They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.
Benjamin FRANKLIN

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Aho kunigwa n'ijambo uzanigwe n'uwo uribwiye

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0676

GITARAMA niyo nzima; mpakaniye RUHENGERI

Colonel GAHIMANO yongeye gusesemwa

Amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri

NZIRORERA akomeje kwambara uruhu rw'intama : nyamara iyo urumworosoyeho usanga ari ikirura

The hutu and tuutsi problem

BUTARE :
RUGIRA Amandini abaye akari aha kajya he

Umunyarwanda yarihoreye ati nta kinanira igihe. Abamenye Milita RUGIRA ku mu busore bwe kugeza ubu bakomeje kwibaza byinshi. Uwo abanya Butare bita intwari yaharaniye demukarasi, ubu asigaye yitwa umugambanyi, uwo inda yas mbye indagu, interahamwe, umwanzi wa demukarasi, se w'ibirambu.

Milita RUGIRA Amandini ni umwe muri ba bahutu bagize ibyago cyangwa amahirwe yo kwihutura. Ariko kuba nyakwigendera yararongoye umukobwa w'ibwami (umututsikazi) usanga bitaramwigishije byinshi. Nawe se koko, abatutsi bo mu Rwanda barimo n'umugore wa Milita RUGIRA, bazamubabarira bate amagambo yavugiye ku GIKONGORO muri mitingi ya MRND ubwo yemezaga ko kurongorana kwa MDR PARMEHUTU ivuguruye na PL kuzabyara igihwereye? Ni nk'aho yakwemeje ko abahûtu badashobora na rimwe kubana n'abatutsi mu mahoro. Nyamara iyo witegereje ubuzima bwa Milita RUGIRA usanga atarigeze aba kure y'ubwoko bw'abatutsi. Dore ko gukunda ibizungerezi yabihereye kuva kera.

Iyo myifatire ya RUGIRA rero abatutsi kimwe n'abahutu bashyira mu gaciro ikomeje kubatangaza. Ntibumva ukuntu usegurwa n'umututsikazi yatuka ishyaka ryitwa ko riharanira inyungu z'abatutsi. Nyamara iyo uwo mubyeyi ageze imuhira, yihutira kubwira umugore we ko rwose nta cyamurutira abatutsi.

Icyizere cy'abaturage cyaragabanutse.

Muri Perefegitura ya Butare abanyapolitiki bahavuka ntiborohewe. Abari bamenyereye kubeshya abaturage kugira ngo batorerwe ubudepite ubu babuze ibyicaro. Bamwe bashatse kujya muri MDR PARMEHUTU ivuguruye ariko batinya ko byabakura ahashyushye. Abandi nabo bifuje kujya muri PSD ariko babura ubutwari. Batinye gucira umugati batamitswe na MRND.

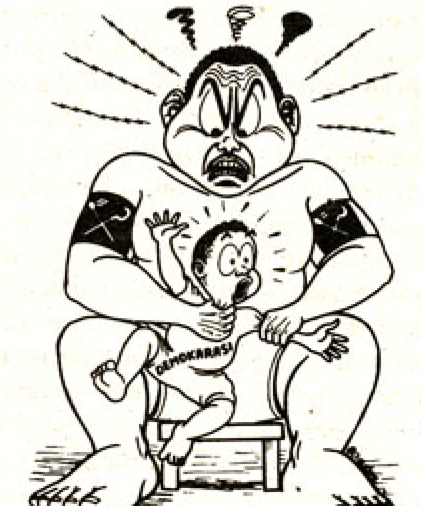

Photo RWANDA RUSHYA

Se w'ibirambu

Milita RUGIRA rero nawe yaguye muri uwo mutego. Yanze kuvirira akamiya ka MRND. Kandi ni mu gihe. Imyifatire idahwitse yari yaratumye abarwanashyaka b'imena ba MDR PARMEHUTU basezerera RUGIRA na GITERA mu ishyaka. Niyo mpamvu uwagize imana agatoragurwa ku muhanda atarota yibohora. Depite RUGIRA akomeje kwemeza ko icya ngombwa ari uko inyungu ze zasugira. Ni akumiro.

Mu itora ry'abahagarariye inama y'ubutegetsi ya Banki y'Abaturage i Butare, abanyaButare bakunda perefegitura yabo bongeye kwereka RUGIRA ko ibyisi bidahezwa. Mu gihe yari amenyereye gutorerwa kuyobora inama y'ubutegetsi y'iyo banki, yatangajwe no kubona ijwi rimwe gusa muri iryo tora. Birumvikana ko ariwe witoye.

Ntawe uhana uwahanutse.

RUGIRA Amandini n'abandi bajya kunaniranwa na KAYIBANDA kimwe n'abandi barwanashyaka ba MDR PARMEHUTU byatewe ahanini n'inda nini. Mu by'ukuri bifuzaga guhabwa imyanya irenze ubushobozi bwabo kugira ngo babone uko banyunyu imitsi ya rubanda. Ariko rero ib ntibyari gushoboka, bitewe n' ibintu byo gukunda amafaranga kwiba bitemerwaga na busa na Pe rezida KAYIBANDA. Uwata rwagaho iyo ngeso ake kaba gashobotse.

Ngiyo imwe mu mpamvu zi ma Milita RUGIRA yemeza MDR PARMEHUTU yamujuga nye ku muhanda maze MRND ik mutoragura. Ukuri ni mugen w'Imana. Tuzi neza ko ubujura kunyereza ibya rubanda byashyi kiwe na MRND. Birumvikana ko RUGIRA yagombaga kwishim ra muri iryo shyaka. Ababikurikiniye hafi kandi bemeza ko inge y'ubusambanyi yaranze abambe ba MRND barangajwe imbere na LIZINDE, yashimishije RUGIRA ku buryo budasubirwaho. Abamu aho yabaye hose bemeza ko urya musaza atari ikigwaari muri uwo rwego. Nguwo i Kigali, i Butare, i Gatagara (ngo no ku bicumba ntiyatangwagaho).

Ntawabura cyakora kwibaza ejo hazaza ha bariya banyepolitiki b'ibinyoma. Nawe se koko, inte mwa ya rubanda ibona abantu ba pfa bazira ubusa ikicecekera, aho bwo igashimishwa no gukira itaru nitse, yashobora ite gukora muri demukarasi nyayo? Ibitekerezo bya Depite RUGIRA ntaho bitaniye n'iby'inkotanyi KAGAME n'i shyaka CDR. Bose bemeza ko abatutsi n'abahutu bashobora kubangikana mu Rwanda batagombye kuba inshuti. Mwitege ko RUGIRA azibohora koko agatandukana n'umututsikazi yashatse, kuko byaba bibabaje kubona abantu barongoranye bakomeza kuberana umutwaro. Bataretse no kubyara ibihwereye, ibirambu.

KARINGANIRE Jean

C. R. B. C. B.P. 1913 Kigali RWANDA

NZIRORERA ashenye igihugu none yadukiriye no mwa nyina M.R.N.D. kagiye gushoboka

Duherutse gusoma indiko yasohotse mu kinyama- la Médaille NYIRAMACIBIRI mu nimero yacyo ya 9, dusanga nditse ko Depite **Rucagu**, ari bakwiza umwiryane mu Ruhe- ri, ko yazanye amacakubiri, ko ye Ruhengeri mo kabiri !

Ku gipande kimwe byaradu- mishije cyane, kuko twe abo mu shyaka atavuga rumwe na R.N.D., twahise tubona ko tu- e gutsinda nta shiti, kubera ko .R.N.D. itangiye kwandagaza arwanashyaka bayo b'imena. Ejo ndi buriya nibwo M.R.N.D. yi- kaga kuri Depite **Rucagu**, ita- atanga ngo atajya mu rindi shya- a. Imuha uruhenda bana, imushyi- a muri komite Nyobozi. **Rucagu** awe abibonye atyo arahaguruka, rahagagara, aracukiriza, maze ya- mamaza M.R.N.D. karahava.

cyakora daweya biranamukundira birafata, abaturage bayinjiramo hafi ya bose, dore ko nta rindi shya- ka rishobora kumenera mu karere **Rucagu** ahereteyemo.

Inararibonye zingize RUCAGU ngo ave muri M.R.N.D., aranga none najye yabona.

Abantu bakamubwira bati : Bwana Depite, ko **wihacura**, nyamara ibirura byo muri M.R.N.D. bikaba bizakurya ! Uwanze kumva ntiyanze kubona. Ejo bundi NYIRAMACIBIRI, ikinyamakuru cya M.R.N.D., gishyigikiwe n'abantu bo mu kazu, umugabo **NZIRORERA** Joseph, akaba ku isonga ry'abashinze n'abarunda amamiriyoni muri icyo kinyamakuru, gisohora inyandiko igarika umurwanashyaka wabo **Rucagu**; ngo aciye Ruhengeri mo kabiri, maze bagerekaho amagambo yo kumwangisha abantu bose, ku buryo byanatumye no mu matora yabereye i Kigali muri Kongere ya M.R.N.D., **Rucagu** atabonetse muri 4 bashakwaga, kandi twese tuzi neza ko Depite **Rucagu** ari umuntu uzwi neza mu Rwanda hose. **Nyiramacibiri** yari yatumwe na **NZIRORERA**, dore ko ngo atavuga rumwe na Depite **Rucagu**, kuva aho NZIRORERA aboneye ko na Depite **Rucagu** nawe ashoboye kuba umwe mu bakandida bashobora kubona amajwi menshi mu Ruhengeri.

Iyo **NYIRAMACIBIRI** bayisohoye hasigaye iminsi micye ngo Kongere iterane. Depite **Rucagu** ntiyari akibonye umwanya wo kwiregura. Uretse n'ibyo kandi, igihangange **NZIRORERA** yanyanyagije imari mu baje muri Kongere. Buri Perefegitura yahabwaga 300.000 Frs ngo yo kuzashyigikira INTERAHAMWE, abaje muri Kongere bakagurirwa ingofero za M.R.N.D., maze kandi abenshi mu baje muri Kongere bagahabwa amafaranga yo kunywera, ndetse n'ayo kuzanywera barangije gutora. Abo **NZIRORERA** yakoreraga ibyo byose yanababwiraga ko uzamuha ijwi, agomba kwirinda kuriha **Rucagu** ngo kuko **Rucagu** ari umunyamatiku. Ubwo **Rucagu** atakara atyo. Ni akazi ke, abantu b'inararibonye bamuhaye inama ngo ahunge ibirura bya M.R.N.D., ngo bitazamurya, aranga, none narebe ko ritinda ariko ridahera.

Bantu bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na M.R.N.D., nimuhaguruke, turwane inkundura, kuko buriya ariya macakubiri yo mu Ruhengeri, azakwira hose nta kabuza; M.R.N.D. murayizi, niko yabaye kuva kera.

Indogobe yarishije utwatsi

Ku kindi gipande byaradutangaje kumva ko Depite Rucagu ari we wazanye amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri. Ibyo byaduteye kwibuka umugabo w'umufaransa witwaga «LA FONTANE» wigeze kwandika umugani w'icyorezo cyateye mu ishyamba maze inyamanswa zikarwara zose, ndetse inyinshi zigapfa. Bimaze gukomera INTARE, umwami w'ishyamba, ihamagara inama Rukokoma y'inyamanswa zose z'ishyamba, ngo zicuze; nonehe zirebe inyamanswa yaba yarakoze

ibyaha bikomeye, akaba ari nayo yaba yarateje icyorezo. Iyo nyamanswa nimara kuboneka igomba kwicwa, igatangwaho igitambo, kugira ngo icyorezo gikire.

Inyamanswa zimaze guterana, intare iti : murabona icyago kitwugarije. Tugomba kwicuza ibyaha byacu, noneho uwo dusanga yarakoze ibyaha birenze iby'abandi, tumwice, atangweho igitambo, noneho icyo rezo kibone gukira !

Intare iti, nahuye n'abashumba bashoreye intama zabo. noneho kubera ko nari nshonje, ndya za ntama, mbonye ntahaze, ndya n'abashumba. Ariko murumva ko nta bugome nabigiranye, ko ahubwo nabitewe n'uko nari nshonje ! Inyamanswa zose ziti Nyagasani, intama n'abashumba byagize amahirwe yo kuribwa nawe ubwawe. Ni icyubahiro wabihaye rwose.

Ubwo hasoza Indogobe, iti : njye nanyuze ku murima w'umuturage, maze inzara inyishe, ndisha utwatsi twari ku nkengero zawo. Inyamaswa zose ziti : dore uwadutejeje icyorezo. Koko waratinyutse urya ibyatsi by'abandi ! Ziti icyo ni icyaha kitababarirwa. Ugomba kwicwa. Ubwo zose zirayifata zirayica.

Amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri yazanywe na NZIRORERA.

Uwo mugani uratwereka ko amakosa y'igikomerezwa atitabwaho, ko ahubwo bitwaratwaza ku munyantege nke, bakamugerekaho amakosa n'iyo yaba nta na rimwe yakoze. **NZIRORERA** n'amashumi ye bashenye Ruhengeri ndetse n'igihugu, none byegetswe kuri Depite **Rucagu** ! ni agahomamunwa.

Biratangaje kumva abantu bihishe inyuma y'ikinyamakuru NYIRAMACIBIRI, bihandagaza bakavuga ko Depite **Rucagu** ari we wazanye amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri. Amacakubiri yo mu Ruhengeri yatangiranye n'amatora yo muri 1981, kandi twarabaririje dusanga **Rucagu** atari yagatangiye kwiyamamaza. Ese mwakwivuguruye, mukareka demokarasi isesuye ikagera ku banyarwanda.

Koko Depite **Rucagu** mumuhotore mumuziza ko abarusha kwegera abaturage, ko abarusha gufasha abaturage ? Mumuzize ko abarusha kwakira no kumva ibibazo by'abaturage ? Mumuzize ko abaturage bo mu Ruhengeri bamwemera ari benshi ? Mumuzize ko abarusha gufasha abakecuru n'abasaza, abana n'imbabare ?

Tuvugishe ukuri ni nde uyobewe ko amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri yazanywe n'igihangange **NZIRORERA**, ubwo cyesuranaga na **NGARUKIYINTWARI François**, wari Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga, ndetse na **HATEGEKIMANA Damascène**, wari Minisitiri w'Imari, abasenyagura ngo batazamurusha amajwi mu 1981 ngo kandi ari igihangange ! Ni nde utarabimenya ko mu Rwanda hose byagezeyo ? Ni nde uyobewe ko mu matora yo mu 1983, iyo ntambara y'abo bagabo batatu yagarutse, byose ari ukugira ngo hatagira urusha NZIRORERA amajwi. Wapfaga kujya kuri «Rond Point» i Kigali, maze uturutse mu Ruhengeri wese, agahita akubwira ko mu Ruhengeri byacitse, ko NZIRORERA yarikekesheje, ngo ntawe ugomba kumurusha amajwi ! Ko agomba **gutsinsura**, umuntu wese akekaho amajwi menshi. Nguko uko **ngarukiyintwari** na **HATEGEKIMANA** batsinsurwaga mu matora yo mu 1983 !

Impyisi ikurira umwana ikakurusha kuraka-ra.

Amagambo **KUZICANGA, GUTSINSURA** yazanywe na nde wundi mu Ruhengeri, utari **NZIRORERA** ? Abanyaruhengeri bazengerejwe n'igihangange **NZIRORERA** ni bangahe ? Abo icyo gihangange cyazengereje mu gihugu cyose bangana iki ! Ubanza atari ngomwa kuvuga abantu bose bahohotewe n'igihange **NZIRORERA**

None bati **Rucagu** niwe uzanye amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri! Ko twamenye ko UBUKONYA bwabuze amashanyarazi buzize ba **NGARUKIYINTWARI** na **HATEGEKIMANA** b'abakonya bari bagiye kugira amajwi menshi kurusha igihangange NZIRORERA Yozefu **alias TOTALI ?** Muzasobanurira rubanda ukuntu bitarutse bikagwa kuri **Rucagu**.

Abavugizi ba M.R.N.D. muri NYIRAMACIBIRI bararega Depite **Rucagu** ko yarigishije amafaranga 153.000 bya M.R.N.D., ariko ntibagaragaze ibimenyetso! None se kuvuga gutyo birahagije, kugira ngo tumenye ko **Rucagu** yarigishije ayo mafaranga ? Nibagaragaze ibimenyetso bifatika. Nibegere ushinzwe umutungo wa M.R.N.D. mu Ruhengeri, maze abereke inyandiko gihamya, maze nabo bayigeze ku basomyi. Niba iyo nyandiko itabonetse, bizaba ari amatiku ya NYIRAMACIBIRI n'abaceceba inyuma yayo.

Kuva hambere, **NZIRORERA** yazengereje Depite **Rucagu**, **amubuza epfo na ruguru**, Depite **Rucagu** akomeza kubyihanganira. None **NZIRORERA** ageze **ubwo yivanaho amakosa** yakoreye **Ruhengeri**, yo **guca** Ruhengeri **mo ibice, maze** ayagereka **kuri Rucagu**. Abanyaruhengeri se bayobewe ukuntu **Rucagu** yazengerejwe na **NZIRORERA**. Abadashaka kubibona ni abagihakirizwa · bagipfukama kwa **NZIRORERA** kubera ibimiriyoni abarundira. Koko babivuze ukuri, impyisi ikurira umwana ikakurusha uburakari.

Ni ba NTARWANDA na ba NSHIMIYIMANA bamenyereye kugirira nabi ababyeyi.

Abo bahora bapfukama kwa NZIRORERA, akaba ari nabo ba-

meza guteranya **NZIRORERA** na **Rucagu**, barazwi, mu Ruhengeri hose barazwi. Umwe ni **NTWARWANDA** **Seresitini**, S/Perefe mu Ruhengeri, uwo mu S/Perefe ngo icyo aziza Depite Rucagu, ni uko uwo NTARWANDA akiri Burugumesitiri wa Komini NYAMUGALI, yafashe umugore wari umaze kubyara impanga, maze amuroha mu buroko n'izo mpinja. Induru zivuze hose muri komini, Depite **Rucagu** ngo ajya kubwira Burugumesitiri ko ibyo bintu binyuranije n'umuco w'i Rwanda. Ubwo ngo Depite yivanze mu bibazo bitamureba, inzangano ziva aho.

Undi ni umunyamakuru witwa NSHIMIYIMANA Alexis wo kuri Radiyo Rwanda. Uwo ngo icyo ahora **Rucagu**, ni uko muwa 1988, se wa NSHIMIYIMANA yanditse «TRACT» ituka abategetsi b'igihugu, avuga ko baciye ibintu. Muri abo bategetsi hakaba harimo umugabo **ZIGIRANYIRAZO** wategekaga RUHENGERI. Muri iyo nyandiko se wa NSHIMIYIMANA, ashyiramo ko **ZIGIRANYIRAZO** mu kuzambaguza Ruhengeri, yanamaze n'ibifaranga bya Mukungwa Sport, ngo kandi akitwaza ko ari muramu wa Général. Hagati rero avuga ko ibyo yanditse ari byo, ko ndetse n'umugabo atanze ari Depite **Rucagu !**

Iyo nyandiko idasinyweho, igishoboka, anketi zirakorwa, zifata se wa Nshimiyimana, arafungwa. Ubwo **Nshimiyimana** ajya kwa **Rucagu** ati mfasha gufunguza data. Rucagu ati umusaza iyo atandikamo izina ryanjye, najyaga kugeraageza, ati none ubwo yanyanditse, nimbijyamo baravuga ko dufatanije. Ubwo kuva ubwo **Nshimiyimana** yikoma **Rucagu**. Uwo musaza kandi ngo kugira ngo anketi zimufate, byatewe n'uko arangije kwandikisha imashini, yongeyemo ibindi, abyandikisha intoki, maze kubera ko yari umukarani wa Komini ya Nyamugari, umukono we uhita utahurwa, dore ko muri iyo nyandiko yari yabanje kunenga ubutegetsi bwa Komini Nyamugari.

Iyo umuntu akoze iperereza neza asanga aho Nshimiyimana aboneye ko **Rucagu** amweretse ko bitamworohera kujya gufunguza uwo musaza, yaragiye kwinginga uwo musaza ngo muri anketi azavuge ko kwandika iyo nyandiko yari kumwe na Depite **Rucagu**. Ubwo yagiraga ngo **Z** nyine azahite asiba **Rucagu** kuri lisiti y'abakandida Depite.

Abantu batubwiye ko uwo musaza yabaye intwari cyane, avuga ko adashobora kubeshyera umuntu. Avuga ko ibyo yanditse yabitekereje ubwe, kandi ko atazabihakana na rimwe. Ubwo umusaza abantu bose bakurikiranye imisubirize ye muri Parquet no mu rukiko, baramushimye cyane rwose. Aho hose yavugaga ko inyandiko ari iye ubwe, ko ari we wayiteguriye, akayiyandikira ku giti cye, ko yabyanditse yabiteguye, kandi ko adashobora kubeshyera umuntu n'umwe, ngo abe yavuga ko bafatanije, ngo kandi azi neza ko yabyikoreye ku giti cye. Abantu bemeza ko uwo musaza yahagize ubutwari budasanzwe, cyane cyane ko umuhungu we yamuhatataga kubigereka kuri **Rucagu**.

Aho afunguriwe rero, kubera imibereho mibi yo muri gereza, imirire n'imiryamire mibi yo muri gereza kandi ku muntu wari warashoboye kwibeshaho neza mu buzima bwe, amaze gufungurwa, hashize amezi macye yitaba Imana. Kandi rero siwe wa mbere byabayeho, kuko iyo mibereho mibi yo muri gereza, ihitana benshi. Hashize iminsi yaritabye Imana, **Nshimiyimana Alexis**, wakomeje kwikoma Depite **Rucagu**, ati reka nteke umutwe, nkwize hose ko data yishwe na **Rucagu**. Ababizi neza banavuga ko kuva aho **Rucagu** atuye kugera ku rugo rw'uwo musaza, ngo hari km zirenga 10. Bagiye kumupimisha kwa muganga. Ntabwo bigeze bagaragariza rubanda icyo muganga yanditse kigaragaza impamvu y'urupfu rw'uwo musaza wabaye intwari, akanga kuba igikoresho. Ko izo mpapuro zihari, bazazigaragaze, abantu bamenye icyamwishe, aho gukomeza gusebya Depite **Rucagu**.

RUCAGU akwiye kuva muri M.R.N.D. akayisigira ibisambo na NZIRORERA.

Depite **Rucagu** aho yabaye hose, bazi neza ko adashobora kugira umutima wo kwica umuntu. Bamuziho impuhwe, ubugwaneza no gukunda akazi. Icyakora igishimishije, ni uko abaturage bose, bose, bose, bazi neza ko biriya byose ari amatiku gusa.

Bariya bagabo babiri nibo bahora bapfukamirije mu kirambi cyo kwa NZIRORERA, bamuteranya na Rucagu, bamubeshyera ngo yanga NZIRORERA. **Ubu rero umugambi mushya NZIRORERA yafashe ni ukuvanisha Rucagu mu budepite. Rucagu** rero, riratinda ntirihera. Barakubwiye, ugira ngo barakubeshya, none utangiye kubibona, kandi rero, iyo ni intangiriro yabyo. Ese abo bantu wabahunze bataraguhwanya ! Gerageza, handaguza, hacura, ariko ntibizabuza NZIRORERA n'amashumi ye yo mu kazu gukomeza kugutsinsura. Akurusha imari nawe urabizi. Amamiriyoni yagiye agavura ku mihanda yose ya kaburimbo, azayakoresha agusenya, kandi iyo mari ni nyinshi ntabwo iteze gushira.

Tugaruke kwa mu gabo «LA FONTAINE» : ikirura n'umwana w'intama byarahuye. Ikirura kiti kuki untobera amazi ? Umwana w'intama uti ninjye uri iyo amazi atembera, ntibyashoboka ko ngutobera amazi. Ikirura kiti : ndetse umwaka ushize warantutse. Umwana w'intama uti : sinari nakavuka ! Ngo niba atari wowe ni bene nyoko. Umwana w'intama uti nta n'umwe ngira ! Ikirura ngo noneho ni abashumba n'imbwa z'iwanyu ! Ikirura kiba kiriye wa mwana w'intama ! Ntabwo uwo mugabo yabeshye. Amacakubiri mu Ruhengeri yatangiye **Rucagu** ataratangira kwiyamamaza, none ngo niwe wayazanyemo !!

Komeza urup. 14

The hutu and tuutsi Problem

«L'histoire se venge contre ceux qui agissent sans elle»•« H'histoire est un éternel recommencement». Le lecteur voudra me contredire.

Yet in the context of the Rwandan state, based on ethnic discrimination, all **Hutu** *were viewed as, and to a certain extent were,* **«Subordinate»**. *Not all* **tuutsi** *were rich, powerful, and wealthy... Then why did the conflict of the late 1950 s' take the form of a* **tuutsi-hutu** *confrontation ?*

(NEWBURY Catharine, **The Cohesion of oppression**, *Pages 207 — 215*)

The GROWTHE of royal power in Rwanda during the nineteenth century concentrated increased control over land, cattle, and people in the hands of tuutsi who derived their power from their association with the state apparatus. During the twentieth century this process intensified as tuutsi manipulated new material and coercive resources introduced by Europeans. In collaboration with European rulers, but not always with their explicit knowledge, tuutsi political agents utilized these resources in pursuit of private goals. They sought to tighten their grip over land, cattle, and labor and managed to exlude most hutu from access to education, higher status jobs, and positions of responsibili-

Continued on, page 15

Aka M.R.N.D. kagiye gushoboka

Bikurikira urup. 13

Bakomeza bavuga ko Rucagu ari we wakerereje amatora yo mu Ruhengeri ! Umuntu umwe, utari na Perezida w'ishyaka yahagarika itora ate ? Ibyo twabyemera tubibwiwe n'abahagarariye M.R.N.D. mu Ruhengeri. Umuntu umwe ahagarika itora rya perefegitura nzima nkaho Ruhengeri itagira abandi bagabo !

Bati Rucagu yahambiranije abagabo barenga 12, abasinyisha munyangire ! Ntabwo badusobanurira iyo munyangire, ngo banagaragaze kopi yayo ! Ikindi kandi twari tuzi ko mu Ruhengeri habayo abagabo b'intwari. **Rucagu** yashoboye guhambiranya ate abagabo barenga 12, ngo abasinyishe ku ngufu ? Amahirwe ni uko bitabayeho, naho ubundi ntabwo baba ari abagabo, baba ari ibigoryi, baba ari imbwa nsa nsa. Bati **Rucagu** yarigishije 153.000 ya M.R.N.D. ! ko nta rwandiko gihamya mwagaragaje ? M.R.N.D. se nta bagabo ikigira ku buryo **Rucagu** yayitwara ayo mafaranga ikamwihorera ! Ayo ni amatiku, kuko twakurikiranye ndetse no mu biro bya M.R.N.D. mu Ruhengeri, tugasanga nta mafaranga **Rucagu** abereyemo M.R.N.D. Ese niba mutamushaka, yakwiviriyemo hakiri kare, aho kwemera gukomeza gutobangwa n'ibirura byo mu kazu !

Nta nyiturano y'akazu

Rucagu rero komeza uhanjagare, umenye ko utemye ishyamba atari we urihingamo. Abanyakazu bazakomeza bagutsinsure, bagucucume, nawe ngo urabarwanira.

Uramenye ko atari bwo bwa mbere abanyakazu batema amaboko y'ibiganza byababakomeye amashyi ! Ntacyo urusha abahunze abanyakazu. Wibuke ko abo banyakazu bakurusha imari, bazasuka ibimiriyoni, maze bagucucume ! Hatana yenda uzashimirwa aho abandi bagayiwe !

Banyamatiku bo muri M.R.N.D. : nta rusoni mugira kuva kera. Nta n'ubwo mwihanganye ! Rero hahindutse amagambo, abantu ni babandi, imitwe yabo iracyakora uko yakoraga mbere, nta cyahindutse ! Ko Rucagu yabateturuye rugikubita, niba yaranababemukiye, yabaye mwaramuhaniye mu ibanga, ntimumwandagaze mu gihugu cyose. Mubana nabi cyane. Abazabakurikira ni abadashishoza nka **Rucagu**. Buriya rero si **Rucagu** mwandagaje, mwandagaje ishyaka ryanyu, kuko mugaragaje ko nta nyiturano y'abo mu kazu.

Inkuru ibaye impano nta nyiturano y'abo mu kazu. Abari baribeshye, **Rucagu** nababere isomo. Ubwo birotota ari mwe bisanga. Baturage bo mu Ruhengeri, murabe maso NZIRORERA n'abo bafatanya bamaze gufata umugambi wo kuvanishaho umudepite wanyu **Rucagu** mwakundaga. Umugambi warafashwe, keretse rero niyiviramo hakiri kare, akiyizira mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na M.R.N.D.D., naho ubundi mwene BITIHUSE n'amashumi ye baramuhitana !

IJAMBO.

Bikurikira urup. 5

rezida KAYIBANDA yari UmunyaGitarama, niwe waduhaga twese amapete; politiki yariho muri icyo gihe yari iye n'abafasha be yitoranyirije mu bwitonzi bwe, Manifeste-Porogaramu ikubahirizwa mbere ya byose, Gitarama ari yo iyihagarariye. Abagifite imitwe mizima baribuka imvugo yari yabaye kimomo icyo gihe ngo "GITARAMA NIYONZIMA, MPAKANIYE RUHENGERI?" Igisobanuro cyabyo ni iki: imyanya ikomeye yose yari ifitwe n'abanyagitarama, **NIYONZIMA Maximilien** ari Sekereteri Rejiyonali wa Parti i GITARAMA; abanyaRuhengeri bari mbarwa, ugaragara muri bo w'imbuzakurahira ari MPAKANIYE Lazare wari Sekereteri Egizekitifu Nasiyonari wa Parti PARMEHUTU i KAVUMU; GITARAMA ni yo nsa nsa; RUHENGERI nta jambo igifite, kuko abayo ngo bari bataye umurongo! Iryo tegeko ritanditse ryagombye gukanga Umunyanduga w'i Gitarama witwa RUZIGANA mu kwa Kamena 1972, akibuka kurivuga ubwa mbere mu w'1972 amaze imyaka 20 yiceceKeye, ryashyizweho na nde atashoboye kumenya mu gihe cy'imyaka ibiri yose yamaze muri Ecole d'officiers? Ryari itegeko nyabaki atamenyesheje bene wabo ko ari bo bari bafite ubutegetsi? Ahari MYASIRO Claude uvugira Padiri RUZIGANA (wagize amahirwe make ku mugaragaro yo kujya mu rwego rwa ba ofisiye b'Ingabo z'Igihugu) yaba aca amaco yo kutwibutsa no gusobanurira abasomyi b'"IJAMBO" impamvu yaba yaratumye ba Ofisiye bakuru bo mu Ngabo z'u Rwanda, ariko batavuka mu karere yita NDUGA, bateshejwe imirimo bari bashinzwe mu Ngabo, bagashyirwa mu bitagira ihuriro n'Umutekano w'Igihugu bari bategetswe kurinda?: Nguwo Lt Col KANYARENGWE mu iseminari ku Nyundo; Maj. BENDA mu Ruganda rw'Icyayi i Shagasha! Maj NSEKALIJE muri Turisimi!... Niba ari abo MYASIRO Claude uvugira Padiri RUZIGANA ashaka guhata, inama nziza mbona ni uko twareka kuvumbura ibyahise, tutavaho twiha no kuzura abapfuye nta bushobozi tubifitiye (kandi no gutunga abazima dufite bigenda birushaho kudukomerera) bikatuviramo kugwa mu mutego w'umwanzi tuwureba! Ariko kandi sinava kuri iyi ngingo ntamenyesheje MYASIRO Claude ko Padiri RUZIGANA J.B. niba koko ari we wamutumye biriya byose yandikiye abasomyi ba Journal «IJAMBO», yamuhishe ko muri promotion ye ya 11 y'Ishuri Rikuru rya Gisirikari, harimo abanyaGitarama benshi kandi bagizwe ba ofisiye; abo ni nka MBARAGA Augustin, NTAWIZERA Alphonse, MUBILIGI Aloys, KAMANZI Innocent (ubu ni Lt Col BEM); ahubwo azitonde amubaze neza amanota yabonye mu kizamini gisoza yakoreshejwe na Jury, n'impamvu nyakuri yamubujije kuba Ofisiye nka bariya bagenzi be tumaze kuvuga!

3) Harya ngo Padiri RUZIGANA J.B. yiganye na RWAGAFILITA? Kagire inkuru! Ko watubwiye ko RUZIGANA uvuka i Gitarama yinjiye muri Ecole d'Officiers avuye mu Iseminari nto y'i Kansi, RWAGAFILITA ukomoka i Kibungo we tukaba tuzi ko amashuri yisumbuye yayigiye i Nyanza muri Koleje ya Kristu Mwami, RUZIGANA akarangiza muri Ecole d'Officiers atsinzwe muri 1972, icyo gihe RWAGAFILITA afite ipete rya Komanda, ushingira kuki wemeza ko abo bantu biganye kandi uterekana ishuri cyangwa ikigo bahuriyemo biga?

4) Ese koko Padiri RUZIGANA, ibivugwa ko byamubayeho byose ni ukuri? Nko kuba yaragiye yiyita andi mazina akiri muri gereza na nyuma yaho amariye kurekurwa, ngo kugira ngo abone akazi cyangwa adatahurwa akongera gufungwa, bikagera n'igihe agizwe Padiri, akajarajazwa mu maparuwasi menshi mu gihe gito kubera ubwitonzi buke no kutumvikana n'ab'aho agiye...! Biramutse ari ukuri, byaba bibabaje cyane kuko ari igisebo giharabika isura ya Kiriziya mu Rwanda.

Inama.

Mu gihe ngitegereje ibis[...] MYASIRO Claude azihutira [...] ibibazo byanjye, nongeye kwi[...] Ubwanditsi bw'"IJAMBO" ko [...] semwa n'ikinyoma nkaryoh[...] n'ukuri." Impamvu ni uko: iki[...]ma icyo ari cyo cyose kirahara[...] kigasebanya, kikabyara amaz[...] kigasiga inkovu. Ikinyoma [...]mba kwimirirwa kure n'Ubwa[...]tsi. Kwimira ikinyoma ni ukuj[...] inyandiko zose, hagatangazwa [...]nkuru z'imvaho zidakemangwa [...]ba amahomvu, ngo IKINYAM[...]KURU kitazahinduka "IKINY[...]MAZIMWE".

Lt Col. GAHIMANO Fabi[...]
Député Nati[...]

N.D.L.R.: Turashimira Colonel GAHIMANO kutwunganira mu ntego yacu yo gushaka ukuri, turamugaya kugira ise[...]seme kandi akuze. Niba ari nako ayigirira abanyagitarama baramwiture urugwiro (Bibiriya, matayo, umutwe wa 5, umurongo wa 39).

None se GAHIMANO adahimanye, yatubwira ko MBONYUMUTWA nawe yari umukiga, ko kandi nawe yari yataye umurongo!

Ukuri ni uku: abanyagitarama bagifata ubutegetsi barwanye n'inyenzi. Kugira ngo mu ngabo hajyemo abahutu nyabo (batavanze), ngo batazaba ibyitso, biyambaje abakiga (hutu pur). Nguko uko mwabakoroneri mwe mwiganje. None se igihe abanyagitarama babafataga bavanguraga uturere? batangiye kubakeka kubera ko kuva mu 1967 abanyapolitiki bari barabasabye gukora coup d'Etat. Nibwo za Kagoma n'inkongoro zihawe kuyobora ibyayi na seminari.

NYANZA : byabaye ibyuya...

Ibivugwa kuri NYANZA muri gihe usanga bamwe bakabiriza, ndi bakihimbira inkuru itagira ige na rugero. Ndagira ngo mbariremo uko byifashe, intandaro yo, maze musesengure muvare impuha n'ukuri.

ari ibimenyetso bira umutima ! : banze umusanzu w'iotanyi.

Bijya gutangira habanje imyigambyo y'abacuruzi. Ariko wakwemeza koko ko ibyari bie kubera i NYANZA bifitanye o ya hafi n'iriya myigaragayo y'abacuruzi. Jye icyo mpani uko iyo myigaragambyo yaburiye umwuka mubi uvugwa i NYANZA.

Nyuma yayo hakurikiyeho iru y'abasore n'inkumi bataye bo, amashuri yabo n'inshuti zabakagwa mu mutego w'umwa- (bagasanga inkotanyi). Muri bamwe ndabiyiziye. Nta n'ue utazi uwitwa **Rukundo** wari e agapikipiki gato k'icyatsi kibi- Ubu nta munyenyanza utazi ko iye. Nyuma ye havuzwe abasore iri bo mu KAGURI nabo bayotse inzira y'i Burundi. Abanyeri bo mu bigo byigenga by'i YANZA ntibatanzwe. Ubu E-ANYA yonyine irabara abasore nkumi bagera kuri 15 banyaru-. Ubu ESPANYA bayihinduye o ni «INDIRI Y'INKOTA-YI». Uretse abo, hari n'abandi hatse kuyoboka ariko ubutegebwa Leta i NYANZA butahura ugambi wabo, burawupfubya. eji ya Mutagatifu Emanweli yo i HANIKA yabuze abanyeshuri Imvugo isigaye ikoreshwa ubu o ni «ugutanga umusanzu». Mu zi abiri ashize, iyo mvugo y'umuzu yarogeye ngo umubyeyi ufite ana agomba gutanga umusanzu 'umwana umwe, utabafite agaga ibihumbi ijana.

Ibyo birangiye hakurikiyeho rika rya mine. Umunsi Rayon ort ihurira na S.T.I.R. aho i YANZA, nyuma y'umupira havuzwe itahura ry'igisasu. Umuzungu yakibonye yiviriye mu Mayaga aza kubimenyesha abashinzwe umutekano. Ku wa kane tariki ya 12 werurwe, nibwo mine ya mbere yaturikanye abagororwa aho Kigoma igabanira na NYABISINDU munsi ya gereza y'i NYANZA. Ubwo hari mu gitondo kare. Mu ma saa yine nibwo mine ya kabiri yaturikanye umusore muri segiteri Kavumu ya komini Kigoma. Ku itariki ya 31 werurwe mu ma saa mbiri ibura iminota ibiri cyangwa itatu, nibwo mine ya gatatu yaturikiye muri segiteri ya Kavumu, hafi yo mu Gihisi ihitana ako kanya abantu bane bari mu modoka abandi barakomereka, abakomeretse byoroheje bajyanywe mu bitaro by'i NYANZA, abasabitswe bajyanwa i Butare.

Mine zakojeje agati mu ntozi.

Mbere gato y'uko mine ziturika i NYANZA hari umutekano muke. Abatutsi bararaga hanze ngo barirarira. Nyuma y'aho ziturikiye, Perefe TEMAHAGARI yaremesheje inama asaba buri wese kurara iwe mu nzu, anashyiraho umukwabu guhera saa moya, asaba abaturage kurara amarondo mu maserire yabo. Abumvise ayo mabwiriza nibo batangiye kuvuga ngo i NYANZA baratemaguranye. Kugeza ubu nandika, nta muntu wigeze atemwa cyangwa ngo ateme. Gushyira umukwabu saa moya, kwabaye nko gukabya kuko nta mpamvu igaragara. Gusa ibyari bikwiye kwari nko gushyiraho amarondo no gusaba buri wese kuguma iwe mu nzu, ntihagire urara hanze ngo arirarira we ubwe.

Imana yakinze ukuboko

Abantu twakurikiranye uko iby'i Bugesera byatangiye, twabaye nk'ababona imipanga ku mitwe y'abantu. Gusa nta wari uzi uzatema n'uzatemwa. Dore ko muri icyo gihe inkuru zahoze ngo za sitoki z'imipanga i NYANZA zarashize. Abacuruzi nibo bamenya ukuri kwabyo.

Ubu se bimeze bite ?

I NYANZA na n'ubu ntawamenya ko byose ari sawa. Hari udutsiko tw'abantu umuntu yakemanga. Koko rero ushobora kubona abantu bamwe bahagarara ahantu bakahamara amasaha abiri cyangwa atatu, badaseka, ukibaza niba ari ibiganiro bisanzwe, ukabona bidashoboka. Aho i NYANZA ubu hari urunywero rugezweho, ariko bamwe bajyayo bikandagira kubera ivanguramoko riruranga. Igishimishije ubu ni uko abanyenyanza kugeza ubu babona ibyo byose bakabikuba. Ibyo gutemana byo ndabona byarapfubye burundu.

Ikibazo rero.

Ikibazo ubu twibaza ni ukumenya abatega biriya bisasu. Icyo bagamije cyo kirazwi. Muri iyi minsi haravugwa inkuru y'umuntu wafashe abantu babiri baje gutega biriya bisasu mu gace ka Ruhango. N'ubwo ntagiye mu Ruhango kwirebera, bambwiye ko abo bantu, barimo abahoze mu ngabo z'igihugu bakirukanwa ku mpamvu zinyuranye. Abo basirikare birukanywe mu ngabo bazira ubusa cyangwa bazira ukuri ntibababa bakwiye guhozwaho ijisho muri ibi bihe turimo ! Ko gutega mine atari kimenyabose.

Dutekereze ku mvugo dukoresha mu manama.

Sinarangiza ntasabye abayobozi bamwe kujya bakoresha amagambo n'imvugo birangwa n'ubuhubutsi buke, kuko nabyo bituma haba ubwumvikane buke mu bantu. Muri ya nama y'umutekano yabereye i NYANZA, hari umuyobozi wavuze ati «Mine ntabwo izavuga ngo aka kaguru ni ak'umuhutu reka ngace, kariya ni ak'umututsi, reka nkareke» Musesengure ! Gusa uwabivuze yaracitswe kubera igishyika, dore ko k'ubwoba bw'umutekano, abarirwa mu ba mbere ! Erega nta mugayo arisaziye ! Nguko ngibyo.

Intumwa y'IJAMBO I NYABISINDU