

INTABAZA

GACANZIGO

Ikinyamakuru cy'abaharanira impinduka mu Rwanda No 4 Nzeri 2014



Speciose Mujawayezu
Umunyamabanga Mukuru
w'ISANGANO
ry'Abenegihugu



KWIBUKA ABAZIZE
KUDETA YO MURI 1973
TWAKURAMO IYIHE
NYIGISHO ? *urup.*



Imirambo 40 ireremba mu kiyaga
Rweru ntahandi iva uretse aha muri
Nyabarongo (Rwanda)



United Nations



UNHCR
The UN Refugee Agency

Impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zinyanyagiye hirya no hino kw'isi zaba zigera ku 700 000 urup.

IBINDI BIRI MURI IYI NUMERO: Ijambo ry'ibanze **urup.2**, ikibazo cy'imvange mu moko y'u Rwanda **urup.4-5**,

IJAMBO RYIBANZE:

UBUTEGETSI BWA FPR/KAGAME BUKOMEJE GUHEMBERA UMUJINYA MU BANYARWANDA:

**Abatutsi bari imbere mu gihugu bakwiye kwitandukanya na Kagame
kuko urwobo ari kubacukurira kuzarwikuramo bizabatwara igihe**

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi,

Guhora tuvuga akarengane tugirirwa, akaba nta bikorwa binini bifatika bigaragarira buri wese bidutera ikimwaro ko ibyo dukora bidahagije, ariko bikadutera n'ubutwari bwo kudacika inteve ku bikorwa bito bito dukora ubu twizera ko bizadushyitsa ku gikorwa nyamunini cyo kugobotora igihugu cyacu dukunda u Rwanda n'abenegihugu bacyo Abanyarwanda ku ngoyi y'ubutegetsi bubi (Libération totale de notre peuple et de notre cher patrie, le Rwanda).

Nkuko twabikomojego muri numero z'Intabaza Gacanzigo zo mu mezi atatu ashize twerekanye ko FPR ikomeje politike yayo ishingiye ku bwicanyi ndengakamere, ikinyoma, iheza n'ikumira ry'igice kinini cy'Abanyarwanda kigizwe ahanini n'Abahutu. Twakomoje ku nkuru ry'ishimutwa n'izimira rya hato na hato ry'abantu mu Rwanda, twakomoje ku nkuru y'itwikwa rya za Gereza ebyiri i Gitarama no ku Gisenyi, ndetse n'andi mazi yashumitswe hirya no hino mu Rwanda, twakomoje kandi ku nkuru y'izimira ry'abantu 46000 b'imfungwa zakoraga imirimbo TIG aribwo buretwa bwa FPR. Icyakurikiye ibyo byose nuko FPR yitakumye muri bya binyoma n'ikinamico ryayo igafata abantu mu bice bya Gisenyi (Rubavu) bakikora izuba riva ngo bagiye gushyingura imibiri y'Abatutsi bishwe muri jenoside. Ibimenyetso bindi ntibyatinze gutamaza FPR kuko imwe mu mirambo FPR yabuze uko iyitaba ngo iyihishe amaso y'amahanga maze yigira inama yo kuyijugunya mu ruzi rwa Nyabarongo. Nyabarongo nayo iti dore ige nanywereye amaraso y'inzirakarengane ibi nanje ndabirambiwe ndagutamaza isi yose ibone urwagashinyaguro uri kwica Abanyarwanda. Nyabarongo ntiyazuyaje yahise iyimanura imwe mu mirambo iyiroha mu Kiyaga Rweru. Iyabashije kubonwa n'abarobyi Abarundi ni imirambo 40 mu gihe Abarobyi b'Abanyarwanda bo basabwe na FPR kudahirahira babumbura amaso yabo. Iyi nkuru y'imirambo 40 yabonetse mu Kiyaga cya Rweru yaciye ibantu kuko yanatangajwe n'ibitangazamakuru bikomeye kw'isi. Twe nta maperereza y'ikirenga dukeneye kugirango tumenyeho aho imirammbo ituruka kubw'impamvu yuko tuzi imikorere ubwicanyi n'ikinyoma biranga FPR kuva yashingwa hakwyongeraho abantu twarondoye hejuru baburiwe irengero Leta ntigaragaze aho bagiye. Abari mukibaza aho abantu banyu mwaburiye irengero bagiye mwiboneye ubwanyu igisubizo. Niba mwakekaga ko abantu bazagaruka nimwihanagure. Bimeze nk'ibyabaye FPR ifashe ubutegetsi 1994, BENEWACU ibihumbi n'ibihumbi byinshi FPR yatumije mu manama yayo 94 kugeza na nubu izo nama ntizirarangira ngo abo BENEWACU tubabone. Uko byagenze ibara umupfu Imana yo nyirimpuhwe zahebuje yakire abo BENEWACU badusize.

Indi nkuru ivugwa ni isubiranamo munda ya FPR ry'abari ku ngoma aho bamwe mu basirikare bafunzwe bashinjwa guhungabanya umutekane wa Leta ya FPR. Kuri izi nkuru hariyongeraho inkuru z'inzindi

Ibi byose ni umujinya uhemberwa mu banyarwanda bikozwe n'Agatsiko k'abicanji kafashe ubutegetsi bw'Abenegihugu ku ngufu. Imyaka ibaye 24 Guhera mu mwaka w'I 1990 FPR-Inkotanyi ishoje intambara yatumye mu Rwanda no mu Karere kose hacura icuraburindi, agahiri n'agahinda bidashira. Abaheze ishyanga no mw'ishyamba bo bararize barayihanagura kuko nta gihzoa bagira. Impfubyi n'Abapfakazi abasaza n'abandi barenga ibihumbi 250 bari kuborera mu mashyamba ya Kongo. Abandi barenga ibihumbi 400 bari ishyanga mu mahanga ya kure iyo igihugu giterwa inkingi. Ibyo byose ni ibibazo byatewe n'ingoma ya Kagame na FPR ye.

Uyu mujinya FPR iri guhemberwa mu banyarwanda b'Abatutsi bari mu gihugu uriyongera ku ntomba Abahutu twavuze haruguru n'Abatutsi bake bari ishyanga no mu ishyamba. Ibi byose bikivanga ku zindi ntomba zidashira ishengura imitima ya za miliyoni z'abanyarwanda ziciwe ababo na FPR inkotanyi ariko bakimwa n'uburenganzira bwo kubibuka. Muzi mwese ko Abahutu bamaze kwica mu Rwanda no muri Kongo barenga 2 000 000, Abakongomani barenga 6 000 000, Abatutsi bishwe cg bicishijwe na FPR nabo bakabakaba mu 350 000, Abarundi Abagande n'abandi banyamahanga nabo ntibagira ingano. Izo ngogo zose zagaritswe kubwa FPR irumva ko zidahagije.

Kuvuga ubutabera cg kwibuka abahutu bishwe byo ni ukwigiza nkana mu Rwanda rwa Kagame na FPR. Burya koko ngo impyisi ikurira umwana cyangwa inyana ikakurusha uburakari. Nguko uko FPR yashyiriyeho Abahutu Inkiko Gacaca zo kubahumbahumba ku misozi no kubabeshyera ibyaha batakoze. Gacaca yahamije byaha bitandukanye Abahutu bagera neza neza kuri 2 000 000. Ni akumiro rwose!

FPR ntiyashizwe kuko mu nzego zose z'igihugu FPR yashyizemo gahunda zitabarika zigamije kugira ibikange Abahutu, kubica mu bwonko no ku mubiri uruhongohongo amahanga atarabutswe. Ntawarondora za gahunda z'agahomamunwa zashyizweho na FPR nko kwirega no kwemera icyaha, ingando, ubudehe, Intore, ingengabitekerezo ya jenoside, Ndi Umunyarwanda n'izindi gahunda mbi cyane Leta ya Kagame/FPR bazanye mu gutesha umutwe Abanyarwanda bo mu bwoko bw'Abahutu.

FPR ntiyarekeye aho ariko inyuzamo ikanafata itsinda ry'sbshutu rinini cyangwa rito ikabica. Nyuma yo kubivugana FPR ihimbahimba ibinyoma n'ikinamico nkuko isanzwe ibigenza ikavuga ko abantu bazimiye cg bagiye muri FDLR ariko nk'uko mubyumva niyo iba imaze kubirenza.



Jean-Marie V. MINANI
Umuyobozi Mukuru
w'ISANGANO ry'Abenegihugu

**'Abanyarwanda mushire
ubwoba dutabare mu maguru
mashya amazi atararenga
inkombe'**

Umwanzuro

Uyu mujinya, ipfunwe n'agahinda n'agahiri biri mu mitima y'Abanyarwanda mu minsi itari kure biraza kuruka ikirunga. Abareba kure bakwitaza ikirunga kitaratangira kuruka. Abwirwabensi akumva beneyo. Twe ntituzahwema kwerekana amakosa n'akarengane, ubwicanyi, ivangura, ihezwa ubutegetsi bwa FPR/Kagame bukorera Abanyarwanda

Tubicishije muri iki kinyamakuru INTABAZA-GACANZIGO no mu bindi bitangazamakuru bitandukanye tuzakomeza gutabariza inzirakarengane z'Abanyarwanda (Abahutu, Abatutsi, n'Abatwa) ndetse n'Abanyamahanga bahonyorerwa uburenganzira bicwa buri bensi, bafungirwa akamamama, abamburwa imitungo y'amasambu yabo, amazu n'ibindi, abakubitwa abacunaguzwa, abamburwa akazi, abakorewrwa itotozwa, iyicwarubozo, abatwikirwa imitungo abimwa ubushobozu nka buruse, abahembwa intica-ntikize, ababurirwa irengero, n'abandi tatarondoye.

Ba nyapolitiki, banyabwenge, basirikare, banyarwanda mwese muri rusange ibi birabareba Igihe cyo gushyira hamwe ingufu twese hamwe tukigobotora ingoma mbi ya FPR-Inkotanyi ni iki ndetse kiri kurenga.

**Ubutumwa bwihariye ku bari mu
gisirikare cya FPR baba bumva ko
bagarura agatima impembero
NIMWITANDUKANYE KU
MUGARAGARO N'UBUTEGETSI BWA
FPR NIMUZA MWARAHINDUTSE
NTA BURYARA MUZAKIRWA NEZA
MURI OPPOSITION**

Mugire icyo mukora!

Mwese mugire urukundo n'amahoro.

Jean-Marie V. MINANI

KWIBUKA ABAZIZE KUDETA YO MURI 1973 TWAKURAMO IYIHE NYIGISHO ?

Inkuru ya Petero SEBAHIRE..



Ku itariki ya 16 kanama 2014 nagize amahirwe yo kuba ndi mu Kiriziya ya Mutagatifi Alix muri komini ya Woluwe-Saint Pierre i Buruseri. Muri iyo kiriziya hatuwe igitambo cya misa mu muhango wo kwibuka, kuzirikana no gusabira abategetsi ba Repuburika ya mbere, bahitanwe n'abo muri Repuburika ya kabiri, nyuma ya kudeta yo muri 1973. Ibyo bikaba ari bwo bwa mbere byari bibaye nyuma y'imyaka 41 ayo marorerwa abaye. Uretse ibyo kandi, ku itariki ya 2 kanama 2014, nari nagize andi mahirwe yo kuba mu wundi muhango wabereye ahitwa Anvers mu Bubirigi. Uwo muhango wari wateguve n'umuryango w'umuntu wakoranaga bya hafi cyane na nyakwigendera Gerigori Kayibanda waburiwe irengero mu minsi yakurikiye iriya kudeta, kugeza n'ubu akaba nta muntu wakubwira ibye.

Kuba nari ndi muri uriya muhango wo kuwa 16 kanama nabyise amahirwe kubera impamu ebyiri. Iya mbere ni uko nta wari wawuntumiye (ariko naje kumenya ko n'ubundi nta butumire bwari bwabayeho, ngo byateguve mu ibanga rikomeye ; ntumbaze rero uko nibonye mpuri iyo ni ikindi kibazo). Iya kabiri ari nayo y'ingenzi ni inyigisho nakuyemo kandi mbona buri munyarwanda yari akiwiye gukuramo, akaba ari na yo ngirango mbagezeho muri iyi nyandiko. (Ariko muri uriya muhango wo ku ya 2 kanama bwo nari natumiwe da ! mutaza kugira ngo ndi umuvumbyi wa cyane utayoberwa aho zahiye ! uretse ko n'ubundi mu umuco wacu kuvumba byemewe).

Mvuye muri uriya muhango wo ku ya 16 kanama nagiye mu bukwe bw'umuntu ukomoka mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda wari washyingiye umukobwa we (na bwo nari nabutumiwemo !). Niba mbabwira ibi ntumugire ngo ngamije kubarondogorera mbabwira ubuzima bwanje ku giti cyanje, ahubwo ni uko muri iyo mihangi yose, no muri ibyo birori nagize rya « jisho rya mukuru ritazinduka riba ryagiye kureba ». Nkaba ngirango mbagezeho bimwe mu bibazo nibajije, ariko cyane cyane mbagezeho ibisubizo njye mbiha namwe muzambwire uko mubibona.

Icyi mbere ni uko nyuma y'iyo mihangi nagiye numva abantu batandukanye batanga ibitekereo binyuranye. Bamwe bati : « kuba iriya miryangi y'abahitanwe na kudeta yo muri 1973 yarashatse kwibuka ababo no kubaza ibyerekerye n'urupfu rwa bo ni uguca abahutu mo ibice ». Bati : « ni ughanganisha « abakiga » n'« abanyanduga » bikaba ari ugutiza umurindi umwanzi wa bo rusange ariwe Kagame na FPR ye. » Hari n'uwambwiye kandi nabonaga abivuga akomeje, ati : « tuzi neza rwose ko bariya bana bafite ukuri iyo basaba kumenya icyo ababyeyi ba bo bazize n'uburyo bapfuye. Ariko muri aka kanya icyihutirwa ni ugushyira hamwe imbaraga z'abahutu, ibyo bibazo byose batumvikanaho bikazaba byigwaho tugeze mu Rwanda, kimwe n'uko abatutsi bakiri mu buhungiro biyibagije ibyatandukanya bakishyira hamwe bakikiza ingoma y'abahutu, ubu akaba ari bwo bongeje gusubira mu byo batumvikanaho bakaba barimo gushwana ».

Abandi ariko barambiye bati : « gushaka kuburizamo ubushake bwo kuvuga, kwibuka no kubaza ibya bariya bategetsi baguye muri iriya kudeta, ni ukugerageza kuniga ukuri nk'uko bimaze imyaka irenga 40 byarakozwe, bikaba ndetse ubu byaragizwe inkingi ubegetsi bwa FPR na Kagame wayo bushingiye ». Bakongera bakagira bati : « iyo nkingi y'ikinyoma no gusibanganya ukuri igomba kurimburwa ».

Dore njye uko mbibona. Ndi muri iriya mihangi na biriya birori, nitegereje abayirimo, numva amagambo yagiye afatwa n'abantu batandukanye kandi nkomeza no kuganira n'abandi twabaga twicaranye dusangira ka « rufuro » n'umuvinyo. Naje gusanga biriya byo kuguma kwitwaza « kiga »-« nduga » mu by'ukuri iyo winjiye mu buzima bw'umuntu ku giti cye nta shingiro bifite. Buri muntu azarebe mu ncuti ze za hafi nadasangamo abava muri utwo turere twombi azangaye. Nko muri buriya bukwe nababwiye, twahahuriye turenga abantu nka 150. Bitewe n'uko abari bahari bose mbazi hafi ya buri wese ku giti cye, naje gusanga nka 55% ari ba bandi dukunze kwita ngo « abakiga » 45% bakaba ari abakunze kwita ngo « abanyanduga ». Ibi binyeraka ku uwo mubeyi wari washyingiye afite inshuti hose. Kandi mwibuke imitimirire y'inu mu Burayi, muzi iyo ufite ubukwe utumira inshuti nyanshuti, ntugena ngo ukoyore ababonetse bose. (iby'aya mazina ya « kiga » « nduga » nabyo ndumva nzagira icyo mbivugaho mu minsi iri imbere).

Mu magambo yavugiwe muri wa muhango wo ku wa 2 kanama, hari umugabo nashimye cyane, ukomoka mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, wafashe ijambo avuga ubucuti bwe ku giti cye n'ubo twarimo kuzirikana. Ubwo bucuti bukaba bwaragarajwe n'uko yari yatumiwe kandi akitabira uwo muhango, mu gihe yari akomeye muri Leta ya Habyarimana yahitanye uwo twarimo kwibuka. Ibyo ariko, ari abakomoka kuri uwo twibukaga, ari n'ubo mugabo mvuga, bose babirenzeho, basanga ubucuti yari afitanye n'ubo nyakwigendera buruta kure iby'uko ingoma yakoreye ari yo yahitanye incuti ye. Ijambo yavuze atanga ubuhamba kuri nyakwigendera ryashimwe na bose ku buryo ari abagabo, ari abagore, ari abana, abantu bose bose bari bamuteze amatiwi nta kurangara. Nyuma basutse amarira imishwari yo kwihamagura iba mike, biyumiye uburyo byarishe muri iyo minsi yakurikiye kudeta, kandi byari birimo kuvugwa n'umwe mu bari ku ibere mu butegetsi bwari bumaze kujyaho.

Aha rero njye nsanga twari dukwiye kumenya kandi tugatsindagira ko u Rwanda rugiwe n'ibiremwamuntu. **Rugizwe n'abantu bafite umutima, bava amaraso, bagira agahinda, bakanababazwa** n'ababo iyo bapfuye cyangwa bakaburirwa irengero. Kubabuza kubabuza no kubatekereza, ni **ukunyukanyuka uburenganzira bwa buri muntu** ku giti cye. Kubabuza ubwo burenganzira byaba bisa no kubabuza kuba abantu. Icyo gihe waba urimo kubaka igihugu kigizwe n'abantu b'ibuhungetwe, b'ibikange, batashywé n'ubwoba n'umususu, batifitemo amahoro muri bo imbere, basigaye bameze nka za baringa gusa.

Nta buzima baba bafite rero. Icyo kandi ubu nicyo FPR na Kagame wa yo bashoboye kugeraho. Ubu u Rwanda rutwe n'abantu bahahamutse, bumva ko uretse no guharanira uburenganzira bwawe nk'umuntu, no kubitekereza ubwabyo ari ukurwanya « iterambere n'ubwiyubake bazaniwe n'iyi ngoma ».

Iyo gahunda yo kwibuka bamwe, abandi ukabagira ibivume by « abajesideri » n'« ibipinga » cyangwa « ibirura » bitagira icyo byemerewe, ni yo ubona ririya shyirahamwe ryitwa « Ibuka » riharanira. Kandi nitireba nabi rikaba rishobora kuzabigeraho. Ibya « Ibuka » byo ndumva nzabikorera indi yandiko yihariye. Ariko aha ndagirango ntange akagero kamwe kerekana uburyo muri « Ibuka », FPR n'abambari ba yo bimirijwe imbere na Kagame, benda kugera ku mugambi wabo wo kwima igice kinini cy'abanyarwanda uburenganzira bwo kwibuka, kwiraburira no kuzirikana ababo bapfuye. Abo mvuga ni abapfuye bazira akarengane kuva muri 1990 kugeza ubu. Bakaba barishwe kandi n'ubu bagikomeza kwicwa mu buryo burengeje kure ubugome uburyo abatutsi bishwe muri 1994.

Muri mata uyu mwaka navuganye na murumuna wanjeuri mu Rwanda ambwira ko bagiye ahantu bari bateraniye mu kiriyo cyo kwibuka no kuririra inzirakarengngane zuguye muri jenoside « yakorewe abatutsi ». Naramabajije nti : « ariko muri izo nama zo kwibuka abapfuye mu Rwanda mujya mubaza igiye muzibukira ba Naka na Kanaka? » (aha namuhaye amazina y'abantu azi nanjye nzi bishwe n'inkotanyi nta kindi bazize uretse kuba ari abahutu). Murumuna wanje uwo yarambiye ati : « ariko warasaze cyangwa urashaka kunkoraho ? abo bantu uvuga simbazi » ahita afunga telefoni.

Uru rugero ndutanze kugira ngo mwumve uburyo ibyo navuze byo kugira abantu ibuhungetwe, bakumva ko nta gaciro bafite, basa n'abarimo kubigeraho. Iyo mvuganye n'ubo muvandimwe buri gihe aba andatira iterambere bamaze kwigezaho, ndetse akambwira ngo nanjye ninze dufatanye kubaka urwatubye, ariko yarangiza akambwira ati « inzara iratumaze niba utatwohereje byibuze 20.000Frw ngo mbone icyo ngura udushyimbo, aho kugira ngo inzara inyicire abana mu maso ubu ngiye gusuhuka njye guhingira amafranga ». Ibi mbabwiye nta cyo mpimbye byabaye mu kiganiro kimwe nagiranye n'ubo muvandimwe. Mu munota umwe akaba ambwira iterambere mu munota ukurikiyeo akambwira iby'inzara igiye gutuma asuhuka. Nguko uko u Rwanda ruteye muri iyi minsi : ku ruhande rumwe rurata iterambere, kandi ku rundi ruhande abantu bamazwe n'inzara n'ubukene.

Abo mvuga ni abapfuye bazira akarengane kuva muri 1990 kugeza ubu. Bakaba barishwe kandi n'ubu bagikomeza kwicwa mu buryo burengeje kure ubugome uburyo abatutsi bishwe muri 1994. Uru rugero ndutanze kugira ngo mwumve uburyo ibyo navuze byo kugira abantu ibuhungetwe, bakumva ko nta gaciro bafite, basa n'abarimo kubigeraho. Iyo mvuganye n'ubo muvandimwe buri gihe aba andatira iterambere bamaze kwigezaho, ndetse akambwira ngo nanjye ninze dufatanye kubaka urwatubye, ariko yarangiza akambwira ati « inzara iratumaze niba utatwohereje byibuze 20.000Frw ngo mbone icyo ngura udushyimbo, aho kugira ngo inzara inyicire abana mu maso ubu ngiye gusuhuka njye guhingira amafranga ». Ibi mbabwiye nta cyo mpimbye byabaye mu kiganiro kimwe nagiranye n'ubo muvandimwe. Mu munota umwe akaba ambwira iterambere mu munota ukurikiyeo akambwira iby'inzara igiye gutuma asuhuka. Nguko uko u Rwanda ruteye muri iyi minsi : ku ruhande rumwe rurata iterambere, kandi ku rundi ruhande abantu bamazwe n'inzara n'ubukene.

Tugarutse rero kuri bariya bategetsi ba Repuburika ya mbere bishwe n'abahirite Leta yabo, kuba mu imyaka irenga 40 bitari byarashobote ko ababakomokaho n'imiryango ya bo bamenya iby'impfura za bo, bihabanye bitavugwa n'uburenganzira bw'umuntu. Numvise ngo habayeho icyo ababahitanye bise urukiko rwabacirye urwo gupfa. Uretse ko urwo rukiko byagaragaye ko rwari urwa nyirarureshw, n'ijo abo bantu baza koko kuba barakoze ibyaha babeshyerwa ko bakoze, njye numva iyo koko ababishe baza kuba bafite gihanya ko babishe ku buryo bukurikije amategeko, nta cyari gutuma badaha imiryango ya bo imirambo ya bo bagashyingurwa mu cyubahiro **nk'abantu**. Abuhwo nyine kuba barakoze uko bashoboye iby'impfure y'abo banyaporitiki bikazimangana ntihagire n'uwakopfora abaza ibya bo biragarakaza ko igihe babicaga hari icyo biregaga bo ubwabo. Tugomba guharanira ko icyaha kititiranywa n'umuntu. Umuntu niba yakoze icyaha agomba kugihanirwa ariko ntagomba kwamburwa **ubumuntu** bwe.

**KWIBUKA ABAZIZE KUDETA YO MURI 1973
TWAKURAMO IYIHE NYIGISHO ? ibikurikira urup 3**

Aha nagiye ngegura ikibazo cy'uburenganzira bwo kwibuka uwave nkagishingira ku muntu ku giti cye, kuko ibyo gukayirana abantu bose ukabashyira mu gisanduku cyangwa ikigare kimwe bibambura bwa « **bumuntu** » bwa bo, bagahindura nkamatungo. Bityo banakwicwa ntibagire uburenganzira bwo kunamirwa no guhabwa icyubahiro gikwiriye **ikiremwamuntu**. Ibi kandi muzi ko ari byo biri kuba mu Rwanda kuva Inkotanyi zatera muri 1990 kugeza uyu munsi. Aha mwibuke amagambo y'umuririmbyi witwa Sankara Callixte waririmbye agira ati : «*abacu bazize akamama (2x) kandi uwabishe ubu arigaramiye kuko yihinduye intwari. abacu bishwe nta no kubibuka nkaho bo ari ibikoko* ».

Uyu muhanzi aravuga bimwe by'« umugani ugana akariho ». Ibyo aririmba ni byo biriho : ubu mu Rwanda igice kinini cy'abarutuye bambuwe **ubumuntu** bwa bo basigara barebwa nk'« ibikoko », (ibirura) n'ubutegetsi buriho. Ku buryo iyo bapfuye, banyerejwe bakaburirwa irengero, cyangwa se iyo bafunzwe mu karengane katagira urugero, nta we ushobora kugira icyo yongeraho.



**Ibirango bya Repubulika y'u Rwanda yashinzwe
n'intwali zarimbaguwe nyuma ya Coup d'Etat ya 1973**

Umunyarwanda yaragize ati « agahwa kari ku wundi karahandurika » arongera ati : « umusonga w'undi ntukuba gusinzira ». Koko rero burya ikibazo cyumvikana iyo kikubayeho ku giti cyawe. Nk'ubu abantu bafite hagati y'imyaka 40 na 50 (bavuye iwacu bafite hagati y'imyaka 20 na 30) ubu barimo kugenda bapfusha ababyabyeyi ba bo. Bamwe bashobora kubashyingura, ariko hari n'abandi benshi ibibazo by'ubuhunzi bitemerera kujya guherekeza ababo. Nanje ibyo byago bicherutse kumbaho sinashobora kujya gushyingura uwambyaye. Icyo gihe nibwo numvise mu by'ukuri uburyo bariya bana b'abategetsi bishwe nyuma ya kudeta yo muri 1973, bafite intimba ikomeye igomba kugaragazwa, bagahabwa umwanya wo kunamira aba bo.

Mu by'ukuri, kuba iki kibazo cyo kwibuka nagiye nginshingira ku muntu ku giti cye, byari ukugirango cyumvikane mu bukana n'uburemire bwacyo n'uburyo giteye agahinda. Ariko ikiruta byose nagira ngo buri muntu namara kumva uburyo icyo kibazo kiremerye, ashakishe uburyo bwose bushoboka kugira ngo mu gihugu cyacu hazajyeho ubutegetsi buha buri wese umwanya n'uburenganzira bwo kuzirkana, kunamira no kwibuka abawe abo ari bo bose. Kandi ga muze tunaharanire ko ibyo byo kwica uwo mutavuga rumwe bivaho kuko birambiranye ! Ibyo bizagerwaho mu Rwanda, ari uko hagiyeo ubuyobozi bwubahiriza umuntu mu « **bumuntu** » bwe, buri wese mu barutuye akumva ko yisanzyue mu bitekerez, mu byo avuga, mu byo akora, akumva nta mususu umuri mu maraso, akumva ko iyo avuze nta cyo agomba kwishisha cyagwa kwikanga.

Kuba rero bariya bana barashoboye guhuza abantu baje ari benshi, kirizya igakubita ikuzura kandi nta butumire bwatanze, njye byampaye icyizere ko tubishatse tugakora nk'uko bo babigenje, dushobora kugera kuri byinshi. Muri byo ariko tukibanda ku bigana mu nzira yo kugeza mu gihugu cyacu buriya burenganzira bwo kwishyira ukizana, byaba mu birebana no kwibuka abacu bitabye Imana, byaba ndetse no mu guharanira ko demokarasi iganza iwacu muri rusange.

**IMPUNZI Z'ABANYARWANDA BANYANYAGIYE HIRYA NO HINO KW'ISI
ZISHOBOKA KUBA ZIKABAKABA HAFI 700 000 (igereranya)**



Mu mwaka wa 1994 u Rwanda rwaciye agahigo mu kugira impunzi nyinsi kw'isi aho abaturage hafi ya bose b'igihugu bahanze bakava mu byabo. Mu kwezi kwa munani 1994 impunzi zabanyarwanda zabarirwaga hanze y'u Rwanda zakabakabaga 4 500 000 (Zaire-RDC hafi 3 000 000, Tanzaniya 1 000 000, Burundi-Uganda n'ahandi abagera ku 500 000). Ubwicanyi bwibasiye impunzi muri Kongo butangira Congo yari ituwe n'impunzi zisaga 2 500 000. Muri bo hafi 1000 000 yiciwe mu mashyamba n'ingabo za FPR, abagera ku 800 000 bacyurwa ku ngufu mu Rwanda, abandi bake babasha gusohoka mu mashyamba ya Kongo bahungira mu bindi bihugu haba muri Afurika cyangwa i Burayi, Amerika n'ahandi.

Impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zirimo inzego (ibyciro bitandukanye)

1. Impunzi ziri mu mashyamba y'inxitane ya Kongo (bafite umwihariko kubera intambara z'urudaca z'inyeshyamba za Kagame/RDF)

2. Impunzi ziri mu bindi bihugu by'Afurika: ziganjemo izambuwe uburenganzira bwo kuba impunzi (clause de cessation) hamwe n'izindi mpunzi zihunze vuba zitagira kivurira ziri hirya no hino mu bihugu by'Afurika aho zandagaye.

3. Impunzi ziri i Burayi, Amerika na Australia : abo bari mu bihugu bigerageza kubaha uburenganzira bwa Muntu ariko nazo zifite ibibazo bitandukanye:

a) abashakisha impapuro (les demandeurs d'asile),

b) abimwe impapuro (les "sans-papiers"),

c) impunzi zifungiye mu magereza,

d) impunzi zari zarahawé ibyangombwa ubu bakaba barabyambuwe zishoboa gukorerwa déportation igihe icyo aricyo cyose,

e) impunzi nyirizina zifite ibyangombwa (réfugiés),

f) impunzi zabonye ubwenegihugu bw'ibihugu barimo.



**Izi ni impubyi n'abapfakazi b'impunzi z'Abahutu zarokotse
ubwicanyi bw'ingabo za FPR-Inkotanyi mu ntambara zashoje
muri Kongo zifashijwe n'ibisambo by'abanyamahanga bifusa
gukomeza kunyunuza ubutunzi bw'Afurika .**

Ibikurikira urup 4: IMPUNZI Z'ABANYARWANDA BANYANYAGIYE HIRYA NO HINO KW'ISI ZISHOBOKA KUBA ZIKABAKABA HAFI 700 000 (Igereranya)

Izi mpunzi zahungiye mu Burayi Amerika n'ahandi muri Afurika zifite ibibazo by'insobe muri byo twavuga

- Gukurikiranwa mu buhungiro n'ubutegetsi bahunze no kwicirwa mu buhungiro,
- kwamburwa ibyangombwa ku babibonye no kuba basubizwa mu Rwanda cg bakaguma aho nta mpapuro,
- kwimwa ibyangombwa ku babikeneye kubera gukomanyirizwa mu nzego zitanga ibyangombwa n'ubutegetsi bahunze,
- guterwa ubwoba n'abacengezi ba FPR?DMI bakorera mubihugu zahungiyemo

5. n'ibindi bibazo byinshi.

Imibare y'impunzi yifashe gute?

Imibare itangwa n'abahagariariye LONI ivuga ko ubu mu mashyamba ya Kongo hari impunzi z'Abahutu zirenga 250 000 (Interview Martin Kobler RFI). Icyo twavuga ni uko iyi imibare itangwa na LONI atari iyo kwizerwa neza kuko LONI ikunze kugabanya nkana imibare y'impunzi z'Abahutu. Mu byukuri impunzi ziri muri Kongo zirenga 250 000.

Nubwo imibare ya LONI iri hasi y'umubare nyawo ntacyo reka tuyihereho tugereranya umubare w'impunzi z'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bake bari hanze bahunze nabo.

Ikigereranyo

1. Mu mashyamba ya Kongo: hari impunzi zirenga **250 000**
2. Mu bihugu bya Uganda, Kenya, Tanzaniya, Burundi, Sudan zombi: twagereranya **100 000**
3. Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Afrika yepfo, Angola (muri make SADEC yose ukuyemo RDC): **120 000** (bashobora kuba barenga)
4. Cameroun, Congo-Braza, Centre-Afrique, Gabon, Sénégal n'ahandi ntibagiwe muri Afrurika yose: byibura abagera **50 000**
5. Uburayi bwose: **70 000** (mu Bubirigi honyine hari 40 000 mu Bufaransa abasaga 10 000, mu Buhorandi abakabakaba 8 000 mu Budagi 6 000 mu bihugu bya Scandinavia: abarenga 10 000)
6. Amerika na Canada: twagereranya ko hari impunzi zitari munsi ya **40 000**
7. Muri Australia, Chine, Aziya yose: twafata ikigereranyo cy'abanyarwanda: **20 000**

Igiteranyo cy'iki kigereranyo cyacu: Impunzi z'abanyarwanda bari hanze barabarirwa kuri **650 000**.

Ikitonderwa

-Iki ni ikigereranyo, ariko dukeka ko imibare nyayo itari kure y'iyi dutanze kuko umwaka ushize twatanze ikigereranyo ko impunzi z'Abahuti ziri muri Kongo ziri hafi 300 000 bamwe baravuga ngo Minani iyi imibare ayikurahe? Ejo bundi kuri Radiyo Mpuzamaganga RFI Martin Kobler uhagarariye LONI/ MONUSCO muri Kongo atanga imibare yegeranye niyo nababwiye (250 000).

- Turasaba abafite imibare nyayo ifatika ifite na reference kuyitugezaho.

- Abazaduha imibare itangwa na zimwe mu 'mpuguke' zo muryango wa HCR ushinzwe impunzi kw'isi kuko umwaka ushize mu gihe cya 'cessation clause' (gukuraho ubuhunzi kubanyarwanda) bavugaga ko abanyarwanda bari hanze utabariyomo abo muri Kongo batagera 80 000 naho abo muri Kongo imibare HCR yatangaga nayo iri hasi cyane mu gihe Leta ya Kongo yo yatangaga imibare y'impunzi z'Abahutu muri Kongo 127 537.

Umwanzuro

Aba banyarwanda babarirwa hejuru ya 650 000 ubashyize mw'ijanisha bari hagati ya 6-7% by'abaturage bose b'igihugu cyacu. Ibi bishatse kuvuga ko 6-7% by'abaturage b'u Rwanda bahejejwe ishyanga n'ubutegetsi bubi bwa FPR inkotanyi (imyaka ibaye 20 kuri benshi).

Iyi imibare y'impunzi dutanze ni impunzi zifite ikibazo cyo gutaha iwabo ntabwo twabariyemo ba ba nyamurengwe bo mu gatsiko akensi bazanwa no kwica impunzi.

Uyu mubare w'impunzi z'Abahutu tuvuze haruguru ziheze ishyanga uruta kure umubari w'Abatutsi bari ishyanga mbere ya 1990. Banyarwanda Banyarwandakazi rero ngaho nimutekereze ikigomba gukurikiraho kugirango izi mpunzi zisubire iwabo zitamanitse amaboko kandi zigire uruhare mu miyoborere y'u Rwanda. Murabivugaho iki?

Amahoro n'urukundo mwese.

Jean-Marie V. Minani

IKIBAZO CY'IMVANGE MU MOKO Y'U RWANDA.

Ibikurikira inkuru yasohotse mu numero yacu ya 3



Mu nyandiko yacu y'ubushize twabagejeho ibyerekeye n'icyiciro cya mberere cy'ababana hadashinge mbere na mbere ku bushake bwa bo n'icyiciro cya kabiri kigizwe n'ababana babishingiye ku nyungu no ku mibare. Ubu noneho nyuma y'ibyo bice bibiri by'ababana, muri iyi nyandiko ndagirango ntinde gato ku birebana n'igice cya gatatu kigizwe n'ababana barashakanye, ni ukuvuga ababana babishingiye ku rukundo baba bafitaniye. Ariko ndi bwibande ku biba ubu mu gihe turimo cyangwa se byabaye mu minsi ya vuba aha abantu baba bakibuka kuko nsanga aribyo dukwiye gusuzuma tukarebera hamwe uko byifashe n'uko byari bikwiye kumera. Ndi bunarebe gato uburyo abakomoka kuri abo babyeyi badahuje ubwoko babaho n'uburyo bibona, cyangwa babonna n'abandi, ndetse n'uruhare bagira mu buzima bw'abanyarwanda bw'uyu munsi n'ubwo mu minsi iri imbere.

Ubundi nta cyiza nk'urukundo. Nyamara iyo urebye usanga abantu batabumva kimwe. Igihe cyose abantu bikundaniye bakifuza kurushinga, usanga hatabura abashaka kubyitambikamo batitaye ku rukundo n'nyungu z'ababa bashaka kwibanira. Aha ni naho umunyarwanda yahereye aca wa mugani ngo « nta butaha butishwe ».

Ingero ni nyinshi ariko reka ntange nk'eshatu ntekereza ko nshobora kuba nzemeranywaho na benshi. Urwa mbere nyine ni urw'Umututsi wakwifusa kubana n'Umuhutukazi. Akensi ababyeyi b'umuhungu bamubaza icyo ashaka muri ubwo bwoko butagira ubupfura n'ikinyabupfura. Ariko ibantu bikomera kurushaho iyo ari umukobwa w'Umututsikazi ukundanye n'muhungu w'Umuhutu. Bwo rwose ababyeyi akensi babyamaganira kure ndetse bakabirwanya bivuye inyuma. Impamvu ituma ubukana mu kurwanya ko Umututsikazi yashakana n'Umuhutu buruta ubukoreshwa mu kurwanya ko Umututsi yashaka Umuhutukazi ndazigarukaho mvuga iby'abana bavuka kuri ubwo bwoko.

Kwirengangiza iki kibazo ni ukwigiza nkana kuko rwose nzi abantu bambwiye ko hari umuryango w'Abatutsi wahisemo kwicisha umusore w'Umuhutu washakaga gusaba Umututsikazi wo mu muryango ukomeye bari bariganye muri Kaminuza, bagakundana bakifuza kubana. Uwo musore yishwe aho umukobwa yeruriye akabwira ababyeyi be ko babishaka batabishaka, we yiyejeye kubana n'ubo musore bakundanaga ; kuko kuri bo iby'amoko nta cyo byari bibatwaye nta n'icyo byari bibabangamiyeho. Aha ariko nagirango mvuge ko no ku ruhande rw'Abahutu hari abakiri mu bujiji butuma badashygikira rugikubita imibanire y'umwana wa bo n'ukomoka mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi.

Ikindi kibazo cyakunze kuranga imishakanire hagati y'abanyarwanda ni icy'uture cyane cyane mu gihe cy'ingoma ya Habyarimana. Muri iyo minsi rwose hari abantu bo mu majyaruguru y'igihugu bumvaga batakewema ko umwana wa bo yabana n'uwo mu majyepmo. Ibyo babiterwaga ahanini no kumva ko abo bantu bakuye ku ngoma bagomba kubitondera, kuko bavugaga ko ku ruhande rumwe abanyanduga ari indyarya. Ndetsse ku rundi ruhande hari aberuraga bakavuga ko abanyenduga bose ari Abatutsi ko rero nta mpamvu yo kubashyingira cyangwa kubashakamo.

Aha rwose nzi umuntu uvuka mu Ruhengeri wakundanye n'umukobwa w'umunyandugakazi ababyeyi b'umusore bamubera ibamba. Aho rero abumvishirije ko na we atareka uwo mukobwa, bahisemo kumuka mu bana ba bo, agirwa igicibwa ajya kwibera i Gitarama n'umogore we. Icyakora nyuma abo babyeyi baje kubona ko uwo mukazana ari umugore nk'abandi, arababyarira, arabubaha na bo bageze aho bamwemera mu bandi cyane cyane ko no ku birebana n'inkwano bari babonye ko « atakoshaga » nk'ab'iwabo.

Urugero rwa nyuma natanga rw'ingorane abakundana badahuje ubwoko bahura na zo iyo ababyeyi ba bo bagifukiranwe n'igihu cy'ivangurakoko ntirwerekeranye cyane n'ababyeyi ahubwo rurarebana n'aho umuntu akora. Ibi bikaba byarakunze kuvugwa cyane cyane mu gisirikare cyo ku ngoma z'abahutu aha ndashaka kuvuga Kayibanda na Habyarimana. Hari abavuga ko haba harakorwaga iperereza rigamije kureba niba uwo ugiye kubana na we ari umuhutukazi wa nyakuri, cyangwa niba ari umututsikazi. Ibyo ku ngoma ya Kayibanda byo simbivugaho cyane kuko nari ntaraca akenge katuma ngira icyo mbona ; ariko ku bwa Habyarimana bwo hari abaje kunkoraho iperereza ku bantu nari nzi bifuzaga kurushinga gagamijwe kumenya niba koko ubwoko bwanditse mu ndangamuntu y'umukobwa bwari bwo bwe cyangwa niba se yaba « yaritutsuye » nk'uko byavugwaga (« kwitututsura » njye mybumva nko guhindura ukareka ubututsi ukaba Umuhutu, naho « kwihutura » bikaba kureka ubuhutu ukaba Umututsi). Ngo byaba bishoboka ko iyo basangaga uwo wabaga ugiye kubana na we ari Umututsikazi ngo byaba byarasabaga uburenganzira bwihiarye ndetse byaba ngombwa bakaba bakubusa kumurongora. Abo byabayeho bari bakwiye kuduha ubuhamya bwa bo. Ndetsse niba hari ababa bazi uko byifashe mu gisirikare cy'ubu na bo batubwira.

Nyuma yo kubona ko ababana badahuje ubwoko akensi babanza kurwana n'ingorane zitoroshye, ziterwa n'ababyeyi batavuga rumwe n'abana ba bo ku bo bashaka kurushingana, nagira ngo turebere hamwe ibyerekeye ababavukaho. Ubundi ku birebana n'ubwoko bw'abo bana bavuka ku babyeyi badahuje ubwoko nta kibazo cyagombye kubamo, kuko mu muco wacu « umwana ntakurikira inkanda » ; se w'umwana ni we umuhu ubwoko. Ibi bishatse kuvuga ko umwana afata ubwoko bwa se ; bigasobanura ko iyo Umuhutu ashakanye n'Umututsikazi babyara abana b'Abahutu, naho Umututsi igihe abanye n'umuhutukazi bakabyara abatutsi. Ibyo ni ibantu bisobanute neza ku buryo nta wagombye kwibaza niba hari ubwoko bw'« imvange » bubaho.

Nyamara abanyarwanda murabazi ntibabura guhura bashakisha ibibazo n'aho bitari. Ni muri urwo rwego mu myaka yashize hadutse amagambo ku bwanje no kubw'umuco wacu atari akwiye gukreshwa. Ayo magambo ni « imvange », « abahutsi », niba n'« abatsihu » babaho simbizi. Hari n'abakoresha ijambu njye mbona atari ryo kuko riba ryateshejwe insobanuro yaryo kuko njye nzi ko rikoreshwa ku matungo. Iryo jambo ni « ikimanyi ». Ku bwanje abakoresha babigira nkana kuko baba

abo babana badahuje ubwoko, bityo bakarikoresha bashaka kwerekana ko bene iyo mibanire idahwitse kandi idakwiye abantu ahubwo ko ikwiye inyamaswa ; bakaboneraho kwita abana babo « ibymanyi » kandi ubundi iryo jambo rikoreshwa ku nka cyangwa ihene zivuka ku mfizi n'inyana cyangwa isekurume n'inyagazi z'ubwoko butandukanye.

Duhereye ku ijambu « Imvange » njye numva abakoresha baba bashaka kugaragaza ko abo bana baba ntaho babarizwa hagaragara, bityo ari mu Bahutu bakaba nta ruhare bakwiye kuhagira ari no mu Batutsi bikaba uko! Ibyo rero nti byo bishobora gutuma abo bana batizerwa na buri bwoko bw'ababyeyi babo ; ndetse hakaba hari n'ubwo byabaviramo gusuzugurwa, kurebwa nabi no kwigizwayo ; guhora babishisha, gutera amakenga abahura nabo mbega bakamera nk'ibicibwa by « ibiburabwoko ».

Mbega abakoresha iryo jambo njye nsanga basa na ba bandi bitaga Henri Lopes umwirabura iyo yabaga ari mu bazungu, cyangwa abamwitaga umuzungu mu gihe yabaga ari kumwe n'abirabura ; babaga bagamije kumububa umwanya mu bwoko bw'ababyeyi be bwombi.

Nyamara turenze gato ibyo umuco wacu uvuga ngo « umwana ntakurikira inkanda » tugatekereza nk'abantu bafite ubumenyi mu bijana n'imyorokere y'ibinyabuzima twasanga mu by'ukuri umwana uvuka ku babyeyi babiri badahuje ubwoko aba afite igice cya buri wese mu babyeyi be. Bityo rero nk'uko mwana aramatse ashakanye n'undi na we ukomoka ku bwoko bubiri bunyuranye, abana babyara baba bongeye kwitarura ubwoko bwa sekuru na nyirakuru. Aha rero niho njye nsanga turamutse dutekereje nk'abantu bize cyangwa bazi ubwenge, tutagombye gukomeza kureba ngo runaka ni Umututsi w'umwimerere, runaka wundi ni umuhutu utavangiye. Twagombye kureba ubwuzuzanye bugomba kuba hagati y'ayo moko yose, buri muntu akubahiriza buri wundi. Ibi ni ibantu bikomeye cyane kandi n'abanyaporitiki bacu bakagombye guharanira ko nta wuzongera kuzira inkomoko ye.

Ijambo « Abahutsi » ryo natangiye kuryumva kuva muri za 1980 no kugeza mu gihe Inkotanyi zarimo kurwana n'ingabo z'u Rwanda z'icyo gihe, narisomaga mu binyamakuru bya Kanguka na Kangura. Abavugwaga cyane ariko ni « Abahutsi ». N'ubwo iryo jambo ryakoreshwaga bashaka kuvuga abana bavuka ku Batutsi n'Abahutu muri rusange, akensi ryasobanuraga ku buryo bw'umwihariko abavuka ku mugabo w'Umuhutu n'umogore w'Umututsikazi kuko mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi ntibabaga bahemewe na mba kubera cya kindi nababwiye cy'uko umwana adakurikira inkanda.

Umwana uvuka ku Mututsi ubana n'Umuhutukazi ubundi nkurikije iyo myumvire itekereza ko hababo « abahutsi » na bo bagombye kwitwa « abatsihu » ariko ndumva ntarigeze numva cyane iryo jambo rikoreshwa kuko abo bana bibazwagaho ibibazo bike bitewe nyine n'uko umwana adakurikira inkanda ubwo uwo mwana yabaga ari umututsi akivuka bigacira aho. Gusa tutagombye gutinda cyane ku bisobanuro njye mbona nta n'icyo bitwungura mu mibanire myiza y'amoko yacu, ikizwi ni uko abo bana baje guhura n'ingorane zikomeye mu gihe cy'intambara y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ubwo barwaniraga ubutegetsi.

Soma Ibikurikira ku rup 4....

Ibikurikira urup. 6

Bahuye n'akaga ku buryo bwinshi. Icyu mbere, uko byangenda kose bumvaga ubwoko bw'umwe mu babyeyi ba bo burimo kwica ubw'undi mubabyeyi wa bo. Rimwe bakumva ngo « Inyenzi-Inkotanyi » zigizwe n'Abatutsi zateye u Rwanda ; ku rundi ruhande bakumva ngo « intarahamwe » zigizwe n'Abahutu zamaze Abatutsi. Icyu kabiri kinababaje kurushaho ni iyo umwe mu babyeyi yabaga yishwe n'abagize ubwoko bw'undi mubabyeyi. Siniriwe mvuga noneho abiciwe abyeyi bombi buri wese yishwe n'abo mu bwoko bw'undi. Twese tuzi abana bari bafite umubyeyi w'Umututsi wishwe n'Interahamwe, nyuma n'Inkotanyi zafata ubutegetsi uwari usigaye akicwa na zo. Gusa aha nagirango mvuge ko ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kitoroshye ku buryo abavuga ko Abatutsi bose baguye muri buriya bwicanyi bishwe n'Abahutu cyangwa se ko Abahutu bose bishwe n'Abatutsi gusa biregangiza ukuri kose. Twese tuzi hari Abatutsi bishwe n'Abatutsi hakaba n'Abahutu bishwe n'Abahutu. Icyo ariko ni ikindi kibazo umuntu yazagarukaho ukwacyo kuko ibirebana n'UKURI ku byabaye iwacu bizatindwaho mpaka bimenyekanye neza ; ubu twibande ku byatuzinduye by'abana b'ababana badahuje ubwoko n'ingorane byagiye bibakurira.

Birumvikana rero ko kuri abo bana kubyarwa n'abantu badahuje ubwoko byababereye umutwaro utoroshye, ndetse kuri bamwe bibaviramo isoko y'agahinda katazapfa gashize. Ibyo rero iyo ubyongeyeho ko akenshi usanga abo bana batizerwa ku buryo bwuzuye n'abava mu bwoko bw'ababyeyi ba bo, bibatera ikintu gisa n'isoni kivanze n'ipfunwe n'agahinda hamwe n'umujinya wo kuzira ibyo batasabye ko biba. Gusa aha nagira ngo nsabe abo bana bakomoka ku babyeyi badahuje ubwoko ko batagomba kwiyumvamo ko bari hagati nk'ururimi, cyangwa ngo bahere mu gihirahiro no mu cyeragati bateragiranwa n'ayo moko yombi.

Ahubwo bagombye kumera nk'uriya Henri Lopes nababwiye haruguru ; bakishakamo imbaraga zishingyi ku byiza bakura ku babyeyi ba bo bombi, bikabaviramo ubwenge, ubushishozi n'ubushobozi bwo kurenga ibyo bibazo baterwa n'abo bahura na bo mu buzima bwa buri munsi, cyangwa wenda banaterwa n'uburyo biyumva n'uburyo bibona bo ubwabo. Izo mbaraga njye mbona zihagije kugira ngo bivane muri ibyo bibazo, babeho mu bwisanzure bigirire akamaro kandi bakagirire na twe twese n'ighugu muri rusange.

Ku baba bashaka kureba no kumva uburyo abantu badahuje ubwoko, indimi, ndetse n'ibara ry'uruhi bashobora kubana neza, buzuzanya, bakubaka ighihu cya bo, barebera ku bihugu by'i Burayi ndetse na Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika. Nko mu Bubirigi n'u Bufaransa uhasanga abantu baturuka imihanda yose y'isi, bafite imico, indimi, imyumvire n'ukwemera bihabanye rwose ; ariko bagira ubwubahane n'ubwuzuzanye byatumye bavana muri ubwo bunyurane bw'abititye ingufu zatumye bakataza mu majyambere y'inzezo zose, haba muri poritiki, ikoranabuhanga, inganda, umumenyi, ubukungu n'ibindi... Aha nagira ababishoboye kandi bumva igifaransa mbasabe kuzasoma igitabo cy'abanyamateka bitwa Lucien Febvre na François Crouzet cyitwa « Nous sommes des sang-mêlés ». Mu kinyarwanda ngenekekereje byaba nka « Turi ba Maraso-Avanze ». Iki gitabo mbona cyaha isomo abanyarwanda bose muri rusange n'abavuka ku bwoko bunyuranye by'umwihariko.

Muri make, abo bagabo basesengura amateka y'u Bufaransa bagasanga icyo gihugu kidatuwe n'ubwoko bumwe bw'umwimerere. Ahubwo basanga u Bufaransa bwaragiye bwubakwa buhoro buhoro n'uruvangitirene rw'imico n'amoko anyuranye. Abo banyamateka babona ko urwo ruhurirane rw'abanyamahanga baje buzuzanya ari rwo rwatumye u Bufaransa bugera aho bugeze ubu. Aha rero ni naho bahera bamaganu uwazana gukurura urwangano no kwikoma abo mudahuje umuco, ibara ry'uruhi, imyemerere n'imitekerereze. Ahubwo bo bashishikariza abantu bose muri rusange n'abafaransa ku buryo bw'umwihariko, guharanira icyo bita « ubuvandimwe » bw'abatuye isi bose. Bagasanga aha ariho hari isoko y'amahoro nyayo yatuma ubumuntu n'ubuntu biganza, kuko muri iyo myumvire twese tuba turi ba « maraso-avanze ».

Umwanzuro

Muri magambo avunaguye rero nagirango nanzure mvuga ko mu mateka yacu y'u Rwanda ukubana ku badahuje ubwoko byahozebo, biriho kandi bizaroharo nta gushidikanya ; kandi nta cyo dushobora kubihinduraho kuko urukundo nta kirukoma imbere. Kandi ga burya amateka ntaryoshwa, ntaririmba, ntagoragozwa nta n'ubwo ashobora guhimbwa cyangwa ngo avugwe uko atabayre ngo bifate. Naberetse ko n'ubwo amateka yaba agaragaza ko hari abantu bitwaza ubwoko, ibihugu cyangwa ibara ry'uruhi rwa bo bagakandimiza abandi iyo urukundo rwaje ibyo byose bitampaye agaciro birenzwaho, abakundanye bakibanira, kabone n'yo abo mu miryangyo ya bo babibangamira. Iyo mbanire rero ikwiye kuba igiteranyo cy'ibizya aho kuba ikigabanyo n'ikinyuranyo byaganisha ku kuvangura no kudashyira hamwe bigamije gutandukanya abantu kandi tuzi neza ko bahujwe na byinshi biruta ibibatandukanya.

Nagerageje kwerekana ko ikibazo cy'imibanire y'abadahuje ubwoko atari u Rwanda rukihariye rwonyine. Natenze ingero z'ahandi nkana ngamije kwerekana ko hari ibyiza twakopera ahandi tukabizana iwacu bikatubera urugero rwiza rwatuma turenga izi ngorane twikururira, kandi zitafite agaciro ntizinatuzamure ; ahubwo zikomeza kutuzitura zikatubuza kubana mu bwuzuzanye. Akaba ari nayo mpamvu ababana badahuje ubwoko kimwe n'abo babyara bagomba kutubera ighango gishingiye kuri uko kuvanga amaraso tukirinda kugitatira twongera guhemukirana, ahubwo tugashakisha ibyizya byinshi buri muri buri wese mu babana badahuje ubwoko, bigashyirwa hamwe hagamijwe ubwuzuzanye n'ubwubahane biranga urukundo baftaniye.

Ku birebana n'abana bavuka muri izo ngo z'abadahuje ubwoko ntibigomba kubabera ikibazo, ahubwo bigomba kubabera igitubizro cy'ibibazo by'amoko dufite mu Rwanda ; mbega bakiyumvamo ko ari ba « gahuzamiryangonyarwanda » tukabareberaho urugero, bakatubera ighango kigamije guca inzigo n'urwango mu moko y'abanyarwanda ; bityo tukarushaho kubana mu bworoherane, ubwuzuzanye n'ukwizerane tukobana ubujya mbere.

Wowe urabibona ute ?

HAVUGAYO MVUGAKARIHO.

INTABAZA, INTABAZA !!!**KU BANYARWANDA AHO MURI HOSE**

Speciose Mujawayezu

Banyarwanda, Banyarwandakazi,

Muri "Gacanzigo" yacu kandi yanyu y'uyu munsi, nifuje kubagezaho ubutumwa bw'ntabaza ku kibazo cy'inkongi z'imiriro n'i cy'abantu bakomeje kunyerezwa mu gihugu hose.

Iyi ntabaza, irareba buri wese, uhereye ku bayobora ighugu , abayoborwa ndetse n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda aho bari hose ku mu gabane w'isi.

Ndemeza nkomeje ko iyi ntabaza ireba cyane cyane ne abategetsi bayobora u Rwanda ubu kubera ko aribo bashinzwe umutekano w'abaturage. Ni kensi abayobozi bo mu Rwanda bivugira ko u Rwanda ari ighugu gifite umutekano ndetse n'iterambere ryakataje. Ariko iyo urebye uburyo ighugu cyayogojwe n'inkongi y'imiriro wakwibaza umutekano bariya bayobozi baba batubwira aho uherereye.

Ighugu cyacu kigiye kutubana umuyonga. Ngiyo imiriro mu mujiyi wa Kigali, ngizo inkongi z'imiriro mu magereza ; nka gereza ya Muhamma , gereza yo ku Gisenyi zari ziboheyemo imfunwa zitagira ingano na gereza ya Kimironko yo mu mujiyi wa Kigali yafashwe n'inkongi y'umuriro ikazimwa itaragurumana . Si amagereza gusa yibasiwe n'inkongi z'imiriro . Hirya no hino mu gihugu inkongi z'imiriro zikomeje kwibasira amazu y'ubucuruzi, imbyiniro, amashuri, amazu y'abanegihugu asanzwe n'ahandi henshi ntarondoye hirya no hino mu gihugu.

Soma ibikurira ku rup. 8

INTABAZA, INTABAZA !!!

KU BANYARWANDA AHO MURI HOSE Ibikurikira urup.7



**Speciose Mujawayezu
Umunyamabanga Mukuru
w'ISANGANO
ry'Abenegihugu**



abantu biruka mu mihanda bagurumana kumannywa y'ihangu abantu babashungera ndetse n'abitwa ko bashinzwe umutekano barebera. Ubu rero noneho amakuru atugeraho aratubwirako ko inkongi zimiriro zafashe indi ntera aho zatangiye no kwibasira amavuriro aho inkongi y'umuriro yibasiye ikigo nderabuzima cyo Rulindo kigakongoka . Izi kongi zimiriro kandi aho zibaye hose zihitana abantu n'ibantu bitagira ingano. Gusa igiteye isoni ni uko abayobozi b'u Rwanda bakomeje kubeshya abaturage ko ngo ari insinga z'amashanyarazi zapfuye ukibaza ukuntu izo nsinga zihengera ijoro riguye zigapfa!

Iyicwa n'inyerezwa ry'abanyarwada.

Nk'uko natangiye mbibabwira si inkongi zimiriro zibasiye igihugu cyacu gusa . Ubutegetsi buriho burakabije kwica no kunyereza abanyarwanda.Nk'uko twakunze kubivuga, kuva FPR –inkotanyi yafata ubutegetsi ku ruhembe rw'umuheto mu 1994 nyuma y'imvu myinshi yamaraso, yasanze kuriyo abapfuye badahagije ngo yunamure icumu. Kuva icyo gihe yahisemo kwica , gufunga , kurigisa no guhungeta umunyarwanda wese aho ava akagera.

FPR yahisemo guhindura igihugu cyose gereza n'amarimbi aho ishobora kwica no kunyereza ku bwinshi abo ishaka kwikiza. Aha twibukiranye ko muri za nkongi zimiriro zibasiye gereza ya Muhamma na Gisenyi , imfungwa zose zarimo ntawamenye irengero ryaboi! Si ibyo gusa ,abayobozi b'u Rwanda ubwabo bivugije ko hari umubari w'abari barahawe igihano cy'insimburagifungo (TIG) , bagera ku 46.000 byaburiwe irengero ndetse hakaba n'abandi 16.000 by'abaturage bo mu karere ka Ngororero mu ntara y'i Burengerazuba nabyo baburiwe irengero n'izindi ngero nyinshi nk'imiryangi ibura irengero ry'abayo buri munsi, abahira mu mazu n'ibindi.

Burya ngo iminsi y'igisambo ntirenga 40!

Muri ino minsi haravugwa imirambo igera kuri 40 mu kiyaga cya Rweru (hagati y'u Rwanda na Burundi) iboheye amaboko inyuma . Iyo mirambo ikaba ngo yaravumbuwe n'abarobyi b'abarundi. Ku bazi neza uburyo FPR yica urubozo , hagakubitira ho n'abantu batagira ingano bamaze kuburirwa irengero , bemeza ko iyo mirambo ari iy'abanyarwanda. Gusa abakora isesengura , kandi bazi neza uburyo FPR n'agatsiko kayo ukuntu ari abahanga mu kuzibangatanya ibimenyetso by'abo bishe(ku batwika...), bibaza impamvu iriya mirambo yajugunywe mu ruzi rw'Akagera kabyarwa na (Akanyaru + Nyabarongo) igatembana n'amazi kugeza ubwo igeze mu kiya cya Rweru kiri hagati y'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Aha hari n'abemeza ko ashobora kuba ari amakimbirane yatangiye kuvuka mu nda y'ingoma ndetse hakaba hari abarambiwe cyangwa batangiye guterwa ubwoba n'amaraso menshi y'abana b'u Rwanda bakomeje kumena; bakaba batangiye gushyira ku karubanda ubwicanyi n' ubugizi bwa nabi bw' agatsiko.

Bityo bakaba barahisemo kujugunya iriya mirambo mu mazi iziritse akandoyi kuko bari bazi neza byanze bikunze ko hari abazayibona.lkindi kigaragaza ko iriya mirambo yaturutse mu Rwanda ni uko ngo umwe muri yo bamusanganye ikanita ya mituweli y'u Rwanda mu mufuka.

Agatsiko ka FPR karananiwe birenze igipimo.

Umuntu avuze ko abagize agatsiko bananiwe birenze igipimo n'ukwemera ntiyaba yibeshye.Iyo urebye ibibera mu gihugu cyacu twarondoye hejuru, hagakubitiraho n'isubiranamo rivugwa muri ino minsi ku bagize agatsiko, twagombye natwe kwibonera ko agatsiko kananiwe kuva kera, ahubwo kabuze abagatura umutwaro kikoreye w'ubutegetsi kadagifitye umurongo kabuha. Iturufu ya genocide kakoresheje imyaka 20 yose yatahuwe n'amahanga n'abanyarwanda ubwabo, naho iyo (iturufu) kujya gusahura muri Congo bitwaje FDLR yo yahindutse ikigarasha gicitse ! Ubu agatsiko kageza aho gasubiranamo, abasirkare bakuru barafungwa umusubizo, abamuunze yabise ibigarasha none abo ashaka kwikiza ubu bitwa ibirura n'isenen! Ibi byose iyo ubyumvise ubona ko munda y'ingoma ya FPR harimo ikibazo gikomeye ,ndetse nta n'uwahakana ko atari amarembra y'ingoma y'agatsiko k'abicanji.

Ingoma y'abicanji igeze mu marembera

Mu kinyarwanda baravuga ngo "nyiri amaso yerekwa bike, ahasigaye akirebera". Haba mu madiscours y'abagize agatsiko, haba mu makuru dusoma cyangwa twumva hirya no hino ntawashidikanya ko iby'agatsiko bigiye kuzasigara mu mateka mabi yaranze igihugu cyacu.

Abagize agatsiko ka FPR kafashe igihugu gitemba imivu y'amaraso none karashaka kuzagisiga ari umuyonga! Aha nkaba nongeye guhamagarira abanyarwanda bose ; abari mu gihugu imbere no hanze, ariko cyane cyane abahagarariye za Sosiyete civile n'abahagarariye amashyaka ya opposition gushyira hamwe imbaraga zazu tutitaye ku bwoko dukomokamo (hutu , tutsi, twa) cyangwa akarere (kiga-nduga) cyangwa aho abahungutse baje baturutse (Uganda, Congo, Burundi, abari mu Rwanda...) kugirango tubashe guhirika kariya gatisko kamaze kugira igihu cyacu umuyonga. Abishyize hamwe nta kibananira kandi Abishyize hamwe IMANA irabasanga

"Gacanzigo".

Speciose Mujawayezu

ISANGANO-ARRDC



Ishyaka ISANGANO RIHAGAZE HE KU BYEREKEYE UBWISANZURE N'UBURENGANZIRA BWA MUNTU MURI RUSANGE N'UBW'ABANYANYARWANDA BY'UMWIHARIKO

Twebwe Abenegihugu b'u Rwanda twibumbiye mu Ishyaka ISANGANO-ARRDC-Abenegihugu dutangarije Abanyarwanda n'Isi yose kumenya ko:

- 1.U Rwanda ari urw'abenegihugu bose, Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa n'abahawe ubwenegihugu. Nta Rwanda rw'ubwoko bumwe ruzigera rubaho
- 2.Nta vangura rigomba kubaho aho ryaba rishingiye aho ari ho hose ku moko, uturere, igitsina, amadini, aho abantu bahungutse baturuka n'ibindi abantu bashobora kwitwaza. Abanyarwanda bose barareshya imbere y'amategeko.
- 3.Ubutegetsi bwose ni ubw'abenegihugu, nibo bukorera kandi butangwa nabo binyuze mu matora asesuye kandi anyuze mu mucyo muri Demokarasi.
- 4.Amahano yose, Jenoside yakorewe Abahutu na Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi, ibyaha ndengakamere byo mu rwego mpuzamahanga n'intambara byahitanye Abanyarwanda mu moko yose bibonamo ndetse n'Abanyamahanga mu Rwanda no mu Karere rurimo byatewe n'ubutegetsi bubu bw'udutsiko twambuye Abenegihugu ubutegetsi bwabo n'uburenganzira bwabo bw'ibanze, ibyo ntibizongera kubaho ukundi,
- 5.Ni ngombwa kumva akababaro k'Abahutu n'akababaro k'Abatutsi n'Abatwa mu mahano yose yabereye mu Rwanda no mu Karere ruherereyemo bityo hakaba hakenewe kuvugisha UKURI no kunga abanyarwanda hagati yabo no kubunga n'abaturanyi bo mubihugu byo mu Karere,
- 6.Akarengane kose kagirirwa cyane cyane Rubanda rugufi, ubuhake mu buryo bwose, agasuzuguro, amacakubiri, iterabwoba, ikinyoma, ikumira n'iheza ry'igice kinini cy'abenegihugu byazanwe n'Agatsiko katsikamiye Abenegihugu bigomba gucika burundi,
- 7.u Rwanda rwacu ruzagera kw'ishya n'ihirwe n'ubwisanzure n'amahoro arambye, igihe abenegihugu barwo bose bafite ubwisanzure mu gihu cyabo, bakagira n'amahirwe angana yo kwinjira mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare na gisivire, bose bakagerwaho n'ibiza by'ighugu kandi bose bakarengera n'amategeko y'ighugu mu buryo bungana,
- 8.Ubutegetsi bwa Demokarasi isesuye ishingiye ku byifuzo n'ibibazo by'Abenegihugu niyo yaha ikizere abanyarwanda bose.

Jean-Marie V Minani, Prezida Fondateri w'ISANGANO (sé)

Ikinyamakuru Intabaza-Gacanzigo gifite intego ebyiri:

1. gutabariza abanyarwanda kw'isi hose no
2. guca inzigo mu bana b'u Rwanda.

Inkuru zazu zizibanda kuvuga ukuri ku biba ku banyarwanda muri iki gihe no mu gihe cyashize hagamijwe kubaka umuco wa Demokarasi, ubworoherane n'amahoro mu Banyarwanda no mu bihugu byo mu Karere

Ikinyamakuru Intabaza-Gacanzigo kizajya gitangaza inkuru mu ndimi zitandukanye cyane cyane Ikinyarwanda, Igifaransa, Icyongereza, Ikidage, Ighorandi, Igisipanyore, Igiswayire n'izindi

Ikinyamakuru Intabaza-Gacanzigo ntawe kizima ijambo arisesabye kandi ntawe kizahatira kurifata atarishaka.

Nimukigane ni icyanyu.

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