

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

Benjamin FRANKLIN

MUJAMBO

N° 50

Prix : 100 Frw

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



Aho kunigwa n'ijambo
uzanigwe n'uwo uribwiye

GGP: KAREMERA asigaranye iso-
siyete wenyine.

KARAMIRA aradusobanurira imigambi ye



Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA
karamu naniye

Ibitatangajive
ku matora ya MDR



kubabesha ko atigeze avuga ko nta munyamakuru uzafungwa atabanje kuburana?

Ubusanzwe ibyo gufungwa by'agateganyo ntibijjana n'uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa mutu. Filip REYNTJENS, igihe yigishaga muri Kaminuza nyarwanda yigeze kubisobanura mu GISAMURWA n° 4/1978:

Sur le terrain des principes, la détention préventive est inconciliable avec la liberté de la personne humaine et avec la présomption d'innocence, affirmées dans la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme et dans la Constitution rwandaise.

Kandi amategeko (art. 37 CPP) avuga ko umuntu afungwa by'agateganyo **niba batinya ko yacika, cyangwa niba ari ntawe umuzi cyangwa atazwi neza cyangwa se niba harri impamvu zikomeye z'imbonekirimwe zigomba kumufungisha mbere y'urubanza kubera ko, adafunzwe, byatera impagara ra mu gihugu.**

Noneho se Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yatabwira ko iyo MUBERANTWALI Théoneste adafungwa ighugu cyari kujya mu mpagarara? Icyo tugaya kuri MBONAMPEKA si ukoari we wa mbere uretse amafuti aba mu ifunga, ahubwo ni uko yivuguruje aka ba Minisitiri MUJYANAMA Théoneste na Minisitiri NSANZIMANA Sylvestre, uyu wavuze ngo ntazzahakwa, agahakirizwa riva. Tuributsa MBONAMPEKA: **Umugabo ntiyishyura icyo yariye yishyura icyo yavuze.**

None se azasiba amajwi ye yarenze umunwa, nakoradiyo? Yawkemeye akegura, ko muri demukarasi umutegetsi uteshetse ku byo yasezeranje rubanda adakomeza gutsimbarara ku byamunaniye?

Muri icyo kiganiro, nahaye icyifuzo Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ko Minisiteri yategura ikiganiro mpaka cy'abahanga mu mategeko kugira ngo hafuturwe niba ubutegetsi bufite ububasha bwo gufatira ibinyamakuru kuko ubwo bubasha bubangamiye uburenganzira bwo gutangaza n'ubwo abaturage bafite bwo gutangarizwa. Impamvu ni uko ighugu UMUVUGIZI WA RUBANDA LE TRIBUN DU PEUPLE ufatwa nagiye kubaza iby'imanza zaba zaraciwe zerekeye ifatwa ry'ibinyamakuru (jurisprudence), n'insobanuro tuvana mu bahanga mu mategeko, noneho Minisiteri ikanyoherza kuri NTAMPAKA Charles wigisha amategeko muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda.

Ngire Imana aze kuduhugura muri rya hugarwa abanyamerika bakoreye abarundi n'abanyarwanda: ku ya 26 Kanama NTAMPAKA namubajje niba, uhoreye ku ngingo ya 18 y'itegeko nshinga, ryo mu 1991, ukiyambaza ibisobanuro byayitanzweho n'abateguye itegeko nshinga mu 1978, n'itegeko ry'itangazamakuru, hari umutegetsi usite ububasha bwo gufatira ibinyamakuru.

Mu kunsubiza NTAMPAKA Charles yavuze ko biriya ubutegetsi bukora bufatira ibinyamakuru ari ugufata abanyamakuru nk'abana, kwa kundi ubuza umwana gukora ikintu, ngo adakora icyaha, ko ariko binyuranye n'uburenganzira bwo gutangaza no guhabwa amakuru. Ibi bisobanuro rero MBONAMPEKA ntabikozwa, ngo ibinyamakuru bishobora gufatwa igihe ubushinjacyaha bubonamo icyaha, kandi bubo-

na ko urukiko ruzategeka ko ibyo binyamakuru binyongwa.

Ku bw'uriya munyabwenge NTAMPAKA Charles, ubushinjacyaha bushobora gufatira numero imwe cyangwa ebyiri kugira ngo buzereke umucamanza ikiri icyaha mu nyandiko. Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA nakurikirana aho dukura amategeko, azamenya ko m: Busaransa nta fatiraryemewe: **"Elle (la saisie) est en principe impossible".** Gufatira bishobora gukorwa igihe nyiri ikinyamakuru atashyinguye ibinyamakuru, nabwo kandi hafatwa bine. Igihe ibinyamakuru bishobora gufatwa ni igihe byatutse umukuru w'ighugu, ubutegetsi bw'amahanga. Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga cyangwa uhagarariye ighugu; cyangwa bigafatwa na juji w'urukiko rushinzwe ibirego byihutirwa.

GRAWITZ Madeleine, Méthodes des Sciences Sociales, DALLOZ, 1974, page IV.

Igihe abantu bahinduye ibitekerezo, amategeko agomba gukurikira. Amategeko difus agomba kumvikana hakurikije itegeko-ntinga, ryo ryemera ubwisanzure mu kugaraga igitekerezo. N'igipfamatwi nako igipfamatwi kirumva ko uramutse ufatirye ibinyamakuru uba ubangamiye ingingo ya 18 y'itegeko-ntinga.



Abakekwa kuba barishe abatu ts'i Bugesera bararekuwe kuko NZABANDORA (mbere ibumoso) ubaburanira yavuze ko bafunzwe ku buryo bunyuraniye n'amategeko. Nyamara MBONAMPEKA ataraba Minisitiri yavugaga ko Umuyobozi wa Gereza agome kurekura, abyibwirije, uwo abona afunzwe kuri ubwo buryo. Ko ubu ari Minisitiri yifuraze Gereza, kuki atibwirije ngo afungure abo bahutu bari bafunzwe ku buryo bunyuraniye n'amategeko ?

Ifatirwa ry'ibinyamakuru byose ntiryemewe nk'uko intiti NTAMPAKA ibitubwira. Si nawe wenyine ubivuga. Na mwarimu Filip REYNTJENS, nk'uko Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA azabisoma ku rubarivo rubanziriza urwa nyuma mu musitari wa gatatu, wa "4è page rose" y'IJAMBO n°23, mu kiganiro "Droit d'information, droit d'informer dans le Rwanda de

demain" yavuze atya: **"Une saisie qui portera sur le tirage total d'un journal ne serait pas justifiable"**

Abahanga batubwira ko kumenya amategeko atari ukumenya kuyasoma, kukoibyo n'umuturage abizi. Umunyabwenge, nk'uko Dr. RUHASHYANKIKO yabivuze akingura inama ya ARSENA (Association Rwandaise des Sciences Exactes et Naturelles), ni uwihatira ibantu byo mu mutwe (un intellectuel est une personne qui s'adonne aux choses de l'esprit). Iyo roho rero itungwa no guhora wihugura: **Animus alitur discendo.**

nga. Amategeko (al. 3 art. 19 Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques), avuga ko uburenganzira bwo gutangam bushobora gukumirwa n'itegeko: igihe hagiye itegeko ry'itangazamakuru ntirishyire ubonyagwe mu bihano umunyamakuru yahabwa birumvikana ko ntaho umushinjacyaha yahera afatira ikinyamakuru, kuko umucamanza na bubasha ahabwa n'itegeko ryo guhanisha ubonyagwe.

Kurindisha Perezida wa Repubulika amategeko ni ukumugira ikigirwashitani.

Ikindi kandi, amategeko ahana aba agamije ibantu bibiri: kubungabunga inyungu z'abaturage 2) kwerekana urugero mu byiza. Nibyo Professeur Robert BADINTER yita "fonction

pressive na fonction expressive": Au-delà de cette fonction (répressive), il y a autre chose de plus et de plus difficile à découvrir, et, à mes yeux, de l'important. J'appellerai cela la fonction expressive: système des peines doit exprimer le système de valeurs et de sociétés à un moment déterminé. C'est pourquoi le cryptage d'un Code Pénal est un passionnant exercice sociologique.

Nouvel Observateur du 20-26 décembre 185, page 24.

None se twaba tujya he twereka abaturage ibiyiza ari ugufatira ibinyamakuru aho kubaka ngo basome bishungurire?

Ngarutse ku mategeko arinda Perezida wa Republika n'abandi bategetsi, nakwibutsa ko mategeko (234-243 CP) anyuranije n'ingi ya 16 y'itegeko-nshinga. Amategeko ariya yubahirizwa n'abantu bafite ibitekerebitarazamuka nk'abafaransa. Abanyamerika dufatiraho urugero muri demokarasi barenze ariya bitekerezo bishaje: nta mategeko arinda muntu cyangwa agatsiko; bagira ayubahiriza burenenganzira bwa buri muntu, nta kuvangura kuko itegeko-nshinga ryacu ribyemeza, "bininiye ku misumbanire y'imbereho abantu".

Nkiri hakurya y'Atlantika, nakwibutsa ko kiko zaho zirwanya ko ibinyamakuru byafawa, kuko, nkoko Urukiko rw'Ikirenga rwanameje, ntacyo gutangaza byageraho igihe pagenewe ibitekerezo badafite uburenenganzira wo kubyakira:

The dissemination of ideas can accomplish nothing if otherwise willing addressees are not free to receive and consider them. It would be a barren marketplace of ideas that had only sellers and no buyers".

ARRISON, Landmark Decisions of us supreme court, 391, page 169.

Ni muri ubwo buryo hadashobora kubaho atirwa kuko byaba bibangamiyu uburenenganzira bwo gutangarizwa amakuru. Rero mu m'ambo macye, kumenya amategeko si ukume ya inyuguti zitondetse mu bitabo, niukumenya cyo zisobanura, uko ahandi, byifashe, no kumenya aho abaturage bageze (sociologie). Igihe itegeko rinyuranyije n'itegeko-nshinga ntirikurizwa. Abirirwa bigisha abantu ko ifatirwa y'ibinyamakuru ryemewe mu Rwanda ni abatigezze bacengerwa na demokarasi, bakifashisha mvugo aho kugendera ku mategeko, kuko Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ajya kwemera ko LE TRIBUN DU PEUPLE UMUVUGIZI WA RUBANDA ufatwayasamiye ku magambo, ngo yaba yaravugiwe mu nama y'ighigu iharanira amajyambere, aho gushingira ku mwanzuro w'abadepite ariwo ugaragarira mu itegeko n° 54/91

UMUTEKANO: MBO-NAMPEKA arahunga ikibazo.

Muri icyo kiganiro, Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko umutekano mucye uitanyi

isano n'ubukungu bwifashe nabi, inzara n'intambara, cyane cyane ko intwaro ziboneka ku buryo bworoshye biturutse ku binjiye mu gisirikari batacunze neza, n'abasanzwemo badohote. Bigakubitiraho abantu badakoresha neza uburenganzira bwo kwigarambya, n'abandi bashaka abayoke b'amashyaka ku ngufu.

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko umutekano ushinzwe mbere na mbere abajyana ma na ba Burugumesitiri b'amakomini, bashedbora kunganirwa n'ingabo igihe badashoboye kuwubungabunga. Naho abashinjacyaha bo bashedbora kunganirwa abo bazaniwe n'abo bagenzacyaha ba Komini cyangwa ab'ingabo.



MBONAMPEKA akiburanira abiswe ibyitsyo yarwanya ifungwa ry'agateganyo. Akiba Minisitiri yavuze ko nta munyamakuru uzafungwa atabanje gukatirwa n'yinkiko. Ubu aravuga ngo : barambeshyera, sinavuze ko..., nashakaga kuvuga kovo...

Minisitiri yanamaganye uburyo abagenza cyaha n'abashinjacyaha ba Parike bakora: usanga biyicariye mu biro, bategereje abanyabyaha bazanirwa aho guhaguruka; ubwabo ntibakora n'iperereza. Gusa yanasanze bafite ibikoresho bicye, batize iby'amategekon'abafite impamya bishobozi bakaba batize iby'iperereza. Ikindi umubare w'abo ni mucye ku buryo ku bashinjacyaha ba Kigali uko ari 14 hari amadosiye akabakaba 12.000.

Minisitiri, ahereye ku kifuzo cya HANGIMANA w'IJAMBO, cy'ubufatanye bw'abanyamakuru n'abagenzacyaha mu kurwanya ubugizi bwa nabi, yaje gusaba ko habofekwa umunyamakuru uzajya ujyana n'umushinjacyaha (substitut de la semaine) muri za amigo kureba abafunze uko bafashwe, niba batamazemo igihe kinini, niba batakubiswe, ndetse niba bashedbore gutuma kuri bene wabo ko bafunze.

Kuri ibi by'umutekano Minisitiri w'ubutabera amaze iminsi azunguruka amaperefegitura yigisha ko umutekano ureba mbere na mbere inzego zishamikiye kuri Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Ighugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini. Yabintangiye muri iki kiganiro cyo ku ya 03.09.92. Ni nk'aho yarezwe. KAMEYA we muri ya nyandiko yo ku ya 05.09.92 aravuga ko MBONAMPE-

KA atashoboye kubungabunga amahoro, ngo atahure abagizi ba nabi, bahanwe. Ibyo ntitwabirenganyiriza Minisitiri, usibye ko twamubaza impamvu atandukira akajya aho ikibazo kitari.

Iyo babwira Minisitiri y'Ubatabera ko umutekano umeze nabi, ni uko abashyikirijwe ubucamanza kubera ubugizi bwa nabi barekuwa, emwe bataranaburana. Barahindukira noneho bagacura umugambi wo guhitana abo bari bagtriyi nabi. Ingero ni nyinshi. Abakurikiranywe kuba barishe abatutsi mu Bugesera barekuwe kandi amategeko aha ububasha ubashinjacyaha bwo kubafunga bundi bushya, igihe icyemezo cy'abajiji bo mu rukiko kibarekuye; kuko baba bazashyikirizwa urukiko, ubushinjacyaha nibwo bufungura umuntu, bwibwirije cyangwa bubitegetswe n'urukiko rwo hejur. Ubushinjacyaha, na gereza bishinzwe Minisitiri y'ubutabera.

Rero nta kwitaza ikibazo kiriho, ngo ujyane umutekano muri MININTER kandi abantu bakubwira umutekano mucye uterwa n'abantu baba bafatanywe igitihanga (smoking gun), bakenkuwa, ubushinjacyaha buhumirije cyangwa ari bwo bubikoze.

CDR ya MBONAMPEKA, MBONAMPEKA wa CDR.

Ibibazo byabajijwe byibanzie ku iyicwa ry'abatutsi. KAMURASE Martin wa RWANDA RUSHYA yanabajije ibyerekeye gusesa amashyaka arwanya ubumwe bw'amoko y'abanyarwanda. Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko ayo mashyaka anyuranije n'umurongo wa Guverinoma azikuraho ubwayo: abantu bazinga kuyayoboka kuko nta wakurikiza ibitekerezo nka biriya. Yunzemo ngo niba abanyarwanda bemeye gukurikiza ibitekerezo bibi nka biriya ari bensihi, "niho tuzaba tugeze".

Yakomeje avuga ko abanyarwanda bazaha akato amashyaka nk'ariya yungamo ko Minisitiri w'Ubugengagihugu n'Amajyambere ya Komini ashobora guhagarika CDR, itakwishi-makayoboka urukikorw'Inama ya Leta. Yanavuze ko ubushinjacyaha bwagenzura, bakenkuwa niba hari ibikorwa bahanwa n'amategeko CDR ikora, noneho ba nyir'ukubikora bagahanwa kuko uburyozwacyaha ari gatozi ku wagikoze. Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko yasabye "Procureur" (Umushinjacyaha mukuru) kugenzenza ibyavuzwe n'ibyanditswe na CDR byaba bishyamiranya amoko.

Umunyamakuru NKUBILI wa KINYAMATEKA yunzemo abwira Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ati: "Mwageze kuri CDR muroroshy. Nawe MBONAMPEKA aruga ko ishyaka ari urwego rutangirwamo ibitekerezo, ko usite igitekerezo uko kimeze kose agitanga": Abarwanya ibitekerezo (bya CDR) nibaza niba atari aussi extrémistes que ceux-là (gashozantambara nka CDR).

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko guha ishyaka CDR akato ari bwo buryo bwo kurnvanaho kidemokarasi: Gupfukirana ibitekerezo by'umuntu ni bibi, kuko uwo muntu azakomeza abibane, bitobokere ahandi.

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ati: usite ibitekereo ntemera, si ngombwa kumurwanya. Namuwira akabireka, ariko ntakoresheje itegiko. Abasakuza kuri ikyo shyaka basite ibitekereo bimeze nka ryo. "Abo nibo batari libéral" Yashoje arwa ati: "ubu turi mu kugenzura. Iyaba uwasakuzaga yerekana ibikorwa bibi bya CDR, aho kutuga ngo ryigisha ibibi. Ahubwo turebe impamtu abanyarwanda basite ibyo bitemekerezo. "Kuri jye (CDR) ntirakangurira abantu kwicena".

"Nanjye ntabwo mbi-shigikiye".

KAREMERA w'IMBAGA yunzemo, atangazwa n'ukuntu igihe intambara igomba kuba mu bitemekerezo abashinzwe ubutegetsi nka Radiyo Rwanda bakorera "propagande" (iyamamazamatwara) ikyo shyaka, kandi igihe kini; urugero ni ku bitemekerezo bitangwa n'abaturage ku mishyikirano igibwa Arusha.

Mu kumusubiza Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ati: nanjye ntabwo mbishyigikiye. Nduvwa bituruka ku bakozi ba Radiyo bahengamye. Amashyaka nayo mu biganiro byayo kuri Radiyo ntiyamagana ibitekereo bya CDR.

Kuri Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA, CDR ntiratandukira intégo yiye. MBONAMPEKA yavuze ukuri ariko atazi uko kuri, ari nako KAMEYA yahereye amwila "naïf", uwashaka yashyira mu kinyarwanda ko ari injiji, igicue, agahwishi, igishwi. Ukuri kwa MBONAMPEKA ni uko koko CDR itigeze itandukira intégo yiye. Igitangira. Kuri iyi ngingo MBONAMPEKA yavuze ukuri abarwanashyaka ba Parti Liberal bemera nubwo MBONAMPEKA yitugira ibye ko CDR itigeze iteshuka ku ntego yo kurwanya abatutsi no kubatsema.

Muri bya bindi KAMEYA yita ubugambani cyangwa ubushwi bwa MBONAMPEKA, yu MBONAMPEKA we abona ko CDR ari intagatifu, kuko ntacyo arabona CDR yishe mu ntego zizwi uko bagenda bacengeza amatwara mu rubyiruko, bavuga ko nitudatsema abatutsi, bo bazatumara, aka ba batutsi nabo badashobora gusangira n'abahutu.

Kuba umuntu yavuga ati: *abayahudi ni izokza zikwiye gutwikkirwa mu itanura riguruma-na, ni igitekereo nshyigikiye ko cyahita, cyane cyaneko urukiko rw'ikirenga muri Leta zunze ubunwe bw'Amerika (USA) rwemeye ko abanganzi (Nazi) basite uburenganzira bwo guttagagira, bigaragambya, bavuga nk'ibyo.*

Kuba nshigikiye ko ibitekereo bibisha nk'ibyo byavugwa, kandi ndi muri Parti Liberal, ngahindukira nkawanya MBONAMPEKA ko ashigikiye ko bibi, ni uko MBONAMPEKA yagombye we kumva ko ari umunyapolitiki. Minisitiri watanzwe n'ishyaka PL, ugomba gukora uko ikyo ritekerezo; yabyanga akabanza agasezera. Kuba atumva icyamujyanye aho ari nbyo byatumye KAMEYA avuga ko urya mugabo ari "naïf", kuko ubugambani njye ntabmukekaho.

Iyo wumva ibitekereo by'ishyaka ryagutumye ku buminisitiri bitakunyuze, mbere yo kutabishyigikira, ubanza kurivamo, mbere yo

gukora icyo abayoboke baryo bashobora kwita ubugambani cyangwa ubushwi. Abantu bomuri "Parti Libéral" bamaganwa ibikorwa bya CDR. Twahera kuri "Vice-Président wa PL" NDASINGA Landouald wavuze ku ya 19.07.92 ubwo PL yizihizaga isabukuru y'umwaka i-shinze ati: *Mwanze CDR n'imihango yayo yose?*

Kuri NDASINGWA, CDR ni shitani. Na MUGENZI ashigikiye ko CDR iseswa. Ikitwa shitani ku bakuru b'ishyaka PL (n'abandi batutsi, emwe n'abahutu ngo twaguzwe niko bivugwa) ni malayika ku Muminisitiri ikyo shyaka ryohereje mu bucamanza. Gutinyuka kuburani-ka icyo abawe bita shitani (devil's advocate) ni byo bamwe batumva: mu yandi magambo MBONAMPEKA yagombye kuba yareguye.

Kuva HABYARIMANA yasimbura KAYIBANDA ku bwami bw'isura nshya, ubucamanza bwabaye nka bwa bundi bwo kwa KAYIBANDA wishe n'abavandimwe be ngo niinyenzi-Ushaka ibisobanuro bihagiye azegere Dr MUSWAHILU Paulin, umuhutu w'umunya Cyesha-Abo biswe inyenzi, baciriwe urubanza umunsi umwe, bahotorwa uwo. Nyuma haje HABIMANA Muvoma mu bwami bwa HABYARIMANA. Hatayeo NKURUNZIZA, aha murumuna we MUGEMANA, wahaye MUJYANAMA, hataho NSANZIMANA. Yasimbwe na NGIRUMPATSE Matayo utigeze uba Minisitiri wuzuye kuko yaje ashaka gukanda abacamanza ngo kuko bigeze kwemera ko SONARWA itsindwa igihe yayitegekaga.

Umutegetsi niwe urenganura

Tware tuzi ko MBONAMPEKA wabaye umusoda azatanga akuka gashya. Iyo uganiriyi n'abakozi bo muri MINIJUST, wumva umwuka mubi urivo ukumirwa: abakozi b'ingenzi bavanyemo akabo karenge, n'abasigaye bari mu mayira. Akigera muri Minisiteri, MBONAMPEKA yibagiwe kwibuka ya magambo, Perezida KAVARUGANDA, inararibonye mu bibi n'ibyiza yavuze, ariyo aya: "Umucamanza ntarenganura; nyamara umutegetsi ashobora kurenganura" (KAVARUGANDA uko twam-wandits mu IJAMBO N°17):

Nyamara MBONAMPEKA we yarabucritse, yibwira ko umucamanza ari we urenganura, kandi bitabaho. Nta mucamanza urenganura. Twandukure ibiri ku rupapuro rwa 15 mu IJAMBO n° 17. "Umucamanza iyo aca urubanza ashuya ku munzani, agapima; agakoresha tekini (yize). Umucamanza ntarenganura: Imana niyo irenganura. Ndetse n'abategetsi (Burugumesitiri, Perefe) bashobora kurenganura; naho umucamanza amategeko ntabimuhera uburenganzira.

Ibi bitemekerezo, Perezida KAVARUGANDA yari yabimpaye inkontayi ziraye ziteye: hari ku ya 02.10.90, ariko anyihanangiriza kubitangaza kuko abatazi umurimo w'ubucamanza bajyaga kubifata nabi. Nabisohoye mu IJAMBO n° 17 ryo ku ya 15.03.1991. Igitumye mbigura, ni ukugira ngo nibutse ko bimwe MBONAMPEKA yibwira ko umucamanza arenganura ari ukutamenya. Iyo yegera ba KAVARUGANDA ngo bamwigishe.

Urugero: ushobora kurega, utanyurwa ukajurira. Igihe urengije amezi atatu, wakwitala umucamanza akakubwira ati: "Ndareba nga-

sanga barakurengayije, ariko warengeje ipa cy'ijurira, itahire". Ariko umujyanama wa mini ashobora kubona wibwe, agafata aboka, ndetse uwibye agahita yemera, agahibyibano. Naho mu bucamanza, naho bucamanza ugatsinda, uwibye ashobora kwitshu, uwibwe yaritabye Imana, kuko habaho igihughamagaza imanza gishobora kurenza inyane -jigiye cyo kujurira, kwaka iseswa, no kubana bundi bushya, bushobora kuba ubugira patatu-- hagati aho awareze akaba yitabye Imana.

Umucamanza w'umujuji ntarenganura ko amategeko atabimuhera ububasha. Nyuma Minisitiri ashobora kurenganura kuko igihe uwagize urugomo arekuwe n'umujuji ("Nemeye") ashobora gutegeka abashinjacyaha k-mufunga hakoresheje ijurira, kugeza igihe iyo hari ibimenyetso-- akoreye ibyo ategewe.

Rero kurebera abacamanza, aho gushan nk'umushinga washyiraho urukiko rw'ikirengi rwahabwa ubuyobozi bw'inkiko, aho gukome kubeshya ko buri muri Minisiteri y'ubatabe itanashobora gutegeka urukiko kuzamara de siye mu rwo hejuru, ni ukurebera ibibi.

Niho duhindukiriye, nyuma y'ibi bisobano, tuvavuga ko gusesa CDR ukurikije icyemey ey'urukiko bishobora gutinda. Nonehoro lyoba igitangaza ubutegetsi bugiye gusesa ishyaka CDR igihe Minisitiri w'Ubatabera ataribonko amakosa. Inter ya Minisitiri yikiriza n'abashinjacyaha ayobora: bahere he, igihe shebuja avuga ko ikyo shyaka ritigeze riteshuka kungadi ryiye meje?

Abategetsi bacu tubabwize ukuri

Ikinyamakuru IJAMBO cyabaye iya mbere mu kwamaganwa Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA kuva iyi Guvernomaya NSENGYIREMYE yajyaho (IJAMBO n° 44 umugerekac igihe Minisitiri yemera guhotora demokrasia areka ikinyamakuru LE TRIBUN DU PEUPLE UMUVUGIZI WA RUBANDA gitafwa. Nyuma naje kumva ko atabyakiriye nabi-

N'ubu niyemeje kuba nka Depite HABANAKIZE wavyaga ku wa 22.05.1991 kuri HABYARIMANA ati: "Abashefud'Etat bacu tubabwize ukuri, wenda bakatwiginzayo. Yee! Ariko twababwiye ukuri, kuko ari ababyeyi bacu". Na Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA ni umubyeyi wanjiye, arabizi kundusha. Ntiwabona umubyeyi wawe yiyibagwe ngo we kugariraho akambaro. Niyo nkungu muteye. Ni ibihe bitangaza se ategereje igihe adashoboye kubahiriza ibyo yivugye ku mugragaro, ahubwo agatumira abanyamakuru, akibeshyera ngo ntiyavuze ko nta munyamakuru uzafungwa ataburanye?

Ishyaka PL naryo ararivangira kuko aho kurwanya CDR ayihesha agaciro. Politiki ni ntambara ntagatifu: Utabibona atyo aba an "naïf". Umwanzi ni umwanzi. KAMEYA arabisobanura neza imbanire ya CDR na PL ni ay'abanzi: Relation antinomique. Muri Bibiliya niho tuvana ibi: "Ngiye kuruhuka kuko udashyusye, ntube unakonje". Ntushobora kuba hagati, ntushobora gukeza abami babiri. CDR si ikyo rabi, ariko igihe abayoboke ba PL bavuga CDR nabi, ni ngombwa ko MBONAMPEKA asezera ahoryamutumye embereyo kuba akazuyazi.

MDR ya Minisitiri AGATA n'isaranganya. Abahutu ntibishimiye iringaniza rishingiye ku turere dusa

Ku ya 24.09.1992 Minisitiri UWILINGIYIMANA Agata yagiranye ikiganiro n'abanyamakuru muri Hôtel des Mille Collines abasobanurira uburyo yasaranganiye imyanya mu mashuri yisumbuye: kuba yiyeferera ubwe ko yasaranganiye uturere tw'amakonini --ni ukuvuga iringaniza rishingiye ku karere-- ni bimwe mu binengwa igihe MDR yigisha ko nta ringaniza. Abantu barasanga kuba abatutsi barimuwe ari bensi --ubusanzwe abatutsi ni 3%, burya ntibanagera ku 10%-- bigatera impungenge ko ikibazo cyaraho mbere ya Revorisiyo ya 59 kizongera kigatera indi nk'iyi.

Minisitiri Agata ati: "Ryazashoboka uko umuntu agenda atunganya uburezi mu gihugu hose, nyuma akazaba ashobora kugrereranya akarere kamwe akakagereranya n'akandi, yibwira ko yaba amaze kubishyira kuri "niveau imwe", ku bushobozi bumwe. Ni ibantu rero urumwa, bigomba gufata imyaka, ugakora porogaramu ikomeza".

Minisitiri Agata aremera ko uturere two mu Rwanda tutiga kimwe kubera ko amashuri amwe afite ibikoresho n'abarezi, naho ahandi ari biceye cyangwa bibura. Aranemeza ko abana b'abakire biga neza kurusha ab'abakene, akanemera ko abo boso utahafatira ku manota amwe. Minisitiri Agata ntaragasobanurira icyo iringaniza ari cyo ngo aritudukanye n'isaranganya: abuhwo usanga ari kwa kundi abanya politiki bahimba ijambu rishya, risimbura irindi, kandi ritarisimbuye mu ngiro. Minisitiri Agata yavuze ko nta ringaniza rizakorwa, nono afatiwe mu kinyoma: ariyemerera ko yakoze iringaniza ry'uturere, ngo kuko uturere tutazamutse kimwe.

Noncho rero nibo umuntu ahera yibaza ukuntu Minisitiri w'ishyaka rikomeye, nka MDR, atinyuka kwemera iringaniza, ariko akavanaho iry'ubwoko! Ese hari iperereza Minisitiri yakoze ngo abanze amenyen ko umuhutu n'umututsi nta wahejwe mu mashuri ko ariyo atanga akazi, noneho ngo abone kuvanaho iringaniza ry'amoko? Imihare isohoka yerekana iteka ko abatutsi -batanagize 10% ry'abanyarwanda-- bikubira imyanya irenga 20%. Yigeze kurenga 40%, ari nabyo byatumiye muw'1973 abatutsi batotezwa kuko KAYIBANDA n'aba, yagru be babonaga umututsi agye gusubiranu ubutegetsi: uwize aratungaakanategeka.

Igihe abatutsi bafite umutungo mwinshi, banakora ahantu hahemba neza kurusha abahutu, Minisitiri Agata yabyivuguruje yemera iringaniza ry'uturere ngo kuko tudakize kimwe, akavanaho iringaniza ry'amoko, kandi ayo moko arimo apiganira ubutegetsi: bumwe bushaka kurya ubundi.

Ibyo Minisitiri Agata yakoze, ni nk'iba wa mugabo usite urugo mu mpinga rw'umugore mukuru, yabaga ikimasa akarugenera ukuguru n'ukuboko, noneho akiobereza ukundi kuguru n'ukundi kuboko ku mugore w'inkundwakazi mu rugo rwe mu Gasharu, akibwira ko asaranganje ku ngo, nyamara yirengagije ko urugo rwa Nyirankundwakazi rurimo umwana u-o mwe, naho urukuru two mu mpinga rurimo abana bakuru icyenda : kugabanya urugo rukuru n'urwo mu Gasharu twabigereranya no kuringaniza akarere : aha tukaba tubishimira Minisitiri Agata na MDR.

Noncho gusangiza inka ingo ebyiri, rumwe rukabona igipande byakwiwa guha amahirwe angana abahutu n'abatutsi: Icyo ni cyo turwanya.

Abahutu n'abatutsi ntibagomba kubona amahirwe angana: guha urugo rw'abana icyenda ukuguru n'ukuboko, nk'imiri w'urugo rufite uruhinja. Iyo utanze ikizami ntiwimirire ku manota --ntibyanashoboka-ukimurira uturere, uba ukoze iringaniza. Iyo ukoze iringaniza ry'uturere witwaje ko tudakize kimwe ku



Abanyeshuri bizihiwa no kumva ko nta karere cyangwa akoko kizimbye;

bikoresho n'abrimu, ntigombye kureba ubukene bw'uturere, ngo wirengagize ubukire bw'amoko.

Mu Rwanda hari amoko yakize. Ku gihe cya gikorize abatutsi bari barikubiye amashuri n'umutungo. Intambara ya 59 ibaye, bamwe barahunga; nyamara ubutegetsi bw'abuhuto ntacyo bwashoboraga kwimarira budakoresheje abatutsi, bo bari barize. Nibo bakoze babona imishahara: kubera ko bari bazi akamaro k'amashuri bakoresheje ku buryo abana babo bayiga : ni bwo barengeje «numerous clauses».

Noncho rero MDR n'Agata bahakana iringaniza, barangiza bakarikora mu turere, uwabarega ko bica itegckonshinga mu ngingo ya 16. Nyamara yaba abarenganje. Ntiyaba abarenganje ariko uwabarega ko bagerageza kuresheshya uturere, bagasumbanya amoko. Ibibazo nk'ibi byizwe n'abasheshes akanguhe b'impugue zo mu rukiko rw'Ikirenga rwa Leta zunce ubumwe z'Amerika.

Umuntu ashobora kwimwa umwanya hakurikijwe ko agace aturukamo kenda kwizimba, cyangwa akawuhabwa starusha abandi, abuhwo kubera ko igisina, akarere se ko gahamagarive na bacye. Byaba byiza umuntu asomye

UROFSKY Melvin, A Conflict of Rights, The Supreme Court and Affirmative Action, 1991, NEW YORK, p. XII 271

Minisitiri Agata namara kureba ibyemezo ruriya rukiko rwagiye rufata azongere akoreshe ikiganiro, kuko ku tabwiza ukuri abanyarwanda aribyo twagaye MRND.

Mu by'ukuri ibyemezo u Rwanda rufata rubitegekwa n'inkotanyi kuko zadutsinze. Zadutsinze zitumvisha ko tugomba gusiba ubwoko mu irangamantu, tuyemera twigura aho kwicishwa amasasu yazo.

Zadutsinze zidutegeka kuvanaho "équilibre" ngo kuko ari "racisme", kandi tuzi ko iyo udakozé "équilibre" higanza ubwoko bumwe bwiropanuye ("racisme"): twarabyemeye kugira ngo twigure. Zadutsinze zifata igice cy'ighugu, kandi ubusanze icyuhabiro umusirikari yahabwaga yaragikomoye ku gutsinda inyenzi zo muri za 60. Ubu rero turigura.

Uko kwigura rero niko gutuma twemera n'ibintu byagombe kujyanwa muri Kamarampaka, abaturage bokaba aribo biyemerera ko ubwoko buvuye mu ndangamantu, ko iringaniza ry'uturere ryemewe --kugira ngo umukiga atabona ibyo yari yamenyerereye ku ngoma ya MRND--, ko iringaniza ry'amoko rivuyeho -kuko inkotanyi zabona ibyo ziturega.

Ni ku gitsure cy'inkotanyi twemera kuvanaho iringaniza ry'amoko n'iry'uturere. Igihugu kitabikoze

intambara u Rwanda turwana n'inkotanyi ntiyanga. N'ukwigura. Icyo tugaya MDR ni uko yemeza ko iringa rivaho, wareba ugassanga iry'uturere riraho, ntibuko y'erure ko tutabikoze inkotanyi zatumerera nabi. Na ubundi ubajije abahutu niba bemeru ko iry'amoko mode-mu yandi magambo ko abatutsi babona imyanya imra y'umubare wabo ubagenera- batora nta shiti ko rigunde. Umpinyuza azakoreshe Kamarampaka.

Ahubwo umuntu wibaza impamu abatsinda ari bensi nta zavuge ko batazi ubwenge, abutsi gutsinda k'umwana kujyanwa n'imizamukire mu batazi y'ababyeyi. Niba rero Minisitiri Agata agenera shesi imyanya yo kubazamura, nk'uko anayigenera umutekunye abarimu no ku bikoresho igihe abuna batoz batsindira ku manota macye, yagoenye no kujigen abahutu kubera ko kamere yabo ari ubugori, cyangwa ko igituma badatsinda ngo bagere kuri 90% ari impamu z'ubukene.

Bitaba ibyo, tukemera ko gucurita amagete ngo usimbuze iringaniza isaranganya ari umes w'abanyapolitiki. Minisitiri niba afite ukuri, nyemere iz ibyo yemeye ko nta ringaniza rizabaho hyamunaniye, nse yegure. Cyangwa se asabe imbabazi ati, "bya bindi navuze ngo nta ringaniza byari ikinyoma, ryabaye ku turere. Naho ubundi ni ukugambanira MDR, igihe tuzi ko iringaniza ryasabwe na Manifeste y'abahutu muw'1957. Guhindura ikintu nka kiriya utanagishije rubanda inama mu itora, ni ugukora politiki. Abasobanura politiki, bavuga ko ari amacabiranya : «the art of the possible»: nibo tugeze.

None se kuringaniza ku turere, ari ukwemeta ko hari uturere turi inyuma y'tutidi, mu yandi magambo ko hariho ikibazo cy'ubusumbane bw'uturere, ari cyo bia "régionalisme", kwanga iringaniza ry'amoko si ugukura ko nta kibazo muhutu-mututsi kiriho? Ughakana si RUDAHIGWA wasize ukungeje u Rwanda muw'1959.

Mu magambo macye sindwanya ko iby'umwe bitagira iringaniza mu mashuri igihe inkotanyi zadutsinze zaradutsinze urke ba bandi bagiye kuri. Radiyo ku ya 25.09.1992 bagashinyagura ngo "u Rwanda n'umutamenu" batareba abanya Byumba bavanye mu byabo n'intambara. Ariko icyo ndwanya ni ukubona abanya politiki batanga ibisobanuro bidafashije kandi hagombe kubwiza abanyarwanda ukuri kw'ibibazo, n'inganika iringaniza ry'amoko ryagira igihe inkotanyi ziyamagana.

HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier

C.D.R. versus R.P.F about the Arusha round

BARAYAGWIZA John Bosco, spokesman of the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic thinks that there is no solution in peace between Rwandan Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front without the involvement of Uganda.

V.O.A.: I talked to Mr. Patrick MAZIMPAKA tuesday, just before they signed the protocol and he told me in his view he felt that this was a significant turning point in the peace process in as far as the civil strife in Rwanda is concerned; would you like to react to that ?



BARAYAGWIZA

C.D.R.: No. For us there is no turning point at all, because we don't know that R.P.F. was fighting for. After the clear reason was accepted since june 1991, R.P.F. should have stopped the war. Because, if you read this protocol, there is no thing new at all.

V.O.A.: If what you contend is correct, Mr. BARAYAGWIZA, could you then explain to me, as to why the rwandan interim Government found important enough for them to go to Arusha Tanzania, to sit around a table with the rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front, so as to come up with this protocol, or with this document ?

C.D.R.: What is important really is to sit down together, and to see if it is possible to find a common agreement on stopping the war.

V.O.A.: Reports suggest that the cease-fire agreed upon by the Rwandan Government and the rebels is still holding. If that is correct, is not that an indication to show or to indicate that indeed there are possibilities that the civil war in Rwanda can come to an end by signing a draft peace agreement ?

C.D.R.: First of all I want to make some correction. There is no civil war so far in Rwanda. There has been an agression from Uganda by tuutsi people who were refugees in Uganda.

V.O.A.: Mr. BARAYAGWIZA, you realize that you are making a very strong accusation here: you are suggesting that the Ugandan Government is at war with the Rwandan Government and yet there is no evidence that the Ugandan Government was in Arusha negotiating with the rwandan interim Government. Could you, please, expound on that ?

C.D.R.: We don't think there will be peace without Uganda signing on the peace agreement or accepting the text of the peace agreement, because the agression comes from Uganda, and Uganda is still helping these people to wage this war against Rwanda. It's given the territory, it's given arms, even it's given some military personnel. Unfortunately this interim Government does not think it necessary to get Uganda involved in the signing of the peace agreement.

KARAMIRA, umwe mu bacisha macye

Igihe bivugwa ko abaherutse gutorerwa kuyobora MDR ku ya 30.08.1992 bafite ibitekerezo binyuranye – bame ngo ni abasederi, abandi ngo ni inkotanyi – twegereye umwe mu bacisha macye, le liberal KARAMIRA Froud. Visi Perezida wa Kabiri, umwe wemeye gutanga imari ye kugira ngo MDR ishinge imizi, ngo adusobanurire iyo yamariye ishyaka, n'icyo atereza kuri demukarasi mu matora ya Perezida wari umukandida rukumbi, TWAGIRI MUNGU Faustin; muranasobanurirwa impamvu ishyaka ritamagana abarwanashyaka bambara imidari yanditsi "PARMEHUTU".



Uwambere iburyo ni KARAMIRA karamiye MDR ikiva mu mva.

Ushinzwe kurenganura niwe urenganya.

KARAMIRA: Najanywe muri politiki no kubona mu Rwanda ushinzwe kurenganura abaturage ari we ubarenganya; nibyo nakwita ubutegetsi bw'igitugu; najanywe no kurwanya igitugu, ikinyoma n'uburyamirane.

Muri "parti" aho ngereyemo, naritanze nk'abandi barwanashyaka, nkoresha imbaraga zose kugira ngo ndwanye ibyo bantu. Abensi, ku buryo babona muri Parti naba narkoze, babona ko nahaye Parti yacu aho ikorera, kandi nkabitinyuka mu bihe bibi cyane. Byashoboraga gutuma nsenyerwa, ariko ndabiyemeza, ndabitinyuka, kandi ndabikora.

Nubwo nasenycwe, mbere nemera ko ishyaka rikorera iwanje, byagaragazaga ko nemeye kandi nitangiyice ishyaka ku buryo budasubira inyuma. Icyo ni igikorwa cya mbere nahereyeho.

MDR igacumbikira andi mashyaka; nshyiraho JDR.

Kubera ko nari nshinzwe uyu mugi (wa Kigali), intego ya mbere yabaye y'uko ishyaka ryacu rigomba kuba irya mbere muri uyu mugi: MDR igacumbikira andi mashyaka. Kandi nayigezeho.

Mu mugi twagiye dukora, dukangura, ku buryo twashakaga abantu b'ingensi mu turere twa hafi yose y'umugi ishyaka ryagendaga rishingiraho, ariyo nakwita "recrutement qualitatif". Nongera ndeba mu rwego rw'abababajwe (akarengane, uburyamirane, ubusumbane) aribo rubyiruko.

inkunga y'igihe –kuko igihe cy'umucuruza sayo amafaranga– muri iki gihe ntabwo nabivuga. Ni ibo ry'ishyaka, ntakwirirwa mvuga cyane, kuko ti jye jye n'abandi bose bagiye bitanga. Igibe tutabarini bose wese, ntabwo nakwisyirwa imbere ngo nakozemero ariko nakoze uko nshoboye, nkoreshje imbaraga kandi nubundi nzakomeza kuzikoresha kugira ituzatsindira.

Ndabizi: abantu benshi bibaza ukutsa MDR dukora, aho dukura amafaranga, ikidukorwa, tubyifatamo kugira ngo tugire "sensibilisation" ince. Icyo mbere ni uko izo ngufu z'amafaranga –sterji buri wese– tumaze gukoresha amamiriyari kutsa murwanashyaka buri cyumweru sterateranje s'ibagakodesha itaxi, ari abajya i Cyangugu, ari abajya Ruhengeri, abajya i Kibungo, abajya ku Gikongoro, bose ni mu mufuka wabo bakora. Uyateranje ukwahamwe wasanga ari amafaranga menshi cyane, ariko kwitabira, kubera ishyaka nyine –ubundi mu by'icyo bita ishyaka. Ishyaka ni uko buri muntu wese nkwitanga, amenya gukora mu mufuka, gukoresha imbe zose kugira ngo ishyaka ricengere.

Ibyo byose rero umuntu abibaze ntawo aho akwiza imbare y'amafaranga abarwanashyaka twatanze. Hari uwanzo kunywa icupa kugira ngo muri mitingi. Hari uwaguze ka "foulard" ke, hari uingofero ye; ibyo byose umuntu abiteranje wasengari amafaranga menshi. Ariko ubwo bwinti bo ishyaka nyine. Mbega ni cyo umuntu yavuga ko "dynamique interne" y'ishyaka: ni uko umuntu yatanze uko afite. Niyo mpamvu nyine tubuzza b'kwishyirwa imbere ngo abare icyo yatanze.



Kuko umucuruza ntagira ijambo.

Umucuruza ashimisha, iyo ari ukumuca amafaranga, umucuruza ashimisha umutegetsi, iyo ari ukumusoresha, kumuca umusanzu, ruswa. Kandi ruswa yari yarabaye nk'itegeko. Ariko iyo bigeze aho yatumirwa, aho yashimirwa, aracheza.

Ubwo rero baritabiriye kuko icyo kifuzo ni ugukorera mu mucyo.

Ubwo biranagaragara ko "sensibilisation" twakoze kuri uyu mugi, yabereye ku nzego eshatu: gushaka abarwanashyaka b'imena, mu rwego rw'urubyiruko, mu rwego rw'abacurazi. Ngizo "secteur" nakozemo cyane. Kandi ndabona maze kugera ku by'ingenzi.

Mwagereranya mucishije mu mibare amafaranga ahwanye n'inkunga mwateye ishyaka?

Ku byerekeye inkunga y'amafaranga cyangwa

KARAMIRA (uwa 2 uturutse iburyo y'arushije am ajwi RWAMBIKERA, sitiri NDENGEJEHO na KAMBALA).

Umuturage agire ijambo. Umuntu yatanze uko afite. Usite yatanze byinshi, usite bicye atanga bicye; ariko cyane icyo tubara, ni umutima w'ishyaka, buri muntu wese ashiramo. Uwo mutima ni bwo bukungu bwacu bwacu cyane. Ubwo rero natanzo uko imbaraga zanje zanje.

Umuturage agire ijambo

Mwatorewe kuba Vivi-Perezida wa Kabiri: n'migambi ki?

Imigambi dufite ni uko umuturage asubirana nabo. Simbivugiyi kuko ikinyamakuru cyanyu ciftwa "IJAMBO". Ariko kugira ijambu ni ikintu gikomeye. Ababara kugira icyo uvuga, nta nkurikizi, nta nkomyi; nta avuze rigufi rigakosorwa: ariko nibura ukabona uko icyo, kandi ku muturage wese. Icyo kuri jye ni intego icye.



KARAMIRA amaze gutorerwa kuba Visiperezida wa kabiri yishimiwe na bose : aha ntshwba im pudu n'uzi kwiyam amariza ubusokereteri.

Kudahewza nabyo ni kimwe no kugira ijambu, icyangwa kudahewza mu bireba igihugu. Ni ukuvuga ko nta wese agomba kugengwa n'amategeko. Itegeko icye akaba ari ryo riba rikuru. Nta muntu ntshiriza itegko uba mukuru kurusha itegko. Natanga zero.

Nko mu mashuri umwana w'umunyarwanda unye n'undi imbere y'ikizami nta kandi. Ubonye nta ayagaragariwe, stangazwe ku mugaragaro; nta. Ntavuge ngo ndi umucuruzi -nkanye vencuruzi - ngo umwana wanjiye nabone umwana kuko nta, cyangwa ko nabaye Visi Perezida wa Parti, ngo nta umwana wanjiye agomba kubona ibyo abandi abona. Agomba kubona amanota nk'abandi bose.

Abe uwa Ministiri, abe uw'umuturage, abe nde: ubonye amanota niwe ugomba guhita. Iryo rero i tegeko. Ni ukuvuga ko abantu bose bangana mu ntshuri imbere y'amategeko: ibyo ni byo nta kudahewza.

Umwana w'umusore agiye gushaka akazi, ntshoreshe ikizami ugitsinze abone akazi. Aho uturuka nta gutschinda. Ubwoko bwe si bwo butsinda. Hatsinde subozi bwe, ubumenyi bwe. Noncho umutetgetsi abc abwo umugaragu w'abaturage kuko ari we ubafasha ntha amategeko no kuyakurikiza, aho kugira ngo abe ari ntshinduka itegko. Izo ngero nazo ntanga mu mashuri, nta bucuruzi iwacu wabishyiramo.

Niba ugiye muri "Banque Nationale" ntshireho amategeko shamyi ya Licence: amategeko amye yo kubona iki. Uyujuje wese akibone. Itegeko icyi no kujyaho kandi, abaturage babazwe. Kuko amategeko tubona muri iki gihe abatetgetsi baragenda ntshirera, ukumva ngo hashotse itegko iri n'iri. Nta "ndage" yakozwe mu baturage, abazengewa n'ayo amategeko ntacyo babizhi, ugasanga amategeko abituy icyu. Ubwo niko guheza. Niko kubura ijambu mu icyu, kuko bamwe bikubira gukora amategeko, ntshayshira ku bandi, mbega ku mbaraga.

Uko guheza ni byo bibyara igitugu. Ikindi na nce. Kudahewza no kugira ijambu bifite ingaruka ntshiraho: iyerekeye kukwishiya ukizana, ariko ishyaka icyu rishaka, ubatabera mu bintu. Ubwo butabera, uko ntshayshira ukizana niko gushobara gutuma umurimo ugenda nce. Niyo mpamvu duharanira umurimo.

Izo ntego zari zaranizwe.

Itora ryagaragaje abagabo

TWAGIRAMUNGU, NSENGIYAREMYE, KARAMIRA na MUREGO. Muri abo ngo harimo-abasederi (CDR) n'inkotanyi. Ikibazo cy'amoko mukibona mute?

Ikibazo cy'amoko ni ikibazo tumaranye igihe ariko tugomba kurenga. Ni uko itegko rija hejuru y'abantu, ntshihindure itegko. Ikibazo cy'amoko kiza

Ubwo rero twubahirije kudahezwa ku mwanya.

Ni ukuvuga ko umukandida umwe "stari principe". Yabaye "un fait".

IJJAMBO: Umwihariko wanyu mugeza ku banyarwanda ni uwuhe?

KARAMIRA: Ubu dufite ikibazo kimwe gikomeye: umutekano w'abaturage. Agahinda dufite ni uko muri demukarasi, aribo tubona ibikorwa biki bikerwa abaturage; nabo tugenda twumva invugya mbi z'abagonbyc kurebera no kumvira abaturage abubwo bakabakina ku mubyimba, kugeza n'aho bavuga ko ku Kibuye haba haratwe n'abadyimoni.

Birababaje yuko abaturage baguze imbunda, "routine", imyambaro ya gisirikari, none abo bantu bakaba aribo basubira inyuma bagaterwa amagrenade, bakarawwa, bagakubitwa bagaterwa ibyuma, bagasahurwa n'abo bayaye imbaraga zo gukorera igihugu.



cyan cyan iyo ubwoko bumwe bushatse kurenganya ubundi, iyo umuntu ashatshe kurenganya undi abyitwaje, iyo ushatse kuryamira witwaje ubwoko. Urugero mu mashuri: niba amanota ariyo atanga imyanya, ubwoko buba buvuycho. Niba mu bucürüzi ari "concurrence libre", ushoboye wese arahita. Icyo rero iyo cyubahirijwe, n'abatetgetsi bakacyubahiriza, ibyerekeye kwikundira mu bwoko bwawe biba bigabanutse.

Niyo mpamvu muri MDR navuga ko mfite "la tendance libérale": kwishyira ukizana nabo nshingiye kurusha ahando.

IJJAMBO: Kuki abarwanashyaka banyu bambara umudari wandiseho PARMEHUTU ntumubyamagane?

KARAMIRA: Ishyaka ntshwba ryavanycho PARMEHUTU. Ishyaka rikomoka kuri MDR PARMEHUTU. Kwanga inkomoko byaba ari ikosa rikomeye. Ikindi: kugeza ubu abantu bumvise PARMEHUTU nabi. PARMEHUTU, urebyo neza, ni porogaramu yo kuzamura rubanda rugufi (émancipation hutu); yarebaga rubanda rugufi, kurusha uko ireba ubwoko. Ariko ku bwiganze bwa rubanda rugufi, bwari abantu

Ikindi iyo "programme" yahitishije ubutunwa muri rubanda rugufi bensi. Iyo porogaramu rero tuyishingiraho kuko turi Parti ya rubanda rugufi: (parti de masse), kandi n'abo bahutu ni nabo bensi, baracyari mu ishyaka ryacu.

Kugukuraho PARMEHUTU ni uko iyo porogaramu yo kuzamura rubanda rugufi yarangiye, umuntu wese yamenye ko agoenba kugira ijambu. Ubu icyo turimo mu gushimangira ni demukarasi. Demukarasi niyo twabuze: demukarasi navuga ko ari ijambu.

IJJAMBO: Ishyaka ryanyu rifite ingufu: nizo zatumye KAYIBANDA azimya andi mashyaka. Aho itora ry'umukandida rukumbi TWAGIRAMUNGU sicyo bishushanya mu minsi iri imbere. Ese ko tubona iby'umukandida rukumbi arink'ibya HABYARIMANA na MRND, tuvuye he, tugiye he?

KARAMIRA: Icyo twavuga cya mbere ni uko atari ishyaka ryatanz umukandida umwe. Ishyaka ryatanz abakandida 11. Muri 11 habonekamo umwe wiyanamariza umwanya wa mbere, haboneka babiri biyamamariza uwa kabiri, haboneka banc biyamamariza umwanya wa 3, habonaka 2 biyamamariza umwanya wa 4, n'abandi babiri bifashe.

Ahubwo biragaragaza demukarasi nyayo. Abakandida bari bahari bari babyiyemje, bagize guhutamo umwanya biyamamarizaho. Iyo haba ushaka kujya kuri uwo mwanya wa mbere, bakaba bensi cyangwa se ku wa 2 bakaba bensi, cyangwa se no ku wa 3, byarashobokaga.

KARAMIRA (uwa mbere ibumoso) ari kumwe na Perezida TWAGIRAMUNGU, na NSENGIYAREMYE na MUREGO : ibyishimo ni byose.

KARAMIRA Froduald ni umucuruzi ufite imyaka 45. Yize amashuri y'ubuvuzi, yongeraho amashuri makuru mu by'ibaruramari n'iby'icungamutongo. Agiye muri poritiki vuba.



MDR: Amatora aruhaniye

"Bityo rero byaba bibaye indorerwamo y'igitugu"

S/NIBAG/WE: Murakoze. Ndacyeka ko iyo umuntu afite igitekerezo agomba kugisobanura. Navuze ko demukarasi ari ubutegetsi bw'abaturage, butangwa n'abaturage kandi bukorera abaturage. Ni ukuvuga rero yuko ari ngombwa kubahiriza icyemezo cyafashwe mu amatora ya za kongere za Perefegitura. Igihe natangaga icyo gisobanuro kwari ukugira ngo nsobanure icyo ngicyo neza. Kongere rero za Perefegitura zatanze abakandida bo kwiyamama riza umwanya wa Perezidansi. Hari abavuze ejo -ubwo ni umurwanashyaka GASANA - avuga ngo ntawo abarwanashyaka bavuga rumwe kuri "La Présidence", ndashaka kumubwira yuko, icyo yavuze atari cyo. Ndisobanura:

"La Présidence" -Nanje ikinyarwanda nakize mu ishuri- "Présidence", ntawo bivuga "Président, Premier Vice-Président, 2ème Vice-Président," sur le plan juridique et administratif", uretse hakoreshejwe "l'approche juridique et administrative de présidence collégiale".

Icy a mbere ni uko "Présidence collégiale" uwagenekeze yavuga ubuyobozi rusange mu kinyarwanda -ndavuga ko nakize mu ishuri kubera ko navutse mvuga igikiga- "la présidence collégiale ça implique le principe de rotation" nk'uko uyu munsi, uwaba ari "Président" yayobora inama cyangwa ishyaka Igihe kigenwe. Natanga urugero nko muri "Banques Populaires".

Burimuyobozi agira igihe cyo kuyobora "la Direction générale" cyangwa se nk'uko muri Afurika y'Epo bateganya "la présidence collégiale" umwe akazagira igihe cyo kuyobora Republiku igihe iki n'iki, mbese hakaba "la rotation". Icyo gihe rero nibwo umuntu yakwemera ko la "Présidence" muri "sens" GASANA yashakaga kuyivugamo, yaba ariyo.

Bityo nkaba ntemera ko iriya ingingo ivuga ko abakandida biyamarizwa umwanya uyu nuyu babanza kwigaragaza. Ibyo bivuga yuko muri bariya bakandida abakongeresite twatanze hari ushobora kuvuga ati: jyewe sinkiyamarije ku mwanya wa mbere wa Perezida. Abakongeresite babatoreye kwiyamamariza umwanya wa Perezidansi. Naho ubundi rero byaba bibaye indorerwamo y'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu; dictature idatanye n'ibyo tumaze iminsi tunenga. Bityo rero bikaba bihwanye no kunyonga demukarasi no gukandagira ugushaka kw'abaturage.

RUKEAMPUNZI Anastase: biriya bintu bamwe bihaye byo kugabana imyanya, ngo bagende batore kanaka, ngo uyu abe uyu nguyu, jye RUKEAMPUNZI Anastase ndabivuze ku giti cyanje, nkaba ndwanira demukarasi, ndifusa ko abakandida bose uko ari 11 bajya hariya imbere, tukababona.



Igitekerezo-cya NGABONZIZA gishobora guhinirwa muri aya magambo :

The opinion of 10'000 men is of no value if none of them know anything about the subject.

nkuo byavuzwe n'umuromani Marcus AURELIUS.

NGABONZIZA: Nagirango nibutse aba bakongeresite ko amatora kuri Perezidansi y'ishyaka yatangiye. Hari abantu barimo bavuga ngo: twigirire vuba dutangire amatora. Ahubwo bavuge ngo twigirire vuba dukomeze amatora.

Kuko aya amatora arimo ibice bitatu: icy a mbere cyahereye muri Perefegitura; dutora umukandida wo kuza hano, ubwo amatora kuri Perezidansi ya parti yari yatangiye. Icy kabiri cyari giteganijwe, nuko komite nasiyonari yagombaga gutoranyamo abantu batatu. Icyagatatu cyari giteganijwe, ni uko muri abo bantu batatu bagombaga kuza bakagera imbere y'iyi kongere.

Mu guhindura iyi ngingo ya 44, tugije twibuka ko amatora yatangiye, mu kuyihindura dushobora kuyihindura tubogamye tugira ngo dutoreshe kanaka cyangwa kanaka.

Turebye n'ibikorwa ahandi. Nabaha nk'urugero muri Convention internationale de l'Union internationale des Télécommunications, bavuga ko iyo amatora yatangiye nta muntu n'umwe wo muri kongere ushobora kugira icyo avuga cyangwa ngo ahindure. Na "motion d'ordre" ntiyemerwa, ahubwo hemerwa gusa "motion de procédure" iyo nk'uyobora amatora atangiye kugenda abitanisha, nk'uko dushobora kubikora muri iyi kongere.

Nuko rero, ubwo amatora yatangiye tugomba gukora uko dushoboye kose kugirango tugume muri "esprit" yatangiemo, kandi duhe abarwanashyaka bose "les mèmes chances".

Nko kuvuga ngo "désistement", i.e. "désistement" ije ite kandi bitarigeze rimwe bivugwa mu mategeko yari arinashaka kuvuga "statuts" n'amabwira y'amatora. Iyo abantu barimo bavugadésistement -byanshimishije ko nta n'umakandida wari watinyuka kubivuga- anabo bantu, wacyeka ko twatangiye amatora y'abayobozi b'ishyaka ryacu mu rwgo rw'ighugu, bo biringiye ko amabwira y'amatora na za statuts zizahindukabatorehereza uwo bashatse.

Kubera izo mpamvu rero, murwanashyaka Perezida w'iyi nama, bakongersite, nagira ngo nsabe ko tutagerageza, cengana, ahubwo imihindukire y'iyi "article 44" ubungubu muri yikongere, yrageza gukurikiza "esprit" twari dufit. abakandida 11 bakaza imbere ya kongere Kongere rero ikabigenza ite?

Kongere uko iri bubugenze, kubera bigeze mu mahina, umukandida araganara -nako abakandida baragaragara, bwese arashaka kubona umwanya yifusa.

Biriya bya "désistement" ntibigomu kubaho. Niba umukandida yumva adashobora kuba Perezida, ntibibeshye, barwanashyaka, niba abona ko uwo murimoatawushoboye, n'abakongeresite si impamyi, nabo barabibona ko atabishoboye ntabwo bari bumutore.

None rero tutagerageje guhindura amategeko kubera ko tuyahindurira kugira ngo dutoreshe kanaka, cyangwa "twrimine" kanaka. "Nabaporopoz" ko article ya 44 yagumya kumera nkuko yari iyi cyera, hakabaho iyi "amendement" gusa yuko "tous les onze candidats" baza imbere ya kongere.

Kandi icyo gihe turaba dukurikije ukuri, turaba dukurikije demukarasi kuberako bajya bavuga ngo u Rwanda ni ighugutagendera ku mategeko, none na MDR igiye kuba ishyaka ritagendera ku mategeko, kuko abantu bayihindagura uko bashatse, ibintu bigeze aho biryoshye kugira ngo bitoreshe.

None se niba tuvuga tuti: abayobozi b'ishyaka ntibashobora kurenza manda ebyiri z'imyaka ine, nitumara kugira abayobozi imyaka umunani, noneho bakaza muri iyi kongere bakagerageza gukoresha amafifiko ashoboka yose, bati iyi article tuyihindure, ahubwo tubigire "mandats en nombre ouvert" kugira ngo bongerebitoreshe. Barwanashyaka rwose ubwo ngubwo ntitzuba dusubiye muri "dictature"? (amashy iyo kaci kaci).

Nuko rero nagira ngo nongere nibutse ko impapuro tugira ngo tugendereho z'amategeko ari ebyiri gusa: "statuts" n'amabwiriza y'amatora. Tugomba rero kureka ibintu birimo, tukaba ari byo dukurikiza kubera ko amatora yaratangiye - amatora yaratangiye -

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA niyisame atariyambika ukuri.

CDR - Umutekano - Ifungwa ry'abanyamakuru

"Abarwanya CDR ni ba Gashozantambara"
CDR ntiyigeze itezuka ku mugambi wo kurwanya Abatutsi.

Ku ya 03.09.92 Minisitiri w'Ubutabera yatumiye Abanyamakuru, abaganirira ku mutekano, agera n'aho aburanira CDR impuzamugambi ziri maso, rya shyaka ryigisha ko umwanzi w'umuhutu ari umututsi. Umusherederi (CDR) NIZEYIMANA Yuli wa ORINFOR akigera kuri Radiyo yatangaje ko Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko Shederi (CDR) itatandukiriye inshingano yiye; bucyeye Minisiteri ya MBONAMPEKA yohereza itangazo rivuguruza ibyo umushederi yahitishije kuri Radiyo. Umushederi wawe ntiyavuze ko ari ibivuguruza ibyo yavuze. Ese yivugururizaga iki kandi ibyo MBONAMPEKA yavuze byari byafashwe mu byuma? Akarenze umunwa karushya ihamagara.

Ku ya 05.09.92 KAMEYA André ushinzwe ihangazamakuru muri Parti Libéral aherutse kwandika ku muminisitiri avuga ko niba atari umugambani ari "naïf" -twavuga igishwi-, tubera kuburanira ishyaka CDR rirwanya PL shurukamo, ryamutumye muri uwó mwanya v'ubuminisitiri. Birumvikana ko uwo mu minisitiri ari Stanislas MBONAMPEKA w'Ubutabera.

Mbere RWANDA RUSHYA ya KAMEYA yari yikomye abaminisitiri, ivuga ko bane nk'abariye imireti y'ibishwi. Ibyo byatanku ka ifungwa rya SISI, waziraga gutorera intore inkotanyi. Mbere yo gukubita intorezo MBONAMPEKA, ndabanza nibutse muri mage abaje muri iyo nama.

Inama yitabiriwe n'abanyanduga, abanzi ba CDR.

Hari haje NKUBIRI Sylvestre, GASASIRA Gaspard ba KINYAMATEKA, KAMURASE Martin wa RWANDA RUSHYA, KAREMERA Gaspard w'IMBAGA, na HANGIMANA Faransisiko Saveri w'IJAMBO: ababantu bakaba abanyanduga, mu yandi magambo, ibyito nako inkotanyi, abanzi ba shederi (CDR) twabeshya ko yari ihagarariwe na Yuli N'ZEYIMANA wa ORINFOR.

Ikiganiro cyamaze amasaha aranga ane, kiringira saa moyo z'ijoro zirengaho iminota itatu. Ababajije ibibazo bakurikiranye batya: GASASIRA (KINYAMATEKA), KAMURASE (RWANDA RUSHYA), KAREMERA (IMBAGA), na none KAREMERA (IMBAGA), na none GASASIRA (KINYAMATEKA) HANGIMANA (IJAMBO) weatanga ibiyifuzo, hataho NKUBILI (KINYAMATEKA), hanger KAREMERA (IMBAGA), hataho NIZEYIMANA (ORINFOR), haheruka KAREMERA (IMBAGA). Mu nshuro 10 KINYAMATEKA yabajije 3, IMBAGA 4, RWANDA RUSHYA 1, IJAMBO 1, ORINFOR 1.

Mu yandi magambo hizimbye ab'IMBAGA na KINYAMATEKA, kandi bakabaza ku iyiewa ry'abatutsi, ndetse n'ikibazo cyo gusesa ishyaka CDR. Nibajije niba uko kugaruka kuri CDR atari kô kwatumye MBONAMPEKA, wari warwanije CDR mbere, yivugira ko abona CDR ntaho yatandukiriye ku nshingano zayo.

Kuba rero ibibazo byatanzwe byaribanda kuri CDR, byatewe n'uko abashinzwe gutumira abo muri Minisiteri batumiye ishyirahamwe A.J.R. (Association des Journalistes du Rwanda) kandi mu Rwanda hari amashyirahamwe atatu y'abanyamakuru, n'ishyirahamwe rya ba nyir'ibinyamakuru rimwe.

Abakozi ba Minisiteri bavuze ko batari bazi ayo mashyirahamwe, mberekwa ko bakora giswa, kuko ishyirahamwe rimwe ryemewe n'amategeko, aribo baryemeye. Ubusanzwe amashyirahamwe y'abanyamakuru ni A.J.R. (Association des Journalistes du Rwanda: Tél.: 7 6164, U.J.R. (Union des Journalistes du Rwanda, Tél.: 7 6183, 7 6092), A.J.P.I.R. (Association des Journalistes Professionnels Indépendants du Rwanda; Tél.: 7 4942), naho umuryango uhuza banyir'ibinyamakuru ukaba umwe PROPRESSE (Association des Propriétaire d'Organes de Presse: Tél.: 8 3122).

Igiti kibi kera imbuto mbi.

Rero abategetsi bamenyereye ko gutumira abantu utanyujimo nibura iminsi irindwi hagati y'igihe abanyamakuru babonye impapuro zibatumira n'igihe inama izatangirira, cyangwa gutumira abanyamakuru hamwe, bishobora gutuma icyo umutegetsi avugiyi mu kiganiro, gihindurwa n'abanyamakuru, bakurikije umurongo bishakiye kuko baba baje ari bacye. Nicyo mbona MBONAMPEKA yazine, agwa mu mutegowa CDR kukoabo Minisiteri yariyatumiye ari ishyirahamwe rimwe, ryitwa iry'abanyamakuru b'abanyenduga. Urwishingishye ararusoma: Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA nasarure imbuto mbi Minisiteri yabibye:

"The tree thus bears bitter fruits".

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yatangije atuga iby'itangazamakuru, ko ryateye imbere, ko umuntu yandika ibyo ashaka. Kuri we, itangazamakuru rigomba kuba kimwe mu bisitiye abanyarwanda akamaro: kugeza ku baturage uko igihugu kigengwa kugira ngo bashobore kugenzura ubutegesi. Yaruze ko abanyamakuru batagomba gushaka ibitukana, ibishitura, kandi batanafutura ibyo baruze ku bantu.

Yavuze ko ifungwa ry'agateganyo rishobora kuba, ahakana atsema ko atigeze avuga ko nta munyamakuru uzafungwa by'agateganyo. Ubwo twarumiwe, kuko ibyo yivugiyi byari byaciye no kuri Radiyo, nyuma bigacá no mu kinyamakuru INTUMWA-LE MESSAGER, noneho dutangira kwibaza iby'ubo mugabo wivuguruza. Yaruze ko bashobora gufunga umunyamakuru igihe babona ko agumye hanze byatera intugunda; yacika se. Umunyamakuru wanze kuitabu agomba gushakwa; agashyikirizwa umujuji w'uru:iko; si ngombwa ko abashinjacyaha barindira ya minsu itanu ntarengwa. Yananze urugero: MUGABE Jean Pierre w'UMUVUGIZI WA RUBANDA "LE TRIBUN DU PEUPLE" yanditsi ibintu bishobora gukuraho Perezida wa Republiko bibonewu ibimenyetso. NGEZE Hassan kugira ngo aboneke abazwe biba intambara.

Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA yavuze ko Perezida wa Republiko ashobora kunengera imikorere ye, ariko ngo nta kwandagaza umutware w'umuryango, umwandikaho ibyo utazi imeano, umwandikaho ibitutsi. Yanaruze ko kwandika ku bishugu by'amahanga bishobora guteza amahane abo ucandika yibwira ko arengera, ndetse bikaba byayateza igihugu eye.

Kuri ibi muribonera ko Minisitiri MBONAMPEKA atumiza ikiganiro cy'abanyamakuru yari agamije kwikuraho urubwa yatewe n'uko abanyamakuru bafunzwe nyuma y'aho avugiyi ko muri demukarasi nta munyamakuru ufungwa atabanje kuburana ngo akatirwe n'inkiko. Ese Minisitiri ntiyibuka amagambo yavuze i Nyanza agaca kuri Radiyo? Yakwemeye akaba umugabo akavuga ko ibyo yemeye bidashoboka, ariko ntatumire abanyamakuru

