

UMUSESO

IKINYAMAKURU KIMURIKIRA ABATURARWANDA

Umwaka VIII: No 369, 17 - 24 Kanama 2009, B.P 4353 Kigali-Rwanda. Tel: 0788354880. E-mail: umuseso@yahoo.co.uk. Frw 500, Ush 1500, Fbu 1000

Ishyaka
DGPR ngo:
"Turambiwe
igitugu"

Ubuhamya bushya



Professor Edward Herman arashinja RPA
guhanura indege ya Habyarimana



FPR Inkotanyi mu
ngobyi y'ikinyoma



Kagame azaca
agahigo mu
Rwanda, asoze
neza?

2010: U
Rwanda
ruzamera
nka Kenya
cyangwa
Zimbabwe?

Ni iki
cyatumye
Kagame aba
umunyagitugu?

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UKO MBYUMVA

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DGPR: Tuje gukora ibyo FPR yananiwe

Muri iki gihe hasigaye umwaka umwe, ngo habe amatora ya Perezida wa Republika, urubuga rwa politiki mu Rwanda rukomeje gushyuka. Nyuma y'aho imitwe ya politiki yari isanzwe igaragariye intege nke mu kuba yavuguruzamye ishyamba rya FPR riri ku butegetsi, bamwe mu banyarwanda bafite akayihayeho muri politiki, baragenda bava mu rungabagabo, bashinga imitwe ya politiki yabo, ngo barebe ko bashobora kugabanya kwikubira kwa FPR Inkotanyi. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu mpera z'icyumweru gishize, havutse undi mutwe wa politiki, ugizwe n'abasore, bivugira ko bahoze ari Inkotanyi z'icyitegererezo. Ibikurikira ni ikiganiro Umuseso wagiranye n'umuyobozi w'uwo mutwe.

Umuseso: Mwakwibwira abasomyi b'ikinyamakuru umuseso

Nitwa Frank Habineza navutse taliki ya 22 Nyakanga 1977, mvukira mu buhungiro mu gihu cya Uganda, ari naho nigiye amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye. Nyuma y'intambara na jenocide narahungutse nkomeza amashuri muri Kaminuza i Butare, ndangije nakoze imirimo inyuranye haba muri Leta ndetse no mu miryango itegamiye kuri Leta (ONGs) nkaba nubatse.

Umuseso: Tumaze kumenya gahunda yanyu yuko mugiyeye gushinga ishyamba, akaba ariyo mpamvu tubegeye kugira ngo tumenye imigabo n'imigambi yanyu tunabashe no kuyigeza ku bandi baturarwanda nk'akazi dushinzwe kacyi ka buri muni mu itangazamakuru

Frank Habineza: Nibyo ngiye kurishyamba, murakoze cyane kandi numvaga nanjye nagombaga kubashyamba ni uko muntanze!

Umuseso: Ishyamba mushyamba gushinga ryitwaga gute? Rigamije iki?

Frank Habineza: Ishyamba ryacu ryitwaga Ishyamba riharanira demokarasi no kurengera ibidukikije mu Rwanda mu gifaransa rikitwa Parti Démocratique Vert du Rwanda (PDVR). Imigabo n'imigambi y'ishyamba ryacu ikaba ishingiye ku mahame akurikira, tukaba tuzaritangira ku mugaragaro tariki ya 14 Kanama 2009. Ikiganiro mbwirwaruhame kikaba kizabera Kacyiru kuri Hotel Novotel.

- Kurwanya ubusumbane
- Demokarasi nyakuri kuri bese
- Kwimakaza umuco w'amahoro
- Iterambere rirambye
- Kubahana mu myumvire no kunganirana mu bitekererezo
- Kugira ubushishozi mu kurengera ibidukikije

Umuseso: Ni iki gishya uzanye muri politiki mu Rwanda

Frank Habineza: Muri politiki nta gishya kinini gikunze kubaho ahubwo tugomba gukosora ibikosamye n'ibyari byarirengagijwe kandi ari byo byimakaza umuco wa demokarasi. Twe dusanga abanyarwanda bifuza demokarasi nyakuri, ubwisanzure, kumenya uburenganzira bwabo aho buva



Umuyobozi wa DGPR
Frank Habineza

n'aho bugarukira, mbese muri make tuje guhumuriza abanyarwanda kuko dufite politiki inyuranye n'ya FPR n'andi mashyamba ubu ari mu Rwanda, arihi ku mazina gusa. Tugamije kandi guca amagambo atera ubwoba abanyarwanda kugira ngo batagira icyo bavugaga igihe babonye ibikomeye. Ingero; igipinga, umwanzi w'igihugu n'andi menshi namwe mutayobewe akura umutima abanyarwanda bikababwira uburenganzira bwabo busesuye kandi itegeko nshingira ribibemerera. Twe twemera ibibi byabaye mu Rwanda kuva ku ngoma ya cyami kugeza ubu. Byose byatewe n'imiyoborere mibi, akarengane, ubusumbane icyenewabo, ikimenyane n'ibindi byinshi. Twe tukaba twiyemeje guhangana nabyo hakaboneka igisubizo kitubereye twese. Ishyamba ryacu akaba ari cyo gisubizo cy'ibyo bibazo by'abanyarwanda haba muri politiki, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza ya buri muni muri uru Rwanda.

Umuseso: Forumu y'amashyamba uyibona ute? Ese uzayijyamo? Ese ubona nawe itazakumira?

Frank Habineza: Nk'urubuga rwo gusangira ibitekerezaho igihe cyose itazambura amashyamba uburenganzira bwo gukora mu bwisanzure ntacyo intwaye, ariko igihe cyose izabangamira ubwo bwisanzure ari nacyo dushingiyemo rino shyamba, ntwabwo tuzabyemera ngo tube ibiragi, twe twese ntacyo igomba kutunanzaho kuko abo yabereye ikibazo bagaceceka ni uko hari izindi nyungu bashakaga kurengera. Twe inyungu zacu akaba ari abanyarwanda, akaba ari yo mpamvu dushyamba kumenyesha ko tutajanywe muri politiki n'umugati, twinjiye muri uru ruhando rwa politiki kubera amahame twizeramo kandi akaba ari yo agomba guhindura sosiyete nyarwanda kugira ngo igire amajyambere arambye, mu minsi itari kure bakabona itandukaniro riri hagati y'abagiye gushyamba umugati n'abagiye guharanira uburenganzira bw'abanyarwanda.

Umuseso: Ese ubona ishyamba riri ku butegetsi rya FPR rishobora kwemera ko habaho oposisiyo nyayo?

Frank Habineza: Nk'izindi ngo ma z'igitugu muri Afurika nawe urabizi ko bigoye, ariko twe twizera ko dushingiyemo ku burenganzira duhabwa n'itegeko nshingira ndetse n'amategeko agenga imitwe

y'amashyamba mu Rwanda ndetse n'ubufatanye n'abanyarwanda, FPR yakwemera oposisiyo, itayemera twe tuzakora nta kabuza kandi dukurikije icyo amategeko avugaga.

Umuseso: Ese ubona politiki y'amashyamba menshi abanyarwanda bayisobanukiwe neza?

Frank Habineza: Ikibazo si amashyamba menshi, ahubwo icyo navugaga ni uko abanyarwanda banyotewe kandi basobanukiwe na Demokarasi nyakuri, ubutegetsi bugendera ku mategeko, imiyoborere myiza itari iyo mu madisikuru, ubwigenge, ubwisanzure n'isaranganywa ry'umutungo w'igihugu cyabo ntawe uhejeje undi ku buryo buri munyarwanda wese yibona mu gihugu cye akanagira imibereho ikwirirye ikiremwa muntu. Kuva na mbere Leta z'igitugu mu Rwanda no muri Afurika zagiyeye zibeshyera abaturage ko badakeneye amashyamba, badakeneye demokarasi kugira ngo zibashe kwimakaza igitugu no kwikubira ibyiza by'igihugu. Ariko mu by'ukuri, ikibazo si amashyamba ahubwo ni abayobozi b'ibisambo bayakoresheye nabi mu nyungu zabo bwite; bityo bigatuma abaturage bibaza ko amashyamba na demokarasi ntacyo bimaze. Ishyamba ryacu rikaba rige guhindura ayo mateka no kwerekana ko demokarasi n'amashyamba menshi bishobora gukorera abaturage mu nyungu zabo.

Umuseso: Mu mwaka utaha wa 2010 Mwaba muziyamamaza

Frank Habineza: icyemezo kizafatwa n'abarwanashyamba mu gihe tuzaba tumaze kwemererwa gukorera mu Rwanda

Umuseso: mufite abantu bangana iki
Frank Habineza: Dufite abantu benshi bahagije kandi igihe nikigera bazagaragara

Umuseso: Hari ikindi mwabwira abanyarwanda?

Frank Habineza: Umuntu witwaga Martin Luther King yigeze kuvugaga ngo: "there comes a time in a life of a nation or society where the people must say enough is enough" bishatse kuvugaga mu Kinyarwanda ngo hagera igihe mu mateka y'igihugu aho abantu bagomba kuvugaga ko birahagije barambiwe. Natwe nk'abanyarwanda twarihanganye bihagije, twararindiriyemo bihagije, twihanganirye ubukene, twihanganirye inzara, ubushomeri, akarengane, ikimenyane, icyenewabo, igitugu, n'andi moko y'imiyoborere mibi uko ingoma zagiyeye zihinduka kugeza ubu. Uyu muni tukaba twemera ko igihe cyabyo kirangiye. Nk'abanyarwanda tukaba tugomba gusubirana uburenganzira bwacu, tukaba mu gihugu cyacu buri munyarwanda yiyumvamo ubwigenge, ubwisanzure, umutekano, amahoro, imibereho myiza, ituze, umunezero n'ibyishimo; hanyuma n'abazamukomokaho bakabigira nkuko bimeze mu bindi bihugu bigendera ku mategeko na demokarasi.

Byakirirwe na Kayigamba M. Richard

Ubuhamya bushya ku rupfu rwa Habyarimana

Mu gihe raporo ya komisiyo yashyizweho na Leta y'u Rwanda igamije gukora ubushakashatsi ku ihanurwa ry'indege yahitanye Perezida Juvenal Habyarimana na mugenzi we w'u Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, itarajya ahagaragara, abakomeza kwe-meza ko iyo ndege yahanuwe n'ingabo zahoze ari iza APR bo bakomeje kwiyoungera.

Professor Edward S. Herman, niwe uherutse kwiyoungera ku rutonde rw'abashakashatsi bemeza ko iyo ndege Falcon 50, yahanuwe na RPA.

Mu nyandiko ndende (essay) uwo mushakashatsi yashyize ahagaragara, yise "Genocide Inflation is the Real Human Rights Threat: Yugoslavia and Rwanda", ashinja ingabo za RPA, ubu zahindutse RDF, zari ziyobowe na Perezida Paul Kagame, kuba ari zo zarashe indege ya Habyarimana.

Professor Edward S. Herman, wavutse ku wa 07 Mata 1925, ni 'economist' ufite umwihariko muri 'political economy' n'itangazamakuru. Herman ni Professor Emeritus w'imari ahitwa Wharton School of The University of Pennsylvania. Yigisha kandi ku ishuri ry'itangazamakuru rya Annenberg, University of Pennsylvania. Uyu muhanga yabonye degree ye ya mbere mu mwaka wa 1945, muri kaminuza ya Pennsylvania, aza kubona PHD mu mwaka wa 1953, muri Kaminuza ya California, Berkeley.

Iyo nyandiko ashinjamo ingabo za RPA kuba ari zo zarashe indege ya Habyarimana ariko siyo uwo mushakashatsi yanditse yonyine. Bimwe mu bitabo byamamaye cyane uyu muhanga yanditse harimo 'Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of The Mass Media', afatanyije na Noam Chomsky (1988), 'Atrocities



Arashinja RPA: Herman



Yongeye gushyirwa mu majwi: Kagame



Amayobera: Habyarimana

in Vietnam' (1970), 'Corporate Control, Corporate Power: A Twentieth Century Fund Study' (1981), 'The Real Terror Network' (1982), 'The Myth of The Liberal Media', (1999) n'ibindi.

Zimwe mu nyandiko uyu mushakashatsi yanditse harimo nka 'Godfatherly Global Justice: Milosevic, Sharon and Suharto' (2001).

Muri icyo nyandiko twavuze haruguru, Professor Edward S. Herman agaragaza ibintu bibiri by'ingenzi. Usibye gushinja ingabo za RPA kuba ari zo zarashe indege ya Habyarimana, anagaragaza uburyo itsembabwoko ryabaye mu Rwanda, kimwe n'iryabaye mu gihugu cya Yugoslavia, ryakabirijwe cyane (genocide inflation).

Uwo mwanditsi avuga ko indege ya Habyarimana yarashwe n'ingabo za RPA, ziyobowe na Paul Kagame, zibifashijwemo n'Ababiligi, MINUAR, ndetse ko binashoboka ko n'ishami ry'iperereza ry'Amerika (CIA) ryabigizemo uruhare.

Uwo mwanditsi avuga ko

iraswa rya Habyarimana wari umugambi wa nyuma w'ingabo za RPA gufata ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda. Uwo mwanditsi akomeza avuga ko ubwo umupererezi mukuru w'urukiko rwa Arusha, Michael Hourigan, yeretse uwahoze ari umushinjacyaha mukuru w'Arusha, Louise Arbour, gihamya zemeza ko RPA ari yo yarashe indege ya Habyarimana, (hari mu mwaka wa 1997), Louise Arbour yahise ateguka ko iryo perereza rihagarara, anamutegeka kwangiza (destroy) izo gihamya ze.

Herman akomeza atunga agatoki uwari Perezida wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, Bill Clinton, u Bwongereza n' u Bubiligi, kuba barashyigikiye Perezida Kagame mu ntambara, bakanabuza inama ishinze amahoro ku isi, kwemera iyongerwa ry'abasirikare ba MINUAR, kubera ko Kagame atabashakaga mu Rwanda, kuko bari kumunaniza gufata ubutegetsi bwa Kigali (Clinton and his Western allies (UK, Belgium) sponsored the U.S.-trained

Kagame, supported his invasions of Rwanda from Uganda and massive ethnic cleansing prior to April 1994, and via their control of the Security Council refused to allow additional UN troops into Rwanda in April 1994, in fact forcing a reduction of the UNIMIR contingent in Rwanda from 2,500 to 270, not because of caution but because Kagame didn't want them there to interfere with his conquest of Rwanda, which Clinton and his allies supported).

Twibutse ko mu ghe gishize, undi mwanditsi wamamaye, Linda Melvern, yatangaje ko u Bubiligi, na Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, bazi uwahanuye indege ya Habyarimana

Mu kugaragarza ko ingabo za RPA zishe abasivile mu gihe cy'intambara, Uwo mwanditsi agaruka kuri raporo ya Gersony. Nubwo yanyonzwe, Herman avuga ko yagaragaje ubwicanyi bwakozwe n'ingabo za RPA mu duce zarimo, mu gihe cy'intambara. (A suppressed 1994 UNCHR (Gersony) Report documented massacres of civilians in Kagame-controlled areas of Rwanda, which was confirmed by contemporaneous Amnesty and HRW reports).

Mu kugaragaza uburyo itsembabwoko mu Rwanda ryakabirijwe, Herman agaruka kuri raporo yakozwe n'abashakashatsi baturutse muri Kaminuza ya Maryland, bari bayobowe na Cristian Davenport na Allan Stam, bwasanze umubare utangwa na Leta y'u Rwanda w'abazize jenoside, ari ugukabya.

Profesor Edward S. Herman, asanga guhakana itsembabwoko ari icyaha gikomeye, gifite n'ingaruka zikomeye, ariko na none asanga kuyikabiriza, nabyo bifite ingaruka zikomeye kurushaho.

Didas M. Gasana

Indege ya
Habyarimana
yarashwe
n'ingabo za RPA,
ziyobowe na
Paul Kagame,
zibifashijwemo
n'Ababiligi,
MINUAR,
ndetse ko
binashoboka
ko n'ishami
ry'iperereza
ry'Amerika
(CIA)
ryabigizemo
uruhare

UMUSESO

IKINYAMAKURU KIMURIKIRA ABATURARWANDA

Dore Uko Tubibona

Kuki Mukabaranga yazira sheki, Mitali ntayizire?

Ifatwa n'ifungwa ry'abantu nka Louis Muniyazi wa National Institute of Statistics, George Katurebe wa CEPEX, Gasana Charles wari umunyamabanga nshingwa-bikorwa w'intara y'uburasirazuba, Munyanganizi Bikoro wahoze ari Minisitiri, Mukabaranga wahoze ari Senateri, bigaragaza ko Leta ya FPR itihanganira abacyekwaho ibyaha.

Binagaragaza kandi igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, ndetse nuko nta muntu uri hejuru y'amategeko- zimwe mu nkingi fatizo za demokarasi.

Inyuma y'ibi byose ariko, iyo umuntu asesenguye neza, asanga mu by'ukuri hari aho ubutabera bukoreshwa mu nyungu za politiki, cyangwa se hari abantu bari hejuru y'amategeko.

Ingero zirahari: Niba Leta ya FPR igamije guhana abakekwaho kunyereza, cyangwa se gukoresha nabi umutungo wa rubanda, byakumvikana bite ukuntu Charles Gasana na Mugarura Alexis baba bari muri gereza, uwari shebuja wabo, Theoneste Mutsindashyaka yidegembya?

Niba Leta ya FPR igamije guhana abanyabyaha, cyangwa se gukurikirana abakekwaho icyaha, bishoboka bite ko uwahoze ari Senateri, Mukabaranga yazira urupapuro mvunjamafaranga (sheki) rutazigamiwe, ariko Minisitiri Mitali Protais ntabizire, kandi byaranagiye ahagaragara mu bitangazamakuru binyuranye?

Ubwo se abantu baba bareshya imbere y'amategeko, cyangwa ni ubutabera buba bukoreshwe mu nyungu za politiki?

Twe dusanga kugira abantu bamwe indakoreka, ko bari hejuru y'amategeko, ari ugutesha agaciro ubutabera bw'u Rwanda, ndetse bikaba ari no gutesha agaciro itegeko nshinga.

UKO MBYUMVA

2010: FPR izatsinda? Iziba amajwi?

Zimbabwe No 2 cyangwa se Afurika y'epfo?

Abongereza bati: "History is the world's court of justice." Bishatse kuvugako amateka ari rwo rukiko rw'isi. Uko amateka acira abantu urubanza, ni nako kenshi na kenshi, amateka atwereka ahazaza, cyangwa se yisubiramo. No ku matora y'u Rwanda, amateka y'amatora mu Rwanda no ku isi yose muri rusange aduha icyerekezo cy'uko azagenda.

Hasigaye amezi 12 ngo habeho amatora ya Perezida wa Republika mu Rwanda. Twibutse ko ateganiye mu kwezi kwa Nzeli 2010.

Icyo gihe, kimwe muri ibyo twavuze haruguru, kizabaho, ariko siko byose binganya amahirwe.

Duhereye ku kuba FPR izatsinda. Ibi birashoboka. Impamvu bishoboka ziratanganywe- zirimo kuba nta 'alternative' igaragara kugeza ubu abanyarwanda benshi bagirira icyizere.

Kugeza ubu, abakandida bamaze gutangaza ko bazahatana mu matora y'umukuru w'igihugu- kuva kuri Deo Mushayidi na PDP ye, Ingabire Victoire, Kigeli Ndashindurwa, nta n'umwe ufite imbaraga za politiki (political capital) zihagije ku buryo batsinda umukandida wa FPR.

Nubwo FPR ifite amakosa menshi yakoze mu myaka imaze itegutse u Rwanda, nubwo yabeshye abanyarwanda byinshi, nubwo yateshutse ku byo yemereye abanyarwanda, nubwo yateshutse ku nshingano zayo, hari abanyarwanda batari bake bakiyikundiye izina gusa- izina rya Perezida Paul Kagame.

Hiyongeraho kandi ubujiji bw'abanyarwanda, aho usanga abanyarwanda bajya mu matora, batumva neza akamaro k'amatorabumva ko ari umuhango, bagatora bagendeye ku marangamutima, batumva ko ijwi ryabo ari ryo ejo hazaza h'abuzukuru n'abuzukuruza babo.

Ibi bikiyongeraho n'ubwoba- abanyarwanda bakumva ko badatoye FPR, bizabaviramo ibibazo, bakayitorira bigura.

Twibuke ariko ko abo bakandida bamaze gutangaza ko bazahatana mu matora yo mu mwaka wa 2010, bashobora gukora kampanye igaragara, bagahangana koko nta bwoba, bakirengagiza igitugu



na
**Didas M.
GASANA**

cya Leta.

Nibashobora kumara ubwoba abanyarwanda, bakagaragaza neza imigabo n'imigambi yabo ikanyura abanyarwanda, bakerekera abanyarwanda uburyo FPR yabatengushye, n'uburyo bo batazabatenguha, ibintu bishobora guhinduka, bagatsinda umukandida wa FPR.

Na none kandi, hashobora kwaduka umuntu wa FPR ukomeye kandi udafite ikizinga cya politiki, akitandukanywa nayo, agatangaza ko yiyemeje guhatana. Uwo aramutse atishwe, cyangwa se ngo afungwe, biroroshye ko amatora abaye mu mucyo, yat-sinda umukandida wa FPR.

Icyo gihe hashobora kuba ibintu bitatu. Icyamba mbere ni uko FPR yakwiba amajwi, kandi biroroshye cyane. Iyi nzira yo kwiba amajwi, ni nayo ifite amahirwe menshi (99%) kuba yakorehwe.

Chrisologue Karangwa (Komiseri wa FPR akaba na Perezida wa Komisiyo y'amatora) ntashobora kwemera ko Paul Kagame, cyangwa se undi mukandida wa FPR atsindwa, kandi afite inzira nyinshi yabikoramo.

Nibigenda bityo, birashoboka ko uzaba yatsinze amatora mu by'ukuri, ariko akibwa amajwi, ashobora guterera iyo, akarekera aho. Biranashoboka ariko ko uwo watsinze ashobora kwiyambaza ubutabera.

Nibigenda bityo, u Rwanda ruzaba ruganywe mu nzira nk'iya Uganda, aho uwatsinze, Col (RTD) Dr. Kiiza Besigye, yagiye mu rukiko rw'ikirenga, asaba ko amatora yasubirwamo ku-

bera amakosa atandukanye yagaragayemo, ariko ntibigire icyo bitanga.

Nubwo kuri Besigye ntacyo byatanze ariko, nibura abacamanza babiri muri batanu bemeje ko ayo matora yaranzwemo amanyanga atandukanye, ariko adakabije ku buryo bishobora kuyagira impfabusa.

Mu Rwanda ariko, ukurikije ubwigenge bw'inkiko z'u Rwanda, nta mucamanza n'umwe wakwemeza ko amatora yagaragayemo amanyanga.

Uwatsinze amatora adaterewe iyo, akaba anazi yuko ubutabera bw'u Rwanda butigenga, u Rwanda rushobora kwisanga rwabaye Kenya No 2, cyangwa se Zimbabwe No 2.

Ashobora gusaba abayoboke be guharanira uburenganzira bwabo ku majwi yabo yibwe. Ashobora gusaba abayoboke be kugaragaza ko abaturage ari ibo ba nyiri ubutegetsi koko, bagaharanira kwigarurira ubutegetsi bambuwe mu bujura (reclaim their power). Ibi niko byagenze muri Kenya na Zimbabwe.

Icyakurikiraho, n'ibyabaye muri ibyo bihugu bibiri. Imvururu zahitanye abenegihugu b'inzirakarengane.

Boniface Rucagu yahita yibutsa intore ze ko zigomba guhaguruka zikarinda iterambere u Rwanda rumaze kugeraho. Mary Gahonzire yahita abwira polisi akuriye ko igomba kurinda ituze rusange rya rubanda naho Afande Kabarebe agashyira ingabo ze kuri 'Standby Alert 1'. Ibyakurikiraho ntibikabe.

Hagati aho ariko, Perezida Kagame yakunze kunenga abategetsi bagundira ubutegetsi, bahindura itegeko nshinga kugira ngo bongere manda zabo, cyangwa se batsimbarara ku butegetsi ku ngufu batsinze. Kuri bamwe, hari abasanga yabyubahiriza aramutse atsinze. U Rwanda rukaba ruteye ikirenga mu cy'Afurika y'epfo, Ghana, Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, n'ahandi. Umusingi wa demokarasi ukaba urahamye. Ku bw'uyu mwanditsi ariko, ibi birashoboka ho 0.0001%. Ni aho muri Nzeli 2009.

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Ubwanditsi

Perezida Paul Kagame n'umuryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi mu ngobyi y'ikinyoma

Hashize igihe kirekire n'imyaka myinshi guhera mu myaka ya za 1970 kugeza muri za 1987, hari abanyarwanda bari mu buhunzi mu mahanga atandukanye, abandi bari mu Rwanda. Abari hanze y'u Rwanda ari mpunzi muri icyo myaka tuzi neza ko abenshi bari impunzi z'abatutsi bahunze igihugu birukanywe n'ingoma ya PARMEHUTU yari ishyigikiwe n'ingoma mbili y'abakoloni. Nyuma y'icyo myaka impunzi z'abatutsi zakomeje kugira uburwanashyaka zihararira ubusugire bwazo ari nako bagerageza gushakisha uburyo bataha bakoresheje umutwe wa gusirikare bitaga "INYENZI" INGANURA RUGO YIYEMEJE KUBA INGENZI. Ubwo izo ngabo zateraga zidafite abazifata mu mugongo cyangwa abaziha imfashanyo mu myaka ya za 1960-1970 ibihugu byinshi bya Afrika byari mu nkubiri yo guharanira ubwigenge bashakira kwivana mu maboko y'abakoroni. Ubwo rero nta gihugu na kimwe bari kubona kibafasha kurwanya ingoma ya PARMEHUTU ngo bongere batahuke. Kandi na none nta gihugu cy'i Burayi cyangwa cya Amerika bari kubona kibafasha kubera yuko icyo gihe abazungu barimo kwiyubakira nabo kandi batinyabazwa abanyafurika kuko Abanyafurika bari bamaze kubigiranzura babica umusubirizo nabo bashakira kwigenga. Ubwo rero ntibyataye kabiri izo nyenzi zabuze abazitara inkunga zirananiye nuko impunzi zikomeza ubuzima bw'impunzi muri icyo myaka.

Bigeze mu 1978, nibwo abari bamaze kwiga no guca akenye harimo ba Rukeba ari nawe wari President w'ishyamba ryaharaniraga ubwigenge hamwe n'ingoma cyami iganje mu gihe cya UNAR ubwo habaga amatora ya Kamarampaka yabaye 1961. Icyo gihe mu 1978 baje gukomeza guhurira hamwe n'abandi harimo n'Umwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa, bashingiye forum bitaga RLWF aribyo bivugaga "RWANDESE REFUGEES WELFARE FOUNDATION". Iyi forum cyangwa umuryango niwo wakoze akazi kanini cyane gufasha no guhuza impunzi zari hirya no hino mu bihugu bitandukanye kandi byagize akamaro kanini cyane, kuko niho Umwami Kigeli hamwe na RUKUBA bagaye bajya hirya no hino bashakira abana uburyo bakwiga akaba aribwo bajyaga mu muri UNCEF kubasabira imfashanyo zo kwiga. Ni muri ubwo buryo babigenje maze abana batari bafite uburyo bwo kwiga barabubona. Byarakomeje abantu bakomeza kuba mu muryango wababazaga bakamenye abakennye n'abadafitse uburyo bwo kubaho bakabafasha bakabubona ari nako umwami Kigeli yakoresheje ububasha n'icyubahiriro yari afite nk'umwami w'abanyarwanda bose icyo yajyaga mu banyabubasha hirya nohino, akagaramye ibibazo by'impunzi.

Ibintu byakomeje kumera gutyo



SG Ngarambe François

kugeza aho byagereye muri za 1987, aho uwo muryango wahuzaga impunzi zo hirya no hino navuze haruguru waje kubera RPF-Inkotanyi. icyatumye bahindurira izina ry'umuryango, ni uko bari batangiye politiki yo gushakira uburyo bazataha mu gihugu cyabo kandi bagira politike bari bafite mbere yuko bashyirako umuryango wa RPF-INKOTANYI. Ibi bakaba barabigiriyeye kugera kwigisha abanyarwanda b'imbere mu gihugu kuko icyo bakomeza rya zina rya mbere rya UNAR byari kubagora kubagarurira. Nuko bazana irishya rya RPF-Inkotanyi, cyane cyane ko mu mpunzi zri hanzeho hari hamaze noku-zamo agatotsi hagati y'abanyarwanda b'ibisambo n'ibibisahiranda bari bamaze kwangana n'Umwami Kigeli bagiraga ngo babone uburyo bitandukanye nawe kandi koko niko byaje kumera muri za 1990,1992. Bamwe bagendaga bakora ubukangurambaga bwo kurundanya ibizafasha abasirikare b'inkotanyi bari bamaze kwambuka mu 1990, bagendaga bavugaga ngo mugomba gutabarira u Rwanda kuko ari urwanyu kandi abagifite ibitekerezo bishaje bagishyigikiye Umwami Kigeli bati mu-subize musubize amerwe mu isaho cyangwa mubyibagirwe kuko tutarwanira ngo tuzajyane nawe nk'umwami.

Ni muri ubwo buryo bahise bashyiraho ingingo za ngobwa bagomba kugenderaho za politiki yabo. Twongere tuzibukiranyeho :

Iyambere ni imiyoborere myiza binyuze muri demokarasi, guteza imbere ubukungu, kurwanya ubukene hamwe no kurwanya ruswa, kurwanya indwara z'ibyoze, kurinda ubusugire bw'abanyarwanda n'ubw'igihugu, guharanira uburezi bwa bose, guca burundu icyatera ubuhunzi hanyuma no gicyura impunzi. Nyuma y'izo ngingo bari barangaje imbere, ni ukuri koko barazikomeje dore ko bagerageje guteza imbere uburezi bwa bose, bagerageza gucya impunzi uretse ko icyo cyaba-



Perezida Kagame Paul

naniye akaba ari ho nahereye nandika umutwe w'inkuru nti "President Paul Kagame n'umuryango wa FPR Inkotanyi mu ngobyi y'ikinyoma". Impamvu akaba ari uko umurongo ngenderwaho FPR yatangiranye muri za 1987 ari :

- Kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ;
 - Kubumbatira ubusugire bw'Igihugu n'umutekano w'abantu n'ibintu ;
 - Kubaka ubuyobozi bushingiye kuri demokarasi ;
 - Kubaka ubukungu bushingiye ku mutungo bwite w'Igihugu ;
 - Guca ruswa, gutonesha n'imirungire mibi y'umutungo w'Igihugu ;
 - Kuzamura imibereho myiza y'abatwaga ;
 - Guca burundu impamvu zitara ubuhunzi no gucya impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ;
 - Guharanira umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu ushingiyeye ku bwubahane, ubufatanye n'ubuhahirane.
- Ariko usesenguye neza, ntabwo izi ngingo zose ari ko bazujwe akaba ari ho hagaragarira ikinyoma. Urugero hari ingingo ivugaga guca burundu ruswa n'ibiyikomokaho ariko ubu aho tuvugira aha abayobozi bamwe bakuru b'umuryango wa RPF-Inkotanyi nibwo ba mbere barya ruswa kakahava. Unabajije President Kagame ari nawe Chairman w'umuryango yabikubwirako, nawe arabizi ariko yabuze uko abagenza. Hari n'indi ngingo ivugaga ngo « Kubaka ubuyobozi bushingiye kuri demokarasi » ariko nyewe icyo nyigye kureba mbona ari ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa kubera yuko mu Rwanda nta demokarasi ihari isesuye no guharanira umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu ushingiyeye ku bwubahane, ubufatanye n'ubuhahirane. Urugero nk'ejobundi Minisitiri ushinze ububanyi n'amahanga wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika Hilary Clinton yaraje agarakura ku irembo ry'uRwanda i Goma, yanga kugera mu Rwanda kubera

uburyo u Rwanda rwananiwe kugera ku rugero rwa demokarasi. Urundi rugero igihugu gifite cyangwa kibumbatira demokarasi, ni uko kiba kireka abantu bakishyira bakizana mu gutanga ibitekerezo byubak, haba kugira ubwisanzure mu kunenga ibitabagenda neza mu buyobozi. Ariko nk'umuryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi hamwe na President wayo Paul Kagame ntibabikozwa ahubwo baba bavugaga ko umuntu unenga arimo gusenya kandi ubwo nibwo baba berekana ikinyoma cy'ingobyi barimo. Reba nawe nk'ubu baraniga ubwisanzure bw'itangazamakuru ryigenga ngo ubwo ni igihugu gifite demokarasi ! Iki ni ikinyoma gusa peeeeee!

Iyindi gingo ngo ni"uguca burundu impamvu zitera ubuhunzi" oooo,yebaba weee! Ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa. Urugero abanyarwanda birirwa bahungu igihugu buri muni bitewe n'ubukene, bitewe no gutotezwa n'abayobozi babarenganya. Abandi babahejeje mu buhunzi. Urugero nk'umwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa, yamuhejeje imahanga ngo ntabwo bashakira ko ataha ari umwami kandi abanyarwanda batarigeze babumwambura maze ubwo ngo icyo si ikinyoma cy'ingobyi barimo.

Ikindi kinyoma ni icy'uko babeshya abanyarwanda yuko amatora y'abayobozi b'igihugu uhereye ku rwego rwo hasi ukageza kuri President ko binyura mu mucyo. Icyo ni ikinyoma cyambaye ubusa. Urugero duherereye ku matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika yabaye mu 2003, ducishije mu kuri gusesuye tudashizemo amarangamutima, ntabwo yagenze neza. Ikibigara-gaza ni indorerezi zo zigendera muri demokarasi hatariho guca iruhande, aho zabonye uburyo FPR n'abambari bayo barimo kwiba amajwi. Ni uko zikifata ku munwa zikarira. Kandi tubivanye mu ibanga tuzi neza ko hari n'aho abanyarwanda bamwe babahagaraye hejuru babategeka gutora uwo batora. Ahandi ingabo abakorerabushake ba Komisiyo y'amatora bakoresheje ububasha bahawe bwo kureba aho Twagiramungu yatowe cyane, maze udusanduku tw'itora bakagenda twose badutaba mu myobo bagatora utundi, ari ho umukandida wa FPR yakuye ariya majwi yose 95.25%. Yarangiza ndibuka yari kuri Stade Amahoro agatangaza ati abantoye n'abatantoye mwese nimwishimire itsinzi, ubwo ingobyi y'ikinyoma ngiyo.

Ikindi kinyoma ni ikirimo gukorwa ubu aho bavugaga ngo barimo gukusanya amafaranga yo kubakira abana bacyitse ku icumu batagira aho baba, ibyo bise "One dollar campaign" kandi koko ikibigara-gaza ko ari ikinyoma, ni uko ibyo ayo mafaranga yari kubaka. Army week byose yarabikoze. Urugero abasirikare bubatse amazu menshi y'impfubyi hamwe n'abatishoboye

impande zose z'igihugu. Ahandi bafatanyije n'abaganga bavuye amaso abantu bari bafite ubumuga baravuye kandi babavuriye ubuntu, imihanda barayikoze, intindo barazitinye. Ubwo ayo mafaranga yose yakusanyijwe na n'ubu akaba agikusanywa hirya no hino mu bigo bikomeye n'ibyoheje, uretse ko hari ahantu umwami nawo utari munini uri ahantu bita Batsinda bateganyije ibibanza byo kuzubakira- mo izo mpfubyi za jenocide nkuko babiteganyije, ariko ugiye kureba amafaranga amaze gukusanywa arenze cyane umubare bazakoreshe mu kubaka aho hantu. Ahubwo ikinyoma cyabo cyaramenyekanye barashakisha uburyo bazareka gusabiriza mu mahanga amafaranga yo gutegura amatora ya 2010, noneho bakazakoreshe aya mafaranga azaba yasagutse ku yavuye muri One dollar campaign.

Ikindi kinyoma, ni icy'itorero ry'igihugu iki cyo cyakoranywe ubuhanga n'ubwenge bwishy cyane. Tubibutse ko mu mwaka wa 2003 kwamamaza Perezida Kagame bitagenze neza cyane, akaba ari nacyo cyatumye bakoreshe amanyanga n'ubujura bwinshi bwo kwiba amajwi. Icyo gihe bokoresheje abanyeshuri n'abandi batandukanye ariko biciye mu kinyoma cya forum y'itorero ry'igihugu, ubu ntabwo bizigera biruhanya. Ndagira ngo mbibutse ejobundi igihe ubwo abari mu itorero ry'igihugu bose bahuraga na Perezida Paul Kagame bahize yuko bazagerageza guhugura no gushishikariza abanyarwanda bayobora kuzatara neza. Uko gutora neza, ni ugutora FPR kandi gutora FPR ni ugutora Kagame. Ni muri ubwo buryo ikinyoma cyafashe peee ! Ni muri ubwo buryo navugaga ngo "FPR OYEEEEEEEEEEEEEE!" kandi koko ugendeye mu kinyoma no mu gipindi cyayo, aho imaze kugeza u Rwanda harashimishije. Ni muri ubwo buryo harakabaho FPR umuryango wabanyarwanda.

Ni muri ubwo buryo nibutsa abanyarwanda bazi gusoma kandi bazi gutekereza kandi bazi gusesengura, ko nibakomeza gusesengura no kureba kure, bazakomeza kubona uburyo FPR-Inkotanyi nk'umuryango ubumbiye hamwe abanyarwanda, ko ubahetse mu ngobyi y'ikinyoma maze bazashake uburyo binyushuka cyangwa binyushura muri icyo ngobyi kugira ngo rimwe itazabata mu mutego nk'uwo MRND-n'ingobyi yayo ya muvoma yagushije abanyarwanda mu mutego w'ikinyoma ikikanga itsindwa muri 1994. Yewe reka ndekereho abazi ubwenge barasonakirwa icyo nashakaga kuvuga mubane n'Imana.

Muvunyi Andrew
Umusomyi w'Umuseso

ISESENGURA

Kagame azaca agahigo asoze neza?

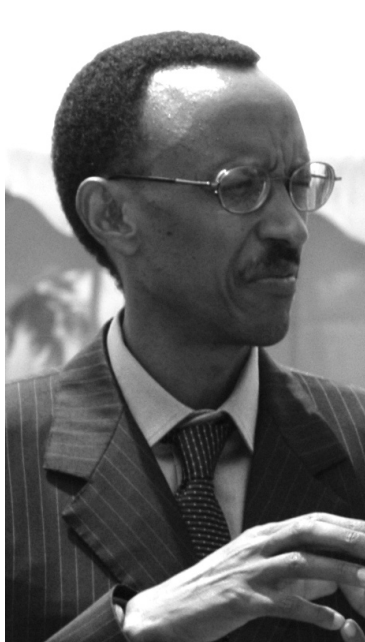
Mwalimu Kambarage Julius Nyerere wa Tanzania (RIP), Olushegun Obasanjo wa Nigeria, Nelson Mandela na Thabo Mbeki b'Afurika yepfo, Bill Clinton wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, Daniel Arap Moi wa Kenya, Tony Blair w'u Bwongereza, Godfrey Binaisa wa Uganda, urutonde ni rurerure. Aba bantu bahuriye kuki? Ikintu gihita kiyandika mu mutwe ni uko bose bahuriye ku kuba barabayeho abaperezida mu bihugu byabo. Ibyo ni ukuri.

Ariko abo bagabo, ndetse n'abandi benshi ntarondora, bafite ikindi bahuriyeho, kuba bose barakomeje ubuzima bwabo neza, nyuma yo kuva ku mwanya w'umukuru w'igihugu. Ku banyarwanda benshi, niba atari hafi ya bose, kubona uwabayeho umukuru w'igihugu abayeho neza, nta kibazo afite, atishwe, cyangwa se ngo atabwe muri gereza, ni inzozo. Ibi ndabigarukaho hepfo.

Ibi ntibivuze ko mu bindi bihugu, nta baperezida bavaho, baba batishwe, bakisanga mu ya rubamba. Abaperezida nka Charles Taylor wahoze ayobora Liberia, ubu ari mu nkiko, Suharto wa Indonesia, yaguye muri gereza, ategereje kuburanishwa, Idi Amin Dada wayoboye Uganda, yaguye ishyanga, n'abandi.

Mu Rwanda ariko, dufite umwihariko wo kuba nta Perezida cyangwa se umwami wategetse u Rwanda akarangiza neza, akabaho mu mahoro nyuma y'ingoma ye. Ibi ni amateka adahinduka.

Mu gihe nka Tony Blair yavuye ku buminitiri w'intebe w'u Bwongereza, akabona akandi kazi gatandukanye gakomeye, mu gihe Mwalimu Nyerere yavuye ku buperezida bwa Tanzania agakomeza imirimo ikomeye yo gushakira amahoro aka karere, cyane cyane igihugu cy'u Burundi, mu



Azaca agahigo: Paul Kagame

gihe umuntu nka Bill Clinton wabayeho Perezida wa Leta zunze ubumwe z'Amerika yiruhukiye neza, umufasha we, Hillary Rodham Clinton ubu akaba ari Minisitiri w'ububanyi n'amahanga w'icyo gihugu, nyuma yo gutsindwa na Barack Obama mu matora ya Perezida, mu Rwanda byo birazira.

Mu gihugu cy'u Burundi hepfo hariya, buri mwaka bibuka mu cyubahiro ababaye abakuru b'icyo gihugu nka



Mu mwaka wa 1973, Perezida Gerigori Kayibanda yakuwe ku butegetsi, afungirwa iwe mu rugo aza kuhicirwa n'inzara



Yapfuye nabi: Habyarimana

Umuganwa Ludoviko Rwigasore, Melchior Ndadaye na Cyprien Ntaryamira.

Mu mihango yo kubibuka, abahozze ari abaperezida b'u Burundi bakiriho, baba bicaranye. Ntawe uri muri gereza, cyangwa se ngo abe yarahajewe ishyanga. Yaba Jean Baptiste Bagaza, Pierre Buyoya, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya na Domitien Ndayizeye, bose bituriye mu gisagara cya Bujumbura, bafite amahoro n'ituze. Umunyarwanda ibi bitatera ishyari n'ipfunwe, yaba atari umuntu.

Mu Rwanda, uko ingoma n'abaperezida benshi bagiye basimburana, byerekana ko gutwara (ku bwa cyami), cyangwa se gutegeka (ku bwa Repubulika), ari umuvumo. Gihamya:

Mu mwaka wa 1895, Umwami Mibambwe Rutarindwa yatiwikiwe mu nzu. Nta n'ubwo umugogo we wigeze utabarizwa i Rutare nk'abamubanjirije ku ngoma.

Mu mwaka wa 1931, umwami Yuhi Musinga yanyazwe ingoma arangazwa. Yaguye ishyanga, n'umugogo we ntawe uzi aho watabarijwe. Gusa, hari abasheshe akanguhe baduhishuriye ko watabarijwe ahitwa Moba, muri Repubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Kongo.



Yishwe n'inzara: Gregoire Kayibanda

Mu mwaka wa 1959, umwami Mutara Rudahigwa yiciwe i Bujumbura.

Mu mwaka wa 1960, Umwami Kigeli Ndahindurwa yanyazwe ingoma arangazwa. Kugeza n'iyi saha, aracyari ishyanga. Perezida w'u Rwanda, Paul Kagame, akaba yaramubwiye ko agomba kwibagirwa gutahuka nk'umwami w'u Rwanda, mu gihe Kigeli we ari byo ashaka. icyakora, Kigeli yatangaje mu minsi ishize ko azaza mu Rwanda guhatana mu matora ya Perezida wa Repubulika, ateganyijwe mu mwaka wa 2010.

Mu mwaka wa 1986, Uwabayeho Perezida w'agateganyo, Dominiko Mbonyumutwa, yitabye Imana. Imva ye, iri ahahozze ari Gitarama, iteye inkeke.

Mu mwaka wa 1973, Perezida Gerigori Kayibanda yakuwe ku butegetsi, afungirwa iwe mu rugo aza kuhicirwa n'inzara. Ikinyamakuru Umuseso cyagerageje kubaza aho yahambwe, ariko mu bo cyabajije, nta n'umwe uhazi neza.

Mu mwaka wa 1994, Perezida Habyarimana yapfuye, indege ye irashwe. Ntabwo yigeze agira aho ahambwa hazwi mu Rwanda. Bamwe bavugaga ko yahambwe mu ngoro y'uwohoze ari Perezida wa Re-



Afungishije ijisho: Bizimungu Pasteur

pubulika iharanira demokarasi ya Congo, Mobutu Sese Seko, abandi bakavugaga ko yahambwe Gbadolite muri Zaire.

Mu mwaka wa 1994 na none, Perezida wa Leta yAbatabazi, Dogiteri Theodore Sindikubwabo yataye ingoma yari yaratoraguye, arahunga, agwa mu mashyamba ya Congo. Na n'ubu ntawe uzi iyo umurambo we waheze.

Mu mwaka wa 2000, Perezida Pasteur Bizimungu yeguye ku butegetsi. Hakurikiraho gufungwa. N'aho aviriye mu gihome, aracyafungishijwe ijisho nka Kayibanda.

Kuva mu mwaka wa 2000, Perezida Paul Kagame ari ku ngoma. Azayivaho ryari? Azayivaho ate? Nyuma yaho azabaho ate? Urebeye mu ndorerwamo z'abamubanjirije, ntiwahamya ko amasaziye ye ari meza.

Impamvu abo bose tuvuye haruguru bapfuye urwo bapfuye, ni nyinshi kandi zitanadukanye harimo uko bitwaye ku butegetsi bwabo, ndetse n'abagambaniwe. Ese Perezida Kagame uburyo yitwara ku butegetsi bwe kugeza ubu, bumuha garanti yo kuzabaho neza, akamera nka Olushegun Obasanjo? Tubihanze amaso.

Didas M. Gasana

Kwibeshya kw'abategetsu mbere y'amatora ya 2010

Kubeshya ubwabyo ni icyaha ku bemera Imana bakemera n'amategeko yayo. Ku butegetsu na politiki, ikinyoma ni ikintu kibi cyangiza igihugu kitaritse n'ubutegetsu. Iyo umuntu yamenyereye kubeshya hari ubwo bigera aho nawe akibeshya. Kwibeshya muri politiki byo, ntibitandukanye n'umushoferi utwaye igikamyo wibeshye umuhandanda ageze ku gacuri agakomeza kugenda.

Iyo ingoma imaze "Kwema, Kwamamara, gukomera, gutegeka, Kugenga", hari igihe iramba ikarambirana kubera imitegekere rimwe na rimwe iba itanogeye rubanda. Iyo imaze igihe ibeshya rubanda ikageza ubwo nayo yibeshya muri politiki, birayigora kwigarura, bikaba ngombwa ko ikenera abayicyamurira. Abantu b'ibanze bashobora gutinyuka kuyicyamurira ni abanyamakuru bigenga badatinye kuvuga ikibi mu izina ryacyo bagamije gukora ibintu. Mu gihe cy'ubwami, abo umwami yagabiraga Intara, bazitegekaga uko bashakira. Buri wese yigengaga mu ntara ye. Kigeli wa mbere Mukobanya niwe wabikuyeho ashya ubutegetsu bwose mu maboko ye. Ikibabaje ni uko muri iki gihe tugezemo cy'amajyambere ibintu nk'ibi bikiriho no mu Rwanda, aho usanga abayobozi bakora uko bashatse n'uko babyumva. Bitwara igihe kirekire ngo inzego zibakuriye zibakureho, ariko dushimire Imana ko bamwe batangiye kubibazwa.

Amateka agaragaza ko Umwami Cyilima II Rujugira yari azi agaciro ka rubanda kandi akabibaho abereka akamaro kabo ku bwami bwe. Ikibabaje ni uko muri Repubulika y'u Rwanda abaturage badahabwaga agaciro ngo buhawe n'abayobozi, ku buryo buri gikorwa cyose kiba cyavuye muri rubanda bose bacyiyumvamo, ahubwo ikinyuranyo kikaba ko ibintu byose bimanuka biva hejuru bibagwaho nk'imvura bagategekwa kubishyira mu biko-rwa byanze bikunze. Ku ngoma y'u Rwanda baramubajije bati, ko wimye ingoma, ni iki izarusha abandi? Amateka avuga ko yababwiye ko ku ngoma ye nta mubyeyi utazabyara ngo yonse abana be, ko azakuraho ubuho, ndetse ko nta n'inzara izica abaturage.

Tutarondogoye mu mateka, FPR Inkotanyi ikiri mu ishyamba yagaragarirye Abanyarwanda

ibibi byinshi by'ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana, ibizeza ibyiza byinshi, ariko aho igereye ku butegetsu, bimwe mu byo yitaga bibi byo kwa Habyarimana yabigarutseho ibishimangira no mu mategeko (Umuganda, imisanzu, igitugu...). Abanyarwanda bose bari biteguye ko ibintu bizahinduka ku butegetsu bwa FPR, ariko ibyo yigishaga yananiwe kubishyira mu bikorwa, ahubwo benshi bo muri yo basamarira amakosa yo ku bwa Habyarimana kuko ari yo abafasha kwizamura, n'ingo zabo n'udusizi bakomokaho.

Bimwe mu bipimo bya demokarasi ni amatora, gusaranganya ubutegetsu nta bwikanyize; kubaka Leta igendera ku mategeko n'ubutegetsu bwa demokarasi ishingiye ku bitekerezwa bya politiki binyuranye, ubwisanzure mu bitekerezwa, no kubigara-gaza mu ruhamwe. Ubwisanzure bw'itangazamakuru n'ubwo kumenya amakuru, uburenganzira bwa muntu, kubaka Leta iharanira imibereho myiza y'abaturage no gushyiraho uburyo bukwiye kugira ngo bagire amahirwe angana mu mibereho yabo, nta washima uko bikorwa cyeretse bamwe biha amanota meza.

Mu gihe twerekeza mu matora ya 2010, hari ibintu ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda budakwiye gukomeza kwibeshyaho kuko byagira ingaruka mbi: guhagarika ibitangazamakuru byigenga; gukomeza guhohotera uburenganzira bwa muntu; kubuza imitwe ya politiki mishya gushingwa ngo ikorere mu bwisanzure; kunyereza umutungo wa rubanda; ubutabera butanogeye rubanda; kubeshya abacitse ku icumu amazu no kutabaha impozamarira mu manza za jenocide zarangiye.

Hashize igihe bamwe mu bayobozi muri buri rwego rwabo basahura Leta buhoro buhoro kuko abakarinzwe imari ya Leta nabo bikoreramo ntiha gire ukomeye ubibazwa. icyakora nubwo bamwe batabyumva neza, Paul Kagame yagaragaje ubushake bwo kubacyamuza ubutabera, bikaba ari byiza ubwo ubushinjacyaha nabwo bumaze kubyumva, bityo ukekweho kunyereza umutungo wa Leta akajya afatwa agafungwa by'agateganyo n'umutungo we ukaba ufatirirwe kugira ngo ubwishyire butazabura icyaha kimuhamye mu rwego rw'amategeko. Igisigaye kuri iyi ngingo, ni ukureba niba bizubahirizwa kuri bese



Perezida wa komisiyo y'amatora: Pro. Chrisologue

ntawe ukingiye ikibabaza ku mpamvu zinyuranye za politiki. Ubwo n'abafasha abacuruzi kudasora bamwe muri bo batangiye gutahurwa, ni ukuzareba n'abisuka muri za mission zidafite icyo zimariye igihugu bagaherekezwa n'ihururu ry'abantu batagize icyo bungura, bigatuma Leta isesa akayabo k'amafaranga. Konsa amafuti no gushyira ku ibere abasahuzi b'iwacu nibitarwanywe cyane mbere y'amatora ya 2010, nta mpinduramatwara bizazana. FPR nidakomeza impinduramatwara ikibwira ko urugamba rwarangiye, izasigara ku izina ngo: « kera habayeho ». Guhakirizwa no kwitana ibipanga nibikomeza gukore-shwa nk'uko dukoreshe ifaranga, nibidacika bizatuganisha ku isura y'ibyitso bya kera. Umuntu ni nk'undi utazi ubwenge ashima ubwe. Gutanga imyanya irimo amafaranga mu butegetsu nk'uko byari mu murage w'abashirur n'abagaragu babo nibidacika, imitego yose Habyarimana yaguyemo (uretse jenocide) turayirambaramo ubutabyuka. Kinani akijyaho yitangiye ibikorwa byo kubaka igihugu ataha ibikorwa hirya no hino byubatswe, ariko yaherukije kugisahura. Igitegerejwe kuri iyi ngoma (nubwo byigaragaza ko yatangiranye no kugisahura), hetegerejwe uko izacyubaka. Nimugenzure murebe benshi mu bategetsu abo biyegereje mu biro byabo? Abo bantu b'inkorabusa birirwa batikura bashyashyiriza abandi. Ibigeza babyegereza ab'iwabo, buri mutegetsu akagira umujura we bikaba shene,

akaba ari nayo mpamvu ubujura butazashira muri iki gihugu. Izi nyungu z'ubwiru bahuriraho zikwiye gucika mbere y'amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika. Bitabaye ibyo, uwo FPR izamamaza kuri uwo mwanya, ijambo rye ntirizumvikana mu nzitane z'ibibazo by'abaturage byabaye urudaca.

Bamwe muri ba Afande baguye mu kwaha kwa bamwe mu bacuruzi basahurana, bityo bigatuma n'abo bacuruzi biha igarade rya Afande, bagaheshwa amasoko menshi ya Leta, nibadashakishwa ngo nabo bakurikiranwe, n'amatora tuzakora ntacyo azaba amariye abaturage uretse kubatera ubwoba no gukomeza kubakenesha. Abaturage bamwe nibakomeza kubaho bigura ngo badafungwa kuko gufungwa no gufungura bamwe babihinduye iseta ry'ubucuruzi. Iyo uyafite bagufungira uwo ushaka cyangwa bakamugufungurira. Nibikomeza gutyo, Interahamwe ikaba udafise amahera, abantu bamwe bagakomeza gukizwa n'ubwo bucuruzi bushya, ubuhanuzi bwa Magayane buzaba busohoye. Ubutegetsu (butatu) nibukomeza kudatandukana mu mikorere bumwe budakoreshe ubundi nk'ububuhatse, Inteko Ishinga amategeko igakomeza gushyiraho amategeko y'imishinga ya Leta, ibyo kugenzura Guverinoma nta bwoba nibitavaho, n'ayo matora twaba tuyaretse kuko yaba ari ay'umuhango. Ubutegetsu bw'ubucamanza nibukomeza kurinda ubutegetsu nyubahirizategeko, bugashumurizwa uwo Leta idashakira, bugategekwa kurekura cyangwa gukurikirana uwo bamwe muri Leta bafitemo inyungu, tuzabura byose nka ya ngata...

Ingoma ya FPR ntigomba gusa n'ya Habyarimana kuko nta-cyo zipfana

Bamwe mu banditsi bakunze kugaragaza ko ingoma zisa ntacyo zipfana. Guverinoma yashyizweho na Kayibanda yari igizwe n'Amaminisitiri 10 n'Abanyamabanga ba Leta 11, nkuko n'ubu bimeze uretse ko umubare utangana, ndetse icyo gihe hakaba harimo n'abazungu 10. Mu 1972 bajya guhindura Itegeko Nshinga, Kayibanda yavuze ko manda ya mbere atatowe n'abaturage, kuko yatowe n'Inteko Ishingamategeko. Ibi nabyo birajya kugirana isano n'iby'iyi ngoma iriho. Izo manda zirangiye yashatse uburyo yasobanura ko

ashigaye manda imwe, bityo akaba yarashagaka gutorwa indi nshuro imwe ngo yuzuze manda eshatu, uretse ko kuri iyi ngoma tutazi uko bizagenda kuko tutari abaraguzi tukaba tudashakira no guhanura.

Berekanye ibikorwa by'ingoma ya Habyarimana bagereranya n'ibya FPR, ugasanga harimo byinshi bihujwe uretse jenocide, ariko hakaba n'ibyarenze ibyo ku bwa Habyarimana. Bamwe bazize iryo vuzivuzi ryabo bamburwa imyanya bari bafite mu butegetsu abandi barahunga kandi bari barafatanyije urugamba rwo gusenya ingoma y'igitugu, uretse ko nacyo cyiyimitse muri ibi bihe ku baturage baturwaho ibintu batagizemo uruhare. Ingoma ya FPR ntaho ihuriye n'ya Habyarimana kuko yazanywe n'abavuye hanzu bari barahajwe mu mahanga, ariko iya Habyarimana ikaba yariyimitse igakindagura abanyeduga ivuye mu Bushiru mu Rwanda imbere. Habyarimana yamara kuba umugaba w'ingabo agatangira gushakira uko akuraho Kayibanda, mwene Rwamanywa wa Rwamanyiga wazanywe mu minyago y'ibitero byo ku Idjwi i Bunyabungo, akiyita umunyarwanda kurenza abandi kugeza ubwo agambaniye Rudahigwa ku bazungu! Habyarimana akaba yarakoze kudeta avuga ko atabaye u Rwanda rwari rugiyeye kugwa mu mwobo, agatangaza ko agaruye amahoro n'ubumwe mu Banyarwanda nk'uko n'abandi baza bavuye, uretse ko ubwo bumwe bugishakishwa, ariko gacaca bwari butezwemo ikaba igiye kurangira butarashyikirwa neza. icyakora Komisiyo yabishinze ikazakomeza kubushakisha ku manywa na ninjoro.

Kuba izo ngoma zose zitwa Repubulika byo bifitanye isano kuko bose bagitsimbaraye kuri Repubulika, ariko buri wese akemera impinduramatwara ye, ndetse n'igihe zagiye ziviraho ntibitandukanye cyane uretse ibyo buri ngoma yitwazaga, ariko bizagira akamaro ari uko umurongo ubatandukanya urushaho kugaragara mu biko-rwa, abaturage bakarya bakaryama ntawe ubahagaze hejuru, akanabareka bagatambutsa ibitekerezwa byabo n'ibyo byaba binyuranye n'ibyo abandi, bityo moteri y'igihugu ikabihuza idahuzagurika. Amakosa yakozwe kera niyirindwa buri wese akayareberaho nk'amateka, amatora ntawe azatere impungenge.

Habuhazi Innocent

UBUREZI

SFAR ikabije kwandavuzwa intiti zo muri za Kaminuza za Leta

Hashize igihe kitari gito abanyeshuri bo muri za Kaminuza zo mu Rwanda za Leta barihirirwa na SFAR (iki-go cya Leta kirihirira abanyeshuri babonye amanota menshi barangiza amashuri yisumbuye bakemererwa kwishyurirwa muri Kaminuza), binubira uburyo badahabwa amafaranga agenewe kubatunga bagenerwa. Nkuko bigaragara muri Kaminuza zose za Leta, abo banyeshuri ngo baba baheruka amafaranga y'ukwezi kwa gatanu, mu gihe ayo mafaranga bagombye kuyabona buri kwezi.

Muri iki gihe, ikibazo cyo kutabona amafaranga yagenewe kubatunga ku banyeshuri biga muri Kaminuza barihirirwa na Leta ni ingorabahizi kuko ingaruka zacyo ari nyinshi cyane. Izo ngaruka ziri ku banyeshuri ubwabo, ku burezi muri rusange, ku babyeyi ndetse no ku bandi bose. Ku banyeshuri ubwabo, ubu abenshi bahindutse abatekamutwe, abandi barirukanwa mu mazu buri muni, abandi baragora ababyeyi babo kurusha uko babagoraga bakiga mu mashuri yisumbuye. Abanyeshuri bamwe baricuza kuba barabonye amanota abemerera kujya muri Kaminuza kuko imibereho barimo irenze ukwemera. Abo twaganiriye birambuye, ni abo muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda i Butare n'abo mu ishuri rikuru ry'ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga rya Kigali (KIST). Abo twaganiriye bo muri kaminuza y'i Butare, badutangariye ko ubu abakene ba mbere mu gihugu wabasanga muri iyo Kaminuza. Batubwiye ko ubu abenshi muri bo batanzwe no gusabiriza ngo uretse ko ubu n'amafaranga yo gushyira muri telephone kugira ngo babashe kubona uko bafunguza ari intambara ikomeye dore ko kubona aya tiket byo no kubirota batabirota. Usibye kuba hari abarya muri restaurant yo muri Kaminuza, abarya hanz

ba nyiri amaresitora bamaze kwinubira imyenda imaze kuba miremire. Abo banyeshuri bemeza ko kubona umwe muri bo agaragara nk'umukene bidatangaje, kuko kuri bamwe no kubona ikaramu yo kwandika cyangwa isabune yo kumesa ari ingorabahizi. Haravugwa ko mu gihe ku maradiyo birirwa bavuga ngo sinigurisha, abakobwa bo muri Kaminuza iyo abonye icyashara akabona uwo yigurishaho aba agize Imana y'i Rwanda. Abo mu ishuri rikuru ry'ubumenyi n'ikoranabuhanga rya Kigali (KIST), bo bemeza ko usibye kwihambira by'abanyarwanda, ubuzima babayemo butakagombye kwemerera umuntu gukora umurimo wo kwiga. Bo ngo nta n'amacumbi aba muri Kaminuza ashobora no kwakira bake, ahubwo bose bataha hanz. Tubabajije uburyo babasha kwishyura amazu batubwira ko hari bamwe bafite imiryango yifashije ibatera inkunga, abandi bakaba bamaze kujyamo imyenda y'amezi arenga atatu ku buryo ba nyiri amazu bamaze kubinubira byo kubirukana kandi n'ubundi abatihanganira ibibazo by'abandi barangije kubirukana. Kugeza ubu ikiri rusange ku banyeshuri biga muri Kaminuza bishyurirwa na SFAR, ni uko abadafite imiryango yifashije bahindutse abatekamutwe, abandi batiny-

Ikibabaje kurusha ibindi, ni uburyo hari amafaranga menshi umuntu atatinyuka kuvuga ko byagombye guhabwa umwanya mbere y'uburezi



SFAR: Muvunyi



MINEDUC: Muligande

utse umugayo ntibakiwanga, abandi babayeho nk'abatariho ku buryo mu kwiheba gukomeye nta n'icyizere cy'imibereho myiza yo mu buzima buri imbere bagifite. Impamvu yo gutinda guhabwa ayo mafaranga ahabwa abo banyeshuri, ni uko ngo SFAR yaba irimo gukora igenzura. Nyamara ariko, umuntu yakwibaza niba koko urwo rubyiruko rufitiwe impuhwe, impamvu batahabwa amafaranga yabo mbere, igenzurwa rikazakorwa bafite aho barara n'icyo kurya ndetse n'ibindi bya ngombwa bakenera mu myigire yabo. Aha umuntu yahahera yibaza ukuntu izo ntiti zizayobora igihugu imbere aha, uko zizakiyobora. N'uwavuga ko bamwe muri bo cyangwa abenshi muri bo, igihe bazaba bamaze kugera mu mirimo bazaharanira gukuramo ikirane ntiyaba akabije. Kugeza ubu mu byo Leta ya FPR ivuga ko yagezeho by'umwihariko mu burezi, harimo umubare w'amashuri makuru n'umubare w'abayarangijemo ugereranyije na mbere y'umwaka wa 1994, nyamara wakwitegereza, ugasanga mu bijyanye n'umurimo ubu ari bwo bigenda nabi ku-

rusha icyo gihe. Kwegura no kweguzwa nta gushidikanya ko ubu birimo gukorwa kurusha ibindi bihe by'amateka y'u Rwanda. Uretse ko wagira ngo mu rwego rwo kurwanya kwikubira ubutegetsu bahisemo kwegura no kweguzwa. None se uwavuga ko bariya barimo kwiga muri za Kaminuza iyo nkongoro itazajya ibaca ku ruhande yaba akabije. Umuntu warangije amashuri yisumbuye, agahabwa icyizere na Leta, ikamwemerera kumufasha kurangiza amashuri makuru, nyuma ikamutenguha, ikamwicisha inzara, ikamuterera gusabiriza, kwandavura n'ibindi.

Ikibabaje kurusha ibindi, ni uburyo hari amafaranga menshi umuntu atatinyuka kuvuga ko byagombye guhabwa umwanya mbere y'uburezi. Byongeye uburezi bwo mu mashuri makuru, ahari abagaragaje ko bashobora kubaka no kuyobora igihugu kurusha abandi. Ubu sinzi ko hari uwavuga ko intore zirusha akamaro abanyeshuri biga muri Kaminuza cyangwa se zagombye guhabwa umwanya mbere yabo. Uretse ko aha ndasa n'uwigiza nkana kuko

n'izo zibwirwa ibibonetse byose kandi zikabyemera kurusha abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza. Ibyo biri mu bituma amafaranga arimo gukoreshwa ku mushinga w'intore yibazwaho byinshi. Kuvuga ko ari ku ngengo y'imari ya Leta byariza benshi bikabatera n'agahinda. Kuvuga ko ari ay'abaterankunga byaba nabyo bitumvikana kuko abo baterankunga nabo baba batazi kureba no guhitamo igikwiye kurusha ibindi ngo aba ari cyo bafashamo. Byongeye n'iby'intore ntibisobanutse. Zishobora kuba hari abo zifitiye akamaro kurusha igihugu. Ikindi kizatera agahinda cyane, ni uko urwo rubyiruko ruziga mu mibereho mibi gutyo, ukazajya kumva ukumva ngo ayo mafaranga yo muri SFAR yarariwe cyangwa se hari abarimo kuyacuruzwa bagamije kwigwiriza ayabo, bitwaje ngo barimo gukora igenzura (control). Uwavuga ko ubu mu Rwanda nta mpuhwe zihari, buri wese ari ku giti cye bose bagahurira ku Mana (chaque pour soi et Dieu pour tous), yaba amurenganyije. Mu minsi iri imbere igihugu kiraba kiyobowe n'abarakare baguye umudari, barwaye bwaki cyangwa bakukiwemo n'ubukene kugira ngo ntavugaburundi.

Mui make, abanyeshuri biga muri za Kaminuza zo mu Rwanda bishyurirwa na Leta, bafite ibibazo bikomeye by'ubukene bukabije batewe no kudahabwa udufaranga tw'intica ntikize, bagenerwaga two kubatunga no kubona aho baba ku buryo bageze aho gutabarizwa nuko batabariza impunzi. Naho ubundi niba SFAR itabagiriye impuhwe cyangwa ngo hagire ikindi gikorwa, hazarangiza ngerere kuko abenshi bazaba barafunzwe kubera imyenda n'ubundi butekamutwe abandi bakananirwa burundu.

Alphonse Nsabimana

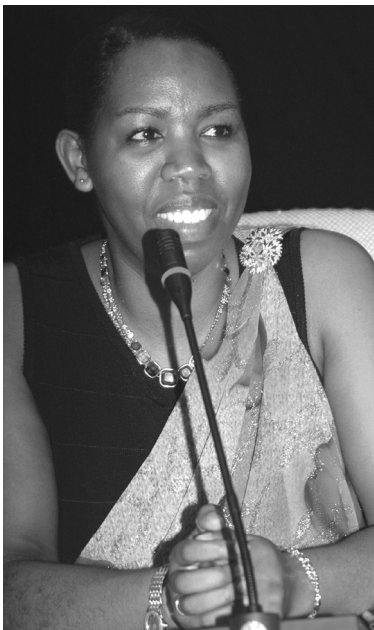
Urubanza rw'abanyamakuru: Gukorera ku bwoba mu mikirize y'imanza zirimo abanyabubasha

► *Yatsinze icyaha cya ruswa, ahamwa n'ubwambuzi*

Nk'uko byagaragajwe na raporo y'Urwego rw'Umuvunyi yatangajwe mu mwaka wa 2008, ubutabera mu Rwanda bwaje ku mwanya wa kabiri muri ruswa. Uretse ko ari n'igisebo ku gihugu, biragaragaza ko abacamanza baca imanza bitewe n'impamvu zinyuranye bijyanye n'inyungu z'abanyembaraga bamwe babakoresha, cyangwa inyungu zabo ku giti cyabo bitewe n'abo bacira imanza. Bivugwa ko ubutabera bwavuguruwe, abakora umurimo w'ubucamanza bakaba bafite ubumenyi n'ubushobozi bihagije, ariko imvugo si yo ngiro iyo urebye akarengane kari mu Rwanda n'ibibazo bijyanwa ku Rwego rw'Umuvunyi, ndetse na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Uburenganzira bwa muntu.

Ku itariki ya 7 Kanama 2009 mu Rukiko rwisumbuye rwa Nyarugenge hasomwe urubanza rwari rutegerejwe na benshi rwaregwegamo abanyamakuru babiri (Niyonambaza Asumani uyobora ikinyamakuru Rugari, na Kalisa wo kuri Contact FM, ariko ubushinjacyaha bwanga kugaragaza urega kandi ahari bwishyira mu cyimbo cye mu rwego rwo guhishira igikorwa kigayitse cy'ibyakoze n'abanyembaraga muri urwo rubanza.

Nk'uko bizwi mu mategeko, icyaha ni ugukora ibibujijwe cyangwa kwanga gukora igitegetse ku buryo buhungabanya umutekano ku bantu kandi hari itegeko ribiteganyiriza ibihano. Iyo rero umuntu yakozwe igikorwa cyitwa icyaha, habaho itegeko rishyiraho igihano cy'icyo cyaha. Icyo gihe habaho ikurikiranacyaha kuri uwo muntu. Uwakorewe icyaha atanga ikirego mu rukiko arengera inyungu ze, asaba indishyi abyibwirije, ariko ntashobora gusabira ukekwa ko yakozwe icyaha igihano cyangwa ihazabu. Gutanga ikirego mu izina rya rubanda bikorwa n'umushinjacyaha arega uwakozwe icyaha mu rukiko rubifitiye ububasha, arengera

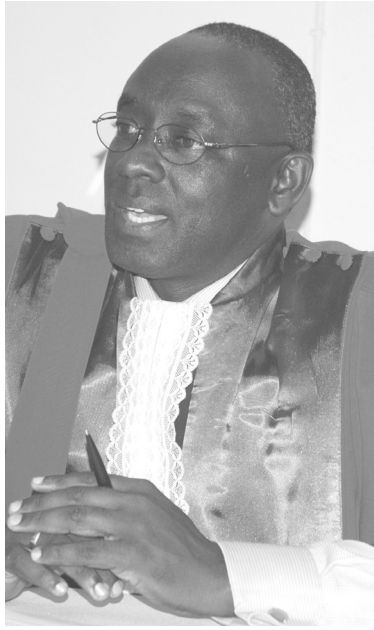


Cyanzayire Aloyisia

inyungu rusange z'abaturage cyangwa iz'igihugu. Umushinjacyaha ashobora gusaba igihano cy'igifungo cyangwa se icy'ihazabu bitewe n'uburemere bw'icyaha n'imyitwarire y'uwigikoze.

Mu manza nshinjabyaha, ukekwa ko yakozwe icyaha agomba kwitaba ubwe ntawe umuhagarariye, iyo akekwa icyaha cy'ubugome cyangwa icyaha gikomeye. Kugira ngo ahagararirwe mu rukiko n'intumwa ye yabihereye uruhushya, uregwa agomba kwerekana impamvu zikomeye zimubuza kwitaba urukiko. Muri izo mpamvu, hari nk'uburwayi bukomeye bubuza uregwa kugera imbere y'urukiko, ubutumwa bukomeye bw'igihugu busaba ko ucyekwaho icyaha yigira muri ubwo butumwa.

Imanza z'inshinjabyaha zose zigomba kuburanishirizwa mu ruhame, bigasobanura ko umuntu wese ubishaka afite uburenganzira bwo kumva uko ubushinjacyaha bushinja ukekwa icyaha n'uko ukekwa icyaha yiregura. Iri ni ihame kugira ngo ukuri kw'ibyabaye kugaragare. Ariko kubera impamvu zo kubahiriza umutekano cyangwa se imico mbonezabupfura, urukiko rushobora kwemeza ko urubanza ruburanishwa mu muhezo. Mu manza zose z'inshinjabyaha,



Jostone Businge

ushinjwa ahabwa ijambo rya nyuma ubushinjacyaha n'abatangabuhamya bamaze kwisobanura.

Nk'uko twabivuze haruguru, Ubushinjacyaha bwaregaga mu Rukiko rwisumbuye rwa Nyarugenge abanyamakuru babiri n'umukozi mu Karere ka Gasabo ku kigo nderabuzima ushinze ubwisungane mu kwivuzwa, icyaha cya ruswa n'ubwambuzi. Ubushinjacyaha bwabasabiye gufungwa by'agateganyo ukwezi, ariko bajuririye icyo cyemezo mu Rukiko Rukuru nk'uko biteganywa n'amategeko ntihagira igihinduka!

Nk'uko Urukiko Rwisubuye rwa Nyarugenge rwa bisobanuye, ngo Niyonambaza

Mu manza nshinjabyaha, ukekwa ko yakozwe icyaha agomba kwitaba ubwe ntawe umuhagarariye, iyo akekwa icyaha cy'ubugome cyangwa icyaha gikomeye

Asumani yashatse kwandika inkuru ku bantu batavuzwe amazina n'urukiko (kubera ko ari abanyabubasha mu gihugu). Ubushinjacyaha bwavugaga ko Niyonambaza Asumani yashakaga amafaranga ibihumbi magana atanu (500,000 FRW) kugira ngo atandika iyo nkuru, ariko ntibigeze bagaragaza uwo yayatse n'uburyo yayamuhaye, n'icyatumaga ayamuhaye. Ahubwo icyagaragaye ni uko Ricard Nizeyimana yakoresheje mu gushaka umunyamakuru wa Contact FM witwa Kalisa kugira ngo polisi igere kuri Niyonambaza Asumani. Kalisa yashyiriyeye Asumani ayo mafaranga aya-hawe na nde? Ikimenyetso kigaragaza ko byari ruswa ni ikihe? Ikimenyetso simusiga kigaragaza ko Niyonambaza Asumani yari yayatumye Kalisa ni ikihe? Nkuko urukiko rwabitangaje, ngo Asumani yavuze ko amafaranga yari ayo gukorera publicité umuntu, ariko ngo ntiyabitangira ibimenyetso bihamye.

Byaba sms zoherejwe, byaba amashusho n'amajwi byafashwe n'inzego za polisi mu kiganiro bagiranye na Kalisa, nta kimenyetso gifatika cyagaragaye ruswa mu byakozwe, ariko Nizeyimana Ricard niwe wasabye Kalisa gufata ayo mafaranga ngo ayamushyirire Niyonambaza Asumani.

Urukiko rwaramukaniye abandi bararekurwa!

Mu masaha ya saa munani, ku itariki twavuze haruguru, Urukiko twavuze haruguru rwasomye urubanza, rutangaza ko uko ari batatu nta cyaha cya ruswa cyakozwe. Nkuko byagenze kuri Kalisa wayoboraga BCDI (uretse ko urukiko atari rumwe), abantu bumva agiye kuba umwere, ariko siko byagenze. Kuri abo banyamakuru, umucamanza yamanutse asoma uko ikurikiranabyaha n'urubanza byagenze, akomeze kuri rumaze (urukiko), rusanze, rwemeje ko badahamwa n'icyaha cya ruswa. Ariko kuri

Niyonambaza Asumani, urukiko rwatangaje ko ahamwe n'icyaha cy'ubwambuzi (yambuye nde, ate?), maze ahanishwa igihano cy'igifungo cy'inyaka ibiri. Mbese kwambura, iyo ari amafaranga atarenga miriyoni eshatu, bijyanwa mu nkiko bitanyuze mu bunzi? Mu gihe imiryango n'abakunzi ba Kalisa bari baturutse mu gihugu hose baririmbaga bishimira ko ukuri kugaragaye, Niyonambaza Asumani n'imiryango ye bavugaga ko urukiko rwanze kuviramo aho kubera abanyembaraga batavuzwe muri urwo rubanza ku cyari cyihishe inyuma y'ibyabaye, abacamanza birinze kuvuga kubera ko ubushinjacyaha bwakingiraga ikibaba umuyobozi mukuru ku rwego rwabo (reba ikinyamakuru Umuvugizi n° 59, 60). Abaturage bari aho ku rukiko bakaba barasakuzaga bavugaga ko ubushinjacyaha bwarushije ingufu urukiko kuri Niyonambaza Asumani washakaga kugaragaza uko bamwe mu banyembaraga biyandarike bakora ibyo bishakiye mu gihugu.

Mu kiganiro gito umunyamakuru w'Umuseso yagiranye na Niyonambaza Asumani nyuma y'isomwa ry'urubanza, yaravuze ati: "sinigeze mbona n'uriya mugore wiswe X, namwandikiye sms ngira ngo tuvugane aranga. Bakoresheje bariya bantu kugira ngo bangereho none dore uko bigenze?"

Ni aha natangiriye umutwe w'iyi nkuru mvuga ko ubucamanza mu Rwanda bukorera ku bwoba. Nk'uko bigaragara muri iyi dosiye no mu zindi z'ibibera muri iki gihugu, usanga akenshi ubucamanza butigenga. Iyo uburana akomeye kurenza undi; iby'ukomeye nibyo byitabwaho bikagenda nk'uko abanyembaraga bari mu gihugu babishakaga, byaba na ngombwa bagahishirwa nkuko muri iyi dosiye y'abanyamakuru hari abahishirirwe kubera imirimo ikomeye bafite mu gihugu.

Habuhazi Innocent

UBUKUNGU

Leta irikiza icyayi mu gihe gihagaze nabi

Leta yamaze kubona ko icyayi cyayibereye umutwari mu gihe umuhinzi wacyo yari yamaze kukirambirwa none irashaka kucyegurira abikorera ku giti cyabo cyose uko cyakabaye.

Kuva uyu mwaka watangira, icyayi cy'u Rwanda cyabaye ingorabahizi ku bahinzi, kiba n'umutwari kuri Leta kuko kitiyeze kigera ku ntego zacyo.

Imvura yarabuze, yaba Leta n'umuhinzi, agafaranga bakibonagamo karabura kuko umusaruro waguye bikabije. Ibyo byatumye n'icyatezwaga cyamura i Mombasa ho muri Kenya kiba gike.

Igiciro cy'icyayi ku isoko mpuzamahanga cyaraguye cyane kandi kizakomeza kugwa nkuko Banki y'isi ibigaragaza. Ibyo bizaterwa cyangwa byatewe n'igabanuka ry'ubushobozi bw'abaguzi b'icyayi bo mu bihugu bikize.

Iryo gabanuka ryatewe n'ihungabana ry'ubukungu bw'ibyo bihugu kimw'ubw'isi muri rusange, bikagira ingaruka ku bakozi kuko benshi batakaje akazi bityo bakabura amafaranga yo guhaha ibicuruzwa bimwe na bimwe bifuza.

Ubwo bukungu rero bwazahaye bwatumye icyayi cy'u Rwanda kizahara kuko kitabonye abaguzi nkuko byari byitezwe. U Rwanda ariko rwanagize amahirwe kuko ruba rutaranacurije na gake iyo icyayi cya Kenya kidahura n'izuba ryinshi ngo cyume. Kenya irusha u Rwanda icyayi cyinshi.

Muri rusange, mu mezi atan-datu ya mbere y'uyu mwaka, u Rwanda rwacurije icyayi gihwanye na toni 10,855 ugere-ranyije na toni 10,945 zacurujwe muri icyo gihe, mu mwaka wa 2008. Uwo musaruro wagabanutse watumye n'amadorali yari ateganyijwe kwinjizwa, agabanuka ava kuri miliyoni 24.7 mu mezi atan-datu ya 2008, agera kuri miliyoni 23.5 mu mezi atan-datu ya mbere ya 2009.

U Rwanda rwari rwateganyijwe kwinjiza miliyoni 27 z'amadorali mu gice cya mbere cya 2009

ariko ntabwo zagezweho.

Ofisi y'ibihingwa ngeng-abukungu ishimiye ry'icyayi (OCIR THE), ivuga ko umusaruro wabaye muke kubera imvura yabuze bityo n'amadovize nayo akagabanuka kuko hacurujwe icyayi gike. Icyo itavuga, ni uko igiciro gito nacyo cyagize uruhare runini mu gutanga amafaranga make acuruzwa mu cyayi.

Nkuko OCIR THE ibivuga, ngo igiciro ku kiro cy'icyayi cyageze ku madolari 2.3 i Mombasa, naho umuhinzi ahabwa amafaranga 86 ku kiro. Iyo urebye ukuntu abahinzi bavunika bahingira icyayi, wagereranya n'igiciro bahabwa, usanga bidahuye kandi ari bo batuma u Rwanda rubona amadovize bitewe n'imbaraga bagishyizemo bagihinga.

Leta ariko ntabwo ijya igwa mu gihombo kuko yo irashaka kwegeka urwo rusyo ku bashoramari ibagurisha inganda z'icyayi ebyiri n'imirima yazo.

Tariki ya 30/7/2009, i Kigali, mu kigo cy'igihugu gishinzwe iterambere (Rwanda Development Board), habereye umuhango wo gusoza kwakira no gufungura amabashasha y'abashoramari bifuzaga kugura imigabane mu ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Gisakura n'urundi rwa Kitabi hamwe n'imirima yazo. Kitabi iri mu ntara y'amajyepfo naho Gisakura iri mu ntara y'iburengerazuba.

Ibyo byaje bikurikira inama yari yahuye abifuzaga iyo migabane na Leta kuri Hotel des Mille Collines i Kigali.

Izo nganda ubusanze zakoraga neza, ariko abashaka kuzigura bafite ibyo bifuza ko byakemurwa na Leta. Ku ruganda rw'icyayi rwa Gisakura, Leta irashaka kugurisha imigabane ingana na 45% naho ku Kitabi, izatanga imigabane 60%.

Leta yifuza ko yasigarana imigabane 30% ku ruganda rwa Gisakura ibinyujije muri OCIR THE naho imigabane 25% ikegurirwa abahinzi na koperative imwe. Ibyo rero abashoramari bavugaga ko byatera impagarara kuko Leta niba izagiramo 30% kandi ikaba ari nayo izaha

abahinzi na koperative imigabane 25%, ibyo bivugaga ko Leta na none izaba ari yo ifite imigabane myinshi kuri urwo ruganda rwa Gisakura kuko umushoramari uzagura imigabane 45%, ntabwo azaba afite ijamba mu ruganda.

Abashoramari bavugaga ko byumvikana ko Leta izajya igira ijambokurikoperativen'abahinzi bityo bikaba byagorana mu gihe cyo gufata ibyemezo. Abashoramari ariko bo barashakaga aho bazashyira amafaranga yabo bamenya n'ukuntu azakoreshwa kandi bakanagira uruhare runini mu gucunga uruganda kuko bakeneye ko rwavamo uruganda rutanga umusaruro mwiza n'inyungu.

Ikindi ni uko abashoramari bibaza niba abo bahinzi na koperative bazabasha kubona amafaranga mu gihe bizaba bigaragara ko akenewe mu gusana cyangwa kawugura uruganda.

Abashoramari bibaza kandi na none uzishyura imyenda yaba yarafashwe na rumwe muri izo nganda Leta ishaka kugurishamo imigabane. Leta ivugaga ko izishyura imyenda y'igihe kirekire ariko umushoramari mushya akishyura imyenda y'igihe gito kandi idahenze.

Ikindi bibaza, ni indeshyoy'urugendo kuva kuri izo nganda kugera aho icyayi giterezwa icyamunara i Mombasa ho muri Kenya. Abashoramari kandi bibaza uko ibiciro by'icyayi bishyirwaho mu Rwanda n'uko bizajya bishyirwaho mu gihe kizaza.

Leta ivugaga ko ibiciro byashyirwagaho nayo ifatanyije n'abaguzi n'abahinzi ariko ubu hari icyifuzo cy'uko igiciro cyazajya kijyana n'ubwiza bw'icyayi. Ikindi abashoramari bibaza uzishyura ingemwe z'icyayi zitegurwa n'abaturage. Leta ivugaga ko abaturage bifuza ko zakwishyurwa n'inganda nkuko byari bisanzwe. Abashoramari banibaza uzatunganyira imirimo ihenze nko gusana imihanda, imirima y'icyayi, no gutunganya imiyoboro y'amazi ica muri iyo mirima.

Ibyo Leta ivugaga ko ubusanze



Minisitiri w'ubucuruzi n'inganda
Monique Nsanzabaganwa

abahinzi bita ku miyoboro inyura mu cyayi cyabo ariko inganda nazo zigatanga amafaranga yo gusana imihanda n'ibindi bikorwa remezo bikenera amafaranga menshi ariko bigakorwa n'abaturage baturaye iyo mirima.

Abashoramari bibaza niba bemerewe kohereza zimwe mu nyungu z'amafaranga bazakura muri izo nganda z'icyayi. Ibyo Leta ibabwirako babyemerewe kandi ko rwose bashatse banafungura za konti z'amadovize muri banki iyo ari yo yose mu Rwanda.

Abashoramari kandi bifujemo kumenya niba bafite uburenganzira bwo kwirukana abakozi Leta ikavugaga ko bazabikora hashize umwaka umwe kuko n'ubundi bari bagabanyijwe.

Ikindi babajije, ni uko byagenda mu gihe baramutse bashakira kwagura uruganda; Leta ibasubiza ko ibyo bikurikiza amategeko agenga ubutaka mu Rwanda. Ibyo rero ngo bizasaba ko umushoramari agura ubwo butaka.

Inama yarangiye abashoramari bamwe batanyunzwe ariko ntibizabuzwa Leta kumvikana n'abatanze ibiciro byabo bashakira iyo migabane muri izo nganda. Leta ikaba yarakiriye amabashasha y'abashoramari 13 bese

bashakira kubona imigabane muri izo nganda ariko umwe muri buri ruganda niwe uzatoranywa bitewe n'ibyifuzwa.

Ubu ikirimo gikorwa nyuma yuko amabashasha yakiriwe akanafungurwa ku mugaragaru, komite ibishinzwe irimo kwiga ku mabashasha abashoramari batanze aho ireba ibijyanye n'uko bazateza imbere izo nganda hamwe n'amafaranga bifuza gutanga kugirango babone imigabane muri izo nganda. Biteganyijwe ko mu mpera z'uku kwezi, iyo komite izageza raporo yayo ku nama y'abaminisitiri kugirango yemeze abazahabwa iyo migabane naho kurangiza igikorwa cy'igurishwa n'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'ubugure hagati ya Leta n'abashoramari bazegukana iyo migabane, biteganyijwe mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa cyenda.

Gisakura na Kitabi nibimara kwegurirwa abikorera ku giti cyabo, hazaba hasigaye Mulin-di, Gisovu, Mata, na Shagasha. Leta ariko ivugaga ko izo nganda n'imirima yazo izabyegurira abikorera kugirango birushaho gutanga umusaruro mwiza kandi n'abanyarwanda benshi babashe kubona akazi muri izo nganda.

Ubusanzwe u Rwanda rufite hegitari zirenga 12,000 zihingweho icyayi kandi icyayi cy'u Rwanda kiri mu byayi bikundwa cyane ku isi. Mu cyayi cyose gihingwa mu Rwanda, 99% yacyo cyoherezwa hanzu naho 1% gikore-shwa mu Rwanda.

Ibi bivugaga ko abanyarwanda banywa icyayi bakiri bake ari nayo mpamvu iyo habaye ikibazo ku isoko ry'icyayi ku rwego mpuzamahanga, usanga mu Rwanda byacitse, Leta irira n'abahinzi bataye ingufu na morale.

Uyu mwaka gusa, icyayi biteganyijwe ko kwinjizwa miliyoni 54 z'amadorali ugereranyije na miliyoni 45 zakusanyijwe mu mwaka ushize. Bivugwa ko icyayi gitanga akazi ku banyarwanda barenga ibihumbi 5.

Ingabire Lydia.
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Kutumvikana ku isura ya Perezida Kagame birimo gutera ubwumvikane buke

Kuva mu ntangiriro z'ubutegetsi bwa FPR butahwemye kwitwaga ubutegetsi bwa Kagame, abanyarwanda bagiye bagira urujijo baterwa no kutabasha kumva uburyo Perezida Kagame yagiye avugwa cyane cyane nko mu itangazamakuru, mu gihe bo batahweye kumubonamo Perezida uyoborana Ubwitange. Nyamara, abanyarwanda kuva na kera bari basanzwe bazi ko haticu umwami ahubwo hica rubanda. Ndetse no mu mucu nyarwanda ikibereye mu rugo cyangwa igikozwe n'uwo mu rugo cyose cyitirirwa nyiri urugo.

Nkuko ntangiye mbivuga, abanyarwanda benshi iyo muganiriyeye, usanga bakubwira ko bashima imikorere n'imitegekere bya Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda Paul Kagame. Ndetse n'undi wese yabyitegereza agasanga koko ko abo banyarwanda batibeshya, cyane cyane iyo witegereje uburyo agerageza guhuza ibikorwa n'amagambo. Nyuma hazaho isura ya Perezida Kagame dusanga cyane cyane mu mvugo yo mu itangazamakuru no mu miryango mpuzamahanga cyane cyane iy'uburenganzira bw'ikiremhamuntu. Iyo sura ni ishusho ya Perezida w'umunyagitugu. Aha umuntu ahita yibaza aho iyo sura iza guturuka. Navuga ko iyo sura ituruka ha handi bita ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda, ubutegetsi bwa Kagame.

Isura mbi ihabwa Perezida Kagame, ituruka kuri bamwe mu bagiye baba kandi bakiri mu butegetsi bwo mu Rwanda kuva FPR yatangiye gutegeka, bagakoresha igitugu baharanira inyungu zabo. Abo bategetsi ubasanga mu nzego zose, iza gisirikare, ubuyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu, inzego za polisi, mu burezi, mu nzego z'ibanze n'ahandi. Ndetse no mu miryango itegamiye kuri Leta no mu bikorera ku giti cyabo, abo

bakora nabi bagenda bagaragaramo. Abo bayobozi cyangwa abategetsi, bagiye bategekana igitugu ku buryo bugaragara bitewe n'ubushishozi buke, guharanira inyungu bwite, bigakurura ruswa n'ibindi. Guharanira gushimwa bakandamiza rubanda, kugendera ku ivangura n'ibindi. Ingero zirahari nyinshi. Gusa navuga ko ababyitirira Perezida Kagame nta nka baba baciye amabere; ikibabaje ni uko iyo mvugo ijyanye n'umuco yo kwitirira umukuru, ibikorwa n'abo bakorana itumvwa na buri wese. Hari abatayumva kubera ko ari ho imitekerereze yabo igarukira, hakaba n'abatabyumva kuko badashakubyumva cyangwa babifitemo inyungu. Ingero zirahari

Umuntu ashobora kubona ingero nyinshi zigaragaza ko Perezida Kagame ari umuyobozi mwiza, nyamara akabona n'izindi nyinshi zigaragaza imikorere mibi ya bamwe mu bayobozi, igaha isura mbi ubutegetsi bwe



Perezida Paul Kagame

ku bwinshi, aho hari abasigaye babona ko Perezida Kagame yatutswe, yavuzwe nabi cyangwa yasuzuguye, nyamara we ukabona nta kibazo abifitemo. Hari abadashobora gutandukanya ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kagame na Kagame ubwe ku giti cye nk'umunyarwanda. Aha nahahera mvuga ko ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Kagame bugizwe n'abantu benshi, guhera kuri Perezida wa Repubulika kugera ku muyobozi w'umudugudu. Ni ukuvuga ko ibikorwa by'aba bese bitandukanye n'ibikorwa bya Perezida Kagame ari ko akabyitirirwa kuko ariwe ubafiteho ububasha bese, akaba ari we ushobora kubakuraho no kubasimbuza.

Umuntu ashobora kubona ingero nyinshi zigaragaza ko Perezida Kagame ari umuyobozi mwiza, nyamara akabona n'izindi nyinshi zigaragaza imikorere mibi ya bamwe mu bayobozi, igaha isura mbi ubutegetsi bwe. Mperereye ku ngero z'ibyo yakozwe byiza navuga ko ari byinshi, ariko ibyo ntakwibagirwa, ni uburyo yahagaritse jenocide agasanisha ibyari bimaze guseniyuka, gucyura impunzi zari zimaze imyaka isaga 30 hanzye y'igihugu, uburyo yabashije gusubiza



SG wa FPR Ngarambe Francois

amazuru n'amamodoka abari barabyambuwe jenocide ikimara kurangira n'ibindi. Ntawe utibuka uburyo yiyemeje kugabanya amasambu mu ntara y'iburasirazuba yirengagije ko hari benshi mu bategetsi bakuru batabibonaga kimwe nawe n'ubwo bitagenze neza uko abantu benshi babyifuzaga.

Kuvuga ingero z'abagenda bakora nabi bagahesha isura mbi ubutegetsi bwa Kagame, nabwo umuntu yazivugaga bukira bugacya. Aha navuga ko ibyo navuze haruguru byerekana imitegekere myiza ya Perezida Kagame, abikora akosora ibyakozwe n'abandi bayobozi. Muri iyi minsi ya vuba, uwavugaga ko uburezi bwari bugeze mu marembera ntiyaba abeshye. Uwavugaga ko gacaca uburyo irimo gukorwa nabyo hari abanyarwanda benshi bituma batera icyizere ubutegetsi bwa Kagame nawe ntiyaba akabiye. Hari benshi baha isura mbi ubutegetsi bwa Kagame bagendeye ku matora arimo uburiganya, abanyereza umutungo wa Leta wagombaga guteza imbere imbagana nyamwinshi y'abanyarwanda, abigabiza imitungo y'abandi, abahatira abantu kujya muri FPR, abakandamiza abandi bit-

waje FPR, abitwaza igisirikare bakanyaga ibibanza by'abandi, abanyereza abantu bakabafungira ahantu hatazwi cyangwa bakabica n'ibindi. Ubu noneho mu muji wa Kigali, ibyo abapolisi barimo kuhakora ni agahomamunwa. Urajya kubona, ukabona abantu birukankanye abandi ndetse imodoka zikenda kubagonga. Igikunze gutangaza abantu benshi, ni uko ujya kubona ukabona bamwe baje bambaye amapingu kandi bese wabonaga bambaye kimwe. Hagati aho haribazwa niba nta bandi bashobora kuzaba ba rusahurira mu nduru bakigira abapolisi kugira ngo barye ibya rubanda. Ikindi umuntu yakwibaza, ni uburyo abantu bazabasha gutandukanya polisi n'ibindi bisambo by'ingufu. Ibyo byose ni bimwe mu bikorwa n'abari mu butegetsi bwa Kagame, bikamitirirwa.

Muri rusange muri iki gihe hakenewe ko abanyarwanda batakomeza guteranywa n'amagambo akoresheye mu mvugo (question de terminologie), ahubwo bakagerageza kureba ukuri kw'icyashatse kuvugwa. Biratangaje kandi birababaje kubona umuntu ujijutse kandi ukomeye, asoma ikinyamakuru, agenda asoma imitwe y'inkuru adasomye inkuru yose ngo yumve icyo umwanditsi yashatse kuvuga, agaheraho atera ibibazo ndetse n'icyo myumvire n'ibitekerezo bye akabishyira mu bandi. Aha niho usigaye usanga hari ibyemezo bifatwa nyamara ugasanga bamwe mu babifashe nibo bibabaje cyane kuko bitari bikwiye. Abanyarwanda nibarengere amarangamutima baharanire ukuri kandi buri wese yemere integere nke ze mu myumvire asobanuze. Umuhanga ntajya yemeza na rimwe, ahari ashidikanya kandi akamenya gutandukanya ibintu.

Alphonse Nsabimana

IMIYOBORERE

Batinye urugamba rw'amagambo ngo batiteranya

FPR yatangije urugamba rw'intambara igamije kugarura impunzi z'Abanyarwandanda zari zarahejewe mu mahanga n'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika uko zagiye zikurikirana. Igihugu cyari kigose n'ingoyi z'ubutegetsi bw'igitugu. Ubutegetsi bwariho icyo gihe bwari bumaze igihe bwibasiye abo butashakaga, abiswe abatutsi batangira gutwikirwa, inka zabo ziraribwa barasenyera batangira kwicwa uruhongohongo, kugeza ubwo bibaye jenocide mu 1994. Urwo rugamba rwo kurwanya ibibi, FPR yarutangije iturutse mu gihugu cya Uganda irwana isobanura impamvu z'urugamba rwayo, Abanyarwanda benshi n'abanyamahanga barabisobanukirwa bafatanyabona mu buryo bunyuranye. Igihugu kimaze kubohozwa, ingoma y'igitugu yavuyeho FPR ifata ubutegetsi ishyiramo abo yishakije ku nyungu zayo, ariko uko iminsi yicumaga yagenda inaniranwa n'abo yagabiye. Abananyiranywe nayo bakananirwa no kwihangana kuko "kutavugurumwe na Perezida ari ikibazo", bakuyemo akabo karengye, maze impunzi zongera kuba nyinshi hanze ku butegetsi bwa FPR, bitewe no kubura ubwisanzure. Abo FPR yabonaga bakomeye yashakishaga ibyaha ibahimbira, ikemeza ko ari abajura basize basahuye igihugu, ariko abagisahura buri muni bikageza ku mwaka bihaye amamiriyari nk'uko bihora bitangazwa n'Umugenzuzi Mukuru w'imari ya Leta, iyo badahisemo gutoroka igihugu bapangirwa indi myanya bagakomeza kwirira ku byiza by'igihugu biva mu misoro y'abaturage, rubanda igakomeza gukomeza ntawe uyitaye! Iyo bimaze gukabya FPR ibavanaho ikabeshya rubanda ko beguye ku bushake bwabo ikabicaza ntibongere kwibukwa cyangwa ngo bakurikiranwe kuri uwo mutungo bawugarure mu isanduka ya Leta!

Abayobozi b'Intara n'Uturere bahora "bahiga" biha amanota meza abaturage bahigima.

Bikorera evaluation bakihutira kureba ijanisha bakoze ubushize bakarenzaho gato kugira ngo bagaragarize Perezida ko batera imbere kandi mu cyaro ubukene bunuma. Ibyagenewe abaturage bibanza guhita mu maboko y'abo bayobozi(bikabubakira amazu meza) bashakira inyungu zabo n'iza bene wabo mbere y'inyungu rasange z'abaturage, rimwe na rimwe ntihagire n'utuvungukira tuva ku meza yabo ngo tugwe hasi badutoragure. Uwabirebye neza kuri iyi ngoma yavuze ko ab'ubu barisha ibiyiko bagatega ikiganza mu nsi ngo hatagira igitakara hasi!

Bariha ijana ku ijana bibeshya amanota meza, nyamara abandi bareba bakabona ari aba nyuma. Perezida Paul Kagame akaba yarababajije ati: "bimaze iki? Aho duhagaze mu bihugu turi ku murizo. Urabeshya nde? Wabona abana barwaye bwaki

ukabihisha abantu babireba? Uramara kwiha ijana ku ijana abantu babone bwaki, babone amazi y'u Rwanda atakigira ibara, urabihisha ute? Ibyo bikorwa, n'iyi mihigo duhiga twese hano, ntabwo bihura". Ibi Paul Kagame yongeye kubisubiramo ubwo yasuraga Akarere ka Ngoma, aho yabwiraga abayobozi n'abaturage ko, nta mpamvu abantu bakwicwa n'inzara bagapfa cyangwa bakarwara bwaki. Ibi byose yavuze ko biterwa na politiki mbi yica abantu ikica n'igihugu. Yavuze ko we yitandukanyije n'ubuyobozi bubi na politiki nk'iyi yaranze igihugu kuva kera. "Kwitandukanya na politiki mbi bivuze ibikorwa byiza bitanga umusaruro, byubaka ubuzima bw'abantu. Nta muntu dushaka ko arengana".

Mwarimu aracyakomeje kwisiga ingwa akabura n'ayo agura isabune yo kuyitsirima ku mubiri we ngo iveho neza agahorana umwera, kuko intica ntikize abona byatinze idaterwa imirwi ngo ikwirwe ibyo akeneye n'umuryango we. Umu-



Claudine Nyinawagaga

sirikare nawe ni uko iyo atari mu rwego rwo hejuru ahora yifashe ku itama afashe imbunda mu ntoki ategereje ko rasiyo ye n'agashahara byazamuka, ariko yarahebye. Mu gihe abandi bakozi bagira aho bahurira n'amafaranga biguriza bikazabaviramo gukoresha umutungo wa Leta nabi, ariko bataburaye, mwarimu we ntaho ashobora guhurira n'ako gafaranga kava mu misoro y'abaturage ngo nawe yirireho azabizire yariyeho nk'abandi.

Polisi we yabonye inzira ya bugufi ari ukujya ku mwanya wa mbere muri ruswa(Trafic) kubera udafaranga duke ahembwa!

Uko serivisi zitangwa ni agahomamunwa

Paul Kagame yaravuze ati: "Mujye mu mujyi, mu mahoteri, amaduka murabibona. Uragenda ukicara ugategereza ko baza kukubaza icyo ushaka ukarambirwa. Aho baziye ukabatuma bakabizana ari bibisi ukabiguguna ukishyura banaguhenze ntuhanze n'uwo

muntu. Azakomeza gukora atyo kuko mwabyemeye. Ku banywa divayi uricara ugategereza aho baziye wababaza bakavuga ko idahari, wareba ugasanga irahari, ukaza gusanga batazi kuyifungura, ugerageje agakoresha nk'inyundo agahonda! Kuguha bill waraye muri hoteri ushaka kwihuta hakavuka ikibazo cyo gutegereza, hakaba ubwo bakubwira ngo hari ikibazo ng kirakemurwa na Manager, iyo yaryamye ngo ntawe umuvuga"! Mu nzego za Leta yabagiriye ibanga ababwirako abahishiriye, ariko yongeraho ko ari kimwe no muri private sector.

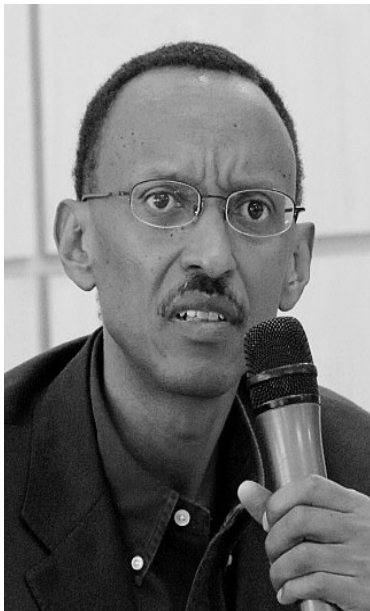
None se, niba bigeze n'aho habaho kugaragaza agati abayobozi bashakwamo abakora neza, ahubwo benshi bakaba barushaho kubizambya bishyirira mu mufuka amafaranga ava mu misoro y'abaturage n'imfashanyo ziva hanze, bakaba batanubaha rubanda bahagarariye, amaheremo azaba ayahe? Vision 2020 izatugeza he?

Habuhazi Innocent

MBYIBAZAHO

Ni iki cyateye Kagame kuba umunyagitugu?

Hashize imyaka itari myinshi hano mu Rwanda bamwe mu banyamakuru batinyuka, abo twakwita “abi-handuzacumu”, berekanye ko Perezida Kagame ari umunyagitugu. Iyi nyito yatunguye abanyarwanda, bidatwe nuko atari byo, ahubwo bitewe n’ubwoba benshi bafitiye uwayiswe (Kagame). Ubu ntabwo bikiri ibanga rivugwa abantu bihishye, kuko ibimenyetso bya Leta y’igitugu mu Rwanda birahari. Nkuko abanyarwanda bajya babivugaga bagira bati: “aho kwica Gitera, ica ikibimutera” nanjye muri iyi nyandiko icyo ndibwiban-deho cyane, ni ukwibaza no gusesengura impamvu ndetse no kureba inkomoko n’uburyo bwakoreshejwe kugira ngo Kagame ahinduke umunyagitugu, kandi akomoka mu ishyamba (FPR) bizwi neza ko rimwe mu mahame yaryo ari ukuzana demukarasi mu Rwanda. Ibi byashobotse bite? Kuki FPR yemereye Kagame kuba umunyagitugu? Mbere yo gusesengura neza iki kibazo, kugira ngo birushaho kumvikana neza, reka tubirebe mu magambo avunaguye ibyo twakwita ibyiciro cyangwa se amoko y’igitugu yakunze kugaragara cyane kuva kera kugeza na n’ubu, bidufashe kubigereranya n’ibibera mu Rwanda. Muri rusange, igitugu tugisanga mu byiciro bitatu. icyiciro cya mbere, dusangamo igitugu cy’amashyamba yabohoye ibihugu byayo binyuze mu ntambara yo kurwanya abakoloni cyangwa guhirika za Leta z’igitugu. Amwe muri ayo mashyamba twakwita ibigugu muri Afurika, hari nka “Chama cha Mapinduzi” CCM. Iri shyamba riyobora igihugu cya Tanzaniya, kuva mu mwaka wa 1964 kugeza uyu munsu. MPLA (Angola) iri shyamba ryaharaniye ubwigenge bw’icyo gihugu, ni naryo rikiyobora kuva mu mwaka 1975. NRM (Uganda) iri shyamba niryo riyobora icyo gihugu kuva mu mwaka wa 1986. FLN (Algeria) iri shyamba riyobora icyo gihugu cy’Abarabu kiri mu majyarugur ya Afurika kuva mu mwaka wa 1962 kugeza na n’ubu. FPR (Rwanda) iri shyamba riyora u Rwanda kuva rihagaritse Jenoside ya korewe abatutsi mu 1994 kugeza uyu munsu. icyiciro cya kabiri, ni icy’amashyamba afite umurongo bita uwa “gikomoni-siti”. icyiciro cya gatatu ni igitugu cy’umuntu ku giti cye. Mu buryo bwihuse, hari icyo umuntu yakongeraho. Tugarutse kuri cya cyiciro cy’amashyamba yabohoye ibihugu byab, o ikibabaje ni uko aya mashyamba nayo age- raho agahinduka ay’igitugu mu buryo n’impanvu zinyuranye.



Perezida Paul Kagame

Yose icyo ahuriraho, ni amayeri yo kureka andi mashyamba nayo akabaho, ariko bikaba bitoroshye ko hagira undi muntu wayobora igihugu atari bo babihaye umugisha. Ibi ntibiterwa nuko mu yandi mashyamba haba hatarimo abahanga bafite ibitekerezo bizima, ahubwo kubera amateka y’aya mashyamba, abayobozi bayo ntibiyumvisha uburyo igihugu cyayoborwa badahari. Mu ijamba rimwe ayo mashyamba abohora ibihugu, akongera akabibohora binyujijwe mu nzira bita iyo gukunda igihugu (patriotism) demokarasi ikanigwa ityo kandi hari andi mashyamba n’ibindi bitekerezo. Umurongo wa gikomoni-site nubwo usa naho wacitse ku isi ukaba, usigaye mu bihugu bike cyane nk’u Bushinwa, Cuba, Koreya ya ruguru na Vietnam, igitangaje ni uko witegereje ya mashyamba tumaze kubona haruguru usanga “style” yabo ifitanye isano ya hafi n’iy’abakonosite, itandukaniro gusa bikaba yuko mu bakomoni-site nta rindi shyamba ryemererwa gukora. Ibyo nibyo umurusiya witwaga Lénine yise “dictature prolétarienne” ari byo bishatse gusobanura igitugu gishingiye kuri rubanda. Uyu musaza Lenine, ajya gukoresha iryo jambo yibwiraga yuko uwo murongo (wa gikomoni-site) uza-fasha abaturage kubaho neza, ariko icyaje kugaragara, ni uko nyuma abawubohoye bakandamije abaturage barushaho gukena, abayobozi b’ishyamba aba ari bo bikungahaza bonyine. Ibyari inzozo z’Abasaza nka Marx, Engels na Lenine birangirira aho. Mu gusoma ibirebana n’ibyiciro by’igitugu, icyagaragaye ni uko icyiciro cy’abanyagitugu ku giti cyabo nicyo cyiganje cyane muri Afurika. Iki bigaragaza akaba ari uko bene abo banyagitugu iyo



Francois Ngararambe



na
**Sinamenye
STRATON**

bahirimye akenshi bahirimana n’utwabo twose! Impamvu ibitera si iyindi, ni uko umuntu agenda akishyamba inyuma y’ishyamba, akagira ngo ishyamba rirakomeye kandi nyamara hakomeye nyiraryo wenyine! Akenshi gutahura ibi bintu biraruhije kuko biba birimo urujijo rwinshi (confusion) kuko usanga umuntu n’ishyamba bifatanye. Amateka yonyine niyo ajya abyerekana neza. Habayirimana, Mobutu, Sekou Toure n’abandi, abo bese barangiranye n’amashyamba yabo kandi yari azwi nk’ibigugu. Burya ntabwo byari byo byari baranga! Ibi byose mvuze nagira ngo bidufashe gutera akajisho ku by’iwacu.

F.P.R niyo yateye Kagame kuba umunyagitugu

Kubijyanye n’igitugu kugaragara mu butegetsi bw’u Rwanda, abanyarwanda ubwabo n’amateka, niba mpariye gutanga igisobanuro kirebana n’icyiciro ubu butegetsi bubarizwamo. Mu Rwanda hari ibintu biteye urujijo; hari inyandiko

nyinshi usanga zivugaga ngo « ubutegetsi bwa FPR na Kagame ». Ku ruhande rumwe nta kundi umuntu yabivugaga kuko bombi bari kumwe (niko bigaragara). Ku rundi ruhande ariko, iyo usesenguye neza, usanga abayobozi benshi bo muri FPR nabo ubwabo bayifitiye ubwoba buruta ubwo abo muri FDLR bayifitiye! None se twavugaga ko FPR itinye FPR? Iyo bigeze aho ndaca! Ibyo ari byo byose hari ahandi umuntu yashakira igisubizo. Iki garagara ni uko igitugu cy’Afande cyacengeye kikagera no muri FPR ndani! Ibi byatwe n’iki? Reka tubirebe tunabyibazeho. Dusubiye inyuma gato, usanga amateka ya FPR akubiyemo ibintu bitatu

(3) by’ingenzi ari byo « Amakuba, Ubwoba, n’ikinyoma. » Twibukiranye inkomoko yabyo. Urugamba rwo kubohora u Rwanda rwatangiyeye ku itariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990. Ku munsu wa kabiri urugamba rwatangijwe na FPR rutangiye, uwari umuyobozi mukuru wa byose ayoboye n’urugamba Maj. Gen. Fred Gisa Rwigema yarapfuye arashwe. Nyuma gato hakurikiyeho urupfu rw’abandi bayobozi bakuru mu ngabo. Abo ni Major Bunyenyezi na Peter Bayingana. Ayo ni amakuba ya mbere yaguye kuri FPR n’ingabo zayo za APR. icyakurikiye ayo makuba uretse agahinda, hakurikiyeho ubwoba buzatinda cyane mu mitima ya benshi. Ubu bwoba bwatumye FPR ihinduka cyane bituma ubuzima bwayo bwose igomba kuzajya ikoresha ibinyoma! Mu gihe Kagame yatangiye urugamba bundi bushya nk’umuyobozi mukuru w’ingabo, FPR icyo gihe niwe yari ihanze amaso kuko nk’uko byagaragaye, isura y’intambara ni nayo yahaga FPR umurongo ngenderwaho kugera intsinzi ibonetse. Byongeyeho rero uburyo Kagame yayoboranye igisirikare disipuline nyinshi ikarishye akayinjiza no mu basiviri ba FPR byatumye atinywa cyane bitewe n’ibyo tumaze kubona haruguru abasiviri bashinzwe politiki muri FPR byatumye bahinduka nk’abantu bato cyane imbere ya Kagame babyishyiramo cyane kugeza aho koko biba ukuri! Ibi na none byatumye Kagame agira ububasha butagira umupaka ku basiviri n’abasirikare. Mu mwaka wa 1993 hari umusiviri wakoreraga FPR muri kimwe mu bihugu ku mugabane w’u Burayi (ubu arakorera Leta) yakoze amakosa anyereza amafaranga

ya cyama ariko yaje kwisanga afungirwe mu ndaki ku rugamba nk’umusirikare (kama geshi). Uru ni rumwe mu ngero nyinshi rwerekana neza ko Kagame yahisemo kuyobora abasiviri nk’abasirikare ariko ahanini ari bo babyiteye. Kuba Kagame atinywa cyane bifite indinkomoko ahanini ashingiyeye mu kuba atekereza cyane kimaneko akaba aribyo bituma abasha kumenya ibintu byinshi icyarimwe akamenya n’abantu benshi ariko we ntibamumenye. Iyi “system” yatanze umusaruro mu kubohora u Rwanda ariko yagize ingaruka mbi mu miyoborere y’igihugu akaba ari imwe mu mpamvu zatumye Kaagame ahinduka nk’uko tumubona ubu aho ageze ku rwego rushimishije muri iyo miyoborere nyine iteye ityo!

Kagame na FPR

bahemukiranye babishaka

Abayobozi ba FPR gutinye Kagame ku buryo bukabije byatumye ahinduka “Superman” none Kagame koko asigaye ategereza akanakora nka Superman” (Victims) ba mbere ubu ni FPR, abayobozi ba FPR uretse Kagame wenyine abasigaye bese ashobora kubirukana nk’uko umuntu yirukana umuboyi. Niyo mpamvu muri iki gihugu usangamo ba General na ba Colonel batagira akazi kandi batari no mu kiruhuko cy’iza bukuru. Abasaza nka Mazimpaka na Bihozagara ubu muri iyi myaka y’iza bukuru nkaho FPR yakabayeho ibashimira ibyiza bayikoreye, ubu nibwo batangiye kwiga kwihangira imirimo, umwe agiye kujya asya amabuye mu Bugesera, undi we uretse iby’ubworozi asigaye acuruzaga n’agakomeje! Ibi ntawabwo byari bikwiye kuri bariya basaza nubwo kwikorera atari bibi. Ibintu byo gushyirwa ku gatebe ku Bantu bakoreye FPR amakosa ntibazayashakira kuri Kagame kuko baramuhemukirye batabishakira nawe abashyira ku ruhande kugeza igihe kitazwi. Hari abibaza bati FPR yari gukora iki? Abatekenesiye n’abandi bahanga bo muri FPR ntibagombaga kwemerera Kagame ko ayobora u Rwanda nkuko ayobora ishyamba cyangwa se nkuko yayoboye intambara kuko u Rwanda ni igihugu kandi gitwe na miliyoni zigera ku icumi. Muri uku guhemukirana batabishakira Kagame nawe yahemukirye FPR. Mu ntangiriro FPR yari ishyamba kandi rikomeye none Kagame

Komeza ku urup. 15

IBIMBABAZA

Gucyura impunzi ku ngufu byerekana intege nke

Kimwe mu bintu byakomeje kwigarurira paje za mbere mu binyamakuru bitandukanye mu Rwanda, ni ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ziri muri Uganda, u Rwanda rushakako zitaha mu Rwanda. Impamvu? "Kuko mu Rwanda ari amahoro, nta mpamvu y'abanyarwanda kuba impunzi".

Mu gutangira, hari abajanywe mu Rwanda; nubwo Leta yavugaga ko bataha ku bushake. Benshi muri bo bakomeje kugaragaza ko ari igikorwa cyakozwe ku ngufu. Ni nayo mpamvu byahise bikurikira n'amakuru y'abahise basubiraye, bongeye guhunga. Leta nabwo yaje gutangaza mu buryo bumeze nk'ikinamico ko abasubiyeyo atari abanyarwanda. Birashoboka?

Mbere na mbere, kugira ngo babajyane mu Rwanda, umuryango mpuzamahanga ushinze impunzi, wabaga uzi abagiye. icya mbere kirebwa, ni uko ari abanyarwanda kuko baba bafite amafise abagaragaza. Nta kuntu abanyekongo n'abarundi bari kwisanga mu Rwanda! Ukuri rero ni uko ari abanyarwanda bajanywe mu Rwanda ku ngufu, bagahitamo kongera guhunga. Ndetse ngo hari n'abakomeretse basimbuka amamodoka bashakaguburiraye.

Nta gitangaza kandi kuko amakuru yo kubacyura akimara kuvugwa, bamwe bahise batangaza ko kubasubiza mu Rwanda, ari 'ukubagemurira urupfu'. Ibitangazamakuru bitandukanye harimo n'Umuseso byatangaje iyo nkuru, impunzi zivugira. None ubu hari iminsi ntarengwa, no gusaba ko bakwamburwa 'status' y'impunzi. Mu mategeko sinzi uko bikorwa ariko ikibazo niba gucyura impunzi ku ngufu ari wo muti?

Mbere na mbere, abanyarwanda bahungu u Rwanda babiterwa n'impamvu zitandukanye harimo iza politiki n'izindi zijyanye n'ubukungu ndetse n'imibereho. Ku bijyanye na politiki, urugero, umwuka uri mu Rwanda aho umunyarwanda arengana akabura umurenganura kubera ko akarengane gakorwa na Leta (inzego

za Leta, ishyamba riri ku butegetsi n'abayobozi), umunyarwanda adafite ijamba mu byemezo bimufatirwa cyangwa bifatwa ku bimureba, birakomeye kuba wahagarika abantu guhunga.

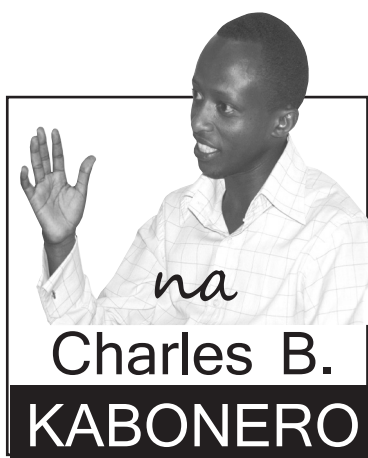
Abanyarwanda bakora imirimo ifite aho ihurira na politiki, uburenganzira bwa muntu n'abandi bagira uko bagaragara muri politiki isaha n'isaha bahura n'ibibazo byatuma bahungu kubera politiki ya Leta ya Kagame yo kutihanganira abatavugurumwe n'ubutegetsi cyangwa ababuvuguruzwa. Kuva mu 1994, FPR ifashe ubutegetsi, abanyarwanda batangiye guhunga kubera impamvu za politiki.

Mu bijyanye n'ubukungu, dufashe urugero rumwe, nyuma y'abayobozi kwigarurira ibikingi mu Mutara, umuturage wari uhatuye wanyazwe ibikingi, yari gukora iki uretse guhunga? (ntabwo ari ugushyigikira ubuhunzi) ariko buri muntu yabyibazaho. Naho se umucuruzi washoye imari akananirwa gucuruza kubera iki-menyanze mu itangwa ry'amasoko n'ibindi? Bamwe bahungu batananiwe gukora ahubwo bananjwe na politiki y'ubukungu iriho mu Rwanda. Ibyo ni ibintu bifite gihamba.

Leta ya Kagame yanze gukora ku buryo habaho 'Liberalism' mu bucuruzi, iniga abanyarwanda ku bijyanye no kugira ijamba mu byemezo bifatwa, bituma abantu bakena batagombye gukena. Ni ingaruka zikomeye za 'capitalism' mbi cyane aho igihugu gifite 'class' y'abantu bake basangira ibyiza by'igihugu, abandi barushaho gukena. Abo bese hari aho bigera bagahitamo guhunga, ngo barebe ko babona aho bakoresha imbaraga zabo bakabaho.

Cyakora, hari n'abahungu ubutabera koko; gacaca n'izindi nkiko. Muri abo harimo abanyabyaha batinye guhanwa koko n'abandi bahungu kubera gutinya kuburanishirizwa mu butabera butigenga; nabyo bigomba kumenyekana.

Abantu bahungu ubutabera kubera jenocide n'ibindi bakwiye gukurikiranwa bakaburanishwa aho bari hose ariko ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali bufite akazi gakomeye ko kwemeza abantu ko imikorere



Charles B.
KABONERO

y'ubutabera bwaho ubwayo itatuma umuntu ahunga ubutabera. Hano ndavugaga no ku bantu bahungu kubera ibindi byaha bitari jenocide-kuko barahari bahisemo guhunga kuko bari bazi ko nta butabera babonera mu Rwanda.

Bityo rero mpereye ku mpamvu za politiki, uko ibintu bimeze ubu, biragoye kwemeza abantu ko mu Rwanda ari amahoro-amahoro arambye yakwizerwa ari uko igihugu kirimo umwuka w'aho umunyarwanda yakora politiki ntabizire, yavugaga icyo atekereza ntabizire, amategeko yubahirizwa impande zose n'ibindi. Ku bijyanye n'ubukungu naho, politiki y'ubukungu igomba kwigwa neza bushya, ikinyoma cy'uko abanyarwanda bese bareshya mu bikorwa nk'ubucuruzi kigasimbuzwa ukuri, bikagaragara koko.

Ibyo nibyo byatuma abari mu gihugu bumva koko nta mpamvu yo guhunga, n'abari hanzu buhoro buhoro bakabimenya, bakaba bakwicyura. Gahunda yo gucyura abantu ku ngufu uretse no kuba idashoboka, ntabwo ari ikimenyetso cy'imbaraga, ni ikimenyetso cy'intege nke muri politiki. Imbaraga nyazo ni ukwemeza n'abari mu gihugu ko umutekano uhari koko.

Umutekano ntabwo

ari ukuba nta ntambara mu gihugu. Umutekano mu bijyanye n'ubukungu; aho umunyarwanda adakeneshwa na 'system' nkuko bimeze ubu, umunyarwanda afite ijamba mu bimukorerwa bituma yiteze imbere koko. Umutekano nyawo uzumvikana igihe Leta izaba ishora amafaranga menshi mu iterambere, aho gushora amafaranga yari agenewe iterambere mu gisirikare cyane cyane ibikorwa byo kuneka abaturage bikorera bashakira imibereho.

Kugeza ubu, umutekano Leta ya Kagame ivugaga, ni ushingiyeye ku kuba imipaka irinzwe, nta ntambara, nta bacengenzi barimo gutera, n'ibindi nk'ibyo ariko umutekano urenze ibyo. Umutekano w'ibiribwa, ubukungu, na politiki ntabwo uhari mu by'ukuri mu Rwanda. Kwiga neza politiki y'ibyo bintu, abanyarwanda bakemererwa kubivugaho uko biri no gukosora amakosa akomeje gukorwa ubu,

byagaragaza imbaraga kurusha gucyura abantu ku ngufu no kwangiza igihe bajya kubamburaza 'status' z'ubuhunzi. None se bazabikora ku isi aho abanyarwanda bagiye bahungira? Leta yahagarika indi mirimo.

Gukomeza gutsimbarara ku kinyoma cy'uko mu Rwanda ibintu bimeze neza ni ukwangiza igihe kuko nkuko Martin Luther King yabivuze muri disikuru ze nyinshi (zibukwa cyane), ngo "Umunara w'isi ni muremure, ariko usoza uhengamira ku kuri". Ukuri Leta ya Kagame ihisha ubu, kuzagera aho kugaragara. Ni byiza kukureba ubu, ingamba zigafatwa, aho kwangiza umwanya mu bitesha agaciro ubutegetsi-nko gushakira gucyura abantu ku ngufu-isi yose isigara yibaza impamvu abantu bagoomba gucyurwa ku ngufu iwabo. Birababaje!

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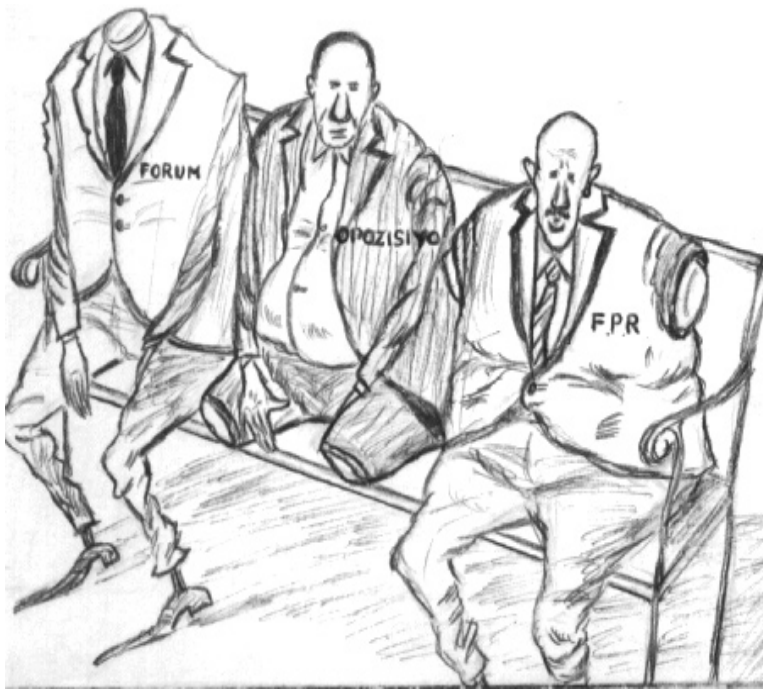
Ni iki cyateye Kagame kuba umunyagitugu?

Ibikurikira urup. 13

yayihindumye umushinga ubyara inyungu! Niyo mpamvu yirukana abantu bakagenda batabonye n'imigabane yabo! Kuba Kagame amaze gutandukana n'abantu benshi, bitanga isura yuko FPR ubu iramutse igiye mu matora Kagame adahari nta shyamba na rimwe yatsinda na PDI ya Musa Fazil ntiyayikura imbere.

Amahirwe ni uko nyine nta mashyamba ahari (ariko azaza). Abantu bakunda FPR muzibaze ku ishyamba rya ANC iyo bareka Tabo Mbeki akikorera uko yabishakaga ubu riba rigeze he? Na Jacob Zuma nazana imikino nawe azajya ku ruhande, kandi urugendo rukomeze. Ishyamba ntabwo ari umuntu, ishyamba ni amahame abwirwa benshi...

Guhemurira hagati ya Kagame na FPR byishe politiki y'u Rwanda 'abari abanyepolitiki beza cyangwa abari kuzaba bo, byahindutse umwaku! Ubu bose icyo barangamiye ni ifaranga, imibereho myiza y'abenegihugu ntuyibabaze. Jyewe byanteye ub-



Politiki mu Rwanda hose ifite ubumuga

woba kumva Kagame yivugira ko asigaye agerageza abategesi bamwe akabahindurira imyanya atari uko aho bimuriwe bagiye gukora neza ahubwo ngo ari uburyo bwo kureba ko bagabanyiririra bafite (Appetit). Birababaje koko! Appetit mu mutungo

n'imisoro y'abanyarwanda? Sinasozwa iyi nyandiko nterekanye isura ibabaje u Rwanda dusigire n'abarubohoje. Nimwitegereze "Forum" imeze nk'umuntu ufite amaguru n'amaboko gusa, umutwe barawuciyeye. Ibitekerezo bya Kagame nibyo nayo

yiyitirira; watekereza ute udafite umutwe. Abatavugaga rumwe na Leta (opposition) bibera hanze y'u Rwanda ntibashobora gukandagira hano. Ishyamba rimwe rimaze kwemererwa gukora PS Imbere kuri haracyari kare nta cyo twarivugaho muri iki gihe. Rero uwavugaga ko opposition imeze nk'umuntu ufite umutwe (ibitekerezo) n'amaboko ariko akaba yaracitse amaguru ntabwo yaba yibeshye cyane. Muri cya gitugu cy'ikoranabuhanga na FPR cyayigezeho da! Muri kwa kwigizayo abanyamuryango b'imena n'abasirikare bakuru ari nabyo bitera abandi guhunga igihugu, ibi byose nibyo biha FPR iyo sura mureba y'umuntu ugifite umutwe n'amaguru, ariko nawe akaba acitse amaboko yombi! Ngiryo ikoranabuhanga mu gitugu.

Amateka: Kagame azibukwa ate?

Mu kinyamakuru umuseso No. 367 harimo inyandiko igira iti: Kagame azibukwa ate n'amateka? Iyo nyandiko

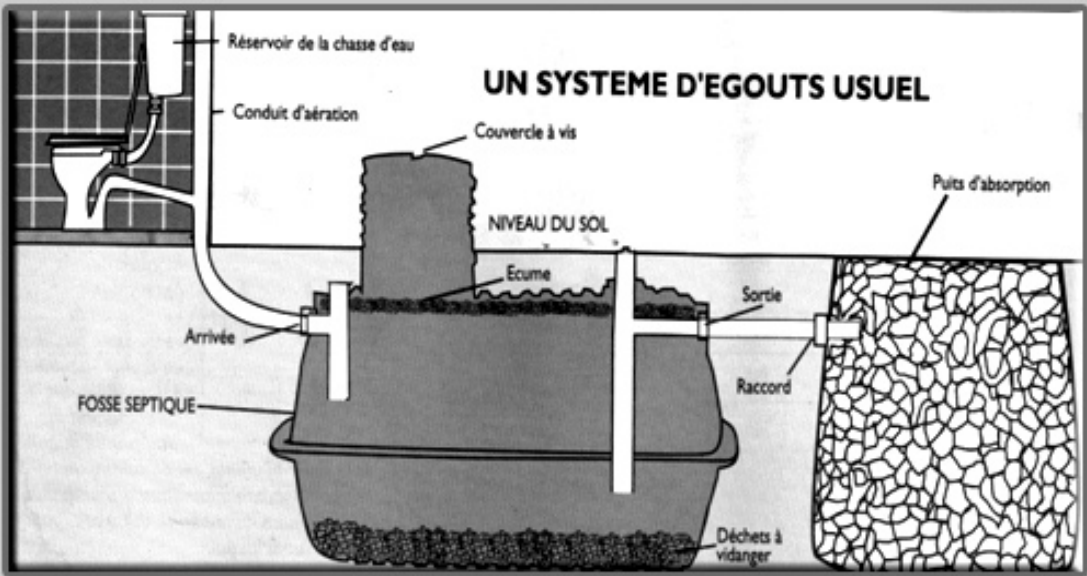
sinyigarukaho yatumye nanjye nshakisha ibizajya binyibutsa Kagame. Kagame nzahora mwibuka nk'umunyafurika wakoze amateka atangaje kandi nk'umwe muri bamaneko n'abasirikare beza babayeho ku isi. Ikindi nzahora mwibukiraho ni uburyo bwe bwihariye bwo kuyobora. Ubu buryo nibwo umwe mu bayobozi bakuru b'igihugu cy'u Burusiya yiganyeye. uwo ni uwitwaga Vladimir Poutine. Igihugu cy'u Burusiya kiyoborwa na Peresida witwaga "Medvedev" uyu Poutine rero we ni Minisitiri w'intebe ariko niwe ukora gahunda zose zikomeye zireba igihugu ahasigaye Perezida agasinye gusa. Iyi "Style" rero inyibutsa Kagame akiri Vice-President nawe gahunda z'igihugu niwe wazipangaga Bizimungu nawe agasinye. Abahanga mu gusesengura bemeza ko ari cyo cyatumye yegura kuko ngo yasanze iyi Style itabaho kuba Poutine yariganyeye Kagame sinzabyibagirwa dore ko bese babaye bamaneko bakomeye.

No.1 in Rwanda

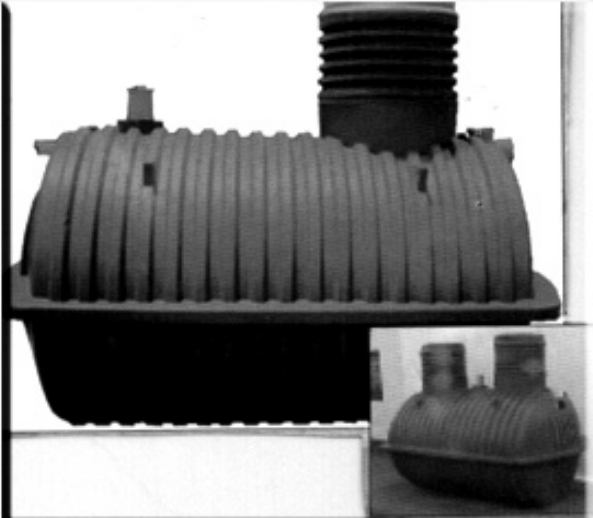


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FOSSES SEPTIQUES



UN SYSTEME D'EGOUTS USUEL





ROTO s.a.r.l. Kicukiro hateganye na Dallas Petrol Station
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FLAME TREE BRANDS SARL



AYA MAVUTA MEZA YA
ZOE MWAYABONA KU
BIPIMO BITANDUKANYE

- 1: 600 ml
- 2: 400 ml
- 3: 200 ml
- 4: 100 ml

ZOE NI UBUZIMA

FLAME TREE BRANDS SARL BP 6472, KICUKIRO, KIGALI RWANDA, MOB 0788306502, 0788536130 Email :flametreerwanda@mtnonline.rw

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PLASTIC WATER TANKS

