RWANDA RESONANCE

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RWANDA

## Guverinoma ya Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE yakoze iki ?

## KABUGA n'ibindi bihangange by'i Byumba bahungiye iki ?

## Twarambiwe Politiki ya ''le Président me charge''

mya gucagagurana kandi namwe bishobora kubatarukira? Koko Twagiramungu uhora ashaka guteza bagenzi be abatutsi ngo babandavuze abifitemo iyihe nyungu?

Twibwirire bariya bashyushya mitwe bo muri Rwanda Rushya ko kuba Inkotanyi zarafunguje mwene Karamira kandi nawe akaba yariswe icyitso bitamubera igikangisho ngo bitume agambanira ishyaka ry'umucyo MDR ngo areke kwerekana imigambi y'Inkotanyi kuko n'ubundi arizo zari zatumye afungwa. Iyo zidatera se we n'umuhungu we bari gufungwa bitwa ibyitso bya nde? Twarambiwe politiki yo gusuzugura abatavuga rumwe n'indwanyi zo mu nkotanyi bose.

kandi iyo ntambara itazibagirana ikaba yaragejeje u Rwanda kuri Demokarasi na Repuburika yigenga, ko iryo shyaka rishoboye guhangana rwose n'ibibazo u Rwanda rufite muri iki gihe, ari muri politiki, mu bukungu cyangwa se mu mibereho y'abaturage.

None rero Banyarwandakazi namwe Banyarwanda, turabararitse, abumva mushyigikiye icyo gitekerezo, nimwigaragaze, duhagurukire gusubizaho inzego za MDR no kuzivugurura kugira ngo zizahite zitangira gukora igihe amategeko azaba amaze kubitwemerera.

Abashyize umukono kuri iri tangazo dusabye guhabwa umwanya mu itangazamakuru rya Leta kandi dusabye dukomeje ko Guverinoma n'Inama y'Igihugu iharanira amajyambere byakwihutisha imivugururire ya politiki igamije guteza imbere demokarasi.

Byongeye kandi, ikimaze kugaragara ni uko Leta y'u Rwanda yemeye ku mugaragaro FPR–Ishyaka ry'inyenzi–inkotanyi, igirana na ryo imishyikirano i NSELE ho mu gihugu cya ZAIRE. Ni ukuvuga rero ko [...]temera andi mashyaka [...]ngiro bifite. Nta mpamvu [...]kana yatuma amategeko [...] amashyaka kujyaho [...] vuba na bwangu.

Iri tangazo riduha[...]nya wihariye wo kong[...]ragaza ko twifatanyije [...] z'u Rwanda, tuzishimi[...] twari n'ubwitange [...] kugaragaza ziharanira [...] mbatira umutekano n[...] bw'igihugu cyacu.

Bikorewe i Kigali, ku wa [...]rurwe 1991.

# Mu Rwanda, Umwami n'Umuhinza bitandukaniye he ?

Ubundi mu mateka y'u Rwanda, utegeka u Rwanda yitwa umwami iyo yimye ari umututsi, akitwa umuhinza iyo yimye ingoma ari umuhutu. Uriya muhutu w'umushiru ubu utegeka igipande kinini cyarwo, niwe muhinza nyuma ya Mashira w'i Nduga u Rwanda rwibarutse. Ubundi dukunze kumwita umwami kubera ko yitwaye nk'Abahindiro. Hari impamvu nibura ebyiri zatuma agereranywa na Mashira uwo nguwo:

a) Agakungu ke n'abatutsi kuva yafata ubutegetsi. Umurangi wigeze gukomora kuri ako gashungo ababyumvise babomboranya amakaramu ku busa ngo barabacyuriye.
b) Kuba ba Katabarwa barashatse kumucurika nka Mashira bamusaba umugeni. Ese wagira ngo iyo Macinya na Mbonabaryi batahagoboka cyangwa iyo Nzirorera adashaka igikingamuyaga bwangu akiyi ngoma ntikari gashobotse kimwe n'iyo kwa Mashira w'i Nduga?

Muri make kugira ngo abanyiginya bahirike Mashira uwo nguwo bamusabye umukobwa we Bwiza ho umugeni. Amaze gushyingira umwami w'umunyiginya yamwivuganye aje kugera mu rugo. Yamutsembye we n'abe bose. Ahaa, iyo wa mugabo Twagiramungu Fawusitini yirirwa aca ibiti n'amabuye ngo arakora politiki yo hejuru, avuga ngo amoko ntiyigeze arwana aba ashaka kutwibagiza amateka. Ingabo se za Mashira zari abaki? Iz'umwami w'umunyiginya se? Niba atangiye no kwibagiza amateka, aka barwanashyaka karashobotse. Iyo bamwanze mu nda ararika umukarani we Kameya ngo yandike ko amoko yarwanye muri 1959 gusa. Nyamara, umwami Ruganzu amaze gutsinda Nyaruzi rwa Haramanga iwabo wa Kameya, umuhinza wa nyuma, Mpandahande ya Ruhande yamugushije i Butare kuri Université. Itsembatsemba si irya none; ubwo yahise atsemba ingabo ze z'abahutu. Intambara se y'amoko yari kubura ite gusubira muri 1959 igihe abalunari bakomoka kuri abo batsembatsembyi bari batangiye uwo murimo? Iyo Bwana Twagiramungu amaze gusinda ikinyoma yadukira MDR-PARMEHUTU. Ngo iyo iba ishyaka rya rubanda yari kwitwa parmerubanda. Uriya mugabo akari kera nakomeza kubeshya ibyo yari amaze kugeraho byose mu ishyaka bizayoyoka nk'umuriro w'amashara!! None se abigisha amateka hafi ya bose, yemwe ndetse na Kagame bavuga ko "umuhutu ari "umukenè wese", "umututsi" bikavuga "umukire". Umukene utari rubanda aba hehe? Ntaho Kayibanda yarondaga ubwoko kuko MDR-PARMEHUTU ye yaharaniye abakene bose aribo rubanda rugufi, aribo bahutu "socialement". Niba ahora Kayibanda ko yahinnye amagambo, umenya ari akari mu rugo rw'umukwe koko!! Ibyo ari byo byose, kabone nubwo Hutu muri Parmehutu byaba ari indangamazuru, dore aho ngaya Twagiramungu na ba Kameya n'amasibo yabo:

a) MDR-PARMEHUTU imaze kuvugururwa buririye kucyo nakwita "Passé victorieux" ya MDR-PARMEHUTU, MDR irayobokwa. Aho Twagiramungu yayibukije mu cyubahiro, dore arayigarukanye. Iyo se niyo politiki yo hejuru? cyangwa ni félonie iyi mbisi?

b) Umwaka amaze ayobora MDR nta kigaragara yari yerekana ko ashobora kurengera rubanda, ahubwo ahengamiye kubatubuza uburyo. Nuko se MDR igamije gukora[...] mu minsi itaha?
c) Ingoma y'igitugu ntaho irajya. Ariko we n'amasibo ye baraca ibiti n'amabuye ngo JDR nimwimikire abidishyi vuba na bwangu. Ese abidishyi nibo bazahangana n'icyo gitugu avugisha amatama yombi?
d) Aho u Rwanda rugeze, usibye abo mu MRNDD nta wundi Twagiramungu arusha kumenya ko tugomba koroherana. Dufatana urunana na za PL, PSD na PSR tukajya mu mihanda dushaka demukarasi. Hari abo yita aba Parmehutu ubu yigeze abona bakora "dèbordement"?
e) Aradufatira iki nk'abana sasa? Ari ukunda Inkotanyi, ibyo Demukarasi irabimwemerera ariko ari ushinzwe koza impirimbanyi ubwonko (laver les cerveaux) ibyiza ni uko yareba ahandi aba gesa, ubwo muri MDR ntiburera. Niyo kandi bwaba bweze, bwasarurwa mu mucyo nk'uko bisanzwe. Nta mpirimbanyi igwa agacuho. Ibifenenga n'ibifutero bye narebe abandi abyuhira. Impirimbanyi zaramumenye.

Harakabaho MDR Libre!!!

Murwanashyaka Victor
Kigali

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**Bulletin à remplir et à présenter lors du Concert prévu pour donner les prix NYAMPINGA**

EDITORIAL

# Ntambara, ntambara

*Muri iki gihugu cy'u Rwanda hari ibintu bitari bikwiye kugumya gusuzugurwa cyangwa kwirengagizwa ngo nuko byaba byaravuzwe na kanaka barwanya. Intambara igitangira muri 1990, hari abahise biyamira bati n'intambara ntutsi, kandi ishobora gutarukira ibihugu by'akarere. Ubwo abandi n'ingufu nyinshi babasabye kudasarizwa ku bihugu bitaga ko byo ari ibitagatifu, bitabamo ndetse n'ubwoko. Ubu mu gihe twebwe mu Rwanda imishyikirano igeze ahateye icyizere, ku buryo benshi turiho dusaba ko aho kugira ngo umuti w'ikibazo ubure abarwana bose babambura intwaro, LONI (ONU) ikaza ikarinda umutekano, byashaka bikitwa ubugwari na bamwe indwara y'uburwanyi no kwirarira imaza gusarika ku bandi bifuza amahoro bikaba byakwitwa ubusuwisi, ya ntambara banze kwemera ko ari ntutsi iriho irakura uko yakavuzwe ngo n'ay'abasazi.*

*Amaradiyo ariho aratubwira ko muri za Kivu abatutsi bari mu ntambara. Umunyamakuru aragira ati muri ibyo byose hari Mobutu ubyihishe inyuma kuko aho hantu yahagabiye ubwatsi bubutse mugenzi we Habyarimana. Bamwe twari twaravuze ko iyuzurira ry'abakiga n'abatutsi ku mpfu z'abaparmehutu ritazaviramo aho. Ni umunsi ahitwa kwa Kanyarengwe umukiga n'umututsi bakojejeho! Rero data ngo umunyakibuye Muvunanyambo baramwikijije!! Abanyarwanda bashyize mu gaciro rero, bashatse barangiza intambara ku bwumvikane vuba vuba ngo itagume gutarukira hirya no hino ikazagera aho inanirana burundu. None se ibyo Abagande barega abatutsi ntimwabibonye? Habaye intambara ntutsi se, hari uwo byatangaza? I Burundi se ntibabundaraye ku kirunga? Tanzaniya se ntitwamenye abarenganye bakirukanishwa ngo biririwaga baririmba umugambi n'umwe abo bazize abo aribo? Aho abatanzaniya basobanukiriwe ntabwo bishimye.*

*Banyarwanda nimuhagarike intambara nta mananiza, bamwe bareke kwiririrwa bazikura byose ngo bararenganura Inyenzi, abandi bareke kwiminura za Spéciales ngo Logiest yapfuye nkaho bayobewe ko yari anashaje, abandi bareke kubacyurira ko bamuteye umwaku kuko biririwaga bamugerekaho ibya Nkotsi na Bikara, ari nako bagerekaho ibinyoma ngo we na Harroy baje ino kunga abahutu, maze abahutu n'abatutsi boroherane ibibazo bibateranya babikemure aho kugumya kubundarara hejuru y'ikirunga ngo n'ubupfura bwo gushaka kumvisha abantu ko intambara y'u Rwanda iby'ubwoko bitayireba.*

*O.NT.B.*

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## DOGITERI NSENGIYAREMYE YASOBANUYE IBYO GUVERINOMA YE YABASHIJE GUKORA MU GIHE CY'UMWAKA IMAZE ISHYIZWEHO.

Muri iki gihe inkuru igezweho cyane ni iy'icyo guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yamariye igihugu muri aya mezi 12 imaze ishyizweho. Niyo iri mu binyamakuru, mu biganiro hose, muri za kabare, mbese bamwe barayivuga ibyuya bikabira. Iyo ukurikiye usanga kuri bamwe harimo «VAHO NANJYE NJYEHO». Abo nibo birarira bashyushya imitwe mu binyamakuru byabo babeshya rubanda, ku buryo bigaragara ko kuri bo, NSENGIYAREMYE yari nk'ikimasa bari baroherejе mu bwatsi bw'intare ngo barebe uko zikirenza bo bamenyereho uko bazacunga indya y'umwami wa byose nka ya BAKAME. None se wansobanurira ute ko wakohereza umuntu gushaka ishema ry'ishyaka ryawe kandi ubona ko bizamurushya, ibyo agezeho aho kubimushimira ngo umutere inkunga ukihutira kumuhimbira n'ibyaha atakozengo ngaha wowe wari gukora ibitangaza. Koko ngo utabusya.

### Ibisobanuro bye birumvikana, iby'ingenzi byinshi byagezweho.

Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE amaze kongererwa igihe cyo kuyobora guverinoma y'inzibacyuho andi mezi atatu ku ya 13/4/1993 mu RUGWIRO aho Perezida wa MDR yamunobeyemo akantu asubiriramo abanyamakuru ibyo ISIBO n° 92 yanenze Minisitiri w'Intebe byose, akongeraho ko ngo «Minisitiri w'Intebe atakiri uwa MDR kuko ategeka guverinoma irimo amashyaka atanu, ubwe yihutiye gutumira abanyamakuru mu ngoro akoreramo ku KIMIHURURA ku wa gatandatu tariki ya 17/4/1993 ngo abibwirire ubwe uko ibintu biteye.

Kwa Minisitiri w'Intebe haratuje nta muvundo uhari. Nta bya urashaka iki wa runtu we bihari. Mu nzu y'inama, Minisitiri w'Intebe yinjira asuhuza uwo atungukiyeho. Urangaye gato ntiwanamenya ko yahageze, washiduka ariho aguhereza umukono. Ntajya abura igipara atanga. Nta byabindi rero bya nimuhaguruke umwami yaje bamwe bakomeje gukuririza kandi narahe-rutse tubyamagana. Reka da ! Uko kwicisha bugufi se byo uwabishyira mu byo u RWANDA rwagezeho yaba abeshye ? Abazanyomoza ni abazambwira ko umunyapolitiki ari wawundi wiririwa yifotoza, atera hejuru ngo azi ubwenge kurusha abandi nka wawundi ushima ubwe, asuzugura abatameze nkawe ngo ubwo barabundabunda.

Kuri uwo wa gatandatu rero Minisitiri w'Intebe yatangiye ijambo rye yibutsa inshingano zagombaga kugerwaho. Iy'amahoro niyo yari ingenzi kandi inzira yashobokaga yari imwe yari imishyikirano. Yahise itangira. Byinshi byagezweho, nko guhagarika imirwano, kugena uko igihugu kizayoborwa, kumvikana kw'isaranganwa ry'ubutegetsi, ubu bakaba bariho basuzuma uko bazahuza ingabo, kunononsora ikibazo cy'impunzi ari iziri inyuma n'imbere mu gihugu, bikazasozwa no gushyira umukono ku masezerano y'amahoro azatuma bajyaho guverinoma yaguye ari nayo izageza igihugu ku matora.

### Amahoro turayakozaho imitwe y'intoki.

Dr NSENGIYAREMYE yagize ati abatari bumvise ko intambara yahagarikwa n'ubushishozi banze imyanzuro y'ARUSHA bashoza imvururu za GISENYI, RUHENGERI, BYUMBA n'ahandi, ari nayo yabaye urwitwazo rw'INKOTANYI mu gitero cyazo cyo kuwa 8/2/1993. Ibyo ntibyabujije abashaka amahoro gukomeza imishyikirano, maze nyuma ya BUJUMBURA na DAR-ES-SALAAM imirwano irahagarara, imishyikirano irakomeza, ndetse hakaba hari ikizere ko mu minsi mike hashobora kuboneka amasezerano y'umusozo.

### Iby'umutekano byari ingume koko.

Minisitiri w'Intebe yabwiye abanyamakuru ko udutsiko tw'abantu bitwaje intambara bagakurura imvururu, maze kubera n'iby'amashyaka, bakazura iby'amo-

ko. Icyamushimishije rero ngo ni uko harimo umugambi wo gutera intambara mu gihugu hose ngo imishyikirano iburiremo akaba yarabashije kuwuhagarika. Yababajwe n'abategetsi bamwe batigeze biyumvisha ko inshingano yabo ya mbere ari umutekano w'abaturage. Niyo mpamvu bamwe bahagaritswe, akaba yizera ko inzira y'umutekano benshi bayumvise usibye ko ngo bagashozamvururu bakiriho, akaba agomba guhozaho ngo bacike burundu.

### Ubutegetsi bwaravuguruwe.

Minisitiri yahawe Cabinet ishinzwe ibya politiki, maze ibya tekiniki bijya ukwabyo. Abategetsi bakabije barahushywe nubwo hari ibihangange byari bibashyigikiye no muri guverinoma, kandi ka kanama kari gashinzwe kubasuzuma kakomeje akazi nubu hategerejwe indi raporo.

### No mu bukungu ntibasinziriye.

Minisitiri w'Intebe yatubwiye ko ibyo BANKI y'ISI YOSE n'IKIGEGA MPUZAMAHANGA byigishaka byasaga n'ibitumvikana. Guverinoma yakoze gahunda ibisobanurira abikorera ku giti cyabo n'ibigo bya Leta mu gihugu hose, bituma hafatwa ibyemezo hakurikijwe ubushobozi bw'igihugu. Uwo mugambi ntiwarangiye, Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE akaba asanga ibindi bizashoboka ari uko intambara irangiye. Ubu kandi igitugu cya LETA kubikorera ku giti cyabo kiriho kirakendera.

### RUKOKOMA hari ibyo bayibe' shyaho.

Ku kibazo cya RUKOKOMA gisigaye kivugisha benshi menshi cyane ba «MBONYIDEFO (défaut) VAHO NGUSIMBURE»m Minisitiri w'Intebe asanga hari icyo bacyibeshyaho. Icyo yashakirwaga kwari uguhindura amategeko y'igitugu, hanyuma ubundi abantu b'ingeri zose bakajya hamwe, bakareba ikibatanya. Arusha rero yemeje ko hazahinduka imiterere n'imikorere y'ubutegetsi bw'u RWANDA. Itegeko nshinga rizahinduka. Ubucamanza buzava mu kwaha kw'ubutegetsi bwisanzure hashyirwaho n'URUKIKO rw'IKIRENGA.

*Uwitonze akama ishashi. Hari abibwira ko politiki ari ugukangata. Bati uko Ikinani gikosheje Nsengiyaremye najye yifata kuga hanga. Ntiyagiye agisaba kushyira mu gaciro mu kinyabupfura se ibyinshi bigatungana.*

Ingabo nazo ARUSHA bemeje ko zitazongera kuba iz'umuntu, ndetse ko zizahabwa urwego rw'ubutegetsi rwihariye kandi buzwi butari ubw'umuntu umwe, ibyo bigatuma ziba iz'igihugu. Biraboneka rero ko byinshi mu byari gukorerwa muri RUKOKOMA byakorewe ARUSHA.

Minisitiri w'Intebe yabwiye abanyamakuru ko Komisiyo igomba kuvugurura itegeko nshinga ngo rijyane n'igihe tugezemo yagiyeho. Igisigaye kuri RUKOKOMA rero ni Inama yo mu Rwego rw'igihugu, izaba imishyikirano irangiye ibibazo byose bitanya abanyarwanda bikavugwa hakaba «Réconciliation Nationale». Nibwo havugwa iby'amoko, uturere, umutekano mu bantu, gusuzugurana n'ibindi n'ibindi. Ibyo byose birumvikana ko bitashoboraga kuba imishyikirano itarangiye. Bizitwa «Débat National».

### Twitegure kwakira impunzi ziri mu mahanga.

Ngo ikibazo k'impunzi kizongera kinavugwe ARUSHA cyandikwe. Minisitiri w'Intebe yagize ati birasaba abanyamadini n'abanyapolitiki gutegura imitima y'abantu. Yarazisuye mu mahanga, kandi ikibazo cy'indangamuntu itarimo ubwoko cyarakemuwe, kimwe ni cya za passeport batajyaga babona. Aragira ati gutahuka kw'impunzi ni amaboko, ni ingufu z'abavandimwe. Kuvuga ngo nta butaka nta shingiro kuko bashobora no kutwungura inama tukabubyaza umusaruro mwinshi.

### Amatora bamwe bitsitsaho ntiyari gushoboka.

Minisitiri w'Intebe yagize ati ubundi amatora akorwa mu mucyo, mu bwisanzure. Muri iki gihe cy'intambara rero ntibyashoboka rwose. Ati nyamara twayatekerejeho, kuko byanditse ko nyuma y'imishyikirano ya Arusha, guverinoma yaguye izayashyiraho. Ntabwo yari kuba bamwe bari hanze, abandi baravanwe mu byabo. Aragira ati none se wakwamagana Mitingi, noneho ugatoresha ? Ibyo byose byatumye asanga tugomba kwiyemeza koko umuco wa demukarasi, bikaba aribyo byatumye avanaho Laisser passer, imikwabu n'ibindi byose bibangamiye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu. Ayo matora ngo yizeye ko azasanga abategetsi babi baravuyeho ngo batazayabangamira. Yunzemo ati guhin-

*Byinshi mubyagombaga gukorwa muri Rukokoma Arusha yarabirangije. Twagiramungu we ashobora kuba yari aziko ziriya mfizi zihita zirenza Nsengiyaremye we akazamenya uko abyifatamo.*

dura ubutegetsi si ugupfa guhindura, ariko intango iriho.

Ngibyo rero muri make ibyo guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE yakoze kandi ni ingirakamaro, tukaba dusaba abashyushyamitwe bashyigikiye ba MBONYIDEFO babwita ubumera kutagumya kubeshya rubanda ngo ngaha bafite ibihangange byari guhindura ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bumaze imyaka makumyabiri mu minsi mike kuriya.

Ikiganiro na Minisitiri w'Intebe cyakomeje ageza ku banyamakuru bimwe mu bigezweho muri iki gihe, nyuma haza gukurikiraho umwanya wo kumuhata ibibazo.

## Raporo mpuzamahanga yakozwe vuba vuba.

Iyo raporo yavuzwe cyane yasohotse mu kwa gatatu, ikaba yari yarifujwe na guverinoma, ariko imiryango irengera ikiremwamuntu mu Rwanda iba ariyo iyitumiza kugirango izakore mu buryo bwigenga. Yaje mu kwa mbere, raporo isohoka mu kwa gatatu. Guverinoma rero yagize icyo iyivugaho. Yasanze yarakozwe vuba vuba, harimo ibidasobanuye bisaba anketi z'ibyuzuzo, cyane cyane ku byerekeye «Escadrons de la mort». Kuba bariya ba «Escadrons de la mort» bariho guverinoma nayo irabyishisha, kuko abantu bagumya gupfa ku buryo budafututse. Yasabye rero ibisobanuro n'indi enquete, kuko kuvuga ngo ikintu kiriho, ntumenye abakigize sibyo. Guverinoma yanasanze mu gace ka F.P.R. hatarakozwe ku buryo buhagije, ngo imenye uko uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamuntu cyubahirijwe.

## Tubonereho gukemura impaka.

Muri iyi minsi imitwe y'abatutsi n'abayoboke ba TWAGIRAMUNGU irashyushye ngo NSENGIYAREMYE yahanaguyeho HABYARIMANA ibyaha, ngo kuko atemeje ko mu Rwanda habayeho umugambi wo kurimbura ubwoko (abatutsi), kandi ngo ntiyemeze ko hariho ba «Escadrons de la mort», umutwe w'abicanyi. Ba MBONYIDEFO nibareke rwose gukabiriza. Guverinoma imaze kubona ibyo raporo y'iriya Komisiyo yanditse, yatangajwe nuko bavuga ko ibibi byose ngo byakorewe ubwoko bumwe gusa, nuko muri iyo nyandiko yaciye abashyushyamitwe intege yo kuwa 7/4/93 yashyizweho umukono na Minisitiri w'Intebe na Perezida bagira bati : *«Enfin le rapport de la Commission donne l'impression que les violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda sont dirigées contre une Ethnie»*. Mu gisubizo rero Commission yatanze kuya 15/4/1993, irivugira ubwayo iti : *«En outre, de nombreux opposants politiques HUTU ont été victimes de violations des droits de l'homme»*. Barivugira kandi ubwabo ko ibibazo by'amoko basanze byarabyukijwe n'abategetsi bamwe bashatse kubikoresha politiki. Ibyo tubyumvikanyeho, abashyushyamitwe bareka gutsindagiriza ko muri rusange habayeho umugambi mu Rwanda wo gutsemba abatutsi, kuko nabo ubwabo babona ko ataribo bonyine batotejwe gusa usibye byabindi ngo byo kunyagiranwa n'abandi.

None se NSENGIYAREMYE yari kubyemeza ataribyo ? Kubyerekeye «Escadrons de la mort», Guverinoma yagize iti : *«5. S'agissant des «Escadrons de la mort», il est vrai que beaucoup de personnes continuent d'être tuées dans notre pays dans des circonstances inexplicables, ce qui laisserait penser à l'existence d'une ou de plusieurs organisations criminelles responsables de leur mort. Cependant le rapport de la Commission International d'Enquête fait une confusion inadmissible en faisant croire que les actes criminels perpétrés par des «escadrons de la mort» sont le fait du Gouvernement. Cette question mérite des éclaircissements de la part de la Commission Internationale d'Enquête qui affirme, sur base des témoignages fournis par un seul individu, que le Président de la République aurait présidé une réunion de «l'escadron de la mort» au cours de laquelle le massacre des BAGOGWE aurait été décidé.»*.

Birumvikana ko nkuko twabivuze haruguru, guverinoma itari gupfa kwemera ko hariho umutwe uyu n'uyu batabashije kumenya abawugize, kandi umuntu umwe watanze gihamya akaba atarabashije kwemerwa. Mugusubiza rero komisiyo nayo iriyemerera ko itabashije kwemeza ko uwo mutwe uriho, no kumenya abawugize aho nayo ikunganira guverinoma mu gutangazwa n'ukuntu abantu bapfa mu buryo budafututse. Dore uko Komisiyo ibivuga muri iyo baruwa yo kuwa 15/4/1993 :

*«3. La Commission a précisément utilisé le conditionnel lorsqu'elle a estimé devoir citer certains noms dans son analyse du phénomène des escadrons de la mort. La Commission ne pouvait pas taire les témoignages qu'elle a recueillis à ce sujet. Elle n'est pas en mesure d'affirmer, comme elle l'a fait dans d'autres domaines, qu'il existe des escadrons de la mort ni quelles sont les personnes qui en feraient partie. Elle ne peut que se montrer troublée, comme d'ailleurs le Gouvernement lui-même dans sa déclaration du 7 avril, par les disparitions des personnes dans des circonstances inexplicables et par les attentants dont les victimes ont rapporté les détails. Ces témoignages sont suffisamment précis et concordants pour créer de graves présomptions quant à l'existance de groupes organisés pour tuer».*

Abanyarwanda rero bariho bashinja NSENGIYAREMYE ko atemeje ko hariho umutwe w'inkoramaraso kandi na bariya banyamahanga byarabananiye kuwugaragaza barigiza nkana rwose. Ngo ntawe uyoberwa umwibye ahubwo ayoberwa aho amuhishe, siwe uyobewe ko mu Rwanda hari udutsiko twakorewe kwica, ariko igihe Komisiyo itatugaragaje nkuko yari abyizeye abigenze ate ? Bashyize mu gaciro ntibyagombye gutuma muri RWANDA RUSHYA bamutega iminsi ngo azabishima iyo Escadron yamugezeho. Ese mwa bavandimwe mwe ko tubona abamurwanya babaye benshi, NSENGIYAREMYE agize icyo aba twamenya azize nde ko kuba ataraguye mu mutego w'ubugambanvi nk'uwo bamwe bariho bizihirwamo ubanza aribyo bigiye kumukoraho. Ntacyo mvuze ntiteranya.

## Iyo HABYARIMANA yegura kare ku buyobozi bwa MRND inzira ya demukarasi iba yarihuse.

Muri icyo kiganiro NSENGIYAREMYE yamenyesheje abanyamakuru ko abaminisitiri ba MRND biyemeje gushyigikira ibyo banengaga mu mishyikirano ya Arusha bituma igenda neza. Igikorwa cya Perezida cyo kwegura kuri MRND nacyo yakivuzeho, ati yaratinze kuko iyo abikora kare inzira ya demukarasi iba yarihuse. Ati ubundi usibye mu bakominisiti, kuyobora igihugu uri n'umukuru w'ishyaka kirazira.

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ariko kuyobora guverinoma cyangwa kuyibamo ntikizira.

**Kandida Minisitiri w'Intebe wa MDR muri guverinoma yaguye ni NSENGIYAREMYE, andi mashyaka ntagomba kuvuguruza Bureau Politique ya MDR.**

Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE bamuhase ibibazo. Ngo perezida avuga ko Mugenzi ataba Minisitiri, ariko ntavuge impamvu. Ngo azisobanura mu yindi mishyikirano izaba n'amashyaka. Ku kibazo cyuko abatutsi barengana mu Rwanda yasubije ko niba binaba bitaba ari politiki y'abanyarwanda, ko ahubwo ababikora ari abashaka imyanya. Guverinoma ntiyigeze yandika ko abantu bahohotewe kubera intambara, ahubwo yanditse ko intambara irimu byateye inkunga imidugararo, yaboneyeho no gusobanura ukuntu kurwanya urugomo bisaba amafaranga, bityo tukaba dukeneye inkunga y'amahanga.

*Nubwo abantu bapfuye, Nsengiyaremye yasenyuye umugambi wo gukwirakwiza itsembatsemba hose, mu cyo bise «KUMANUKA»*

Twamenyeshejwe ko GATETE w'i MURAMBI yahagaritswe akaba yaranze kuva ku kazi, bityo superefe babwiye kumusimbura akaba agomba kuzisobanura. Twahamenyeye kandi ko guverinoma itigeze ivuga ko izagaruza umutungo wa MRND na MDR PARMEHUTU, ahubwo yiyemeje kuzasuzuma uwo mutungo uwo ariwo. Habaye ipiganwa rero BUNEP itsindira iryo soko, nisanga biriho, MDR niyo izagena uko umutungo wayo yawukoresha, MRND nayo ikaba yasubiza Leta ibyayo.

Gusa kuri icyo kibazo twamenye ko MRNDD yabimenye igahita ishwanyaguza impapuro nyinshi, aribwo bamwe babonaga amakarita ya MDR PARMEHUTU ya cyera anyanyagiye hose hirya no hino bakirirwa bashyushya imitwe ngo «PARMEHUTU» yavutse ndetse n'amakarita yaje. Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE ntaragera muri ZAYIRE kuko Ambasaderi wabo ino atamuteguriye urugendo kandi bari barabivuganye. Yanatubwiye ko abakozi hafi ya bose bari barahagaritswe ku mirimo bayisubijweho nka 20 basigaye ngo ni abiboneye imirimo ahandi, abadahari n'abahunze. Uwanyuma yari uwo muri MINIPLAN, uwamenya undi azamubwire Minisitiri w'Intebe. Mu bigo byigenga bo kubera y'amezi atandatu, bagira bati ntabo twirukanye. Leta iriho iriga ikibazo cyabo ngo ibafashe kubona akazi. Ikibazo cy'abasirikari cyararangiye, abakoraga ahandi bagiye kubona za transfert, basubire muri armée. Ku byerekeye abari mu gace Inkotanyi zavuyemo, Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE yavuze ko ntabo boheje kujyayo, hataraboneka ingabo zo kubarinda. Umukuru wa GOMN yabivuze atabanje ngo atekereze ku mitego yaba yarahasizwe.

Docteur NSENGIYAREMYE yarangije ikiganiro cye asubiza ku kibazo cyerekeye Minisitiri w'Intebe w'inzibacyuho yaguye, dore ko uwo munsi RWANDA RUSHYA yari yasohotse, TWAGIRAMUNGU agatangarizamo abantu ko kugirango umukandida wa MDR atangwe, ari uko andi mashyaka yamwemera akamushyikiriza guverinoma, noneho nayo ikamushyikiriza FPR, ngo hanyuma FPR na guverinoma nabo ngo bakaba aribo batanga umukandida wa MDR. Nguko uko wa mugabo wiyita umuhanga cyane ngo muri Politiki ngo yo hejuru ahindura ishyaka yashinzwe kuyobora agatobero nk'akantuza ka yayindi arisuzuguza bene kariya kageni ngo umukandida waryo azatangwe ku buryo bufindafinze kuriya busa nubwo yagiriwemo inama na MATAYO Ngirumpatse wigeze gusa nubikomozaho. Kuri icyo kibazo rero Dogiteri NSENGIYAREMYE ntasuzugura cyangwa ngo asuzuguze Impirimbanyi bene kariya kageni.

Aragira ati : Jye kuba KANDIDA wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye azashyirwaho n'amashyaka jye ntawabimbwiye. Ati Arusha humvikanwe ko MDR ariyo izatanga Kandida ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w'Intebe, kandi ko agomba kumenyekana mbere yo gusinya amasezerano y'amahoro. Ishyaka MDR rero ryamaze abandi amatsiko. Uwo ryatanze ntarindi shyaka riragira riti ni umugome n'ibindi. Hagize ugira icyo amuvugaho, na MDR yasaba kugira icyo ivuga ku bakandida b'andi mashyaka. Yarangije agira ati muri iki gihe ni ugufata ibyo Bureau Politique ya MDR yakoze tukaba aribyo tugenderaho. Abashaka umwanduranyo ku MPIRIMBANYI rero bashatse bakwitonda. Ntitwarangiza tudasabye abanyarwanda bamwe kutagumya kubeshya rubanda ngo NSENGIYAREMYE ntacyo yakoze kandi bigaragara ko ari umwe mu banyarwanda bake cyane bashobora kugirirwa icyizere cyo kuzavana uru RWANDA mu bibazo by'inzitane rurimo. Ba MBONYIDEFO bashaka kumuvanishaho ingufu za FPR rero bashatse nabo bashyira mu gaciro kuko ibimenyetso byose nibimara gukusanwa ko ariwo mukino ugiye gukinwa IMPIRIMBANYI nabo si abana. None se kuri MDR ntibizaba ari ubugambanyi bwo hejuru cyane (Haute trahison envers le parti).

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Imodoka VW JETTA ya kaki yabaga muri Ponts et Chaussées ngo yaba imaze kugera muri parikingi yo mu kabande ahari "Division y'amazi aho yaba itegereje kubagirwa mu zindi modoka. Ngo yaba yaragabiwe BARIHE !! Barya abanyakazu barya ye !! Muratange ku mazi imodoka za Leta zirashize. Hagati aho kuri Minisiteri ya Plan naho hari akamodoka k'ubururu k'agasuzuki gaherutse kutembagara kavuye gukwirakwiza za "Le Courrier du Peuple" muri za Gisenyi. Leta iracyagendesha.

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Radiyo Rwanda isigaye yigunze. Rya shyirahamwe ryiswe Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) iyimazeho twose. Kubera ko igizwe na benshi mu ba shefu ba Radiyo Rwanda, ngutwo utwuma, twa bandes, twa ciseaux, twa micros, tiges, cassettes. Ibyari byaratumiwe mu mahanga byo ntiwamenya duwani byahingukiyemo. Leta nidatabaranya n'inzu yakoreragamo barasama bayimire ntibamize bike. Hanze aha hari abaryi !!

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**Attention ! Danger !** **O.NT.B.**

GASANA Anastase na NTAZINDA Karoli basigaye birirwa batumiza bamwe mu barwanashyaka ba MDR ngo babigishe ibyo bita ibitekerezo byiza bya Perezida w'ishyaka. Twe turasanga ari ukugumya gukurura amacakubiri mw'ishyaka kuko ubundi inzego zigomba kunyuzwamo byose ziriho. Yego ahari umuntu yavuga ko ari uburenganzira bwabo ariko twe turabona ari n'ubutekamutwe. Niba ibyo bitekerezo ari byiza yagiye abijyana muri Bureau Politique. Turashimira umurwanashyaka RWAMBONERA Evergiste wababwiye ko niba ibyo bita ibitekerezo byiza ari ugutuka KAYIBANDA na MDR PARMEHUTU atazabajya inyuma.

UMURANGI

# KUGIRA IKINYABUPFURA MURI POLITIKI BYAGOMBYE KUJYANA NO KUVUGISHA UKURI. MDR-PARMEHUTU YAVUGURUWE ITE ?

Mu kinyamakuru Rwanda Rushya n°1 twasomyemo ikiganiro KAMEYA Andereya yagiranye na TWAGIRAMUNGU Perezida wa MDR dusanga avugamo ko yafashe iya mbere avugurura MDR. Byabaye ngombwa rero ko tubagezaho uko ivugururwa rya MDR-PARMEHUTU ryagenze, bityo mukarushaho no gusobanukirwa impamvu bamwe bakomeje kuyigiramo abana babingingano.

Inama ya mbere yo kwiga uko MDR-PARMEHUTU yagaruka kandi ivuguruye yabaye mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1991. Yarimo : GASIMBA François Xavier, RUTIKANGA Canisius, KAMBANDA Jean, NYAGAHIMA Faustin, NZEYIMANA Ambroise, RUGWIZANGOGA J. na NKEZABERA JMV. Iyo nama yari yabereye kwa NKEZABERA. Muri iyo nama hasomwe Manifeste n°4 ya MDR-PARMEHUTU hatangwa ibitekerezo byo kuyihuza n'igihe tugezemo, GASIMBA ashingwa kujya kubishyira mu nyandiko. Hemejwe kandi no gukomeza gukwiza icyo gitekerezo mu bantu cyane cyane abakoze politiki cyangwa se abagize imyanya mu nzego z'ubutegetsi.

Mu cyumweru cyakurikiyeho, NKEZABERA yagejeje icyo gitekerezo kuri TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin, GATABAZI Félicien na SEBATWARE André. Abagabo GATABAZI na SEBATWARE babyakiriye vuba aribwo bahuriye kwa NKEZABERA hashize nk'iminsi ibiri. Ubwo bungurana ibitekerezo cyane cyane ku bantu bakwiriye kubigezwaho mu mpande zose z'igihugu.

Muri icyo gihe kandi hanakorwaga amanama yerekeranye n'ikinyamakuru "Le Démocrate", (Impirimbanyi) ku bagabo 8 bavuzwe mu ntangiriro z'iyi nyandiko hiyongeraho n'abandi barimo na TWAGIRAMUNGU wanatorewe no kuyobora umuryango udaharanira inyungu wagombaga gucunga "Le Démocrate". Mu mpaka zagibwaga uretse ibyerekeranye n'ubwanditsi, hajemo icyifuzo cy'uko icyo kinyamakuru cyaba icyo gushyiraho ishyaka, abandi bifuza ko cyakomeza kuba icy'ibitekerezo bya bose. Izo mpaka ntizakemuwe ariko byageze aho ikinyamakuru cyakoreye kugarura MDR ku buryo aho igarukiye cyahise gihagarara. Muri izo nama, iby'ishyaka ntibyaburaga kugaruka ku buryo

*Politiki y'ubwidishyi igiye kudukoraho, hari abihishaga mu kwaha kw'inararibonye BAGARAGAZA tukagira ngo amaherezo bazashobora kwigenza none wapi !*

TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin yageze aho yiyemeza guhuza ka kanama kiga Manifeste, kugahuza na GATABAZI na NZAMURAMBAHO. Uwo munsi uragera ntibyaba, noneho NKEZABERA ajya gushaka GATABAZI na SEBATWARE abasaba umunsi (Rendez-vous). Umunsi ugeze bahurira kwa NYAGAHIMA. Ubwo uretse GATABAZI na SEBATWARE, hari hanaje SHINGIRO MBONYUMUTWA, NGURINZIRA, NDUHUNGIREHE, BAGARAGAZA na HABARUGIRA. Muri iyo nama igitekerezo cyo kuvugurura MDR cyarashyigikiwe ariko hemezwa ko groupe yatangira gukora imbanziriza-mushinga ya manifeste yayirangiza ikabona gutumira indi nama.

Muri iyo minsi kandi Perezida wa Repubulika yagombaga kujya i Dar-Es-Salaam mu mishyikirano irebana n'ikibazo cy'intambara. Nibwo haje igitekerezo cyo gutegura inyandiko ku irangizwa ry'intambara. Igitekerezo cyagizwe na GATABAZI, ategura iyo nyandiko, abigeza kuri SEBATWARE na NKEZABERA barayigana noneho hatumizwa indi nama rusange yo kuyinononsora. Iyo nama yabereye kwa NZEYIMANA Ambroise. Muri icyo gihe kubera amanama ya politiki atari yemewe aho inama zaberaga hagendaga hahinduka. Zakorewe kwa KAMBANDA, RUTIKANGA, HABARUGIRA, NZEYIMANA, NZEYIMANA, NKEZABERA, RUGWIZANGOGA, GATABAZI, SHINGIRO, BAGARAGAZA n'ahandi. NKEZABERA na RUTIKANGA nibo bashinzwe umurimo wo gusinyisha iyo nyandiko. Ku munsi wa kane hari hamaze kuboneka imikono 33 (signatures) havugwa ko S.C.R. na Perezidansi babimenye, inyandiko ihita yohererezwa za Ambasades n'iya Perezida wa Repubulika iratangwa inyujijwe kuri Minisitiri NZABAHIMANA François. Mu bashyize umukono kuri iyo nyandiko, hari hemejwe ko abari barakoze mu nzego za politiki bareka kuyishyiraho imikono yabo kugira ngo bitaboneka ko batangiye kwisuganya ntaho baragera. Ubwo na NGURINZIRA B. wakoraga muri Perezidansi yasabwe kudasinya.

Mu ntangiriro za Werurwe 1991 mu nama rusange yabereye kwa BAGARAGAZA hashyirwaho agakomisiyo k'abantu icumi bo kunononsora Manifeste. Abo bari: GATABAZI, NDUHUNGIRAHE, HABARUGIRA, BAGARAGAZA, KAMBANDA, SEBATWARE, GASIMBA na NKEZABERA. Ako kanama kaza guteranira kwa GATABAZI, umurimo karawukora. Uwo munsi hajemo n'igitekerezo cy'uko ishyaka ryakwitwa P.D.R. (Parti Démocrate Républicain). Inama irangiye GATABAZI yabajije niba umugabo TWAGIRAMUNGU usanzwe akorana na bamwe mu bari aho muri "Le Démocrate" adakwiriye kwegerwa nawe. Hemejwe ko GATABAZI yabimugezaho yaba abyemeye nta gusubiza imirimo inyuma nawe akaza. Ubwo iyo nama yanatangiye imaze gushyiraho akanama kagizwe na GATABAZI, BAGARAGAZA, GASIMBA na KAMBANDA kugira ngo bandike neza ibyari bimaze kwemerwa kuri Manifeste.

Hashize iminsi ibiri, habaye inama kwa TWAGIRAMUNGU yari irimo : TWAGIRAMUNGU, SHINGIRO MBONYUMUTWA, NDUHUNGIREHE, GATABAZI, NZAMURAMBAHO,