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IJAMBO

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Dushyigikiye kutaniganwa
Ijambo

Perezida HABYARIMANA

«Icyuka kibi kiri i Kiyumba
kirakururwa n'abakiga»

The tutsi of interlacustrine region

We inaugurate English pages in order to enable everyone,
who takes English as a language of his choice,
to share the Word «IJAMBO».

Maisha ya mjini hayana
mwenzake

Document

A la veille du retour de la démocratie pluraliste nous vous
proposons un modèle de Constitution de deux chambres
à des mandats différents, dont les membres sont élus à de
intervalles différents, ce qui assure un pouvoir législatif
contrôlé, renouvelé et durable.

Ko muhunga M.R.N.D. yanyu ?

Uko bucya, buracyana ayandi muri uru Rwanda rw'abahutu, abatwa n'abatutsi. Abenshi bari muri M.R.N.D. mu mpera za 90, aho ibihe bigeze aha, ntawamenya abayirimo nyabo kuko no kuyibamo, ntaho umuntu aba yarabisinyiye! Abari muri M.R.N.D. bazwi, ni abari muri Komite nyoboz, abagize Kongere z'amaperefegitura n'iz'amakomini, abagize guverinoma, ababurugumesitiri, abadepite, n'abandi bakozi bafite isahane nziza muri Muvoma! Abo nabo barimo, kubera umugati n'ibyo Muvoma ibakoresha, n'aho abayirimo n'ubwenge n'umutima wabo n'ubushake, tuzabamenya iumunsi M.R.N.D. yasabye ko babisinyiral M.R.N.D. ikwiye kureka abayoboke bayo bakabikora ku buryo bwemewe bakanabisinyira tukamenya abayishyigikiye nya byo atari mu cyuka cyo kuvuga ngo utrasinya muri M.D.R. aracyayirimo. None yaba yarifashe? None yaba ari muri P.D.C.? Yaba ari mu mashyaka ari hanze?

Kubikora ku mugaragaro bizatuma tumenya uruhande abategetsi bamwe babogamiyemo koko bashobora kutujishya muri ibihe duhanze amaso ukuri ku mashyaka menshi. Uretse ibyo. M.R.N.D. ifite inyungu zo kumenya abayoboke bayo kugira ngo ijye iha abakozi akazi ko kuyirenganura, izi neza ko bahuje umugambi. Nkaba neka ko n'abayirira batayikorera bazagara-gara ikamenya ingufu zayo aho zishiniye. Ngirango n'ubwo amategeko akemeza ko ariyo yonyine rukumbi, ibikorwa biyerekwa ko ibangikanye na M.D.R. na P.D.C. mu gihugu, hakiyongeraho andi mashyaka atari mu gihu-gu nka UNAR, U.P.R. na F.P.R. Ubwo haziyongeraho wenda n'andi duhanze amaso. Abenshi turibaza impamvu abanyarwanda barimo kuva muri M.R.N.D. bakaja muri M.D.R., n'ubwo twagombye kuba twarabyibajije mbere!

Impamvu ni nyinshi: Bamwe mu bariye mu kwaha kwa M.R.N.D., bakaza kunyagwa, baravuga, bati: Muvoma yaturangarije mu kuririmba ubumwe n'amahoro, inyenzi-mpunzi zikaza kudetera! Imyitozo irangiye ziraza zica abantu, zisenya ibikorwa by'amajyambere! Iyo Muvoma irangaza abantu twayizera dute? Ikitwemeza ko itari yaraguzwe kugira ngo iturangaze ni iki? Twayemera gute ko tubona igumya kudutererana mu byemezo bifatwa mu ibihe by'intambara? Bati Muvoma yahugiyie kutugaruramo shiku, abantu tukizera ko twikorera, naho yo itegura ubuja bw'abazadusubiza mu buretwa!

Abataraririye mu kwaha kwa Muvoma twizeye amagambo y'abayiyobora tuzi

ko umugambi wabo udashobora gutatira abanyarwanda. Inyenzi-mpunzi aho zituburije amahwemo, niho twabonye ko M.R.N.D. yari yaradusinzirije bhagije. Muvoma vari yaratwijeje amahoro areretse, inyenzi-mpunzi zibona umwanya wo kudutera. Uko biri, yaradufashije muri ibihe by'intambara, umwanzi ayikurira ingofero!

M.R.N.D., P.D.C., M.D.R.... UNAR, F.P.R. na U.P.R.

N'ubwo itegeko nshinga ryemera ko M.R.N.D. ariwo mutwe umwerukumbi wa politiki wemewe; ntibivuga ko mu migenzereze no mu mikorere ya buri muni y'abanyarwanda bari mu gihugu n'abari hanze, bitagaragaza imitwe 6 ya politiki. Iriya mitwe yindi irakora kandi ifite abayoboke bazwi babyiyemeje banabyemera. M.R.N.D. yo irakibwira ko abayoboke bayo ari mi-riyoni nyinshi, ntimenye ko abajya muri iriya mitwe twavuze, bava mu bayoboke ba M.R.N.D.! UNAR, F.P.R. na U.P.R., zirakoresha amadorari n'amanyarwanda zanyaze igihugu cyacu bamwe birangariye. Nizihura na ba rukundakamiya, n'iyo bakagwa inyuma, bazabona abayoboke benshi. P.D.C. yo kugeza ubu ntabwo turamenya icyo ishora; uko bigaragara ni amagambo. Muvoma, iruhande rw'ibitekerezo byayo, hari za 505 zikandagirwamo guisa n'abazi guhakwa neza bakaba ba Komite, n'abandi yikiriza bitewe n'uko yaramutse! M.D.R. yo irashora akarengane k'umuhutu mbere ya revolisiyo yo muri 59, na nyuma ya 73.

Irashora akarengane k'umuhutu yagize muri iyi ntambara, akanigwa n'abazungu bazunguza amategeko atabaho agirango apfukirane! Abarebe kure bagasanga umuhutu n'akarengane ke ni ryo dorari rya M.D.R., kandi rirakaze! Itégekonshinga n'ubwo ridashingura imitwe ya politiki, yo irashinga, iracikiana kandi irakora. Abataramiraga ku buryo bwo hejuru muri M.R.N.D., nibo bashinga iriya mitwe ya politiki, bikaba bitwerekwa ko bazi aho inége nke za M.R.N.D. ziri akaba ari naho bazibanda.

F.P.R., UNAR na U.P.R. ziranyayagiza amadorari mu bayoboke bazo; ziranyayagiza amasasu ku mipaka y'u Rwanda; ziranyayagiza amagambo mu mahanga; zirahuma abategetsi amaso zikoresheje ibyitso (n'ubwo hari abatabyemera ko biriho, ntibibibuza kubaho). Aho M.R.N.D. yiberaho mu mutuso utariho ihaka rubanda, kuyumva ntacyo ishora gifatika (nako ngo imaze gushora za miriyoni mu baperefe

na ba Burugumesitiri)! Ntaws muri M.R.N.D. gushora amakashi n'mbari, ntawe uyiabye gushora ibyofite; nitange ukuri kuzira uburyanya mu banyarwanda. Ducishirije, twiga ko M.R.N.D. itazi neza abayebu ifite, ikaba yari ikwiye kubameya kuko mubo ibara, abayivuyemo! UNAR, F.P.R. na U.P.R., hanze, zifitiyeyo abayoboke n'ubwo no mu gihugu abafunguwe, abenshi abayoboke! Muvoma imenyenye M.D.R. abayo, P.D.C. abayo; n'abasigaye bakagabana bikame kana.

N'ubwo nibaza impamvu bava muri M.R.N.D., nkaba nsabu ababibona bazanyungura ibiteke usanga ntacyo ifite ishora kigari. Ubundi irashora ubumwe, ameho n'amajyambere n'ubutabera : byose iyi ntambara yabikubye na UNAR, U.P.R. na F.P.R. zashoya muri kashi n'ubu zikiyashora; zishora amesu mi n'ibyabwo byose; zishora amesu mi mipaka, zisebya n'u Rwanda.

P.D.C. yari ikwiye kugaragaza ishora kuko bene amatoreyo ya Kire bakemanze cyane muri iyi ntambara M.D.R. nk'uko nabikomojeho, mbona irimo ishora idorari rikaze diengane ka gahutu. Ndaisabaka mbatira kariya gaciro itibagiye n'ibyo byazayigirira akamaro igiye kwiyama maza no hanze. Ubu aho ibihe biga nkaba mbona Muvoma barayihunja kutagira icyo ishora gifatika n'ubwo te byose. Kugira ibantu siko kumeni kubikoresha. Muvoma ntabwo tuyunga kuko igihango twari twaraganye cy'amahoro itacyubahirije. Ibyo huzaga n'ubwo ntaho twabisyinye ya amahoro; twarayabuze; ubumwe, imparyenge zashatse kubvihisha inyungo zidusubize mu buja bwa cyami n'gikoronize; amajyambere, abo yahan umugati utubutse bibagiwe gukino maze ibyo twagezeho za Byumba na Ruhengeri Inyenzi zirabitsema, ubatabera abo bwabereye turabazi, bikabi bituma tuyivamo nk'uko itihutira kubakura mu magambo ngo ibishyire mu korwa.

Muvoma izemerwa, ni izarangwa na demokarasi, igaharanira kubahiriz intego za revolisiyo yo muri 59 n'ubusigire bw'igihugu. Kugeza ubu, idorari n'kuru akaba ari ukurenganura rubanda nyamwinshi yarenganye muri iyi ntambara. Uzabishobora, niwe uzayoboka. Naho guhindura Muvoma Revolusioneri iharanira amajyambere Y'Rwanda mo Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement, sicyo kizatuma yitabirwa.

H.B. HABYARIMANA

Nyabikenke : Ntab

Ubwo twumvaga ko Komini ya Nyabikenke yabonye umuyobozzi wayo mushya ariwe HITAYEZU Mariko, abenshi twariruhukije. Ni mu gihe kandi kuko ubutegetsi bwa RUKABUKIRA Farasisiko wari usanzweho butari bunyuze abaturage. Ubungubu uwo mugabo wasubiye kuke akaba ari umwarimu mu mashuri abanza, yaranzwe n'ubunebwne n'amati. Ikindi kintu yaranzweho ni uko yaziraga uwitwa ko yize wese. Ibyo bizwi n'abanyeshuri bavuka muri iyo Komini. Ndetse n'abakomeye bibera i Kigali bavuka i Nyabikenke bahoraga binubira ko atanya abagisha inama nk'uko mbese biba ahando! Inkorora ye yari ihagije kugira ngo niba wamushakaga wisubiriye.

Bityo rero iyo usubije amaso inyuma bituma wibaza (umuntu ubwe) icyo uwo mugabo yamariye Komini ya Nyabikenke mu myaka isaga icumi yose yayiyoboye. Tuyobewe se ko ririya shuri ryisumbuye riri i Nyakabanda ryagombaga kuza i Nyabikenke? Byazize rero ubujiji bwe kuko barimutwuye areba. Ibyo aribyo byose Burugumesitiri wa Nyakabanda we nubwo bwose atize arenze atandatu abanza (6), azi kuvuganira abaturage be. Cyakora wenda ibyo byishuri byo umuntu yapfa kubyihanganira kuko ryasanze abaturanyi bacu, ahubwo umuntu arebye icyo yashima RUKABUKIRA, ni uko atari azi ibyo kunyereza umutungo! Ndetse ngo n'abahungu be ngo ubu baba bamumereye nabi bamubaza impamvu atabashikiye byibuze amasambu kandi yari abifitiye ubushobozi. Yewe n'inzu abamo ni iyo yari asanzwemo akiri Mwari-mu!

Hejuru y'ibyo byose rero, nta kuntu tutari kwishimira ivugururwa ry'ubwo butegetsi butatezaga abaturage imbere. Ikibabaje rero ni uko ibyo byishimo bitamaze kabiril! Muri make ntitwatinze kubona ko ibyo twari dutegereje ku muyobozzi mushya wacu byari nk'inzozi! Iyo ntiti rero (dore ko yarangije Kaminoza, akaba yari asanzwe ari Porofesi mu mashuri yisumbuye), twari duzeze byinshi, ntiriaruhije yiha akabanga. Yego wenda icyo arusha RUKABUKIRA ni uko we ntawwe aheza mu biro bye n'ubwo bwose umutima we uba wiberereye ahando: Navuga nko mu birayi bye biri ku Ndiza n'amasambu agomba gufata. Ibi byose si impuha cyangwa gusebanya, kuko uwashaka wese yaza kubyirebera. Ubu Ndiza abaturage bayegutseho kandi ariyo yari ibatunze. Ni mu gihe kandi kuko bahezaga amashaza n'ibishyimbo byinshi ndetse bagasagurira n'abanyamayagal! Ubu rero

aho hose yahatambagije ibirayi we n'undi mutegetsi ntavuze ukomeye uvuka i Nyabikenke. Uretse ibyo kandi, hari n'isambu nini cyane aherutse gukukana muri segiteri Ngoma. Ngo yaba, bya nyirarureshwya nyine icyo gihe yarahamagaje abagomba kuyakeba. Kuki se atari yarahatse mbere? Ubwo se nibwo yibutse ko hahari? Abenshi rero iyo barebye igithe gito amazeho n'umurumba azanye, bibaza niba tutazageza aho twifusa RUKABUKIRA twinubiraga.

Umva ko bavuze ngo umushinga PAG ntacyo umariye abaturage da! Cyakora ndumva we yayivuganira kuko imodoka zimutundira ibirayi ndetse n'amatumbire akoresha muri iyo mirima ye byose abikesha PAG akarere fatizo ka Kiyumba. Abenshi ndetse bemeza ko Dogiteri Z wafunzwye yiswe inkotanyi (icyitso) yaba ari ibyo yazize. Ababikurikiranira hafi, bahamya ko ibyo byose byakozwe bagamije gushyiraho uzamusimbura akazajya yumva icyo b-

mubwiye cyose. Ibyo kandi byamukorwa. Iryo fungwa ry'uwo mpwabanaga cyane n'abantu, nyobye benshi. Nta kindi rero yazize kintu ku ry'i Nyabikenke, dore ko we sanzwe ari umunyabutare. Nabo ndi kumwita icyitso ni ugushimpa mpamvu aho itari. Cyakora nyinye muri iki gihe cy'intambara. Reka tubiharire inzego zibishinzwe, ukuri kuzashyira kugaragare!

Ikindu rero kibabaza abaturage uko Burugumesitiri HITAYEZU n'ya guhana yihanukiriye abatinga kumwigana bagahinga amasambu Leta. Kuri ubu amasambu yabaye inge, abaturage bawme babuze uko ngira, badukira amwe mu masampu Leta, biningira ibijumba n'imyumba dore ko binahera cyane. Abo bose banabihaniwe! Kuki se we atahanwa ndi twumva ngo abantu bose bamshya imbere y'amategeko. Nange n'abo babikoreshwa n'inzara! Ariko we ?!

Abakiga nib

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Le 6 WERURWE 1991.

Bwana Felicien SEMUSAMBI
JOURNAL UMURANGA
KIGALI.

Bwana SEMUSAMBI

Ngagira ngo mbanze mbashimire igitekerezoczyza mwagize cyo gushinga ikinyamakuru umuranga kitugezaho inyandiko nyinshi nziza kandi zilimo ubwenge. Twe tuba mu mahanga, umuranga utugeraho utinze, limwe na limwe ndetse tugasoma inyandiko zawusohotsemo ali uko twinginze abantu bo mu Rwanda bakatwoherereza fotokop

Ndumva mwe mwandika ibinyamateka byigenga mwali mukwiliye gushaka uburyo mwakumviana, mugashyiraho uburyo ibinyamakuru byanyu byajya bitugeraho vuba bidahenze. Ndibwira ko Minister y'ububanyi n'amahanga cyanga za Ambassadi zishobora kubibafashamo.

Ikinteye kubandikira cyane cyane, ni inyandiko mwise "ABARANDUZI B'UBUTEGETSI BAHERA mu BANYESHULI" yasohotse mu MURANGA NO 26 wo kuwa 15 GASHYANTARE 1991. Kubera ko ubu ntali mu RWANDA, nta bukyo mfite bwo kumenya by' imvaho ko imvururu muvuga zabaye mu mashuli zagenze koko uko muzivuga.

Icyakora muli 1973, nanjye nali umunyeshuli, ibyabaye icyo gihe narabyiboneye. Sindi umukiga, aliko ndemeza ko abanyeshuli b'abakiga alibo icyo gihe bagiye bameneshwa mu

bivuye, ntaho bigiye.

Mu byatumye rero tumwibeshyaho cyane ni umwete yagaragaje mu kuza kwe, ariko cyane cyane muri ibi bihe byumukwabu. Iyo yabaga agiye nko gufata abarengeje amasaha yagenwe bibereye mu kabari yashyiragamo igikoti cye agafata imodoka, ariko ikaza kumuhagarika kure maze ahasigaye akagendesha ibirenge, kugira ngo batamwikanga agatahira aho. Ubwo nko ku gasanteri kamwe ntiyahaburaga nka cumi na bitanu (15.000 Frw) aje rimwe, kuko mu tubari cyane ututegereye Komini, yahasangaga abanywi benshi. Iyo rwose n'ubwo bidakwiriye Umuburugumesitiri wiybaha, abaturage barabimushimiraga bavuga ngo agami-je kubumbatira umutekano.

Cyakora nyuma bakomeje kubyibazaho, baza kuvumbura ko ari amaco yinda. Baje kumenya ko uwo mwete uhishe byinshi; basanga abifitemo myungu itari nkeya. Kandi ni mu gihe. None se ayo mafaranga ko atayatangira gitansi, kereka uwo yabonaga ajijutse

niwe yapfaga agasoni akayimuha. Ubwo andi yayashyiraga mu iposhi ye bimviki ana! Ntidushidikanya ko nawe ubwe azisomera iyi nyandiko. Icyo tumusaba rero ni uko yareka kudutenguhha twari tumutezeho byinshi! Nareke kandi guca Komini ye mo uduce no kuvangura amoko urwo ari urugero rubi atanga. Nareke gukoresha icyenewabu. Koko Bwana Burugumesitiri, ririya shami rya IGA ryo mu Birehe rizahora aho? Ko twumvise ngo umukozi yarabonetse, akaba ahegereye yujuje n'ibyangombwa, kuki mutamureka ngo akore? Rwose azire ko mudahuje ubwoko, ko mutavuka hamwe? Nka biriya iyo tubirebye turabigayel Wagonbya kumenya ko atari we uhima wenyine ko ahubwo n'abaturage tuhagwa. Kandi niba koko utamushaka andikira Minisitiri atange undi mukozi ariko ureke ariya mazu akoreshw yoye gupfa ubusa kandi ubwubatsi bwayo bwaratwaye byinshi.

Ariko na none ngo i Nyabikenke haba hari impapuro z'inzira za-

genewe ubwoko bumwe gusa! Umu-
ntu azarware apfire mu rugo ngo ni uko
mwamwimye uruhushya rwo kujya mu
bitaro i Remera cyangwa i Kigali mu-
muziza ubwoko bwe? None se ubwo
wiyibagije ko hari n'indwara zinanira
abakozi bo mu mavuriro yawe? Ariko
ubundi ntitwagiraga ngo wa musore
w'umwarimu R kuba yarafunguwe ari
uko mwasanke ari umwre? None se
kuki mwamwima uruhushya rw'inzira
rwo kujya ahantu igihe arukeneye?
Cyakora ibyo, usibye i Nyabikenke nta
handi tubizi, Imana ishimwe!

Ariko se ubundi ntitugirango ziriya mpapuro zifitanye isano n'indangamuntu? Turashaka kuvuga ko umuntu musanze muri Komini yanyu yerekanye impamvu ze bwite zituma ashaka kugenda, nta mpamvu mutayimuhu. Ntimukiyibagize kandi ko kubona imodoka muri iriya Komini muyobora bitoroshye. Buriya rero iyo muhaye umuntu iminsi ibiri gusa, akenshi ishiratarava mu rugo ubwo ariya mafaranga mirongo itanu yayo akaba apfuye ubusa!

Cyakora na none ntitwakwirengazia ko n'abo mukorana akensi bakumaniza. Muri bo, ushyirwa mu majwi ni uriya mufasha wawe Gerimani washinze gutanga impapuro z'inzira. Uriya musore rero, abiganye nawe i Byumba bemeza ko ubusanzwe ari Nyamwigendaho, mbese ko ari umuntu udahura n'abandi ngo basabane, mu gifaransa, nk'abo babita (les marginaux ou idiots singuliers). Ndetse ngo nyuma yaba yaragiye muri E.S.M. ariko ntiyamarayo kabiri (birumvikana). Niba rero ari uwo mujinya atura abaturage ntitubizi, uretse ko nabo yaba abarenganya. None se nibo !bamvirukanye? Icyambere ntushobora kwinjira mu biro bye, ugomba kubariza mu idirishya. Ariko se ko mbona no mu biro bya ba Minisitiri umuntu yinjiramo nta kibazo, kuki we inzu ya Leta yayigira iye ntatumehari undi wayikandagiramo ? Nyamara se yaturuhije ite tuyubaka ! Yigeraga se anahakandagiral Yewe, ubanza agira ngo iriya ntebe nta wundi wayicaraho ! Ikindi ni uko yishyiriye amoasaha yishakiye. Ngo guhera saa yine ntushobora kubona urupapuro rw'inzira.

Cyakora twe twagirango amasaha y'akazi ahera saa mbiri kugeza saa kumi, kuki se we atayubahiriza ! Yego turabizi imirimo aba ari myinshi ku buryo hagomba gahunda; ariko se gahunda ibangamiye abaturage yo yaba imaze

bameneshejwe.

mashuli menshi.

Mu ishuli ry'i MBURABUTURO muvuga mu nyandiko yanyu, Kimwe n'i SHIGOMB
SYIMANA n'i NYANZA, abanyeshuli b'abakira nibo bameneshejwe bakwira.
imisharo.

Mu bakozi b'i KIGALI naho, ubajije abali bahali icyo gihe, bakwibutsa ko abakiga alibo bagiliwe aka mfura mbi. Bakwibutsa ko shubwo abategetsi b'abakiga bali bakomeye icyo gihe, bamaze kurambirwa iterabwoba n'aqashinyaquro, bakandikira Jenerali ibarwa imumenyesha ko banniwe, ko niba yanze kubagaragira ngo bagarure amahoro mu sihuju, bazabyikorera ubwabo. Ngira ngo nawe ubwawe'ulibuka ko iyo tarwa aliyo umukozi wo muli BANKI NASIYONALI, mu biro bya BIRARA yaje swiba, akayishyira Capitaine BIZIMANA nawe wahise ayigeza kuli KAYIBANDA. Abebikulikiliye hafi bose bazi ko mu ijoro lishyira kuwa 5 NYAKANGA 1973, igihe KAYIBANDA yatumizaga Jenerali iwe ikitaraganya, ali iyo barwa yameretse, akamutegeka ko abayishyizeho umukono bose bahita bafatwa bagafungwa, undi yakwanqa, capitaine BIZIMANA n'abandi bali bahali bogushaka kumwica nawe ubwe, bikaba alibyo byabyaye COUP D'ETAT yo kuwa 5 NYAKANGA 1973.

Ndagira ngo rero muli ibi bihe tulimo
abanyamakuru nkamwe mujye mukomeza mutugezeho amakuru y'imvaho yerekeye
ibiliho n'ibyo rubanda rwifuba kugeraho, aliko mujye mwilinda guhindura
amateka y'u RWANDA kuko, n'ubwo abenshi mu batuye KIGALI iki gihe batayazi
abakuze babibonye bakiliho bakaba bashobora kubabeshyusa bikabatera
nseba, kandi ubundi tubemera, n'inyandiko zanyu tukaba tuzubaha cyane.

Mukomere,

Gaspard BIGUMANSHAKA

Gaspard BIGUMANSHAKA

Namwe murebe
Ukuri kwibii.
H-F.K.

Bikurikira urup. 13

gikambwe, akomoka muri Giciye (Gisenyi). Uyobora Parike ya Kiyumba (Premier Substitut) witwa NDIMUBANZI akomoka i Karago (Gisenyi). Iyo bakurondoreye amagenzi ye muri uruoya murimo urumirwa. Bati yavuye i Nyamata atwika. Ava ku Rushashi yakurbitiwe mu Kabari. No ku Kibuye yavuyeyo akulise. Naho uruoya mu kambwe utegeka urw'Iremezo abakiga hita ko ari umukuru w'umuryango, we bavuga ko atari yahamenyera kuko akiri mushya, ngo nta matiku yari yatangira kwishoramo. IPJ wa Komini Nyabikenke Donati NTIRI-RASHIRA ni uwo muri Nkuri (Ruhengeri). Abaturage baherutse ku murambirwa barakubita baranoza akagiru kairenga. IPJ wa Pariki NTAMUTURANO Patrice avuka i Karago-Gisenyi. Grefiye w'urw'Iremezo SEBUKENE Tarisisi akomoka i Nyakinama (Ruhengeri).

Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu

Koko murabona atari ukuzonga abakavukire ba superefegitura ya Kiyumba? Reka rero tugane mu Butegetsi aho dusanga Umunyamabanga mukuni (Secrétaire en Chef) wa superefegitura witwa NSANGANDE Bonaventure ukomoka muri Rwerere (Gisenyi), abaturage hamushinja bavuga ko yaba ari we wibye amafaranga y'i Posita ibihumbi 70 ahenutse kubura, bakabyemeza bavuga ko bamuze ejo ari umukene, none akaba yara-

Bikurikira urup. 15

iki? Ntiyirengagize kandi ko Komini Nyabikenke ari imwe mu makomini manini yo mu Rwanda. Sinumva rero ukuntu umuntu uturutse iyo gihera yaba yageze kuri Komini mbere ya saa yine. Kerekwa wenda uwifite cyangwa akaba afite iye modoka. Cyakora ngo iyo umuhaye nk'akajana, arbitunganya (ruswa). Cyakora ari ibyo, byaba ari mahire! Umuntu wenda yakwemera akanayahingira ariko ntabe imfungwa muri Komini kandi nta cyaha yakoze. Ariko se buriya umuntu ayimuhera muri rya dirishya, cyangwa...? Ababizi mu-zambwiire kandi birihutirwa.

Cyakora ngo na Insipegiteri w'amashuri si shyashya. Mbese wagirango itiku niryi yize gusa. Abenshi bavuga ko ari we, afatanije n'ubuyobozi bwa Parike na Burugumesitiri, birumikana, waba yaratanzie igitekerezco cyo gufunga wa Mudogiteri wakoraga muri PAG twavuze haruguru. Dore ko

funguye akabari (ngo bagomba kuzajya burhiramo), bakanavuga ko ari we utunga urufungizo rwa réserve rw'iposita. Abakozi babiri bakora kuri Radiyo (ibyuma batumaniraho) (opérateur) umwe yitwa MUHIGIRWA Alfred ukomoka muri Karago (Gisenyi) na mugenzi we NAYIGIZIKI Célestin ukomoka i Karago, uyu we bagakunda kumwigizayo bamwita agacurama ngo kuko yumvikana n'abakavukire.

Kiyumba yaragenderewe

Umuforomokazi witwa KAMUNAZI Juliette akaba umugore wa NSANGANDE (Secrétaire en Chef) ageze ku buce umukuru w'ibitaro by'aho i Kiyumba; uwo mudamu ukomoka muri Nkuri ahora acekesha titulaire w'ibyo bitaro ngo nakopfora azamufungisha kuko ngo ari umunyenduga. Uwahikana azagen de akore iperereza azasanga bamaze kurwana kabiri. Tugasaba ko byakurikiranira hafi umuntu ntakomeze kwigira indakoreka kuko arahemukira resiponsabure w'ibitaro kandi abaturage bamwemera. Coopimar irayoborwa na NDIMUBANZI Emmanuel ukomoka muri Satinskyi (Gisenyi) usibye ko nahageze bavuga ko yimuriwe i Kigali, ariko na shoferi wa Coopimar ni uwa ruguru iyo, akaba yitwa HAKUZIMANA Ladislas.

Abakiga baritwikiye

Mu ijoro ryo kuwa 23/3/1991

we ngo n'ubusanzwe bari bafitanye i-nzika ngo bakaba barigeze no kurwana ku buryo Z uwo yaba yaramurebeye udupfensi nka tungahel Yarihoreye re-ro. Ubwo murumva iyo bishya bishyira. None se ntitwumva ko muri za Ngoro-nero abarimu aribo boshyaga abatura-ge bagasubiranamo!

Muri make, ibi byose ni ibyo gusu-birwaho bigakurikiranira hafi. Inzego zibishinzwe nizirebe ukuntu zakwamaga Bwana HITAYEZU nananiranira kandi aveho abamusimbura ntibabuze. Nibanga kandi tuzamukizwa n'amatra, kuko niba koko kubera amashyaka menshi tuzitorera abayobozi bose, uruoya mugabo ntazatorwa. M.R.N.D. rero yikwirangaraho kandi tuyiburiye. Si ugusebanya cyangwa kujorana. I Nyabikenke barahazi, nibahaze babaze abaturage babegere bose kandi batavanguye, bazahava bavuze ukuri nyako.

MUHIRE Antoni

rishyira uwa 24/3/1991, induru yu gjwe na IPJ Donati ngo bamutwizi Indi nduru ivugira kwa Subsisté MUBANZI, indi nduru ivugira kwa pteur Alfred MUHIGIRWA bahimba neko wa NDIMUBANZI; Izo za zavuze ari saa saba z'ijoro. Kwa NDIMUBANZI na MUHIGIRWA ngo bari teye amabuye bamenagura ibinby'amadirishya. Ubwo nari i Nyabikenke nagerageje kugenzura amazu y'abere Ari uwawugaga ko bamutwikiye nra ari we witwkiye, abu bwo literi iges kuko abaje bahuruye baje gutabura bashiriye mu buroko. Aho nari nba nsangira urwagwa n'abaturage, bavuya bataya mashyaka atinze kuza ngo n'subiriye muri M.D.R. yacu, MRND ja zaniye abantu badukandamiza. Nde n'inzu bavuga ko zatewe amabu nsanga ni ba nyirazo bayateyeho iyo ngabone uko bafungisha abo ho mvikana. Mbese nasanze ntaho hitu n'ibyabaye muri rya joro ry'uwa la Ukwakira. Ubwo Superefere yahagize Perefe na Porokireri ngo ibintu byo kandi ari umutwe wari wateguve umu nk'ikinamico. Iyo dosiye igomba gengurwa burundi, byashoboka abato iyo kinamico bagakurikiranwa. Amate ari i Kiyumba ni ishyano ndaba nkupye aha, nzayakomeza ubutaha mbaganisiti y'abandi bakozu baturuka Ruhengeri na Gisenyi binunce mu mirimo inyuriri i Gitarama, mazasanga hari ikintu hiryanira abandi. Ndashimira uzanyupera anyoyerereza andi makuru yunganya, hito du komeze duhashye ba Ruhengeri.

MUTSINZI Edou

Itangazo

IJAMBO rirame-nyesha abaryandikira ko bajya barimenyesha aho babarizwa (agasanduku k'iposita na telefoni bishobotse).



NSANZIMANA, Minisitiri w'abatutsi n'inyenzi

Umuntu agaragarira mu bima bye no mubyo avuga, ntagaragarira mubyo ubushinjacyaha bumwemeza n'ibyo zimuhanagura. Ntagaragarira mu byo i-siko zimwemeza cyangwa zimuhanagura-

n'inyenzi-mpunzi, byagaragariye mubyo yakunze kuvuga, cyane cyane mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru we na bagenzi be b'abaminisitiri batatu. Ikindi kibigaragaza ni uko yiyeze ko ariwe wagize ibyitso abere kandi mu by'ukuri harabayeho imbabazi za

n'inyenzikazi nk'umugore wa RWIGARA na n'ubu bataremera ko baguye mu mutego w'umwanzi. Ibyo byose NSANZIMANA arabyiyitirira. Umugabo ati : «Kuriki ntigukurwa na ceceka» Ko yababwiye byinshi, mwagerageje kumva! NSANZIMANA n'ubwo ashigikiwe n'inyenzi-mpunzi akaba yemerwa n'ibyitso, akaba asunikwa n'abatutsi, ntabwo yakwizera gutsimbura revolisiyo yo muri 59 kuko izamuhirika agashyongora.

Ikitwereka ko NSANZIMANA ari Minisitiri w'abatutsi n'inyenzi-mpunzi ni uko abatutsi ariwe bitirira ugufungurwa kwabo bibagiwe ko babikesha imbabazi za HABYARIMANA. Abanyarwanda twakwihanganira HABYARIMANA, ariko ntitwakwihanganira ko byitirirwa Kavamahanga, kavugana ivo-gonyo NSANZIMANA. Araduhata ko ibyitso ari abere tuzi neza ko ibyitso byabayeho kandi biriho.

Natwe turabibona, agumya kuduhatira iki ko ari abere? Kuba ku Kivugiza, Nyamirambo na Nyakabanda bavuga ko ariwe Minisitiri ugezweho tuziko ariho havumbuwe ibyitso byinshi natwe bitangaje! Ushyigikiye inyenzi-mpunzi yabura ate gushyigikirwa n'aho hantu tuziko hatuwe n'abatutsi benshi bavumbuweho ibyitso byinshi. Ese NSANZIMANA yaba akorana n'ibyitso by'inyenzi kurusha uko akorana na Guverinoma? Ibyo akora niko bipyerekana tukaba tubona HABYARIMANA ataragira abajyanama bazima. Twizere ko abamumuhye bagira ngo abafungurire ibyitso mu kinyarwanda cyuzuye uburyarya. Ko umurimo awurangije, ntabwo akwiye kwigira muri pansiyo? Ntasaze atanduranije cyane!

NSANZIMANA barameemerera aka RWIGEMA.

Byagiye guuhuhuka mu kanyamakuru «Rwanda rushya» (dore ko inyenzi byose zabikozé zizi ko nizitsinda zizashyiraho indirimbo yubahiriza igihugu, zikagarura ubwami; kuri zo u Rwanda rukaba rushya), bati : «Niwe mu Minisitiri w'umugabo muzima! Nakwibuka ko abari muri icyo kiganiro ariwe twasohotse tugaye ko yasubizanye ikinyabupfura gike, nkabona «Rwanda rushya» ishyigikiye inyenzi zarukongeje akaba ari «Rwanda rushya (rwaka)», rutegereje kuzazimywa na M.D.R. yo yarukuye ahakomeye muri 59. Muri icyo kiganiro, twasanze NSANZIMANA ashora amagambo nk'ay'inyenzi zishora mu banyamahanga, aho gusubiza ikibazo. Twasanze yararemajwe no kubana nabo cya-



NSANZIMANA yamenya inyambo n'ibisabo.

Akwiye kuba Minisitiri w'intebé muri guverinoma y'agateganyo

Kuba tuvuze ko NSANZIMANA ari Minisitiri w'abatutsi n'inyenzi, bishingiye ku bitorwa bye no ku byo avuga ntahanda. Bikaba si nk'uko dukurikije imvugo ya BIZIMUNGU Kazimiri tubona yaba Minisitiri w'abatutsi bikaba ari na byiza kuko iyo tutamugira abahutu baba bageze kure. Ikitwereka ko NSANZIMANA ari Minisitiri w'abatutsi

Darisaramu n'amasezerano y'i Nsele. Iruhande rwabyo hari na ruswa yakoze mu bashinjacyaha no mu biro by'iperereza byamaganwe n'ibinyamakuru. Ntitwiybagize ko no mu butegetsi bwo hejur ibyitso birimo byahataniye gfunguza byene wabo ku ngufu n'amatara. Ntitwirengagiza ko no mu mbere ari urudaca kuko abakenyejwe

ne aho kubona ibibazo u Rwanda rufite byihutirwa.

"Rwanda rushya" usanga kuri bo ariwe mu Minisitiri wabaye kamara, birengagiza ibisubizo byiza byatanzwe na MUNYAZESA Fawusitini, BIZIMUNGU Kazimiri na NDINDIRIYIMANA Agusitini! Bashubije batarumanga, badasukuma, badasukiranya maze basubizanya isuku. Kubera ko batashatse guhushura ku bibazo byibhe turimo, ko batashiyigikiye gatutsi gusa, biba nk'aho batahabaye. Bizatugeza he kuguma kwanga ubwenge bw'umuhutu uvuga gihutu inyungu z'abanyarwanda? Kugira ngo umuhutu azemerwe ni uko azavugira inyenzi-mpunzi n'abatutsi? Ndabarahiye iyo hame ryarashewe, abakiryemera nka NSANZIMANA baracyasinziriyel! Ubu se Minisitiri azajya ashimirwa kuba Rusisibiranya yitsindira? Tuzajya tubarebera mu byo bakora.

Kubona ukuri kwa NDINDIRIYIMANA gucibwaho, BIZIMUNGU Kazimiri bakanmwirengagiza, MUNYAZESA Fawusitini bakanga ukuri kwe, bakemera NSANZIMANA, mbona hari icyo baduhishe. Ese tuzabitsinda babidutsindagiramo kugeza ryari? Nabonye NSANZIMANA baramushimiye uburyarya naho ukuri kwe kure nk'ukwezi. Ukuri kugomba guhura n'ibibe abantu barimo guhomera iyoneje biba ari nko gushotoru rubanda nyamwinshi. Usanga NSANZIMANA akiri ku karimi atazi ko rubanda yahaze ububeshyi n'ugushitura kw'abategetsi. Arateke-reza ko rubanda ikigendera ku magambo asize umunyu. IJAMBO rinkundiye ryazakoresha anketi abamwumvise kuri Radiyo baktubwira icyo bamutekerezaho. Ariko ubundi kuki atajya muri pansiyo? Babuze abategetsi nka NDINDIRIYIMANA, BIZIMUNGU, na MUNYAZESA? Aho bize, bari kumwe n'abandi, nta bibazo baradutera. HABYARIMANA yababaje aho abazima bari aho kuduhata iriya mijage! Kandi iri toragura rizada kure! Kubera ko ntabereyeho gukoma mu mashyi, ndabona NSANZIMANA akwiye kwigira muri pansiyo ataratesha agaciro abamushyizeho na M.R.N.D. ashyigikiye. Ku mi-vugire ye ibibazo by'u Rwanda ntabizi kuko ariho akiva mu mahanga n'ubwo abyivurugato yiyeze. Ku mi-vugire ye, ari hafi kwigendera abasore baryana bakaryana. We icyo apfa ni umugati we! Umuntu nk'ubo wafunze umwuka yageza iki cyiza kuri rubanda? Kuba twaratewe adahari akaza ingabo zimaze gucoa no gucucuma inyenzi nbyo bimutera gukeka ko tugikora mu bigambo no mu buriganya.

Abanyarwanda bakeneye ubashiyigikira mu bikorwa, ibyo mu magambo byarangirane n'uko duterwa. Abashiyigikiye NSANZIMANA bibagirwa ko tukibuka ko inyenzi-mpunzi zagombaga kumarira ku icumu mi-riyon 3 z'abanyarwanda! Ko bariho kubw'Imana wagize ngo ntimuzahangana mpaka? NSANZIMANA yagabanye mu mahoro, ntazi intambara ingabo z'ighugu zrwanye. Ubara ijoro ni uwariyare, utarariraye

aribarirwa n'abandi. Kuba twaratewe adahari nbyo bimutera gutetereza abamugabiye? Uko biri ntigireng Gahutu arasinziriyel! Mwanze kumurenganura abe bapfa, umunsi muzamukenera akabakeneka ni uko azaba yarabazinutswa ntimuzibaze. Mumenyi ko azabaruka nka Nyamuragira mu itora rya NSANZIMANA mwatonesheje bakadutoneka baturanye ntacyo babashoborera. Siwe mbabariye mbabariye HABYARIMANA wamuhawe akamwizera, akaba amaze kuva ku ijana ku ijana akaba amugejeje kuri 30 ku ijana muri rubanda! Imana izamuhe pansiyo vuba azayifatire ku Kivugiza hafi ya Nyamiramo na Nyakabanda naho ku Gikongoro hamukoraho kuko akora mu nda revolisiyo yo muri 59. Twese dukunda abatutsi, dukunda abahutu n'abatwa, aho dutaniye ni uko bame we tudatoneshwa nk'abandi. Dusabwa gukorera abanyarwanda bose, ntidasabwa kwituma ubwoko bumwe.

NSANZIMANA abaye incabiranya

Ikindi abamenye NSANZIMANA akiyobora Kaminuza tumugaya, ni ukuba incabiranya. Muri 1973 abensi turibuka ukuntu yasakiranye n'abahutu bari mu mabuku y'abatutsi, igishimisha ni uko ubu bamwe bari muri Guverinoma, yabonye byakomeye atabona uko arimanganya abahutu ati «Komera Gahutu! None ageze aho amukomeretsa amutoneka atera ati : «Komera Gatutsi, ndagushiyigikiye n'inyenzi-mpunzi, nzatsema ko nta byitso wigeze mu Rwanda! Minisitiri wuzuye, ubucabiranya nka buriya n'amacenga y'urudaca yazarducejesha kugeza ryari? Ubu se asanze yaribeshye muri 73?

Hagowe HABYARIMANA wamwiye gereje. Ariko rwose NSANZIMANA watubwiye, urashaka kugera kuki? HABYARIMANA n'ubwo agirwa inama n'abatutsi yari akwiye kwibaza agaha NSANZIMANA pansiyo rubanda nyamwinshi itarayimwihera. Kuba yemerwa ku Kivugiza, Nyamiramo, Nyakabanda no mu matumo y'abatutsi, ntibyatuma yizerwa. Umuhutu warenganye umunsi yashariye bizagenda bite? Mu Rwanda rushya bat; «NSANZIMANA umugabo muzima, ukunda u Rwanda n'abanyarwanda bose, uvuga yatusye adatinya kwamburwa umugati; niwe mu Minisitiri nabonye wayobora guverinoma y'ibi bihe bishya bigiye gutangira, akaba ya-ryaha ibibazo u Rwanda rufite cyane cyane mu rwego rwa politiki!»

Nkanje w'umuhutu weme-
ra revolisiyo yo muri 59, nkemera ko umuhutu abana n'umututsi n'umutwa mu bwumvika-
ne, ndavuga nti utagera ntagereranya! Uwa-
fata NSANZIMANA ngo ayobore Guverino-
ma yaba ashaka u Rwanda rushya rutemera
revolisiyo yo muri 59, akaba ashyigikiye ko
inyenzi-mpunzi zigarura ubwami, akaba yemera
ko abatutsi aribo bonyine bazi ubwe-

nge banabonera rubanda. Kuba ntabye
ntanabishiyigikiye, bituma iriya nteru n-
bona ntya:

NSANZIMANA wemerwa n'nyo
mpunzi, wemerwa n'ibyitso byazo, ubi
kiwe n'abatutsi bose, ari hafi kuba umu-
uzazimata, wanga u Rwanda n'abany-
nda benshi, uvugira abatutsi, ibyitso n'-
nzi-mpunzi yatuye anarakaye, adatinya
yabonye ay'inyenzi ahagije akaba vde
neye umugati wa M.R.N.D. Niwe Mw
nabonye udahuje n'iyo guverinoma udu
bora no kuyobora guverinoma y'nyo.
Bamwe aho bamwizera niho abenshi tab
atakibuka revolisiyo yo muri 59 n'ubwe
riye muri Repubulika ya mbere, akaba
myeho yatesha M.R.N.D. na Repubulika
Il agaciro kubera inyungu ze HABYARI-
NA atazi. Niwe Minisitiri uzaburizame
meza rya revolisiyo yo muri 59 tugata
ya demokarasi burundu. Kuba mu «Rwanda
rushya» barashimye NSANZIMANA n-
bane (4) bari kumwe nawe, bigaragaka
yarengeye inyungu za gatutsi gusa. Ata
«Komera gahutu» ryari?

NSANZIMANA ariy- meza.

Mu kiganiro byaragaragaye ko NS
NZIMANA atemera ko abo y'ayoboye
Kaminuza batavuga bihamye kumur
Yashatse kubarenga arengera mu bba
agasubiza ibyo atabajijwe agata n'umuro
wa gitegetsi. Agomba kwemera ko nta
nyuma ye bazi ubwenge, ko kuba baram-
jije muri 73 bidatuma atabemera. Ubwe
butangwa n'Imana igithe cyose. Nta bida
tagira intwari n'abanyabwenge. HABYARI-
MANA n'abagize guverinoma, bari baki
kwirinda amagambo asize umunyu
NSANZIMANA. Bamenye ko kuba mu
mukuru mu myaka bitamuha ubukuru mu
tekerezo. Dukeneye abakora ntidukore
abahora mu magambo y'amareshya-mu
akenerwa na rubanda nyamwinshi. «
«Rwanda rushya» ngo basanze ari NSAN-
ZIMANA, nawe nasanze ari intwari nta
amahoro n'ubumwe nyabwo, ntaruma
ha nk'abandi bategetsi bamwe numu-
Nta butwari bwa Nsanzimana. Yakozu
Rwanda rwamushima uretse gufata ibyo
BYARIMANA akabyiyitirira? Ngo ntar-
ahuha? Abuzwa n'iki? Waba urimo umu-
ufite ireme mu mikorere ugahora urisha
ka umutwe aho rukomeye? Uzaba umu-
mu minsi iri imbere ibihe bimaze gukome-
Kuri we byose arabyiyitirira kandi nzi ko
mureka nta na kimwe yashobora. Aba-
muri Kaminuza na Adis-Aboba uzab-
bazamukubwira. Icyo nabwira Rwanda
shya ni uko NSANZIMANA yiyeze g
bishingiye ku kurimanganya. Kugira NS
NZIMANA Minisitiri w'intebe, ni nko ga
amakamba miliyoni 6.5 (6.000.000) uka
ha rubanda nyamwinshi, maze ugahora
Komeza umu-



Ibihe turimo

Mu gihe dutekereza kwiyunga no kwigorora, igihe twari twarafashije hasi ikibazo cy'amoko, turasanga ari ngombwa kukigarukaho kuko umuhutu n'umututsi batazigera babana mu gihe umwe yiha kurusha undi ubwenge.

Ntawe uribagirwa ukuntu NSANZIMANA yadushumurije Inkotanyi n'Ibyitso. (Mbanze nisegure. Ijambo "inkotanyi" ntibiruga uwo urukiko rwahamije icyaha, ahubwo abaturage uko barifashe -ari nako tugomba kurifata -ni umuntu wese waketswe cyangwa ukekwa kwifatanya n'abanyarwanda bafashe intwaro kugirango demokarasi ize mu Rwanda. N'ijambo "icyitso" niko abaturage barifata. Na murumuna wanjiye mwa data na mama nzi ko yafunzwe azira ko ngo anekera inkotanyi nkuru ariyo HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier. Bikaba nta kimwaro bintera mu gukorresha ijambo abaturage uko baryumva; ndetse nkaba nta n'ikimwaro mbona mu kwitwa inkotanyi igihe utariyo).

Rero NSANZIMANA amaze gusuzuguza abahutu abatutsi, aba barahagurutse maze si ukwishongora ku bahutu, kugeza ubwo bamwe mu bitwa intiti-ntutsi batinyuka gusuzugura ku mugaragaro ibikorwa by'abarwanashyaka (nka KAYIBANDA) n'amahame y'ivugurura (révolution de 1959): "Ibyo byaje gutera intugunda, impamvu ari abazungu bashakaga gutegekesha ubwoko igitihugu". Izo ntiti ntizitinya no gutsindagira: "KAYIBANDA yaje kuzirana n'abatutsi biturutse kuri Kilizya yari yaraciye uduce mu banyarwanda ihereye mu moko ifatanije na gikoronize".

Izo ntiti ntizihishira umugambi ariwo wo gusinziriza abahutu (nk'uko babigize kera na kare) bakabumvisha ko nta kibazo hutu-tutsi - ari nacyo cyadukururiye inyenzi n'inkotanyi (ureke ibya Kinyamateka n°1340 urup. 7, nk'aho nta nama z'abatutsi zateguye ino ntambara !) -bakabumvisha ko ibyo abazungu bahimbye "byatwokamye".

Ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi si abazungu bakizanye. Ziriya ntiti z'abatutsi zatubwira abami b'abahutu (muri ba MIBAMBWE, KIGERI, YUHI, MUTARA, CYILIMA) bategetse u Rwanda igihe ku mututsi umwe utuye u Rwanda habarurwaga abahutu ? Uwashaka kumva ikibazo cy'abatutsi n'abahutu, yahera kuri iyi nteruro: In Rwanda, the Tutsi chiefs drive their herds into the plantations at will, and the peasants are not permitted to drive them off irrespective of the damage caused. In aristocracy of herders of Rwanda, the Muhutu is compelled to give way to the cattle".

BOAS Franz (et alii). General Anthropology Heath and Company, 1938.

Ikibazo cy'abahutu n'abatutsi gishingiye ku bwoko: kuba abazungu ba mbere baribwiye ko abatutsi ari bene wabo (bagize ibara ry'uruhi ri-nyuranye n'iryabo) bivuze byinshi ! Abadage baje ino, baravuze bati: ni

akazi kabyo (*ibihugu*); kuki byemeye gutegekwa n'abatutsi ? Abafaransa (*b'abihaye Imana*) igihe bari mu Rwanda (ku bw'abadage, cyane ku bw'ababiligi) basanze nta kundi kuntu bazagira abayoboke benshi batbanje kwigarurira abatware (*tutsi*). Mwibuke ko abayoboke b'idini bambere bahowe Imana bazize YUHI MUSINGA (*ibisobanuro bihagije mwabibaza NAHIMANA Ferdinand, le blanc est arrivé, le roi est parti, 1987*).

None se mwa batutsi mwe, igihe cyo kwiyunga nicyo gihe cyo gutangira guhindura amateka ya politiki, musibanganya ihame (légitimité de la République) rikuraho ubwami. Icyo abarwanashyaka bakoze, ni ugukuraho ubwami; si ukubona ubwigenge, kuko n'abatutsi baburwaniraga (bashaka kuzabupyinagarizamo abahutu) ntibari kububona, nk'uko na n'ubu (mu 1991) u Rwanda rutarigenga - muri Afurika higenga R.S.A. yonyine.

Rero mwe mutangiye guhimba amateka, murashyushya imitwe y'abahutu, kandi ingaruka ni mwe muzizi: NSANZIMANA ntazabuza uroshywe muri Mwogo gusoma !

HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier.

"Turatsinze, tuzabategeka".

NSANZIMANA arasuzuguza abahutu abatutsi: Bikurikira JAMBON 2

NSANZIMANA: uretse ko hari ubwo twigeze kurema inama y'aba Perefe, nagerageza kubasobanurira yuko, niba umuntu abwiye undi nabi atari byiza, (ko yamusubiza) ashobora yenda no kumuvugisha neza ngo amwurure ye gukomeza kumushotora. Bati se byagenda gute ko hari uvamo akavuga ngo turatsinze, ngo tuzabategeka ? Nkababwira nti: jyewe ntabwo mbyumva.

Ummuntu avuye mu buroko. Araje avuga amagambo ngo aratsinze. Atsinze iki se ? Atsinze nde ? Amutsindiye he ? Atsinze intambara yihe ko atari ku mupaka; ko ariho barwanira? Ngo azategeka ? Azategeka nde ? Ryari ? Aza-bigeraho ate ? Ko n'amashyaka atara shyirwaho uretse M.R.N.D. iriho. Wamubaza ibyo ngibyo maze akagenda.

Bati oya. Bati: ahubwo yakubwira atyo ugafata ikibando ukamukubita. Ngaho rero ? Uzaza umusimbure mu bu-roko.

Ngaho rero ! Aya magambo ya NSANZIMANA agamije iki ? Aratwumvisha iki ? Niba umuntu aje kugusembura, ngo niba umuntu akubwiye nabi, ngo mwurure umuvugishe neza: (*Bible, Luc, 6 : 29*)

Yego iyo gatigisimu ndayemera.

Ariko niko rubanda rwose ruyemera ? Ateye ubwoba abahutu ("uzaza umusimbure mu buroko") kandi barabushinze; ubwo niwe utyaje imipanga; asabwe kuyirinda amajosi kuko gusuzugura umuhutu muri iki gihe ari ukumukabura.

Umuhutu yarwaniye inkotanyi (abatutsi); yarwaniye inyenzi (abatutsi), yarwaniye umwami (umututsi). Se na sekuru bakubiswe ikiboko, baranyagwa. Ubwo se hejuru y'ibi, kumutera ubwoba, aho wabuteye abamusembura, si ugukongeza amazu ? Uzashyira mu buroko umuhutu umwe uzaba uteye imbuto yo guha abahutu uburyo bwo gukiza ikibazo bakijije muri 59 (Sanguis hutorum, Semen hutorum).

None se NSANZIMANA, ko n'ubwo «error communis» idakora muri droit pénal (amateka ahana ibyaha), yatubwira indishyi z'akababaro zahawa abasenyewe mu 1959, akatubwira imanza zaciwe, niba abishe barafunzwe ? Twambuke tujye mu bufaransa mu 1789; abakoze revolisiyo barafunzwe ? Nsubiremo: Il n'y a qu'une guerre avec une morale, la guerre révolutionnaire, c'est-à-dire celle

oui n'en (morale) a pa amakosa adakosorwa, rubanda sorera kandi uburyo yikosorera bujyana n'imico iboneye).

Nigire ku muntu wanditsse Rwanda: La révolution est la de l'intelligence et de l'amour-rez-lui la route par l'intelligence et l'amour, ou bien vous périez. CHAND, Omer, Afrique A (à la page 176).

Iyo abanyangororero bajenyera abatutsi, ni uko baba ban'abafite inyungu muri uko kura. Gukosora abahutu ubumunyururu, aho gukosora mu mizi, siwo muti. Umoti ni n'urukundo nk'uko MARCHA twandikiye: Ubwenge si ukubandi; urukundo si urugirirwa

NSANZIMANA nashyire rwanda ku gipimo kimwe, atubwire ko aho yiberaga mu yavunguriwe ku makotanyi twareasesewemo tutabizi.

HANGIMANA

The tutsi seen by anthropologists

BOAS Franz, General Anthropology

Finally, it is worth noting that Hamitic herders of interlacustrine East Africa not only despise the peasant race but vegetable products as well, to which a rule they resort only in times of stress: P: 314

A milking Tutsi keeps deep a muddle of cow dung to ward off troublesome flies and in case of illness there are veterinaries who specialise in bleeding the beasts: herders generally make allowance for the female's reluctance to yield milk except in presence of her offspring: P: 315

The Tutsi and other African stuff the skin of a dead calf and with it dupe the cow into being milked by the herder: P: 315

In the interlacustrine states, such as Ankole, Unyoro, Rwanda and Urundi, the herders conquered an alien sedentary population and

made themselves into an upper caste, despising the farmers and to perform menial tasks: Even where the direct economic exploitation is limited by aristocratic herders' contempt for vegetable food, the economic results may be fatal to the development of farming. In Rwanda the Tutsi chiefs drive their herds into the plantations at will, and the peasants are not permitted to drive them irrespective of the damage caused: "In aristocracy of herders of Rwanda the Muhutu is compelled to give way to the cattle: The cows have driven the Bahutu from certain parts of Ufumbiro: They also destroyed completely the peasants of the lava plain of Mulera: They transformed the region of Niansa into wilderness. It may therefore be said that the cattle were a powerful element in shaping the landscape of Rwanda." In this respect the tillers share the fate they themselves have meted out to the houting Twa (Batwa), whom

they have expropriated by the growing necessity for deforestation in order to create horticultural plots. Deprived of his retreat, the hunter sinks the level of a pariah: P. 317 - 318: (reference: Roscoe, J. The Northern Bantu, PP. 77 ff, 103)

Even in so extreme an instance as that of Rwanda the subordination of the peasantry into a class of commoners did not follow automatically from the contact of herders and farmers: The Tutsi, numbering barely 120,000, were able to conquer a million Hutu, because of the peasants' separatism, a feature not of economic but of political culture, which made it possible for the cattle-breeders to overcome one small community after another and to play off peasant groups against one another: (P: 318 all the chapter, studied by Robert H. Lowie)

Reproduced by HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier

Ukuri ntigukurwa na ceceka

Uru Rwanda rujya kuva ku ngoma ya cyami (gihake) na gikoroneze, abahutu n'ibandi boso bari batsikamiwe na cyami kuri juse hiratinda, bamwe baratoroka abandi baricwa. Ntibyabujiye ukuri guti n'ubwo umwami n'ibyegera bye bakoraga uko bashoboye ngo bashishure abashakaga ku bavuga n'ababatunze agatoki. Abaremye Republiko barimo GITERA, MBONYUMUTWA, KAYIBANDA, BICAMUMPAKA, KAYUKU na bagazi habo, twita abazima batazazimata imbere ya Galutu, ingoma yariho yabise ihizizi b'isoni, abashumba, abagome, inyangamwami, ibiharamagara, ba gashozantambara n'ibindi byose hidashobotse, kugira ngo bereke abanda ko abo bantu ntacyo bazabagaho kizima.

Baravumwe, barabaceckesheje, basindigira ko ibitekerezo byabo ari amateshwa kuko batavugaga ubwami muri byose. Abayoboke b'ubwami bifatanije na bwo muhyo kubeshya no kubasere

reza. Barabyihanganiye ntibacika inteqe, ukuri kuratsinda, u Rwanda ruva ku ngoma ya cyami, abahutu bava mu buja, bidatinze u Rwanda rubona ubwigengen! Ahiswe ibiharamagara, abashizi b'isoni n'ibindi baba intwari za revolisiyo. Aho ibihe bigeze, dukwiye kongera kuzirikana ko "ukuri kudakurwa na ceceka" ya bamwe baremajwe na Muvoma, bamarra guhaga bakibagirwa gukinga ngo ntibahatswe kandi ntibazahakwa. Ese abo mwita ba gashozantambara, abashizi b'isoni, ibiharamagara; ejo ukuri nikudakurwa na ceceka, muzahita iki? Tubitez amaso!

Kuba naka yavuga ntibibuza undi kubona.

Uko abategetsi baduhatira ku baturikira, niko tubona ko hidashoboka, ighe tudashyigikiye bimwe, tutabona ibiriho kimwe, ighe ibyo batubwira hisa n'ibirimo agahato. Umuntu ashyigikira uwo bajya inama, ntawe ushyigikira

umuhatira gukora ibitumvikana. Kuba nshigikiye ugutaha kw'Inyenzi-mpunzi, ntibivuga ko naceceka ibyo nzitekerezaho, ibyo ntekerezaho kuri bene wazo nk'uko nabo basite uburenganzira bwo kunyibazaho ibyo bashaka.

Niba batekerezaho ko umuhutu adashobora gutegeka, ntabwo nabacecekesha ngo neke ko ukuri guhagaze, ngomba kuberekko ko abishoboye, nkora, mvuga n'ibindi... Kuba ntavuga rumwe n'abatutsi badatuje, ntibivuga ko nanga abatutsi batuje batuye u Rwanda. Kuba bemera ko umuhutu yarenganye muri iyi ntambara, arenanijwe n'inyenzi-mpunzi zamwiciye abavandimwe, arenanijwe n'abazungu bafatanije n'abategetsi b'abahutu bagirwa inama n'abatutsi rubanda nyamwishi ikabibona, ntibivuga ko kumurenjanura ari ukuboha abatutsi.

Kuba umutwa yaribereye "mwume nkome", ntibivuga ko atabona. Ukuri kuriho; twakwemera, tutakwemera, twagukikira, twagupfukirana, ntikuzaku-

rw na ceceka! Kuba Kazimiri yarasinye amasezerano, ntibibuza kuvuga ko abadu tera ari imihirimbi; ari ukuri se, yahungira he? Imihirimbi ntiri mu ishyamba ry'ibirunga se? Nibave mu ishyamba begere abandi bemere abo baribo, babone guturana n'abandi. Kuba bamwe batemera ko ibyitso byafungu we baba bafite impala n'imvi, baba batarahatswe cyangwa batarahatse, ukuri ntibibuza kuba ukuri. None se duhugire mu gushyoma no gushyaringa mu magambo tuyaryosha ngo ntawo ibyitso byafungu we?

Ibyitso byafungu we nk'uko abere bafungu we, bivuye ku mbabazi z'Umu kuru w'Ighugu. Kubera ko izo mbabazi zabayeho, n'ibyitso byabayeho kandi bacyariho! Kuba MUNYAZESA avuga ko hari abafungu we bafite impapuro zibabuza kurenga ibirometero 20 cyangwa 50, bitwera ko atavuga rumwe n'abahakana batsema ngo abantu ni abere. Ko wumva ari abere ijana ku ijana (100 %), abo bahave izo mpapuro zibabuza kurenga ibyo birometero baziboneye iki? Nta mwere ushyirwaho ingenza n'inkumizi. Hari umugabo uherutse kwiyasira ngo nta muzindutsi wa kare watashye ku mutima wa rubanda, yibagiwe ko rubanda ivuga kandi ko akuzuye umutima gasesekara ku munwa! Hari n'abihandagaza ngo ntawo bashaka kudusigira umurage w'ikibazo cy'inyenzi-mpunzi nk'aho u Rwanda niubura ru tazakomeza!

Imana itanga ubushobozi ni imwe, kandi byaragaragaye ko ibaha abayo mu bihe byose. Uko hiri, ikibazo cy'inyenzi-mpunzi kizakemurwa igihe kigeze n'abaza bategeka ubwo. GASIMBA, ati: "u Rwanda rurarwaye"; abategetsi bagaterra agati mu ryinyo aho gukurikirana ngo barebe ubwo burwayi ndetse babuhe n'umuti ubukwiye. Kwihutira gusubiza ngo tubanze tuve mu ntambara, bironshye. Nyamara aho guhushura, twabuzuma tunarwana! Kuba abategetsi bamagan iby'amoko n'uturere nta muti ugaragara batanze, ntibibuba kubaho. Ko babyamagna bicumbeka, batakicukumbura ngo balice imizi babirandure, barabona bitazaguma gushibuka? Aha! Kuba umunyarwanda yiceckera, ntibivuga ko ntacyo yicaranye. Ukuri ntigukurwa nuko umutegetsi acecekesheje abamubwira ibyo we atumva, atabona, atemera, gukurwa nuko atega amatwi abamubwira, bakagirana inama, bakagerageza kugirana umugambi. Ibibazo hiri ni ukuri; ibyitso byafungu we ni ukuri;

rubanda irajujura ni ukuri; ubukungu bwifashe nabi ni ukuri; amashyaka arimo arakora ni ukuri. Kuguma kubyima amatwi dutsindagira ibigambo, ni ukwibesha! Ko aho amategeko yananiwe, imbabazi zahashoboye? Kuki aho ukuri kubajsha mutibaza ko amategeko azahanirwa? Abafite amaso mwabonye ko amategeko yanditse ahanagirwa mu likorwa n'imbabazi. Nyije nshyigikiye ko ntawe urengana yaba umutwa, umututsi cyangwa umuhutu. Ese ko u Rwanda rwakeje abami bakiri, kuki mutemera ko umwe yarushije undi kurwicarira? N'ubwo buri wese yumva afite ukuri, igipimo gikwiye ni icy'ukuri kwa rubanda nyamwinshi. Umuntu wiye meza ko azakemura ikibazo cy'inyenzi-mpunzi bishingiye k'uko ibyitso yabifungiye aba yibesha. Kuba abategetsi bamwe bigra ba nyirandabizi, ntacyo hazi koko hituma badacengera ngo bashake ukuri!

Ibyitso byabayeho n'ubu biriho.

Umugabo aherutse kwikananshura ngo ibyitso ntawo byafungu we, ahakana atsema akeka ko kuba icyitso bigomba kugaragazwa n'ubushinjacyaha n'inkiko. Kuba icyitso ntibigomba ibimenyetso simusiga nk'uko kuba inyenzi bidashingiye ku gufatwa urasa! Kuba icyitso n'inyenzi bigaragarira mu bikorwa.

Ibyitso byabayeho mbere y'uko duterwa n'ubu biriho. None se umuntu akubwiye ati: umukobwa wawe arasmava, aribyo wowe utaramufata ntibishidikanya? Bimuba kuba umusambanyi? Gusa utegeresa igihe uzamufatira kugira ngo vbyemere. Iyo utamufashe cyangwa ntasame inda, ntwitiramira? N'yo wafungura abantu ugakoropa gereza, ntibivuga ko nta byitso byabayeho ho! Icyerekana ko byabayeho, ni uko hataanzwe imisanzu, habayeho icengezamawara, hafashwe amaradiyo n'ibindi. Gufunga ntawo aribyo byerekana ibyitso n'abere. Imbunda batubwiye gusaka zitari mu bigo bya gisirikari zari mu biki se? Zari mu byitso cyangwa zari mu nzozi? HANGIMANA Faransisiko Saveri yibwiriye umutegetsi, ati: ubwo muhakana konta byitso byabayeho, ibyo mwatuwiye ku ijoro ryo kuwa kane rishyira

uwa gatanu Ukwakira, byari ikinane Ntacyo yashubije kuko ubara ijya uwariraye; utarariraye akaribariwira ndi we abihindura ibisetso. Ibyitso bayeho mbere y'uko duterwa, ibiragugurana, ababihakana ni kahale bavuga bat: nzemera ko umukobwa wanje asambana yabyaye! Uwomise aba ayobewe ko ibinini (pirire) n'ngirizo byaje se? Uretse impanaki, mu kohwa azabyara ate? Ryari?

Ibyitso nabyo bifite pirire n'kingirizo bikinga mu maso y'abategetsi Bazabimena ryari? N'ubwo nemera abafunzwe bose batari ibyitso, n'nakana nkutura ko ibyitso n'byinshi muri twe. Icyo tugomba kieni imyifatire n'ibikorwa 'byabo. Twimera, tutabyemera, ukuri ntigukurwa ceceka: ibyitso byabayeho, hiriho, ntubizi mu mahoro uko tubimenyenye.

Ntawe ushyigikiye umwiryanne.

Kuba abantu bibaza, bamwe nonamo imigambi mibi yo guca udumu bantu; usanga bamwe umugambi bo usa n'uwo kubazengereza. N'ukwiye kuba ahembwa amafaranga mu mitsi ya rubanda ngo narangiza y'kubahema abahemukira. Waba Kavanga, waba uvugira Inyenzi, waba uhuru ukuri gusigaye ni ukurengera rubanda ho ibindi nta mwanya bizagira. Ngizumunyarwanda ukunda ighugu cyahyigikiye demokarasi na republik udahatanira ubutegetsi mu mafuti, bwo yashyigikira umwiryanne mu barwanda. Kudashyigikira umwiryanne, byo ntibivuga ko ukuri kuriho, kugarira, kuvugwa na rubanda nyamwakuzakurwaho na ceceka y'abadasoban imigambi yabo. Guhuza umugambi rubanda, ni ryo dorari rigezweho, n'ibindi bisigaye ni amahomvu. Un'tigutsimburwa na ceceka cyangwa agambo meza asize umunyu, un'tigutsimburwa na ndagufunga cyangwa uri umusw'isoni; ahubwo gutsimburwa n'ibikorwa, imigambi yubahirizwa no kuki kwa rubanda.

H.B. HABYARIMANA

Bon Coin

Restaurant BON COIN y'i Byumba
Urashaka gufatwa neza? Urashaka kurya ibiryoshye?

Gana BON COIN

Iyo uri hagati ya ORINFOR na Caisse d'Epargne uyibona imbere yaye.

Ivangurakoko muri Kilizya

Natwe bamwe twari twaratanjaje n'iriya nyandiko ya bariya basaseredoti Nzabandora yibaza ibayo muri iriya "article" ye yo mu IJAMBO N° 19, urup. 8 yereke-ryane n'iringanizavangura mu bishye Imana mu Rwanda.

nyacyubahiro, ni'uko basa n'abibagirwa ko mu bihe tugezemo, imbare (statistique) isigayé iruta amagambo, cyangwa se wenda bibwiye ko abantu bose ariko bagira kwibuka (mémoire) kugufi. Imbare na Rejisitiri bitwerekwa

Ntinya umuntu wigisha abandi icyo atemera.

Ese mama hagati aho abahutu babaye abaswa cyangwa banze kwha Imana bari baritabiriye mbere y'abandi? Cyangwa se nibwo hatangiye iringanizavangura rya kaminuza, ryakozwe mu bwenge n'abanayabwenge? Kuko umuhutu wabaga Padiri icyo gihe yabaga yasimbutse imitego iruta imwe bavuga mu migani ya Kinyarwanda. Iryo ringanizavangura tuzi abarizanye n'impamvu none ryaba ari ryo ridukurikiranye muri Kiriziya noneho bariya Banyacyubahiro bagashaka kurica hejuru batwigisha URUKUNDO? Nyamara ubundi ikibazo gikemurwa neza ari uko bagihereye mu mizi. Bariya basaseridoti kandi ibyo barabizi kuko naniye utarigeze nkandagira mu Iseminari iyo ariyo yose n'umunsi n'umwe, iyo mibare yose nyifite imbere yanje. Ntawe rero kwikanyiza bishobora guhira igihe, kuko iby'isi byose ari ibyisi, amagambo wabivugiraho yose. Hari utundi tubazo dukaze, ariko kurushya bakuru banje si byiza: twe-rekeye nk'uko bourses zatangwaga mu bapadiri, uko wansubiza nkubajije impamvu muri 1963, iseminario ya Nyundo yarimo 75 % b'abatutsi boshye hafi aho hose abahutu bari ibigwari gusa. N'ibindi n'ibindi. Icyakora ntinya umuntu wigisha abandi ikintu adashobora kwemera na rimwe, keretse gukora wa muhango PILATO yakoze.

Reka mpinire aha.

KARINGANI RE Jean



Iringaniza ry'ukuri ririkora.

1) icyo nshimirira bariya basinye iyo nyandiko, kuko ntabagaya burundi, ni ukwemeza iriya nshingano (principe) ivuga ko iringaniza rikabije ryica ibintu byose kandi ahantu hose. Niba rero ntekereza kimwe na bariya Bapadiri, ubundi iringaniza ry'ukuri ririmo ubutabera, iteka niryo rigomba kwikora ubwaryo. Na none hari ibigomba gukosorwa, kuko rimwe na rimwe utarekera ibintu gutyo. Tuvuge nkuwareka Umu-nyambo wo mu Migongo wasigaye, ngo apiganwe n'Umunyanwanamukari waminuje mu bye-rekeye ubumenyi n'amajyambere Ubwo waba ukinisha abantu na-we utiretsse!

Nyuma ya za "40" abahutu bajugunwa hanze.

2) Aho ntumvikanira na bariya ba-

neza ko mbere ya 1940, mu bahabwaga ubupadiri, hejuru ya 95 % babaga ari abahutu (abakiraho bambabarire izo soni nshize, kuko inyaryenye zabigishaga ko iryo "vangura" ritabaho imbere y'Imana). Ikibazo rero kikaba iki:

Byagenze gute kugira ngo hagati ya 1941 na 1954 (ndetse na nyuma), noneho 90 % by'abatutsi babe aribo bagera ku Bupadiri abahutu bajugunyuwa hanze nta mbabazi nta n'igisobanuro? (Amazina yabo arazwi; icyakora nongye gusaba imbabazi ababonye ubupadiri bwabo kubera izo nduruburu, kuko atari amakosa yabol!)



KANGUKA arizihiza umwaka w'amavuko,

(RWABUKWISI Vincent alias RAVI) arava muri gereza. Mwitonde ! Nta mbabazi yahawé : urusesimanza rwanaganuye ibyo urw'abahungabanya Leta rwari rwemeje.

Bimensuel IJAMBO N° 21 du 15 mai 1991

Gushyikira ubutegetsi ni ukwihambir

Ubutegetsi buraduteranya n'abaturanyi (tutsi)

Iyo nsubije amaso inyuma nkibuka uko ubutegetsi bwadusabye kubushyigikira ngo tubufashe guhashya Inyenzi-mpunzi n'ubwami bwazo, bukadusaba guhiga ibyitso n'ababyo bose, tukabikora tutajuyaje nk'abikorera, none bukaba buduturaguraho ibigambo byo kubanira ibyitso, byo kwakirana umutima mwiza abazashyira amaboko ku mutwe bagasiga intwarz mu KINIGI na RWEMPASHA, bashobora gusanga izindi aho tutashoboye kuziska, ndaseka nkihirika ! Iyo nibutse ko badusabye gusaka abo duturanye tukabikora, ko badusabye gutema ibihuru n'agahuru duhiga umwanzi, ko badusabye gutunga agatoki abo dukeka; byose tukabikorana umutima wo kurwanya umwanzi n'ibyitso bye, none bakaba badusabye kubanira neza abo bantu, ndaseka nkihirika !

Iyo nibutse ko baturaje amarondo, ko bagiye batwiriza kuri za bariyeri, ngo barahigamo umwanzi n'ibyitso, byose tukabikorana umutima wo kurengera ubusugire bw'ighugu na Repubulika, nkabona ari twe barimo kurondamo abagome; ibyakozwe bakabihinduramo ko byari ukwihamura, ndaseka nkihirika !

Iyo nibutse ko twasabwe kwamagana umwanzi hose, ari mu magambo no mu nyandiko bakaba badusabye kwisubiraho mu mvugo, ndaseka nkihirika !

Guseka nkihirika, ndabiterwa n'ibyo mbona badusabye birwanya ibyo badusabye mbere, nkibaza nti babidusabiye kudukunda cyangwa kwikunda ? Iyo nshishoje nsanga tuzira ko twizeye abo tudahije umugambi, bakaniduka ukuri, twe tugakeka ko turi kumwe ! Badusabye kubeshyuza, kwamagana, guhiga... inyenzi-mpunzi n'ibyitso byazo, turabikora. None ngo turi ba gashozantambara n'imvururu, ngo tubanire abandi neza. Tubisubiye-mo se, twasanga uwasabye gutunga agatoki abakekwa ari nde ?

Uko bigaragara, ndabona abateze imitego bataratinze kubyutsa imitwe. Ubu nivugye ku umutego tuguyemo ukomeye, wasanga bamwe banyamagana ngo ibyo ubibajijwe na nde ? Ese ko twashoboye kurwanya buriya bwami tukiri muri M.R.N.D. y'amahoro itaraba iy'intambara tugirango ibyo tubwiwe ni ukuri, tukaba tubonamo tena. M.R.N.D. nituva mu ntambara izatuva imbere ? Ndasaba Imana ngo twivire mu ntambara ibindi bizagaragare nyuma !

Ubu hadutse indi ntero ngo inyenzi-mpunzi zirashaka kutuzanamo umwiryanne, ubwo kandi nayo iraterwa hejuru. Ko bamwe bemeza ko nta byitso dufile, uwo muriro urenyegezwa nande ? Ubwo ubutegetsi burashaka kongera kuturindagiza buduteranya n'abaturanyi ! Ko intambara turwana iri hagati y'inyenzi-mpunzi, ije ite mubaturawanda bera bose ? Uwafata urugero kuri ba Nyabwangu ba Superefegitura NGORORERO cyane cyane muri KIBILIRA, bumvise ko twatewe n'abagaruve ubwami bafite n'ibyitso, ntibazuyaje mu kuzamagana no kwamagana abo bakegahao kuba ibyitso.

Bahembwe iki ? Bavumwe kuri Radiyo, bahindurwa abagome ku buryo kubona amazi mu baturanyi (amakomini y'andi) ari ikibazo kibakomereye cyane. Iyo batumva Radiyo ngo bashyigikire ubutegetsi, nta kibazo baba bafite. Uwahemutse ni nde hagati y'uwavuze ko bagaruye ubwami n'uwashatse kubumira ?

Mbere y'uko badutoza kubanira neza ibyitso n'inyenzi-mpunzi, bakwiye gukurikirana abatubeshye basaba ko dugiha inyenzi, ko dusaka intwarz, ko dutema ibihuru n'agahuru ! Uko biri, igihembo cyo gufasha ubutegetsi kugera ku migambi yabwo tutaramenya neza, byaragaragaye ko ari imivumo n'ibitutsi. Ubu ejo buzanadusaba kwamaza no gushyigikira M.R.N.D., ntibigeraho bati nimuyibagirwe. Tuza-byifatamo dute ? Ubwo nzongera nseke nihirike !

Twizere ko ubutegetsi buzaziriana ko kujijinganya atari byiza, bugire umugambi bwananosoye, tubufashe tumaze kubihurizaho. Naho ubundi gufasha ubutegetsi kwaba ari ukwihamira inyuma y'uzaguhamba amaze kugera kubyo yashakaga. Ko ubutegetsi bwaduhinduranye se, bwageze kubyo bwashakaga, cyangwa buracyate-gura indi KINAMICO ?

Tubitege amaso. Uko biri basabye ingabo nyazo kurwana iy'amasasu zi-rayirwana; iy'amagambo ab'inkwakuzi bayihambaho none babaye ak'abanya-KIBILIRA ! Uko bigaragara, iy'amaga mbo igiye kudutsinda kubera ubutegetsi butwipakuruye ku mpamvu zibutursetho ! Ariko ko mwadusabye kuvuga tukabikora, mukadusaba kwandika tukandika, mukabyemera; babapfunze iki mu kanya gato kugirango mutwipaku-

rure ? Ubu se ibi nibyo bya nyumahandi muzadukenera ? Abo ubutegetsi bwagiye bushimira barabukoreye, isyaga babivuga tukagirango ni ukule shya, none bigiye kuba impamo ! Ubutegetsi bwari bukwiye kutajya bwanyanya cyane na Rubanda. Nawe se ugabanzi mubo wakoresheje mu minsi y'ubutegetsi, ubagize mubo wakoresheje mu matora, mubo wakoreshehanze bavuguruza inyenzi-mpunzi n mubo wafunze ubishaka..., bizagere bite ?

Twizeye ubutegetsi turabushyigikira, buduturaho filimi y'ibikone ibyiswe ikinamico biba impamo, nkabona bizagorana mu minsi iri imbere. Nawe se koko abantu twashyigikira bakadushyigura batwihakana, ubuzongera kubashyigikira dute twamaza M.R.N.D. kandi byaragaragaye ko iyo bamaze kugera ku byabo tutwihakana ? Ndabona bigoye kwizera ubutegetsi butakwizera akaba nayo mpamvu guhindura bibi ngombwa niba nta gihindutse. Abanyarwanda tunyurwa manuma iyo abategetsi baturyohereje akarimi keza ktagira umugambi ugera ku kuri kwabafanije; kazatugeza kuki ?

Mbere yo kubwira abantu ngo nbatunge agatoki, uziko amategeko atibikwemerera ukabasiga ubusembwi wabirete ? Umugabo ni uwemera ibyiyahambyeho, akemera abamufashije ntabatererane amaze kubona ibyoy-shakiraga. Uretse ko abanyapolitiki bijya bibaza ngo uriya twafatanije kubampunze ? Bari bakwiye kwisuzumu bakareba niba batarahemukiye abahunga ku migambi bagiranye. Abaturage bo ntibahunga, ahubwo batera icyizere abo bagiranye imigambi.

Nyuma y'ibi, nibwo nsubiza amaso inyuma ngasoma amateka y'uko abafasha ubutegetsi mu mirimo, iyo bageze kucyo bwashakaga bumaze kubazzisha, bubipakurura ! Ababushyigikira mu migambi yabwo bikaba uko; maze nkicara ngasaka nkihirika, ngasanga gushyigikira ubutegetsi bisaba kwihamira kuko iyo bugeze ku nyunguzabwo, buguhamba bukwipakurura ! Ubutegetsi bukwiye kutajya bujijinganya kuko ababufasha batabishobora. Haba none n'eo, ubutegetsi bugomba kumenya ko umugambi bugiranye n'ababufasha udahinduka batabyemaraniwe ho.

HB. HABYARIMANA

Narose Repubulika ya III iri hafi ku-dusesekaramo !!

Inzozi ziba nyinshi, ariko hari izo urutse guhura nazo mu ijoro ryo ku-10.4.91 rishyira iryo kuwa 11 z'uko zi, ubwo narotaga Repubulika ya III esekaraho ! Uretse ko ubundi na-a ndota ikintu kikaba (gukabya i-ti) ! None izi zo sinifuza ko ariko za-a. Ntabatindiye, ubwo ngo igithe mashyaka cyarageze maze amato-raba, kandi ubwo ngo amashyaka mamazaga ari 6. Muri rusange tora yagenze neza nta muvundo. e cyo kubarura amajwi kigeze, biga-zza ko M.R.N.D. ibaye iya 3 ! Aha ni-e kuvuga iyabaye iya 1 n'iya 2 ngo ngira ukeka ko nazinduwe no kwa-naza, uretse ko kutavuga iyabaye 1 bitabuza uyimenza kuyimenza, o ishyaka rubanda nyamwinshi ba-rurukiye muri iki gihe rizwi kandi nt-i-muri amwe y'inkotanyi.

Ubwo rero ngo haje kuvuka ikibazo roshye, abaturage, bati : «M.R.N.D. mbe ijyane na nyirayo HABYARI-MANA ! Aho ntituhatinde, barakome-ati : kandi ubutegetsi bugomba gu-zwa abasiviri, ariko nabwo hak-o-ejwe amatora. HABYARIMANA yabonye hajemo akajagari ko abasi-nabo bashaka gutegeka; za mpu-ze zimuranga za buri gihe araziko-a yanga gukururana, noneho ahita-gusezera neza atanduranyije. Icyo nezo cye cyakiriwe na bensi kandi ndetse ahita anahabwa umudari kimwe ! Mbese ngo uwo mubyeyi u ubu yiycariye neza kimwe na salim Julius NYERERE; Léopold GOR; n'abandi.

Muti ese warose Perezida wa Re-publikya ya III yabaye nde ? Wo mu kahe re ? Aha nahos ndifata. Icyo nzi ni ari umusiviri. Ubwo nkomeza kuro-ko ishyaka ryatsinze muri icyo gihe, ese rishyiraho Komisiyo igenzura Repubulika ya II na M.R.N.D. yayo tunganije n'ibyo yatunganije ngo magizwe.

Icyo Komisiyo ngo yihutiye gukuri-a abarigishije umutungo w'ighihi-Abarigishije amafaranga y'ighihu se batabwa muri yombi bashyiki-inkiko, nuko bategekwa kugaru-mafaranga yose ari hanze. Yewe, yari menshi ku buryo yasana ibya-ve n'intambara byose ndetse aga-kal Hanyuma kubera inzara bari-cishije abaturage, bategetswe gu-imbabazi abaturage bo ku Giko-ro no ku Kibuye n'ahandi hazaha-n'inzara, bategekwa no gutanga

impozamarira mu miryango ifite abishwe n'inzara. Amafaranga bereka-biye ibimenyetso ko ari ayabo n'ayo mu buryo budafututse, bategetswe kuyu-bakishamo inganda muri turiya turere twatewe n'inzara, hanyuma bagaha akazi abaturage baho bakava mu bwigunge; mbonereho no kubibutsa ko ayo bataboneye ibimenyetso ari nayo menshi, yasubijwe mu isanduka ya Let-a.

II. Iyo Komisiyo yihutiye kugaruza ishyamba rya GISHWATI ryari ryariga-bijwe n'abantu bamwe.

III. Nanone Komisiyo yahise ivugu-rura ibigo bya Leta n'ababigize, byakor-wagamo n'abo mu karere kamwe gusa, no gusezerera abategetsi b'imitokwe bose n'abazwiho ubusambo bose.

IV. Komisiyo yihutiye kuvanaho ba-bandu bari barahawe intebé ya ruswa, haba mu mashuri mu bucamanza n'abandi.

V. Komisiyo yihutiye kurangiza iki-bazo cy'umuhanda Gitarama — Kibuye na Kicukiro — Bugesera dore ko abatu-rage bategereje ikorwa ry'iyo mianda, amaso agahera mu kirere.

VI. Komisiyo ybabajwe n'icyahu-se abategetsi ba Repubulika ya I barimo n'uwayiyoboraga icyo gihe. Harya ngo bizwi na RIZINDE da ! Ahaa !

VII. Komisiyo yakomeje ikosora ibyo M.R.N.D. itakoze, nko kutubahiri-za aho abategetsi bakuru bayoboye igi-hugu cyacu mbere bashyinguwe.

Ngo bahavuye, baragiye imbere, bati : noneho ni ukureba aho nyakwi-

gendera KAYIBANDA Gerigori nawe yashyinguwe, we watuzaniye demoka-rasi na n'ubu ducungiraho. Yewe by-fashe igehe kuhabona ! Bamwe, bati : ubanza yarashyinguwe i Gitarama, abandi, bati : umenya ari i Kigali. Aban-di, bati : keretse uwabona Rizinde T. akamubaza. Hazwi na baki ! Nuko sinzi uwabariye akara, ati : muuje iwe i Gita-rama niho yashyinguwe, naho bage-zeyo bifata ku munwa ! Komisiyo iti ari-ko ko twumva ngo yazize urw'ikirago, iyo akoresherezwa umuhango wo ku-mushyingura byari kubatwara iki ? Ko atapfuye urwa SANKARA ? Ubwo nib-wo bemeje kuhazitira neza hakamenye-kana nka hariya mwa MBONYUMU-TWA, ku buryo n'abashyitsi baturuka hanze babona uburyo twubahiriza iki-remwamuntu koko, yemwe na ba Mu-kerarugendo bakahasura. None se uwabaza, ati : ko tubona aho Perezida w'agateganyo yashyinguwe, babajije aho Perezida wa Repubulika ya I ya-shyinguwe, ntibarya iminwa ? Kandi abenshi bazi ikibuga cy'indege yitiri-we !

VIII. Ubwo Komisiyo yarakomeje no mu gisirikari, ibashimira ubutwari bakomeje kugira: Isaba ko ibigwari bi-sezererwa ntakurobanura mu mapeti n'ibindi bidafashije.

XI. Nicuye Komisiyo igeze ku byere-keye amatora ngo atarigeze akorwa ne-za ku buryo bunogeye abaturage. Mba ndicuye neza, nibajije nsanga koko in-zozi zigira ayazo ! Mpitamo kutabyihe-rana ngirango mpanuze n'abakuru ba-zambwire niba narose neza cyangwa nabi, muribi bihe u Rwanda ruri mu bi-geragezo.

NSABIMANA Jean Pierre (Mitsi).

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