

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

KUJAMBO

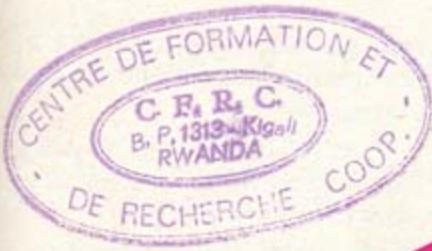
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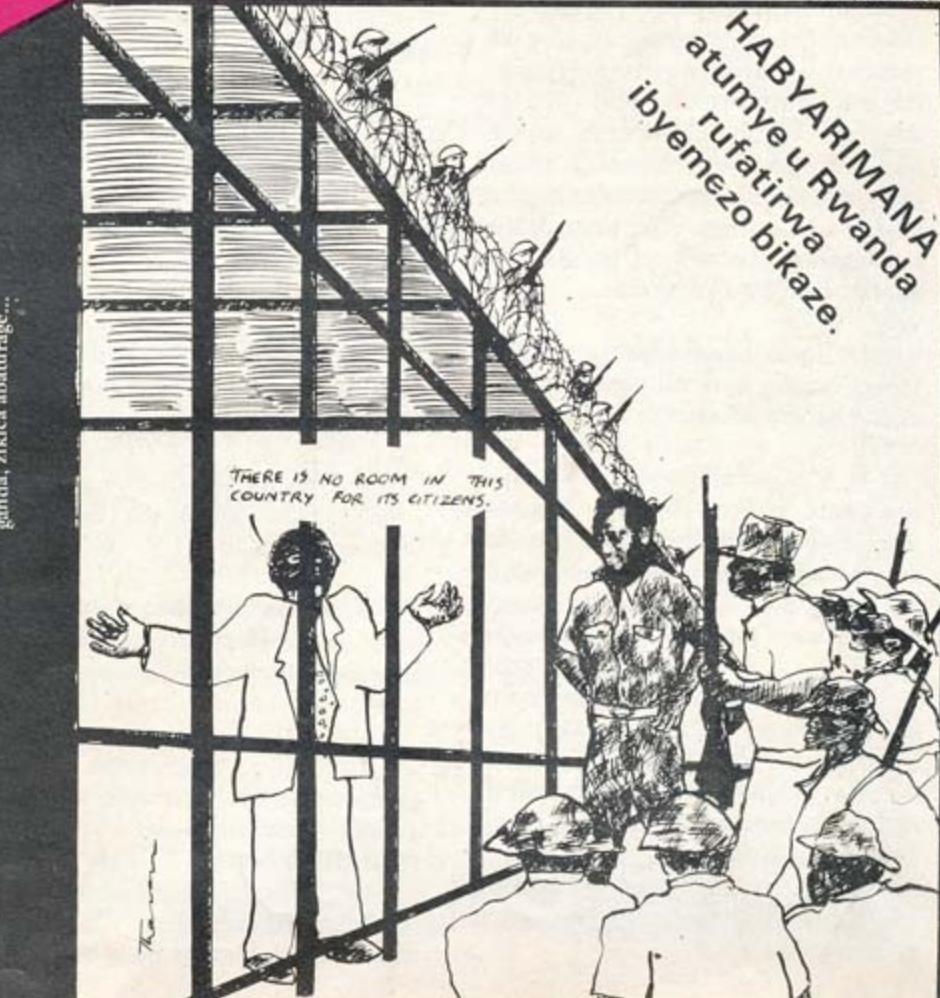


erezida TWAGIRAMUNGU ati: sinzemera politiki ishi- ngiye ku kinyoma cy'abapa- rmehutu.

shuriro rigamije
utseumba abatutsi:
orum Paix et Démocratie

Yamaganye isembatsumba ry'abaturi...

Izanze Leta y'u Bugande nta ruhare ifite mu
ntambara ya FPR n'u Rwanda
... Yamaganye ingabo z'u Rwanda zagaabye ibi-
tero i Bugande, zigescuya ingo, zikiba imyaka
n'amaturango...



nta mpaka ko PARMEHUTU nayo itafashe ibyitso by'inzenzi muri 63 kandi bikicwa nta rubanza.

Abarwanashyaka nyakuri rero ba MDR ni abemera "autocritique" mu ishyaka, kandi bakemera ko MDR PARMEHUTU ivuguruye ishingiye ku mahame ya MDR PARMEHUTU ariko ko atari PARMEHUTU nyirizina. Ayo mahame rero twongeye kuyibutsa:

- Irya mbere ni ukurwanya ingoma ya cyami n'ubuhake.
- Irya kabiri ni ugushimangira demokarasi na Republiku dukesha Révolution ya 59.

Ishyaka rero ry'umucyo MDR: ntabwo MDR ivuguruye yemera gukorera mu mwijima ushingiye ku gitugu, n'iterabwoba mu bitekerezo, haba muri politiki cyangwa se mu bikorwa by'igihugu cyangwa se haba mu bikorwa bya buri muntu ku giti cye. Ishyaka MDR ivuguruye rikorera mu mucyo (transparence), kubera ko ryasanze aribwo buryo bwo kurwanya uburyarya n'ubutiriganya muri politike. Ibihe rero tugezemo kandi bidusaba kuvugisha ukuri, mu bwigenge bwuzuye no mu kwishyira ukizana kwa buri muntu.

MDR rero ivuguruye ntabwo i shyigikiye, ntabwo nubwo yemera na busa, ko yaba ishyaka ry'ubwoko bumwe. Politiki ishaje yo gushingira ku bwoko izarwanywa ku buryo bushoboka kugeza igihe irimburiwe n'imizi yayo yose. MDR yemera irushanwa n'ipiganwa muri byose, kandi kuri buri wese, haba mu kazi, ariko kose, haba mu mashuri, ndetse yemera iryo piganwa no muri za buruse zo kujiya muri za kaminuza. None se ubu twahakana ko abize kaminuza n'amashuri yisumbuye muri iyi myaka 20 abenshi atari abakomoka mu karere k'amajyaruguru y'igihugu ? None se barushije abandi banyarwanda ubwenge ? Igihugu rero kizatezwa imbere n'ababishaka kandi babyimeje, bakazabikorana ubwenge bwabo bwose, bakazabikorana ingufu zabo zose, n'umutima wabo wose. Ntabwo rero igihugu cyatezwa imbere n'ubumvikane bw'imiryango imwe n'uturere cyangwa se amoko; amoko kandi ashingiye ku kazu, mu gihe birendaho ibyiza igihugu gifite kandi batarabuhiye. Ibyo rero bisa n'ibyo ku ngoma ya cyami. Ubwo rero bikaba bitari mu nzira y'umucyo, kandi bidahu-

je n'igihe tugezemo; kubirwanya rero bikaba ari ihame.

Bene iyo mikorere nanje ubwanjye niyemeje kuyirwanya kugeza igihe ahubwo nanje nzaviramo umwuka.

MDR yifuza ko abanyarwanda bumvikana kubera ko bafite umurage ukomeye abenshi muri Afurika badafite, umurage w'umuco nyarwanda wo kuvuga ururimi rumwe, kwitwara kimwe, idini rimwe rya Gihanga n'imigenzo myinshi myiza inyuranye, ihuriweho n'abanyarwanda bose, bageze hafi miliyoni 8. Umuhutu, umututsi, umutwa, buri wese yagombye kumva ko ntacyo arusha undi; none se hari uwaba arusha undi ubunyarwanda ? Ubu se yaba abishingiye he ? Yaba se abishingiye kuki ? Ku ndeshyo se ? Ku mazuru ? Ku bukire bw'inka se n'amasambu cyangwa bw'amafaranga ? Ku myuga se ? Kuba se azi kubumba cyangwa azi gukata ibumba ? Ntawe rero ubujije umuhutu kuba umuhutu, nta n'ubujije umututsi kuba umututsi. Yewe nta n'ubujije umutwa kuba umutwa, igihe bose bumva ko hari icyo ibyo bintu bibamariye mu mibereho yabo. Nibakomeze babyihambireho ariko numwa ntawabikangisha undi cyangwa ngo ashake kubyibisha ubutegetsin'ibyiza by'igihugu. Politiki rero ishingiye ku moko, ntabwo ari iyo muri iki gihe tugezemo.

Igihe twitegura kujya mu kinyjana cya 21 twari tugombye guhindura imitekerereze. Umuhutu cyangwa umututsi uzitwaza iyo politike tuza-murwanya; tuzamurwanya mpaka kugeza igihe tumutsindiye. Ntabwo u Rwanda ari **Laboratoire** ya politiki y'amoko, ari nayo ikurura intambara y'urudaca.

Mu muco nyarwanda rero nta bwoko bw'umuhutu bwabagaho, nkuko nta bwoko bw'umututsi bwabagaho. Ntabwo wahuraga n'umuntu ngo numubaza ngo bwoko bwawo ni ubuhe ngo akubwire ngo ndi umuhutu. Yarakwibiraga ati: ndi umwega cyangwa ndi umusinga.

Umututsi rero ntabwo yarangwaga n'amazuru; yarangwaga n'imyifatire ituruka ku mutungo we, akarangwa n'amasambu wenda afite cyangwa se akarangwa n'abo ahatse. Umuhutu na-we yarangwaga no gutunga duke, ariko cyane akarangwa no gutungwa n'ingufuze bwite gusa akoresha kugira

ngo abone ikimutunga we n'umuryango we. Ibyo ariko ntibisobanura ka hatabayeho abahutu n'abatutsi banganya umutungo, kandi bakabanaku bwubahane. Ibyo aribyo byose, ubwokohugu, aribwo nita tribu, ni butatu umuzungu yashatse gushyira mu banyarwanda; ubwo bwoko rero jye ndahakana ko butabaho. Bityo MDR izarwanya politiki iyo ariyo yose ishingiye ku moko no ku turere. Izarwanya kandi politiki yose izaba ibishamikiye-ho, nka politiki yo gutonesha no gakundwakaza uwo ariwe wese cyane mu nzego z'ubutegetsi bwa Leta.

Igihe turimo rero kirasaba buri wese kumenya kwirwanaho, agakoresha imbaranga ze cyangwa se ubwenge bwe, akabishimirwa niba abikoze neza, akabihemberwa igihe cyose arngombwa.

Kandi ibyo byose bigakorwa nta kubangamira uburenganzira bwa buri muntu uwo ariwe wese. Nta munyarwanda rero, yaba umuhutu, umututsi cyangwa se umutwa wagombye guhinda umushyitsi mu gihugu cye. Nta mukiga wakwitwaza ubukiga bwe, nkuko nta munyenduga wakwitwaza ubunyenduga bwe, ngo akore ibyo yishakiye mu gihugu. Buri munyarwanda nashyire mu kuri kandi ashyire mu gaciro, maze agende yemye mu gihugu cye kandi byose abikore mu mucyo.

Ubwo afite izuru ntabwo azajya mu busirikari

Bavandimwe rero nkaba ngirango ndangirize ku bantu dukunze kwita "l'évolution des mentalités"; kensi nakunze kuvuga ko mu ishyaka MDR, kugira ngo u Rwanda ruzagende neza bizaterwa n'uko umunyarwanda ykwivugurura. Muri uko kwivugurura rero agomba nanone kwivanamo ibitekerezo bishaje kandi bidafite ishingiro n'ireme. Birababaje cyane kubona umunyarwanda apfa n'undi imiterere ye y'amazuru. Muri Somariya naho bapfa imiterere n'ingano z'ibibuno byabo. Ubwo rero muri Afurika ibyo dupfa nibyo abanyarwanda bita ngo impamvu ingana ururo...

Gutegeka u Rwanda ntabwo ari ugutegeka abahutu gusa, iyo mitekereyabaye mibi cyane ku gihe cy'abzungu bari barahisemo gukoresha abatutsi kugira ngo bategeke bene wabo.

Kutemera ko hari ingirwabahutu zari bahutu mu by'ukuri kandi zategeswe kimwe n'abahutu byaba ari ukwirengagiza amateka y'u Rwanda. Gusa kibabaje ni uko abatutsi b'abahinzi bahoze bahatswe, ariko bakaza guhunga muri 59, ubu nibo bavuyemo ba "extrémistes" kubera ko bumva nabo agombye kugira igihe cyabo cyo guhaka ubutegetsi kandi bakihimura ku bahutu ngo babirukanye mu Rwanda. Umututsi rero uri mu gihugu, kumva to yategeka u Rwanda, agahaka umuhutu ngo kubera ko ari umututsi gusa, kandi na se atarigeze ateguka, kabone ziyo yaba yarategetse, byenda gusetsa abantu gusa. Ese ubwo bwenge umututsi yaba afite bwo kwiba umuhutu umugono, akamuhaka bwaba bukomohe ?

Umuhutu w'ubu rero nawe yu-mva ngo ko yatsinze, kandi ngo akumuva ko ngo gutsinda, ari ukwihimura, kandi akihimura no ku bantu batigeze bagira n'igitekerezo cyo kumutegeka, ibyo rero akabikora yikanga baringa iri mu mututsi. Ati : ubwo afite izuru, araza kuntegeka ! Akongera ati ubwo afite izuru, ngomba kumwumvisha ! Ntabwo aziga. Ntabwo azajya mu basikare, nta n'ubwo azakora muri za Ambasade zacu, cyangwa se ngo tumugire Perefe.

Iryo piganwa rero ry'abitwa ngo bavuye muri Cade n'abandi ngo bavuye muri za Etiyopiya ntabwo rishimishije, ibyo twari dukwiye kubireke-rra abazungu, cyane cyane ba nyakwigendera Monseigneur Classe n'abandi bamukurikiye. Monseigneur Classe ati : ubundi abatutsi ni abazungu nkatawe, ni uko gusa birabura. Birumvika-na ko imvugo nk'iyo, kuyibwira umwirabura utajijutse ahita atera hejuru, akumva koko ngo hari icyo arusha abandi cyangwa se ngo afitanye isano n'abazungu. Gusa icyo nzi ni uko abanyarwanda mu mateka yabo bazi ko bakomoka ku muntu umwe rukumbi. Wenda ibyo si byo, ariko nitwemere nibura amateka yacu, mbere yo kwemera ifindafinda ry'abazungu. Ibyo ari byo byose umunyarwanda niyumve ko gukomeza gutekereza mu mpitagihe, ngo niho ashakira ishema, ibyo ngo ni byo byazamuha ishimwe mugihugu, ni kimwe n'aho twavuga ko ari : hobe ibyansize.

Umunyarwanda rero namenye ko ari umunyarwanda gusa, yongereho ubuhutu bwe, ubututsi bwe, n'ubutwa

bwe, niba abishaka, ariko ntabikangi-she mu migirire ye no mu mikorere ye kubera ko ntacyo byatugezaho. MDR ishaka ko umunyarwanda yakwivana-mo umuco wa kija, kandi akivanamo umuco wo guhaka. Umunyarwanda, yaba umuhutu yaba umututsi, ntabwo yakwibwira ko kubera ubwokomere (éthnie) bwe (umuhutu, umututsi, umutwa), ibyo rero ntawabyitwaza ngo agiye kurimbura abandi cyangwa se ngo agiye kubahaka.

Umunyarwanda, uwo ari we wese, namenye ko ubwokoryango (clan) abuhuje n'undi munyarwanda uwo ari we wese. Umuhutu, umutwa, umututsi bose babihuriyeho. Ariko niba abanyarwanda bahuje amokoryango, baka bavuga ururimi rumwe, ari rwo kinyarwanda, tukaba mu Rwanda tutazi ururimi bita igitutsi, cyangwa se ngo tumenyre ururimi rwitwa ighitu, abanyarwanda tukaba duhuje imyifatire, tukaba duhuje amateka, tukaba dushyingirana, tukaba duhuje idini rya Ryangombe, muri macyeya tukaba duhuje umuco, icyo dupfa ni iki ?

Jye nasanze rero icyo dupfa muri iki gihe, ari ubutegetsi no kugira inda nini, tukabikora rero twitwaje amoko n'uturere. MDR isanga inzira nziza ari uko twahindura ibitekerezo, tukava mu muyoboro w'ibitekerezo bishaje tukayoboka inzira ya demokarasi. Tugomba rero kumva ko demokarasi nyayo itarobanura, akaba ariyo shingiro ry'ibitekerezo bishya, kandi tukazabigira umurage w'abana bacu; ikaba kandi ari naryo shingiro ry'ubutegetsi.

Ibyo rero nkabona ari byo byava-na u Rwanda mu bujiji bw'amoko n'intambara y'urudaca ikururwa n'ubushake bw'abatumva poritike y'igihe tugezemo, bagakomeza kwitwaza ko iyo ntwaro y'amoko ngo ariyo izabageza ku butegetsi. Iyo ntwaro kirimbuzi rero tugomba kuyirwanya. Umuhutu ntagomba gukangisha ubwinshi-bwe, cyangwa ngo umututsi akangishe ngo nahoze ndi mpatsabahutu. Ibyo byose ntaho byazageza urubyiruko.

Bityo rero kugira ngo u Rwanda ruzabe u Rwanda abanyarwanda bagomba kwivugurura, bakicuramo umunyarwanda mushya, bagatereka intango y'ubumwe bwabo, n'ubumwe bw'ighugu aho gukomeza gutereka intango y'urwango n'amaganya. Aba-

nyarwanda nibo bonyine bazishakira demokarasi nyayo ishingiye kuri kamere yabo n'umuco wabo. Bityo kandi ibitekerezo bishaje bigasimbuzwa ibitekerezo bishya, bityo twese tukabaho mu bumwe no mu bwumvikane. Jyewe rero mu by'ukuri akaba ariyo magambio nashakaga kubagezaho.

Ba MUREGO barakora poritiki ya rwana



MUREGO ati : ibyo TWAGIRAMUNGU yako-ranye n'inkotanyi MDR yarabyamaganye

Hakurikiyeho impaka

HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier
(IJAMBO) : Ndabanza gushimira Perezida TWAGIRAMUNGU kubera kubaha igihe.... Nakongera ku cyatumye HABYARIMANA yegura ku buyobozzi bw'ishyaka kinavugwa n'inkotanyi... ko ari ukugira ngo MRND ibone uburyo itazemera amasezerano ya Arusha ku-ko... HABYARIMANA niyayasinya azayasinya ari Perezida wa Repubulika.

Dutumirwa n'itangazo twumvise ko TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawusitini, Perezida w'ishyaka MDR ariwe utumiye, ntabwo ari Perezida gusa. Tukibwira ko ari TWAGIRAMUNGU ku gititi cye... Mudusobanurire niba iki kiganiro ari icyo MDR cyangwa niba ari icyo TWAGIRAMUNGU, kubera yuko umwe mu ba visi-perezida ba MDR aherutse kumbwira ko ibitekerezo TWAGIRAMUNGU azanye, yaba abisinye i Burundi, yaba abisinye i Buruseri, yaba abisinye na PSD, yaba abisinye na PL abizana mu rwege rukuru rw'ishyaka MDR (biro politike) rukabyamagana, cyane cyane ko hari ikinyamakuru (NYIRAMACIBIRI) kimaze gusoho-

Ibihe turimo

CDR yiyubururiye muri FPD

Abanyaruhengeri MBONAMPEKA na BICAMUMPAKA Bosco nibo bari ku isonga ry'impuzamugambi ziyoberanirije mu Ihuriro riharanira amahoro na demokarasi Forum Paix et Démocratie.

Ku ya 07.04.93 muri Hôtel Méridien i Kigali MBONAMPEKA Stanislas yakoresheje ikiganiro mbwirwaruhame kigenewe abanyamakuru kugira ngo abagezeho ibya FPD. Iryo shyirahamwe rifite agakingirizo GAPYISI, urihagarariye imbere y'amategeko, akungani-rwa na MBONAMPEKA Stanislas na KARINGANIRE Joseph.

Kuryita irya MBONAMPEKA ni uko ari we werura umugambi wavyo, ariwo wo kurwanya abatutsi basashe intwarz, kuri we akaba abona ko bashaka gusata ubutegetsi ku ngusu. Mu bundi buryo ni ibya bindi CDR yigishaga: ubumwe bw'abahutu. Igihe tukibaza icyo ishyirahamwe nka ririya rizageza ku banyarwanda, turasanga nta n'ishi-ngiro ryaryo.

Ubwa mbere abarigize ni abahutu: mu yandi magambo ni irondakoko rishyizwe imbere. Icyu kabiri iryo huriro ntiryerura ngo ryiyite ishyaka, nyamara ugasanga ryitiranywa n'amashyaka y'ahandi (muri Kenya), kandi rigamije ibya politiki. Abarigize bavuga ko nta butegetsi baharanira, nyamara wagenzura ugasanga niabantu bari ku isonga mu mashyaka ya politiki. Gusa umuntu yakongeraho ko ari abanyapolitiki babuze aho bisanzurira, nka MBONAMPEKA na GAPYISI bitwikiriye impu za PL na MDR kandi umubiri wabo ari CDR.

Iryo huriro ntiritinya no kuvuga ko HABYARIMANA ntacyo atwaye, ko iki-babaje ari ibitero by'inkotanyi. Nyamara abanyarwanda benshi bari bamaze kumenya neza ko ubwigenge (démocratie) buri mu gihugu tubukesha inkotanyi, zo zokeje igititu HABYARIMANA akarekura. Iyo urebye ririya huriro usanga icyo rigamije ari ugukwirakwiza ya nyigisho ya Perezida HABYARIMANA yo kurwanya umwanzi. Igihe rero hakiri abanyarwanda badashaka gucisha make, intambara izakomeza, maze ya mahoro FPD ishaka abure.

KAYIGEMA

Agatsiko kayobowe n'abanyaruhengeri 67%.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. BUTARE Innocent (BUTARE) : MRND | 6. MBONAMPEKA Stanislas (RUHENERI) : PL |
| 2. GAPYISI Emmanuel (GIKONGORO) : MDR | 7. MUNYANGAJU Gabriel (BUTARE) : * |
| 3. KAMPUNDU Epiphanie (GITARAMA) : * | 8. NSABIMANA Alexis (GITARAMA) : MDR |
| 4. KARINGANIRE Joseph (KIBUNGO) : MDR | 9. RUHUMURIZA Gaspard (GITARAMA) : PDC |
| 5. KIGUFI Thomas (GITARAMA) : * | 10. BICAMUMPAKA Bosco (RUHENERI) : MRND |

* abavuga ko nta shyaka barimo twababariye muri MRND ishaje

A. Amashyaka: MRND: batanu : 50%; MDR : batatu : 30%; PL : umwe : 10%;
PDG : umwe : 10%

B. Uturere : GITARAMA : bane : 40%; RUHENERI : babiri : 20%; BUTARE : babiri : 20%;
GIKONGORO : umwe : 10%; KIBUNGO : umwe : 10%

Iyo ugenzuye iyi mbonerahamwe usanga ari abanyagitarama biganje; naho ubuyobozi bukaba bwikubiwe
n'abakiga (67%).

Abayobozi: GAPYISI : Représentant Légal

MBONAMPEKA : Premier Représentant Légal Suppléant

BICAMUMPAKA : Deuxième Représentant Légal Suppléant

Impuzamugambi za CDR ziyoberanirije muri FPD

Bimwe mu byifiro bya Perezida HABYARIMANA ni ugusenza amashyaka ari mu gihugu, agakika intego. Ibyo ashobora kubigeraho yifashishije abarondakoko nka ba **MBONAMPEKA** na **GA-PYISI** bananiwe kubaka amashyaka yabo **PL** na **MDR**, bagakora **Forum Paix et Démocratie**. **Ihuriro riharanira amahoro na demokarasi**. Ubusanzwe icyo iryo huriro rivuga rigamije, aricyo amahoro, gishobora kugerwaho n'amashyaka ya politiki. Ukuntu rero bariya bantu bemeye gukorera hanze y'amashyaka ntibyumvikana: iyo baba abagabo, bagombaga kubanza kuyasezeramo, noneho bakabona kwemera ko HABYARIMANA atari ikibazo, ko umugambi ari umwe, uwo kurwanya inkotanyi. Nimwisomere bimwe mu byavuzwe muri Hôtel Méridien i Kigali kuya 07.04.93 ubwo bigarage jeuko bari.

Ikibazo cya mbere cya **UWIMANA Emmanuel** washakaga kumenya amashyaka n'amoko abagize ihuriro **Forum Paix et Démocratie** baturakamo, ntiyangishubijwe cyose kuko banze kuvuga amoko yabo. Hataho **HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier** (IJAMBO) :

1. Ko numea ishyirahamwe ryanyu rigamije ibya politiki, kuki muviyoberanya mu ishyirahamwe risanzwe? Kandi murikoma cyane inkotanyi, nkibaza niba mutari akana ka CDR kihishe inyuma, kuko baruga ko CDR imaze guta agaciro kabera ko yangitse kabera ivangura ry'amoko. Ko mwari mu ishyaka, ni iki mwabuze ngo ibyo bitekerezo bya demokarasi bisakare?

2. Kuri mue ari uwahungiyi imbere mu gihugu (éxilé intérieur) n'uwameneshejwe mu gihugu cye mubona ubabajje ari uwuhe?

3. Muremeza kandi natweturemera ko, nubwo turi mu ntambara, demokarasi yateye intambwe ndende. Twe dusanga kugira ngo demokarasi izetumtegetsi vari uraho, Perezida yemeye kugabana n'abandi, ari uko ishyaka rafite intwaro, FPR ryamwokeje igitutu. Mwe ntabwo mubona ko demokarasi dufite tuyikesha FPR?

Igisubizo cya MBONAMPEKA : Ishyaka rya politiki riba rigamije ubutegetsi. Kenshi usanga rikoresha uburyo bwose kugira ngo rizagere kubutegetsi. Uko amashyaka abyitwaramo ntibinyure n'abari muri ayo mashyaka... Iri shiyirahamwe tukaba dushaka ko ryajya ryunganira amashyaka, rireba niba izonzira ishyaka rishaka kunyuramo kugira ngo rigere ku butegetsi niba ziboneye la morale politique dushaka ko rigenda mu nzira imeze neza, itabangamiye abatutrage.

Icy kabiri: amashyaka yacu aracyari mashya, amenshi ntarashyiraho udutsinda dushoboye, dushobora gutekereza ku bibazo ibi n'ibi, kandi dufite n'ingorané nyinshi zidatuma rimwe na rimwe amashyaka atekereza ku buryo bucukumbuye ku bitekerezo bimwe na bimwe igitugu gifite, cyane cyane mu bigomba kutugeza mu nzira ya demokarasi. Twe tukaba twariyemeje ko twajya tubitekereza kandi tukabigeza ku bandi banyarwanda.

Icy gatatu : ni uko twasanze amashyaka adakunda guhurira hamwe, ngo arebe impamvu atavuga rumwe kuri ibi bitekerezo ibi n'ibi, birebana n'igihugu...



Igisubizo cya KARINGANIRE : Nagirango mbonne akanya ko gusubiza ikibazo **HANGIMANA Fr. Xavier** yambajije agira ati: Muravuga muti hari abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, barababaje. Ati: ariko kandi hari abavanywe mu gihugu, ari abo bombi ubabajje kurusha undi ni uwuhe? Igisubizo cya mbere natanga : bose barababaje. Kuko mu matwara y'amahoro na demokarasi dushyigikira ko ntawe ugomba kuvutswa uburenganzira bwe bwo kuba umuturagihugu, ngo yirukanwe mu gihugu. Nta'n'ugomba kuvanywa mu bye ngo ajye kwangara ku gasi, yari yifashijie, ngo abeho ku buryo bababaje, buteje agahinda.

Ariko ibyo byose ikibitera ni intambara. Intambara yarabaye mu gihe cya Révolution ya 59; ibintu byari nk'intambara koko rwose. Hari abantu rero bumvise ko ubuzima bwabo bushobora guhungabana, baragenda. Ariko... habaye

Ibyo gutsemba abatutsi bizikora mutarime kubivuga : mabanze mwigishe ubumwe bwababutu gusa

inshuro nyinshi amagambo y'abategetsi b'ighugu asaba abantu bose bahanze kubera izo mpamvu kugira ngo bagaruke. Navuga disikuru ya Perezida KAYIBANDA yo kuwa 16 z'ukwei kwa gatatu 62; nkongera nkavuga indi disikuru yo kuwa 28.1964; nkongera na nyuma yaho ngenho nkavuga amakomisiyo yose yagiye ashyiraho kugira ngo bige ikibazo cy'impunzi. Ariko kuri ibyo byose hari abantu benshi batashije kugaruka kubera ko babonaga mu gihugu imbere wenda nta mutekano watuma bizera ko batashaho neza.

A... ko kandi nanone ibyo ntibyatwibagiza ko mu gihe bamwe babashije kubaho mu gihugu, nubu barahari, aribo babandi tubara, bati abatutsi ni 14% ku ijana, abahutu aba n'aba, n'abatwa aba n'aba. Abo bantu kokoo -ibeho byari bikomeye- nabo bagize ubwoba nk'abandi. Ntibahanze, barasigaye, kandi bariho. Abandi ba-

hari abageze aho ngaho, nabo babasha kunda. Abo nabo baragarutse; mu mikorere ingu barakoze, nabo baratura. Abandi bari iyo, kubera ko ubutegetsi bwo mu gihugu, nabwo twamaganana, hari ubwo bwabaga ubutegetsi bw'igitugu koko ku buryo bugara... ariko icyo gitugu nticyarebaga abantu nabo bumwe, ngo gisige abandi. Ibyo ngiyo umuntu abifitiye ubuhamya.

Niukuvuga rero ko, igihe noneho twari du... twebwe mu gihugu, kumva yuko ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bugomba gusezererwa; tukaba shagurukiye amatwara ya demokarasi yo barwanya, kandi bikaba byaragaragara ko ubutegetsi buriho ubungubu, nubwo-nkuko tu... harimo bamwe barwanya ihinduka ubutegetsi n'busimburwe n'ubutegetsi bwa starasi, ariko biragaragara ko ubutegetsi gugu buriho, bwari bwarahagurukiye n'yikirano. Kandi abanyarwanda benshi - turimo - tukaba twari dushyigikiye iyo n'yikirano. Tukareba rero, tugasanga, ubwo nyarimo guhinduka gutyo, umuntu yavu... icyerekeye gutera, kugaruka n'intwarz... n'yihigikiye n'ikindi gitekerezo cyabiga... Uti: mu by'ukuri muravuga ko mwabi... n'ihiye, ariko ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMA bwari bwarabananiye, iyo hataza kuza mayingo zimuhungabanye, noneho yemere jaza, agende acogora.

Ibyo nabyo umuntu yabyibaza akareba n'iyko koko. Ariko mu by'ukuri ndatekereza mu gihugu hagati bari baratangiye kugera ku buryo bugaragara, kandi ko hari si yarekuye kubera ko umurego w'abo mu n'agati wari ukomeye. Tukumva rero ko, mu gihugu twari twaratangiye kujegeza ubutegetsi bw'igitugu, ahubwo byari n'izinkugira ngo tugumirize aho ngaho, ariko nabo iby'intambara zica zikamenesha

Impamvu rero twebwe duharanira amahoro mokarasi ni ukugira ngo iby'intambara abantu bibe bivuye mu nzira; he kugira n'wese wumva ko ashayigikiye amahoro na kurasi wavuga ko intwarz... yo kugira naboro na demokarasi bize mu Rwanda ari... Tugasaba rero yuko twarebera hanabona ubundi buryo, kandi bwari bwatase koko, bwo kugira ngo tube twahindu... ubutegetsi bwose bw'ingufu, ubutegetsi bwosubandama abantu, kugira ngo tuzarebe kugira kuri demokarasi, ariko hatajemo... tambara; ibyo kwica abantu nabyo twa... kugera ko numvise Farasisiko HAMANA avuga ati: muramaganana FPR gusa... nabo nyandiko azasanga atari FPR y... twamaganana ibintu bibiri: Uwaba a... kugira kuri demokarasi bize mu Rwanda ari... n'uwaba ashaka gusimbuza ubwo butegetsi bw'ingufu, uwo nawe turamwamaganana. Nabo niba iri muri abo bombi iramaganwa, abandi bamaganwa; nkuko n'umuntu ku... tuzasanga yitwaza icyo gitekerezo, turamaganana. Ngicyo igisubizo naguha.

Inhabavanywe mu byabo bagahungira mu n'ababujije gutaha barababaje bo... twebwe twaterekereza yuko, ibyo bibi... n'ikubiri ya demokarasi twari tugeze... kashoboraga kubikemura, bidaciye mu intambara n'amatasu.

GAPYISI nave yunzemo : uvuga ngo FPR yaba ariyo yazanyedemokarasi mu gihugu, simbyemera. Intambara yatangiye muri 90. Muri Afurika hose abantu bakunda demokarasi, twari tumaze imyaka myinshi tuyiharanira mu rwihihisho; bamwe na bamwe twigaragaza tukamererwa nabi. Muri Afurika hose si mu Rwanda gusa. Muri 89-90 Afurika yose yari itangiye guhaguruka. Demokarasi itangiye gucengera ... Hano mu Rwanda, bamwe muri aba ngaba, ndababona, twatangiye intambara itaratangira. Ndi umwe muri abo; twandika inyandiko nk'iyi ngiyo, tuti turaharanira demokarasi n'amashyaka menshi. Icyo gihe bamwe mu bo njya mbona bavuga cyane bavugira hejuru (**ubwo ni TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin ucuyirirwa**) ntibayisinye. Bari bacyambara wa mudari muzi.



Ibitekerezo bibi GAPYISI adabitisha muri MDR azajya abinyuza muri FPD

Sinemera rero ko inkotanyi ari zo zazanye demokarasi. Demokarasi irwanirwa n'abaturage batuye ighugu... Imbunda zisenya ubutegetsi bwari buriho. Ariko ntizizana demokarasi.

Ikibazo : Nitwa KAMEYA, nkaba nadi umuyobozzi w'ikinyamakuru RWANDA RUSHYA. Ikibazo cya mbere : hari indi "Association" nk'iyi yigeze kubaho umwaka ushize, hanyuma igitaguza irasenyuka —GAPYISI yari ayirimo. Nagira ngo mbabaze niba ariyo bazuye. (Iki kibazo ntikigeze gisubizwa).

Igye kabiri : Ndasanga ahanini Umuryango wanyi uyyaho, ari impungenge mwatewe n'igitero cy'inkotanyi ku itariki ya 8 gashyantare... Ahani ni murarwanya abashaka kubufata (ubutegetsi), ni ukutuga inkotanyi; ndetse bikaba byabiqagiza no kurwanya abafuse. Ibyo nabisomye cyane cyaneko mu nyandiko ya Maître MBONAMPEKA kugeza aho aruga ati: mu magambo mutuga, mujye mwirinda guseserezo ubutegetsi, kuko mwaca ingabo integre, mugaluma umwanzi azatwinjirana. Nkumta asa n'aho aruga ati: mushyigikire HABYARIMANA, ejo inkotanyi zilazatwinjirana zigafata ubutegetsi.

Hari n'aho yagine : tugomba kureba umutekano w'igihugu mbere ya byose, mbere yo kureba inyungu z'umuntu ku giti cye, cyangwa inyungu z'ishyaka, tugomba gushyira hejuru umutekano w'igihugu. Aha nagira ngo mubaze icyo yumea ku

ri "sécurité" cyane cyane ko tuzi ko igihe yari Minisitiri uwo mutekano ariho wabuze.

Ikindi nagira ngo mbabaze, ni ukwemera kwanyu mu mishyikirano ya Arusha... Izo nya... ndiko zanyu numtage zisa n'aho ari za gasho... maturu (guha abaturage imbunda kandi muziko binyuranye n'amasererano), ngo abaturage bari bakwize kwishyira hamwe kugira ngo barwanye umwanzi.

Bakomeje kubabaza bati nimucuge ubwoko bwanya, muaryumyeho kubera yuko muzi ko ahanini mweze muri abahutu "radicauz" (b'imburazmazuru). Nagira ngo mbabaze ukuntu muziyunga muenyinge.

MBONAMPEKA yiyoroso ye uruhu rw'intama.



MBONAMPEKA asubiza atya : Front Patriotique tugomba kuyirwanya igihe tubona ko ishaka ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Igihe umuntu yafashe imbunda, avuga ko ubu butegetsi ari bubi, bugomba kuvaho, ni uko aba ashaka kugera kuri ubwo butegetsi. Icyo kabiri kibitweraka, ni uko kuriya gutera ku itariki ya 8 kutari ngombwa. Ntabwo navuga ko umuntu w'umugome yica abantu muriaka gace k'ighugu, ngo nawe uturuke mu kandi wica abandi... Ndetske ku giti cyanye nkaba mbona ko igomba kurwanya cyane kurushya ubutegetsi bw'igitugu buriho, kuko... bumaze kujya hasi, bumaze gukendera kandi bugomba gukurwaho n'abaturage. Nubukuzaho imbunda, ubwo uzashyiraho ni ukuvuga ko uza... buhamishaho n'imbunda...

Umutekano : nta gihe ikintu cyabaye mu Rwanda ngo mbure kuvuga ko ibintu bigomba gukorwa. Uretse akantu kamwe, wavyuze uti : njiyewe waramfunze, yenda ntawamfunguza, ariko icyo gihe si cyo cyari kimbeshje muri Ministeri. Wafungiye yuko wavyuze ko u Rwanda ru... fiti ingabo za PALIPEHUTU 300; kujya kubeshyera ighugu cyawo, ngo gifite abantu 300 kigisha imbunda ngo bazatere i Burundi, uri umu... nyarwanda, aho nari kugufunga nanjye.

GAPYISI : uti turi abahutu "radicaux". Front Patriotique kuyirwanya si uko harimo abatutsi. Nundi wese washaka gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, sinamushiyigikira.

MBONAMPEKA : imishyikirano irimo. Ntabwo izarangira ige "rapport de force militaire sur le terrain" itazaba iri ku buryo, umwe agira ati: simbashije gutsinda, undi ati: simbashije gutsinda... Ejobundi mwumvise umusirikari agira ati: kurwana twarwana, ati ariko imbere abanyaporitiki muraduca intege. Ihuriro ryacu ico rigamije ni uguwasho abarwanira ko ubutegetsi mu Rwanda butafatwa n'igitugu cy'abantu bashaka kubufatisha imbunda.

Umuti w'ikibazo : HABYARIMANA niyegure.

GAPYISI asubiza ikibazo cya KARA-MBIZI (Imbaga) : uti kubuza HABYARIMANA kongera kwiyamamaza ni ukwica demokarasi. Kumuba ku gitugu cyangwa ku ngufu cyangwa ku itegeko byaba byishe demokarasi. Tweicyo tumubwira: ibwire, wiyumvishe ushyire mu gaciro !

Impamu njye mbona... kutiyamamaza bya HABYARIMANA byakiza ibibazo bimwe na bimwe muri iki gihugu. HABYARIMANA amaze imyaka 20 ategeka iki gihugu. Ibyo yu-mva yakoze yarabikoze, ibyo yishe yarabishe. Simbona nyuma y'imyaka 20, ubwo abona ko bamwe mu bo bafatanije bananiwe, ndetse ko n'abo yasimbuye bari bamaze imyaka 11 gusa bananiwe n'imyaka 11, ko nyuma y'imyaka 30 agifite ingifu, kandi nawe ari umuntu.

HABYARIMANA aramatse aretse kwiyamamaza, byagira ingaruka nyinshi kuri politiki y'igihugu. Si ukumuba uburenganzira bwe, ni ukumubwira tuti : shyira mu gaciro. Icyo mbere ni uko **Front Patriotique** ivuga iti: nje kuvanaho ubutegetsi bw'igitugu bwa HABYARIMANA. Bigatumu isobanurira amahanga n'abandi bose impamu ikirwana. HABYARIMANA aretse kwiyamamaza, ico gihe twareba inkotanyi impamu zindi zatanga. Impamu ya kabiri : uko ashaka kubugundira, natwe niko dukaza umurego tumwamagana. Arekuye, agasezero atanduraniye, tubona ko byatuma n'amashyaka

atangira gutekereza gahunda y'uko azubaka igihugu.

Icyo gatatu : amahanga amaze gusoma rapor yerekeye uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamantu yasanzembo byinshi by'amarorerwa yashyize kuri HABYARIMANA n'abandi bamuri hafi mu miryango. Mu bindi bihugu, nta muntu w'umugabo koko w'umunyapolitiki, iyo ibantu nka biriya bimwanditseho, aravuga ati: nzisobanura, ariko mbanje kudemisiyona (kwegura) cyangwa se kurekura umwanya.

Uwameneshejwe mu bye no mu gi- hugu cye ababa- baje kurusha uwa- meneshejwe mu bye bisa.

GAPYISI ariyemerera neza ko abapfa bapfira HABYARIMANA, abicwa bazirako barwanya HABYARIMANA babona amahoro ari uko HABYARIMANA yeguye, cyanne cyane ko yemeye kutazongera kwiyamamaza inkotanyi zitabona ico zongera kurwanya. Mu yandi magambo, umuti w'iyi ntambara ni ukwegura kwa HABYARIMANA, nk'uko n'inkotanyi zabivuze. Aha rero niho duhera duseka bariya bagize Forum Paix et Démocratie iyo biyemeza kurwanya inkotanyi kandi bibonera neza ko umuti ari ukurwana ngo HABYARIMANA yegure. Niyo mpamu nta shingiro rya ri-riya huriro, kuko abarigize bivuguruza.

MBONAMPEKA we ntagira urusoni. Agamije kurwanya inkotanyi, ngo kuko i-ingifu za HABYARIMANA zakendereye. Koko ! Aka kanya yibagiwe ingifu za HABYARIMANA wamunanije, akarinda yegura ! Burya koko MBONAMPEKA yananiwe politiki. Kwivuguruza kwe nta kindi kuzamugezaho usibye gusigara inyuma, agatakara, akavanwa mu mubare w'abashobora kugirira igihugu akamaro. Nguwo yitabye abanyamadini, ige MUGENZI yagiye i Burundi, nuko MBONAMPEKA yicaza ishyaka PL hamwe na CDR kandi kizira. Bimuyobeye ati: nshinze Ihuriro ri-hara-

nira amahoro na demokarasi, ntiribe ishyrya politiki kandi rigamije ibya politiki.

Ati: ni ugushiyigikira ingabo, ntitumintegge, ngo umwanzi ni inkotanyi, ngo ho HABYARIMANA ntacyo atwaye. Twizerre ko GAPYISI yamwumvishije ka ntambwe ya mbere ari ukurwanya HABYARIMANA kuko HABYARIMANA yeguye n'inkotanyi zitaba zikibonya unwe rwitwazo. Iyo umuntu ananiwe na politiki mu mucyo, atangira gusesera mu dusyrahamwe. Bariya bagabo n'abagore bimbunzamazuru bakweruye bat: turanana ku nyungu za HABYARIMANA ! Kole se birashoboka ko warwana ku mpembe ebyiri urw'iburyo (kurwanya HABYARIMANA) urw'ibumoso (abarwanya HABYARIMANA, aribo inkotanyi) ?

Ku kibazo cy'uko demokarasi yaberatangiye kuza mbere y'igitero cy'inkotanyi ni ikinyoma. Inkotanyi zarateye, HABYARIMANA yemera ko amashyaka ari ho itegekonshinga ritarahinduka. Mben tuzi umuntu wigeze gukatirwa imyakalnu, kuko ashinze ishyaka FRONAR. None se niba ingfu za HABYARIMANA zankendereye, yemeye ko abategetsi bwindurwa atari ku mbunda z'inkotanyi ? Yemeye amasezerano ya Arusha ko yakuhirizwa atari uko inkotanyi ziteye kuya ! Gashyantare 1993 ? None abananiwe na politiki baririrwa bavuga ngo nta ngufuza HABYARIMANA.

Ku kibazo cy'uko inkotanyi zasabes gutaha, hagiye haba amananiza. Abatukaga bamwe barafungwaga, abandibagacibwa amahazabu. Ndetsse bashatse gutuhuka mu 1982 HABYARIMANA erabengi ngo u Rwanda ni ruto. Igi rero bashatse gutuhuka, bagomba kubona ingfu zabezeza ko nibinjira batazahohoterwa.

Kuvuga ko uwameneshejwe mu gihi-gu cye atababaje, ngo kuko afite aho aryama n'ibyo arya ni ugushinyagura ! Nones abanyamahanga ntibabimuturumburano igihe bashakiye ? Kandi dushyire mu gaciro ! Umuntu wameneshejwe mu gihi-gu aba yarataye ibye, abe n'igihugu cy. Ntabwo wamugereranya n'ugifite igihugu cye.

MURAGIZI L...

Perezida TWAGIRAMUNGU ati: si-nzemera politiki ishingiye ku kinyoma cy'abaparmehutu

Nyuma y'aho hasohokeye ikinyamakuru UMURANGI n°18 ku ya 14.04.93 IJAMBO ryahayemikoro **TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin**, Perezida wa MDR, ku ya 16.04.93 atugezaho impumeko ye. Yagaye bariya bagabo bo mu nzengo nkuru z'ishyaka MDR babundabunda, ntibagire ubutwari n'ubugabo bwo kuba bavugira ibitekerezo byabo mu ruhame ati: Politike ishingiye ku kinyoma ya Jeneralini narayirwanije, ntabwo nzemera Politiki ishingiye ku kinyoma cy'abaparmehutu bavuga ko ngo bashaka kuba abaparumehutu gusa, batari abaparumehutu bavuguruye.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ati : ntabwo nze- mera ikinyoma cy'abaparumehutu

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Twibutse ko UMURANGI wari watatse **NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas**, ugatuka **TWAGIRAMUNGU NGO NI RUKEBA**. **TWAGIRAMUNGU** yongeye kwemeza ko MDR iri muri rya shyiraha-mwe FDC (**Forces démocratiques de changement**) amashyaka PL, PSD ahuriyeho n'inkotanyi, ati: keretse MDR PARMEHUTU niyo itarimo. Twibuke ko **MUREGO Donat** we yemeza ko MDR itari muri FDC, ko **TWAGIRAMUNGU** waryinjiyemo bimureba ku giti cye, ko ishyaka ritigeze nbyemera, nkuko bisomwa muri **NYIRAMACIBIRI** yasohotse ku ya 02.04.93.

Ku ya 02.04.93 ni naho MDR Kigali-Ville, iyoborwa na **KARAMIRA Fro duald**, yasohoye itangazo ryiyama ISIBO, RWANDA RUSHYA n'INTUMWA ngo si intumwa za MDR, yamagana na **TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin** utandukira amatwara ya MDR PARMEHUTU. Urugamba rurakomeye.

TWAGIRAMUNGU ntiyemera ibyo **MUREGO** yavugyiye ku cya Semakamba ko **Porogaramu MDR igenderaho ari iya MDR PARMEHUTU**, kuko **TWAGIRAMUNGU** atemera ko MDR yagwa mu mutego wa MRND yishe ibyitso by'inkotanyi, nkuko MDR PARMEHUTU yishe ibyitso by'inyenzi bidaciriwe urubanza. Twiyemeje kugaruka ku kiganiro cyo ku ya 02.04.93 muri Hôtel des diplomates kugira ngo abagerekera **TWAGIRAMUNGU** ibyo atavuze babone ukuri kwe.

Uyu munsi niyemeje guhura na-nwe kugira ngo mbagezeho kandi mbi-butse amatwara amwe y'ishyaka MDR. Birumvikana ko abaje kumva t'i kiganiro mbwirwaruhame, mwese mutari abarwanashyaka ba MDR. Arikoo nubwo mwaba mutari bo ntibayabuza kumva amatwara y'ishyaka. Muri iki gihe abantu benshi bakunze kuvuga ko amashyaka asinziriye. Ntabwo asinziriye gusa : arasinziye kandi arakubita n'umugono. Bikaba imaze kandi kugaragara, ko uwo mu-gono hari abashaka kuwiba ayo manashyaka.

Ubu rero bamwe muribaza muti: maraga n'ingoga amashyaka yaharukanye arwanya MRND byagiye ! Ntabwo numva natinda kuri iki mazoo kubera ko byaba ari ukuvanginya ibyo nifuza kubabwira. Gusa mone ntabwo nabura kubabwira i-zamvu zatumye amashyaka asinzirareshanu :

Ishyirahamwe rya Guverinoma kizwe n'amashyaka atanu, iyi guverinoma kandi ikaba itarashoboye tumvikana, ikagira integre nke, ntibye icyo igeraho gishimishije mu-shingano zayo uko ari umunani. Gushyirwaho k'umutwe w'interahamwe ushinzwe kwica no guhugabanya umutekano w'abarwanashyaka b'andi mashyaka, uretse shyaka CDR; kandi bakabikora bagarikiwe n'ubutegetsi.

1. Intambara n'imishyikirano iyikomokaho, isa n'aho irwanwa na "régime" ya MRND, ari ukugira ngo andi mashyaka atagira uruhare muri iyo ntambara.
2. Ikindi rero mbona, ni uko amakimbirane amaze kugaragara mu mashyaka --ndavuga amashyaka amwe n'amwe-- agamije ahanini, ngo kugira ngo amashyaka yose avuge rumwe, nkaho urwo rumwe ariyo demokarasi dushaka cyangwa se ariyo ntwaro yo gutsinda iyi ntambara.
3. Ieya nyuma ni ukubura abayobozi bazi politiki kandi bafite ubushobozzi buhagije, ndavuga "moyens", kugira ngo inshingano zabo zirengé imipaka kandi bahangane ku buryo bwose n'ubutegetsi buriho.

Ibindi bibazo bya politiki turimo muri iki gihe, ni ibyerekeye itandukana rya MRND na CDR, no kuva ku buperezida bw'ishyaka MRND kwa Perezida wa Republik HABYARIMANA Juvénal. Arikoo nanone haku-vugwa cyane ikibazo cy'intambara n'imishyikirano ya Arusha.

Ku byerekeye itandukana rya CDR na MRND numva impamvu zabitaye ari eshatu :

1. Impamvu ya mbere ni uko CDR idashaka kubanka ba batwa b'ibwami bagomba kwica abo umwami ababwiye kwica; bityo CDR ikaba ishaka kuba ishyaka ryigenga.

2. Kuba CDR yarasanz politiki ishingiye kuri rubanda nyamwinshi kugira ngo itsembe rubanda nyamuke atari politiki yagira aho iyigeza. Iyo politiki yaramaganwe ku buryo bwose kandi CDR yumva ko itayikomeza kubera ko nta nyungu yabigiramo mu ruhando rw'amashyaka.
3. Niuko CDR ibona ko itakomeza gufatanya n'ishyaka MRND risa n'aho ryatsinzwe.

Kuri iki cya kabiri rero, ku byerekeye kuva ku buperezida kwa HABYARIMANA turasanga impamvu ari ebyiri :

- a. HABYARIMANA asanga nta jambao agifite muri MRND, bityo agasanga kuva ku buyobozi bwaryo ariyo nzira yo guharira ubuyobozi ababishaka n'ababishoboye.
- b. Perezida HABYARIMANA arashaka kugira ngo abamurwanya bamentukaneye na Perezida wa Republik; kandi bikazatuma afata ibyemezo bikaze mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi bw'ighugu. Gusa umuntu yavuga ko bike bikererewe ku buryo nsanga ntacyo bizagabanya ku migambi dufite yo gukomeza kururwanya.
- c. Ikindi umuntu yakongeraho, ni uko mu by'ukuri, amashyaka ya "opposition" yabivuze kuva cyera, avuga ko ugukomatanya k'ubutegetsi biza-

tuma mu by'ukuri imitegekere y'igihugu n'imitgekere y'ishyaka itavangurwa. Igitutu rero amashyaka yamuteye nacyo ntawabura kugishyigikira mu ngingo zatumye ava muri riya shyaka, kribera Perezida.

Ikibazo cya gatatu rero turiho ni ku byerekeye intambara. Ndasanga ikomeje kudindiza inzira ya demokrasi, inzira twashakaga kugeraho, kuva twashyiraho amashyaka; kandi uko igenda itinda kurangira ni nako abanyarwanda bagenda bata icyizere mu butegetsi bw'igihugu n'ububasha bw'abayobozibabo, kandi bagasanga n'amashyaka ntacyo abamariye kugira ngo abe yacyemura icyo kibazo cy'intambara burundi.

Kugira ngo rero iyi ntambara irangire hagomba ibantu bibiri :

1. Kugira abasirikari bazi icyo barwanira, bafite "discipline" bataringwaho ubusahuzi, bafite abayobozibiyemeje kurwana kandi bagatsinda. Hagomba rero mbere ya byose "morale" ihamye, haba kuri ba "Officiers", haba no kuri ba "soldats".
2. Ukundi kwa kabiri iyo ntambara yarangira ni ukwiyemeza nta kuryarya imishyikirano y'amahoro; ariko birakomeye kubera ko ubwizerane bucyeburi hagati ya FPR na bamwe mu bashinzwe kurangiza iyi ntambara, ndetse n'abaturage bamwe na bamwe, basanga mu by'ukuri ubwo bwizerane bucyebuzatuma intambara ikomeza.

Ibyo aribyo byose turasanga kurangiza iyi ntambara ku buryo bwa kabiri aribwo bubereye abanyarwanda. Ni ukuyirangiza rero hakurikijwe imishyikirano.

Kuri iyi ntambara hari byinshi biyivugwaho, ariko ibyo tubona ubu, ni uwoba bwatashye abanyarwanda. Ikindi kibabaje cyane, ni ibya bariya bavanywe mu byabo, bamaze kugera hafi miliyon. Ibyo byose iyo ubibonye wibaza niba hari ibindi bisubizo dufite bitari ukurwana tugatsinda cyangwa se tugatsindwa cyangwa se tugashaka inzira y'imishyikirano itugeza ku mahoro.

Nta munyarwanda rero, uwo ari we wese, wari uzi ko turi mu nzira itujiyana ku majyambere, nako itujiyana ku mahoro, nta munyarwanda waba

ushaka ko twagera kuri demokarasi, nta munyarwanda waba waragiye mu ishyaka agira ngo yongere asubire ku ngoma y'igitugu, iyo ariyo yose, yaba iya MRND, cyangwase iya FPR. Aka ba ariyo mpamvu rero, twifusa ko abanyarwanda bose aho bari bashyira hamwe bagashyigikira imishyikirano y'amahoro, ariko iyo mishyikirano igakorwa nta buryarya, ku buryo abanyarwanda bagira icyizere ko iyo mishyikirano izagira icyo ibagezaho. Ibyo bibazo rero akaba aribyo nufwa twaza kugira icyo tubivugaho, nkuko natangiye mbibabwira, ariko ntabwo byambuza nanone nkuko natangiye mbivuga, kubabwira ko ishyaka MDR muri iki gihe inshingano zaryo zago-mbye kumvikana kurushaho kugira ngo abari mu yandi mashyaka ari n'abari mu ishyaka MDR, bazashobore gusobanurira abatari aha ngaha i-nshingano z'iro shyaka.

Guhera mu 1965...

Inshingano za MDR, kimwe n'andi mashyaka, nkuko mubizi, amashyaka yadutse mu mpera za 90, no mu ntangiriro za 91, ryaje mu gihe abanyarwanda benshi bari bakennye, kandi bari barifitiye inyota idasanzwe. Iyo nyota mu bya politiki yaterwaga n'uko kuva muri 65 kugeza muri 90, u Rwanda rwakomeje gutegekeshwa igitugu, amatiku amacakubiri; kuva hashize imyaka 25 abantu bari ku ngoyi y'ibitekerezo bimwe, nta guhinduka.

Amashyaka rero yaje ashaka rwo-se ko ibintu bishinduka, abanyarwanda bakajijuka na demokarasi na politiki kandi bakiyemeza gukurikiza amawara ya demokarasi. MDR rero icyo yaje igamije kwari ugushakira rubanda nyarwanda uburyo bwose bwo kumva akamaro ka demokarasi, bityo igasobanurira abanyarwanda bose ko ubutegetsi bwose buturuka kuri rubanda, ko budaturuka ku muntu umwe.

Ieyo nshaka rero kumvisha rubanda, ni ibitekerezo byiza biberanye n'ishyaka MDR ivuguruye. Abumva ko aribyo bazabikurikiza, abatabyemerababo ni uburenganzira bwabo, kubera ko bafite ukundi babibona.

Hari ibyo rero tubona byariho mbere y'uko tuvugurura kandi tuyutsa ishyaka. Mbere y'uko MDR PARMEHUTU ibyutswa, hariho po-

litiki ishingiye ku ishyaka rimwe nkumbi abanyarwanda twese twaritwumbiyemo. Iryo shyaka ariyo MRND, ryari ryarashyizweho muri 75, rikaba ryarayoborwaga na Perenda Fondateri wavyo, kandi akaba Perezida wa Republik. Niwe mu by'ukuri wari ufite ubutegetsi bwose mu gihugu, n'ubwo yifashishaga ingezinyuranye kandi yari yarishyizaho.

Iyo mitegekere rero y'umuntu umwe niyo yatumye habaho ubusumbarwe bw'ubutere muri byose cyane cyane mu by'ubutegetsi, mu by'ingabo z'igihugu no mu mashuri. Ibyo Perezida wa Republik yari yaravuze igihe akora kudeta muri 73, ko avanyehouk-wikubira kw'akarere kamwe, ko kandi avanyeho akarengane gashinge ku moko, ntabwo byaje gushoboka. Ibyashobotse ahubwo ni uko amahoro abari baranke ko aboneka batarafata ubutegetsi bayazanye koko. Ayo amahoro kandi yabonetse kubera ko ahangiranira ubutegetsi muri icyo gihe bwa politiki bari ntabo, bari bamaze no kubarimbura. Kandi niyo babaho, ntabwo imiterere y'ishyaka MRND yari kubemerera ubwo burenganzira.

U Rwanda ni ruto.

Iyo politiki rero yo gupfukirana ibitekerezo muri politiki, ibitekerezo abandi bashaka kwerekana yatumye ibikorwa bya kijyambere byitabwaho ariko bigamije inyungu za bamwe; ndetse n'ubucuruzi bwarahazamukiye. Ariko ibyo byose ntabwo byakorwaga mu mucyo; kandi n'ikibazo cy'abanyarwanda bo hanze, cyarikitarabonera umuti kugira ngo gisobanurwe abanyarwanda, bityo gikemuwe burundi.

Ahubwo ubutegetsi bwageze aho buza no kwibwira ko icyo kibazo cyakemurwa no kugihunga; bugakangisha ku Rwanda ari ruto, kandi ko rutwe cyane, ku buryo abanyarwanda bo hanze batarukwirwamo cyangwa se ngo baruzemo. Iyo mvugorero, ahogutuma icyo kibazo kibagirana, yatumye ahubwo abanyarwanda bo hanze bisuganya, babifashijwemo n'insuti zabamaze batera u Rwanda muri 90. Ishyaka MDR n'andi mashyaka yemerewe gukorera ku mugaragaro muri 91 mu gihe intambara yari igikomeza. Demokarasi yo muntambara rero yagezeaho iza kuba ingume, kubera ko ibibazo by'iyo ntambara ari byo byitaweho kurusha ibibazo bya demokarasi, nde-

teruza kubura gica kubera koumutwe wa FPR inkotanyi nawo uvuga ko u-naka demokarasi mu Rwanda, ari nayo mpamvu ngo wafashe intwaro.

Ubu rero ntawamenya uzazana demokarasi mu Rwanda : niba ari amashyaka, niba ari FPR inkotanyi cyangwa se niba ari MRND na FPR inkotanyi bifatanije, cyangwa se niba ari amashyaka ubwayo. Icyakora icyambere cy'ibanze ni amahoro, aturutse mu bwumvikane bwa bose. Icyo nzi cyo ni uko iyo demokarasi n'ayo mahorobitazashoboka kubaho bitagizwemo uruhare rugaragara rwa FPR.

Kubyutswa rero kw'iryo shyaka rya MDR PARMEHUTU, MDR PARMEHUTU abyukijwe ku ya 21 Werurwe mu 1991 nyuma y'impaka ndende z'abashakaga ko ibyutswa, z'abashakaga ko itabyutswa, ahubwo bakajaho ishyaka ryitwa MDR gusa. Icyumvikanyweho rero ni uko iryo shyaka ritabyutswa gusa (relance) ahubwo ryabyutswa kandi rikavuguruwa (rénovation). Ishyaka MDR PARMEHUTU rero ryemejwe ko ri-vuguruwa ku mugaragaro ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga muri 91.

MDR PARMEHUTU: ishyaka rishingiye ku bwoko bw'abahutu.

Icyo rero nemera muri iri shyaka MDR PARMEHUTU ribyutswa, ni ikugira ngo dukomeze twibutse ko iryo shyaka tuzakomeza amahame yaro, yo guca burundu ubuhake na cyami mu Rwanda, yaba cyami ntutsi nyiginya cyangwa cyami mputu iyo ariyo yose. Ikindi tugomba gukomeza guhamya kuri iryo shyaka, ni uko ariyo ryarwaniye ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri Repubulika na demokarasi mu Rwanda. Bityo rero bikumvikana ko ayo mahame yombi yateguve kandi agashimangirwa na Révolution ya rubanda yo muri 59. MDR yemera ayo mahame, kandi ikayemera nta gushidikanya.

Kuvugurura ni ukuvanaho ibisanzwe ukabisimbuza ibishya bihuje n'igihe tugezemo. Kuvugurura PARMEHUTU ni ukuyivanaho ibyo inengwa, bishaje ukayigira ishyaka ry'umucyo. Uburerotugomba kwemera ko PARMEHUTU yagize ibibazo bikomeye n'imigambi ikomeye, ariko

idahuje n'igihe cyacu, kandi igomba kuvugurura. PARMEHUTU rero yabaye ishyaka rishingiye ku bwoko bw'abahutu, harimo abatutsi bacye bari babyiyemeje, biyemeje kuyijiamo, bitewe n'impamvu zinyuranye, ariko zumvikana.

MDR PARMEHUTU ya-fashe ibyitso by'inyenzi



muri 63 ibyica nta ru-banza.

Kuvuga ko PARMEHUTU yari ishyaka rya rubanda rugufi, ibyo ni byo koko. Ariko ntabwo ryiswe PARMERUBANDA, kubera impamvu zumvikana nanone kandi zari ngo-mbwa muri icyo gihe iryo shyaka ryajyagaho. Kandi mu buryo bwa "propagande", icyo gitekerezo cyo kuryita PARMEHUTU cyagize akamaro. Ubu ariko ntibishoboka ko twashingira ishyaka ku bwoko kubera ko dushaka gushimangira ubumwe bw'abanyarwanda bose, baba abahutu abatutsi cyangwa abatwa. Ibyo ariko ntibivuga ko uwashaka gushyiraho ishyaka rishingiye ku bwoko bw'abahutu, cyangwa se ubw'abatutsi, cyangwa se ubwoko bw'abatwa, atarishyiraho. Yarishyiraho kubera ko ari uburenganzira bwe, ubwo ariko birumvikana ko icyo gihe ataba akiri mu ishyaka MDR.

Ishyaka rero ridashiye ku bwoko twasinyiye ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga muri 91, niryo shyaka twagombye gukurikira.

Nubwo rero PARMEHUTU itabujiye andi mashyaka kubaho ku mugaragaro, kubera ko itegekonshinga ry'icyo gihe ryemereraga amashyaka menshi, ntawahamya na busa ko yayo-rohey. Ibyo ariyo byose PARMEHUTU yabaye ishyaka rimwe rukumbi, kuva muri 65 kugeza muri 73. Birumvikana kandi ko ibihe bikomeye iryo shyaka ryarimo byasabaga ko be-ne iyo miterere ibaho. Ariko biragoye kumvisha abantu ko muri icyo gihe ha-

riho demokarasi nyayo. Dukeka rero ko guta umurongo byatewe no kubaho kw'ishyaka rimwe, kandi akaba ariyo byatumye kudeta yo muri 73 nayo ikorwa, bityo MDR ivuguruye ikaba yemera demokarasi ishingiye ku mashyaka menshi. Ubu rero tuzarwanya politiki y'ishyaka rimwe, iryo ariryo ryose ryatujyana mu bwigunge nk'u-bwo twahozemo kuva MRND ishyirwaho muri 75 kugeza yemera ko andi mashyaka ashirwaho muri 91.

Kwemera ko ishyaka rimwe ryagira demokarasi, nta kuri "politique" kwaba kurimo. Kuvugurura rero MDR PARMEHUTU bisobanura nanone ko tugomba kubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwamantu. Tuzabikora iteka haba mu gihe cy'intambara, cyangwa se haba mu gihe cy'amahoro.

Ntabwo MDR ivuguruye izitwaza impamvu zidafutuye ngo yice abantu itabaciriye urubanza; ntabwo MDR ivuguruye yakora nka MRND, ifata abo yita ibyitso by'inkotanyi ikabica cyangwa se tukivugurura duhakana