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RESUME DE LA FACE B DE LA CASSETTE N° 0101.

RWABUKWISI Ravi, Madame MBONAMPEKA Marie-Claire, Charles NKURUNZIZA et Jean-Bosco BARAYAGWIZA donnent leur avis sur la guerre opposant les Hutus aux Tutsis du Rwanda.

FACE B.**Orateur non identifié:**

... (inaudible) yahise areba abashatse gukora coup d'Etat ariko birananirana kubera ko abaturage ari bo bari bitoreye NDADAYE. Mbere yo gupfa yari yanabivuze, avuga ati "ubu ngubu umuntu utazajya uhabwa ubutegetsi n'abaturage kugira ngo azategeke bizamurushya". Noneho rero aho kugira ngo abantu baze bategekeshe ingufu bagombe kwica kugira ngo baceckeshe abantu mbere yuko abenshi, Abahutu bagomba kumenya ko bagomba ku... gufata leur responsabilité be kwihsa inyuma yo kuvuga ngo "nta bwenge tuzi"! Ngo "erega bariya bantu baturusha ubwenge"! Kubera iki se? Niba mwarabaye benshi na bwo ni ubwenge! Donc, ingufu z'umuntu zituruka henshi, ingufu z'Abahutu zishobora kuba zituruka mu bwinshi bwabo kandi amashuri barayiga bakayashobora ubonyi... Bosco yahoze atubwira ati "ababyeyi banje barambuze ari Abahutu, barubu...shobewe barambuze. Usibye n'Inyenzi ntagomba gukomeza kuvuga ngo bariya bantu baturusha ubwenge, iki bakareka abantu bagakomeza bagapfa, abagomba gutegekesha igihugu igitugu bica bakaba ari bo bahabwa ee... umwanya wo kugira ngo abantu bategeke noneho binyure mu nzira za demukarasi Umulutsi uzatorwa ategéke, Umuhutu uzatorwa ategéke, Umutwa uzatorwa ategéke kuko kera na DEBULUGARAVE wari umu... Umubiligi yigeze gutorwa na we arategéka! Donc, à mon avis mbona ko abantu bagomba gufata leur responsabilité ... (inaudible).

Orateur GAHIGI Gaspard, rédacteur en chef de la RTLM:

Ee... intambara ni iy'ubutegetsi ee... hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi kandi sinabivuga uko Bosco amaze kuvuga nawe umaze kubigaragaza kandi urebye koko ni ko bimeze, ndagira ngo noneho ijambo ndihe Ravi RWABUKWISI ni we wigeze kuvuga ko abantu bavanze. Ubwo rero bavanze koko nkaba numva iyo ntambara itari ikwiye kubaho kandi n'ijo yabaho ntimere uko imeze uku. RAVI gira icyo utubwira ku iyo ntambara y'ubutegetsi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Orateur Ravi RWABUKWISI, responsable du journal KANGUKA:

Urakoze GAHIGI ee... koko icyo kibazo numvaga ngomba kukigarukaho. Mu kanya BARAYAGWIZA aragi... agize ati ... d'ailleurs kubigarukaho cyane ni uko ee... ibitekerezo bye n'ibyanje hari aho bikocoranira, nkumva rero byaba byiza yuko tugira icyo twumvikanaho. Yabanje aragira ati "FPR yaje muri mirongo cyenda iza gutera ee... ishaka gufata ubutegetsi ee... ngo ibuhe Abatutsi". FPR yo koko yaje... yateye iyi ntambara ishakisha ubutegetsi. Ibyo ni byo kuko iyo ugaya ubutegetsi buriho, ugashaka gukora intambara uba ushaka kubusimbura. Ibyo kandi ntekereza ko ari uburenganzira bwa buri wese yaba Umuhutu, yaba Umututsi ko igihe abona atishimiye imikorere y'ubutegetsi yabuvanaho. Kandi iyo ashaka kubuvanaho aba hari n'ikindi ateganya cyo kubusimbura. Ubwo rero iyo kibayeho ni we uba agishyizeho kuko aba ... (inaudible) iyo ntambara nyine.

Ariko rero icyo... icy'ingenzi ni u... ni uko mwigeze kugira muti "ku... kuki iriya ntambara yabayeho"? Intambara yahuje aba... aba... ee... Abahutu n'Abatutsi ba... muri rusange urebye ntabwo twa... twabidiskuta. Iriya ntambara yabayeho koko, n'iyewe numva ikibazo cy'u Rwanda ndetse n'ikibazo cy'u Burundi, yenda ndabigarukaho mu kanya, ari ikibazo giterwa n'abategetsi, n'abategetsi bo mu gihugu cyacu kuva ee... ku...va... yi... kuva kera. Ndetse kuva no ku bw'umwami kuko ee... iyo ee... mu Rwanda hatagegeka umwami w'Umuhutu ngo abe... inshuti ye y'Umututsi ngo abe ari Umututsi gusa, bakaja bashyiraho n'abandi b'aba... b'aba... ee... b'Abahutu, ntekereza yuko ubwo butegetsi nta wari kubugaya bwari kuba ari na bwiza, cyane cyane yuko atazaga ngo noneho ashyireho abantu b'iwabo igihugu cyose cyabaga ari icye. Iyo bitaza kuba iby'ubwoko bumwe baka... akaza ari Umuhutu ari n'i... ari n'Umututsi byari kuba byiza.

Bon, dufate ee... cas précis ee... burya ngo "agahwa kari ku wundi karahandurika", reka tuvuge wenda nko ku by'u Burundi, ndaba nkubwira uko njye mbibona, ni ku giti cyanje nta wundi byangaja. Njye ntekereza ko intambara ... ee... ubwicanyi burimo bubera mu Burundi ee... n'ubw'ino... n'ino burahari ariko reka tuvuge i Burundi, ubwicanyi bubera ku Burundi buraterwa

n'ubutegetsi bwagiye bukurikirana muri icyo gihugu bwagenze nabi ndetse kugera kuri Nyakwigendera NDADAYE.

Abategetsi kuva kuri endepandansi uko bagiye bakurikirana ba... ari abaperezida ee... ba... i...

Orateur GAHIGI Gaspard:

Icyakora RAVI umbabarire kuko ee... turimo kuvuga ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi mu Rwanda, nutujyana mu by'i Burundi biratugora, ndagira ngo rero kuko n'igihé ni gito wenda turaza kubiganira ukwacu ariko nagira ngo umbwire ibyerekeye mu Rwanda iyo ntambara y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi barwanira ubutegetsi uko imeze. Iby'i Burundi twose umbabarire ube ubiyihoreye.

- Yee, urakoze, urakoze ni... ni urugero natangaga ariko wa mugari reka tuvuge ibywacu kuko na byo birahari. Njyewe nibaza yuko icyatumye ... ubwo navugaga ko ari ubutegetsi, na hano mu Rwanda ni uko. Umu... aba... ee... impunzi z'i Rwanda zijya gutera... zijya gutera muri mirongo cyenda zaragiraga ziti "ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda ntabwo butwemerera gusubira mu gihugu cyacu ngo dutahe noneho tujye gufatanya na bo kuzamura igihugu cyacu". Ahubwo abategetsi bakiimbira bat "igihugu cyacu ni gitoya ubwo ari gitoya rero ee... abagiye hanze nibagumeyo bazashake ubwenegihugu aho bagiye".

Aho rero nibaza yuko uwo ari we wese yaba Umuhutu yaba Umututsi yaragize ingorane zo guhunga ee... umuntu akubwiye gutyo ngo "guma hanze" ngo "we afite uburenganzira bwo kuguma mu gihugu", ntabwo wabyemera. Wakoresha imbaraga ii... uburyo ufite bwose.

Icyo gihe rero twibukiranye yuko Abatutsi ari bo bahunze ari benshi, ari na yo mpamvu ahari ntekereza yuko BARAYAGWIZA ari ho ahéra avuga ati "Abatutsi barateye baza baje gu...fata ubutegetsi ngo bimike Abatutsi". Nkumva yuko atari byo kubera yuko ee... no muri abo bahunze tuzi yuko harimwo Abahutu ee... kandi bari no mu buyobozi bwa FPR. Ubwo abo ni abo tubona hari

n'abandi benshi cyane bari mu ngabo bagiye. Abo rero bose si ukuvuga yuko bari baje baje kwimi...mika ubutegetsi bw'Abatutsi. Ntabwo KANYARENGWE yaba ari à la suite ya FPR baje kwimika Abatutsi. Ntabwo BIZIMUNGU yaba ari mu buyobozi, akaba ari na we ubu wasinye aya masezerano ya Arusha mu babigizemo uruhare rukomeye. Abo bose biragaragaza yuko harimwo Abahutu, harimwo n'Abatutsi.

Nkumva rero yuko habayeho u... amakosa y'abategetsi, ayiho... ayo makosa atuma igice kimwe cy'Abanyarwanda, cyane cyane icyari hanze, cyivumbura kiravuga kiti "reka n'abo ngabo bitwa yuko bari mu mahoro ee... bito... biyumvisha yuko ari bo bagomba kuguma mu gihugu bonyine twe tukaguma hanze na bo tubibuze". Uwo mujinya na bo barawugira. Ntabwo ari ngombwa kuba uru Umututsi kugira ngo ugire umujinya vivumbure niba umubyeyi akubujije gutaha mu gihugu mu... mu rugo rwa so, rwa... rwa so na nyoko.

Nkumva rero iyo ntambara ari aho ishingiyé, ni uko ubutegetsi bwitwaye nabi butuma abaturage ibyo bagomba guha abana babo ee... abana b'igihugu butabubagabanya nk'uko bikwiye, zhubwo bubi... bubiharira bamwe. ...(inaudible) bw'imiryango yenda barabiha rubanda nyamwinshi nk'uko bamwe bajya babivuga ariko ugasanga ko ari amakosa mu by'ukuti aturuka hejuru.

- Njye ndagira ngo tugire icyo twumvikanaho, ee... twavuze ugushyamirana kw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi, RWABUKWISI wemera ko ee... Abahutu n'Abatutsi bashyamiranye bapfa ubutegetsi? Noneho ubwo turaza kureba icyajyanye Abahutu muri FPR. Ni icyo nyine twaza kureba nyuma, ariko tubanze twemere ko icyo kiriho, nongere nsubize ijambo Marie-Claire ibyo we niba abyemera noneho ibyo... yuko hari Abahutu bari muri FPR na byo twaza kubireba nyuma, uvuze yuko harimo n'ikibazo cy'abantu bashyamiranye bapfa ubutegetsi bahereye no ku turere! Na byo twaza kubigeraho ariko tubanze turebe niba ari byo cyangwa atari byo ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bashyamiranye ari intambara iri hagati yabo bapfa ubutegetsi. Marie-Claire.

Orateur Mme MBONAMPEKA Marie-Claire:

Ni byo, Abahutu n'Abatutsi barapfa ubutegetsi. Ariko i...gitumye njye cyane nshaka ijambo ni ukubera Ravi avuze ngo ubutegetsi bwari buriho numva anyibukije amadisikuru menshi cyane numva hanze aha ngo "ubutegetsi, ubutegesti", est-ce que ubutegetsi ni la quatrième ethnique? Ubutegetsi se si aba ari Umuhutu cyangwa akaba ari Umututsi? Noneho rero icyo kibazo ahubwo noneho cyaba... twagishyira no ku murongo w'ibyo tugiye kwiga, uko abantu bategetse yaba Umuhutu yaba Umututsi muri iki gihugu. Naho ubundi kuvuga ngo ubutegetsi..., ubutegetsi tugiye tuvuga ngo ubutegetsi biterwa n'ubutegetsi, byazamera nka za ankete bavuga ngo zigiye gukorwa ntizizagire ee... icyo zigeraho. Reka tuvuge ubundi twinegure koko niba dushaka ee... solution à nos problèmes, twinegure turebe uko Umututsi yategeka! Turebe niba Umuhutu waramusimbu... ee... wamusimbuye yarategetse neza kumurusha, niba mbese tuvuge... duhere kuri MBONYUMUTWA, duhere kuri KAYIBANDA, duhere kuri HABYARIMANA ture... nidushaka tuzamuke no kuri ba RUDAHIGWA, ariko tuvuge abantu bategetse cyangwa se n'abo bakoresheje mu butegetsi. Naho guhora umuntu avuga ngo ubutegetsi, ubutegetsi, ni nde se umutegetsi? Ni umuzungu?

Orateur GAHIGI Gaspard:

Ijambo rero ngiye kuriha Karoli noneho atubwire we uko abona uko gushyamirana kw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi, duhereye cyane cyane aho Abahutu bamariye kubona na bo ko bashobora gutegeka.

Orateur Charles NKURUNZIZA:

Ee... icyo ni cyo kibazo cy'ingenzi effectivement kiri mu...ri iki gihugu ni uko ee... muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda nk'uko nabivuze mu kanya Abahutu bamaze kugira ikintu cyitwa "émancipation", bamaze kumva ko na bo ari abantu ko bafite ubwenge, ko bashobora gu... guti... u... kugira uruhare mu butegetsi bw'iki gihugu, icyo gihe abategekaga igihugu, ni ukuvuga Abatutsi, bashyigikiwe

n'abazungu uko bari barabasanze bakagira ... (inaudible) nk'uko nigeze kubivuga, ibyo ngo basanze ari ibintu bizira. Ni ikizir!. Ni amahano! Ni amahano!

Ayo mahano rero yaguye mu Rwanda ibintu birakangarana, abantu barahunga, birumvikana. Bati "haje ngo ikintu cyitwa demukarasi". Demukarasi ikaba itari agatsiko k'abantu gusa, ahubwo demukarasi ari rubanda twose. Ese ubwo rubanda rwari rwa... (inaudible) z'u Rwanda nyine, hanyuma ngo ije gutegeka ... (inaudible) ute?

Abantu rero baragenda birumvukana. Ibyo birumvikana. Bageze iyo ... noneho barakomeza barareba bati "a! Rubanda nyamwinshi..." bon ubundi mu mategeko... agenga amahanga avuga ko, ibyo bita "droit international", iyo impunzi yagiye ivuye mu gihugu cyayo iba ifite statut iyigenga ... (inaudible) Imiryango mpuzamahanga ishyigikiye ... (inaudible), we agomba kugaruka mu gihugu cye iyo ibyo yahungaga byavuyeho. Naho ubundi hari uburyo bubiri: agomba kwerekana ko ibyo yahungaga bitakimuteye ubwoba kugaruka, bon cyangwa se byo... ibyo byaba bityo bikaba nk'uko byabaye uku akaza arwana. Ubwo rero iyo arwanye ni ukuvuga ko akuraho ibyariho. Bon, ngirango ngo birumvikana ba... igihe baje barwana ni uko batashakaga iyo demukarasi bagiye bahunga. Ibyo birumvikana.

Jye rero nkabona yuko ibyiza ubu, aho tugeze ubu mu... mu gihe turiho twitegura umwaka w'ibihumbi bibiri ngira ngo twagombye kwerekana ko... nako twagombye kwicengezamo ko ubu byarangiye nta bwoko bushobora kuvuga ngo ni twe tugomba gutegeka gusa. Byararangiye, baba Abahutu, baba Abatutsi. Byararangiye aho tugeze ubu tutarwana n'amahanga turi muri za Loni, turi muri za UNESCO, turi... ee... igihugu cyacu kiri mu bi... mu Miryango myinshi, byararangiye ntabwo mushobora gusigara inyuma. Nta muntu ushobora kwemera gusigara inyuma ngo twemere ko igihugu cyacu gisigara inyuma tuvuga ngo ... tuti twebwe agatsiko k'ubwoko aka n'aka ni ko kagomba gutegeka iki gihugu.

Tugomba rero kwishyiramo culture yindi. Culture yindi, twahoze tuvuga mu kanya ko bareraga abana kera, hakaba abarerwa bazi ko bagomba kuzategeka gusa, hakaba abarerwa bazi ko bagomba kuzinukwa gutegeka ubuzima bwabo bwose. Ubu rero ibyo ngibyo byararangiye. Byararangiye, hagomba kuza culture yindi, burya demukarasi ni culture. Bwana GAHIGI, demukarasi ni culture. Iyo culture rero demukarasi ni yo igomba kutuzamo, ku buryo noneho iyo culture nitumara kuyigira mu maraso yacu tuzasigara tureba u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda aho kureba agatsiko k'ubwoko ubu n'ubu. Ubwoko buzagumaho kuko buriho. Nta wuzagenda ngo afate umuhoro ateme Abahutu cyangwa ngo ateme Abatutsi buzagumaho. Ariko ikintu cy'ingenzi ubu... cy'ingenzi njye mbona ari kamara, ni uko Abanyarwanda bagomba kwishyiramwo icyo kintu cya culture, umuco bikatuba...ranga nk'uko twaranzwe n'ibindi twanze byahozezo mu Rwanda rwa kera, tukarangwa n'uwo muco wa demukarasi. Noneho ugatuma Abanyarwanda, imbaga y'Abanyarwanda, le peuple souverain ari yo iba détenteur du pouvoir, ari yo igira ubutegetsi koko.

Noneho rero hakaza ikintu kindi mu Banyarwanda ki... kijyanye n'iyi demukarasi nakwita mu gifaransa "méritocratie". Méritocratie ni ukuvuga ko hagegeka ubikwiye. Ubikwiye rero si ubwoko bubikwiye, si ukuba abo mu bwoko ubu n'ubu. Ubikwiye ni uko Abanyarwanda babona ashoboye kurengera inyungu zabo. Ubikwiye ni uwo. Noneho Abanyarwanda bakamubwira bati dutegeke kuko ubikwiye, ubwoko waba uvuyemo bwose ariko urabikwiye kandi uri ubwoko biranteye ariko urabikwiye, dutegeke rero. Njyewe ni uko numva ikibazo cy'Abanyarwanda muri iki gihe cyagombye gukemuka bagashyi... ee... icyingenzi Abanyarwanda bagasimbuza la culture démocratique bakayisimbuza imico twahoranye yaba iy'ubuhake, yaba iyo gu... ku... kugira umususu ngo... ngo ndi Umuhutu sinamenya gutegeka ibyo bikava aho bigasimbuzwa iyo culture démocratique, ko Abanyarwanda ari bo batanga ubutegetsi bakabuha ubukwiye bidatewe na... n'i... n'ubwoko avukamo, bitewe gusa n'uko abikwiye n'ukuntu ashoboye kurengera inyungu ze.

- Ndagira ngo ukomeze, ndagira ngo ukomeze kuko ibyo bintu uvuze mbonye abo natumiye bose basa n'ababyemera. Amoko rero arahanganye, Abahutu n'Abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi. Utu "u... umuti nabona" utu "ni uko haba méritocratie hagateka ubikwiye, ubwoko yavamo ubwo ari bwo bwose.

Nkagira ngo rero utubwire ukuntu uwo muntu yava muri iyo phase, muri icyo gice, muri urwo rwego rw'ntambara akagera nyuma y'intamba haba méritocratie. Iyo ntambara yahoshwa n'iki? Méritocratie twayigeraho dute?

- Bon, urakoze cyane ee... iyi ntambara yarabaye, muzi ukuntu byagenze imyaka igiye kuba itatu cyangwa se yararenze ahubwo. Ee... intambara yarabaye, haba imishyikirano. Haba imishyikirano bagera ku mahoro. Mbere na mbere ikintu cya mbere njye mbona intambara nirangire, Abanyarwanda bagire amahoro koko ariko bitari ibi by'agashyengo cyangwa by'imitego, Abanyarwanda bagire amahoro, intambara irangire. Nirangira rero, aba bategetsi bacu batubwira demukarasi boye gukomeza kutubwira ko ari abademokarate igihe bagendera hejuru y'imbaga y'Abanyarwanda. Ntabwo ushobora kuba demukarate ngo wirengagize imbaga, ntibibaho. Kuko ubutegetsi ni ubw'ijo mbaga.

Ibantu rero ni bibiri kuri njye, ibantu ni bibiri kuri njye: niba koko abantu bashaka amahoro, nibari... nibahe Abanyarwanda amahoro. Niba bumva iyo... iyo culture ibarimo koko ko ha... ko hagomba demukarasi nyayo, nibabanze bahe Abanyarwanda amahoro. Ntabwo demukarasi ibatio igihe ari nta mahoro ntibibaho. Nta demukarasi ijjana na puwanyari, nta demukarasi iba ku mbunda. Maze Abanyarwanda nibagire amahoro hanyuma babareke bitorere ababishoboye.

Icy a mbere rero GAHIGI nakubwira cy'ingenzi, ni uko Abanyarwanda babaha amahoro asesuye. Ibyo bikumvikana noneho kuri a... bagendera kuri ayo mahoro Abanyarwanda mu mahoro bakitorera wa wundi ubikwiye ushoboye kubarinda. Njye ni uko mbyumva.

- Njye ndacyafite ikibato uti "Abanyarwanda nibabahe amahoro". Kandi dutangiye iki kiganiro twemeje ko iyo mbaga y'Abanyarwanda igizwe n'Abahutu n'Abatwa n'Abatutsi. Noneho akaba ari Abahutu n'Abatutsi barwanira ubutegetsi, ayo mahoro se bayahabwa na nde? BARAYAGWIZA.

Orateur Jean-Bosco BARAYAGWIZA, CDR:

Ee... icyo ni ikibazo cyiza cyane ee... Abanyarwanda ni twebwe tugomba kwiha amahoro, ntabwo ari abazungu bazayatuzanira, ntabwo ari abanyamahanga bazayatuzanira. Ariko kubera... Abanyarwanda ari twe dusubiramo turwanira ubutegetsi, ubwo abazashaka amahoro ni abo Bahutu, n'abo Batutsi.

Mbere rero yo kugira ngo ayo mahoro abeho, tugomba kuvanaho bya bindi twavuze tumaze isaha yose tuvuga yuko tugomba kwemera yuko Abahutu bariho, Abatutsi bariho, tukemera yuko ikibazo cyo kurwanira ubutegetsi hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi kiriho. Icyo kibazo ni cyo tugomba gushakira umuti, kuko umuti utabonetse nta mahoro tuzagira.

Nk'ubu ngugu we Ravi yavuze ati "twe... njyewe ndatekereza ko abantu batera icyo kibazo ari abategetsi". Ariko abategetsi bagiye basimburana! Kuki si iki kibazo kitavuyeho, abategetsi ba... bakizanye bavuyeho? Abatutsi bavuyeho, ikibazo se kuki kitarangiye? Abahutu bajyaho, ikibazo se kuki kitarangiye? Ubwo rero njye nakwibaza niba koko ari abategetsi bagitera cyangwa se kiri mu ndiri muri twe! Nk'uko twakomeje kubivuga ndumva ari byo kiri mu ndiri muri twe. Kiri mu... mu... mu... muri kamere, kiri muri culture. Karoli yavuze ati "tugomba kugira indi culture". Tugomba kugira culture ya demukarasi, ariko ashoje avuga ati "ntabwo iyo demukarasi izaturuka mu gisu iciye mu ba...turage, iwacu tucyita igisu, ntabwo izaturuka muri kalashnikovu. Bya bindi ra... Ravi yavuze ngo "abo bantu mu mwanya niba bibu... ba... babangiye gutaha mu Rwanda", ngo "bafate imbunda" ngo "kandi ni uburenganzira bwabo". Nta muntu ufite uburenganzira bwo gushaka gufata ubutegetsi n'imbunda. Ubwo nta... burenganzira ntibubaho! Kuko icyo gihe bya bindi tuvuga yuko ikiremwamuntu kigomba kubahirizwa cyane cyane ubuzima bwa buri muntu twaba tutagikurikije.

Ubu se abo bantu biyumviye ... tuvuge koko ko ibyo uvuze ari byo ko babangiye gutaha bageze aho babonye bidashobotse bafata imbunda. Ubu se bazategeka nde nibamara kudutsembe? Yenda tuvuge ko badashoboye kudutsembe twese bazica bamwe, abasigaye se bazabategeka bate? Ese abo ngabo ni bo twifuza ko badutegeka, abo batsema abaturage? Niba bashaka kuvanaho ubutegetsi

nibatwereke ko ari bo babishoboye ko abandi bahari batabishoboye, noneho nk'uko Karoli yabivuze ubwo butegetsi tububemerere. Arikò n'yo bazafata ubwo butegetsi ntabwo ari cyo kizavanaho cya kibazo cy'Abahutu n' Abatutsi kuko tuzaba tukigendeye hejuru tutakizi.

Njye nkibwira ko icya mbere tugomba kwitondera ari icyo kibazo kiri hagati y'abahutu n' Abatutsi kuva ingoma nyinshi zajyaho, abategetsi benshi basimburana icyo kibazo ntabwo bigeze bakiga ngo bakinonosore, bakibonere umuti. Bigeze kucyiga... muri mirongo itanu n'umunani. Ubwo... Madamu Claire MBONAMPEKA arabidu... yabidusobanurira neza ku... ku... kundusha ndetse na Karoli NKURUNZIZA. Muri mirongo itanu n'umunani icyo kibazo cyizwe muri Conseil supérieur du pays yategekwaga n'umwami. Aho kugira ngo bakibonere umuti umwami yarangije inama avuga ati "uzongera kuvuga ko mu... Abahutu babaho n' Abatutsi babaho, ko icyo kibazo kiriho, bazamuhige azaba ari umwicanyi, azaba yanga u Rwanda". Barabahize koko kuko icyo gihe hari Abahutu bishwe.

Ubu rero niba umuntu... iyo uvuze icyo kibazo ko kiriho, FPR iramuhiha ikarinda ikwishe. I... iyo ugize imana ukayicika ugenda wihisha ugira ngo itazakwica. Niba dukomeje ibyo ngibyo rero, tukavuga... ubu uvuze ko icyo kibazo kiriho ngo bagomba kumwica. Icyo kibazo ntabwo kizatuma ubutegetsi buzajyaho ubwo ari bwo bwose bugira amahoro. Nkabona rero yuko twari dukwiye kwicara sinu... simvuga nk'uko Ravi yamvugiyé ko Abahutu bagomba kwicara aha ngaha muri uyu murongo, Abatutsi bakicara muri uyu murongo, ibyo ntabwo ari byo mvuga. Jye ndavuga ko Abanyarwanda twese hamwe n' Abatwa barimo tugomba kwicara hamwe tugatekereza ku icyo kibazo. Yenda se tugakora Conseil supérieur du pays nk'uko yari iri bayikoze icyo gihe muri mirongo itanu n'umunane, cyangwa tugakora Conférence nationale nk'uko uzizi muri iyi minsi, tukiga icyo kibazo cyo kurwanira ubutegetsi hagati y'Abahutu n' Abatutsi. Tukagishakira umuti. Tukareba ukuntu dutegeka hamwe! Nk'uko abandi babivuze nta wushobora kwibwira ngira ngo ni Karoli wabivuze cyane, nta muntu ushabora kwibwira yuko ubwoko bwonyine ari bwo bugomba gutegeka. Kuko twaba tugarutse muri bya bindi tutemera byo kuvuga ngo "ubwoko ubu n'ubu" ngo "ni bwo bwa... vukanye imbuto"!

Abatutsi bafite abantu b'abahanga bazi ubwenge bakunda igihugu, Abahutu barabafite bazi ubwenge bakunda igihugu. Madamu MBONAMPEKA ya... yakomeje kubivuga rwose kubitsindagira ko Abahutu bagomba kumenya yuko bazi ubwenge na bo bashoboye gutegeka kandi bagategeka neza. Ntibagende bishisha Abatutsi. Abatutsi na bo bafite abazi ubwenge bashobora gutegeka. Na bo ntibagomba kugenda bishisha aba... Abahutu.

Ibyo ngibyo ni byo tugomba kuzicara tugacoca atari ukuvuga ngo... ngo twicaye ngo dushyamiranye, ubwo igihugu ngo ni icyacu twembi, tuzakibanamo twembi na... na... na ga... na Gatwa wa gatatu. Ngibyo ibyo ntekereza twakora kugira ngo tuve mu iyi ntambara.

- Ndabona tugenda tugana ku mwanzuro. Ngira ngo muzi ko twemeje ko amoko ariho mu gihugu, ndetse tuza kubona ko ayo moko ashayamiranye cyane cyane Abahutu n'Abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi. Ubwo rero turagenda tugana ku mwanzuro tubonye ko umwanzuro wahosha iyo ntambara iri hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bapfa ubutegetsi ari uko bakwicara hamwe, ni BARAYAGWIZA utanze uwo muti, ari uko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bakwicara hamwe bakiga icyo kibazo ...

- ... n'Abatwa.

- ... n'Abatwa na bo bakaza noneho bakiga icyo kibazo, noneho igisubizo kikaba icyo Karoli yatanze, hakaba ikintu twakwi... yise "méritocratie". Ni ukuvuga ko ubutegetsi bwasubizwa rubanda, noneho rubanda ikabuha abo ishatse ikurikije ububasha bwabo, ubushobozi bwabo. Uwo ni wo muti tubonye. Marie-Claire hari undi muti ubona, hari ikindi gisubizo ubona kuri iyo ntambara?

Orateur Marie-Claire MBONAMPEKA:

... (inaudible) ikindi gisubizo ariko... kwari ukukwereka ukuntu iyi ntambara igoye kuyisoza. Kuko iyi ntambara ya... sinavuga ngo bayishoje, ahubwo navuga bayizibiranyije na les accords d'Arusha. Kandi les accords d'Arusha jyewe uko nzibona za... subije abantu inyuma mu byerekeye demukarasi

no mu yo wise méritocratie. Utu ese kuki? Kuko les accords d'Arusha zasubije ... mu byo bavuga ngo "ishyaka iri n'iri rihawe imyanya iyi n'iyi". Ntabwo mbyanze koko Abanyarwanda iyo bashinze ishyaka, bakamenya ku...rishiye ahagaragara akarikorera ubwo aba yerekanye ubwenge. Ariko se kuvuga ngo ee... kanaka uyu n'uyu wo muri uyu mwanya uyu n'uyu nave mu ishyaka iri n'iri, ntabwo rimwe na rimwe bizatugusha mu... mu kintu cyo gupfa guhangika abantu mu myanya badashoboye? Kubera ko bashobora kuvuga bati "Ministre w'Ubuhinzi nave muri PL, PL ikaba idafite umuntu wize iby'ubuhinzi, kandi muribuka ko... ni ko twibeshyaga ko igihugu cyacu cyohereza abantu kwiga kugira ngo bazagikorere muri domaine bizemo. Kuko kuza cohoreza abantu kwiga ibintu ukaza ukabajarajaza mu bindi ni nko kubagira indaya babyita la prostitution intellectuelle. Kuko uba ubaye nk'indaya, uba ugiye gu... gupfa gu... gutera ikiraka gusa. Bon, noneho rero nk'icyo urumva ko uwo ari umutego.

Abanyarwanda bari bamaze kujya bagenda aki... akishakira diplôme ye akayimanukana ati "dore diplôme yanje msite nimumpe akazi mukurikije diplôme". None bati ibya diplôme bivuyeho uwashakuje cyane muri mitingi, uwa...gize gute ni we ugiye kuza fara umwanya uyu n'uyu. Urumva rero ko icyo gihe ... (inaudible) umuhinzi-mwotozi ... (inaudible) akabyibaza agasanga biriya bintu bidahwitse.

Ikindi cya méritocratie, ubu ngubu ibinyamakaru n'iki byose usanga byirirwa bituka abategetsi kandi rimwe na rimwe koko ibyo bibatukaho ugasanga ni byo. None se iyo méritocratie se tugiye kumaramo imi... i... tugiye ku... kuniga imyaka ibiri, tukaniga demukarasi imyaka ibiri n'ubundi twari tumaze imyaka mirongo itatu ee... uzi ko twa... iya mbere twayimaze muri MDR, jyewe mvugisha ukuri, ubundi taza no muri MRND, urumva? Umuntu wa mbe... ubwa mbere twatekerezaga muri MDR, dukurikijeho dutekerezaga muri MRND, none tugiye mu Nzibacyuho inize demukarasi, inize iyo méritocratie; ni n'ijambo numviye aha ngaha burya gusohoka bigira akamaro. Bon, none rero ubwo ubona ko... ukuntu umuntu uzi ubwenge yagiye akiga, akabonana n'abandi hirya no hino, aba... ahe... amarembo akaba yaraguwe i... ashobora kugenda asimbuza wa mugani w'Abarundi agasanga icyo kintu gihwitse? Ni yo mpamvu rero ubona yuko ubu iyi ntambara kuyirangirisha, sinanga nako ama

... les accords d'Arusha batazi kunyi...terera grenade, ariko nawe (aseka) urumva ko (aseka cyane), oya jyewe nta n'u... nta n'ubshobozis msite bwo kanga les accords d'Arusha, ariko jye ndakubwira nti bashaka kurangiza intambara uytwikira les accords d'Arusha kandi nyine tumaze kureba ukuntu ziraho zinenga ikintu abantu bari bamaze kugeraho. Ubwo GAHIGI arakomeza.

Orateur GAHIGI Gaspard:

... (inaudible).

Fin de la face B.