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FACE A

Orateur : HABIMANA Kantano, journaliste de la RTLM. 0.0

- ... nkumva a... afite ukundi abivuga.

Orateur : GAHIGI Gaspard, journaliste de la RTLM.

- Ee... ubundi...

- Iyo avuga ngo yabonanye na force politique ne... ee... nta... we... njyewe nu... numva kuri force politique, numva ari abayobozi b'amashyaka.

- Hum.

- Ariko we usanga bisa n'aho a... agenda afata muri buri shyaka umurwanashyaka,

- Hum.

- Akasa.. n'umugisha inama...

- Hum.

- ... noneho akaba ari cyo yita force politique...

(Inaudible: deux voix en même temps)

- Njyewe (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)

- Ubundi nagira ngo ngusobanurire rero, force politique ubundi,

- **Hum.**

- Ntabwo bivuga ishyaka.

- **Uhum.**

- Hashobora no kuba abantu bishyize hamwe muri association, hashobora no kuba ari iki... ukaba wacyita force politique. Ariko hano igituma ari ishyaka, ni force politique appelée à participer au gouvernement.

- **Uhum.**

- Kandi mu masezerano y'Arusha, amashyaka ni yo bahamagaye kuzajya muri Guverinoma na FPR yiyita "Umuryango".

- Uhum.

- Ni zo... nzo... ni zo forces politiques turazizi ntabwo ari forces politiques izi zanditse mu bitabo bya politique.

- Uhum.

- Izi forces politiques bavuga ni spécifiées, ni ukuvuga ko bavuze izo ari zo. Ni amashyaka atanu agize Guverinoma y'u Rwanda "yanegosiye" yagiranye imishyikirano na FPR-Inkotanyi.

- Unhum.

- A... zo ni forces politiques zo mu Rwanda na FPR ikaba ari force politique na yo yahamagariwe kuzajya muri iyo Guverinoma.

- Hum.

- TWAGIRAMUNGU rero agahitamo abame... aba...kandida bazajya muri Guverinoma en concertation. Ni ukuvuga agishije inama,...

- Hum.

- ... bagiye inama na... n'izo forces politiques, noneho agahitamo abakandida aka... bakavuga ko abereka..., il les présente au Président de la République pour nomination. Ni ukuvuga aba... abohereza kwa Président wa Repubulika kugira ngo abashyireho, kandi e... akabohereza no kuri asa... akaba... ainsi qu'à l'Assemblée nationale de transition conformément à l'article dix-huit.

- Hum.

- Bakarahirira nyine imbere y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'inzibacyuho.

- Buriya buryo se bwo kubanza kubavuga kuri radiyo nyuma baka (inaudible: deux voix simultanées)...

- Ni cyo nashakaga kugeraho,

- Heh!

- Ni cyo nashakaga kugeraho.

- Heh!

- Ntabwo rero... ni cyo navugaga nti "...ebwo... yarabeshyaga ni icenga yakoze, ni feinte avuga ko yakoze akazi ke, kuko ntabwo akazi ke yagakoze. Akazi ke, dukurikije ingingo ya mirongo itanu n'ebiyiri y'amasezerano y'Arusha, yagombaga nyine kubanza akumvikana n'amashyaka yarangiza kumvikana n'amashyaka akaba... akabereka... akabageza kuri Président wa Repubulika.

- Uhum.

- Ibyo bintu rero ntabyo yakoze, ari ukumvikana n'amashyaka ntiyabikoze, ari no kubageza kuri Président wa Repubulika ntiyabikoze. Ubwo rero njye nkahita mfata umwanzuro ko atakoze akazi ke ahubwo yakishe. Ngibyo ibyo nagira ngo...

- Tu... (deux voix en même temps)

- ... mvuge kubyerekeye ibyo... ibyo bintu byo gutangaza ee...

- Abantu kuri radiyo (inaudible: deux voix simultanées)...

- Kuri radiyo,...

- ... mais...

- ... ubundi yagombaga kubabwira Président wa Repubulika bamara kubyemeranyaho kandi babanje kubijamo inama n'amashyaka, akabona wenda akabitangulariza rubanda. Ndetse no kubitangulariza rubanda, byagombaga kuba igihe barahira.

- Igihe barahira!

- Ibi bintu byo gukora politique nk'abana njye mbona atari byo.

- (Asek) Eh! Ariko GAHI, hari... hari ijambo TWAGIRAMUNGU yavuze, umva, na n'ubu njyewe ee... riracyandya kuko nkunda kugira umujinya iyo umuntu avuze ibantu bi... bita... bitagiye mu buryo, yaravuze ngo ee... hari umunyamakuru... BAMWANGA yaramubajije kuri Radiyo Rwanda ati “ese”..., sinzi ikintu yamubajije ibyo ari byo byose ku ba Ministres, noneho aravuga ngo “nzabashyikiriza Président wa Repubulika na... na... nagira abo yangamo nyuma y'iminsi itatu njyewe mbasinyire”. Icyo kintu ucyumva ute?

- Icyo kintu ntabwo cyumvikana, ni cyo gituma mvuga nti “gukora amacenga muri politique ntabwo ari byo”. Ibi byo kuvuga ngo iyo icyemezo kivuye muri Guverinoma y'inzibacyaho yaguye, iyo hashize iminsi itatu Président ataragisinya ee... Premier Ministre ashobora gufata icyemezo cyo kugisinya.

Icyo rero ... ibyo rero, mu masezerano y'Arusha bivuga... bya... yabigira.. ububasha ari uko iyo Guverinoma yagiye. Igihe Guverinoma itarajyaho ntiyakwiyita Ministre u... w'Intebe ngo yiyite we. Bavuze ko ari Ministre w'Intebe washyizweho, ateganyijwe mu masezerano y'Arusha ariko ntago arajyaho. Ntabwo uzi se ko ubu dusa n'abafite ba Ministres b'Intebe babiri? Madamu uwingeg... Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata avuga ko ayobora... ati “Guverinoma nyobora ariko itagikora”. TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini ati “ndi u... Ministre w'Intebe washyizweho”. 4.1

Ndagira ngo rero nkubwire ko mu masezerano y'Arusha..., sinyazi mu mutwe, ariko hari ingingo ivuga iti e... "Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho izamara amezi makumyabiri n'abiri". Ati "ariko, ubwo gutangira kubara ko yagiye ho ni igihe "Abaministres" bamaze kurahira, bayigize..."

- **Uhum.**

- Na TWAGIRAMUNGU ubwe akarahira".

- **Hum.**

- Ni ukuvuga rero ko igihe atararahira atavuga ko ari m... agengwa n'amasezerano ya.. Arusha. Ngo ni ukuvuga rero ko mu minsi itatu yakora ikintu kandi ataraba Ministre w'iyo Guverinoma, n'iyo Guverinoma itarajyaho.

- **Hum.**

- Kugira ngo rero amasezerano Arusha ashirwe mu bikorwa ku byerekeye imikorere ya Guverinoma, iyo Guverinoma ibanza i... kujyaho noneho imikorere yayo ikabona ikemerwa. Ibyo rero TWAGIRAMUNGU avuga ni nk'inzozi, ni nk'uko rimwe na rimwe utekereza ibantu ukagira ngo ni byo byo,...

- **Heh!**

- ...cyangwa warota inzozi ukagira ngo ni ukuri, ariko ibyo TWAGIRAMUNGU avuga ntaho bihuriye na busa.

- Tugarutse gato ku bya Madame UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, Ministre w'i... w'Intebe wa Guverinoma nkunda kuvuga ko yaheze mu cyuho, ee... iyo agiye kuvuga kuri radiyo a... kuri Radiyo Rwanda birumvikana, a... aravuga ngo "ku bi... ngyewe ku bindeba, ku giti cyanje". Ukibaza niba a... mbese ku giti cyanje, ku muntu uyobora Guverinoma nta kintu wumva kibangamye?

- Kirabangamye kuko ubundi, iyo u... Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata avuga mu izina rya Guverinoma ayobora..., niba tuvuge koko aramutse akiyiyobora kuko uzi ko ee... u... nk'uko ubivuga yaheze mu cyuho, ariko ubundi kuvuga ngo "ku giti cyanje", icyo gihe ni ukuvuga ko aba ari point de vue personnel, ntabwo rero aba akivugira Guverinoma nyine. Ni igitekerezo cya Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, ubwe ku giti cye, ku giti cye nyine ni ku giti cye ntabwo ari mu izina rya Guverinoma.

Ubundi iyo avugira Guverinoma agomba kuzana icyemezo cya Guverinoma. Kugira ngo akizane,

agomba kuba yayiteranyije.

- Uhum.

- Bakavuga bati, inama ya Guverinoma yabaye ku itariki iyi n'iyi, yafashe umwanzuro umeze utya, noneho Ministre w'Intebe akaba ari we ugeza ku Banyarwanda cyangwa ku mahanga uwo mwanzuro. Igihe rero iyo nama itateranye akavuga ku giti cye, ni ku giti cye nyine. Icyo avuze rero kifite.. agaciro, ako gusa...

- Uhum.

- ...ko ku giti cye. Ni nk'uko Kantano wavuga uti, ndi umunyamakuru wa RTLM, uti ariko ubu ngiye kuvuga ku giti cyanje. Ntabwo icyo gihe uba "wangaja" RTLM.

- Uhum.

- Ariko niba uvuga kuri... uvugira kuri RTLM, uvu... uvuga ibitekerezo bya RTLM ntabwo aba ari ku giti cyawe. Ariko hari igihe koko umuntu ashobora kuvuga ati, u... nubwo nkorera Guverinoma, ndi Ministre cyangwa ndi Ministre w'Intebe ati, dore igitekerezo cya Guverinoma ati, ariko dore igitekerezo cyanje bwite. Ibyo ntibikunze no kubaho cyane, ariko rero bishobora kubaho ukurikije ee... e... circonstances, ni ukuvuga aho uri n'icyo uvuga. Rimwe na rimwe ukavuga uti, nkurikije abo nkorera dore igitekerezo ni iki, ariko uti gu.. giti cyanje..., kuko rimwe na rimwe ikintu utekereza ku giti cyawe gishobora kuba kidahuje n'icyo Guverinoma cyangwa uwo ukorera yemera, birashoboka.

Wenda ukavuga uti kubera ko ari démocratie, ee... aba... benshi bemeza ibi, ariko nubwo njye ntabyemera na... nabyemeye kubera ko byemejwe na benshi. Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata rero iyo avuga ku giti cye biba bifite agaciro nyine k'ibintu byavuzwe n'umudamu witwa UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, ariko udahagarariye Guverinoma. 7.5

- None se ubu... none se ubu ko adateranya Guverinoma, ubu ni ukuvuga ko FPR iganira... ivugana na nde muri iki gihe? Ubu mu Rwanda hari...

- I... ni cyo kibazo Kantano cya politique duko... gidukomereye.. muri iki gihe, ni cyo gituma wumva n'abantu badatinya kuvuga ko turi mu gihirahiro cya politique. Ni uko nyine FPR yari ifite interlocuteur, ifite uwo bavugana, ari Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ikaba itariho, itariho kuko na Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata arabivuga. Ni cyo gituma rero nyine turi mu gihirahiro, uzumve FPR ukuntu yisararanga, ni uko nta n'uyisubiza. Uwakayishubije

akayivugiramo ari umuzindaro wayo.

-Hum.

- Ugasanga rero nta wuvugira igihugu, kuko byagaragaye ko ari u... Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, uhagarariye Guverinoma yaheze mu cyaho nk'uko ubivuga, ari TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini, Ministre w'Intebe washyizweho uzayobora Guverinoma y'inzibacyaho yaguye, bombi ni ijwi rya FPR-Inkotanyi. Ubwo ni ukuvuga ko Abanyarwanda babuze ubavugira, akaba ari cyo kibazo dufite gikomeye, gikomeye, gikomeye, gikomereye iki gihugu, ni ukutagira Guverinoma ibavugira, ikorera abaturage akaba ari cyo gituma nyine tuvuga ko "turi mu gihirahiro cya politique".

-Uhumi. Ee... ubwo rero tugarutse na none gato ku makuru maze kubona nonaha kano kanya, ee... hari MUGENZI Yustini amaze kwa... yongeye kwamagana ibya.aa... ee... ibyo TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini yakoze, ari KARAMIRA Froduwalidi wo muri MDR-Power na we amaze ku... kubyamagana, hanyuma ndetse maze kubona agakuru yuko bari mu nama, hakaba hari itangazo baza kugeza ku abaturage. GAHIGI nka buriya, abaturage bahagurutse bakavuga ko ba... TWAGIRAMUNGU bamwanze, bakabyerekana koko, ee... n... hari icyo byaba byisheho amasezerano y'Arusha?

- Icyo ni ikibazo gikomeye Kantano, amasezerano y'Arusha nagira ngo nkubwire ko..., amasezerano y'Arusha se yo yagiye ate? Nagira ngo rero nkubwire ko ubundi abaturage bagomba kugira Guverinoma ibakwiye kandi ihuje n'igihe barimo. Nta gihe na rimwe, na rimwe, na rimwe, wabuza abaturage kugira Guverinoma ibakwiye. Nta na rimwe, mu mateka y'isi hose.

Ntabwo se ee... intambara y'isi ya kabiri ijya kuba nta masezerano yari yarabaye? Ntabwo se..., ni bwo bwa mbere amasezerano aba yapfuye? Ni ukuvuga ko ikintu cya ngombwa, cya ngombwa, cya ngombwa, ni ukumva ko ayo masezerano ataruta abaturage, ko ige icyo ari cyo cyose abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo gushyiraho Guverinoma bumva ibabereye kandi muri icyo gihe bagezemo. Ni ukuvuga rero ko amasezerano y'Arusha atari hejuru y'abaturage. Abaturage bashobora kuvuga bat, amasezerano y'Arusha muyasinya twarayemeraga, ariko ubu iki gihe tugezemo, dukurikije uko ibintu bimeze, ayo masezerano nasubirwemo tubone Guverinoma idukwiye cyangwa se, si ukuvuga ko ari ngombwa... bato TWAGIRAMUNGU nubwo bamushyize mu masezerano y'Arusha, turabona noneho atakitubereye. Wenda amasezerano

y'Arusha nagumeho ariko ingingo ivuga ibya TWAGIRAMUNGU ihindurwe.

Ibyo ni ibantu utabwira wa muturage... utabwira abaturage ngo ntibishoboka, birashoboka kuko..., none se..., reka nkubwire igituma bishoboka Kantano.

- **Uhum.**

- Wenda igisubizo kibe kirekire,...

- **Hum,**

- ...ariko nsobanurile abatwumva igituma bishoboka. Sinzi niba wibuka icyatindije iyi Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- **Kuko e..., nta guciye mu ijambo, TWAGIRAMUNGU akeka ko ubwo yanditse mu masezerano ko nta cyamukura...**

- Ko nta cyamukoraho,...

- ... **ko nta cyamukoraho...**

- ...ko ari intakoreka,...

- ... **ko ari indakorareka ko ari ibyo nyine.**

- Ii... ibyo rero nagira ngo nku... nyine, nkubwire ko bishoboka hanyuma ntangirire ku ntangiriro mbese mbive imuzi kugira ngo urebe ko bishoboka.

- **Hum.**

- Ubundi icyadindije iyi Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'inzibacyuho, icyabidindije bigat... ubundi uzi yuko dusinya amasezerano y'Arusha tariki.i... harya ni iya munani? Ni iya kane? Bya... (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- **Ni iya kane z'ukwa munani.**

- Ni... ni iya kane (aseka) z'ukwa munani.

- **(Asek) Ee...**

- Ni iya kane z'ukwa munani, bavugaga ko mu minsi mirongo itatu n'irindwi izo nzego zizaba zagiye. Noneho haza kuvuka ibibazo mu ishyaka PL na MDR, abantu ni uko batatekereza.. ngo basubize amaso inyuma, iyo... ayo macakubiri yavutse muri ayo mashyaka ni yo yatindije ishyirwaho ry'izo nzibacyuho. Uretse na none ko mu b... ntangiro haje ku... byaje kugaragara ko mu minsi mirongo itatu n'irindwi ba basirikare ba MINUAR batari bakageze mu Rwanda bose. Ni ukuvuga rero ko icyatindije cya mbere ari abo basirikare ba MINUAR, ariko n'aho bahagereye

ntibyashobotse kubera nyine amacakubiri yari mu ishyaka MDR na PL.

Noneho..., uribuka ko kugira ngo icyo kibazo cy'amashyaka gikemurwe, abakuru b'amadini baravuze bati ee... "reka tugerageze natwe gufasha igihugu cyacu", bati "nubwo twebwe tureba ibya roho" bati 'ariko n'imibereho myiza nyine y'Abanyarwanda, y'abayoboke bacu b'amadini na yo ee... tu... tuyifitemo uruhare".

Ni bwo rero bavugaga bati "PL-Lando nifate Abadepite batandatu, ifate "Umuministre" umwe noneho PL-MUGENZI ifate Abadepite batanu n'"Abaministres" babiri" bati "icyo gihirahiro kivemo". Ibyo bintu abantu... ayo mashyaka yabaye asa nk'ayemeye, ariko kubera nyine abasunikaga mu mpande zombi, ibyo bintu ntibyashoboka.

12.9

Igihirahiro rero tukigumamo kugeza igihe Président wa Repubulika avuze ati "ntago abantu baguma mu gihirahiro, reka mpuze abagize Comités directeurs z'amashyaka". Uzi ko akibivuga, TWAGIRAMUNGU yaravuze ndetse n'a... Agata bati "ibyo bintu", bati "Président ntafite uburenganzira bwo guhuza amashyaka", bati "kandi"... bati "n'iyo nama nta wuzayijyamo". Babivugiye ku maradiyo yo hanze, twarabyumvise.

- Hum.

- Ubaze no kuri Radiyo Rwanda barabivuze, ariko abantu bose bumvise bavuga ibyo bintu. Ni ho navuwanije.. kuvuga nti "abantu ni uko batibuka", igihe bavuga ngo "Président wa Repubulika nta burenganzira yari afite bwo guhuza amashyaka". Nkavuga nti "iyo TWAGIRAMUNGU yibuka ko kugira ngo..., gu... ari Guverinoma ya NSENGIYAREMYE, ari iya Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata zijyeho, ari uko Président wa Repubulika yahuje amashyaka. Ibyo bintu ni uko babyibagiwe ariko ni ko byagenze.

Nkagira ngo rero nkubwire ko ubwo muri iyo nama ee... yabaye tariki makumyabiri n'eshanu na makumyabiri n'indwi Gashyantare, iyobowe na Président wa Repubulika imuhuza n'abagize Comités directeurs ee... e... b'amashyaka, babaye nk'ebe... nk'abemeza ibyari bya.a... ibya... bagiriweho inama n'abakuru, (deux voix en même temps)...

- N'abakuru b'a...

- ... b'amadini. Noneho bati "koko Lando natware Abadepite batandatu n'"Umuministre"umwe", bati "MUGENZI muri PL atware Abadepite batanu n'"Abaministres" babiri". Ariko bongeraho ikintu kimwe gishya, ni uko bavuze bati "Lando azatange na candidature ku mwanya wa Présidence w'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'inzibacyuho" 14.4

Ibyo bintu Lando uzi ko yahise avuga ngo "ibyo bintu" ngo.o... ngo.o... "arifashe" ngo "cyane cyane ku byerekeye "Abaministres"". Ariko hashize iminsi ee... ubwo ndetse hashize iminsi Lando atangaza ko "yemeye Abadepite batandatu ariko ko ashaka ee... Ministères ebyiri kandi ko ashaka byanze bikunze Ministère y'Ubutabera".

Ubwo rero ni bwo ibintu byatangiye koko gusakuza, MUGENZI arahaguruka ati "Lando wowe umeze nk'ishami ryahagutse ku git", ati "ubundi iyo rihagutseho rigwa ahantu rikuma", ati "ariko kubera gukunda u Rwanda no kugira ngo Abanyarwanda bataguma mu gihirahiro, ndemeye imyanya... ibyo bemeje mu nama njye ndabyemeye ariko niyo.. wagira u... gute ntago tuzaguha Ministère ebyiri cyane cyane Ministère y'Ubutabera". Impamvu, MUGENZI yarazivuze wenda turaza kuzigarukaho.

Ikindi, ee... ubwo e... bavuze impamvu nyine ee... (arimyoje) hm... ubwo... e... nsubiye inyuma gato, Lando akibivuga, Lando akibivuga, FPR yahise ivuga iti "n'ibyo Lando wavye ntibyemewe ahubwo ugomba kubona Abadepite bawe cumi n'umwe". Ukibaza impamvu FPR ivugira muri PL.

- Hum.

- Lando aravuga ati "nyewe nubwo ndi décident, ndi umuntu wavuye muri.. ishyaka PL, nemeye ibi", bati "wibyemera emera... shaka Abadepite bose uko ari cumi n'umwe". Ibyo bintu rero ugasanga e... bifite nyine ikintu bihishe cyane cyane, bihisha nyine bikura bishyira FPR-Inkotanyi.

Ubwo rero Lando avuga ko "ashaka Ministère y'Ubutabera", ee... uzi ko ba... MUGENZI yageragezaga kubisobanura n'abantu bakomeje kubisobanura, baravugaga tuti.. "bariya bantu bagiye nka ba KAJEGUHAKWA, nka ba nde..., hari ibintu byabo byagurishijwe na Leta", bati aragi... "baragira ngo bazasubizwe ibintu byabo". Bati "kandi muzi abantu nka TWAGIRAMUNGU imanza afite", bati "baragira ngo bazaburizemo izo manza". Bati..., uzi ko

ee... FPR ifite MININTER, ikagira Gendarmerie, ndetse ikintu badakunze kuvuga ariko njye nkunze kuvuga ni uko burya na MINADEF atari iya MRND yose.

- Ashwi.

- Wumvise ko bafitemo abasirikare mirongo ine ku ijana, ubuyobozi bwabyo akaba ari mirongo itanu ku ijana ndetse ushinzwe iperereza mu gisirikare, ushinzwe ibyo bita "*opérations militaires*" akaba ari umuntu w'Inkotanyi.

- W'Inkotanyi.

- Ibyo bintu rero ugasanga... ibyo bintu bitumvikana, kandi uzi ko mu kugabana imyanya Arusha, Vice-Premier Ministre ari uwa FPR. Ndetse urebye uko bimeze TWAGIRAMUNGU na we yerekanye...

- Ko ari Inkotanyi.

- ... ko ari umuntu wa FPR.

- Hum.

- Kandi wareba n'uko amashyaka ateye muri iki gihe, Président w'Assemblée abaye uwa Lando cyangwa akaba uwa PDC uko iteye uku... ukwa...

- PSD.

- PSD uko iteye u... ubu, na byo ni ha handi yaba yegereye Inkotanyi cyangwa ari Inkotanyi.

- Uhum.

- Ugasanga rero ubutegetsi barasa nk'ababutwaye, cyane cyane ko... ni uko abantu batibutsa n'imyanya yindi bari bahawe Arusha.

- Hum.

- Bahawe Ministère y'ii... MININTER. Ubutegetsi bw'i... Ministère y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Amajyambere ya "Komine".

- Bahabwa MINITRANSCO. Hum? Ministère yo Gutumanaho.

- Bahabwa Ministère y'Abuvuzi, MINISANTE.

- Bahabwa Ministère y'Urubyiruko.

- Bahabwa kuzasana ibyangijwe n'intambara no gucyura impunzi.

- Urumva ni Ministères zikomeye.

- Hum.

- None se umuntu ushobora kuvura abantu, agafata MINISANTE
- Umuntu ufashe MIJEUMA, agafata urubyiruko rwose
- Umuntu ufashe Itumanaho
- Umuntu ufashe Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu
- Umuntu ufashe ibya Réhabilitation na Intégration, ni ibintu bizaba birimo amafaranga menshi cyane.

18.1

- Hum.

- Noneho akongeraho biriya byose ashaka gufata mu mashyaka yari mu gihugu, urumva se uwo muntu yaba ajyahe? Si ugufata ubutegetsi nk'uko wabivuze mu gitondo, aho kugira ngo... bwose ukabukubira FPR-Inkotanyi.

- Uhum.

- Ibyo rero ee... Kantano sinzi niba ujya wumva Radiyo Muhabura, biranyibutsa ibintu byavuzwe kuwa gatandatu na KANYARENGWE Alexis na KAGAME, babivugira hariya Muvumba.

- Hum.

- Muri Projet bita "*Muvumba*" nyine hariya abantu b'inkomere z'aho, bavuga ko... KANYARENGWE avuga ko ee... "bakwihangana ko inzara n'ubukene byugarije igihugu, ko rero mu minsi mike bazi... u rwa... Abanyarwanda bazemera icyo Inkotanyi zibasaba, ko zo ze... zanambye nyine zamenyereye ubukene..."

- Ah, bon!

- ... ee... ko rero ubukene bwegereje igi... bwugarije igihugu, ko bakwitonda ko mu minsi mike inzara izatuma Abahutu..., ubwo ni Abahutu yavugaga nyine",...

- Hum, hum.

- ... ati "bazava ku izima batinya inzara".

19.2

- Heh!

- KAGAME rero,...

- Heh!

- (Bomby barasetse)

- Ati "ubwo mube mwihanganye gato", ati "batinya inzara", ati "kandi inzara irabugarije",...

- Heh heh!

- Ati "ubwo mu minsi mike ba... bazaba babyemeye". KAGAME we yi.ii... aravuga ati "niyo

twavanga ingabo” ati “ibantu... ibantu.uu... umushinga wacu... icyo twari tugamije ntitezakireka. Urumva rero ko bye...genda byerekana koko ko abo bantu, ...

- Bashaka ubutegetsi, bwose.

- ... bashaka ubutegetsi,...
- ...bwose.

- ... bateye bashaka ubutegetsi bwose. Badashoboye kubufata bwose bajya Arusha kugira ngo babugabane. Ariko ikintu nagira ngo wenda abatwumva basobanukirweho, mu kugabana ubutegetsi Arusha harimo umutego ukomeye cyane abantu batasobanukiwe. Ni uko FPR-Inkotanyi inaniwe gufata ubutegetsi ikoresheje imbunda, yagambanye n'amashyaka yo mu gihugu yarwanyaga ubutegetsi bwa MRND... bitaga ubwa MRND,...

- Hum.

- ...kuko ntabwo bwari ubwayo kuko bari baratangiye kugabana.

- Hum.

- Donc, MRND yari ifite igice cy'ubutegetsi, opposition intérieure, amashyaka atavuga rumwe,...

- Nk'igice cya kabiri urebye (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- ... ni kimwe cya kabiri baragabanye. Ariko icyo gihe mu masezerano y'arusha ni cyo kintu abantu batakunda.. gusobanukirwaho, sinzi niba nzabisobanura bihagine, ni uko Inkotanyi zidashoboye gufata ubutegetsi n'imbunda, zagambanye n'amashyaka yo mu gihugu ataravugaga rumwe na MRND, noneho bakora ikintu bise FDC, Force Démocratique pour le Changement. Bagirana amasezerano i Bruxelles. Bati “tuzafatanye turwanye ubutegetsi bwa MRND na Président HABYALIMANA. Mu gihe bagisinya i Bruxelles, Inkotanyi ziratera.

- Hum.

- Abantu batangira kuvuga bati “se, ba bantu dusinye ko tuzafatanya, bakaba bashoje intambara ibi bintu tu... ni ibiki”? Abantu batangira mbese kwikeka, no gukeka Inkotanyi.

- Hum.

- Ubwo nti bya... bagikomeza i Bujumbura bagirana imishyikirano, bageze... turi Arusha, igitero cy'itariki umunani urakizi.

- Hum.

- Icyo gihe igitero cyahabaye twararangije kugabana ubutegetsi, ahubwo turi mu mishyikirano yo kuvanga ingabo,...

- Bold.

- ... ariko barengaho baratera. U... umuntu akavuga ati “bateye bagamije iki”? Icyo gihe..., wenda ni uko bitasobanutse neza, ibyo kuvuga ngo baje guhorera bene wabo b’ago... b’Abagogwe, ngo “ni expédition punitive”, si byo. Ahubwo ikintu abantu badasobanura ni uko abantu, Arusha, bashatse kuzanamo ibantu byo kuvuga ko imyenda FPR yafashe, ni.. ibantu byayo, n’ibiki, ko babishyira mu masezerano y’Arusha ko igihugu cy’u Rwanda kizabyishyura. Abantu bati “mube muretse ibyo bintu”. Noneho abantu bahaye imyenda, “amabanques”, abantu ku giti cyabo, hnun... ndetse na za Leta zimwe zagiye “zimaguya” zinyuza hirya ibantu...

- **Hum.**

- ...bati “FPR nitabona ubutegetsi bwose uko ugu... ukurikije uko ubutegetsi bugabanywe, nta kintu tuzibonera turahombye birarangiye.

- **Hum.**

- Bamwe ndetse imitima yarahagaze, uzi abapfuye ntavuze.

- **Heh heh!**

- Baravuga bati “ubwo FPR idashoboye gufata ubutegetsi, birarangiye ntabwo tuzabona amafaranga yacu twayigurije”, bati “ibyiza rero FPR, tugiye kubaha akantu ka rurangiza”, bati “cyane cyane ko twamenye ko mu gihugu abasirikare batakirwanira régime ihari”, bati tugiye kongera “kubafinansa” bwa nyuma, babahe amafaranga ahagije, ndetse hari n’abavuga ko hari amafaranga yoherejwe mu gihugu kugira ngo “bakorompe” abantu bamwe na bamwe,...

- **Bo mu me... mu ma (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...**

- ...batazarwana bo mu mashyaka n’ibiki, bamunge moral y’Abanyarwanda be kwi... kuzitabira iyo ntambara.

- **Hum.**

- Noneho abo bantu rero bati “FPR “turagufinanshije””, MUSEVENI ashiramo “lopake” yohereza za bataillons noneho ni bwo igitero cyo ku itariki ebyiri... cyo ku itariki munani Gashyantare kibaye, uzi..., abazi ibya gisirikare, pénétration intérieure FPR yakoze. Kugira ngo uve.. aho yari iri, ize igere za Tumba, kugira ngo ive aho yari iri igere za Nyamagumba ifate position, ni uko yari izi yuko itazigera isubirayo.

Abo bantu rero bati tubagi... “mugabe igite ee... igitero cya rurangiza, noneho mufate ubutegetsi

birangire". Igitero cya rurangiza cy'itariki ya munani, uzi ko ingabo z'u Rwanda zagishubijeyo. Ndetse twagize n'abagambanyi muri politique igihe abasirikare bacu bari batangiye gushushubikana.. Inkotanyi, barazivuze babwira abasirikare bacu ngo "nimuhagararire aho", bakariki... bakora icyo bita "*cessez-le-feu unilatéral*".

23.6

- Uhum.

- Ibyo bintu ee... ni "abanyapolitiques" babikoze si abasirikare. Icyo gihe rero..., urumva ko ubwo ibyo bintu byari bimeze.

- Uhum

- I... u... aho byaturutse rero ni Arusha, ni Arusha muri uko kugabana ubutegetsi, abantu bamaze kubona nyine nyuma y'icyo gitero, bamaze kubona ko FPR yabeshye atari ukugabana ubutegetsi ahubwo ibushaka bwose, ni bwo rero abantu bakunda igihugu cyabo mu mashyaka bibumbiyemo, bacitsemo kabiri.

- Uhum.

- Bati "twebwe nubwo twari muri FDC, tukaba twara.. dufatanyije na FPR, twe twagira ngo ni ugufatanya na FPR kugira ngo koko tuzane démocratie mu gihugu, ubutegetsi busaranganywe mu nzibacyaho, ariko bishye bishyira amatora ya rubanda.

- Hum.

- Basanga rero FPR atari cyo igamije, ni bwo rero amashyaka yacitsemo kabiri, PL na MDR. Ni icyo cyayaciyemo kabiri nta kindi. Umuntu uvuga ngo ni... ngo "ni MRND", ngo "ni HABYALIMANA" ngo ya... ngo "yamunze" ngo "amashyaka" ngo "ayagira iby'ifundi igira ibivuzo", ni TWAGIRAMUNGU wabivuze ejobundi ibyo bintu si byo, ahubwo ni Abanyarwanda bacitsemo ibice bakurikije...

- Bamaze kubona...

- ...inyungu z'igihugu...
- ...bamaze kubona ukuri...
- ...kandi bamaze kuvumbura...

- ...bamaze kuvumbura ukuri kwa FPR.

- ...ukuri kwa FPR.

- Hum.

- Ni uko kuri, nta kundi.

- Uhum.

- Ubwo rero bacinsemo ibice, ni byo byadindije urebye ishyirwaho ry'izi, izi nzego z'inzibacyuhu zisigaye, ni icyo Kantano. Ubu rero ikintu kigaragara, ubwo ndagenda ngana ku gisu... ku kibazo wambajije uti "abaturage bahagurutse",...

- Hum.

- ...n'ye mbona bishya ari ho bishyira, kuko urebe abantu FPR ivuga ngo ifatanyije na bo, ni abantu ubona basa n'abashyizwe iruhande mu mashyaka yabo, bafite abantu bake cyane, ndatinya kuvuga ko ntabo, bake cyane baba... babe.. nyuma. Ngaho mbwira umuntu witwa TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawustini, Ministre w'Intebe, ishyaka rye ryaramvirukanye ku Kabusunzu, bijya mu nkiko. Abantu bari inyuma ya TWAGIRAMUNGU ni bake cyane nubwo nta matora ahari, ni "wopi fo metere", ni ukugereranya, ni ukureba. Ni bake cyane.

- Ibyo ari byo byose ni bake, nta gushidikanya (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- Umuntu witwa NZAMURAMBAHO Frederiko, Président w'ishyaka PSD, iwabo i Gikongoro baramwamagana...

- Ahubwo...

- Bati...

- ...n'i Butare yacungiraga ejobundi yarabizambije yanga ibyemezo bya congrès ya Butare.

- Yee... (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- (inaudible: deux voix en même temps)...

- ... bati "rero", bati "ntabwo twari tuzi ko watujyanira ishyaka rigamije...", bata "ry'amizer ya rubanda", bati "ngo urijyane uryegeke ku Nkotanyi". NZAMURAMBAHO ubu afite ibibazo, i p... p... PSD uzi ko ryari ishyaka cyane cyane rishingiye ku karere. Ntabwo ryari rifite abayoboke henshi cyane mu gihugu uretse i Butare no m... n'i Gikongoro.

- Hum. Hum?

- Ni ishyaka umuntu yagereranya n'APROSOMA kera. None iwabo aho yari afite icyo bata "bastillon" na ho bamumereye nabi. Baravuga bati "ntabwo twakwifusa ko watwegekera ishyaka ku Nkotanyi, ahubwo hari abatubwira ko atanakigerayo, ko agezeyo bashobora kumusamira hejuru.

- Heh.

- Umuntu bata NAYINZIRA...

- Puuh!

- Ni we ufatanyije ee... ngo na FPR. Uzi se... ntago wabonye... kez... ntiwabonye ibaruwa abagize inzego za PDC mu gihugu cyose bamwandikiye bamwamagana? Uwo muntu se ahagarariye nde? Koko rero, kugira ngo nsubize ikisubi... ikibazo cyawe, nakubwiye ko ku isi hose umuntu wemera démocratie, ni ukuvuga ubutegetsi bw'abaturage bubakorera kandi akaba ari bo babutanga. Nta muntu n'umwe wabuza rero abaturage kwishyiriraho Guverinoma bishakiye. Ngira ngo no muri préambule ya Constitution ya Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika (Etats-unis d'Amérique) ari imwe mu za kera, ni icyo kintu ishingiraho ko abaturage bafite uburenganzira bwo kwishyiriraho Guverinoma bashaka, igihe cyose bashakiye.

- Uhum. Ni na yo démocratie urebye.

- Ni yo démocratie.

- Ni démocratie koko.

- Niba rero abantu babona bagiye guhera mu gihirahiro bahejwe.. abantu mu gihirahiro n'abantu nk'abo nakubwiye marginales... marginalisées, abaturage koko bashobora guhagurukira rimwe bakavuga bati "stop, ibintu birahagije", hanyuma bakishyiriraho Guverinoma bashatse.

- Urakoze Bwana GAHIGI.

- Abumva Radiyo yigenga RTLM, ndakeka yuko mu kiganiro tumaze kugirana na Rédacteur en chef GAHIGI Gaspard, ndakeka yuko mwumvise uko ibintu bimeze.

Mu by'ukuri hano kuri iyi radiyo yanyu tuvugisha ukuri, ndakeka yuko uko GAHIGI yagiye abasobanurira uko ku... akurikije ibibazo nagiye mu... mu... mubaza, nta kintu na kimwe yahimbye ni ko ibintu byagenze, hanyuma rero abaturage bakaba barabonye yuko FPR yazaga ibeshya ngo irashaka ngo gucyura impunzi, ubu impunzi ntabwo zikiri ikibazo. Hum? Nta muntu ushobora kuzitangira. Ibyo yazaga ibeshya ngo démocratie, démocratie ntabwo umuntu yo.. yivanga mu mashyaka y'abandi, ntabwo adindiza ibintu ngo ashaka ibindi. Démocratie umuntu akorera muri transparence, ku mugaragaro.

Hari ibindi rero FPR i... ihishe, ari u... ari byo gusata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, gufata ubutegetsi Abahutu bari bambuye Abatutsi muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda noneho

ikabufata yo byose ikabihindura uko yumva itekereza, uko... ikurikije ama... aa... amateka ee... abuzukuru b'impunzi bigiye mu... mu bigo by'impunzi, noneho u Rwanda bakarugira ee... rushya ariko hagati y'utukingirizo.. ee... rushya mu... mu bitekerezo by'Inkotanyi. Nguko uko ibintu bimeze nta kindi.

29.0

Ikibazo rero gisigaye, ni ukwibaza niba abaturage, rubanda nyamwinshi dushobora kwemera ko icyuya abaturage biyushye me... ba sogokuru bacu, ba data biyushye muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda gishobora gupfa ubusa, ko ibyo twagezeho byose biyoyoka bikayoborwa n'Inkotanyi cyangwa se ee... yuko natwe ibyo twagezeho dushobora kubyegurira Inkotanyi ee... gutyo gusa kandi zitarigeze zishobora kudutsinda n'intwaro. Ni icyo kibazo.

- Ikibazo koko ni aho kiri, ariko njye mbona rubanda batazabyemera, rubanda ntabwo ruzabyemera kuko Arusha bajya kugabana ubutegetsi, njye nabyise kubushimuta, kuko ubundi ubutegetsi ni ubw'abaturage, umuntu rero avuze ngo agiye Arusha ngo bagabane ubutegetsi, njye mbyita kubushimuta, barabushimuse rero none mu gihe cyo kubugabana bibaye ikibazo, FPR iravuga iti..., mbese ni nk'uko abantu, mumbabarire mvuge ibisambo...

- Hee...

- ... Cyangwa mbite abashimus...

- Heh, wigeze no kubivuga, ahah!

- Hum... nigeze kubivuga, mugashimuta inka noneho mwajya kuyigabana, mwayibaga mwajya kugabana hakavamo umugabo umwe wiyyita uw'ijanja agashaka kuzitwara zose.

- Hum...

- Abandi bahagurukira rimwe bakamurwanya, kerek a gize ingufu ngira ngo akare... akanesha abo bose...

- Hum.

- ...ariko ubundi ntabwo ushobora kuba wemeranyijweho ikintu ngo ni ukugabana ubutegetsi nurangiza ubutware.

- Hum.

- Ibyo bintu MUGENZI Yustini akunze kubivuga, ntabwo rero abantu bazemera guha ubutegetsi