



# KANGURA

N°32

100 FRW

IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

Renzaho Yuvenali, Umunyamabanga mukuru wa Habýarimana n'i umwe  
mu batumye Inyenzi zitugwa gitumo.



Inyenzi nta kindi cyazishobora usibye kugwa inyuma y'Igihugu.

Ingabo z'igihugu turi maso, umuti w'Inyenzi n'lbyitso byazo turawufite.

Ilbimenyetso simusiga byerekana  
ubukotanyi bwa  
TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin.



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# MDR-TWAGIRAMUNGU alias RUKOKOMA ARAKORERA INYENZI-INKOTANYI YIHISHE INYUMA YA MDR - PARMEHUTU!



Mu Kinyamakuru cyitwa ISIBO, muli nlmero sipesiyali yacyo cya-tangaje munsî y'interuro cyise «INKOTANYI BARAHINYURA NA MRND», umugabo witwa F. TWAGIRAMUNGU aliwe usi-gaye yaliswe RUKOKOMA, muli iki gihe ntiyatinyutse kwihi-kira. Yahisemo kwihihsa inyuma y'umugabo witwa MUSA-NGAMFURA Sixbert, kugira ngo ashobore kuntuka, aho gusubiza inyandiko vanjye. Jye simutinye rero. Mhisemo kumusubiza ku gitit cye, kuko uwo mukarani we yandikishije iyo nyandiko yan-ditse ibyo yabwiwe na shebuja. Byongeye kandi, sinigeze na lim-we mvugana nawe cyangwa nglra icyo nkcorana nave. Uwo tuziranye mu NKOTANYI ni TWAGI-RAMUNGU, niwe ngomba gusubiza rero.

## Gutukana si ubutwali, ni uburere buke.

Utuka utamutuka niwe uba yitu-ka, nk'uko umutego mutindi wica nyirawo!

Inyandiko ya TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini n'umukarani we MU-SANGAMFURA Sixbert ntisuzugulitse gusa, ahubwo irasuzuguza by'agahebuzo ba nyirayo, ikaba urukozasoni ku bayoboke b'I-shyaka MDR uwo TWAGIRAMUNGU yafashe nk'aho ali inka abereye umushumba! Nkanjez umaze igihe kirekire mu bihugu bizi kandi bikoresha demokarasi mu bwubahane, n'ugize icyo aregwa akisobanura atagombye gukorona cyangwa gusebanya, ndasan-ga inyandiko ya TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini isa n'aho ali iy'u-muntu wihebye, wiyanze, wirambiwe, wacitse intege, wabuze ibycaro, wuzuye uwoba n'uburaka li bwo kuvumburwaho ibintu yi-bwiraga ko bitazwi! Iyo myifatire irerekwa rubanda isura ye y'ukuli.

## Kuvugisha ukuli, ntibyica umutumirano.

Umwanditsi ntagira uwoba bw'i-bitutsi cyangwa inkulikizi izo alizo zose z'ubwanditsi bwe, ntahungabanya n'ibinyoma, nk'uko adacogozwa n'ibigambo bisohotse bitewe n'inyandiko ze. Ibyo bigahura na wa mugani w'i-kinyarwanda uvuga ngo: «Uburakali bw'imboga ntibwotsa im-behe».

**Muvandimwe Fawustini, ngleye kuvuguruza inyandiko yawe n'u-mukarani wawe ingingo ku nglango, maze nze kuyisoza mbaha ibimenyetso simusiga mwansa-bye.**

## Ngo ndabeshya sinavuye mu NKOTANYI? Ngo ndi ikirumirahabili?

Uravuga ko mbeshya ntavuye mu Nkotanyi, ugakomeza uvuga ko nkizilimo, nabaye ikirumirahabili. Ngusabye kubitangira ibime-nyetso bigaragara. Icyo nzi ni uko nagiye mu Nkotanyi ku mugara-garo nkanazisezero ku mugara-garo mu binyamakuru byo hanze n'ibyo mu Rwanda. Igihe nali mu Nkotanyi, byali bizwi hose, kuko navugiraga ku mugaragaro, ibyo urabizi kurusha abandi kuko bi-mwe mu byo navugaga byagutu-rukagaho. Aho nziviliyemo nabyo byaragaragaye kuko nazi-rwanyije na n'ubu nkizirwanya kandi nzapfa nkizirwanya. Iyo ni imwe mu mhamvu zanteye kwan-dika inyandiko nise «AMASHYAKA AHAGARALIYE IMBAGA NYAMWINSHI AGOMBA KWUMVIKANA» aliyo yaguteye kuvu-ga amagambure. Uravuga ko iyo nyandiko nayohereje MRND nyigira inama muli ibi bihe bibi. Uretseko no kugira inama MRND

bitaba ikirego, kuko naryo ali ishyaka mu yandi, ubundi iyo nyandiko nayohereje amashyaka yose n'abanyamakuru. Ndetse abahararaliye MDR mu Budage Dr. Nsekuye BIZIMANA (Berlin), no mu Bubiligi, Alexis NSABIMANA (Louvain-La-Neuve) bali mu ba mbere nayohereje kuli numero za fax bamhaye, kandi nzi neza ko bayibonye. Aho se ntufatwa n'ikinyoma?

Imhamvu zali zimbesheje mu Nkotanyi n'izatumye nzivamo za-rasobanuwe ku buryo burambuye kandi bwumvikana. Nawe ubwa-we ulivugira ko icyo gihe namaze isaha n'imnoti icumi mvugira kuli mikoro za Radio-Rwanda. Ubwo se narangije icyo gihe cyose mvuga ubusa? Wababajwe se n'uko navuze amabanga yanyu? Nako hali n'aho uvuga ko navuze ngo Inkotanyi zakoresheje amayeri yose zimhisha amabanga yazo. Urabona se ko ndi umupfu ku buryo nagombaga gusuka hanze ibyo nzi byose kandi naratega-nyaga kuzabisohora mu gitabo? Niba wali wizeye ko bitazasohoka, ugashimishwa n'uko navuye mu Nkotanyi nta mabanga yazo nzi, wshimye kare, tegereza gato gitabo kili hafi kuva mw'icapiro.

Sinkeneye rero kurumira habili kuko ntatinya na limwe kuvuga icyo ntekereza. Iyo nibeshe kandi, nabyo sintinya kubyemera no kubi-vuga, kuko ibyo biruta kume-nya ko wibeshe ugakomeza gu-tsimbarara ku mafuti, kandi uzi neza ko aliyo. Ibyo rero nibyo wakoze kandi ntibigaragaza ubu-twali, kuko winjiye mu Nkotanyi wihihshe utigeze utangaza ko wazinjiyemo, ukaba utaligeze unatangaza ko uzivuyemo. Icyo ukwi-ye kugayirwa, n'uko ibyo utabi-koze ukihitiramo kwihihsa mw'ishyaka MDR wagize iryawe kandi ryarashinzwe n'intwali KAYI-

**KAYIBANDA** bityo ukabeshya abamwemera twese ntibikubuze gukomeza imigambi yawe y'Ubunyenzi. Ibyo bikagaragazwa na mariage MDR ubereye ku isonga ifitanye muli iki gihe na PL twese tuzi ko ali ishyaka ry'inyenzi. Naho ubundi se wadusobanulira ute ukuntu MDR-PARMEHUTU yarwanyije Inyenzi-Gashakabuhake inkundura, ikarwanira Gahutu, ikamuhesha ishemma, agaciro n'icyubahiro akwiye bitabagaho, ikazana demokarasi na Repubulika, ikageza u Rwanda ku bwigenge, igashyiraho ingabo z'ighugu izishinze kulinda Demokarasi, Repubulika n'Ubwigenge, yakwifatanya n'Inyenzi-Inkotanyi zibumbiye mw' ishyaka PL litemera ibyo byiza byose MDR-PARMEHUTU yarwaniye??

Icyo ni ikibazo gikomeye kandi gifite ishingiro, kuko bimaze kugaragara ko MDR uyobora ntacyo ihuliye na MDR-PARMEHUTU. Mu bayoboke ba MDR y'ubu, ab'inkengu bamaze kubona aho ubajiana bihitiramo kuviamo aho kugambanira Ishyaka ryabo aliryo MDR-PARMEHUTU. Abasigaye kandi, nabo nizeye ko batazatinda kuvumbura amayeri ubakoreshaho. Bityo bagahitamo hagati ya TWAGIRAMUNGU n'Ishyaka rya-bo.

### Kuba uli umukwe wa KAYIBANDA nta immunité biguha.

Muli iliya nyandiko yawe umukarani wawe yaranditse ati: «*Uyu ni GAPYISI Emmanuel, ubwo nawe ali umukwe wa KAYIBANDA kimwe na TWAGIRAMUNGU nawe ejo MRND iramuhindura Inkotanyi.*

Uwo GAPYISI se we kandi aje ate ko mu nyandiko yanje ali ntaho muvuga? Umuzanamo se kandi washatse gushinga ishyirahamwe ry'abakwe ba KAYIBANDA? Niba ali ibyo, noneho hali n'undi wibagiwe! Kuba GAPYISI ali umukwe wa KAYIBANDA

kimwe nawe, bivuga ko muhuliye muli uwo muryango mwashatsemo, ntibivuga ko muhuliye ku mafuti. Buli wese ni inzira-karenge ku giti cye.

Reka kwitilira inyandiko yanje MRND kuko ntali umuvugizi wayo.

- Igihe utatinyukaga kubumbara umunwa ngo ugire icyo unenga ku mugaragaro iryo Shyaka MRND ryali ryihaliye ubutegetsi ryonyine,

Igihe wakubitaga ibipfukamiro utwengatwenga ubeshya HABYARIMANA ngo ukunde ube umuyobozi wa STIR,

Igihe utanatinutse kabaliza ku mugaragaro ibya Sobukwe KAYIBANDA, nyamara usigaye witwaza muli iki gihe, **n'ye naratinyutse.**

Reka rero kuvangavanga amadosiye niba hali icyo urega iryo Shyaka MRND bikore ku mugaragaro udafefetse ureke kwitwaza BARAHINYURA.

Kuba uli umukwe wa KAYIBANDA, nta kindi bivuze uretse kuba warashakanye n'umwe mu bakobwa be. Ibyo rero ujye ubirata mu muryango wawe, ntuzabyitwaze cyangwa ngo ubihindure indilimbo n'igikangisho muli politiki. Uwashatse wese aba afite Sebukwe.

Yaba rero umwana wa KAYIBANDA, umukwe we, mwene wabo cyangwa se inshuti ye, ibyo byose ntibikwiye kuba indilimbo, igikangisho, urwuriliro, cyangwa se uburyo bwo kwivanaho amakosa ayo aliyo yose. Bikwiye gusa kuba ibyishimo n'ishema muli uwo muryango nk'uko kuba umwana cyangwa se umukwe wa NGOFERO bitanga ishema n'ibyishimo muli uwo muryango. Kuba umukwe wa KAYIBANDA rero ntibikugira umwere iyo uli mu cyaha.

Ngahera aho nsaba nkomeje abyoboke ba MDR kwamaganira kure cyane ingeso yateye ku bitwaza ko baba bafite icyo bahulii-

yeho na KAYIBANDA, cyangwa se bakitwaza kuba ali abana b'abarwanashyaka bakoranye na KAYIBANDA, bityo bakabona ko ibyo byonyine bibaha uruhare rw'umwihaliko muli MDR. Dushimira Abarwanashyaka bose b'ime-na ku giti cyabo ibyiza bakoreye u Rwanda, kuko buli muntu wese ashimirwa cyangwa se akagayirwa icyo yakoze. Byongeye kandi, MDR-PARMEHUTU ni umurage Abahutu twese twasigiwe n'abo Barwanashyaka ba mbere. Nta Muhutu uwo aliwe wese uwufiteho uburenganzira bw'umwihaliko. Ntibihagije kuvuga ngo data yali iki cyangwa yakoze iki kuko icyo gihe twe ntacyo twakoraga, twali tukili abana. Ntacyo ubu twashimirwa rero, nta n'icyo twarata ahubwo nidukulikire inzira batweretse dukomereze aho bagajeje natwe tuzabishimirwe.

Ibyo simbitandukanya n'abitwaza ko MDR-PARMEHUTU yavukiye i Gitarama bakabona ko iyo mhamvu imwe rukumbi bafite uburenganzira bw'umwihaliko muli MDR. Bene abo ndabibutsa ko MDR-PARMEHUTU itashinzwe na KAYIBANDA wenyine. BICAMUMPAKA Balthazar, BANZI Welars, GITERA Joseph, MPAKANIYE Lazare, MAKUZA Anastase n'abandi benshi ntibakomokaga i Gitarama.

### Ibitekerezo byanje ntibigurwa!

Mbere y'uko urugaga rw'amashyaka rwemerwa mu Rwanda, uwakopforaga yaratotezwaga ndetse akanafungwa, kuko ali nta bu-renganzira bwo kuvuga cyangwa kwendika icyo umuntu ashaka bwalio. Ibyo TWAGIRAMUNGU we yadukanye mull iki gihe n'uko abona ko uwanditse cyangwa se uvuze icyo atekereza wese aba yaguzwe, ngo kuko nta kundi byagenda! Iyo ni Demokarasi-Nkotanyi.

Mbese TWAGIRAMUNGU uwakibaliza: Ko nawe udahakana ko nanditse igitabo cya politiki,

icyo gitabo ko nawe ubwawe ukizi nanagituye KAYIBANDA n'umuryango we, ukiyemerera ko icyo gitabo cyamviliyemo gutotezwa no gukulikiranwa n'ibiro by'ipereza kugeza n'aho byashatse kunyicishiliza cyangwa kunyicira mu Budage, kandi ko ali byo koko, ukemeza ko hali n'abahafati; njya kwandika icyo gitabo cyatumye ntotezwa mwene ako kageni, umuryango wa KAYIBANDA nagituye hamwe n'abarenganyijwe n'ubutegetsi bwa MRND ya kera navuglye, mwanguze millioni zingahe? Abo natabalije mu miryango irengera ikiremwamantu bagasohoka mu buroko bamaze kugera hanze bakubwile ke bamhaye miliyon zingahe?

Hanyuma se MRND narwanije rugikubita maze kubona ibikorwa byayo, nkagera n'aho mbyandikaho igitabo mwese mwasomaga mwihihe nta n'utinyuka kuvuga ko akizi, iyo MRND twaje kwlyungira he? Ryali? Twanzwe na nde? Tanga gihama.

Urabura icyo uvuga ugahimbahimba uvuga ko ngo MRND yaba yaramhaye amafaranga nkayafatira muli Ambassade y'u Rwanda i Bonn! None se iyo MRND yamhigiye kuva hasi kubura hejuru nk'uko nawe ubiyugira, yaje kungemulira amafaranga bigenze bite? Ndakwanga se yaba yaravuyemo ndagukunda? Bisobanure! Tanga gihama!

Uliyemerera ko abali boherejwe mu Budage kuhanyicira bafashwe na police y'Abadage. Nyuma yaho aliko, ukarengwaho utukana wita abantu ibintu, ibirara, abanyoni n'andi mateshwa nk'ayo. Ko police y'Ubudage ilinda abantu amabandi, ikabalinda ibirara, abanyoni n'abandi bagomese, yaje noneho kulinda (protection de la police) ibirara bigenze bite? Bisobanure.

Ulihanukira aka Semuhanuka uti inzu BARAHINYURA atuyemo kandi acurulizamo yayiguliwe n'Inkotanyi amafaranga ahwanye na miliyon 20 z'amanyarwanda, n'ukuvuga umuntu acishilije ibi-

humbi 200 by'amadage. Uretse kugura inzu y'ubucuruzi, ibyo bi-humbi ntibishobora kugura n'akazu gato (un petit appartement) k'ibumba bibili mu mugi wa Frankfurt ntuyemo.

Iyo nzu uvuga ntuyemo nkaba nanayicurulizamo ngo «Inyenzi zaba zaranguliye» yaguzwe ryali? Uwaylgulishije ni nde? Yagyullishije nde? Garagaza kontara y'ubuguzi..

Iyo nzu ili ku wuhe muhanda mu wuhe mugi w'Ubudage? Ubundi ubusanzwe, hano mu Budage, ikitu cyose gifite agaciro karenze ibihumbi 20 by'amadage nticyishurwa kashi, bacyishyura babinyujije mu nzira y'amabanki. Iyo bigenze bityo, hasinywa sheki. Wagragaliza umusomyi kopi y'iyo sheki?

Jye ndamenyesha umusomyi ko msite inzu ntuyemo n'iyonshurulizamo kandi ayo mazu yombi ndayakodesha. Umuntu wese mu basomyi b'iyi nyandiko uzagira icyo abishidikanyaho azanyandikire kuli adresse ntanze nzamwoherereza kontara z'ubukode bw'ayo mazu yombi, u Rwanda rufite abantu benshi bize mu Budage bashobora kubasesengulira mu rulimi bashaka izo kontara zombi.

Ukuli ahubwo ni uko mu gihe nali mu Nkotanyi, iyo zazaga mu budage nazicumbikiraga, zimwe iwanje mu rugo, izindi mu gi-pande cy'iduka turuhukiramo.

## TWAGIRAMUNGU n'umukarani we, bansabye ibimenyetso simusiga byerekana UBUKOTANYI bwe!

Mu nyandiko yabo, TWAGIRAMUNGU n'umukarani we, baravuga bat: «Turasaba BARAHINYURA gukora uko ashoboye agatanga ibimenyetso simusiga, naho biliya ntawabyemera. ikibazo n'uko n'tyo yaba avuga ukuli, nta mayarwanda wakwemera. Niba ali ubuswa, niba ali ugufitira, iliya nyandiko nta na kimwe ihishura uretse kuba yaraliye amafaranga ya MRND gusa».

**TWAGIRAMUNGU** uwo alihanukira agerageza kunshinja avuga ko ngo «naba naraliye amafaranga ya MRND». Ibyo sinilirwa mbigarukaho, kuko byasesenguwe ku buryo burambuye haruguru.

Kuvuga ko ukuli kwanje nta munyarwanda wakwemera, ni ubwirasi no kwiyemera birenze urugero, kuko yumvisha abasomyi ko uretse we n'umukarani we nta wundi munyarwanda ushobora gutandukanya ukuli n'ikinyoma, bityo akumvi-sha ko uretse we n'umukarani we, nta wundi ushobora gutekereza. «Utazi ubwenge ashima ubwe». Uwo mugani sijye wawuhimbye. Ese ubwo bwenge uzi bw'ikirenga nibwo ukoresha kugira ngo wubake inzu, umwanzi afate umuliro aze kuyitwika nawe uti «Nkubita wimbwiliza kulira nta kindi nali ntege-reje»? Inzu mvuga ni u Rwanda, ni Republik, ni Demokarasi, n'Ubwigenge n'ibindi byiza byinshi cyane twese dukesha umufundi tuzi, MDR-PARMEHUTU. Ubwo bwenge ni bwenge ki kombona ntaho butandukaniye n'ubwa wa wundi wamaze kwijuta agafata umuliro, ibigega agakongeza? Nyuma yaho ntiyaje guissonza akabura icyo arya inzara ikamuhitana? Ibyo simbitindaho kuko ngomba kukugezaho bya bimenyetso simusiga by'ubunyezi bwave!

## Amavu n'amavuko y'ibimenyetso byasabwe!

Aho maliye kwandika kiliya gitabo, nticyashatswe n'abanyarwanda gusa, ahubwo n'abanyamahanga cyane cyane abakorana n'u Rwanda baranyandikiye bansasa kukiboherereza. Muli abo bantu banyandikiye, halimo umugabo w'umudage witwa Herbert HOPF ukorana n'u Rwanda akaba yarakoranaga na TWAGIRAMUNGU mu byerekeye ubucuruzi. Maze kumwoherereza icyo gitabo aragisoma arangije arantrefona turaganira noneho biza kuba akamenyero ndetse tuba n'insuti. Nguko uko namenyanne na Herbert HOPF nawe azi!

Bwana TWAGIRAMUNGU rero utirengagije, nawe uzi neza ko fax wohereje utanga amakuru uya-ha inkotanyi wayinyujije kuli uwo mugabo. Ngira ngo uzi ko ubwo butumwa wohereje wabwa nditseho «POUR TRANSMISSION» n'ukuvuga «BUNGEREZE KULI NYI-RABWO». Uwo muzungu rero yabi-koze nkoko wabimusabye abanza kunshakira imuhira avugana n'umugore wanjiye aliwe wamu-haye telefoni y'ahantu nali ndi muli icyo gihe i Bruxelles, Hôtel Bently ili ku muhanda Rogier. Iyo nyandiko ili ku mugereka umu-somyi ashobora ubwe kwibonera ko faxyashyizaho italiki (19.10.90) isaha (13:42) n'aho yaje iturutse (TLS DUSSELDORF 49211624536). Iyo nimo ya fax ni iy'ubo mugabo Hopf mwali mufatanyije ubu-curuzi. Umusomyi wese ushaka kubyimenyera ku giti cye ashobora kubigenzura. Uzi ko ubwo butumwa bwawe bumaze kugera i Bruxelles, Abatutsi bahise banyohereza kubavugira mu Busu-wisi aho délegation yali yohere-jwe n'u Rwanda mu Burayi nku-ko wali wabisobanuye mu butu-mwa bwawe yali igizwe na NTE-ZIMANA Emmanuel (UNR) NAHIMA-NA Ferdinand (IRST) na MA-HARANGARI Augustin (DG/BRD) yageragezaga gusobanulira aba-nyamahanga ko «Intambala y'U-kwakira yatangiwe na Perezida wa OUA». Uzi ko kugira ngo ze-merwe n'amahanga, Inyenzi-Nkotanyi zakoreshaeje Abahutu. Iyo sinakwilarwa mbigusobanulira ku-ko ubizi kundusha bitewe n'uko wantanze mu Nyenzi-Nkotanyi! Iyo barwa niyo nasomeye abali bahali mvuguruza NAHIMANA n'abali bamuherekeje. Iyo bya-baye kuwa 25 Ukwakira 1990. Bibera muli Hôtel Intercontinental i Genève ho mu Busuwisi, ku muhanda witwa Chemin du petit-saconnex 7-9. Ngirango abo bagabo uko ali batatu NTEZIMA-NA Emmanuel, NAHIMANA Fer-dinand na MAHARANGARI Augu-stin nabontibahikana kuko iyo nyandiko bayibonye kandi yaba-teye ibibazo cyane.

Ingingo ikulikiye iyi yerekana ko ubwo butumwa ali wowe bwatu-

rutseho, birankomereye kuyivu-ga kuko isa n'iyerekeza ku buzi-ma bwawe bwite (vie privée). Ali-ko rero bibaye ngombwa ko mbi-shyira ku mugaragaro kuko wa-nabye ibimenyetso simusiga. Ibi bimenyetso wisabiye rero nabyo sinzi niba bilibugusige!

**Musomyi w'ilyi nyandiko, ndagli-ra ngo nkugezeho iby'uju mu-gabo TWAGIRAMUNGU:**

Aho maliye kuba inshuti n'uliya muzungu uwo F. TWAGIRAMUN-GU yanyuzagaho ubutumwa, ya-yaje kunganyira ambwira ibibazo afite abitewe n'«inshuti» ye TWAGIRAMUNGU. Intambala igita-nigira yambwiye ko uwo TWAGIRAMUNGU amulimo amadolari 300.000 US\$ n'ukuvuga Miliyon 39 z'amanyarwanda. Tubiganira-ho bihagiye nza kumwumvisha ko kuba uwo TWAGIRAMUNGU atamwishiura bishobora kuba bite-rwa n'intambala, ko yagerageza kwihangana. Ejo bundi bulyi muli Kanama nibwo yansanze ku kazi aje kwongera kunganyira. Nibwo amhishuliye ko uwo TWAGIRAMUNGU amulimo amadolari are-nze ibihumbi 300, amenyesha ko yashakaga kujya mu Rwanda muli Nzeli yakulikiragaho kubonana na nyirubwite TWAGIRAMUNGU. None muli iyi minsi niho yanekerereje ko Fawustini yamu-bwiye ko ali «umutindi nyaku-ja» akaba adashobora kumwi-shyura ideni rye hagati aho ryageze ku bihumbi 412.441,12 by'amadolari y'amanyamerika, n'u-kuvuga Miliyon 53. 617. 345,60 y'amanyarwanda! Nawe irebere kuli iyo nyandiko y'umugereka yerekana amasezerano yagiranye na TWAGIRAMUNGU (TRANSCONTINENTAL AIR FREIGHT). Uwo mugabo nawe akaba afite Sosiyeti ye ino mu Budage yitwa TRANSPORT LOGISTIC SER-VICE (TLS) nk'uko mubibona muli izo nyandiko. Reba kashi ya fax ili kuli ayo masezerano yabo yanyohereje ejo bundi kw'italiki ya 09.02.92 kw'isaha 02:22 uyigereranye na kashi ya fax ili ku butumwa TWAGIRAMUNGU yanyohereje ndi i Bruxelles ayi-nyujije kuli uwo muzungu ura-

sanga bihuye. N'umara kubige-reranya urasanga ko ibyo mvuga ntabeshya.

Ngusabye rero musomyi w'iyi nyandiko kumfasha kugira ngo iyo nshuti y'u Rwanda yiyeje gushora umutungo wayo mu Rwanda ibone ibayo, byaba ngo-mbwa ibya TWAGIRAMUNGU bi-kagulishwa ku ngufu umuntu aka-bona utwe!

Nsabye cyane cyane Leta y'u Rwanda gukora uko ishoboye kwose igahesha uwo Mudage utwe. Leta y'u Rwanda siyo nabwira akamaro igihugu cy'Ubudage kimaliye u Rwanda mu rwego rw'umuba-no n'ubutwererane. Uwo mugabo n'abura utwe rero, mumenye ko ibyo bizatuma Abadage benshi baba bifusa gushora imali yabo mu Rwanda bifata. Kuko mu mico yabo, ushatse gushora imali ye mu gihugu iki n'iki cy'A-frika, abanza guperereza akaha-za bene wabo baba bazi icyo gihu-gu ngo bamugire inama. Muru-mva rero ko n'ubwo Bwana HOPF akunda u Rwanda rwacu ataziba-girwa ibyo TWAGIRAMUNGU yamugiliye! Birumvikana ko inama azagira mwene wabo itazaba iyo gushora imaliye mu Rwanda! TWAGIRAMUNGU ugaragaraho ubuhemu n'ubwambuzi - nako umuntu nk'ubo ngo niwe MDR yasanze akwiliye kuyibera kw'i-songa - akitwaza kuba ali umukwe wa KA YIRANDA kugira ngo asebanye, atukane gishumba abeshya n'ibyo adashobora kugaraga-zza no gutangira ibimenyetso. Mbere yo kwirega cyane nta n'i-cyo yiregana n'abanze yiyuhagire umwanda umwuzuyeho, maze ye-reke abanyarwanda, cyane cyane abo ahagaraliye mw'Ishyaka ko afite uburere, ko ali Inyangamugayo kandi akunda u Rwanda, maze asubize iliya nshuti y'u Rwanda miliyonze!

Kuba narabaye mu NYENZI-NKOTANYI bigomba kugira icyo bimalira igihugu, bikanagifasha kuzirwanya kugeza ku ndunduro. Niyo mhamvu nahisemo kurundarunda iby'ingenzi mubyo nzizaho bili mu gitabo kizasohoka mu misi mike ili imbere, kugi-

ra ngo buli munyarwanda wese ubishatse azamenye icyo nazivanyemo.

Muba muta igihe cyanyu rero iyo mutarataza mugerageza kusenza no kumhimbira ibyaha bishobora kumfata kuko muda shobora kubibonera gihanya. Ibyo kuntu ntacyo bimhinduraho mbili hejuru cyane, ahubwo birantera imbaraga kurushaho no gukaza umurego mu kurwanya izo NYENZI-NKOTANYI zili inyuma y'ibyo bitutsi.

No muli Revolusiyo yacu ya 59 habonetse Abahutu bifatanyije n'INYENZI kugeza ku ndunduro, nk'uko n'ubungubu bigaragara ko hali abakili kumwe nazo badashaka kuva kw'izima, aliko ntibazibujije gutsindwa.

Abahutu dushyigikiye kandi twifatanije n'Ingabo z'ighugu mu kurwanya umwanzi wa Republikana Demokarasi, dushimangira ibyiza dukesha Revolusiyo ya 59, TULI BENSHI KANDI

**TULI MASO.** Ni intambara itoroshye, aliko twarayiyemeje kandi tuzayitsinda.

Maze rero **TWAGIRAMUNGU** aho kurata no kulirimba buli gihe ko uli umukwe wa **KAYIBANDA**, wagombye kumenya ko iryo zina dukunda kandi twubaha lirangwa n'ubupfura, ubwitonzi n'ubutwali byagaragaye mu buzima bwa **KAYIBANDA**, ryagombye kwubahilizwa mbere na mbere n'umuryango we aho kaba aliwo uryanduza.

Mbere yo kwigira avoka wa **KATABARWA** na **MUGEMANA**, banza uburane urwawe narwo ntirukworoheye, nabo bazaburane urwabo.

Sinarangiza iyi nyandiko kandi ntamenyesheje Bwana **TWAGIRAMUNGU** n'ISIBO ye, hamwe n'ibindi **BINYAMAKURU** byINYENZI-NKOTANYI bili mu gi-hugu ko guhimbazwa no kanyandikaho byonyine bidahagije. Uzashaka kugira icyo anyandikaho wese namubwira iki! Icyo

ago-mba kumenya gusa n'uko buli nyandiko yose kw'izina ryanje itazashobora gutanga ibimenye-tso bigaragara by'ibyo inshinja cyangwa indega, izaba imhamvu yo guhita ntanga ikirego mu nki-ko z'u Rwanda. ■

Uzashaka kunyandikira, ashobora kuzohereza ibarwa ye kuli iyi adresse ikulikira:

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Bikorewe i Frankfurt,  
kuwa 12 Mutarama 1992

Shyrambere J. BARAHINYURA

## LA LIBYE SACRIFIEE POUR LES ELECTIONS PRESIDENTIELLES AMERICAINES:

A l'approche des élections présidentielles aux Etats-Unis, les politiciens américains cherchent à tout prix à recueillir le maximum de voix notamment auprès des Juifs, très nombreux aux Etats-Unis.

Pour y parvenir, ces mêmes politiciens cherchent un bouc-émissaire devant être sacrifié. Actuellement, ils ont choisi la Libye comme cible pour plusieurs raisons : - Il existe en Europe des journaux qui ont été manipulés par des ennemis de la Paix pour qu'ils s'attaquent à la Libye pour une période de 20 ans.

- l'extrémisme des Juifs qui prennent la Libye comme ennemi numéro un pour avoir manifesté son soutien aux Palestiniens afin de libérer leur patrie et les territoires occupés par la force par Israël.

- La Libye est prise comme cible pour avoir pris les devants pour condamner l'Etat hébreu qui occupe illégalement les territoires arabes. Il y a d'autres raisons qui

font que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique s'époumonent pour détruire complètement la Libye dans les plus brefs délais :

- Les USA savent très bien que leurs intérêts chez les pays arabes pourraient diminuer considérablement dans les jours à venir.

La Libye a en effet déjà commencé à éveiller les pays arabes pour qu'ils protègent leur patrimoine pour qu'il ne soit pas pillé vers l'Occident.

- Parce que la Libye éveille constamment les pays musulmans et d'autres pays africains encore en voie de développement.

- Parce que la Libye se bat pour que les arabes aient une indépendance complète et constituent une et une seule nation.

- Parce que la Libye est un pays qui lutte pour que les pays africains aient une auto-suffisance alimentaire.

Pour toutes ces raisons évoquées ci-haut, la C.I.A. (agence de renseignement américain) en conivence avec ses satellites européens

ont monté de toute pièce un acte d'attentat meurtrier. C'est ainsi qu'ils impuntent à la Libye l'accident d'un avion américain, survenu en 1988.

Rappelons que lorsque les Etats-Unis avaient bombardé la Libye en 1986 prétextant qu'elle avait trempé dans l'attentat de Berlin, les Etats-Unis affirmaient également qu'ils luttaiennt contre le terrorisme international. Mais il s'est avéré que c'était de la pure injustice. Rappelons également que la prétenue responsabilité dans l'attentat contre l'avion américain avait d'abord été imputée à l'Iran, puis à la Syrie ensuite au Palestiniens. Et voilà qu'après trois ans, c'est le tour de la Libye et dans le seul but de nuire à ce pays et surtout pendant ces périodes de multipartisme auxquel le monde est confronté. Les Etats-Unis font cela sans preuves tangibles et palpables, mais seulement dans le seul objectif de faire de la Libye un bouc-émissaire dans la perspective des prochaines élections présidentielles aux Etats-Unis.

NGEZE Hassan.

# AK'ABAHUTU KASHOBOTSE MU IJORO RYO KU WA

## 27/1/2011

Dutangiye umwaka wa 2011 Yesu aje ku isi. Ubwo hashize imyaka 20 inyenzi z'abatutsi biyise inkotanyi zifashijwe n'uvari Perezida wa Uganda Yoweri Museveni zigabye ibtero simusiga mu Rwanda. Ibyo bitero byari bigamije kugarura ingoma-ntutsi no kwica icyitwa umuhutu cyose. Nk'uko rero byagendekeye izayibanjirije zo hagati y'1960 n'1967 iyo ntambara yageze ho nayo irahosha nyuma y'imyaka ibiri n'amezi ane itangiye. Icyo gihe ingabo z'u Rwanda zaharwanye inkundura zishobora kumenesha umwanzi ahungira ubudasubiza amaso inyuma aho yaturutse amaze gutakaza abantu n'ibintu byinshi.

Ariko kubera ko abatutsi bdashobora na rimwe kuva ku izima barongeye barisuganya kandi mu ibanga basanganywe aho bari hose. Ariko babanje guhura n'ikibazo cy'aho bitoreza hisanzuye. Ubutegetsi bwa Uganda bwari bwarasubiye mu maboko y'Abagande ndetse butegekwa n'umuntu ukomoka mu majyaruguru y'icyo gihugu wari waragaruye umubano utagira amakemwa hagati ya Uganda n'u Rwanda. Muri Tanzaniya ho ntibashoboraga gukandirayo kuko n'abahutu b'i Burundi bari barashinze ibirindiro kandi n'ubutegetsi bwaho busigaye bwumva neza ko abatutsi bashaka kwigarurira Afurika. Zayire niho inyenzi zashakiraga icyambu ariko abategetsi bashya, kuko Mobutu we yari yarasezerewe, bari barambuye abanyamahanga bose barimo impunzi z'abanyarwanda imyanya bari bafite mu nzego zinyuranye.

U Burundi rero nibwo bwari busigaye ari indiri y'inyenzi. Umu-jenerali wahategekaga yakomeje gukaza umurego mu kumarira ku isasu abenegihugu b'abahutu ku buryo abatutsi aribo bari basigaye ari benshi imbere mu gihugu. N'abo bahutu bari bagitaratamba babaga ari abahinzi gusa batazi gusoma no kwandika. Amashyaka yose yari yemewe yategekwaga n'abatutsi,

kandi muri ubwo bwoko niho havagamo honyine abakandida mu matora yose.

Mu Rwanda politiki y'amashyaka menshi yari yarashinze imizi ndetse hamaze kubisikana abaperezida batatu nyuma ya Habyarimana n'abaminisitiri b'intebé batandatu. Hari rero n'ishyaka rikomeye ry'abatutsi ryari risite imyanya ikaze muri guverinoma nka minisiteri y'ubutabera, iy'itangazamakuru n'iy'ububanyi n'amahanga. Kwirara n'uburangare byari byarongeye guhabwa icyicaro, ingabo z'igihugu zaracengewemo n'inkotanyi n'ibyitso byazo, ubukungu, inganda zose n'imishinga ikomeye byari mu maboko y'abatutsi gusa. Mu mashuri no mu mirimo yose iringaniza ryari ryaravuye-ho bityo imyanya myinshi kandi myiza igahabwa abo batutsi babaga bakize kandi barazobereye mu gucengera no kwigarurira abategetsi.

Abatutsi rero bo bakomeje kugura ibitwaro bya kirimbuzi ndetse noneho bafite n'indege z'intambara zirenze 100, bya shari akangari, bya misile bikaze, ibimodoka, ibisatu n'imbunda z'ubwoko bwinshi utasanga mu Rwanda. Kubera ko ari nta gihugu mu bidukikije cyari kikibumva uretse nyine u Burundi bifashishiye ibihugu by'abarabu maze bibaha intwaro bari bakeneye zose ndetse n'abatekinisiye bo kuzibigisha. Ibihugu by'i Buraya nabyo byabahaga amafaranga iryaguye bamaze kubibeshya ngo ni ayo gukoresha mu mishinga y'amajyambere n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage b'igihugu cyabo.

Maze bucya u Rwanda rwizihiza isabukuru y'imyaka 50 rumaze muri demokarasi, mu masa saba y'ijoro ikirere cya Kigali cyasesekawemo n'indege za C230, za kajugujugu n'izindi ndege z'intambara zari zivuye mu Burundi bucece. Ubwo abari bamanukiye mu mitaka bahise bafata radiyo, ikibuga cy'indege, ibigo bine bya gisirikare n'ibindi bi-

rindwi by'abajandurume byo mu mujyi no mu nkengero zavo. Mu mazu havundurukagamo abantu bafite imbunda n'ibisatu byinshi, buri wese afite umwanya agomba kujyamo. Bya bi C230 bivuburira ku kibuga cy'i Kanombe za burende, amajipe, za shari n'ibisanduku byuzuye amasasu kandi buri kintu gifite aho kigenewe n'abashinzwe kugikoresha. Itumanaho risanzwe ryose ryari ryahagaze, hakoraga gusa ibiradiyo n'ibindi byuma by'inyenzi. Amaradiyo y'abasirikare yose nta n'imwe yumvikanaga kuko ibyitso byari byayishe. Isa kumi ibigo byose bya gisirikare byari bimaze kugwa mu maboko y'abatutsi Butare na Gitarama byafashwe n'ingabo ziturutse i Burundi bujya guycya.

Abantu benshi bo mu mijyi no mu cyaro bahise bibwira ko ari kudeta isanzwe, bityo ntibibashishi-kaze cyane. Isa kumi n'imwe za mu gitondo radiyo isaba abantu bose kuguma mu ngo zabo kugeza igihe bazabonera uburenganzira bwo gu-sohoka. Abasirikare bari barokotse nibo bageragezaga gukoma imbere ibyo bitero ndetse baje gushobora kwigarurira imijyi ya Ruhengeri na Gisenyi. Ariko kubera ubuke bwabo no kubura intwaro zahangana n'iz'inyenzi nyuma y'iminsi itatu gusa bari bamaze kuganzwa, ababishoboye batorokera muri Zayire no muri Uganda ariko abensi bahitanwa n'urwo rugamba. Hagati aho abategetsi bose bari bafashwe mpiri ndetse bahita banyongwa uretse Perezida wa Repubulika washoboye kwambukira rugikubita muri Tanzaniya na kajugujugu, we n'umuryango we.

Abaturage bamaze kumenya ukuri nibwo bafashe imihoro, imiheto n'imipanga kugira ngo birwaneho bafashijwe na bamwe mu basirikare bari barusimbutse. Icyakora kwari ugutarataza ay'ubusa kuko inyenzi zari zararangije gukwira hose kandi zifite ibyangombwa byose by'intambara. Indege zazo nyinshi

zazengurukaga igihugu cyose, zara-bukwa udutsiko tutari utwazo zikadusukamo amabombe na rindi bene wazo b'abatutsi bazitungiraga agatoki kandi nabo barahawe intwaro zihambaye. Imipaka yose yari yarafunzwe ku buryo hashoboraga gut-roka ingerere.

Amahanga yo yari akiri mu icuraburindi ryo kudasobanukirwa ibyabaye. Ingabo z'abafaransa n'iz'ababiligi zari zoherejwe kurinda umutekano wa bene wabo zahise zakirwa n'abategetsi bashya barazicurika barazicuranura ntibatumme zizya aho zishaka cyangwa zivugana n'ubonetse wese. Abazungu bake bake nibo bari bamaze gusobanukirwa ariko bakabura uko babi-geza kuri Leta zabo. Ubundi mbere y'yo ntambara inyenzi na Guverinoma y'u Burundi bari bifatiye abategetsi b'ibihugu byinshi byashoboraga kugira uruhare muri iyo mi-rwano bakoresheje amafaranga, abagore n'andi mayere menshi. Inyenzi n'ibitso byazo birirwaga bakoresha amanama i Burayi, muri Amerika n'ahandi ku isi byumvisha abanyamahanga ko ari imvururu zi-sanzwe z'abaturage bivumbura ku butegetsi bwareho, ko ari nta gitero na kimwe cyaturutse hanze. Ibinyamakuru byose byari byaraguzwe n'umwanzi kugira ngo nabyo bijye biyobya amarari kandi byandike ibyo bibwiwe n'inyenzi gusa.

Ikinyamakuru «KANGURA» cyari cyarabaye sosiyete gikorera i Paris, Bruxelles Washington, Tokyo, Abidjan, Tripoli, Kinshasa na Kigali nieyo cyonyine cyari kimaze iminsi kiburira ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda n'abahutu bose ko ibantu bigiye kubacikira. Nk'uko bikunze kuboneka nyine icyo kinyamakuru bahise bacyamagana ngo kirashaka gukurura amacakubiri mu bana b'u Rwanda kandi ubwo ibyo kivuga byose ari ukuri. Ntibyatine icyakora ba bategetsi na ya mbaga y'abahutu baza kubyumva nyuma bitinze bitagifite igaruriro. Ufite amatwi yumva ajye yumva inzira zikiri nyabagendwa !



**AK'ABAHUTU  
MU IJORO RYO KUWA**  
27/1/2011

Ibantu rero byagendaga bihinduka vuba na vuba; radiyo ikimara gufatwa uretse ko n'inyenzi zari zizaniye ibyuma kabuhariwe byo kuyisimbura mu gihe bibaye ngombwa, hashyizweho indirimbo zirata ibigwi by'abarwanashyaka ba mbere kugira ngo bajijishe, hakavugwa amakuru yo guhumuriza abaturage no gusingiza ingabo z'igihugu kandi ubwo zitakirho zasimbuwe n'iz'inyenzi. Ubwo n'ibinyamakuru by'abatutsi byo gukora poropagande byari byariyongereye byunganira Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, Le Tribun du Peuple, Kiberinka etc.... mu gihe ibivuganira rubanda nyamwinshi byo byari byarafunze keraaa uretse Kangura yari ikihagarariye bwuma.

Igihugu cyose cyari umunuko w'intumbi z'abahutu bagendaga batikiza. Kuko kuva ku munsi wa mbere w'igitero muri buri selire hari hanyanyagijwemo abasirikare b'inyenzi n'ibitso byazo by'abatutsi bafite imbunda maze bakaba bashinzwe kwica umuhutu wese na-ho yaba atazi no gusoma izina rye. Za tingatinga zo gucukura ibyobo byo kurundamo iyo mirambo yose zakoraga amanywa n'ijoro ariko ntizigire aho zikora kubera ko zari nke ugereranije n'ubwinshi bw'abapfuye. Wasangaga rero intumbi ibihumbi n'ibihumbi ziborrera ku gasozi, mu mazu, ku mihana n'ahandi n'ahandi.

Ubwo buri selire, segiteri, komini, perefegitura byari byahawe abayobozi bashya b'abatutsi gusa. Ibigo byose bya gisirikare byategekwaga na ba ofisiye b'abarundi. Leta y'agateganyo yahise itangira imirimo yayo, abahoze mu ya mbere bo bari bamaze kwicwa uretse abatutsi bari bayirimo. Ariko nabo bahawe indi mirimo iciriritse kuko batari bizewe cyane nubwo bari bagize uruhare runini mu gutuma inyenzi zigarurira igihugu. Inzego z'ubucamanza zari zahawe abandi bakuru bazo nabo b'abatutsi gusa. Inama nkuru yo kuzahura igihugu ari nayo urebye yategekaga yari iyobowe

n'umwishwa w'uwhahoze ari Jenerali Rwigema Freddy umwe ingabo z'u Rwanda zahitanye mu kwakira 1990. Amashyaka yose yari yahagritswa uretse ay'abatutsi. Inteko ishinga amategeko yahise iseswa na rindi abenshi mu bayihozemo b'abahutu bari barishwe n'inyenzi. Imirimo yose ari muri Leta, muri za ambasade no mu bigo byigenga yari yarahawe abandi bakozi bavanze-mo n'abanyamahanga iryaguye bo kuziba icyaho. Buri nzu nziza yose itari iy'umututsi yahitaga yamburwa nyirayo igahabwa uwo yagombaga kugenerwa.

Byose bimaze gutungana, ni ukuvuga igihugu cyaguye mu maboko y'abagiteye n'ibitso byabo nibwo ubutegetsi bushya buhitishije iri tangazo : «Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi, mwari mumaze imyaka mirongo itanu ku ngoyi z'inkozi z'ibibi n'inkoramaraso z'abiyitaga abahutu, zabicaga urubozo, zikabadi-diza muri byose. None nimwishime, mukome amashyi, muruze impundu kuko umwanzi wanyu atazongera kurangwa ukundu kuri ubu butaka bwa ba so na ba sogokuru; twiyemeje rwose kumubakiza tutazuyaza. Kuva mu 1960 kugeza uyu munsi w'agakiza twarabarwaniriye ndetse abenshi bo mu miryango yanyu bahamenera amaraso; ariko nta kundi byari kugenda kuko twari tuzi ko igithe kizagera tugatsinda. Abari bac-iyie akenge muri mwe ku itariki ya 1/10/1990 muri buka ukuntu urugamba rwaremye rukabura gica ndetse tukarutsinda kuko ibyinshi mu byo twashakaga twabigezezo. Icyo gi-he twahatsinze ibitego bidateze kwibagirana mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Ni nayo mpamvu guhera uyu mwaka iyo tariki ya 1/10 izajya yizihizwa kimwe n'iya 27/1. Mukomere icyakora ku muheto kuko uwo mwanzu urangwa n'ubugome ashobora kwongera kubyutsa umusaya kuko umutwe wo twawujanjaguye. Mu minsi ya ruba muzihitiramo abayobozi mu nzego zo-se z'ubulegetsi n'iza politiki.

Mukomere ku bumwe bwanyu, muharanire amahoro hagati yanyu ari nabyo nkingi z'amajyambere n'imibereho myiza y'imiryango yanu. Murakarama ! Iryo tangazo ryasomwaga buri saha kumara ibyumweru bibiri byose.

Iminsi yarashize indi irataha, bamwe mu bahutu bake bashoboye guhunga batangira kumvisha amahanga amarorerwa mu Rwanda n'inyenzi zari zimaze gufata ubutegetsi bafashijwe na cya kinyamakuru Kangura ariko biba nk'ibyo kumoka kw'imbwa gusa kuko aho bageragezaga gukandira hose babatraga utwatsi ngo barabeshya kubera ko ahantu hose inyenzi n'ibyitso byazo na Leta y'u Burundi babaga bahabatanze. Ntibyabujije icyakora abo bahutu kujya bandika, bavugira ku ma radiyo no kuri za televiziyo zo hanze, basobanura ibyari bimaze kubera mu Rwanda ndetse bashyiraho n'umutwe w'ingabo ukorana n'uwbahutu b'i Burundi wo kubohoza ibihugu byabo. Ariko uko bateraga agatambwe za nyabusa zabaga zabarabutswe zikabatsembamo abatari bake.

Abategetsi bashya b'abatutsi gusa bihatye mbere na mbere gisibasiba hose mu mateka y'u Rwanda ibiyana na Revolisiyo y'abahutu

yo muri 1959 byose, bashyiraho amategeko abangamira ukwishiye ukizana k'umuhutu waba yaragiriwe akabanga. Abasore b'abahutu babaga bakenewe mu kubakorera imrimo y'ingufu barabakonaga naho bashiki babo bakabagira ingumba; *bityo inyoko hutu ikazamangana buhoro buhoro; ni nabwo buryo bwari bumaze imyaka cumi n'itanu bukoreshwa i Burundi mw'ibanga.*

Tariki ya 27 mutarama

ya buri mwaka hatangiraga iminsi mikuru yamaraga icyumweru kizima mu byishimontutsi by'akataraboneka. Amasambu yose yera yagabanywe n'imiryango y'abatutsi gusa. Igipande kinini ey'ubutaka giharirwa inka zabo n'amapariki y'inyamaswa. Nta mwana w'umuhutu n'umwe naho yaba ikimanyi muri bake bacitse ku icumu wemererwaga gukandira imbere y'umuryango w'ishuri, wa Kiliziya cyangwa w'ikigo eya gisirikare.

U Rwanda n'u Burundi byahise bishyiraho umutwe umwe w'ingabo utegekwa na Jeneralis w'umurundi yungirije n'umukoroneri w'umunyarwanda. Birumvikana nyine k'ari nta muhutu n'uwo kubara inkuru wari ukirangwa muri izo ngabo. Nyamara umwana wese w'umututsi wagezaga ku myaka 16 yoherezwaga mu bigo bya gisirikare kwitoza kurasa mbere yo gukomeza amashuri cyangwa gukora akandi kazi. Mu gihe kitarenze umwaka Republiko zombi ziyunzemo igihugu kimwe cyitwa «KANYARU» gituwemo n'abanyakanyaru (les kanyarois (es).

SIJYE WAHERA HAHERA  
GAHUTU N'IBYE BYOSE,  
yebaba we!!!!

NDEKEZI Bonaparte  
Gisuma.

## HARABAYE NTIHAKABE

Muri Gashyantare 1972, amazi amaze kurenga inkcombe ku buryo muri Kaminuza hari hasigaye harangwa n'ubwiganze bw'abanyakshu-ri bo mu bwoko bw'abatutsi, ni bwo abahutu bemera revolisiyo ya 59 barakaye, amalisti aramanikwa, abahunga barahunga.

Imvuru zabaye icyo gihe zaranzwe n'uburyarya bw'ubutegetsi bwariho kuko ku mugaragaro berekanye ko bashaka kuzihosha, nyamara bagaca inyuma bakenyegeza umuriro rwihihwa. Ibyo ndetse ni imwe mu ntandaro z'ihirikwa ry'u-bwo butegetsi kuko ntacyo bwari bugishoboye mu gihe bwashyigikiraga imyiranye kandi ari bwo bwagombye kugerageza kuyihosha. Baca umugani ngo «Ijoro ribara uwariraye». Uroye uko bifata muri iki gihe, wagirango abatutsi bibagiye ibyabayeho icyo gihe. Nyamara se kwibagirwa kwa he ko ari ukuzambya isaso ngo barore ko baramuka.

Ku ruhande rw'abahutu bamwe nabo, imyifatire yabo iringa abutuwa wa mugani ngo «Itabi ry'i Nduga ni

kaburabuza kuko urihinga, rikaguteranya, utarihinga nabwo ukari-rara».

Birababaje kubona umunyamakuru nka Musangamfura Sixbert kimwe n'Ishyaka nka MDR na PL bijundi-ka abantu b'ibikurankota bafashe iya mbere muri 1972 bagasubiza umututsi mu mwanya we. Igatingaje cyane ni uko abo bapfa-mutima bashaka kubiherereza ku bo bida «abakiga» nk'aho ari bo bategekaga icyo gihe. Ese ubundi tutagombye kurora abari bagize «comité de salut» tukazirikana gusa icyo bakoze, iyo kidakorwa ubu u Rwanda ruba rugeze he ? Mbibutse ko abatutsi muri Kaminuza icyo gihe barengaga 60%. Naho kwigira inyaryenge, ukirinda kugaragara aho rwakomeye, hashira imyaka n'imiya ukabona gusodokana akarimi gasize umunyu wishyira aharyoshye ngo «mwa batutsi mwe dore ababasagariye ni bariya bakiga» ni imyifatire iranga abantu b'ibigwari. Dore nk'ubu abahutu bazi gushishoza baravuga iya bahanda bagerageza kubumvisha ko umwanzi yabace-

ngayemo, mukayavuniramo ibiti ngo aho gutegekwa na Habyarimana muzategekwa na Kagame ! Umunsi ba rudasubira rwakomeye barakaye bagashyiraho «comité du salut» yo kubakura muri iyo mianda musigaye mujijishirizamo ab'injiji munadukingiriza umwanzi ngo tutame-nya aho ageze, nyuma ntumuzongere gusodokana ka karimi kanyu kuko tumaze kubamenya : mu bahutu muri abahutu, mu batutsi muri MDR na PL, mu mahanga muri I-nkotanyi,... muri ba kaburabuza nk'itabi ry'i Nduga. Imyifatire yanu kandi ntitangaje kuko mwiganjemo imvange nka Twagiramungu, zitwa abahutu kw'izina rya ba se, naho ingiro yabo igahora igamije inyungu z'imiryango ya ba nyina. Ariko ubundi Twagiramungu apfana iki na Sekuru kwa Nyina. Aho azi se ? Niyo waba witwa Kayibanda nta kiremwa-muntu gishobora guharanira inyungu za se ngo cyibagirwe izi Sebekwe. Ibyo kandi byagaragajwe n'imisaranganyirize mibi y'imyanya mu mashuri byaranze Republiko ya mbere, kimwe n'imyifatire mibi ya Twagiramungu yambariye gutoza ishyaka yihaye

kuyobora (niba atari kuriyobya) akiyorosa ibinoti by'umwanzi ukorera muri PL.

Hari na ba Mugenzi bishuka ngo ishyaka PL si iry'inkotanyi, ngo kuko ubwabo barishinze inkotanyi nka Kameya, Mbanda... zikazamo nyuma, Mbega ubuswa ! Umwana w'igitambambuga we ayobewe ko mu Mayeri yabo yo kwigarurira ubutegetsi, abatutsi buri gihe biringa kugira icyo bahindura kubariho, ahubwo babyifashisha mu gushimangira ubutegetsi baba bamaze kwigarurira ?

Mu mateka y'u Rwanda niko buri gihe byagiye bigenda. Mu ikubitiro rya mbere bakiva muri ABISINIYA, basanze mu Rwanda hari abami b'abahutu bafite ibihugu batwara, ingoma, n'abiru. Abatutsi nta kindi bakoze uretse gusimbura abo bami ku ntebe zabo, abiru bakomeje akazi kabo, na za ngoma zihinduka iz'abanyiginya.

Kuva muri 1973 Habyarimana amaze kubaha ihumure bararoye bati : «abahutu baracyarakaye reka tube twibagije ibyo kubakura ku ntebe zabo, tubanze tubahakweho, tubinjire kugera ku ndunduro y'amahanga aka Cyambara-ntama, hagati aho Habyarimana abe asanasana Republika ya kabiri, bityo igihe ni kigera tuzabone tubufate. Habyarimana yari yababereye inararibonye, ntiyatumye babyuririraho ngo basingire ubutegetsi. Umushiru ayobewe iki ? Ko yenda ise yari yaramvunguriye ku ibanga rya ba sakuruza ryatumye abatutsi batarigeze babasha kwigarurira icyo abaswa basigaye bita akazu k'ingoma-mpatu-nshiru. Habyarimana ahubwo yarabahatse biratinda, bibashobeye bitabaza iza Museveni. Ariko se babonaga ko uwo mugabo w'umuhima ashobora gutsinda uwo yaciyebo incuro igihe yamusemberezaga, ubwo yavundagurikaga mu kinani arwana na Obote ? Ibyo byose bimaze kubapfana bibuka ko mu gihe cyabo ba sekuru intsinzi bayibonye mu karere k'igihugu cya Mashira. Bati : «Ubwo Habyarimana atunaniye reka tugane amajyepfo yenda ntituzabura abo duhenda ubwenge». Ntibyatine, bakigerayo bakiwa impundu nyinshi, baracumbikirwa, bisasira PL bijoronsa MDR.

Bukeye bihererana Twagiramungu na Mugenzi bati : «Mudutize aya mashyaka yanyu buracya tujya mu mihanda gutera imidugararo kugeza ubwo tuzahirika igihangange Habyarimana uva mu kazu umututsi yananiwe kwigarurira kugeza ubu. Ngaho rero intambara barayishoje. Ngaho mu mihanda baravuza abagenzi amabuye, barapfumura otobisi babuza abana kujya kwiga, baratukana iby'abashumba, barashitora ingabo z'igihugu ari nako bagegeza kuzisopanya, barateranya amoko n'uturere...

Gatabazi na Ngango bo muri PSD tuziho ubuhanga no kuvugisha ukuri barabiroye bati : «N'ubwo tumvikana n'ubutegetsi buraho, ntiturageza aho guhirimbana kubusimbuza ubw'inkotanyi». PSD yibohoe ityo mu mutego wa Gacumbabuhake, Ikwiye kubishimirwa kandi igahita ihabwa imyanya ikwiye muri Guverinoma y'inziba-cyuho. Ese MDR nayo izibohora ? Sinzi ko byashoboka bene wabo ba nyina wa Twagiramungu bakiri hanze. Ndangize nibariza Mugenzi n'abayoboke be. Mu byo aherutse kuvugira kuri Radio Rwanda yemeza ibyari byatangajwe na Bizimungu Pasiteri ko PL ikorana n'inkotanyi nta cyadutangajemo kuko twari dusanzwe tubizi. Ariko se yongeraho ngo icyabiateye ni uko ubutegetsi bwanzwe kubabwira impamvu nyakuri na kamere by'iyi ntambara, ibyo bigatuma tumenya ko mwe hari impamvu nyakuri na kamere muzi, kandi ngo mukaba mugaya Leta ubuswa bwo kuba itazizi, uwafata umwanzuro ko muri mu bateguye igitero hari icyo yaba yibeshye ho ? Uwavuga se ko ari cyo gituma mwemeza ko mufashe ubutegetsi intambara yahita irangira yaba yibeshye ? None se ko inkotanyi (ari zo mwe) zifashe ubutegetsi zakomeza kurwana zishaka iki ? Aho wibesha rero Mugenzi n'Inkotanyi zawe, n'uko wibwira ko nimufata ubutegetsi intambara izarangira kandi mu by'ukuri ari bwo iya 59 izatangira. Ngaho rero ba uhambira uturago. Niba wasobanukiwe neza n'iyyi nyandiko usanze interuro ngo «Habayye ntihakabe» ifite ishingiro ni indengero ryayo. Kuko abibesha

ngo bazi ubwenge, bwarangiza iyi ntambara, biyibagiza ko ubwabo iramutse irangiye izo nkotanyi zigataha, twe tubona hari n'abandi bazi ko hari n'ukundi byagenda.

Tumaze kwhangana bihagije, imvugo siyo ngiro, icya ngombwa ni ibikorwa ! Mugenzi reka gukomeza kuroha abo «Bana b'Imanna» ku rugamba, mu Rwanda kandi abashavuye, abarakare, abiteguye guhora bariho ubazi. Komeza ushinyike ngo wowe uvugana n'Inyenzi ! Komeza urohe abatutsi ku icumu nk'uko Kanyarengwe yabaroshye mu Mutara. Komeza ubarohe mu myivumbagatanyo mu gihugu nk'uko umwana w'umushiru, umuhutu, Bizimungu Pasiteri akuroha ngo muri kumwe we yibereye i Burayi.

Ihiba muri Kapitali muri iki gihe twese dusanzwe tubizi, kandi niko bisanzwe. Iyo umwanzi acika integre, atararekana, ntaho adapfunda imitwe, nkuhiriye mu nzu. Musomye muri KANGURA No 28 (urup. 7) ibaruwa uwiyise Tirwomwe Patrick yandikiye ababo bari imbere mu gihugu, mwasanga programu yabo ikiriho. Hari aho avuga-mugice cya kabiri cy'yo baruwa ati : «Tugomba buhoro buhoro kurwanya stability iwacu, tukabona uko tugera ku ntego yacu». Arakomeza ati : «Ayo mashyaka wowe wishisha ni ayacu, rwose azabidufashamo... buri shyaka ryahawe ubutumwa bwaryo. Mugomba kubimanya kandi mu kayinjiramo. Amashiringi (amafaranga) si yo mubuze yo gucengera hose mu bwenge kandi mugakomeza guha urubuga ibinyamateka byanyu (iby'ibyitso by'inkotanyi), bakabitesha umutwe, tukabyigaririra twitonze. Nibiba necessary ubwo tuzitabaza terrorism na banditism bananirwe. N'ubwo muri bake rero, ayo mashyaka yacu muyamene...»

Ariko Mugenzi warahira ngo iyi baruwa ntiyakugezeho ? Amabwiriza akubiyemo ntuyubahiriza riva ? Shoza intambara mu gihugu rwagati. Uzi uko uzayihosha. Uretse ko urebye nabi...! Harabaye ntihakabe !

N. H.

# ABATUTSI BENE BACU BARIKO BARAHEMUKIRA TWEBWE ABATUTSI BATO BATO HANO MU BURUNDI.

Gishahayo Salvator  
Muramvya-Burundi

Muramvya, le 12 janvier 1992.

Mushingantahe, Umuyobozi Mukuru w'Ikinyamakuru ca Kangura  
Gisenyi Information  
B.P. 1312.  
KIGALI.

Mushingantahe,

Nkwandikiye iyi kete yanje n'gusaba kungereza ku basomyi b'ikinyamakuru cawe, cane cane ni-fu ko, wongereza ku barundi bose n'abayobozi bacu; jewe ukwandi-kiye iyi kete ariko, nd'umurundi w'umututsi. Ndagusavye rero kuzosohorera iyi nyandiko yanje nkuko ndayiyandikiye, kuko mbon'a ko, abatutsi bene wacu b'abategetsi eka n'aba bakire bariko barahemukira twebwe abatutsi bato bato, kandi reka abo bategetsi n'abo bakire kuduteremwo umutima wo kugumya kuryana, twicanira ubusa, ng'uyu umuhutu canke umututsi kandi twese turi bamwe bikazoviramwo inzigo n'inzirikira itazopfa ishize hagati y'abana bacu b'abatutsi n'abana b'abahutu, n'uko abo bategetsi bacu n'abo bakire bacu abensi bamaze kugura no kwubaka amazu mu bihugu vyo muri Afurika eka n'ibirayi, ejo nivyakomera bace bigira badute mukangaratete, none ga bene wacu si twebwe tuzobirwanya?

Barundi bene wacu, twese ica- rimwe abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa n'uko tubana twese mu mahoro, uwo mwiryane bashaka kugumya mu bantu ntawo dushaka, BUYOYA agomba kwemera imigambwe myinshi kandi atanumwe yanse, ntarwitwazo narumwe rugomba kubaho; maze muze murabe ko ighugu cyacu kitazogira amahoro, ntaco mugumya gukomantaza ibidakomeye; hanyuma ngo nivya- ba urudubi muce mwigira iburayi nka MWAMBUTSA.

Akazoza k'Uburundi bwacu.

Barundi, Barundikazi, Rwaruka Burundi bw'ejo, ntimuyobewe ikiza kimaze imyaka itari mikeya

kibangamiye u Burundi bwacu, ico kiza s'ikindi ni politike ya amacakubiri, jewe mvugishije ukuri, biribonekeza cane rwose ko, intwaro iriho ubuu, ishingiye ku amacakubiri y'amoko, bigatuma jewe nibaza ka- zoza k'u Burundi bwacu nkakabu- ra. Aho ivyo turiko turakora ubuu, twihenda ngo: turiko turagirira neza abana bacu, (cane cane abana bacu b'abatutsi) mukwica no kwanga- za abahutu ... !

Nyamara jewe maze kubona agapfa n'agakira, iyo ndavye nsanga ahubwo turiko turimbira abana bacu imyobo yo kuzobahambamwo; ati: kuki uvuze gutyo ? N'uko ejo abahutu, nibaramuka batinze tukaba turikubandanya kubagirira nabi, ejo ibantu bigahinduka baki- buka ibibi twariko tubagirira uru- mva bazoca batugira ikibi kiruta ivyo twabagiriye vyose; wansubiza ngo: tuzobima ijambo akagize ngo karamvyura umutwe duce tugahanyora, egome ivyo twabikora ariko ntitwamara abahutu, kandi ngirango kuva twikukira ntakwo tutagi- ze ngo: banume, none aho kunuma bigeze ahw'amazi arenga inkcombe.

Inama rero jewe, nagira abate- getsi bacu nikwemera inama n'ingingo Perezida wacu Buyoya aga- shaka bariya bahutu, bavuga ko ba- fise imigambwe yabo bakigira ha- mwe ico kibazo c'amoko bagatora umuti waco, erega bac'umugani mu kirundi ngo: fyindu-fyindu aritwa na so araroga, kandi ngo: uvuze ko, see rugo yapfuye siwe aba yamwi- she, murantunge mumburane; gu- komeza muhenda abanyagihugu ngo: intwaro yacu niy'ubumwe n'amahoro kandi bitari no mungiro ukwo n'ugukomeza gutsimbataza ikinyoma, amacakubiri uwicanyi n'urugomo, kandi abahutu nabo murabona ko bamaze kudutohoza eka n'amakungu nyene nayo n'ukoo; kandi twamaze kwemera icese ko mu Burundi bugizwe n'amoko atatu, abahutu, abatutsi n'abatwa hamwe twemeye ko, ayo moko yose abaho, ningombwa nayo ngw'abeho munzego zose.

Bitabaye ukoo naho, jewe nda-

raba nkasanga har'abariko bahenda abandi, abo s'abandi n'abo batege- tsi benewacu (b'abatutsi) nabo bene wacu b'abatutsi b'abakire, kuko ejo nivyakomera bobo bazoca bigira hanze y'u Burundi, abatutsi twe- bwe banyarucari sitwe tuzosigara duhorew'amakosa yanyu ? Turasa- vye rero BUYOYA gushira mungiro vuba imvugi yiwe y'amashyaka menshi, adasizeko amananiza ay'ariyo yose, erega akaje karemerwa, mura- bona kw'isi yose ibantu vyose biriko birahinduka none ubu Burundi ni- bwo butazogira ukw'ahandi hose bariko baragira; kandi u Burundi nibwo busumba Afrika yepfe canke Isiraël abo bose ntibemeye bakicara hamwe n'abo badahaha uwaka none ubuu, bakaba bariko bararonderera hamwe ukugene bazona mu mahoro no mu ubumwe bw'abose. Hamwe naho twakwhenda ko tutazokwe- mera ko mu Burundi hatobaho umugambwe ushingiye kumoko, kandi amakungu yose amaze kume- nya ko m'u Burundi bugizwe n'amo- ko atatu, kandi ko, hariho uwoko bumwe bwikubirako vyose bukagu- mya kwica no guhotora ayandi mo- ko ariko, none hamwe ayo moko yandi boyaha inkoho nayo, kw'ico arico twabasumvya, nabo nibazironka muraraba mukabona bizome- ra gute ? Jewe rero namaze kuraba nsanga ko, vyanze bikunze ibantu bigomba guhinduka, uwari hekuru akaja hasi, uwari hasi akaje hejuru.

Hako rero bizohinduka hago- mvye kumeneka amaraso menshi, nasaba abarundi bene wacu kwigira hamwe umuti w'ukuri m'ubumwe n'amahoro. Mushingantahe, ndangije iyi nyandiko yanje ngushimira kandi nizigiye kuzobona iyi nyandi- ko yanje mu ikinyamakuru cawe, kuko nifuza kw'abayobozi bacu bayiherako bagakeburana bakara- ba ukugene batorera hamwe na be- newacu b'abahutu, ico kibazo twese twifusa ko, carangira neza kandi bwegu. Ndangije mbasaba gusoma aya masomo ari muri Bibilia yera : Matayo 13:14-15; Zaburi 82: .1-8; Ab'I Filipi 1:7-10. Cishahayo Salvator

Muramvya - BURUNDI

# EDITORIAL

## POLITIKE NI GATEBE GATOKI KOKO.



U Rwanda rwiruka amasigama-na cyane cyane muri politiki ku buryo ntawakekaga ko mu mezi atandatu gusa amashyaka amaze, abantu bahaguruka bakajya mu mihanda kugara-gaza akabari ku mutima. Ni nde se wakékaga ko Abatutsi bari bafashwe nk'abana b'iwinege ku butegetsi bw'i-shyaka rimwe, amashyaka yavuka akaba aribo bafata iya mbere mu ku-jya mu myigaragambyo, bagambirije kwerekana ko badashaka ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA, ndetse ba-kanagaragaza ko barambiwe n'ubutegetsi bw'Abahutu ngo barega ko bwa-dindije ikibazo cya bene wabo b'Impunzi. Nyamara se hagati ya 1959 na 1973 hari umututsi waryaga bikamugera ku nzoka. Aha ndavuga Abatutsi rubanda rugufi kuko abiitaga ko bafite ubwenge ni nabo bashozaga imviruru kandi akensi bakibagirwa ko imirwano yose bashozaga ari bo ya-hitanaga. None se revolusiyo yo muri 1959 yashojwe na nde ? Si abo Batutsi bari bamaze kurengera maze bakadukira MBONYUMUTWA bagaku-bit ! Ibyakurikiye se kuki bitaba-bera isomo. Kuko Abahutu bose bahi-se batumanaho bakora ikintu kimeze nka Rukokoma maze bihakana bene gatutsi izuba rita. Ni byo byagombyo kuba bihagije ku Bahutu bagishaka ubwiyunge bwabo kugira ngo bibabere isomo. Abatutsi dusangije u Rwanda kuko ari urwacu twese kandi nta n'icyo twabatwara, byanze bikunze tugomba kwubahana kandi tugasingira byose.

Icyo tudashaka ni kiriya cyo ku-dusuzugura. Ni kiriya cyo guhora ba-dutera baturutse kwa bene wabo muri Uganda n'i Burundi nk'uko Inyenzi za kera zabigenzaga. Mu gihe ako gasuzuguro kabo katarabashiramo, mu gihe uwo mutima wo kwanga kurongo-ra bashiki bacu utarabashiramo, mu gihe bakiyumisha ko barukiye gute-

geka, ibyo byose niba batabyibagirwa, amacakubiri azahoraho. Usibye ko iyi ntambara y'Ukwakira izasigira HABYARIMANA isomo ryo ku-menya umwanzi n'umukunzi.

**Ni ibiki HABYARIMANA ago-mba kuzirikana by'umwihari-ko.**

Icyo mbere umuntu yakwibaza ni iki: Ubu HABYARIMANA na-tsinda amatora agakomeza gutegeka uru Rwanda azabana ate n'Abatutsi yari yaratetesheje bakamwereka igi-handure, bakoresheje iterabwoba ryo gutsema bene wabo iyo mu Mutara no muri Butaro. Tubileze amaso.

Ibishiitsi bya HABYARIMANA niyo mizero ye mu minsi iri imbere. Nubwo nta byera ngo de, HABYARI-MANA yagaragaje ubwitonzi mu guhitimo abafasha be, no kwitondera kudahutaza abazamubera ingirakamaro. Aha twatanga urugero kuri bariya bungiriza b'Ingabo barimo RWAGAFIRITA, SERUBUGA na NDINDIRIYIMANA mu rwe-go rwa gisirikari.

Yego nta marayika kuri iyi si ariko rero mu gihe bariya bagabo bakiri mu myanya yabo ntacyo HABYARI-MANA azaba. Yewe nibanakomere. Bashobora no kumufasha gukora OPERATION nk'ijo muri Togo !

No mu basiviri ahafite abagabo b'Intarumikwa nka MUNYAZESA ubu benshi bifusa ko yazaba Perezida wa M.R.N.D. binyuze mu matora. Uwo mwanya yauuharanira hamwe na ba NGIRUMPATSE Matayo ndetse na NSANZIMANA Sylvestre ukekwa cyane no kuba Perezida w'Urukiko rusesa imanza, aho yajya gusimbura KAVARUGANDA wa-garagaye ko atakivuga rumwe n'aba-sirikari (ibyo byose ni ibivugwa n'abahanga mu bya politiki) ndetse NSANZIMANA ntacyamubuza no kwibera Chancelier akajya aha Intwari imidari. Abandi bagomba gufasha HABYARIMANA ni NZI-RORERA Joseph wemerwa cyane cyane n'Abahutu bagishyigikiye ubwiyunge bwabo kandi uwo NZIRO-RERA akaba akunze na benshi mu

batuye Gisenyi-Ruhengeri-Byumba. Undi ugomba kuguma iruhande rwa HABYARIMANA ni RUHIGIRA Enoki usite amahirwe yo kume-nya gukina politiki.

Hari n'abandi bagaragara ko bazako-meza gukorera HABYARIMANA bakamuha icyizere cyo kuzabona amajwi mu mpande zose z'u Rwanda, nka NZABONIMANA Callixte we-mera ko bamumena n'umutwe kubera HABYARIMANA, n'abandi...

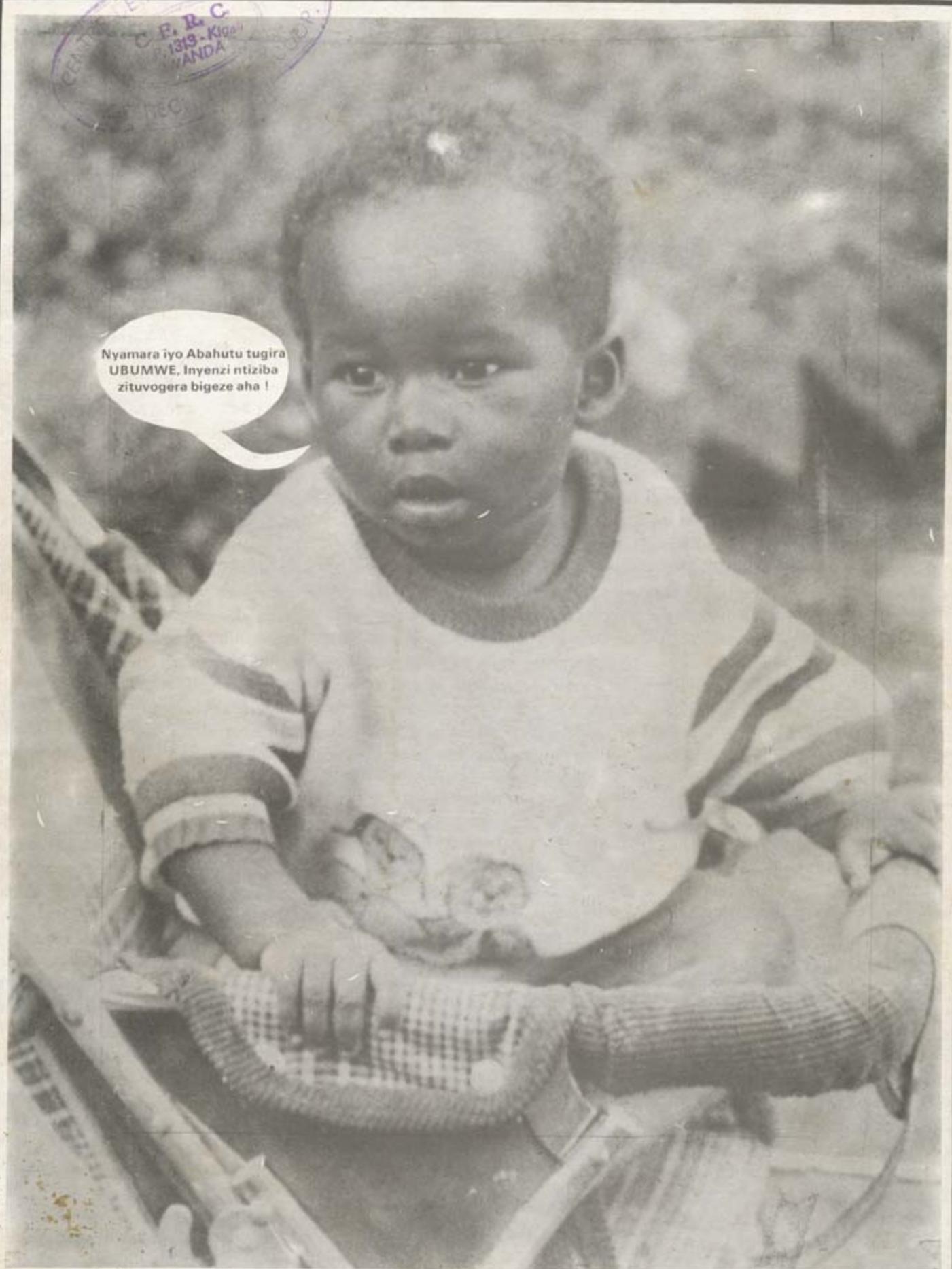
**Ni ibiki bituma abaturage baga-banya icyizere kuri HABYARI-MANA ?**

Aha hari aho abaturage usanga batumva impamvu heze politiki yo ku-zarira mu makorosi. Ugasanga hari nk'umutegetsi usanga bigaragara ko adakunze n'abaturage, aho kugira ngo hafatwe ibyemezo byo kumu-hindura ahubwo bakamuha urubuga rwo gukomeza kwica.

None se bishoboka bite ko amashyaka yose (uhereye kuri M.R.N.D.) yeme-we mu Rwanda yakwamaganira ri-mwe Perefe w'Umujyi wa Kigali, Colonel RENZAHO, bose bagasaba ko yahindurwa ariko bikanga bikanani-rana. Bishoboka bite ko ba Karukire bo mu mujyi wa Kigali ba saba ko yahindurwa ariko bikanga bikanani-rana. Bishoboka bite ko ba Karukire bo mu mujyi wa Kigali bagaragaza ko batishimiye Colonel RENZAHO ndetse na Perezida w'u Rwanda aka-bimanya, ariko akaba agikomeza gutegekesha igitugu. None se ni nde utazi ko na ba Depite basabye ko itegeko rishyiraho Perefegitura y'umujyi wa Kigali ryakurwaho maze abaturage bagakunda bakagira amahoro. Ibi iyo witegereje usanga ari bimwe bizatuma HABYARIMANA abura amajwi ya ba KAVUKIRE ka Kigali.

**Ubukotanyi buri imbere mu gi-hugu.**

Iyi ntambara igitangira wasa-nagaga Abahutu bose bashyize hamwe ngo wenda babona uko batsinda Inkotanyi. Nyamara Demokarasi yaza-nywe n'amashyaka menshi yatumye Abatutsi bibumbira muri PL abandi



Nyamara iyo Abahutu tugira  
UBUMWE, Inyenzi ntiziba  
zituvogera bigeze aha !

Dogiteri 15 - 04 - 1990 au 31 - 07 - 1991.

bihishya mu yandi mashyaka, ntibabuza kugaragaza ku mugaragaro ko bashyigikiye umwanzi. Hari uwaketsse ko TWAGIRAMUNGU, umukwe wa KAYIBANDA, yabarirwa mu Nkotanyi yego nawe tuzi ko ari umututsi wahinduje ubwoko.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ntawe yabesha. None se si we wahagurukiye gusafanya n'Abatutsi bose bo mu Rwanda mu gukwiza ibihuha bagambiriye kubuza rubanda kwemera amagambo y'ingirakamaro BARAHINYURA wahoze mu mutwe w'Inkotanyi atangiyie gutangariza abanyarwanda ku byerekeye Inkotanyi n'Ibyitsyo byazo.

Nyamara Abahutu benshi bashimishije na kiriya cyemezo cya BARAHINYURA cyo kuva mu Nkotanyi amaze kumenya imigambi yazo. Aka tukaba turaritse buri munyarwanda kuzasoma igitabo BARAHINYURA agiye gusohora kiruga akarimurori ku Nkotanyi, usibye ko natore tuzakomeza kubatangariza ibyo yatubwiye ku byerekeye ubukotanyi bwa benshi mu bategetsi b'iki gihugu, bakilwihihemo. Hari ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko bakorana n'umwanzi. Mu mirongo ikurikira, nimwisomere igisubizo BARAHINYURA yoherereje TWAGIRAMUNGU amusaba kudakomeza kwhikana ubukotanyi bwe na n'ubu Faustin agikomeye-ho. Mu magambo yatangarije intumwa ya Radio B.B.C. yo mu Bwongezera yunrikaniye i Kigali kuri 12 Ukuza 1992, TWAGIRAMUNGU yemeye imbere ya mikoro ya NUBAHUMPATSE ko ku giti cye egonye umwanya wo kuba Minisitiri w'Intebi atazuyaza mu gushyiraho ba Minisitiri yavana mu Nkotanyi ndetse ngo n'izo Nkata yazinjiza mu Ngabo z'u Rwanda. Iryo somo ngo yarikuye muri Mozambique iyo ba Museveni na Rwigema bigiye kuba ibiharambu, inyeshyamba zitagira roho n'umutima. TWAGIRAMUNGU muramuzi si Rukorema gusa ni Nta kundi byagenda, kuri we nta kibi kirimoni Mpemuke Ndamuke.

Twongere twibutse ko abantu HABYARIMANA atahinduye agifite ubutegetsi yihariye, atazongera kubona ubushobozi bwo kubahindura uko yishakiye, kuko ubu ibyemezo byoguhindura azajya abijyamo impaka n'Amashyaka yemewe na Minisitiri w'Intebi adahejwe ! RUBERA Papias.

# KANGURA

100 FRW

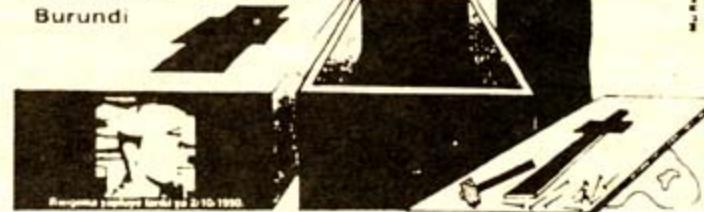
IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.

Nyaya ingura Mapro KAGAME.  
Iyo muri en shishande neza mukuru nenzu  
Rwigema wamengereza mberi y'uko haba  
kubuka ry adutse. Dore na BISENGIMANA  
RAEMA amutete mutungaraga mberi yarupfuve  
None obugene ho 1111

- Muri Zaire Abatutsi barashirira ku icumu. Nyuma y'urupfu rw'inkotanyi BISENGIMANA.

Aho bucycera  
Amashyaka  
aratuma  
Abahutu bafata  
ubutegetsi i  
Burundi

Vive l'Unité  
des Bahutu  
dans un Pays  
uni et pacifique



M. M. Rwigema. Photo: www.kangura.com. Illustration: www.kangura.com. Logo: www.kangura.com

KUGIRA NGO MUSOBANUKIRWE N'URUPFU RWANDA  
KAGAME MUSOME IYI KANGURA YASOHOTSE UMWAKA  
USHIZE.



Uyu niwe DAVID MUSOKE, Umu-niyamakuru w'Umugande uba i Kampala, wunditse inkuru y'urupfu rwa Paul KAGAME, bigasohoka mu kinyamakuru gikomeye cyane cyo muri Nigeria «NEW AFRICA». Ni nawe ukurikiranira hafi iby'inzenzi nkuko yabaye uwa mbere mu gutangaza iby'inzenzi Rwigema.

## ITANGAZO.

IBIRO NTARAMAKURU  
BYIGENGA GISENYI-INFORMATION biramenyesha abasomyi ba KANGURA ko nimo nshya yasohotse ikaba ibarizwa ku Gisenyi — Mahoko — Kora — Mukamira — Ruhengeri — Gakenke — Vunga — Kabaya — Ngororero — Nyirangarama — Kigali — Kabuga — Gitarama — Nyanza — Butare — Gikongoro — Cyangugu — Bugarama — Kirambo — Byumba — Kibungo — Nyagatare no ku Kibuye.

Musome, musomeshe  
KANGURA, ikinyamakuru cyigena.

## BIMENYE NABYO

Ukimara gusoma iyi KANGURA hita ubariza aho usanzwe uzigurira KANGURA MAGAZINE VERSION INTERNATIONALE N°7 kuko harimo amakuru ahuye n'ibihé turimo. Niba kandi ariyo ufite mu ntoki zawe, basabe KANGURA N°32. Tuboneyeho ko buri gihe hazajya hasohoka KANGURA ebyiri: iyanditse mu Kinyarwanda ku bumva urwo rurimi, n'izajya yandikwa mu Gifaransa no mu zindi ndimi kugira ngo abumva izo ndimi babashe kumenya ibibera mu Rwanda no mu Burundi ndetse na Zaire. Ngaho rero nimusabe KANGURA zanyu. Igiciro ni cya kindi: 100 FRW.

# IBARWA IFUNGUYE YOHEREREJWE

## Dr. Donati MUREGO i KIGALI

Dr. Donat MUREGO  
Komini ya Nyarugenge  
KIGALI - RWANDA

Nshuti muvandimwe,

Uraho urakomeye? Umwaka mushya kandi muhire. Maze rero nshuti muvandimwe, hali imhamvu ikomeye kandi imbabaje itumye mfata ikaramu. Ndagira ngo nyikugezeho ntaratinda. Iyo mhamvu ni ibibazo bya politiki igihugu cyacu kilimo muli iki gihe cy'amashyaka menshi.

Amashyaka menshi amaze kwemerwa mu Rwanda, Abahutu twishimiye ko MDR izutse, ubwo twatekerezaga MDR yashinzwe na Nyakwigendera KAYIBANDA na bagenzi be nawe ubwawe utayobewe. Mugukomera yombi MDR twali tuyizeye tunayitegerezeho byinshi cyanecyane amatwara yo kurwanira Gahutu no kurwanya ibishobora gutambamira no gusubiza inyuma ibyiza dukesha Revolusio yo muli 59.

Inkundura yarwanywe na KAYIBANDA na bagenzi be muguhesha Gahutu agaciro no gushyira Gatutsi mu mwanya we ntuyiyobewe. Ku gihe cya MDR ya KAYIBANDA nta Muhutu wasuzuguwe bigeze ah'ubu, nta Muhutu wabaye igikoresho cy'Umututsi nta n'uwaye icyitso cye nk'uko bimeze muli iki gihe.

Ntumbwire ko ndi mu mahanga ntakulikira neza. Ndakulikira, nsoma amatangazo y'amashyaka yose asohotse, ngasoma n'ibinyamakuru bisoho-

ka mu gihugu, nkanakulikira ibyandikwa ku Rwanda mu binyamakuru byo hanze. Byongeye kandi, hali igihe umugabo wanje yali afite umwanya mu nzego z'ubutegetsi bwa FPR (aliyo ihagaraliwe na PL mu rugaga rw'amashyaka yemewe mu Rwanda). Muli icyo gihe nabonye kandi numvise byinshi mu Batutsi mhereye kubo mu rwego rw'ubutegetsi bwa FPR-Inkotanyi, batasibaga iwacu, banahacumbitse iminsi itali mike, ibyumweru ndetse n'amezi. Kubera ko balyibwira bibeshya ko tuli ababo batwifatiye mu majanja tudashobora kubikura, ntibashoboraga kuduhisha byose uretse ko no kubana n'umuntu acumbitse iwawe igihe, n'iyo yaba afite ibyo aguhisha, hali bimwe bimucika bikakugwa mu matwi. Si ibyo gusa. Kubera yuko tutali tubizeye kandi tubona nabo hali ibyo baduhisha, cyane cyane kubera ko umugabo wanje yahoraga mu mhaka nabo ku bibazo byerekeye KAYIBANDA na Revolusio ya 59 bo batemera, twize uburyo bwo gukulikira ibiganiro bagiranaga na bene wabo baba muli Amerika, mu Burayi no muli Afrika. Twabasigaga mu nzu ilimo telefonu ifite icyuma cyumviliza (écouteur) aho bibeshyaga ko balyibonyine, bakaganira na bene wabo ntacyo bishisha. Twumvise byinshi rero byadufashije kumenya imigambi INYE-NZI zifite ku Bahutu.

Iyo migambi si iyindi itali ugukoresha uburyo bwose buzabashobokera kugira ngo bage-

re ku butegetsi babugejejweho n'Abahutu, nibamaru kububagezaho, babanze bababeshyeshye ko babusangiye, umunsi wo kubalimbura uzabe umwe, noneho basigarane ubutegetsi bonyine nk'uko babuhoranye kera!

### Abahutu bali kugeza Abatutsi ku butegetsi bate?

Bamaze kugera ku mugambi wabo wo kwigarulira ubutegetsi basanze ko ali ngombwa ko bashaka Abahutu bakwifashisha cyane cyane mu binyamakuru byo hanze, no kugira ngo imbere mu gihugu bavone ababashyigikira! Mu gu-shaka abo Bahutu rero, ntabwo bapfuye gefata uwo babonye, ahubwo bashatse abantu bali bazwiho ko batishimiye ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabil. Abo nti batinze kubbona. Uhoreye ku bapfushije ababo n'abababalijwe mu buroko na Repubulika ya kabil. Ngira ngo uzi ko inyuma y'ighugu nta Bahutu benshi b'imhunzi bahali. Abatutsi, babifashijwemo na benewabo b'ibyitso bali mu Rwanda batungiyie abo hanze agatoki Alegisi KANYARENGWE bali bazi ko amerewe nabi muli Tanzaniya, aliko wemerwaga na benshi mu Rwanda ataratanya n'Inyenzi. Ubwo bali bizeye ko ibyo bizabafasha kubona abandi Bahutu benshi mu Rwanda cyane cyane muli abo bemeraga Alegisi KANYARENGWE. RWIGEMA we yavugaga ko adashobora gutera u Rwanda atabonye KANYARENGWE, kuko muli pulazabo ali A. KANYARENGWE

byagombaga kwitilirwa, kugira ngo Abahutu batarabukwa ko ali Abatutsi bagarutse byose bikabapfana! Ubwo bamaze kubona KANYARENGWE batu umuhutu w'umusilikali uzi amabanga y'ingabo z'igihugu turamushyikiliye aliko tugomba no kubona Umuhutu uzatubera umumotsi kandi uwo agomba kuba ali hanze, atemera ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA. Nibwo basanze mu Bahutu bali hanze uwagarageje ku mugaragaro ko adashiyigikiye ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA ali BARAHINYURA umugabo wanje. Bashakishiye uburyo bamugeraho, basanga byaba byiza kubinyuza ku wundi Muhutu mwene wabo, KANYARENGWE. Nibwo KANYARENGWE twali dusanzwe twandikirana atwoherereje ibarwa atumenyesha ko yifuza kuza ino mu Burayi kubera ikibazo cyerekeye Abatutsi bali mu Buganda kandi bateganya gusubira mu gihugu ku ngufu. Naho ubwo ni abo Batutsi bali bamulihye tike y'indege. Ageze ino, nibwo tuganiliye ashaka kutwumvisha ko twagombye gushyigikira abo Batutsi kuko iyo bashaka ngo nta kindi uretse gutaha bakava mu buhungiro bakagira igihugu. Ati: «Iby'uko ali Abatutsi ntacyo bivuze kuko nyuma y'imyaka 30 inyuma y'igihugu, iby'Abatutsi n'Abahutu ntacyo bikibabwiye!» Ibyo aliwe, ali natwe ntitwabishira amakenga, aliko kubera ko natwe ubwacu tuli imhunzi kandi tukaba du-shaka igihugu nk'abandi, dufatirwa aho! Nyuma y'aho KANYARENGWE yakomeje kudsura kenshi. Uko yadusuraga, niko twagendaga twungurana ibitekerezo bigeza noneho aho we n'umugabo wanje biyeremeje kugergeza kwimira igitero

cy'INYENZI. Nibwo bagerageje gushaka abandi Bahutu bali hanze - si bensi ibyo nawe urabizi - bagerageza no gushaka abantu mu Bubiligi bakunda u Rwanda kugira ngo babumvishe ko Abatutsi bitegura gutera u Rwanda kandi ko tutarebye neza iyo ntambara yatzsembe Abahutu! Ibyo ntibyagira icyo bifata. Nibwo noneho twungutse igitekerezo cyo kugergeza kubulira ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda tunyuze ku ntumwa z'u Rwanda mu mahanga. Ibyo na byo ntibashobotse bitewe n'uko mu guterefona muli Ambassade y'u Rwanda, aho kugira ngo Alegisi KANYARENGWE ahite abwira Ambasaderi Yuvenali RENZAHO wali i Bonn imhamvu itumye amuterefona, yafashwe n'ikiniga aho kuvuga ibyamuzinduye atangira kuningurana no guterana amagambo na RENZAHO. Uwo mugambi nawo uba upfiliye aho! Nyuma y'aho yaje kudusobanulira ko kubibwira u Rwanda ali nk'aho yaba yitanze, ko kubera urwango bamwanga alibo bambere bamwicisha Abatutsi! Nibwo dutangiye gushakisha uko dushoboye kwose kugira ngo dukure KANYARENGWE muli Tanzania. Dutangira gushakisha ukuntu yabona ubuhungiro mu bihugu by'i Burayi kugira ngo tumukure mu maboko y'Abatutsi. Hagati aho Abatutsi bali barohereje intumwa zabo hano iwacu ngo zishobore kwumvisha umugabo wanje ko akwiliye gukorana nabo. Uwitwa Tito RUTAREMARA, na Major Paul KAGAME baje muli iyo misiyo aliko bataha badashoboye kwemeza umugabo wanje gufatanya nabo. Nyuma yabo nibwo Fred RWIGEMA ubwe yaje kwiyizira, aza asanga KANYARENGWE ino, bombi ha-

mwe bagerageza na none kwe-meza umugabo wanje gufanya nabo, bali muli Hoteli Intercontinental y'i Frankfurt. RWIGEMA yongeye guca i Frankfurt nyuma y'ibumeru bibili yali amaze muli Amerika, nibwo nanje ubwanje namubonye atwakiliye muli Sheraton ku kibuga cy'indege i Frankfurt aho yagombaga gutegerereza indege imuuyana mu Buganda. Uwo munsi nibwo umugabo wanje yemereye RWIGEMA kuzajya mu Buganda guhura n'abandi. Sinazinduwe no kugusobanulira iby' umugabo wanje, aliko nashakaga kugusobanulira ukuntu Abatutsi bagerageje gukoresha Abahutu mu migambi yabo bizera ko bizabageza ku butegesi!

### Twamenye imigambi y'ukuli y'INYENZI-NKOTANYI bigenze bite?

Aho umugabo wanje rero atangiliye gukorana n'INYENZI-NKOTANYI, byatumye tugirana imishyikirano na zo, cyane cyane abali bazibereye kw'isonga bakoranaga n'umugabo wanje! Abensi iyo bazaga mu Budage bacumbikaga iwacu (ku Muhutu wabo!). Ubwo niko twasangiraga, twataramanaga tunajya imhaka za politiki tugerageza no kwumva imigambi yabo. Muli uko kujya imhaka, niko twagendaga tubona ukuntu bagendaga badusibiza basa n'abatwikiza batubwira ibintu bya nyirarureshwa, aliko cyane cyane bagakora uko bashoboye kwose kugira ngo tutagira amakuru avye mu Rwanda tumenya. Ibyo nabyo ntitubishire amakenga kuko twagendaga tubona ko kuba twaba dufite abantu twaba

tuvugana nabo mu Rwanda bibateye imhungenge, bashakaga ko twemera ibyo batubwiye gusa!

Hagati aho hali n'umunyarwanda kazi w'Umuhutukazi twavuganye igihe kirekire kuli telefon, agerageza kumbulira no kunyumvisha ko tudakwiye kwizera Abatutsi kuko bashaka gufata ubutegetsi kugirango ngo balimbure Abahutu. Ndibuka ko icyo gihe nahise mwamagana ahubwo mugisha imhaka cyane ngerageza kumwumvisha ko aliwe wibesha, inzika y'Abatutsi ku Bahutu yarangiye! Nyuma yaho aliko, nakomeje gutekereza ku magambo ye no gushishoza, nta gihe kinini cyahise nanje ubwanje ndabyivumbulira. Ngerageza kubyumvisha umugabo wanje nsanga nawe yarangije kubibona aliko ansobanulira ko adashobora guhitia abivamo ko ashaka gukomeza kubikulikilira hafi no kugergeza gukuramo na KANYARENGWE! Ubwo niko intambara ikomeza, aliko INKOTANYI zikomeza kugergeza kutwemeza ko zo zitica abaturage, ahubwo ko ingabo z'igihugu alizo zigenda zibiyicira zarangiza zikabytilira Inkotanyi. Tukabikiliza tutemeye ahubwo tukagenzura ibyo zivuga nibwo twaje kuvumbura ko ibyo zavugaga zatubeshyaga.

### Kuki Inyenzi zatsinzwe ku rugamba, aliko nanubu zikaba zanga kuva kw'izima?

INYENZI-NKOTANYI zashoje intambara zizi ko zizayitsinda nta kabuza! Ibyali byaratanga jwe mu Rwanda (Nyakanga '90) ko hazabaho amashyaka mshni, zarabisekaga cyane zika-

nabisuzugura kuko zitemera-ga ko bishoboka. Byongeye kandi ntizanifuzaga iby'amashyaka menshi kuko uvuga amashyaka menshi ateganya n'amatora, ayo yo Abatutsi barayatinya kuva kera, kubera ko ali bake. Aho iby'amashyaka menshi bibereye imhamo bali bamaze gutsindwa iyamasasu. Umutwe wabo uba uwo kwinjira amashyaka y'Abahutu avuka kugira ngo bayasenye, ndetse byaba ngombwa bagashyiraho ayabo.

Aho bamenyeye ko muli ayo mashyaka mashya halimo n'iryitwa MDR, bahise bumva MDR-PARMEHUTU barakangara bagira ubwoba, bat: «Icyo cyago nicyo cyatuvanye ku butegetsi». Ubwo bafata icymezo cyo kwinjira MDR nshya, kugira ngo bumvishe abanyenduga biganje muli iryo Shyaka kimwe n'abafunzwe ko bagomba kwifatanya nabo mu guraho ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA ngo kuko ali inzigo. Ubwo bagira ngo Abahutu bacagurane batatanye imbaraga zabo kugira ngo batifatanya bakubarwanya. Uko bali kugonganisha Abahutu no kubiba umwuka w'amakimbirane bumvisha aba n'aba ko bagomba kwiherera ku bandi Bahutu, niko Abatutsi bose iyo bava bakagera ali imbere mu gihugu cyangwa inyuma yacyo bunze ubumwe mu mugambi wabo wo gufata ubutegetsi. **Mu byo numvise bakunze kuvuga, n'uko ngo «Abahutu tuli ibicucu, bazadukoresha tukabageza ku butegetsi».**

Cyane cyane bitibiliye abanyenduga kuko bazi ko ngo alibo bashavujwe na Republik ya kibili kandi bakaba alibo biganje muli MDR. Muli izo

pula zabo bashaka kubanza kugera ku butegetsi, byaba ngombwa bakabufatanya n'Abahutu b'abanyenduga kugira ngo babafashe Abahutu b'abakiga bababwira ko babiciye abantu, bagomba kwiherera. Abakiga bamara kurangira, Abatutsi bagahindukirana abanyenduga bityo bagasigarana ubutegetsi bonyine. Icyo gihe rero Abahutu b'abanyenduga bakaba basigaye bonyine, bazarabukwa umutwe Abatutsi babakiniye ali imhitagihe ntacyo bagikijije.

Mu gihe KANYARENGWE yagendaga iwacu twaganiliye na-we kenshi kandi igihe kirekire. Igihe cyose yagushaga ku ngingo avuga ati: «Gufatanya n'Abatutsi muli iki gihe nta kibazo gikomeye mbibonamo, aho mfitiye ubwoba bwinshi ni nyuma, bamaze kugera ku butegetsi. Mfitiye ubwoba bukomeye ingaruka mbi zizalimbura Abahutu bagashilira kw'icumu alitwe Abahutu tubahaye ubutegetsi».

Amajoro yose yaraye iwacu ntiyasinziliye bihagije akadusobanulira ko afite imitima myinshi n'ubwoba bwo kuba ali mu gitero cy'Abatutsi. Silas MAJYAMBERE we yibazaga kenshi niba «Abahutu bali mu Rwanda bazamubabalira ubugambani bwe»! Icyo gihe nibwo umugabo wanje yali yamaze gufata icyemezo cyo gusezera ku NYENZI tugeragereza hamwe kwumvisha abo Bahutu bene wacu ko ibyo INYENZI zigamije bigaragara, ko ibyiza rero ali ukuzivamo tukazirwanyilliza hamwe n'abandi Bahutu. Ubwo imhaka zishyushye zitangilira aho umugabo wanje yongeye kubameyesha ko icyemezo cye cyo

kuva mu NKOTANYI kidakuka. MAJYAMBERE ati: «Nuzivamo nanje nzazivamo». KANYARENGWE ati: «Uravamo Abatutsi bazakwanga n'Abahutu bawange ni hahandi hawe»! Nibwo umugabo wanje ashubije, ati: «Ibyo byose ntacyo bivuze, sinshobora gukomeza kuba mu bintu ntemera ngo ni ukugira ngo abantu bankunde Niye meje gusezera ku NKOTANYI igishatse kizabe»! Mbajije KANYARENGWE niba ubusanze Abatutsi banamukunda, ansubiza ko niba batanamukunda byibuze bamulinda! Ibyo biragaragaza ko ibyo twabbwiraga babyumvaga aliko igitekerezo cyo kwiherera kuli HABYARIMANA kikanga kikabanesha! Iby'uko INYENZI nazozabakuruliraga ku rundi ruhande zibemeza ko mu kwezi uku n'uku zazaba zicaye i Kigali zatsinze HABYARIMANA byakubitiraho, bigahumira ku murali!

Ali KANYARENGWE ali na MAJYAMBERE bahuliye ku gitekerezo kimwe cyo kwiherera kuli HABYARIMANA. Icyo gihe niho nabajije KANYARENGWE niba abona bikwiye kuba INKOTANYI zivutsa ubuzima abanyarwanda batagira n'aho bahuliye n'ibya politiki, ansubiza avuga ati: «Nibapfe nta gihe abanyarwanda batapfuye»! Amaze kunsubiza atyo ntakindi nashoboye kwongeraho ahubwo narumiwe!

MUREGO uli inshuti kandi twanasangiye ibyago mu Ruhegeri (collègue de misère). Nzi neza kandi nemera rwose ko ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA hali benshi bwababaje koko n'abo bwigilijeho nkana. Muli abo ulimo, nanje mbalimo. Ntanakabije ndibwira ko we-

mera nawe ko muli kirya gihe kibi twalimo, n'ubwo mwese mwali abagabo ali jye gitsinagore gusa, ko ali ntawandushije kubabazwa no kugilirwa nabi. Ndagira ngo nkributse ko ntashobora kwibagirwa ubugome nagiliwe n'ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA, kuko ndi marquée pour toute ma vie. Aliko kandi rero, kuba narahohote-we nkanagilirwa nabi mwene kaliya kageni, ni ikibazo ntashobora gusimbaza miliyoni z'Abahutu batuye u Rwanda ngo ni ukugira ngo nihorere! Kwicisha miliyoni z'Abahutu batuye u Rwanda ngo ni ukubera ko nababaye, byaba atali ubucucu gusa ahubwo ali ukwikkunda gukabije n'ubugambani bw'ikirenga.

### Iibili birarutana!

Mu kugergeza kw'Abatutsi bashakaga kunshyira ku ruhande rwabo batangiraga bambwira, bat: «Ko HABYARIMANA yacobabaje bene kaliya kageni, wadufashije tukamurwanyiliza hamwe»?

Hali n'abandi Batutsi ino aha mu Burayi bakomeje kuntutira icyo kibazo aho nabaga mhuliye nabo hose, nabaubizaga ko tudahuje intambara. Uliyumvira nawe rero ko kubona Umuhutu afite icyo apfa n'undi Muhutu aliyo mayeri Abatutsi bakoresha kugira ngo badukorere lavage de cerveau batwumvisha ko tugomba kwiherera. Igihe tugihugiye mu byo kwiherera tube tugiye automatiquement ku ruhande rwabo pour ainsi servir leur cause, noneho ducagagurane batureba, ndetse batwogezze batwumvisha ko ibyo dukora alibyo bikwiye. Nibamara kudufatira kuli iyo point faible yacu (le

sentiment de vengeance) baza batugushije mu mutego tutazasohokamo na limwe, kuko umwanzi w'Umututsi mu by'ukuli atali HABYARIMANA ahubwo ali Umuhutu iyo ava akagera. Nitumara gufasha Umututsi aho adukeneye, tulihio dushimishwa n'uko twioreye, Umututsi we azamwenyura ashimishwa n'uko tumaranye, atwereke ko kuli we, ali HABYARIMANA natwe ubwacu twese tuli bamwe nta tandukaniro, adushyire mu rwo-bo rumwe, kuko nawe ahora ajiginywa ashaka kwiherera, we kandi si ukwiherera kuli HABYARIMANA uwo ni ukwiherera ku Bahutu bose. none se ubundi Umuhutu n'Umututsi bapfuye iki kindi kitali ubutegetsi? Twiyemeje se kububasubiza? Nitububasubiza ntitudongera kubusubirana bibaho, nta n'icyo tuzongera gu-pfa nabo kuko ali ntaho tuza-tuza tuli! Uko niko kwiyunga Abatutsi baba bavuga! Niba ugira ngo ndibesha, iyumvire nawe uko umwe mu bakuru b'INYENZI-NKOTANYI uba muli Amerika yabyiyandikiye mu nzozi ze yarose akazigira umuvugo yasohoye mu gatabo ke yise «Amata n'Umuravumba» inyuma y'iro zina ry'ako gatabo hakaba hihishe (AMATA = UMUTUTSI, UMURAVUMBA = UMUHUTU)

*«Urubyiruko nurigana byusa rusite*  
*ficyusa*

*Guhanga byabaye umuhango*  
*Nia mihana ikiduhangara*

*Intore zilitoza mu matorero*

*Intara zose zifite inzege n'intego*

*Inkotanyi n'inkota zikikije inkiko*  
*Izikinditse inkindi.*

*U Rwanda rwongeye kuba*  
*Ju Rwanda*

*Abarwandalika bandurutse*

*Barangara barandata*

*Barandura barandaga*

*Baranduranya barindagira*

*Barashaka i Ndera indaro*

*Abarukunda baragwana mu nda*

*Rubanda rushira agahinda...»*

Niba rero dushaka gukuraho ubutegetsi bw'Abahutu bene wacu bakoze amakosa uko yaba ali kwose, nitubikore tutago-mbye kwifatanya n'umwanzi Gatutsi ugambiliye kutwiba umugono ngo tuzarabukwe yadutsembye! Urugaga rw'amashyaka rutaremerwa mu Rwanda, ntibiyashobokaga, nkabona ali nayo mhamvu Abahutu bamwe bahisemo kwifatanya n'INYENZI-NKOTANYI zigitera kuko babonaga nta kundi ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA bwavaho. Kuva aho urugaga rw'amashyaka menshi rwemerewe mu Rwanda rero, amashyaka y'Abahutu ntake-neye gufatanya n'Abatutsi kugirango akureho ubutegetsi bwa mwene wabo w'Umuhutu!

Niba HABYARIMANA agomba kuvaho ibyo ntacyo mbirwanayaho. Aliko rero nibinyure mu nzira ya Demokarasi tulirimba cyane muli iki gihe. Amashyaka yose yagombye kumenya ko abaturage batigeze na limwe bayatuma kubakuliraho HABYARIMANA. Niba amashyaka ashaka gukuraho HABYARIMANA byanze biku-nze, agomba mbere na mbere gusobanulira abaturage imhamvu agomba kuvaho. Abaturage nibo bonyine bafite uburengeanzira bwo gukemura icyo kibazo. Niba kuba HABYARIMANA yarafashe ubutegetsi akoresheje igitugu ali kimwe mubyo aregwa, uwamu-kuzaho igitugu we yaba amurushije iki? We se ntiyazabizira?

Ese ko i Burundi hali ubutegetsi bw'Abatutsi kuva batangira

gutsema Abahutu, ko utayo-bewe amakimbirane aba hagati ya baliya Batutsi ubwabo, iyo bashatse kuvanaho Umututsi mwene wabo wigeze ubona cyangwa wumva na limwe bahamagara imhunzi y'Umuhutu cyangwa se Umuhutu ukilimo akuka mu gihugu ngo nazebafashe gukuraho ingoma y'Umututsi mwene wabo? Mwe se abo muli MDR ibyo mulimo ni ibiki? Nagerageje kubaza abahagaraliye iryo Shyaka MDR hano mu Burayi icyo ibyo bivuga. Naje no kuvugana n'umwe mu bahungu ba KAYIBANDA nsobanuza ku bwifatanye bwa MDR na PL. Ali abahagaraliye MDR mu Burayi, ali n'uwo muhungan wa KAYIBANDA, bose bahulije ku gisubizo kimwe bavuga bati: «Aliya ni amayeli MDR ikoresha kugira ngo INYENZI ziyifashe gukuraho HABYARIMANA, naho ubundi nta bumwe hagati y'ayo mashyaka yombi buzakomeza, ni ubwfatanye bw'akanya gato, nyuma yaho MDR ikazajugunya PL igakomezanya na PSD! Uwo se niwo mutwe mwagezeho? Murumva uzabahira? Aho ntimwaba mwibwira ko alimwe muzi ubwenge mwenyine? Umutwe wa PL n'INYENZI-NKOTANYI se wo murawuzi?

Igitekerezo cyo gushaka kwi-horera nitukireke kuko umwanzi aca akobo Imana ica akanzu. Abageze muli Sipesiyali no muli Kamironko muli prison yo mu Ruhengeri twagombye kubimenya kurusha abandi. Ingero ni nyinshi, mhise-mo rumwe:

Umusi RWIGEMA atumira umugabo wanje bakabonani-ra muli Hôtel Sheraton i Frankfurt, nali mhali. Nitegereje uwo RWIGEMA mutega n'amatwi,

mbona ukuntu yisimbizaga arata ingufu z'ingabo ze, adutekerereza aho yarwanye n'intambara yatsinze uko zingana. Yadutekerereje n'ukuntu yatumye MAJYAMBERE kuli HABYARIMANA amwumvisha ko aho azaba ali hose, haba mu biro, mu rugo iwe, yewe no mu buliri aryamye, ko azahamusanga. Ubu uwo RWIGEMA ali he? Avuga ibyo yali yizeye gutsinda HABYARIMANA aliko ntiyali azi ko azagwa ku mupaka rugikubita yiyciwe n'ingabo ze!

Ndagira ngo ndangize iyi barwa ngusaba ibi bikulikira:

- *Gukoresha ububasha bwose ufite muli MDR, kugira ngo uyigarure mu nzira y'ukuli, yubahilize ibyo MDR-PARMEHUTU yatangiye aho kubigambarira.*
- *Kurenga ububabare n'akaren-gane twagiliwe kugira ngo dutekereze inyungu z'imbaga nyamwinshi dushobora kuroha turamutse tutisubiye.*
- *Kuvana MDR mu mikaka y'INYENZI-NKOTANYI ikifatanya n'andi mashyaka ahagaraliye imbaga nyamwinshi mu ku-rwanya umwanzi rusange.*

Ngusabye kutandenganyiliza kuba nyujije iyi barwa mu Kinyamakuru. Ibyo nabitewe n'uko mbona ko ibyo nali mfiti kukubwira bireba Umuhutu wese.

Gira amahoro ya Nyagasani yakulinze kugeza ubu.

Bikorewe i Frankfurt,  
kuwa 14 Gashyantare 1992

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## BAHUTU, BITE BYANYU ?

Iyi nyandiko nyanditse ngira ngo ngire inama «Gahutu» kuko iyo nshishoje mbona asa n'uhuzagurika kandi ibihe tugezemo ari ihurizo. Ngasaba abanyamashyaka bene Gahutu gukanura, gutekereza no kureba kure, bakareka kurwana ku nyungu zabo bwite cyangwa inda zabo ngo abe arizo bimiriza imbere maze bakaba bavaho bibagirwa rubanda nyamwinshi ibari inyuma kandi ibahanze amaso. Nkongera ngasaba bene Gahutu aho bava bakagera bose ko bagomba gutera bakikiriza kimwe, ntibabe bakwiha-niganira cyangwa ngo babe bemera ko hagira undi nakwita kidobya cyangwa se kirogoya yabo ubihisha mo bityo bakaba Korali (Chorale) yuzuye kandi iririmba hamwe (qui chante en choeur), abakuru n'abato basanzwe bemera, bizera kandi ba-zio ubuhanga buhanitse n'akame-nyero gahagije (experience) ku buryo yahorana umwanya wayo wa mbere, ntirushwe n'udukorali tututse ejo tukijandajanda twirwanaho ngo turamuke kabiri. Nibyo byadushimisha....

Ibi bihe turimo rero ni ingorabahizi : tugize intambara itwugarije muri Byumba na Ruhengeri, tugize inkubiri y'amashyaka avuka umunsi n'ijoro nayo itoroshye, hari umurundo w'ibinyamakuru (nako ibinyamatiku) byirirwa bitukana gishumba bitiza umwanzi umuri-ndi, bigamije gutteranya no gufata-nya abaturarwanda imbere mu gi-hugu cyacu dukunda kugira ngo havuke imvururu, umwiryane, amati-ku, inzangano n'ubwumvikane buke, ibyo bikaba byadutera kuryana hagati yacu, cyane cyane ko ibyo bigirwa-binyamakuru bibyutsa ibi-bazo by'uturere ariko byibanda cyane ku kibazo cy'amoko.

Bene Gahutu, mureke kwitana bamwana ahubwo mushake uburyo mwishyira hamwe maze murebe ngo ikibazo kirakemurwa mu munota umwe. Ubumwe bwanyu nibwo mubuze nta kindi.

Ikindi kandi nababwira, kwi-rirwa mutukana musebanya, aho

umwe anyuze undi akahanyuza umuriro siyo nzira iboneye yabageza kuri demokarasi isesuye kandi iboneye, twese twahagurukiye. Tugomba guhirimbana yego, kandi nyine birumvikana niko bigomba kugenda kuko ntawe ubona icyo ataruhiye. Umurundi niwe wagize ati : «ushaka umuce acika ishanya, ushaka umubira akabira akuya». Nibyo ni uguhatana buri wese aho ari hose no muri byose kandi tukamenya ko inkingi imwe itubaka inzu. Ni ugukoba nibyo ntabindi, tugaharanira tutizigamye demokarasi isesuye kandi idafifitse, itari imwe iririmbwa n'Inkotanyi z'inyangarwanda.

Mwene Gahutu ni wowe mbwira, ufile rwose uburenganzira bwo kujya mu ishyaka wihiyemo. Icyakora ndagusaba nkomeje ko mbere yo guhitamo wabanza gutekereza neza cyane utazavaho ute-gwa n'umwanzi, ukuba igikoresho eye utabizi cyangwa ukazibona ku kiboko no kuri shiku. Umwanzi afite imitego myinshi kandi atega kwi-nshi. Azi kwiyo beranya no gucen-ge-ra mu cyayenge. Akunyura mu mizi ukibona wanangutse.

Muri izo ntambara urimo urwana wahaboneye byinshi kandi uracyabibona ndetse ndizera ko umaze kuhakura amasomo atari make. Wahamenyeye n'amagambo y'igikatu nka za RUKOKOMA, nyoni nyinshi, kubohoza no kubohora, icyitso, Matimba (Nyamirambo), mu Rugano (Chez Lando), mu KAZU (Kigali Night),... Mbere yo kubohora mugenzi wawe ujye ubanza urebe ko wowe ari shyashya kuko hari ige ingoyi yaye yaba ikajje kurusha iye. Cyangwa se kubera kuba ukomerewe n'ingoyi ugakeka ko bose muri kimwe dore ko «curuvugundi rutagorama kandi ko nta nkumi yigaya». Nanje nti : Pour mieux sauter on ne prend pas son élan sur fossé».

Bene Gahutu aho muri hose, nimwunge ubumwe mushyire hamwe, mukumire kandi muhashye umwanzi ubugarije. Nimwifatanye

mube akaramata, muvuge rumwe mwicarane mujye inama, muganire musangire (nk'uko abandi babikora). Nimugirane inama zubaka, mufatane urunana rudakuka, mukundane bidasubirwaho, mutaramane mufashanye, murwananeho mutizigamye, mwuzuzanye iby'uturere mubiveho muri bamwe muri abavandimwe, muri bene mugabo umwe. Gusebanya no gutukana mubihaire abashumba n'abatagira uburere, mwirinde icyatuma mutata cyangwa mushwana. Dore kuva ubu mubimenye : «Ubwumvikane n'ubufatanye byanyu niyo ntwaro idatsimburwa y'ugutsinda kwanyu» (votre unité, votre entente et votre solidarité font l'arme inéflectible de votre victoire). Niba bitabayebiyo, muravomera mu rutete, muragosorera mu ruca-ka. Muri make murasiga irangi ku mazi, ntaho muva ntaho mujya. Umwanzi araturya isataburenge, arabazi ariko mwe muri mu icuraburindi; arabiyegereza aseka ariko ku mutima abahema. Murakorana nyamara ariwe mukorera, muganira akuvoma. Iyo mukina we aba ashira. Aseka bya nyirarureshwawa wowe amenyo ntakozwe agahu. Uwo Nsekambabaye ntashirwa ahorana intimba itayega, inzigo ye arinda arunduka akiri nayo ndetse akayiraga n'abe asize. Iyo uteye intambwe araribwa, ntajya yishima na busa keretse abonye akurunduye.

Harakabaho ubumwe n'ubwumvikane by'Abahutu aho bava bakagera ! Harakabaho demokarasi iha buri muntu uburenganzira busesuye. Harakabaho ingabo z'igihu-zihanganye n'umwanzi; tuzifuri-je kumunesha burundi.

Uwifusa kandi ukunda ubumwe bw'Abahutu.

Jones NTAHORUTINYA  
C/O B.P. 86 Kigali.

**Abagize ubwanditsi bwa KANGURA**

- NGEZE Hassan
- NYABYENDA Issa
- NDEKEZI Bonaparte
- MIRASANO Célestin
- RUBERA Papias
- SIMBIZI Stany
- HITIMANA Noël