

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

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LA MAMBO

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"Give me liberty,
or give me death"
Dick HENRY



Umutwa ati «Abahutu nimwe mwahumiriye kandi
byabagejeje kure kubi»
Umututsi nabonye, Umuhutu nzi, n'Umutwa numvise,
Umututsi azabe umugome, Umuhutu igihubutsi,
Umutwa inyaryenge ?

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Ikinani ngo ntacyo kitakoze ngo
gishimishe abatutsi : ni nde wari
wagitumye ?

JUGENZI Yabuze ikitu
Akaburiye mu isiza ntazaka
bonera mu isakara.



PALIPEHUTU), Hutu People's Liberation Party, set up in the early 1980s by Hutu exiles to campaign against Tutsi domination. According to unofficial sources, at least 1,000 people were killed, many of them apparently victims of extrajudicial executions by government troops. Insurgents also injured and killed members of the Tutsi ethnic group.

Several dozen civilians were reported to have been beaten to death, es-

specially by soldiers at various barracks in Bujumbura and at Bubanza Gendarmerie brigade. In one incident soldiers from Muzinda barracks, near Bujumbura, reportedly executed extrajudicially six members of Isidore Cizwa's household, including four children, one of whom eight months old.

About 35 people arrested by the security forces in the aftermath of the November attacks were reported to have «disappeared» : unofficial sources

reported that they were arrested but the authorities denied they were in custody and there were fears that they may have been killed.

Many of those arrested in connection with the insurgency and others arrested because of their suspected support for PALIPEHUTU were reported to have been beaten or tortured by the security forces. Many were denied visits and legal counsel.

Umutwa ati : «Abahutu ni mwe mwahumirije kandi byabagejeje kure kubi».

Umututsi nabonye, umuhutu nzi, umutwa numvise. Umututsi azabe umugome, umuhutu igihubutsi (primarité), umutwa inyaryenge.

Padiri BUSHAYIJA, umuganza w'umututsi yigeze kwandika ko abahutu ari beza, ko bandujwe ububi n'abatutsi (aka ya hene mbi utazirika ho iya-we). Bene wabo bari bamwishe.

Umugabo NDUWAYEZU Augustin aherutse kwandika igitabo «Imburagihana», abanza amagambo Milton OBOTE yavuze ku batutsi b'impunzi :
Uziya mpunzi rero nazo zigomba gusubira iyo zaturutse cyane cyane ko ino aha ntawe ugishobora uzihanganira. Dore uko uzireba kuriya zaralunaniye kubera kamere yazo irangwa no kwirondu, ugome n'agasuzuguro kazo karenze urugero zatugaragarije kuva zagera ino aha. Ikindi kandi njye nyiziye kandi nemera ni uko nuwazisubiza muri Abisiniya, igihugu amateka yemeza ko aricyo vuko yazo, bene wazo zasangayo bahita bazirukana bidateye kabiri kuko batashobokana biturutse kuri kuriya gasuzuguro maze kuvuga».

Mu gushaka kumenya ko ibiwa ku Batutsi, ku Bahutu, ku twegereye uwabizobeymo, Professeur MUSWAHILI mulin.

AMBO:

mediko zanyu, mwagiye mu-

garagaza uburere bw'umutwa, bw'u-muhutu, bw'umututsi. Umuhutu abaho ? Umututsi abaho ? Umu-twa abaho ?

Muswahili : Kuri jyewe, mbihereye ku mateka mutwigisha, muvuga ko inkwakazi mu Baturwarwanda ari Umutwa. Hagataho Umuhutu, Umututsi akazaza nyuma. Uwo

Mutwa rero umurebye, simwitiranya n'impunyu, n'ubwo bari mu gi-ce kimwe.

Umutwa nabonye, yarabumba-ga, akaba ari we uzobera, ujya gu-himbaza ibirori, cyane cyane iko-ndera. Kandi mumenye ko ubusha-kashatsi bw'ubu buvuga ko ryatu-

rutse mu Buganda, rinyura muri Tanzaniya, ribona kugera mu Rwanda. Aho rigereye mu Rwanda rero, abarizobereyemo ni Abatwa, n'Abahutu babijyamo bajyaga kuri menya kuko hambere ahangaha nagiye ntara zimwe na zimwe zo mu Rwanda, njyanywe no kubabwira icyo ntekereza ku mihamirizo yabo, nsanga ikondera barishiyizemo Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa.

Mu buhanga nk'ubwo ngubwo rero amanota aya tugenderaho, mu genderaho mwese, Umuhutu; Umututsi n'Umutwa ntibayarimba kimwe. Ntagiye kure, uzavuze umwirongi, inota y'umwirongi n'iyanaga, nk'iya RUJINDIRI nyakwigenra, cyangwa iya MUNZENZE, cyangwa iya KABARIRA, n'iyikembe kuko Bernard NSENGIYUMVA ni we washyize mu ikembe amanota aya ngaya tugenderaho, kandi biri kuri radiyo, ayo manota ntaririmbwa kimwe.

Inota y'Umututsi ifite umwambaro wayo, n'iy'Umuhutu ikagira umwambaro wayo. N'iy'Umutwa ikagira uko iteye. Umutwa rero mu by'ukuri ni we uzobereye ibirori. Ni we ubonera ikintu ukuntu. Kandi agatinyuka. Uzumwe ko Umutwa... Nta bwo wamushyira mu kibazo, mu mpatanwa ngo abure kukikuramo.

Natanga urugero. Umwami RUDAHIGWA muramuzi, NKUBITO YIMANZI. Aje guhura n'Umutwa, ati «sha, wankora ku mutwe?». Uwo mwami yari afite metero ebyiri. Umutwa ati «ese wowe nyagasan, wankora ku ino?». Umwami ajya guca intego yo gukora ku ino, Umutwa yamukoze ku mwutwe. Ibisigaye mubyifindurire, mubyibwre. Uwo Mutwa rero, iyo aririmba, ndetse n'ijo abumba, abigirira abandi, si ibye. Igituma abigirira abandi: buri muntu afite icyo azobereyemo. Kera Abasinga ni bo bari barahariwe gusiga hano mu Rwanda.

nda. Umutwa noneho kuki batamuharira ibirori, ngo abitunganye, ko abizobereyemo kuturusha. Ndetse hari ubwo nigeze kuvuga ko imirimbiye yabo ari umukusanyo w'imirimbiye y'Abanyarwanda bose.

Imihamirizo ye... muzarebe nta hamirizanya amaguru gusa, n'umwutwe n'impwempwe, n'amaso n'umusatsi n'amenyo birahamiriza. Ni na cyo gituma ngira ngo, abakirigitwa cyane, abiyumvana ubukirigitwa iyo babonye Umutwakazi abyina, cyane cyane iyo abyina, bumva ko batamuhabeye, batazakira mu Rwanda na rimwe, bazapfa badatunze. Ibyo ko abirusha abandi se, kuki atari byo baheraho kugira ngo baza muke? Bafite byinshi baturusha.

Umuhutu

Umuhutu rero we, ariho... nabivuze, ... ni umukozi. Hari n'umugani uvuga ngo «n'ubwo umuntu wese yawiherezaho, ko Umuhutu utagira Imana agira amaboko ye». Mbese si we watsuye ishyamba, uko Bruno NKULIYINGOMA na Barthazar CYABATWA babivuga? Abo bombi ni inshuti zanjye, umwe yitabye Imana, CYABATWA, undi ni umusizi uzwi hano mu Rwanda, atuye muri Nyaruguru.

Umuhutu rero utagira Imana re-ro agira amaboko ye. Ayo maboko si aya ngaya y'intoki eshanu: ni ubwenge, ni ugushakashakisha. Imana yaturemye yaduhaye ubwenge. Katabukoresha rero ni ubugoryi.

Umuhutu akarangwa no gukora, ndetse atikoresheje. Arikko uko agenda yegera abandi bazi ko uwame-nye gusoma, aba atagikoresheje amaboko ye, yiga ya «mayere». Amayere ni imbaraga mu by'ukuri, z'umuntu ukennye ku mikoro. Gukoresha amayeri rero si ibyo, yabyi-nye ku bandi.

Umuhutu kandi agenda amenya

ubwenge uko ava ku ishyiga, n'ava mu karere yavukiyemo, uko jera abandi. Bigasa na ka kasyo katamenya aho bweze katagurum. Umuhutu na we iyo avuye mu kare re yavukiyemo cyangwa se iyo apniyiye n'abandi bakijjiwe n'ibindi tari isuka, na we agenda amenyiye ubwenge kuko afata vuba. Ni na cyo gituma umuntu yagira ati «yashya mu bikorwa bwa bwenge bwinge itari izi gusata ku gakanu, yabyi-nye ku bandi». We rero ibyo abo nye abyakira vuba, kandi akabim vuba, ariko agamije kugira ngo, tunge, atunge n'urugo rwe.

Muzarebe rero, cyane cyane km ibyo byo gutunga urugo Umuhutu yavuzwe na Emmanuel TWAGIRAYEZU, naramwigishaga mu Nyakibanda, nza kubisanga mu Gikongoro kwa se wa NTAKIRUTINKA, uwo muramuzi, nza no kubisanga hano mu Bugarura, mu Cyabingo ejobundi ngiye gubereza se w'inshuti yanje, nsanga mu rugo rw'Umuhutu ibigega binigan n'intama n'inka n'insina. Uwo ni Umuhutu rero. Ashaka ibantu, Umuhutu nyawe, akazashyirwa ati gejeweho n'amaboko ye.

Umuhutu rero, murhenye ka atari we wazanye gukoma amashyi. Nta bwo ari inkomamashyi. Ndetse n'Umuhutu nyawe, ntava mu kirago izuba ryarashe, ahubwo ikime atinguranwa na cyo kimuha inzira, noncho rugori ye ikagenda, ikabasha imishike, ni na cyo kizamugeza ku ibyo bigega.

UMUTUTSI

Umututsi na we tukaba twamwigeraho imico myiza. Bose bayifiteho, ariko iyo uzi kuvuga neza, aka ba ari byo uhorana ku rurimi, babikwitirira n'ubwo ahandi bihari. Iyo uzi kwenga neza, akaba ari byo uzimaniza abakugendereye, bagira bati «kwa kanaka hari inzoga nizza». Umuhutu na we agira imico

nyiza, akiyegereza abantu bitewe n'yo mico myiza, ndetse ni cyo gituma Abanyanduga n'Abanyenduga, cyane Abanyanduga, bagendera ku isumbwe, ni ukuvuga rero ko azakwimariira kugira ngo na we, naho utabivugira ahongaho ugaragaze

koko ko agusumba, kandi yakumanurira.

Ntawavuga Umutwa n'Umuhutu n'Umututsi ngo azabarangize: bafite ibintu byinshi byiza, n'ibibi bindi bibyona mu nzira. Sinazindu-

we no kubannyega. Ibyiza bimwe nari mbaziho ni ibyo ngibyo.

IJAMBO:

Umuhutu muri kamere ni igicucu, Umututsi nk'uko tubisoma mu bitabo byinshi byanditswe n'Abazungu ba Kandt, ba Reisdorf), akaba umugome.



MUSWAHILI: N'wubwo ntatanze ingero bwose, uko umuntu bamuvuga ni uko bamubonye. Ibyo yerekanye ni byo bamuciraho urubanza... Ibyo abamuzi bamubonanye, n'ibyo bamwandikaho mu mivugo. Kuvuga ngo Umuhutu ni igicucu, utari igicucu ni nde se? Arikò niba yifata kirimwabo, akabana n'abantu bya kene wabo, akaba yahagurukana imishinga, akajya kuyivuga hirya no hino, abandi bakayimutwara, baka-jya kuyirisha ndetse no kuyihaki-shwa, kuko burya guhakwa ubukiri-situ bwamagana, ni ukubona icyo undi akurusha, ukaba wakimwiba ukajya kugihakishwa, ku buryo ndetse wamunyyega umwita igicucu.

Abahutu rero barimo abameze batyo, koko Umuhutu yiyizigira. Azi ko ari umuntu iwe, ni umugabo iwe, ni umwami iwe, arikò ntamenye ko hari abandi bamukikije, bashobora ndetse no kumukiriraho, bashobora ndetse no kumutwara ibye ahumirije.

Mbese abita iyi si amashiraniro, si aho babyendeye? Iyo uhimirije se cyangwa usinziriye *bakaza bakagu-twara ibyawe, abo babitwaye kuko batakwita igicucu igahe bajya kubiki-risha ingo zabo, urwawe rwandagaye?*

Naho Umututsi bavuga ngo ni «inyaryenge», kuba inyaryenge, ni iby'Abanyarwanda bose. Arikò umenye ko nyakamwe agiye muri nyamwinshi, gutegana yabibarusha; kudatsitara ku rurimi kandi ikirenge gihari, yabibarusha kuko mu buryo

bwose agomba gukoresha ngo yi-besheho, agomba gutoranyamo ub-wamugeza ku bantu. Niba Abatutsi bavuga ko ari inyaryenge, ko ari inderu, ko ari n'abagome; erega ku-vuga ngo ni abagome, jyewe simbyemera.

Umugome ni nk'uwa, wasanga wiyanadaritse, akagukubita ahubwo utabyumva. Natanga urugero kuri NKINDI, ni mugezi utanyobwa, ni SEMUGESHI.

Wazaga kumutakambira uti «shobuja ndashonje». Akakwiha rwose uko ari. Niba ukeneye amata, igicuba cyose akakiguha. Waba uri kanywera akaguha ikibindi cy'u-rwagwa. Naba ugenzwa n'inda, uri uwo inda yagoye, ibirunge, inyama, ibitoki, ibyo yabaga afite, ntiwabizi-raga.

Wagira ngo urabishigaje, akiba-za niba wazanywe no kumusigariza kandi ari umutware. Arikò ikindi, isomo yavanagamo, ni uko inda nk'iyongiyo atari iyo gusabiriza. Ni iyo gukorerwa. Icyo gihe yaraguku-bitaga ndetse, akagukubita ndetse ibiboko bigeze kuri cumi na bibiri. Bakagenda bagira bati «uriya mu-nu ni mwiza, arikò ni umugome». Wamwita umugome... baragafana iyo mvugo, jye namwita umugabo.

Fata intare y'akanwa KAMU-ZINZI, ni umunana. Ni we wasiri-muye u Bugoyi, ab'ubu n'abakera bamuziho amajyambere. Yagomo-roje ibishanga, yubakisha amazu atunganye kandi ahomesheje ingwa. Abategeka imigenderano. Nibaza n'igituma tukivuga «we», kandi umugenderano waratangiriye kwa SEMUGESHI ukambukanya ighugu cyose ugana kwa SEMUGESHI, na bo bakayita imigenderano.

Ndetse bavuga ko n'amavunja yayabavanyeho, n'ibindi bijyana n'amavunja. None se? Iyo atabakuba-baja yaga kwiyitaho? Ahubwo natanga urugero no muri ibingibi turimo.

Ikawa icyaduka mu Rwanda, ni mbere ya 40... basangaga mu gipimo cyawe hari urwiri, bakagukubita. Utu «Abazungu ni abagome, baraduhingisha ibita-dufitiye akamaro». Twabuzwa n'iki se kubyemera ubungubu, tukivanamo iryo jambo ry'ubagome, ubona agaciro ikawa ifite, arikò utumvaga icyo gihe, bakabiguhatira icyo gihe kugira ngo uzabyumve, wanze ukunze.

Ibyo rero Abatutsi na bo, kubona barategetse igihe kirekire, na byo ejobundi uwo Abarundi «cumushingantahe» (ni igikozwa hano mu Rwanda), aguhu n'Umutwa ati «sha, muracyo muhumirije nk'imbwa mukabinza iminsi munani». Ubwo twari i Nzanza hariya mu Busanza. Umutu nabivuze, nta cyo abirira jyanta cyo aburira ukuntu.

Amusubiza uwo mwanya, «Abahutu ni mwe mwahimirije kungira ngo byabagejeje kure kubi mwamaze imyaka magana ane ngekwa n'abo muruta ubwinshi, ngo mutegereje 59». Uwo muntu «bamwamagane».

Bamwamagane iki se ko urwishiye arusoma. Inkunguzi yigiba yikururira amakara. Ibyo bisanzwe.

Kuvuga rero ngo Abatutsi inyaryenge, kugira ngo Abatutsi abagome. Nta bwo ari ubogu ahubwo ni ubwenge buhanise, iko iyo ugiye mu bantu ugomba shaka uburyo buzatuma ubitege.

Mbese Imana ntiyatubwiye twiyongere tuzategeke iyi si? Ushaka gutegeka intare, ushaka gutegeka inzovu, ushaka gutegeka inge, ntayigira ubwenge. Ndetse ahubwo mu mibanire y'abantu n'ibisimbi, umuntu yerekana ko akize ku bwenge, yakwica nk'inzovu, baramute bakiranye. None se ntazi ka rupndihene. Ntazi kuniga. Ibyo se inyimaswa yabyibuka? Umututsi koko ni inyaryenge, nk'Umunyarwanda wundi. Ni na cyo gituma hari ababita ba «mayerere». Guhera rero mu ubwo bwenge, muri ubwo bucakun, nta bwo ari byo kuko ubwenge ubukuvana mu mpatanwa igihe geze; waba utsinzwe ukemera utsindwa kuko utsinzwe utsinditsi ntubangire ingata umutwaro waniranye.

Ariko nk'iyo usomye "Thèse # Doctorat" ya MUREGO, usanga Abatutsi bafite "arrivisme féroce", amena amaraso bikababangukira. Iugero ni uko ku gihe cya RWABUGIRI bigiraga kurasa imiheto ku Bahutu, amaraso iyo yavaga yabate-ubutwari. Wareba i Burundi buryo Abatutsi bishe Abahutu shi inshuro nyinshi mu buryo.

Ndabanza nguhe ingero nk'ebiyine kuguha ndetse n'urw'Umu-ntu, zerekana ko abantu bose ari dagome. Abantu bose ni babi. Ariko ahanini bigaterwa n'umurengwe, nguyu utabonerwa umuti. Nkanha urugero muri mirongo itanda-ahari n'ibir... biri no mu Kinyamateka, ubwo nari mu mwaka wa ntatu mu Busuwisi... nasomye muri cya Kinyamateka ko Umuhutu ya-mwene mwene wabo w'Umuhutu, ngira ngo amwumvishe koko, ya-murambuye amutera ipasi.

Ibyo byabaye mu ntara ya Buta-Asitirida, Bwanamukari. Urundi ngero rero.

Rwabereye mu ntara ya Cyangu mu karere k'Impara. Umuhutu we yashatse guhana mwene wa-ko, kugira ngo amwereke koko ko we ari umuhanga, yamwambitse mashara, niba yarashyizeho ikibiri... niba yarashyizeho igishirira... imbihi. Ibyo byabara ababibayeho, bwinditse. Niba bitananditse, nabiumya, ndetse n'uwo muntu aracya-cho. Noneho tugane mu Batutsi zuvuga ko ari bo bahariwe ubugore.

Si ubugome ni umurengwe, nde-ge uguhatse agutuka aryamye, kandi mu by'ukuri, uguhatse abona uri igikoresho, uri ikintu mu bi-ndi, kugira ngo ndetse arebe ko uri igisimba, igisimba kitazi ubwenge, iba yagutera icumu.

Ndabona, mu bagabekazi b'u

Rwanda habayeho umwe... ntakirih... washatse guhana na we Umuhutu, afata amashara aramwambika barakongeza. Umwe mu Bahutu babibonaga... sinzi niba ari Umuhutu cyangwa ari Umututsi, ibyo ari byo byose Abanyarwanda tugira impuhwe, bigaterwa n'igihe tuzigiriye, cyangwa igehe kibiduteye... arirkanka, ageze ku muhungu w'icyo gikomerezwa. Ni bya bindi rero, iyo ugiye usite ibitekerezo byinshi, umutima usobetse amaganya ntusobanura amagambo, yibagirwa ko «komma» (mu giswahili ni igitutsi); gukoma ariko mu kinyarwanda ni ukwimira. Ntiyasobanura ageze ku muhungu w'icyo gikomerezwa ati «komma nyoko». Undi yumvise iby'igiswahiri... kuko turi ahagana mu mwaka w'igihumbi kimwe na magna cyenda na mirongo ine n'itanu n'itandatu n'irindwi: igiswahiri cyarumvikanaga kandi abo hejuru utamenye igiswahiri, umuntu yamwita igicucu cyangwa impwishi mu bigezweho. Uwo muhungu yumvise igitutsi afata ka kagabo akajugunya mu gisenge, kikubita hasi, kava ahongaho bajya kugahamba.

Nakubwira noneho mu ntara y'ubu ya Gitarama. Ni ho habaye Umututsi. Uwa mbere yari Umututsikazi, uwa kabiri ari Umututsi, kandi mu bo hejuru, bafite n'ubwo-ko butagayitse. Noneho iyo yashakaga kwishimisha, yabwiraga nk'Abahutu ati «mujye hariya mu gihuru muhume». Bahuma, agatera icumu. Aba mbere bapfuyemo benshi. Aba kabiri bahumye bakizwa n'amaguru. Ibyo si ibyo mu Rwanda se? Reka tuje i Roma.

Kandi i Roma ni ho hari ibintu byiza byinshi. Ibyabaye i Roma rero urabizi. Iyo habaga hari umunsi mukuru, wo kugira ngo abantu bishime bamererwe neza. Kwishima ubona uwo muhuje kamere, apfa aribwa n'inyamaswa. Barekuraga nk'abantu 6, 7, 8, 10 n'intare zimaze kabiri zitarya. Urumva iyo ntambara rero.

Intare yashakaga icyo irya yararya-ga. Abandi urwabo rwarusaga. Ubwo turi mu Burayi.

Umuntu wese ni igicucu, umuntu wese ni umugome, umuntu wese azi ubwenge, ariko bigaterwa b'igihe agomba kwiyumvisha, kwitabaza ubwo bwenge akizeho. Kandi ndakubwira ko ubwenge, mu byo umuntu akizeho, ni bwo bumenza ko bwayobye, bukabona n'ukuntu bwakwivana mu mpatanwa, kandi bukavamo.

Mgr Classe yitaga Abatutsi "les chefs-nés", ko bafite kamere yo gutegeka : mu yandi magambo ko Abahutu bagomba gutegekwa.

MUSWAHILI: Musenyeri Karasi yavukiye muri ya ntara ya Strasbourg Metz. Icyamugenzo kira-zwi. Iyo ugeze mu gihugu, ugomba kwigarurira, cyangwa kugarurira uwagutumye, ndetse tutagiye kure. Iyo ugiye mu ishuri ukagira uti «uyu nguyu ni we uzaja ansohozaho ibibazo byanyu», ni uko wamuhitiye mo ka kantu asumbije abandi.

Mu by'ukuri, si ukukabasumba. Akize kuri byinshi, ariko ako ngako ni ko agenderaho. Abatutsi rero na bo, umenyi ko mu by'ubwenge, ubungubu tuvana mu bitabo, babanje kubinnyega. Kujya mu bukirisitu kuri bo kwari ukuba ibisome. Umwutware... umuntu yamwita Umwutware ? KABARE watumye zihindura imirishyo: bwa mberre. Ibyo ni ko mbizi. Hariya i Gisanze... wavye ko uri Umunyabwana-mukari, urahabona... ni ho yasangi-riye n'umukirisitu urwagwa. Abandi babitaga ibisome... ni ukuvuga ko bari inyangarwanda mu mivugire y'ubu.

We yabonaga kure. Ati «aba bantu kera ni bo bazagira ijambo, kuko ibizaba bigezweho mu gihe cyabo, mu gihe cy'abana babo ni byo ubu dukwiye guteskereza, tukabyishiramo hakiri kare. Barasangira, abandi bamwita umuntu usa n'igisare.

Ubwo bwenge rero abapadiri babonanye Abatutsi, Abazungu babonanye Abatutsi, na bo ni bwo bari bakeneye. Bashakaga umuntu uzatumba imbaga nyamwinshi iyob oka. Umuntu uzamenya kujya kwemeza... n'ibyo atumva akabibemeza, ati «nimumuyoboke uriya muntu, uriya Muzungu ni we ufite amajyambere». Ni yo atayumvaga yagiraga ati «mumuyoboke, kera azatuzanira n'ibindi tutazi...». Ubwo rero ubimubonyeho avuga ko mu by'ukuri muri babandi wahisemo, ni we wavukiye gutegeka. Si ukuvuga ko Imana

imurema yamuhyaye kuzategeka, ariko ingabire afite, igihe cyarageze arayikoresha.

Umwanzuro wa HANGIMANA F.X.

Muri make, Umuhutu ni umuntu usinziriye, ibye bigatwarwa na wa wundi ufite ingabire. Umuhutu yanairanye kuva kera. Kamere isobanurwa na wa mugani uvuga igihe Imana ije igaha Gatwa, Gatutsi na Gahutu amata. Ubusambo bwa Gatwa bwatutemye ayanywa, ubuhubutsi bwa Gahutu butuma ayamena, na we Gatutsi

arayakomeza. Imana imugoromo kuba umutegetsi w'abavandimwe le.

Kugira ngo rero Umuhutu akare, hari inama yatanzwe na NAIGIZIKI Quand le muhutu n'aura je une âme de serf, il faudrait pour le créer une deuxième fois».

(Ubutaha tuzabagezaho ubwabakiga ari ibicucu muri kamere yabo: byaba byiza mabanje kumaniganiro cyahise kuri Radiyo Rwanaku ya 24/5/1992 mbere y'uko mbazaho ubwo bucucu kimeza).

Si Umunyakinyaga ni Umucyesha

Kwivuga birarushya, cyane cyane kwivuga hano mu Rwanda, n'ubwo ndi Umunyarwanda. Nabwirwa n'iki niba nzumvwa n'Abazungu, Abatwa, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'abandi? Ibyo ari byose nitwa Paulini MUSWAHILI.

Navukiye mu ntara ya Cyangugu. Ariko iyo ntara ikaba irimo ibice bibiri: hari Kinyaga hakaba n'i Cyesha. Navukiye muri Cyesha rero. Nanjye ndetse najyaga nibwira ko ndi Umunyakinyaga, hanyuma nza gu-sanga atari byo, kuko Cyesha yitanyuye ku Kinyaga mu mwaka w'1933.

Icyabinkomejemo ariko, ko ntari Umunyakinyaga, ko ndi Umunyakesha, ni uko umuntu uturutse muri Gatare mu gitondo. Ushaka kuzinduka n'umuntu uvuye mu Kirambo cyangwa se muri Kagano, asezera ku bo bararanye ati «muririrweho, ngiye mu Kinyaga».

Ndabyibaza nsanga koko ba bantu ibyo bavuga atari ibinyoma. Iyo uvuye muri Kagano, uvuye muri Kirambo, uvuye muri Gatare, ugiye mu Kinyaga kigizwe n'Impara (hatwaraga BIDERI bya KANYEMERA) ukajya mu Bukunzi no mu Busozo (hatwaraga RWIYAMIRIRA, ngira ngo ni we wa nyuma uhari), cyangwa



MUSWAHILI Paulin ni intiti mu byere keye amoko n'u trerere mu Rwanda.

se mu Biru (ho hazwi BINIGA Léonidas). Icyo ni cyo Kinyaga rero. Abatabyemera, muzajye kubyitegerezza. Hari ibintu bibatandukanya. Ndetse abo mu Kinyaga bita abo mu

Cyesha abo mu Nduga ya Kirambo Ni ukuvuga ko rero imyisatire yabo, bakagenza kumu n'abo bandi. Nkaba naravukiye ahogaho.

Sinzi igihe navukiye kuko icyo ghe nta irangamuntu ryabagaho. Ngiye mu mashuri yisumbuye muri 39, 40 i Kabgayi, nandikishije ko navukiye ahagana wenda mu w'1923. Byaba byo, bitaba byo, ubu ndiho. Ni cyo cy'ingenzi, ibindi bindi bizi Imana. Hanyuma i Kabgayi narahize. Ibyo nahize n'ubu ni byo ngenderaho, nize ndetse no mu Ndatwa kuva muri 1953 kugeza mu w'1956, kuko ntahigiyeye icyiciro cya mbere, nagiye kabirizwa i Bujumbura mu izumwa ryagenwe n'Ababiligi. Mpavuye nigisha i Save umwaka.

Kuva mu w'1957 (wukwezi kwa cyenda), nagiye mu Burayi, mu Bubiligi, mu Bwongereza, mu Busuwini ngaruka mu w'1966. Ubwo mpindukiyeye nakoreye u Rwanda rwategek-waga na KAYIBANDA Geregori. kuva mu w'1966 kugeza muy w'68. Muri 68 nagiye mu ishuri rikuru ndrabarezi (igice cyaryo ni cyo cyabaye ishami rya Kaminuza ryita ku burezi). N'ubu ndakigisha rero. Ndubate birumvikana, kandi msite abana batandatu b'abahungu.