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## FACE A

**Orateur : NAHIMANA Ferdinand, membre fondateur de la RTLM.** 0.0

... uko intambara yag... yagenze, iteka igihe FPR yabonaga iri mu mazi abira, abasirikari b'Abanyarwanda bayishushubikanyije, iteka yasabaga guhagarika intambara. Abaturage ba hariya baravuga bati «yari amacenga», ayo ni yo macenga. Ariko cyane cyane bakavuga bati «dore ejobundi nyuma y'ukwezi kwa kabiri hari igihe rwose abasirikare bacu bari bahag...k... bahagurukiye inta... ii... Inkotanyi, bagiye kuzimenesha.

Muribuka ko icyo gihe uwari Ministre w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga NGULINZIRA Bonifasi, yaravuze ati «intambara irahagaze, ntihagire umusirikare w'u Rwanda uva mu byimbo bye». Mbese aba... abaturage baravuga bati «kuva uwo muntu yavuga iringo jambo ni ho icyo bise «zone tampon» mu... iwanyu aho ngaho mu gifaransa, i... ki... icyo bise «akarere katarangwamo n'igisikare» kavutse. Bati «umuntu witwa TWAGIRAMUNGU yatanze Byumba na Ruhengeri, umugabo witwa NGULINZIRA atanga zone tampon ayiha ee... ayiha FPR». 1.1

Noneho kuva ubwo, abaturage bakavuga bati «rwose iyo abanyapolitiki bacu bamenya amacenga ya FPR, bari ukumva.. ko igihe iteka bavuze ngo «niduhagarike intambara bashaga kugira ngo bisuganye, bashaka kugira ngo babone aho barib... bahagarara bagire ibirindiro, bagire n'aho bajya». Ubwo rero abaturage bakavuga bati «kuva icyo gihe ngo zone tampon... kuva iki... igihe bavugaga ngo «intambara irarangiye», ni ho na none ya masezerano y'Arusha, ya masezerano ya Kinihira yatangiye ..kuvugigwa».

Nyamara twebwe abaturage turi mu kangaratete, bati «namwe mwirebere bavuze ngo zone tampon, iyo zone tampon, Préfet wa Byumba, Préfet wa Ruhengeri ntibashobora gutanga... gukandagizamo ikirenge. Nta mu Subusiti, nta mu Procureur, nta Mugenzacyaha ntaki, ushabora kuge... guta... gukandagizamo ikirenge. Bourgmestre aho bari, ntabwo ashobora kurindwa n'abasirikare, n'abapolisi bafite imbunda.

Umupolisi ntashobora kubona ikintu kibangamiye umutekano ngo ashobore kugira icyo akora. Baravuze bati « aw... a... n'abapolisi baba bari hariya muri muri zone tampon, bajye bitwaza ibibando». Ikibando se wowe GAHIGI cyangwa Kantano,...

**Orateur : GAHIGI Gaspard, journaliste de la RTLM.**

- (arakoroye)

- ...icyo kibando cya... ki... i...i....i...i...i... cyakora iki?...

- Arik e... na...

- ... Icyo kibando cyakiza «Ababurugumestres»?

- ...nagira ngo nkuce mu ijambo ku byerekeye zone tampon, izo zones tampons mu kinyarwanda baravuze ngo «ni akarere katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare». Kandi kuva ibyo bintu byavugwa, byakwitwa gutyo FPR ntiyigeze ihava.

- Hum.

- **Kandi abasirikare b'u Rwanda bo barahavuye.**

- Hum.

- **Ku bwawe kuki FPR yahagumye? Leta y'u Rwanda yarabyamaganye,**

- Hniii...

- **Communauté internationale, ndavuga amahanga,...**

- Hum.

- ...yarabyamaganye, kugeza aho noneho i... ako karere FPR isa nk'iyakigaruriye. Ku bwawe kuki ari GOMN, wa Mutwe w'abasirikare utagira aho ubogamiye, ari Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatereranye ako karere ikakabarekera kugeza ubu?

- Hum.

- **Ku bwawe byatewe n'iki?**

- Umva...

- **Bakarekera iyo kugeza igihe FPR ikagize akayo, (kujijinganya) njye ntabwo nigeze numva, ari Communauté internationale, ari Gouvernement y'u Rwanda, ibyo bintu ivuga iti ni ko bimeze, ...**

- Hum.

**- ...kugeza ubu.**

- Ubwo usa n'u... umbajije ikibazo nari nakomojeho gato sinagitindaho, ni uko huh, ya macenga nyine. Ndavuga nti, kariya karere bise..., navuze ko ari abanyapolitiki bo mu Rwanda na FPR, bakise ngo «ni akarere katarangwamo ibin... ibikogwa.. bya gisirikare». Abasirikari b'u Rwanda ari n'aba FPR ntibagombaga kubamo, ariko kuko abasikare b'u Rwanda bazwiho kugira discipline, barababwiye bati «muhagarare aho ngaho», kuva igithe NGULINZIRA yavuze ati «intambara irarangiye», rwose abasirikare b'u Rwanda ntabwo bateye intambwe. Ahubwo muzi ko nyuma baravuze bati «nimusubire aho mwari muri mbere yo ku... yo... y'ukwezi kwa kabiri», abasirikare b'u Rwanda basubiye aho bari bari mbere y'ukwezi kwa kabiri. Ariko Inkotanyi koko nk'uko umaze kubivuga, ntizavuyemo, ntizavuye aho hantu bise zone tampon. Ut «kuki»...

**- Batereye iyo baga** (deux voix en même temps)...

- ...»batereye iyo»? Batereye iyo kuko mu by'ukuri wagira ngo abategetsi b'iki gihugu, abanyapolitiki b'iki gihugu, wagira ngo kariya karere kuri bo ntacyo kavuze? Baragat... baragatanze kuko abaturage, nabikubwira, abaturage baratakambye. Numvise nimugoroba Perezida wa MRND avuga ati «Comité Nyobozi ya MRND yi.hi...tabaje Ministre w'Intebe atwakira incuro eshatu, tumubwira ko rwose muri kariya karere abaturage nta mutekano bafite. Abaturage bari bamaze iminsi bavuga bati «dore Inkotanyi rwose ibirindiro byazo biri hariya, Inkotanyi ziragenda aho zishaka zigakora igikorwa kibi ziki... zigashimuta abaturage, zikica kanaka, mwumvise ibiri Bwisige n'ahandi. Premier Ministre n... ntacyo yigeze akora.

Ntuza Comité ya MRND m... mu karere ka Ruhengeri na yo yitabaje ee... Ministre w'Intebe, baramubwira ndetse bigera igithe bamubwiye bati «twumvise ko ee... ukunze guhura n'abantu bo muri FPR, wagiye i Kinihira, wagiye ee... sinzi niba ku Mulindi yaragiyeyo ntabwo mbyibuka neza ariko umenza yaragiyeyo.

**Orateur : HABIMANA Kantano, journaliste de la RTLM. (②)**

- ② Hum, yagiyeyo.
- Turabasa... turagusaba ko ahubwo kuko uretse iby'i Bwisige, ejobundi Inkotanyi zateye, zaje mu isoko rya Rugarama, muri kariya karere ka Kidaho na Nkumba. Zigeze mu isoko zimenesha

abanyasoko, bati «wowe Ministre w'Intebe, Madamu Agata UWILINGIYIMANA, uzaze aho hantu ukoreshe inama abakuru ba FPR uzabatumire, abo mu Rwanda ubatumire, noneho ubihanangirize, wihanangirize cyane cyane abo ba FPR ko bariho barica ime... amasezerano». Umugore ati ndagacibwa ibere, ntabwo yigeze ajya...ajya yo. 6.9

Niyewe nkumva ko ee... mu magambo make, hari uburangare, uburangare bw'abanyapolitiki bacu, uburangare bw'aba...bategetsi bacu. Cyokora abategetsi bacu aha ngaha nkavuga nti, ko babujije Préfet se kujyayo, ari uwa Byumba ari uwa Ruhengeri, bakabuza Subusititi, bakabuza iki nk'uko nabivugaga mu kanya, ntabwo ari uguca ku mategeko ubutegetsi bwabahaye. Ariko noneho abategetsi bakuru, abo ngabo bafite uburenganzira bwo kuhajya ndabona b...b... bafite uburangare buk... bu...bu... bukabije, bukabije ku buryo babishyize mu masezerano ye.

Nibuka rwose ayo masezerano, n... ndiho ndasubiza ikibazo cyawe. Ndibuka ayo masezerano ee... ukuntu MRND yavuze iti «harimo ibintu byinshi bifutamye», kugeza igihe ndetse yigaragambije mu kwezi kwa... kwa mbere, umugabo rwose TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI.ii... n'Abakombozi bati «MRND yanze amahoro». Inkotanyi zibyumva bwangu ziratera ngo «MRND yanze amahoro».

Bariya bagabo rero, ubu barabona ko koko muri ariya masezerano harimo... hari harimo ibintu bifutamye byinshi cyane, byinshi cyane. Ejo abaturage baravugaga bati (arimyoje) «iyo dushaka kumva tuba twarumvise», abanyapolitiki ee... baravuze ngo... bakunze kubwira MRND ngo «ni umuti» ngo «turawuvuguse» ngo «ni umuti» ngo «ugomba kuwunywa». Abantu bawe bo b... b... bakoyobotse ngo «ni umuti bagomba kuwunywa». Bati «iyo tubyumva neza tuba twarabyumvise», kuko ubundi umuti w'umuvugutano,...

- **Hhnii.**

- ( asek ) ...umuti w'umuvugutano urica.

- **Heheh.**

- Urira, umuti w'umuvugutano urica,...

- **Eee.**

- ...burya ni uburozi. Ubwo burozi rero abaturage b... ba hariya haruguru bariho barawu... bara...

babunywa, ubwo burozi bwabamaze.

- **Hum.**

- Ni bwo bwabishe,...

- **Hum.**

- ...kuko nibuze uretse ko n... mu rwego rwa politiki, n'ababuvuguse ntabwo buri kubarebera izuba. Murabona akavu... akaduruvayo kari mu mashyaka. Ee... icyakora.. icyo umuntu yavuga ni uko (arimyoje), ee... iyo tureba kure tuba twaraku... tu... twararebye ukuntu ariya masezerano tuyadoda mu buryo buri wese yumva aboneye, naho ubundi uko ateye barayasinye, bamaze kuyasinya, abaya... i... abayandikishije bakanayasinyisha ni bo ba mbere batari kuyakurikiza.

Urumva se bimateye agahinda?

9.6

- **Hum, ariko mu byerekeye kariya karere, nagira ngo na Kantano twakunze koherezayo na we aze kugira icyo avuga. Wavuze ibantu bitatu njye numvise, uti «akarere baragatereranye», uti «hari uburangare bw'abategetsi»,...**

- **Hum.**

- ...uti «**kandi hari n'amacenga ya FPR**».

- **Ni koko.**

- **Kariya karere rero hari abantu bavuga bati «FPR no muri ayo masezerano uvuga uti «iyo tuyadoda ku buryo atu... atubera twese», hari abantu bavuga bati «amasezerano adoze ahubwo ku buryo FPR yo izabonamo inyungu zayo buri gihe».**

- **Hum.**

- **Iti «ni yo mpamvu»... abatekereza batyo bati «ni yo mpamvu FPR yashatse kariya karere ku buryo bukomeye». Kantano yagiye mu matora, areba umuntu FPR yashatse gushyiramo abategetsi bayo buri gihe, bakavuga bati «FPR ntabwo amasezerano iyemera, ahubwo ishaka kugira kariya karere ku buryo n'iyo yatsindwa amatora yaba yashy... yarakagize akayo,...**

- **Hnu,**

- ...ku buryo yakagira imbata yayo».

- **Hhum.**

- **I... ku bwawe ubona i... iyo analyse ariyo? Ubona abantu batehereza batyo ari byo? Ku**

- Yagamije iki rero?
- **Ni byo nagira ngo njyewe ..vugeho,...**
- Ee...
- **Hum.**
- Ubundi mu gifaransa muramfasha «kubitraduisa» mu g... nako kubihindura mu kinyarwanda. Ee... hhumh, le... maquisard n'a pas de moral politique international.
- **Hum.**
- Invf... inhn... nta shingiro, ntan... i... i... iyo utangiye kuvuga uti amategeko mpuzamahanga a... ategeka atya, umuntu w'inyeshyamba ntabwo abiz... abi... abikurikizo.. uko abyumva.
- **Njye ariko ntaguciye mu ijambo Arusha na Kantano twarajyanaga,...**
- Hum.
- **...buri gihe iyo ubwiye FPR uti «dore amategeko uko avuga»,...**
- Hum.
- **FPR iravuga iti «iyo amategeko nyemera simba narateye».**
- Ihanh.
- **Nta nyeshyamba rero yemera amategeko koko.**
- Eh, urumva rero aho ngaho,...
- **Aa... ni ko batubwiraga Arusha...**
- Hum.
- **...ngira ngo Kantano...**
- Hhee.
- **... yambera umugabo,**

**Orateur : HABIMANA Kantano, journaliste de la RTLM. (②)**

16.1

- ② Uhum. (Inaudible: deux voix à la fois)...
- **Baravuga bati «niba ayo mategeko ari ko ameze ni cy... in... ni yo tuba tuyemera ntituba twarateye».**
- Hhuh.
- **Bati «turashaka rero ko avaho».**

- ② Hnuhum.
- **Yee... ni ko bavuga muri FPR. Ntabwo... ni inyeshyamba koko, inyeshyamba ntabwo zemera amategeko ariho.**
- ② E... ariko Bwana NAHIMANA ntaguciye mu ijambo, ee... tuhereye.. kuri biriya bitero byo... mu... byo mu Ruhengeri, njye ntabwo ndi Umunyaruhengeri wowe uri Umunyaruhengeri. Bon, kandi tuzi ko KANYARENGWE ngo ari Perezida wa FPR. Koko niba ari Perezida wa FPR, kugaba ibitero byo gutsema Abanyaruhengeri abifitemo iyihe nyungu?
- **Ahubwo agomba kuba avuka muri komini imwe na NAHIMANA.**
- ② Ngaho.
- Hiih. (Byo guseka)
- **(arasetse)**
- Yee... KANYARENGWE... KANYARENGWE be... uretse no kuvuka muri komini imwe na njye ahubwo tuvuka no ku gasozi kamwe. Ee... ariko mbere yo kugira ngo nsubize iki...bazo cya Kantano ndagira ngo manze.. nsubize icya GAHIGI.
- ② Yee.(inaudible)
- Mvuge ko kuba FPR yarataye nyine ni uku... kwerekana ko kuri yo ntabwo yubahiriza amategeko nyine ariho.
- Icy a kabiri: urau.uu... GAHIGI wavye uti «kuki yateye ndetse ikibasira abantu batowe»? Si ko wambajije?
- **Iihim.**
- Nagira ngo nkubwire ko ee... FPR démocratie yayo iri kure. Nubwo yateye ivuga ngo izanye démocratie kwari u... bwari u... bwari uburyo bwo kugira ngo abantu cyane cyane abazungu bayikunde bavuga bati, hariya mu Rwanda hari Umutwe urnwe wa politiki, Guverinoma ishingiye ku.u... ku... ku Mutwe umwe wa politiki, none bariya bantu bazanye politiki ishingiye ku mashaka.. menshi, politiki twavuga ya démocratie. Kwari ugushaka kwikundisha mu rubuga mpuzamahanga.

Ariko iyo urebye, ejobundi abantu batowe batowe ku mugaragaro bakurikije amabwiriza ya r... ya... ya Kinihira. Hum... batowe abantu ba FPR bahari, abantu bahagarariye Gouvernement rw... y'u Rwanda bahari ndetse n'abantu navuga bari bagiye ku... kurebera uko amatora ameze,

namwe abanyamakuru mwagiyeyo. Ayo matora yabaye meza.

Noneho rero, nk'ibyabaye i Burundi, bariya bantu,...

- **Ahubwo n'i... n'i... cyo nashatse kuvuga...**

- (inaudible)

- **...hari abantu bavuga bati ee...«Perezida NDADAYE bamwishe amaze gutorwa», bati «none FPR na yo muri kariya karere yishe abantu batowe», bati «urebye ubigereranyije» bati «ni kimwe».**

- **Yee. Ubwo** rero i... i... ngiye gusoza iki... i... igisubizo cy'ikibazo cyawe, binteye kujya ku kibazo cya... cya... hi... hnum... HABIMANA Kantano. Ee... mu by'ukuri, bariya bantu bitwa FPR-Inkotanyi, namwe ejon...ndi... nimugoraba mwa... mwabivuze, ari Kantano, ari nawe GAHIGI. Ikintu... kandi nabivuze kenshi, ikintu kigiye kwica iki gihugu ni ugushaka kutavugisha ukuri.

Inkotanyi zigizwe hafi mirongo cyenda ku ijana n'Abatutsi. I... iyo mfashe ibyabaye i Burundi, navuga ko ari kimwe n'ibyabaye hariya haraguru.. ejo...hg... mu ijoro ry'e... ry'e... ry'ejobundi ri... rishyira ejo hashize. Kuko navuga ko Abatutsi b'i Burundi ntabwo b... bemera na gato ko umuntu utowe, cyane iyo abaye Umuhutu ashobora gutegeka.

Hariya haraguru.. rero na ho, muri Nyamugali, Cyeru, Kidaho, ee... na Nkumba, ntabwo FPR igizwe n'Abatutsi benshi bemera ko umuntu utari uwabo ategeka. Ni na yo mpamvu nyine bibasiye abantu bari batowe kugira ngo abo ngabo bari bafite icyizere cy'abaturage bahave, noneho abo FPR ishaka gutoresha bazatore... bazatorwe.

Ariko umuntu akibaza ati ese, batwiciye abantu mu kwezi kwa... kuva m... ku... m... mu kwezi kwa cumi kw'igihumbi magana cyenda mirongo cyenda. Cyane cyane biba agahoma munwa mu kwezi kwa kabiri kw'uyu mwaka wa mirongo cyenda na gatatu, none bikubitiyemo ko twari tugize agahenge, bibasiye abo twari tumaze kwitorera. Abo baturage bo bibwira ko ari ibicucu ku... ku buryo bazatora abo FPR izazana? Ahubwo bakwemera gupfa aho kugira ngo batore abo bantu b'abishi babo.

Hnu... Kantano rero ati «si ndi Umunyaruhengeri, wowe uri Umunyaruhengeri, uriya mugabo KANYARENGWE, Perezida wa FPR ashaka kugera kuki yicisha bene wanyu?...bi... yibisha bene yabo»?

**- Ariko wenda Kantano yanyihanganira ukamusubiza nyuma, bishe abantu b'abakandida n'abari batowe.**

- Hnum.

**- Ku bwawe démocratie ishingiye ku matora muri ako karere iracyashobotse?**

- Ku bwanjye ee... démocratie ishingiye ku matora, igihe cyose FPR izaba ari FPR tuzi, ari FPR itaraza ngo ijye mu ruhando, mu nkubiri ya démocratie yuzuye, ntabwo amatora ashobora kubone... u... u...g... b... ntashobora kubaho muri kariya karere, ntabwo ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri démocratie bushobora kubaho. Kuko iteka uwo tuzatora muri kariya karere adashimishije FPR, bazaza bamuce umutwe.

Numvise Generali DALLAIRE avuga ko mu byumweru bibiri, umenya ari ko yavuze, mu minsi cumi mu minsi cumi, ko azagerageza gu... gushyira umutekano wose wari uraho muri kariya karere. Ariko twibuke ko DALLAIRE afite abasirikari bakeya, ndetse nk'uko mumaze kubivuga, nk... ni... niba koko inkuru ari impamo, kandi ndakeka ko mwabivuze mumaze ku... u... kubigenzura, mu... mwamaze ku... wowe GAHIGI umaze kuvuga uti «hari umu...ntu bamaze kubona kuri Minisiteri y... y'i...

**- Y'Ubutegetsi bw'Ighugu.**

- ...y'Ubutegetsi bw'Ighugu (ibi babihurijeho), wambaye akagofero k'aba MINUAR, k'abasirikari ba ... ba ba... ba ONU». Ubwo se izo Nkotanyi nizambara iyo myenda ya «kiONU», bakaza bakajya... nkababona ku... bakajya ku irembo ry'umuturage, umuturage a... azananirwa kumwugururira imyugariro?

**- Ahubwo ni zo mpungenge dufite.**

22.5

- Eheh! Ubwo rero urumva ko icyo gihe niba bimeze uko biri, izo Nkotanyi, izo FP... iyo FPR itemeye kuza mu nkubiri y'amashyaka... y'amashyaka muri démocratie yuzuye, ni uku... ni inzozi kuvuga ngo tuzatora noneho utowe ategake, ategake mu mutekano muri kariya karere.

**- Reka noneho tugere ku kibazo cya Kantano. KANYARENGWE usa n'umaze bene wabo,**

**i... urabivuga ho iki? Ni ikibazo cya Kantano.**

- Yee, navugaga nyine ko «KANYARENGWE ni Umunyaruhengeri», avuka muri Gatonde, ariko nababwira ko mu iperereza twakoze muri iyi minsi, KANYARENGWE twasanze ahubwo ari mwene wanyu wo muri Murambi.

- Oya,...

- Ee... ya...

- **Ndagira ngo nkubwire ko muri Murambi yahatuye nyuma n'ubu umuryango ni ho uri, yahazanye nyina , ahagura isambu a... yi... fite n'abana, ariko yaje aturutse muri Gatonde.**

- Eee, yaturutse muri Gatonde, ntaho tumwiakana ndake (deux: voix en même temps)...

- **Cyoko... cyokora afite urugo i Murambi.**

- Ndashaka ku... kugira ngo nkubwire...

- **(Atwenge)**

- ...gusa ko ifishi ya KANYARENGWE itakiri muri Gatonde.

- ② Hum.

- Ubu ngubu iri muri Murambi.

- **Nta kibazo aduteye...**

- Nta kibazo.

- **Ibibazo aduteye natwe turabizi.**

23.7

- Nya... kandi ibyo turabisangiyе.

- **(Araseka)**

- Ubwo rero icyo navuga na cyo cyabera isomo KANYARENGWE. KANYARENGWE mu kwezi kwa kabiri, muzi ko Abanyarwanda twese twahagurutse ndetse n'Umuryango Mpuzamahanga, n'Imiryango Iharanira Uburenganzira bw'Ikiremwa Muntu hano mu Rwanda n'e... no mu mahanga barahaguruka bati «Inkotanyi zamaze abantu». Abantu babaza KANYARENGWE bati «KANYARENGWE, kuki umaze Abanyarwanda»? Icyo n...cy... kuko iyo Umunyaruhengeri apfuye, Umunyagisenyi yapfuye, Umunyabyumba apfuye, Umunyakibuye apfuye ni Umunyarwanda. Icyo kibazo barakimubajije, «kuki wamaze Abanyarwanda»?

- Icyo kabiri : «kuki noneho muri abo Banyarwanda wibasiye bene wanyu»? Ati «rwose ndagashahurwa» ati «ntabwo njyewe nohereje Inkotanyi zanjye kwica Abanyaruhengeri, kwica Abanyarwanda», ati «ni abasirikare ba HABYALIMANA».

Ibyo ngibyo iteka... namumbonye no kuri Télévision y'u Rwanda, a... i... n'i... n'i... n'icyo yashyiraga imbere. Akavuga ati «mu kwezi kwa kabiri rwose Inkotanyi zanje ntawo zigeze zica». None rero, ubu ngubu arabihakana ate? Yahakana ate ko abasirikari b'u Rwanda, ntawo ari aba HABYALIMANA, abasirikare b'u Rwanda ko bari aho bababwiye kuba.

Umutu... abaturage... abacitse ku icumu ejobundi, ejo biriirwaga... biriwe bavuga bat «ni Inkotanyi twiriwe tuzibona mu tsi... hnun... mu.uu... mu isoko. Twiriwe tubabona hariya mu muhanda, mu Nkotanyi. KANYARENGWE rero, niba adashoboye «gukontolora» izo Nkotanyi ze, niba yemera ko atica, inkot... izo Nkotanyi zikaba zaram... zaramutannye zikamu... zikarenga ku mategeko atanga, njye namugira inama, namugira inama yuko yakwegura kuri... kuba e... Perezida w'iriya.. shyaka... ye... nako, w'uriya Mutwe w'u... nta n'ubwo ari ishyaka, uriya Mutwe way... wa gisirikari, akemera akavuga ati «ndatashye mvuye muri FPR, cyangwa se ndi muri FPR ariko ndetse kuba u... Perezida wa FPR, mbeho aho kugira ngo nkomeze kwit... kwitwa ruvumwa, nkomeze kwita... kwitwa umwicanyi.

Kuko ee... numvise mu minsi ishize ko hari abasore cumi na batatu bavuka muri Ndusu, mu karere k'u Bukonya nyine KANYARENGWE avukamo. Abantu baravuze bat «rero Abakonya mwabaye FPR». Twaje ku... kubaririza, nanje ubwanje nigiriye mu Mataba, nigiriye muri Ndusu, nigiriye e... mu...duce twinshi twa... twa commune Ndusu, naganiye na Bourgmestre ndetse n'Abakonseye, bambwiye ko aba basore... ntaho nti «ni byo koko bari bagiye muri FPR». Mais, abo basore ni bantu ki? Ni babandi n'ubundi bafunzwe mu makomini, ugasanga ba se bari muri MRND cyangwa muri CDR, ariko abo basore barabananiye. Noneho nkavuga nti «ese» nti «mwa bantu mwe», abo nagiye mpura na bo, «koko mugiye kuvuga ko m... ejobundi KANYARENGWE agiye gutaha ngo ni uko ari mwene wanyu wavukiye ino, mugiye kuvuga muti ee... KANYARENGWE oye, FPR oye, ee... FPR ramba»? Bati «ntibishoboka», ubu tugiyen guhinduka tube FPR. I... FPR bivuga iki? Umutwe w'Abanyarwanda kandi bakurikije amateka y'iki gihugu, FPR ntaho itanduk... nta... ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi.

27.3

**- (inaudible) Inyenzi rero ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi? Reka nkomeze ikibazo cya Kantano kandi kuri KANYARENGWE,...**

- Hum.
- ...**FPR ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi mu mateka wenda wabisobanurira abatwumva, icyo FPR ipfana n'Inyenzi.**
- Hum.
- **KANYARENGWE yazijemo ate?**
- Bon. Ndamanza.. ku kibazo cya mbere, FPR ntaho itanduyi.. ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi,...
- **Kandi KANYARENGWE yarwanyije Inyenzi : deux voix à la fois)...**
- Yarazirwanije (deux voix à la fois) Inyenzi. Hum.
- **Noneho udusobanurire rero uko yaje kuba Perezida wabo.**
- (aseka) Ee... FPR ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi, kuko e... Inyenzi ni na bo bazi... impunzi zahunze u Rwanda Abanyarwanda nyamwinshi, rubanda nyamwinshi imaze gukora révolution yo muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda, ubwami buvuyeho, Repubulika ishingiye kuri démocratie ishi... ihawe intebé muri iki gihugu. Abanze ku... kwinjira muri Repubulika, abanze kuyoboka démocratie bafata inzira barahunga.

Abadutera i... ntibyateye kabiri muri mirongo itandatu na kabiri kugeza muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi, abo bari bahunze bashatse kugira ngo Repubulika nshyashya bayisimbuze ubutegetsi bwa cyami bwa mbere. Baratera ibitero byica abantu, ariko ee... icyo gihe u Rwanda rwari rumaze kugira ee... umutwe w'ingabo ee... armée nationale... garde nationale.

- **Eee...**
- Abo bana b'igihugu bakora uko bashoboye bahashya ibyo bitero, ku buryo muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi Inyenzi zahagaze.

Bategereje... bari... baragiye barisuganya, muzi ko ku bi... za mirongo itandatu na karindwi bari bafite urebye icyicaro cyabo muri Uganda. Umuntu wahaye agahenge u Rwanda ni OBOTE. OBOTE asenya mbese icyo nakwita «quartier général» ya... y'Inyenzi.

- **Ariko no mu Burundi ubanza bari bariyo.**
- Yee... oya no mu Burundi... hirya no hino bari bariyo, ariko urebye ee... aho bakoreraga cyane ni muri Uganda. Igihe ntaza OBOTE yabwiye KIGELI ati «mvira aha». Mwaba.. bari bafatanyije KIGELI ava muri... muri Uganda ajya muri.ii...

**- Kenya.**

- ...muri Kenya. Abandi bamwe bava aho ngaho bajya muri za Canada bajya ahandi he... hirya no hino. Mu by'ukuri mbese iny... umutwe w'Inyenzi icyo gihe wabaye nk'ujegajeze ariko bakomeza kwisuganya hafi imyaka makumyabiri n'i... ubwo twavuga makumyabiri n'i... n'itanu hafi. Bon. Ee... ni... mu uko kwisuganya nanone, bisuganije bavuga bati «ahatubera hafi ni muri... muri Uganda». Ubwo hagati aho ngaho baba bagiye mu.uu... mu ngabo za Uganda, bazi... mbese bategeke.. izo ngabo, bafatanya na MUSEVENI bamugira incuti karahava!

Uti.... a... ubwo rero FPR yaduteye murumva ko ari babandi mu by'ukuri bafite imvano mu... mu bahunze muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda. Ni ba Batutsi bahunze muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda. Ni babandi baduteye kugeza muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi, ni babandi bisuganyije rero biyita FPR.

Intambara igitera muri mirongo cyenda twavugaga tuti «Inyenzi zaduteye». Ijambo Inyenzi ryavuyeho ejobundi dutangiye imishyikirano, KANYARENGWE n'abo... n'a... n'abantu be bati «ntitushaka.. kwitwa Inyenzi».

**- Iyo yari (inaudible: deux fois à la fois)**

- Noneho rero...

**- ... yazibye amateka...**

- ...Noneho rero nnyewe ndatekereza...

**- ... rero (inaudible: deux voix à la fois)...**

- ... nti ahubwo ya macenga navuze, KANYARENGWE na we yarayak... yayacenze Abanyarwanda. Yanze kuvuga... yanze ko bakomeza kuvuga Inyenzi kandi yarazirwanyije, ati «nnjyewe ndi umuntu mushya...

31.2

**Fin de la FACE A**

**FACE B**

\_ ( chanson du FPR: Ab'iwacu muraho?) 0.9

**Orateur : HABIMANA Kantano, journaliste de la RTLM.** 2.0

... (inaudible) aka kanya, ayo makuru mabi ni uko... aragaragaza yuko Inkotanyi... Inkotanyi nk'uko babivuze ukuri Inyeshyamba, ku nyeshyamba amasezerano... amasezerano y'amahoro ntacyo avuze. Koko rero iri joro... iri joro Inkotanyi zateye muri commune Nkumba na Kidaho zica Abakonseye, ari abatowe hambère aha, ari n'abandi ba... ba... bari basanzweho, bose bo muri MRND barabica, babicana n'abagore babo ba... abandi barabakomeretsa cyane. Ubu muri commune Nkumba na Kidaho ni ubwoba, ni imivu y'amaraso ibintu birakome... bimeze nabi cyane. Dore rero abantu bamaze gupfa kugeza ubu ngubu tumaze kumenya:

- Muri commune Nkumba, muri segiteri Kinoni, Konseye KAMBANDA n'umugore we, Inkotanyi zamwishe.
- KANYAMIBWA wo muri segiteri RUTAMBA na we yapfuye.
- Konseye wa Gahunga n'umugore we na we bamwishe.
- Hanyuma muri commune.e... muri commune Kidaho, ee... muri segiteri Butete hafi ya commune Kidaho, umugabo wi... Konseye witwa NDAMIYE n'abagore babiri Inkotanyi zabishe.
- Ee... ahitwa mu Rugarama ku gasa... mumbabarire n'ibintu nandukuye ku makuru ava mu Ruhengeri kano kanya, e... mu Rugarama rero kuri centre ngo bishe umugabo witwa KANYAMIBWA w'umucuruzi n'abagore be batatu, Inkotanyi zica n'impunzi cumi n'enye yari acumbikiye zo muri commune Butaro.
- Umugabo witwa GASOPO wari umucuruzi n'umugore we na we Inkotanyi zamwishe, e... se wa GASOPO bamurashe baramukomeretsa cyane ubu ari mu bitaro mu Ruhengeri.
- Ye... muri commune Nkumba nababwiye yuko muri segiteri... segiteri Kinoni, Konseye KAMBANDA n'umugore we bamwishe, Inkotanyi zica n'umugabo witwa Fideli.
- Muri segiteri Maya ee... aho bita kuri Nyirarukore, ee... Inkotanyi zishe Konseye w... wa... wa Bukwokwe, bica n'umugore we n'abana.

Ubu rero abantu bapfuye muri Commune... abantu bapfuye bishwe n'Inkotanyi muri Commune Kidaho na Nkumba, bararenga mirongo itanu. Dukomeje gukurikirana ayo makuru mu kanya turaba tugiye mu Ruhengeri kugira ngo turebe ayo barorerwa y'Inkotanyi, abandi bagiye gushaka abasirikare ba ONU kugira ngo baduherekeze tujye kureba ayo marorerwa, turebe koko niba izi Nkotanyi tuzashobora kubana niba zidashobora kubahiriza amasezerano, niba zi... zishobora kwiha uburenganzira bwo kwica abantu ngo ni uko batayobotse Inkotanyi, ibi bintu ni amayoberane ni ukubyamagana ku buryo budasubirwaho, nako biteye uwobwa, biteye agahinda. Mukomeje kumva Radiyo RTLM, ni saa tatu n'iminota makumyabiri muri studios zacu. 5.3

Ejo nijoro zaraye ziteye muri Commune Kidaho na Commune Nkumba. Mu kanya na none bamaze kutumenyesha yuko Inkotanyi na none zateye muri Commune Nyamugali no muri Commune Cyeru. Muri Commune e... muri Commune Nyamugali zarashe Bourgmestre ku kaguru arazicika, zica umukobwa we, zica n'umushyitsi w'umunyeshuri wiga muri Kaminuza wari ucumbitse iwe. Muri Commune Cyeru na ho zaraye zihateye zica umugabo witwa MITIMA wari Président wa MRND muri Commune Cyeru, zica n'abana bane.

Ee... muri Commune Nkumba na none, twari twibagiwe kubabwira yuko ee... bishe umugabo... Inkotanyi zishe umugabo witwa BAZIRA, Secrétaire wa Commune Nkumba.

Murumva rero yuko ibintu Inkotanyi zaraye zikoze ee... mu by'ukuri birenze (un petit silence), simbizi, uko umuntu yabitekereza njye ndumva birenze ubwenge. Ariko rero yenda ntibirenze ubwenge ku bazi gushishoza.

Mukomeje kumva Radiyo yigenga RTLM, mu... mo... nongere mbibutse inkuru menye nonaha mu kanya, inkuru menye nonaha mu kanya ni uko muri Commune Nyamugali na ho Inkotanyi zaraye zihateye zika... zikarasa Bourgmestre wari uherutse gutorwa ziramukomeretsa, hanyuma zica umukobwa we, zica n'umushyitsi wa... umunyeshuri wigaga muri Kaminuza ee... wari ucumbitse iwe.

- Muri Commune Cyeru na ho Inkotanyi zaraye zihateye zica Umugabo witwa MITIMA wari Président wa MRND muri iyo commune Cyeru, zica n'abana be bane.
- Muri Commune Nkumba na ho twari twibagiye kubabwira ko zishe... zishe umugabo wiṭwa

BAZIRA wari sacré... ee... Secrétaire wa Commune, zishe n'urnuzamu ee... mu Kinoni.

Maze rero abumva Radiyo RTLM, dukomeje kubakurikiranira aya makuru yo mu Ruhengeri niba ategura ikindi gitero cyangwa se niba a... ari ukwiyenza. Ariko ikintu kigaragara nonaha noneho ikigaragaye ni uko, nk'uko twakomeje tubivuga amatora yo mu... amatora yagiye aba hariya muri zone tampon, ntabwo yigeze ashimisha Inkotanyi kuko zumvaga zo zizatsinda ariya matora kubera abantu bazo zashyizemo, zibonye batsinzwe cyane cyane hakomeje kwiganzamo abantu bo muri MRND noneho bafashe umugambi wo kuzinduka bajya kubatsema. Sinzi reri impa... sinzi rero abantu... abantu batekereza yuko inzibacyaho izamara imyaka ibiri e... imyaka ibiri n'igice, sinzi rero niba umuntu wese utazahinduka Inkotanyi niba agomba kuzicwa icyo bizatanga. Ni ukuba maso kuko ibintu njye ndabona... iyi ntangiriro y'ibi bintu irakomeye cyane. Mukomeze mwumve Radiyo RTLM amakuru ashushye, ubu ni saa yine n'imnotra makumyabiri.

8.2

...kubibabwira ni amakuru yerekeye amarorerwa Inkotanyi zaraye zi... e... zikoze mu Ruhengeri, mu «makomine» ane yose, ari yo:

- Kidaho,
- Nkumba,
- Nyamugali,
- na commune Cyeru.

Amakuru rero amaze kutugeraho adashidikanya y'ukuri ni uko Inkotanyi iri joro zagabye igitero muri Commune... Commune Nyamugali zikahakora amarorerwa, Bourgmestre wa Commune Nyamugali wari uherutse gutorwa zamurashe arakomereka we n'umugore we ariko ashobora... ashobora guhunga, ashobora kuzi... ku... gucika Inkotanyi. A... gusa Inkotanyi zishe umukobwa we wari kuzajya gutangira umwaka wa mbere... umwaka wa mbere w'amashuri yisumbuye, zica n'umunyeshuri wo muri Kaminuza wari ucumbitse aho kwa Bourgmestre.

- Muri Commune Cyeru, amakuru atugezeho na yo aratumenyeshu yuko e... Inkotanyi ee... na ho zahateye ee... hanyuma zica umugabo MITIMA wari Président wa MRND muri iyo Commune Cyeru, biya.. bamwicanye n'abana be bane. Mwumve namwe ayo marorerwa ateye uwoba.
- Naho muri Commune Kidaho Inkotanyi zishe umugabo witwa Callixte KANYAMIHIGO,ee...

zica Konseye wa segiteri Butete aho hafi ya Commune, witwa NDAMIYE n'abagore be babiri.

- Mu «gasantre» ka Rugarama Inkotanyi zishe KANYAMIBWA na.aa... n'abagore be batatu, uwo ni u... yari umucuruzi.

- Inkotanyi zica kandi n'impunzi icumi n'enye zari m... zari mu... zari zicumbitse ku wo mugabo. Izo mpunzi zari zaravuye muri Commune Butaro.

- Inkotanyi kandi zahishe umugabo witwa GASOPÔ n'umu... n'umugore we. Uwo GASOPÔ na we yari umucuruzi.

- Se wa GASOPÔ yakomeretse cyane, ubu ari mu bitaro mu Ruhengeri.

- Naho muri Commune Nkumba e... segiteri Kinoni, Konseye KAMBANDA n'umugore we e... bamwishe,

- E... Inkotanyi na none zishe undi mugabo witwa Fideli.

- Hanyuma muri... ahitwa kuri Nyirarukore e... bishe... bishe Konseye wa segiteri Maya witwa Bukokwe, bica n'umugore we n'abana batatu, mwumve ubwo bugome ukuntu bwari buteye ubwoba.

- Hanyuma.a... BAZIRA... BAZIRA Comptable wa Nkumba bakekaga ko yapfuye, ubu mu kanya ageze hano i Kigali, sinzi ngo umuntu wari wamuburiye hanyuma arara ahantu yihishe ubu ni yo akiva mu Ruhengeri. Ntabwo rero bashoboye kumwica Comptable wa Commune Nkumba, ee... ya... yabacikiye... yabaci... ya... yabanyuze mu myanya y'intoki, ubwo Imana yamurinze. Tubibutse yuko Inkotanyi na none ejobundi muri Commune Bwisige, aho hose ni aho bita muri tampon hatagomba kuri... kurangwa umusirikare n'umwe wa... ari uw'u Rwanda cyangwa ari uw'Inkotanyi. Ubwo rero e... konse... ee... muri Commune Bwisige aho ngaho na ho Inkotanyi ejobundi zahishe umwarimu, undi ziramukomeretsa, hanyuma e... zikomeretsa na Konseye. Murumva rero yuko ari ibintu by'umugambi, bi... bi... bi... bigize ariko re... hari icyo umuntu yibaza kuri ibyo byo mu Ruhengeri. Koko niba... niba KANYARENGWE ategeka Inkotanyi, ubwo yaba ari we uzitegeka kujya kumara bene wabo bo mu Ruhengeri? Ibyo bintu byaba biteye akaga kuko ni ikibazo gikomeye cyane, ni ikibazo gikomeye cyane.

11.6

Mu kanya rero maze kumenya yuko abasirikare ba... ba ONU, abasirikare ba ONU bamaze kumva ayo marorerwa, ee... ntibashatse gufata imodoka bagiye gufata indege yerekeza mu Ruhengeri, hanyuma abanyamakuru twe tugiye gufata iy'umuhandra. Mukomeze mwumve

Radiyo RTLM, ee... amakuru ashushye, umuziki na wo ushyushye.

Ariko rero aya marorerwa y'Inkotanyi mukomeze tuyatekerezeho kandi tuyamagane. Abantu baje bavuga ngo «bazanye...»

- ... kora anketi aravuga ati «e... muri Commune Nyamugali barashe Bourgmestre a... mu kaguru, bica umukobwa we wagombaga kujya gutangira amashuri yisumbuye uyu mwaka, bica n'umunyeshuri wari waraye yo, umunyeshuri wiga muri Kaminuza.

- Muri Commune Cyeru Inkotanyi zishe Président wa MRND muri Commune Cyeru witwa MITIMA, bamwicana n'umuryango we wose. We aravuga ati «abantu batanu bose ee... kwa MITIMA bapfuye».

- E... muri iyo Commune Cyeru rero ngo babuze Bourgmestre, bica murumuna we, bica n'umugore we.

- Muri Commune Kidaho, umucuruzi witwa KANYAMIBWA n'abana be batatu...ow... n'abagore be batatu, n'abana be bose babishe, bica n'undi mucuruzi... Inkotanyi zica n'undi mucuruzi witwa NZABONIMPA, ee... n'umu... n'umuryango we wose.

- Ee... na none muri Commune Kidaho, bishe Candidat Bourgmestre wa MRND witwa KANYAMIHIGO.

- Iyo fax ivuye mu Ruhengeri na none iravuga iti «muri Commune Nkumba ugabo witwa NDAMIYUMWAMI n'umuryango we wose Inkotanyi zawutsembye, yari Konseye wa Segiteri Kinoni.

Andi makuru na none a... a... atugezeho na none ibiriho biravugwa, abantu bareba i Gisoro mu Bugande e... nyuma.. y'Ibirunga, baravuga yuko «bahabona Inkotanyi nyinshi cyane, Inkotanyi nyinshi cyane z'abasirikare bambaye». Ibyo barimo rero, ibyo bategura nta wubizi. 13.9

Ngaho rero abumva Radiyo RTLM, ayo ni yo makuru ashushye dukomeza kubagezaho... dukomeza kubagezaho. Inkotanyi zo ntabwo ubu zifuzza yuko tuyabagezaho, ni cyo gituma mujya mwumva zikoma RTLM. Ziba zishaka kwihererana ibintu, nk'abo bantu ngo zibihererane zibice umuntu ye kuvuga, zihererane ibintu i Burundi umuntu ye kuvuga, kugeza igithe zimugereye ku

gakanu na we zikamwica ntihagire uvuga. Nguko rero iyo technique y'Inkotanyi iteye ubwoba. Ubu rero abantu batangiye kwibaza ibibazo byinshi cyane, baribaza bati ngaho rero abo bantu batereye rimwe muri commune Nyamugali, Cyeru, Kidaho, Nkumba, ahantu mu misozi bagenda barenga ibibaya, bagatera ijoro rimwe ku isaha imwe bakamara... bakava... bagatsema abo bantu bose bari babatumye, bati «mwibaze noneho abasirikare magana atandatu b'abakomando bazi kurasa n'isazi, kubera ko babaca... ari cyo babacaguriye, babacaguriye amayeri menshi bazi n'ubuhanga bazi mu byerekeye iby'intwaro». Abo bantu rero magana atandatu bakavuga bati, «abantu bakomeye ino» abo bagiye bavuga ngo «ni Abasederi bakomeye», abo bagiye bavuga ngo na.. «Interahamwe za kabutindi», abo bagiye bita «escadron de la mort» babashyira ku «iliste», si ku busa buriya bagiye babashyira ku «malistes» baravuga bati « abo bantu tuza... buzajya gucyu neza neza basange imirambo» ee... bati «nta kundi twatsembye escadron de la mort».

E... mu... mu by'ukuri rero na none, abo basirikare bagana atandatu b'Inkotanyi, ndakeka yuko ubwo Inkotanyi zaciye ku masezerano y'Arusha zishyiriyeho umukono, e... nubwo yashyirwaho n... umukono na KANYARENGWE bwose ariko si y... si cyo cyaba intandaro yo kuyanyura... yo kwi... yo kuyacaho, cyane cyane bagakora ubugome bukomeye kuko nk'ubu ngubu aba bantu zishe, uretse ko kuvuga gusa ko uretse kuba aba abantu zishe, aba bagore, izi nzirakarengane zose, aba bana, nta muntu wari wabashotoye, nta wari wabatutse, nta kintu bari bavuganye zaje kubica gusa ku bintu by'ubugome ngo abantu batinye bamenye yuko utazaba Inkotanyi ake gashobotse.

Ndakeka rero yuko , niba tuvuga ngo tuti « turi muri démocratie», kubona abantu baza guhindura abandi Inkotanyi ku ngufu, ibi bintu ntabwo byumvikana ni akaga ni ibintu byo kwamaganwa, amahanga yose akabyamagana, ndetse n'ababifite mu mutwe bakabyikuramo burundu na ho ubundi ntaho twaba tugana mu nzira ya demokarasi.

Ariko ikintu na none kigomba kugaragara, ni uko abantu baje babeshya ngo bara... ngo barigisha démocratie, mu by'ukuri nta yo bakunda, nta yo bakunda, ibi ngibi mu... byibuze murabyiboneye kandi barabigaragaje.

Ngaho rero mukomeze mwumve Radiyo RTLM, ee... ubu ni saa tanu n'iminota mirongo itatu n'itanu. Ee... hagiye kujya... umuriro uragenda ubura, iki byose, ariko mubyihanganire mukomeze mukurikire Radiyo yanyu RTLM ibabwiza ukuri amakuru ashushye.

16.8

**Orateur : NAHIMANA Ferdinand, membre fondateur de la RTLM.**

... ya kabiri, numéro deux muri iki gihugu nyuma ya HABYALIMANA. KANYARENGWE yafashe ee... i... yategetse za Ministères zitoroshye, za Ministères zikomeye zamuhaga uburyo bwo kumenyekana. Igituma mvuga rero ko bagomba kuba barapfuye ubutegetsi, ni uko KANYARENGWE yabaye Ministre w'Ubutegetsi bw'Ighugu, ndetse aho ee... MRND bayishingiye, mu bashinze MRND na we arimo, aba komit...ee... ntuza umwe mu bagize comité ee... y'ijyhugu..

**Orateur : GAHIGI Gaspard, journaliste de la RTLM.**

- Central.

- Comité central ya MRND.

Ee... ahunga muri mirongo inane, yari Ministre w'Abakozi ba Leta, Ministre de la Fonction Publique. Ndaakeka ko ntibeshya. Nkatekereza rero ko agomba kuba harabaye amakimbirane han... ari we..., mu bibazo mwagiye mumubaza mwebwe abanyamakuru nta na kimwe aratangariza Abanyarwanda, ngo avuge ati njye nahunze iki ngiki.

Ari HABYALIMANA... muribuka ko HABYALIMANA yavuze ati «harimo abahunze amahoro». Na we ntaratubwira ati icyo mfa... napfuye na KANYARENGWE ntabwo tu... nta (inaudible: deux voix à la fois)... ubizi.

- Ariko, kugeza ubu koko nta muntu urasobanura impamvu...

- Nta... ka...

### **KANYARENGWE yahunze,...**

- Hum.

- ... **kugeza ubu!**

- Kugeza ubu rero e... njye ee... nkavuga nti, ni ikinyapolitiki muri ibi by'ubutegetsi bariya bantu bo mu... ee... bafashe ubutegetsi muri mirongo irindwi na gatatu, bose bafitanye amabanga. Kuva kuri HABYALIMANA kugeza ku wari... ndakeka ba... na ba Majoro bose,...

- **Hum.**

- ...icyo gihe bari mu... abari bayu.ngi...ngirije bari Abamajoro, hari a... na... mo n'Abakoloneli, abo bose bafitanye ibanga ryabo. Icyiza twari twishimiye ni uko nk'uko NGANGO yigeze kubivuga ati «kubona haba coup d'Etat, coup d'Etat Abanyarwanda tukavuza impundu tukabyina ni uko hari umutekano muke mu gihugu, ni uko u... politiki yari iriho icyo gihe ni uko ubutegetsi bwariho bwari bubi, icyo twari twishimiye twese ni uko nyine koko abo bantu bafashe ubutegetsi batuzanamo politiki y'amahoro ndetse n'ubumwe», ariko ejobundi ee... nyine muri mirongo inane nda... ee... ubwo... ubwo bumwe bwagombaga kubanziriza muri abo ngabo bari bashizeho.. iyo politiki y'ubumwe n'amahoro, ubwo bumwe bwari butangiye kuba buke. Ku buryo ndetse ari KANYARENGWE ari n'abandi, KANYARENGWE na we yarahunze abandi barafungwa, murumva rero ubumwe ndetse n'ubut... n'u (inaudible) n'amahoro byari bitangiye guhungabana.

KANYARENGWE rero yaragiye. Baduteye muri mirongo icyenda, ubwo yaramaze imyaka icumi mu buhungiro. Abantu bakurikiranye ubuzima bwe hanze, bavuga ko Inyenzi zamwi... zagerageje kumureshya igihe ki... kirekire, ariko ngo arabangira.

Nyuma niba ari ubukene, ari iki simbizi, nyuma bagomba kuba baramureheje bakamworeka amafaranga ndetse bamwe bavuga ko banamushyingiye n'umukobwa wabo. Ibyo ngibyo azabitwibirira cyangwa tuzabibona n... naramuka atashye, ibyo tuzabibona. 20.0

Ee... bamaze kumureshya, yumva ko umu... abo yafatanyije na bo bakiri mu gihugu baba... bamwirukanye a... abo ngabo ni abanzi be. Njye rero nkatekereza ko yagiye muri FPR kugira ngo akureho ubutegetsi bwa babandi bari barafatanyije kubushyiraho. Ku isonga ku... ry'abo ngabo mvuga hari HABYALIMANA, kuko wibuke ko iteka iyo... KANYARENGWE aba... umubajije

ikibazo, aravuga ngo «ubutegetsi bwa HABYALIMANA, ubutegetsi bwa MRND», ni bwo yashatse kurandura ariko muri uko gushaka kuburandura ntiyabona... ndakeka ko batamubwiye neza, cyangwa ngo atabonye by'ukuri ko bo batari bashaka kurandura ubutegetsi bwa HABYALIMANA gusa, bashakaga kurandura ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika. Ubwo rero koko i... kimwe namwe, ntabwo byumvikanye ko KANYARENGWE warwanyije Inyenzi arwanira Repubulika, ageza igihe cyo kwemera ko Repubulika igwa ndetse ni... no mu ku... kugwa kwa Repubulika akemera ko abo bava inda imwe, abo bavuka hamwe, abo baturanye mu karere kamwe, bamarirwa ku icumu n'abo abereye Perezida.

21.2

**Ku bwawe rero ee... icyatumye Inkotanyi zitera n'icyatumye KANYARENGWE azijyamo urabisobanuye, tuvuge koko ee... Inkotanyi ziramutse zitahutse na KANYARENGWE agatahuka, watubwira... kuko umuntu wize amateka areba n'imbere.**

- Hum.
- Ntabwo ari ukureba inyuma gusa, umuntu areba n'imbere. Imibanire ya KANYARENGWE n'Inkotanyi na HABYALIMANA uyibona ute?
- Ee... imibanire ya...
- **Mu gihe kizaza. Ni uguta (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)**
- ... ya KANYARENGWE n'Inkotanyi na HABYALIMANA,
- **Yee mu gihe kizaza.**
- Ahubwo n'Abanyarwanda bari hano mu gihugu muri iki gihe,...
- **Hum.**
- ... icyo gihe nibataha bose tw... tuzaba turi Abanyagwanda.., n'ubundi na ho bari ni Abanyarwanda. Ee... mbibona ku buryo bubiri:
- FPR izaza na KANYARENGWE wa FPR. Icyakora.. njyewe no mu kanya navuze nti «niba atari we uvuga ngo Inkotanyi nizitere zikaba zaramutannyne niyegure»! Nkaba ntekereza ko niba ateguye tuzamenya ko ari we uzoherenza. Icyo gihe rero, imibanire ya KANYARENGWE na FPR yo ishobora kuzakomeza kuba mitaraga hagati yabo. Ariko icyo ntinya ni uko... nako icyo ntekereza ntago.. ngitinya kuko nta.aa....iihum... ntabwo mfite uburenganzira bwo kubitinya. Ee... icyo ntekereza ni uko bishobora kuzaba nk'ibi ngibi tubona muri ee... PL. Hakazaba FPR

y'Abatutsi hakaba na FPR y'Abahutu. Dore ko harimo bamwe bagerageza kumwamamaza muri turiya turere tw'iwacu bavuga bati... bakavuga bati «nimuhumure buriya KANYARENGWE ni amacenga acenga ntusa,

- **Inkotanyi.**

- Inkotanyi z'Abatutsi.

- **Arakoroye)**

- Naza ndetse azigira mu ishyaka ryacu. Nta we nshaka kuvuga ishyaka iryo ari ryo ngo hatagira uvuga ngo... ngo babikorana na... na KANYARENGWE w'Inkotanyi.

- **Eee.**

- Ubwo urumva rero ko bishoboka ko igihe KANYARENGWE azaba yatahye, hashobora kuzaba FPR-ntutsi, na FPR-mputu. Nk'uko hari FPR ni Landuwali tu... tusigaye.. twita e... PL, PL Landuwali dusigaye twita PL-ntutsi, na PL MUGENZI dusigaye twita ee... PL-mputu. Uti rero icyo ni.ii... ni icyerekanyi na KANYARENGWE...

- **Hum.**

- ... n'Inkotanyi ze.

- **Ee.**

- KANYARENGWE na HABYALIMANA. Njyewe numvise ko HABYALIMANA... navugaga ko abantu, bariya bantu bariganye, bariya bantu barakoranye, bariya bantu bafatanyije gukuraho politike yari itangiye kuzamba, muri mirongo irindwi na gatatu. Barakomeza barakorana kugera muri mirongo inani. Niba barapfuye ubutegetsi, KANYARENGWE naza akabona agiye mu butegetsi ndumva ikibazo cya HABYALIMANA na KANYARENGWE kizaba ki... ii... gikemuwe. Ndetse abantu bagiye i Kinihira bamwe ba...

- **Ariko.o... njye ntabwo mbyemera kuko KANYARENGWE niba ari ubutegetsi bapfuye yahunze ari Ministre...**

- Eee...

- ... w'Abakozi ba Leta, naza rero kerekwa naba Perezida. Ubwo rero ikibazo kizaba kigihari.

- I... sinzi niba yi... yi... nababwiye mu kanya ko tutari twamenya neza icyo heh,...

- **(arasetse)**

- ... mu by'ukuri ba... bapfuye.

**- Hum.**

- Icyakora.. kandi sintekereza ko ari HABYALIMANA gusa kuko ee... ni na cyo e... Abanyarwanda dukunze ku... ee... gukurikira ee... twibeshya, abantu nyine bashaka ku tu... kutujegaje...gerezza ntuza ubutegetsi, ee... no mu mibereho yacu iteka batw... batwereka HABYALIMANA, HABYALIMANA.

Ndakeka ko HABYALIMANA... ndabona nako ko HABYALIMANA ni umutegetsi muri système, ndakeka... nda... nkabo... nkabona ko KANYARENGWE ntabwo yahunze HABYALIMANA gusa, agomba kuba yari afite ikibazo muri système politique administratif yari iriho.

Ubwo rero uhu... wa mugani naramuka aje, nashaka kwi... kutu... ko azaba ari mu ... mu ruhando rw'amashyaka menshi, afite n'ishyaka rye. Icyo gihe azaza yiyamamaze, numva azaba afite ubutegetsi, ni naho... ni ho nari ngeze. Ut «ko yashi... niba yarashakaga kuba Président», aziyamamaza, ni tu... ni tu hnun... mu baturage nibamutora azatorwa. HABYALIMANA nibamutora, aho ngaho ni ho hazaba ikibazo ndaye... ndatekereza ko ee... HABYALIMANA natorwa n'abandi batari FPR nibatorwa bakaba benshi, turatiz... umuntu yatinya kuzabona ibyabaye hariya hepfo mu Burundi. Ut... na...e...i...i... nasubizaga ikibazo cya KANYARENGWE na HABYALIMANA.

25.9

Ariko njye (une brève interruption) abantu bo muri M... MRND koko ni byo, ariko nagira ngo mbwire abatwumva ko im... Inkotanyi zica MITIMA, zikica Callixte, zikica Karoli, zikica ee... n'abandi, ntabwo zarebye gusa ngo ni muntu.. wumuyoboke wo muri MRND, zishe Umunyarwanda. Ni na yo mpamvu ikintu cyantangaje kandi nishimiye cyane, ni uko bariya bantu bo muri Nkumba ni ho nageze no muri.ii... mu Ruhengeri hariya, abo... abo muri MRND, abo muri CDR, muri MDR ni bo nakunze kubonana na bo, bose bararira, bose kandi barafatanyije kugira ngo bahambe abo bantu bishwe n'Inkotanyi, hari sole... «soledarite». Ibi ngi... ibyi ngibyo.. rero kuri njye bikaba ari isomo, abo baturage b'aho hantu bahaye abanyapolitiki, abakuru kuri njye... abakuru ba MRND, aba MDR, aba PSD, bariya ba PL n'abandi.. Bari bakwiye guhaguruka bakajya muri kariya karere, MINUAR yaraje, MINUAR

ibahe abasirikare bajyeyo mbese bari kumwe bahumurize Abanyarwanda bari hariya.

- Ikindi cya kabiri navuga ni uko ee... mva mu... mu Ruhengeri nageze hano i Kigali, hari umubyeyi wany... wanyegereye arambaza ati «nageze hano mu kanya bambwira ko «wagiye mu Ruhengeri, koko ibyavuzwe ni byo? Koko abantu bapfuye? Ko abantu barimo kuvuga ko ari ikinamico rya MRND? Ndetse rye.. ni... iry'Abakiga»?

- **Ahubwo natwe tubivuga abantu bavugaga ngo « ni igikabyo...**

- (inaudible)

- ...ngo cya RTLM», ngo «ntabwo ari byo», ngo «nta... mu gitondo», abantu bumiwe nimugoroba bumvise ko ari byo.

- Yee. Ubwo rero nagiraga ngo mbabwire ko... njye igisubizo namushubije, naramubwiye nti «umva rero wa mubyeyi we, mbere intambara igitera bavuze ibyitso, harimo ibyafunzwe, ntabwo ibyitso byose byafunzwe kandi abafunzwe bose si.. bari ibyitso, ariko mu by'ukuri mu bafunzwe hari harimo ibyitso». Ibyitso biko (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- **Iaho... Yee.**

- Nta mu (inaudible) utagira

- ...**Hum. Ntayibaho, ntayo.**

- Itagira ibyitso, uretse ko ni ya mayeri nyine y'amacenga, nifuza ko Fawustini aza... azare... azumva neza icyo icenga ari cyo. Ni muri ayo macenga ya FPR, bamaze kuvuga bati «ibyitso» iryo jambo ibyitso, baritera hejuru baravuga ku buryo byabaye banale. Mu by'ukuri ibyitso birahar... biriho, byariho kandi biracyariho. Nabivuze barakora ku mugaragaro, barakorera ku mugaragaro baragurisha utubendera twa FPR, barajya ku Mulindi bagatanga amafaranga, mu tubare bari... baravuga. Noneho nkavuga nti... naramushubije nti « abo bose bari hano ba FPR birumvikana ko iyo bumvize ko FPR yakoze akantu, ikintu bihutira gukora ni ukuvuga ngo «aah! Ngo... ngo biriya ni amacenga ya MRND», kugira ngo hatabamo conscience nationale, tudahagurukira rimwe nk'uko twahagurutse mu kwezi kwa kabiri, kuko mu kwezi kwa kabiri bako... bakoze umubare mubi. Twarahagurutse ni na ho ku... kuri njyewe wo mu Ruhengeri, kugeza mu kwezi kwa kabiri hari imitwe ishushye hagati ya MRND, MDR cyane cyane. Ariko amarorerwa yabaye, kuko ari MRND yagize abantu babo bapfuye, ari MDR, ari hnu... n'abandi bose twese twumvise... batwiciye abantu turahaguruka. Ni byo... ubu ngubu rero nkavuga nti,

bariya bariho barashyushya imitwe bavuga bat «ni MRND gusa. Kugira ngo umuntu wo muri MRN... muri MDR, bo mu rindi shyaka,...

- **Yumve bitamureba.**

- Bitamureba. Nkumva rero,...

- **Ariko ari icenga toujours.**

- Ari icenga, nkumva kugira ngo ndangize.ee... GAHIGI nawe KANTANO, mvuge nti, abantu FPR irabicira hariya muri zone tampon, abategetsi bacu baka... baka... bagashyira agati mu ryinyo, amashyaka agashyira agati mu ryinyo. FPR hano mu gih... hano hagati, hano muri za Kigali mu mijyi, irica conscience nationale. Aho ku... aho kugira ngo umuntu wo muri MDR avuge ati, yaya ati batwiciye abantu, ngo... bakakora.. ku buryo yisekera ati «hnuhn! Ni MRND yajya yumva». Umuntu wo muri PL aho kugira ngo avuge ati, abantu bo mu gihugu bashize, avuge ati MRND yajya yumva, bityo bityo.

Ikindi.ii... ii... narangirizaho na... nkavuga nti, iyo conscience nationale koko iri gupfa. Ejo nimugoroba mwumvise ibyavuzwe kuri Radiyo inama y'Abaminisitiri. Njyewe by... by... kuri njyewe byantangaje cyane. Nta... ntabwo nari nzi ko biri buvugwe kuriya, nari nzi ko inama yateranyijwe ku buryo by'itararaganya..., bagiye kwiga kiriya kibazo cyo muri... cyabaye muri Nkumba, Nyamugali, e... Cyeru n'ahandi, mvuga nti Guverinoma y'ighugu irafata umwanzuro. Ariko se, twagiye kumva twumva aravuze ngo... nako simbisubiramo, ink... ahubwo nari ntegereje ko bavuga bat, ntaza Ministre w'Uubanyi n'Amahanga, nizere ko yabikoze niba batabimusabye, Ministre w'Uubanyi n'Amahanga, tanga amabwiriza ahamye, uyahe abaduhagarariye mu mahanga bakore za conférences de presse, berekane ko m... plutôt FPR iriho yica amasezerano twasinye. Nari ntegereje ko Ministre w'Itangazamakuru avuga ati, ORINFOR nanje Ministre w'Itangazamakuru, reka dufatanye, wowe ORINFOR ufile z'adresses z'amaradiyo mpuzamahanga, z'ibinyamakuru byandikwa, nimwohereze mu mahanga inkuru y'imvaho. Muri iki gitondo nari nzi ko amaradiyo menshi mpuzamahanga ari buramuke avuga iby'u Rwanda, n'ukuntu FPR yishe amasezerano. Sinzi niba byakozwe. Nari ntegereje ko... ndarangiriza aha ngaha ko amashyaka ari MRND, ari MDR, ari p... ndetse by... bibaye na ngombwa bahagurukira hamwe bagakora conférence de presse, bakavuga icyo batekereza, nari nzi ko urets...

31.7

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**Fin de le FACE B**