwirako mafaranga avanyeye mu bashuzi. Abaturage bari bagiye kuyisenya kubera uburakari batewe no kudahungurwa kw'icyo gisambano. Kandi kubategekeshaga igitugu. Uwo mugambi Commandant Bizimana yaje kwuburizamo ari uko abimenyeye mbere.

Kuba abajandarume ashinzwe kuyobora bari bagiye kumwirasira ubwabo bamuziza kumukeka amababa we n'umugore we, biragaragaza ko ntawe umwifuza. Dore ko binavugwa ko umugore we yaba ari umututsikazi wanga abahutu

urunuka. Twabajije Commandant Bizimana icyo umugore we yangira abahutu, atubeshya ko ibyo bivugwa ari ukubeshya ko ahubwo ari amakimbirane y'umugore we n'abo bakorana. Kuba abajandarume be bari bagiye kumwirasira ubwabo akarusimbuka, biragaragaza ko abo ateguka nabo batamwifuzaga.

Ubu tubiyambaza, Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubilika, abaturage bamuciye mu mugwi wa Gisenyi, nta nzu agomba gukandagiramo kuko biyemeje kuzamukubitira mu muhanda we n'umugore we nibatimurwa bombi. Hakaba hari n'urwandiko rurimo gutegurwa ruzashyirwaho umukono n'abantu 4.000 berekana ko uwo muntu batamwifuzaga. Urwo rwandiko rukazahabwa inzego zose zimushinzwe.

Turebe ibyerekeye ubwicanyi.

Mu gihe abasirikari bigabizaga ingo z'abaturage mu mugwi wa Gisenyi, hakoze ubwicanyi, ubushuzi, bikorwa n'abasirikari bazwi barimo na ba ofisiye bazwi, baherekeje abo bayobora mu kwica, no gusahura. Muri abo basirikari harimo Commandant Bizimana André. icyababajije abantu ni uko ari we wagombaga kurinda aho ashinzwe no kubaburira. Dore ko ikigo cya jandarumuri ayobora kiri mu mugwi rwagati. Nyamara abaturage bababajwe n'ukuntu, umushyushyurugamba wo ku Gisenyi witwa Sekidenye, yaje kubona Commandant Bizimana apakiza amasima, yambaza ati mbese nawe Commandant urasahura, maze Bizimana akamu-tsinda aho. Ibyo byose aka kanya arabyiyibagije. Ese abaturage bibagiye aba ofisiye bayoboye ibitero byabasahuye? Ese uwabaza Bizimana aho yakuye amafaranga yubatsa igorofa kuri Rubavu yahasobanura? None se ayo yahembwe kuva yakora yavamo ayubatsa iyo nzu? Ese ubucuruzi bw'amatafari akorera kuri Goma hari utabuzi? Ibyo byose twabikoreye idosiye tuzabitangaza muri mitingi no mu binyamakuru. Dore ko noneho Commandant Bizimana asigaye avugwaho kuba icyitso by'inkotanyi mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. N'ubwo we yivugira ko

icyangombwa ari inoti gusa: None se amafaranga siyo atuma we n'umugore we bicisha abanya Gisenyi?

Bite na KANGURA?

Commandant Bizimana amaze kubona ko iminsi mirongo ine kuri we iri hafi, yahisemo kunyambura uburenganzira mpabwa n'amategekoko. Ubwo nahise nurega mu rukiko rw'iremezo rwa Gisenyi. Ubwo Perezida w'urukiko ikibazo agikemura akinyujije mu nama y'umutekano. Ibyemezo byafatiwe muri icyo nama mu gihe bitarajya mu bikorwa, yacuze undi mugambi wo gufungisha abanyamakuru ba Kangura. Yarangiza akohereza abantu babatsinda muri gereza bakoresheje uburozi nk'uko byagenze kuri mugenzi wacu Mutombo. Byanarirana agashyiraho umuntu ngo abarase yitwaza ko bashakaga gutoroka.

bwo kubogamira inyungu za KANGURA. Ubwo yaje kumenya ko imodoka yagurishijwe noneho ahimba amayeri, avuga ko yaguzwe mu mafaranga y'amibano. Twe turasaba ko amategekoko igihugu cyacu kigenderaho yakubahirizwa. Itera bwoba rikajyana n'ubutegetsi bw'ishyamba rimwe. Abasirikari basahuye bafashwe bagakorerwa amadosiye, uwa mbere yaba Commandant Bizimana André. Ibyo yasahuye biragaragara, nibyo byubatsa inzu afite kuri Rubavu.

Uwo musirikari wabuze akabazwa inzego zimushinzwe cyangwa umugore wa Commandant Bizimana. Ntihagire ufungwa binyuranyije n'amategekoko. Ntihagire uhanze amasaha 48 kuri burigade. Hagira uya muri gereza ntiyahagire urenza iminsi itanu disoye itaragezwa mu rukiko.



Muri ubwo bugambanyi, Commandant Bizimana André aherutse kujya gukoresha impapuro zijyana Ngeze Hassan muri gereza maze akamukorera ibyo tumaze kuvugaho haruguru: Dore uko yabigenje:

— Kangura yari itunze imodoka GB.24.53 maze tuyigurisha n'umusirikari aduha amafaranga "cash" twifuzaga. Tujya guhinduza ibyangombwa byayo ku mukozi wa Finance ku Gisenyi. Impapuro zimaze gukorwa ngo uwo musirikari yaba yari afitanye amabanga na mugore wa Commandant Bizimana maze baza guhemukirana. Maze uwo mu ofisiye aza kubura ku mpamvu zizwi nabamukoresha n'umugore wa Bizimana. Ubwo Bizimana yaje gufata icyo modoka arayifunga yibwira ko ari bwo buryo

Kandi umuntu akabazwa n'inzego zizirana n'iterabwoba. Naho kwitwaza ngo ikinyamakuru cyaramutahuye nawe ahitamo uburyo bwo guhiga abantu yitwaza akazi akora ntibihwitse. Ntibihuye n'igihe tugazemo. Ese ko namureze mu rukiko kuki atareka ngo tuburane? Ese kwiriranwa impapuro zihiga umuntu nkaho yabuze, aho yiyumvisha ingaruka byakurura abaturage baramutse bagaragaje uburakari bamufitiye? Ku byerekeye amarorerwa Commandant Bizimana yakoreye abanya Gisenyi, duhisemo kuzakoresha ingufu za politiki n'iz'abaturage mu gukemura icyo kibazo.

Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubilika, tubiyambaje tubasaba gukurikiranira hafi icyo kibazo.

Mugire amahoro.

Uhagarariye KANGURA
NGEZE Hassan

Bimenyeshajwe:

- Perezida w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Gisenyi, Gisenyi
- Procureur wa Repubulika Gisenyi
- Perefę wa Gisenyi Gisenyi
- Abasomyi ba Kangura (bose)
- Abiyemeje kuzafatira Bizimana André ibyemezo (bose)

Journal KANGURA
Comité de Rédaction

NGEZE Hassan : Directeur de Publication et Rédacteur en Chef
NYABYENDA Issa : Rédacteur en Chef Adjoint
NDEKEZI Bonaparte : Journaliste
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SIBOMANA NABANTU : Journaliste
SIMBIZI Stanislas : Journaliste
HITIMANA Noël : Journaliste
Icapiro: Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda.
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KANGURA ibarizwa mu Burundi hose:
- Bujumbura (Mairie): ni kwa **NTAKABANYURA Joseph** ku Musaga.
- BUJUMBURA (Rural): ni kwa **NYANDWI Dieudonné mw'i Sale**
- **GITEGA**: ni kwa **NTAHIMPERA Grégoire** i Nyamugari
- **CIBITOKI**: ni kwa **NDAYISENGA Jules** mu Rugombo.
- **KAYANZA**: ni kwa **NZOBONIMPA**

André w'i Gatwaro
- **MURAMVYA** ni kwa **KARIBWAMI Benoît** mu Biganda
- **BURURI**: ni kwa **KABURA Marcelle** i Kirembe
- **BUBANZA** ni kwa **HARIMENSHI Jean** Marie i Mwokora
- **KIRUNDO** ni kwa **MACUMI Jonas** mu Rusarari
- **MUYINGA** ni kwa **BASOMINGERA François Xavier** kw'i Taba
CANKUZO: ni kwa **MANARIYO** i Mushisha
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- **RUTANA**: ni kwa **SAKUBU Léonce** i Nkoma
- **MAKAMBA**: ni kwa **NTAKABURIMVO Martin** i Nyabigina
- **KARUZA**: ni kwa **BARUTWANAYO Emmanuel** i Buhiga.

KANGURA irabarizwa no muri za mitingi zose z'amashyamba aharanira guhirika ubutegetsi bwa Gitutsi.

(b)

NGEZE Hassan
Journal KANGURA

Kigali, le 2.06.1993

Kuri Bwana Procureur,

Impamvu: Gusobanura.

Bwana Procureur

Mbandikiye mbasebanuza ku bibazo bibogamiye ubuzima bwanjye, n'uburenganzira bwanjye muri rusange. Uyu munsu namenyeye ko mwakoze impapuro zo kunshakisha ngo mfatwe nifungwe. Ntaburanye ngo ibyo kuburana bizakorwe igihe muzabishakira. Ibyo nkaba nsanga bishobora guhungabanya umutekano mu karere ka Gisenyi namwe kandi mudasigaye kuko mugatuyemo, kandi mukaba ari naho mukorera.

Inkuru y'imvaho itugezeho ivuye mu bakozi mukorana iratwemeza ko umuyoboczi wa jandaramuri ku Gisenyi ngo yababajwe n'ibyo Kangura yamwinditseho maze aza kubasaba ko mwamutera inkunga mu kamukorera impapuro zifungwa. Ngo ibyo mwarabyemeye kuko impapuro zinshaka ubu zirahari. Gusa, icyo umuntu yakwibaza ni iki: Ko ntuye kominu Rubavu, segiteri Gisenyi namwe mutuyemo kandi mukoreramo ko mutantumira

ngo mumbaze ibyo mwifuzaga, ahubwo mugakora impapuro zinshakisha nk'aho nabuze. Mwibuka ko nyewe ubwanjye naje mu biro byanyu mbasezaho ikibazo cyanyije na COMMANDANT BIZIMANA utagishakwaga n'abatuye ku Gisenyi kubera ubwicanyi yagiye abakorerera. Mbabwira ukuntu yanyambuye uburenganzira bwanjye, mbasebanurira ko icyo kibazo nagishyikirije Perezida w'urukiko rwa mbere rw'Iremezo rwa Gisenyi nawe yaje kugishyikiriza inama y'umutekano ya Perefegitura ya Gisenyi.

Twumvise ko impamvu Commandant BIZIMANA atanga avuga ko ngo imodoka KANGURA yari itunze yayigurishije abasirikari bakuru bo mu ngabo z'u Rwanda. Ese hari icyaha kirimo? Izo modoka ni Peugeot 504, plaques GB 2493 nagurishije umu Komanda na Toyota GB 2453 nagurishije umu Lieutenant. Abo basirikari bese akaba ari ingabo z'u Rwanda. Ese kubagurisha hari icyaha kirimo? Ko abo bese twaguze ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko, tugahinduzaga ibyangombwa uko amategeko abiteganyaga, Commandant BIZIMANA kwitwaza ko amafaranga baguze ayo mamodoka yari amibano abona byamugeza kuki? Kuki abo basirikari atabikurikiranyirira niba abifiteho uburenganzira?

Ese niba ashaka gukurikira abasirikari bazwiho n'abaturage ko ari rikari bazwiho n'abaturage ko bibye, ni kuki atihereho ngo yiko mu ba ofisiye basahuye ku Gisenyi umunsi Gisenyi isahurwa? Ese urupfu rwa SEKIDENDE yarashye amuziza ko yamumenye mu isahura rwo ntiruhagije ngo yishyikirize ubucamanza?

Ese niba ashaka ko abasirikari basangiye ibyaha bakorerwa dosiye, ni kuki adakora iza ba Ofisiye bazwi n'abaturage ku Gisenyi ko bibye bakica, bagasahura kandi nawe arimo? Nifuzaga ko mutaterwa ubwoba na Commandant ngo bitume mwica amategeko mubizi. Nimugereze kubahiriza demokarasi niba hari ibyo mushaka kutubaza mudutumeho, mukoreshe inzandiko zabigenewe tuzabitaba. Naho bitagenze gutyo byabyara izindi mvururu kandi abazikira ngirango ni bake.

Ku byerekeye ko Commandant BIZIMANA yandikwaga mu binyamakuru, turagirango tubibutse ko kudukangisha kudufunga ntacyo bidutwaye kuko burya icyo dufunzwe ariho dutsindirira vuba ibyo duharanira. Inshuro ya 20 nafunzwe muri gereza na 35 nafunzwe muri kasho za burigade zatumye dutsindirira ibyo twaharaniraga. Gusa tubasabye kuzatubwirira Commandant BIZIMANA ko demokarasi izirana n'iterabwoba kandi

ko muri demokarasi iyo ikinyamakuru cyakwanditse usabwe kunyura mu nzira zikurikira.

- gushyirwa nk'uko biteganywa n'ama tegeko
- kurega n'uko biteganywa n'ama tegeko
- guceceka iyo ntacyo ushoboye
- kugura nimeru zose uba wasohotse iyo wifite

Ibyo byose naburamo kimwe akora nawe azakore icyo kinyamakuru avugiramo. Umugambi wose tumaze kuwitahura twiyemeje guhangana n'iterabwoba ryose aho riva rikagera, kuko ntawe utsinda utsinda arushye. icyo tubasaba ni uko mwa-

kurikiranira hafi icyo kibazo maze amategeko akubahirizwa. Iterabwoba rigasigarana abaryize.

Ubiyambaje

NGEZE Hassan

Bimeneshejwe :

- Perezida wa Repubilika
- Minisitiri w'Intebe
- Perezida w'Urukiko rwa mbere rw'iremezo rwo ku Gisenyi
- Abasomyi ba Kangura (bose)
- Abaturage bababajwe na Com mandant BIZIMANA (bose)

yamagana akarengane ka bene wabo bo mu Burundi.

Ugutsinda kwanyu Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repubilika niko gutsinda kwa KANGURA, niko gutsinda kw'abahutu bose.

Mugire amahoro !

Bikorewe i Kigali

Ku wa gatanu tariki ya 4/6/93
Uhagarariye KANGURA
NGEZE Hassan

NDADAYE YARI YATINYE KWIYAMAMA RIZA UMWANYA WA PEREZIDA

Mu gihe cyo gutanga abakandida ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubilika y'u Burundi, Bwana NDADAYE yabanje kugira ubwoba. Yumvaga atahagarara imbere ya BUYOYA ngo bahangane. Ariko akizera ko mu badepite ishyaka rye rizagira intebe nyinshi kurusha andi mashyaka. Nta wamenya niba yari yibagiwe ko abatora abadepite ari nabo batora Perezida wa Repubilika.

Ubuyobozi bwa PALIPEHUTU bukorera mu buhungiro bwamwumvishije ko ntacyo agomba gutinya, abamutera barahari kandi nibo benshi. Bwanamwijeje ko buzakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo yereke BUYOYA igihandure kandi akazatorwa mu muryo.

Abashinzwe kubahiriza umutekano babarebaga igisire kugira ngo batore BUYOYA, bakirengagiza ko muri demokarasi imitunu y'urukwavu itabuzza ishyamba gushya. Ngaho rero mwemwese mwatoye NDADAYE, hiyongereyeho n'abari bibeshye batatora BUYOYA, muzongere mutore FRODEBU mu byaha imyanya itubutse mu matora y'abadepite ateganyijwe tariki ya 29/06/1993.

Gutera umuyobozi wa FRODEBU ni ukwitateganyiriza kuko icyo ishyaka ryimirije imbere ubutabera kurushya ya magambo y'ubumwe n'amahoro abishye ubwicanyi mutayobowe. Mwibuke ko kuri BUYOYA, FRODEBU = Umuhutu. Kandi mu gihe yiyamamaza mu Gitoke yahaye nkuvyanga abahutu batsinzwe bemeza ubumwe n'amahoro, bongera gutsindwa bemeza Itegeko Nshinga none bagiyeye kongera gutsindwa mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubilika. Tariki ya 1 Kamena mwamuritse ko yibeshya. Na tariki 29 bizabwo uko. N.T.

(C)

DUFASHE GUVERINOMA GUTAHURA ABISHE GOPYISI.

Ubwanditsi bwa Kangura
C/O Gisenyi - Information
B.P. 1312 Kigali

Kigali, le 2/06/1993

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe
KIGALI

Impamvu : Urupfu rwa GOPYISI

Nyakubahwa Minisitiri w'Intebe

Nyuma y'uko abishe GOPYISI Emmanuel anketi itarabatahura ngo bijye ahagaragara, mu rwego rw'itangazamakuru twifuzaga kubungana mu buryo bukurikira :

- GOPYISI tumaze kumenya neza ko yishwe azize ibibazo bya politiki.
- Abishe GOPYISI bari batumwe kandi baguriwe amafaranga.
- Abari bafite inyungu mu rupfu rwa GOPYISI nabo bamaze kugaragara.
- Ibimenyetso umuntu yaheraho akora iperereza kuri urwo rupfu biraboneka.
- Inzego zose umuntu yakwifashisha nazo zirahari.
- Amagambo yaherekeje urupfu rwa GOPYISI nayo abayavuze barahari.

Kubera ko ubushobozi bwacu bwanga bukababwira, twasabaga ko mwadufasha mu kutwongerera ubushobozi (amikoro) maze tukakora

anketi zacu mu ibanga naze ibyo tuzageraho tukabishyikiriza inzego zibishinzwe mbere y'uko bishyiki rizwa abasomyi.

Turamutse tubonye amikoro twakwifashisha abantu batandukanye bashaka amafaranga kugira ngo batubwire ibyo bari bazi ku bwicanyi n'ababakora. Bityo tukabonamo abishe GOPYISI.

Gutahura abishe GOPYISI birasaba ingendo nyinshi hirya no hino mu gihugu. Kwifashisha inzego zinyuranye, guhera ku butegetsi kugaruka ku baturage. Hanze hari abantu bakeneye amafaranga kugirango batangaze ibyo bari bazi. Abo bantu gukorana nabo bikaba bigoye kubera amikoro make yacu. Igihe cyose muzatwemerera kudutera inkunga muri urwo rwego tuzahita dutangira uwo murimo uturushye. Ku byerekeye abo tuzaba dukeka ariko tudashobora kubegera; icyo gihe tuzabagezaho ibyo tubazihohotse maze namwe mudufashe.

Mu gihe twatagereye igisubizo cyanyu, twabamenyeshye ko inzego zose zishinzwe umutekano zitwizeramurako ibyo tuzababwira maze tukabyongera kubyo ziba zifite.

Murakoze.

Uhagarariye Kangura
NGEZE Hassan

INYENZI ZO MURI GOMN BAZOROYEMO IKI ?

Impuruza yatanzwe mbere na mbere na mugenzi wacu «Kamarampaka» No 16 yo ku itariki ya 29 Mata 1993. icyo kinyamakuru cyatugejejeho amarorerwa avanze n'agasuzuguro by'inyenzi ziri muri GOMN, wa mutwe w'abasirikari bavuga ko udafite aho ubogamiye. icyo kinyamakuru kiratumenyeshako izo nyenzi ubu zibera muri hôtel Méridien Umubano, umukozi usanzwe azigaburira yazizaniye ibyo kurya maze zireba ku mazuru zihita zibimutamika ku ngufu. Ngo nabirye, zimucomeka n'amacupa ku ngufu mu kanwa ngo nasomeho. Zirangije zimushyira imbunda ku gakanu. Zibonye bidahagije zimumenaho ibyo yari azizaniye.

«Kamarampaka» iratumenyeshakandi ko ku itariki ya 23 Mata 1993 ku Giti cy'inyoni, abasirikari bo muri GOMN bari mu modoka, bacunze imodoka ya SODEPARAL yari ivuye mu Ruhengeri bayitegamine. icyo gisasu bakijugunye mu muhanda barirukanka. Umushoferi wari utwaye iyo modoka ya SODEPARAL ahita ahagarara. Ku bw'amahirwe kiraturika cyangiza imodoka ariko abarimo bararokoka....

Tubivuga ! Gushyira inyenzi muri GOMN byazihaye uburyo bwogukora iterabwoba uko zishakiye. Uretse no kunekera inyenzi zene wazo, inyenzi zo muri GOMN zikomeje gukwiza iterabwoba hirya no hino mu gihugu. Ibisasu bimaze iminsi biturika hirya no hino mu gihugu nizo zibitega. Muribuka igisasu gihertse guturikira ku iposita kigakomeretsa abantu benshi. icyo gisasu cyatezwe n'ikizungerezi cy'inshoreke y'inyenzi gikora aho ku iposita. Si ngombwa kwirirwa dutangaza izina rye ariko turarifite. Uwo mugore yateze icyo gisasu yararahye n'imwe mu nyenzi zo muri GOMN ziba muri Méridien. Inyenzi zimaze kwivugana Gapyisi Emmanuel zikomeje gutsembamba imbaga y'abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Ejo bundi i Kirambo muri Superéfégitura ya Rwesero muri Cyangugu inyenzi zateze igisasu mu isoko gihitana abantu 16, abandi bagera ku 130 barakomeretse. Uretse ibyo bisasu inyenzi zo muri GOMN zikomeje gutega hirya no hino mu gihugu, ni nazo zisigaye zijyana uruburuko mu Nkotanyi. Abatutsi bashaka kujya mu nyenzi

muri iki gihe, inzira ni imwe. Ni ukunyura kuri GOMN bakabambutsa. Hari kandi amakuru yemeza ko inyenzi zo muri GOMN zisigaye zigira uruhare runini mu kwinjiza inyenzi zene wazo mu murwa mukuru Kigali. Ku buryo bibaye ngombwa zarasa, imirwano ikabera muri Kapitali. Vuba aha hari inyenzi zirenga 20 zihertse gufatirwa i Kigali zambaye imyenda ya gisirikari n'imbunda. Gushyira inyenzi muri GOMN, byakuruye impaka nyinshi. Nta kuntu waba uhanganye n'umuntu ukurwanya, ugahindukira ukamucumbikira. Ariko nta kundi byari kugenda kuko GOMN atari twe twayishyizeho, yashyizweho n'umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika. icyo mbona Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yari ikwiye gukora ni ugucunga abo bantu, ikagenzura ibyo bakora. Bafatirwa mu cyaha ikaregera umuryango w'ubumwe bw'Afurika.

Biti iki se, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda igasezerera izo nyenzi nk'uko ishobora gusezerera umu «diplomate» uwo ari we wese ufashwe akora ibinyuranyije n'akazi ashinzwe. Kandi ibifitiye uburenganzira.

KANGURA.

TURAMAMAZA

Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu bose bo mu turere twose, mu mashyamba yose, bo mu Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, riramenyeshako abayoboke baryo ko amakarita yaryo agitangwa mu mpande zose ku buryo busanzwe. Ku byerekeye abasirikari bazasezererwa n'imishyikirano y'Arusha, amakarita yabo aracyatangwa mu mpande zose ku bahagarariye "Turi hose". Ubwiyunge bwacu nibwo buzatuma tugera kucyo dushyamba. Nimugane «Turi hose» kuko ariyo mizero y'Abahutu ya nyuma.

Icyo "Forum Paix et Démocratie" ihuriyeho na "Turi hose" ni uko byose bihuriye ku ntego imwe. Usibye ko "Forum" itanga ibitekerezo igateganyanya icyakorwamaze "Turi hose" igashyira mu bikorwa ibyananiranye. Ku byerekeye ibiranga ntego, ntibibate-re ibibazo.

INYENZI ZIVUYEMO NK'INOPFU:

Bavugaga ibigoranye imihoro ikarakura... Ikinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» cyandikwa na rya huriho riharanira amahoro na demokarasi (Forum Paix et Démocratie), mu nimeru yacyo 000 yo muri Mata 1993 cyashyize ahagaragara imiqumbi mibi y'inyenzi. Inyandiko z'icyo kinyamakuru zakurugutuye abayoboke ba FPR uhereye ku bayobozu babo. Nibwo bahurutuye «umutumba» w'inyandiko ndende bagarageza kuyobya uburari ngo barasubiza icyo kinyamakuru cyandikwa n'intiti zizi neza ibibazo by'u Rwanda. icyo kinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» kiratwibutsa ko inyenzi zaje zishaka gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu z'imbunda, zigashyiraho ubutegetsi bw'igitugu.

Ureke ibyo babeshyera Habyarimana. Bityo inzira ya demokarasi ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi igihugu cyacu cyari cyarahisemo ikagenda nka nyomberi. icyo kinyamakuru kiramagana kandi ubwicanyi bw'inyenzi zatsesembye kandi zikomeje gutsemba abaturage b'inzirakarengane. Zarangiza zikabeshya ko zizanye demokarasi, ziharanira ko u Rwanda rwaba igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, ngo zinubahiriza ikirerwa muntu ! -Ikinyamakuru «Paix et Démocratie» gisoza gisaba abaturage kuba maso bagahangana n'inyenzi kuqira ngo zitazabakwaga aitemo zikabasubiza mu bucukeye.

Inyenzi zimaze kubona iyo mudi zahise zivamo. Dore ko zitanishirije. Uwiye Simon Ntare,

MBONAMPEKA Stanislas ATI: "FPR NIYO IDINDIZA DEMOKARASI MU RWANDA".

Muri KANGURA y'ubushize (No 42) twababwiye ko hari inyandiko Nyakwigendera Gabyisi Emmanuel (atari yitaba imana) na Mbonampeka Stanislas batugejejeho. Abo bagabo bombi, mu nyandiko zabo, bemeza ko igihugu cyacu cyugarijwe n'ibibazo kitazivanyemo niba buri munyarwanda ashyizeho ake. Muri nimeru ya KANGURA iheruka twabagejejeho inyandiko ya Gabyisi Emmanuel agira ati: «Hapfa uwavutse». None Mbonampeka Stanislas aramwunganiye. Aratungira abanyarwanda aatoki abereka umwanzu wabo wa mbere. Ni inyenzi zibumbiye muri FPR zikomeje kudinza demokarasi twese duharanira.

KANGURA.

... ibihugu bikize by'i Burayi ndetse no muri Amerika ya ruguru nabyo byahise bihindura politiki yabyo. Ibyo bihugu byari byashyigikiye ubwo butegegi bw'ibitugu imyaka 30 yose, byategetse ko imfashanyo zabyo zajya zihabwa mbere na mbere ibihugu byitabiriyeye demokarasi. Disikuru Perezida w'u Bufaransa François Mitterand yavugiyeye i La Baule mu nama yari yahuye abakuru b'ibihugu bikoresha ururimi rw'igifaransa muri Kamena 1990 niyo yakomeye rutenderi. Muri uwo mwaka w'1990 n'ino mu Rwanda hari abantu benshi bagaragaje, haba mu nyandiko haba mu mvugo, ko bifuzaga ubutegegi bushingiye kuri demokarasi.

Ingero ni nyinshi:

— Inyandiko y'abantu bari bibumbiye mu itsinda ry'abaharanira demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi «Groupe des Démocrates Pluralistes» yo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 1990 yasabaga ko ishyamba rimwe rukumbi ryavaho, hakabaho impaka za kidemokarasi n'amatora yemera abakandida benshi.

— Inyandiko z'intiti 33 «Groupe des 33 intellectuels» yashyize ahagaragara ububi bw'ishyamba rimwe rukumbi.

— Ibaruwa y'apepiskopi gaturika bandiye igihe Papa yari mu Rwanda.

Bityo, ubushake bwa rubanda, rushyigikiye n'amahanga bwokeje igitungu ubutegegi bwa Habyarimana bwemera politiki ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi. Aha twakwibutsa ko Habyarimana yari yanarikomejeho muri disikuru ye yo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1990. Tariki ya 21 Nzeri 1990, komisiyo ishinzwe gutegura amahame iyo politiki yari kugenderaho ishyirwaho. Iyo komisiyo yari kurangiza akazi kayo mu Kuboza kw'uko mwaka. Inkotanyi zaje kuba kidobya. Tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, inyenzi zigaba igitero. Nyuma y'ukwezi kumwe gusa, ingabo z'igihugu zishyigikiye n'abaturage, zanesheje inyenzi zizirenza umupaka.

Muri Mutarama 1991, inyenzi zigabiza umugi wa Ruhengeri ariko ingabo z'igihugu zizibera ibamba. Kuva muri Gashyantare 1991 kugeza tariki ya 2 Kamena 1992, inyenzi zagiyeye zigaba udutero shuma ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda. Ni muri icyo gihe inyenzi zatsindwaga umusubizo, politiki ishingiye ku mashyamba menshi yashyizwe mu bikorwa. Muri Kamena na Nyakanga 1991 ubwo hashyirwagaho itegeko nshya ryo ku wa 10 Kamena 1991 n'ivuka ry'amashyamba menshi.

Ubutegegi bwa Habyarimana bwari bwariyanyije bwageze aho biba ngombwa ko burekura. Bitewe ahanini n'imyigaragambyo ikaze yo mu gushyamba 1991 no muri Mutarama 1991 n'amahanga yakomeje kwotsa igitungu Habyarimana. Ni muri urwo rwego tariki ya 7 Mata 1992 hashyizweho iriya Guverinoma y'inziyacyuho igizwe n'amashyamba ane ya politiki, Guverinoma iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe utavugaga rumwe na Habyarimana. Izo mbaraga abaturage batanze ngo demokarasi igere mu Rwanda ntizigombaga gupfa ubusa. Intambwe twari tumaze gutera ntizigombaga

kuyivutswa n'abantu bashakira kudu-subiza inyuma kubera inyungu zabo bwite.

Baba abakoresha imbunda cyangwa se iterabwoba iryo ari ryo ryose kugira ngo bagere ku butegegi cyangwa se kubugundira.

INYENZI ZIRARWANIRA UBUTEGETSI NTIZIHARANIRA DEMOKARASI

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, ntizari ziyobewe ko abanyarwanda bari bafite ubushake bwo guhindura imitegekere yari iriho. Habyarimana nawe yari yarabyemeye muri Nyakanga 1990. icyumweru kimwe mbere y'uko inyenzi zitera mu Kwakira 1990, hari komisiyo yari imaze gushyirwaho igomba gutegura amahame ya politiki nshya u Rwanda rwari rugiyeye kugenderaho.

Kuba rero inyenzi zaragombye kugaba igitero icyo gihe, ntawazishirira amakenga. Dore ko Habyarimana yari yemeye ku ngufu guhindura imitegekere ye. Intambura rero siyo twari dukeneye dore ko yangiza byinshi. Ari nacyo gituma ntawakwizera ibyo inyenzi zabeshye ngo zateye zishakira demokarasi. Ahubwo umuntu yafata icyo gikorwa cyari FPR nk'uburyo bwo kuburizamo iyo demokarasi. Bityo tugasubira mu bibazo by'amoko, n'uturere byari gutuma inyenzi zigera ku ntego yazo yo gufata ubutegegi ku ngufu zikoresheje intwari. Demokarasi nyayo iboneka hakoreshejwe uburyo bwa demokarasi kandi abaturage ubwabo niba bayishakira. Inyenzi rero zigomba kwamaganwa bikomeye kuko ziratudindiza mu nzira ya demokarasi twari twiyemeje. Ni ngombwa kuvisha FPR ko itazongera kurota yubura imirwano ku mpamvu izo ari zo zose.

Ingaruka z'igitero inyenzi zagabye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 ntizibarika:

- abaturage ibihumbi n'ibihumbagiza bapfuye
- ibikorwa by'iterabwoba inyenzi zakoze hirya no hino mu gihugu

U BUBILIGI BURI HAFI GUSEZERERWA MURI AFURIKA YO HAGATI

Ubutegetsi bwa cyami buragenda bucika ku isi. Haba mu bihugu, byakataje mu majyambere cyangwa se ibikiri mu nzira. Mu Burayi, aho ubwami busigaye ni hake cyane, keretse nko mu Bubiligi nyine bacyibutsimbarayeho. Muri Amerika urebye nta nahamwe muri Afurika naho aho ubwami busigaye harabaze. Aka karere k' Afurika yacu yo hagati kakunze kurangwa n'ingoma za cyami. Mu gihe cya gikolonize izo ngoma zaricaga zigakiza dore ko zari zishyigikiwe n'umuzungu witwaraga nka gashakabuhake. U Rwanda, u Burundi, Zaire, twese twari ku ngoyi y'Umubiligi.

Rubanda nyamwinshi imaze kwipakurura ingoyi ya cyami mu myaka ya za mirongo itanu n'icyenda... mirongo itandatu... hagashyirwa Repubulika, ababiligi babye-meye batabyemeye. Muri Zaire, ababiligi batari bake barahaguye kubera kugundira banze kurekura. Bakomeza no guteza ibibazo Repubulika nshya yari imaze kuvuka, barayisahura biratinda. Byageze aho Perezida Mobutu afata icyemezo cyo gusezerera ababiligi. Mu Rwanda naho ababiligi bakomeje kutubeshya. Mu myaka ya mbere ya independansi, Ububiligi bwasaga n'ubushyigikiye revolisiyo ya rubanda rugufi rwabahutu. Ariko iyo urebye neza usanga gushyigikiye iyo revolisiyo ari amaburakindi. Nta kuntu bari kubigenza kuko batari kuyisubiza inyuma. Na ONU yarananiwe nkwanwe ababiligi. Kandi babonaga abahutu ntacyo babatwaye dore ko abatutsi aribo icyo gihe bashakaga ko ababiligi bahambira.

Mu Burundi ababiligi bakomeje gushyigikiye ingoma ya cyami kugeza muri za mirongo itandatu na gatanu igihe Micombero akora "Coup d'Etat" akavanaho umwami. Micombero urebye ntacyo yavuguruye kuko amarorerwa ubwami bwakoreraga abahutu yakomeje gukorwa muri "Repubulika ntutsi". Ababiligi bazize gukunda abatutsi.

Inshuti nyayo uyibona mu byago. Inyenzi zigabye igitero tariki

ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, twari twizeye ko ababiligi aribo ba mbere mu kudutabara. Dore ko aribo bitwa ko batugejeje ku bwigenge bamaze kudukoloniza imyaka igera kuri 48 yose! Kwari ukwibeshya kuko byagaragaye ko ababiligi bari ahubwo ku ruhande rw'inyenzi. Ababiligi nabo bifuzaga ko inyenzi zafata u Rwanda mu minsi itatu. Banakoze uko bashoboye ngo iyo ntege igerweho. Ububiligi bwafatiriye amasasu u Rwanda rwari rwaratumijeyo kandi yararashywe. Ibinyamakuru byaho ariko cyane cyane imiryango yitwa ko irengera ikiremamuntu birahiga mu gusebya u Rwanda. Ibyo binyamakuru n'iyi miryango birakotana ngo abatutsi bashize mu Rwanda, iyo Nsengiyaremye atongeyeho abagowe. Radiyo na Televiziyo yogeza inyenzi biratinda ngo ziri hafi kugera i Kigali.

Ububiligi bwanahise bugabanyira imfashanyo bwageneraga u Rwanda. Ndetse hamwe na hamwe nko mu rwego rwa gisirikari, barazihagarika burundu. Ububiligi bwanohereje abasirikari barwo bubeshya ko butabaye u Rwanda. Nyamara birazwi ko abo basirikari bari bafite ubutumwa bwo kurengeza ibyitso by'inyenzi biramutse bikomeye. Umwanzu agucira akobo Imana igucira akanzu. Perezida wa Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko abarahagobotse, atwoherereza ingabo ze zunganira iz'u Rwanda, inyenzi zirakabona, zirapfa biratinda. Abafaransa n'ubwo batadukolonije babonye turengana basanga batadutereyana. Bohereza ingabo zabo ngo zihagaze uwo ari we wese ushaka gusubiza u Rwanda mu bucakara. Ubufaransa buha u Rwanda intwara

zo kwirwanaho, buduhuza n'izindi nshuti. Inyenzi zimaze kubona ko imigambi yazo zitazayisohozza ziratangira zijundika abafaransa. Inyenzi zifatanije n'ababiligi zigerageza guhirika Mobutu ariko zisanga ahagaze bwuma, "blindé". Ikimwano kiba cyose.

Kubana n'Ububiligi ni nko kubana n'igare.

N'ujya uvuga ababiligi ujye ubaza Maréchal Mobutu niwe ubazi. Ababiligi amarorerwa bakoreye abazayirwa ntagira ingano. icyo gihe bagisahuye kera ari nako bakigisahura. Uko Zaire imeze muri iki gihe ni ukubera ababiligi bayizambije. Mu Rwanda natwe ababiligi turabamenyereye. Igihugu cyacu bari bagihaye inyenzi Imana ikinga ukuboko. Kandi ntawabashira amakenya kuko umugambi wabo uracyari wa wundi. Abahutu b'i Burundi nabo bazi neza inkunga bakomeje gutera ubutegetsi bwa gitutsi babushyigikiye bugi gihe mu icyicwa ry'abahutu. Ibyo ari byo byose ntagahora gahanze. Ababiligi bari hafi gucika muri aka karere bitaga akabo (Congo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi). Dore muri Zaire, Perezida Mobutu yarabazereye. Mu Rwanda natwe ntitukibashaka, bazajyane n'abatutsi bitangiye kuva kera. Mu Burundi naho abahutu baribohoje, ba gashakabuhake b'ababiligi bashatse bazingira uturago amayira akigendwa. Niba ari n'ingirwa gifaransa cyabo badukangisha bazakijyane tuvugaga icy'abafaransa. Dore ko ari nacyo cy'umwimerere. Kuko sinyumvisha icyo ababiligi bagikora ino. Bamaze kutwerekana bihagije uko bateye. Ni inzoka mu ziridi! Bazage n'ahandi riraren...
KANGURA.

Ibikurikira page 17.

- abantu barenga miliyoni bavanwe mu byabo n'intambara bakaba barara rwantambi
- ibimuga bitagira ingano tutibagiwe n'amafaranga atagira umubare amaze gusohoka kuri iyi ntambara.

Ayo makuba siyo twari dukeneye ngo tubone demokarasi twaharanyeye. FPR imenye ko ihemukira abanyarwanda ibeshya ko irwanirira...

Maître Mbonampeka Stanislas

nqo ushinzwe ibibazo bya politiki mu biro bya Perezida wa FPR niwe wafashe iya mbere arateshwaquzwa biratinda.

Mu nyandiko abeshya ko yandikiye i Byumba tariki ya 6 Gicurasi 1993, Simon Ntare ariha rubanda agera za guhisha ububi bw'inyenzi. Ntamenye ko uhisha ukuri kwageraho kukaqaragara. Kandi uko kuri kurazwi.

KU BYEREKEYE IBYITSO

Muri icyo nyandiko, inyenzi Simon Ntare araduhishurira ko hagati mu gihuqu cyacu hari inyenzi zihishemo. Akemeza ko izo nyenzi zidashobora kwizagaraza kubera ko abaturage bazimenye bazitsembe. Ariko nqo ziraqakora. Abahakana rero ko nta byitso biri mu gihuqu, si abanyije. FPR irabyiyemerera ku muqaragaro.

IKIBAZO CY'IMPUNZI

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990 zaje zitwaje ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abatutsi nqo ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana bwabujije gutahuka. Amahanga yabanje kwemera icyo kinyoma. Nyamara byaje kuqaragara ko rwari urwitwazo. Impamvu nyayo yatumye FPR iteru ni ugufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu i Kigali nk'uko NRA yabufashe i Kampala. None FPR nayo irabyiyemerera ku muqaragaro dore ko Simon Ntare asobanura neza ko tutagomba kwitirinya FPR n'impunzi. Ngo ni ibintu bibiri bitandukanye. Aho....!

GUFATA UBUTEGETSI KU NGUFU

Muri icyo nyandiko, Simon Ntare abeshya ko inyenzi zitagamije gufata ubutegetsi. Ngo n'ikimenyimenyi ziyemeje gusubira mu birindiro zahoranye mbere y'itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 ubwo zashozaqa imirwano. Nqo ibyo byonyine birahagije kugira ngo amahanga yemere ko inyenzi zidashaka ubutegetsi ku ngufu!

Nyamara ukuri guteye gutya : inyenzi zimaze kwirukanwa mu muqi wa Ruhengeri no mu nkengeru zawo, mu gihe kitarenze iminsi ibiri gusa, zimaze kubona ko amahanga azamaganye kubera icyo gi-

tero, nta kundi zari kubigenza uretse gusubira aho zahoze mbere ya tariki ya 8 Gashyantare. Nta mpuhwe rero zarimo. Kandi kuba inyenzi zaremeye imishyikirano ntibisobanura ko zitagitsimbaraye ku mugambi wazo wo gufata ubutegetsi. Museveni yarabyerekanye bihaqije kuburyo uwakwishinga ibinyoma by'inyenzi amateka yazabimuhani-ra.

ABAVANYWE MU BYABO N'INTAMBARA

Mu gihe amahanga akomeje kwamagana intambara inyenzi zaturashyemo, FPR yo isanga ngo ariyo nzira nyayo yo kumvikanisha ikibazo cyayo. Mu bugome bwayo, FPR yishimira ko abaturage bakwira imishwara, bakangara ku gasozi. Kuri FPR ngo ni uguhitamo ibintu bibiri : guhunga no kwicwa.

IYICWA RY'ABATURAGE B'INZIRAKARENGANE

FPR yemera ko hafuye abantu ariko ngo nta yicwa ryabaye! Umva nawe. Uko byamera kose, icyo abantu bapfuye baba bafite uwabishe. Demokarasi duharanira izirana n'ubwo buqome. Ikiremwa muntu gifite uburenganzira budakuka bwo kubaho. Ubwo burenganzira bubuza buri wese kwica.

IGITUGU CY'INYENZI

Umuririmbyi yarihoreye ati : «Umugabo w'ukuri arangwa n'ibikorwa».

FPR nayo rero igaragarira mu byo ikora si mu maqambo. Guhamya ko ngo Demokarasi yonyine ariyo yakemura ibibazo by'abanyarwanda ntibihagije. icya ngombwa ni ukubishyira mu bikorwa. FPR yagaraqaje ko «iharanira» demokarasi yica abaturage, abandi ibirukana mu byabo, ubu bakaba barara rwantambi.

IGITERO CYO KU ITARIKI YA 8 GASHYANTARE 1993

Inyenzi zigaba igitero tariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993 zabeshye amahanga ko zari zigamije kwumvisha Guverinoma y'u Rwanda

ko igomba kubaha ubuzima bw'abantu nqo ikubahiriza amasezerano yaqiranye nazo. Ibyo ntitubyanze. Ariko ikitumvikana ni ukuntu wavya ko wubaha uburenganzira bw'umuntu bwo kubaho nawe wica abandi bantu. Aho niho FPR yari ikwiye gusobanura.

UBUTEGETSI BW'IGITUGU BWA HABYARIMANA

FPR yemeza ko n'ubwo Habyarimana yavaho, ubutegetsi bwe bwashyirahamye. Ku nyenzi, haba hahindutse umuntu gusa, ubutegetsi bukiri bwa bundi. Muri icyo gihe rero FPR ngo yakomeza intambara. Mu gihe abatavuye rumwe na Habyarimana baba imbere mu gihuqu bo bemeza ko Habyarimana aramutse avuyeho, hahyaho ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi. Aha rero hateye kwibaza. Niba FPR itemera ko Habyarimana avuyeho demokarasi yasugira, ni iki cyatwemeza ko (FPR) itakomeza intambara kugeza igihe ifatiye ubutegetsi ku ngufu cyangwa se igashyiraho ubutegetsi.

FPR NI IKI ?

FPR yiyita ngo ishyamba rinini rya rubanda rigamije kubohora igihuqu. Ariko icyo tuzi neza ni uko abantu bagera kuri miliyoni babaga mu makomini 8 inyenzi zafashe, bahunze FPR ! Bayihunze batayireba ? Izabeshye «abahindi» rero.

FPR NGO NIYO YO !

FPR yiyita «impirimbanyi» ya demokarasi. Kuri yo nqo ni ngombwa ko buri muntu yahitamo aho ajya. Ngo ibintu ni bibiri : quhitamo ubwigenge cyangwa se uqahitamo iqitugu.

Nyamara FPR ishatse yamenya ko «impirimbanyi» ya demokarasi ari umuntu ukoresha inzira ya demokarasi.

«Impirimbanyi» za demokarasi rero ntabwo ari abakoresha imbunda cyangwa se ubundi buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose bwo kwica. Nta hitamo rero rigomba kubaho.

KA02 1833



*Ugutsinda kwa SAHWANYA-FRODEBU si ukwa ABARUNDI gusa. Ahubwo n'ukwa ABAHUTU bose b'isi.
Perezida NDADAYE Melchior.*