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FACE A : * **Kantano HABIMANA**, journaliste de la RTLM appelle tous les Rwandais à user de toutes leurs forces pour combattre les Inyenzi-Inkotanyi afin de libérer le Rwanda.
Il condamne les actes de pillage et de tuerie perpétrés par la population et l'armée et leur rappelle qu'elles doivent se livrer uniquement aux combats contre le F.P.R-Inkotanyi.

FACE B : * **KAMBANDA Jean**, premier ministre, à travers son message à la nation, donne des explications sur la procédure de la mise en place du gouvernement après le décès du président HABYARIMANA et il cite ses 3 objectifs.

* Il demande à la population déplacée, surtout de Kigali, de regagner leurs biens et leur promet que le gouvernement leur cherchera des armes pour se protéger et protéger leurs biens.

* Il communique à la population les instructions auxquelles doivent se conformer toutes les institutions assurant la sécurité.

* Le premier ministre condamne les actes de pillage et appelle plutôt la population à combattre le F.P.R-Inkotanyi.

FACE A. K0145742

(Indirimbo : Tuzakurwanirira Rwanda). **00min00sec**

- Orateur: Kantano HABIMANA, journaliste de Radio Rwanda.

RTLM, Radiyo yigenga ivugira i Kigali ku mirongo y'ijana na gatandatu na mirongo cyenda na kane, abatwumva mwese rero nimuhaguruke. Turwanirire uru... uru Rwanda. Nta handi u Rwanda ruri ku isi. U Rwanda ruri aha ngaha Imana yaruteretse, muri Afurika yo hagati, nta handi u Rwanda ruri ku isi, turi Abanyarwanda, turi Abanyarwanda, ntabwo rero dushobora kuvuga ngo duhunze u Rwanda, Abagande barutwirukanyemo, hanyuma ngo ibyo bintu bizumvikane. Ni ngombwa rero yuko turwanirira uru Rwanda, ari umwana, kuva ku mwana ushobora kugenda, ushobora kuvuga, kugeza ku musaza ushobora kubona, ushobora kwitwaza akabando akaba yavuga ati Inyenzi ihise aha nayibonye, cyangwa se akaba yagira abana be inama ati munyure aha bana banjye cyangwa mwihishe gutya. Abo bose, ari abagore, ari abakobwa, ari aba...gabo, ari abasore, ari... twese, tugomba kurwanirira uru Rwanda kuko u Rwanda rwaratewe.

Nkubwije ukuri yuko urebye mu Nyenzi-Inkotanyi uretse bariya bantu tuzi, bakeya bagiye ejobundi intambara itangiye muri mirongo cyenda, na bwo hakagenda abana b'Abatutsi gusa mwarabibonye ku miro... ku mi... ku mirenge yose imwe, abandi bose mu Nkotanyi nta muntu ushobora kumenyamo n'umwe. Nta wushobora kumenyamo n'umwe bose ni abivugira "so", ni abivugira "habari gani". Bose, abo bantu nshobora kwemeza ko nubwo bavuga yuko ari Abanyarwanda, ko babyawe n'Abanyarwanda, ariko nta gihamya n'imwe ihari ishobora kutwemeza yuko abo bantu ari Abanyarwanda.

Ntabwo rero baduterera igihugu ngo tukibarekere, tugende twipfumbase twirukanka. Ahubwo ni ugufata amahiri, ibibando, amashoka, tukirukanka tukabasanga, tukababuza gukomeza kutwangiriza igihugu. N'ubutwari bwinshi cyane, ni bwo butwari buranga Abanyarwanda, buranga Umunyarwanda,

burya umuntu w'intwari nyine abantu baramwubaha, bakamutinyira yuko ari intwari. Nta muntu n'umwe urakunda umuntu w'imbwa ndabona, nta we, nta wukunda ikigwari, ikinnyeteri iteka barakibona bakagikubita amabuye, cyangwa se bakagi... bakakijomba intoki ku itama, muzarebe umwana w'ikinnyeteri abantu bose baramureba, nta n'umutuma, nta wumuha inzoga, kubera ko baba babona ko nta cyo azamarira... azimarira we ubwe, nta n'icyo azamarira igihugu. Mwe kuba rero ibinnyeteri, turwanirire uru Rwanda, nta kuvuga ngo njyewe ngo ndahunze, uzahunga se ugereze he? Uhunga se iki? Abo u... abo uhunga ni abasore nkawe, ndetse urabarusha ubusore. Hanyuma se, iga amayeri yo kugira ngo, wabatega umwobo, wabatega umushibuka, wabatega iki, wabatega ikintu kindi cyabakerereza, ariko abo bantu murwane koko, babone ko murwana, naho ubundi nibagenda bakwirukankana... bazakugeza kure! Barinda bakugeza kure se kuki? **05min07sec**

Mukomere rero bantu bose... bantu mwese muri i Ngara, aho muri i Ngara muri Tanzaniya (Tanzanie), abasore, ab'abagabo bafite imbaraga, ntimwifate mapfubyi, mukore imyitozo, mwirukanke mu gitondo, mwirukanke nimugoroba, mwishyushye, kuko mu minsi mike mu... muri hafi guhabwa ibikoresho mukajya kubohoza u Rwanda rwababyaye. Nta kundi kundi bigomba kugenda, ntabwo Abagande n'abandi bose ba... batarutse za Burundi za he, baza ngo batashye mu Rwanda, aho baje n'amaho... mu mahoro, bakatwi... bakatwibira igihugu, baraza baka... bakagisenyagura, tubarebera, hanyuma maze ngo tubihorere. Ibyo rero ntabwo bishoboka, ntabwo bishoboka (arakoroye) aho twajya hose batwita imbwa, bakadusuzugura, nta n'uwakongera kuduha n'akayoga.

Ubwo rero tu... duhaguruke turwanirire u Rwanda, nta kuvuga ngo ibi n'ibi, ibi n'ibi, nta kuvuga ngo... duhaguruke turwanirire uru Rwanda tutitangiriye itama, ibindi byose, ibyo kurongora, ibyo kubyina, byo kugira gute, tuzaba tubikora nyuma, ariko tumaze kubona ko u Rwanda rwacu rubohoye, nta munyamahanga ukiru... ukirugendamo, ukirutemberamo, ugikora ibyo ashaka, ukidegembya, kandi ari umusore turi abandi. Kubona abantu b'abasore...

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Nta n'Inkotanyi ipima ibilo birenga mirongo itandatu. Nta yo. Nta yo ndabona. Uretse gusa... kuba mulefu... agera hi... hejuru iriya. Ariko abo bantu rero, ibyo ari byo byose nta... nta... nta kintu ba...ba... ibyo ari byo byose nta kintu abo bantu bamaze, si ngombwa ko baza kudutobera igihugu, twarababwiye tuti muze muri abavandimwe, byari bitangiye gusa n'ibyemerwa, ariko baranga, baranga, abo bantu rero ni akazi kabo, njye ntabwo mbona... niba umuntu umubwiye uti uri umuvandimwe, akanga, ati njyewe ndi umwanzi, ugomba rero kumufata nk'umwanzi, ukamufata cyanzi, nta kindi. Abantu rero badutereye igihugu ni abanzi. Baza bitwa Abatutsi, ba... baza bitwa Abagande, ntitubashaka ko abo banzi b'igihugu, baza bigira akarahakajyahe, ngo bazatsinda, ngo ii... ngo ni bo babyara bonyine, ngo... ngo ni bo bagira abantu b'incuti bonyine. **7min09sec**

Tuzashaka inshuti, tuzasabe ibihugu byose bivuga "igifransa", badutwerere "amagrenade", badutwerere ibibunda bishaje bashyize muri za "depo" bibagiwe. Yewe n'ibyo mu... n'ibyarwanye intambara y'isi yose, babiduhe... babiduhe gipfa kuba giturika gusa. None se Inkotanyi zo ko zirwanisha ibintu by'ibisasu zicurira, zishyiramo bya fers à béton, ibice by'ibyuma n'iki, bikadutera ubwoba, badushakire ibyo bintu, ubundi turwane inkundura na bariya bantu. Turwane inkundura rwose na biriya bisambo, batumariye imyumbati, ubu ngubu, hose ba... imyumbati yose bayitsembye, hum, abo bantu iyo ba... iyo bihingira se, iyo bihingira ibyabo, cyangwa se bakaza bakabisaba, bagapagasa, ubu se..., ibyo ari byo byose ntabwo byumvikana. Ntabwo byumvikana, tuzabarwanya kandi tuzabatsinda, ibyo byo ni ihame, nta gushidikanya, kandi nibatareba neza bazashira, kuko njye narabibonye.

Umuryango w'inkeho..., ubundi mu kinyarwanda, ni uko Inkotanyi rero zitumva ikinyarwanda, abazihanuye ni bo bakuru babi, ntabwo bumva nyine, ntibava ku izima, ariko mu kinyarwanda ngo "umuryango w'inkeho", ubusanzwe "urasana wisunga umugina, wasumbirizwa, ukawisungaho". Hein, wasumbirizwa "ukawikingaho". Ngira ngo uwo mugani urumvikana. "Umuryango w'inkeho, urasana wisunga umugina, wasumbirizwa ukawikingaho". Umuryango w'inkeho rero mu Rwanda ni... ni uwuhe? Ni Inkotanyi. Kubera ko ni agatsiko kava mu bantu bake bitwa Abatutsi. Abatutsi ni bake cyane. Ndetse n'ubwo twababariraga ku ijana, ku icumi ku ijana, ubu iyi ntambara ibyo ari byo byose

yenda yakuyeho babiri ku ijana. Yakuyeho babiri ku ijana. Ubwo rero basigaye ari umunani ku ijana. Abo bantu se koko, bazakomeza biyahure, biyahure mu bantu bi... benshi, koko ntabwo bazashira?

Ndakeka rero yuko muri... muri bariya bantu bo mu Nkotanyi hagomba kuba harimo "akamasa kazaca inka kazivukamo". Sinzi niba ari KAGAME, alias KAGOME, sinzi niba ari RUTAREMARA, sinzi niba ari MAZIMPAKA Patrick, ariko harimo umu... sinzi niba ari KANYARENGWE, KANYAMURENGWE uriya, ariko harimo umuntu ugomba kuba yaraha... yarapataniye kuzamarisha Inkotanyi, zigashira burundu, abantu bakazibagirwa, akamarisha Abatutsi ku isi, bagashira burundu, uwo muntu rero nta wumuzi, nakomeze, ariko rero ndakeka yuko, ni we uzibonera ingaruka, kandi akazibona yakererewe. Yakererewe ntaha... nta hantu akibigarurira. **10 min06sec**

Hinga mbe ndetse Inkotanyi gato, ndazigarukaho mu kanya, hanyuma... menyeshe inkuru nziza... menyeshe i... menyeshe inkuru nziza Bwana NDAGIYINTWALI Jacques. Bwana NDAGIYINTWALI Jacques rero akaba ari patron w'i... w'inzu icuruza ibyuma hano bya télévision yitwa Parteners international, hum, NGARUKIYINTWALI Jacques ejo nari namubwiye inkuru mbi, y'uko bamusahuye, ibintu byose birenga miliyoni eshanu, haa! None rero ejo byarabonetse, ejo byarabonetse abantu b'aba... abantu bari banyuze inyuma n'urwego bahingukira mu nzu, noneho abantu bareba imbere bati "wapi biragenda neza nta kintu kimenetse", naho ubwo abantu baracengeye inyuma bajyamo, ibintu byose barapakurura, ibintu bigeze kuri miliyoni eshanu, byari bigiye rero, babifatanye, ejo babifatanye aba... abasirikare na none wumve nawe, abasirikare babiri, aa, bafatanyije n'umuhungu wa SERUSHAGO, yuu! Ibyo bintu rero bya miliyoni zigeze kuri eshanu barabifashe aho bari babipakiye, bacecetse reka banumye, nuko, ibintu rero byarafashwe, ubu ankete zaratangiye, abasirikare barafunze, uwo musore na we ejo yarabajijwe, hum, asubize ukuntu arara mu cyumba kirimo ibintu bya miliyoni eshanu ataguze, ubu none ibintu biri mu buryo.

Hagati aho rero twashimira Sous-Lieutenant MPORENDAME, Sous-Lieutenant MPORENDAME Tharcisse, akaba ari we ushinzwe ibintu nyine bya anti-pillage, akaba ari umupiyemu (P.M), hanyuma rero Sous-Lieutenant MPORENDAME Tharcisse... agomba kuba ari... ubu ngubu ari mu nzira ajya

ku Gisenyi, ajya ku Gisenyi gusura ababyeyi, ibyo ari byo byose bamubwire yuko RTLM yamushimiye kuko RTLM ni radiyo idashyigikiye ubujura, idashyigikiye abicanyi, ni radiyo ishyigikiye gusa abantu barwana iyi ntambara, kugira ngo tuyitsinde igihugu cyacu cye kuba ingaruzwamuheto. Abo ngabo ni bo ...shyigikiye RTLM, iyi radiyo ishyigikiye nta bandi. Ubwibwira rero ko Radiyo RTLM imushyigikiye kuko ari umwicanyi ngo ari kuri bariyeri, ngo kuko ngo ari Interahamwe, ngo kuko ari igiki, uwo nguwo aribeshya, nta wi... ntabwo RTLM ishyigikiye abicanyi, ntishyigikiye abajura.

Kuko abantu biba muri iki gihe baratuma abandi bacika intege, nk'aho bagiye gukora icyabazanye, hanyuma noneho ba... kubona umuntu w'umusirikare, abandi bari ku rugamba, barimwo barirukankana Inkotanyi hirya no hino, ariko we ngo agiye kwiba, ngo arasahura za televiziyo, ngo aragira ate, bya televiziyo se Inkotanyi nizimara gufata uru Rwanda, atagiye kururwanirira azabicurangira he? Azabirebera he se? Wanagiterura se data ukagihungana? Hum! **13min03sec**

Ha! No guhunga ko bisigaye bikomeye guhunga uyu mujyi, ko ngo hari abantu ku Ruyenzi na bo barakariye kwambura, hum, uragenda n'umwenda waba ufite... waba ufite ipantalo n'ikote, bakagutwara ikote, cyangwa se wareba nabi bakagutwara ipantalo ngo na bo bagomba kwambara, ngo na bo ntibababisize babyanze. Ugakeka yuko babigutumye yenda ngo ubazanire. Aha! Ubwo rero nyine ni akumiro, n'imyenda y'abana barayiba, umwana wawe bakamwambura, akagenda yambaye ubusa, ee bo bakajya kwiyambarira, babaye mbese abarakare.

Ubwo rero, hem, wakwikorera se rwa televiziyo urujyana hehe? Wakwikorera se uruki? Uhunze se bwo Abagande bamaze kurushi... kubishingamwo ibirindiro, kurushingamwo ibirindiro, utarurwaniriye, watahana se iki? Ko babigutsinda hejuru, byose bakijyanira. Kujya rero gusahura ntabwo tubikunda, ni yo mpamvu ejo, hem, na bwo twari twavuze, abasirikare batanu bose, batanu bose RTLM yafatishije, kubera ko bari bibye umugabo w'i Matimba, hum, umugabo HITIMANA bari bamwibye amafranga ye ibihumbi mirongo inani. Wumve nawe, bamuzindukiye kare mu gitondo nk'aho bazindukiye ku rugamba, hum, ngo bajye gukanyaga Inkotanyi, nuko baza biruka, biba uwo

mugabo ibihumbi mirongo inani, cyakora yashoboye kubona mirongo irindwi na kimwe na magana atandatu, andi bayatereye umuntu mu nzira (arakoroye) ngo bazayasangira ariko yahise ayarya nyine birumvikana, ariko nta cyo, byibuze uyu mu... utu dufaranga ntitwagendeye ubusa!

Hari umuntu rero wantelefonnye avuga ngo "ese", ngo "ba basirikare", ngo "bafatanye ibintu by'ubujura", ngo "baba barabishe"? (aseka) Aa! Mugenzi wanjye, ntabwo babishe, ntabwo babishe birumvikana, cyane cyane yuko bari bashubije iby'abandi, hum, bari mu buroko gusa, barimwo barabahana, barabakorera dosiye nk'abajura nk'abandi, ee... ubusanzwe rero ntaho kwiba ku manywa ntabwo babihanishiriza igihano cyo gupfa.

Ubwo rero... niba hari umu...vandimwe w'umwe muri abo basirikare nahumure ntabwo bazapfa, cyakora, cyakora bazabaha igihano cyo kuzajya gufata KAGAME mpiri, hum, ba...ni bangahe? Barindwi. Bazakora commando, bagende bafate KAGAME mpiri, bamuzane ino i Kigali, ubwo nyi... ndakeka ko ari igihano gikomeye bazaba babahaye, niba... nibakora urwo rugendo ka... KAGAME bakamufata mpiri akaza koko. Ubwo... birumvikana igihano cyabo kizaba gihanaguwe, ariko rero niba ari abajura kabuhariwe, bagomba kwiba n'uwo mugabo nyine w'umugome na we kabuhariwe. Ubwo... nguko ukuntu bimeze. Iyo rero ni inkuru nzira. **16min00sec**

Turashimira uriya mu Sous-Lieutenant MPORENDAME Tharcisse ushinzwe ibya anti-pillage. Muri ibi bintu byo kwiba haguyemo... haguyemo abapolisi ba "prefegitura", haguyemo abasirikare, hapfuye abajandarume bayora ibintu, hapfuye ba mayibobo, mbese, ubaze abantu bonyine bapfuye ku byerekeye ibyo kwiba, byonyine abazize ibyo kwiba muri iki gihe, na bo rwose ni benshi cyane, ibyo ari byo byose barajya kwegera ijana. Hum! Ahubwo ntibari banapfa, buretse noneho yenda nitugira Imana iyi ntambara irangire, hum, ubone n'ubona mayibobo ari mu ivatiri IT, cyangwa se iki, Yundayi, nuko uwo numureba... wibaze ukuntu mu my... mu mezi abiri umuntu yaba abonye ho...Yundayi, maze noneho umuntu agende aye... amukubite agafuni. Hum! Birakomeye, ibintu by'ibyibano iyo byajemo ibintu by'ibyibano nyine usanga... ari ingorane.

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Twavuze rero ko tudashyigikiye abicanyi. Ntidushyigikiye abantu bari ku mabariyeri biba, baka utuntu. Hari bariyeri rero noneho iteye agahinda, ubundi yagombye kuvaho, ubundi amabariyeri tuvuze gutya yagombye guhita avaho, kuko nta cyo amaze, abaturage baba bayakemanga, ni bariyeri iri mu Gakinjiro. Mu Gakinjiro neza neza ee... munsi y'Abapentekoti, umanuka ku iso... uvuye ku isoko. Iyo bariyeri yo mu Gakinjiro, munsi y'Abapentekoti a..., ibyo ari byo byose irakora amarorerwa. Umusore uhari wambaye ibisalubeti, ukunda kwambara ibisalubeti, ararasa ibintu byose abonye, ararasa... uwo musore mugufi rero wambara ibisalubeti, ararasa amasasu uko ashatse, mbese ari mu bantu wagira ngo basinze amaraso. Uwo muntu rero... agomba kuhavanwa byanze bikunze kuko abangamiye umutekano w'abaturage, iyo bariyeri yo mu Gakinjiro, hariya... imbere y'aho batandika ibintu by'abanyamyuga, munsi y'Abapentekoti agomba kuhavanwa vuba vuba kuko arakabije, ni umusazi, uwo muntu rwose nahave vuba, ndetse abamuhaye imbunda, abamuhaye iriya mbunda bayimwambure, kuko nta cyo ayimarisha uretse gutera ubwoba abantu no kubiyenzaho, no kubamerera nabi ndetse akaba yabica, umenya ngo hari abantu yishe, ejo. Ibyo bintu rero ni akaga. Ni akaga, ni akumiro! Turabyamaganye, turabyamaganye. **18min05sec**

Abo bantu bahawe "amafranga" twarabimenye, kugira ngo bicire politike y'igihugu, kugira ngo baduteze urubwa dore abanyamakuru benshi bamaze gusesekara mu gihugu cyacu, abo rero ba... abo bantu... babuza bati "nyabuneka abapfuye barapfuye, mureke abantu ba... ba... babeho", abo bantu bakanga, twamenye ko baguriwe, ni ibyitso, ni abantu babi, bagomba gufatwa bukotanyi, kuko bicira igihugu, bicira politike y'igihugu, bicira abategetsi bacyo, baricira... mbese abo bantu bose batubaha ikiremwamuntu, badashaka kunamura icumu, baricira igihugu, twamenye ko bagiye bahabwa udufaranga a... n'ibyitso, ubwo rero ni ukubafata noneho baka... bakabona ibihano bibakwiriye.

Iyo bariyeri yo munsi y'isoko, yo mu... Gakinjiro rero iteye agahinda, uwo musore w'ibisalubeti mugufi, w'umusazi, uwamuhaye iyo mbunda agomba kuyimwambura. Agomba kuyimwambura, iyo bariyeri nihashaka Inkotanyi zizabe ari ho zinyura ariko uwo muntu adakomeje kugira akaduruvayo no kwicira abantu.

Aa! Mu kanya... navugaga ibyo kwiba, ibyo kwiba, hari umukozi wo muri BRALIRWA wambwiye ati "nyabuneka Kantano kuva aho Inkotanyi ziviriye kuri BRALIRWA ku Kicukiro, murabona BRALIRWA rwose yaduhaga Fanta n'iki", ati "basi abantu bashoboye kwinjiramo noneho", ati "ariko rero nibanywe Heiniken, banywe n'ibintu birimo, ariko bareke ibyuma, bareke ibyuma be "kubideranja", be "kubideranja" rwose kugira ngo ibintu nibigenda neza uruganda rutangire rukore", hum, ati "naho ubundi ibintu byaba bimeze nabi".

Ubwo rero nizere yuko abasahura n'abiba, ubundi ntibyagombye bagombye kururinda, byibuze rukabona n'icyo ruzatangiza, ubwo rero nizere yuko abashinzwe kurinda inganda zacu ngo zitibwa, ko barurinze kugira ngo hato hatavaho hari n'uwiba ibyuma, cyangwa se akabyangiza.

Hanyuma... mu by'ukuri iyo umuntu ageze kwa muganga, iyo umuntu ageze kwa muganga..., ndasuhuza abarwayi bose. Ndasuhuza abarwayi bose rwose bababariye kwa muganga, mwihangane, mwihangane kubabara si ko gupfa, muzakira, ikibabaje n'iyi ntambara, abantu bamwe barahangayitse ko yarangira, bavuga bati "ese yarangiye", nta cyo muzakira musubire iwanyu n'intambara ihari. Ariko abayishoje birumvikana hari icyo bashaka, barashaka kwiba ubutegetsi ngo badukandamize, ntabwo rero dushobora kubihanganira, ntabwo dushobora kubibemerera, ni yo mpamvu tugomba kurwana, intambara ni mu... yenda izashira, haze na none izindi nkomere, cyangwa se ye gushira, ariko rero mwihangane abari mu bitaro mwese, kubabara si ko gupfa.

Ariko rero cyane umuntu yashimira abaganga. Abaganga muri iki gihe bafite akazi gakomeye cyane. Gakomeye kubera ko bose barasagutswe, ba... barenzweho mbese, barakora ibidashoboka n'ibishoboka, ariko baragerageza. Ubwo rero, abaganga rwose ni ukubakurira ingofero.

Ahubwo abantu b'abaganga bakwiye kugawa, ni nk'umuganga wahunze Kigali, ubu ukaba... akaba yicaye iwabo arimwo anywa urwagwa, avuga ngo ni dogiteri, ngo ni igitangaza, bon, yenda aravuga ngo bon, basi nimpunga, nkajya i Burundi, ngo na ho azakora, ninjya muri Zayire nzakora, ariko ibyo

si byo. Ngwino uvure Abanyarwanda barimwo bakomerekera muri iyi ntambara, urwane urugamba nk'abandi, naho kwiyicarira iwanyu ngo nzaba nza byararangiye, ibyo bintu ntabwo ari byo.

Dushimire rero n'abaforomokazi. Abaforomokazi rwose baritanga amanywa n'ijoro, bamwe abagabo babo barababuze, abandi amacuti yabo yarababuze, barakora uko bashoboye, ariko mu by'ukuri ari umuforomokazi, baravura abantu batareba ubwoko, batareba... uturere, batareba amashyaka, bareba gusa ko ari ikiremwamuntu. Abo bantu rero bose, b'umutima mwiza, bo muri Croix-Rouge, yaba Croix-Rouge ya... nyarwanda, yaba Croix-Rouge internationale, abo bantu bose rero rwose ni ukubashimira cyane, baragakoze, bazabona ibihembo sinzi ibyo ari byo, ariko bari bakwiye prime ntazi ukuntu yaba ingana, kuko iyo urebye ukuntu bakora, iyo ubonye akanya ko kujya kwa muganga, ukareba ukuntu abantu bababaye, ukareba n'ukuntu abantu bagerageza kubavura, bakora hirya no hino bagira gute, bataye umutwe, ariko bakabyihanganira, ndakeka yuko bikwiye gushimwa kuko mu by'ukuri, ahantu umuntu rero azajya abona umuforomokazi, ahantu umuntu azajya abona umuganga ajye amwubaha, muri otobisi areke agende mbere, muri... aho bagura inzoga, abanze amusomye ku icupa, kuko abo bantu barakora koko bihambaye. **23min04sec**

Ikibazo rero ubu kiriho na none ni ikibazo cy'amabuye y'isitimu, nako ya radiyo, hum, inganda zarahagaze, sinzi ko hari a... n'andi mabuye aza, abantu rero ntibumve radiyo, ha, ibyo rero ntabwo ari byi... ari byiza, abatumiza amabuye, nimuyatumize mu Burundi, nimuyatumize muri Zayire (Zaïre) amabuye aze, abantu bumve radiyo kuko Inkotanyi zitumye abantu batumva amaradiyo kubera ko abantu babuze amabuye, baba bahombye.

Gusa hagati aho akanama nabagira ni uko ayo mabuye ashaje mwe kujya muyata, umuntu arayanika yego, ariko na none, iyo nka radiyo yawe ijyamo amabuye atandatu mashya, iyo ufashe amabuye umunani ukayahambiranya, cyangwa icyenda, cyangwa icumi ukayahambiranya ashaje, aa, biravuga bikabyara nka ya mabuye atandatu. Ni uguhanyanyaza, ni ukureba nyine na byo ni uburyo bwo kurwana intambara, kugira ngo radiyo yawe idaceceka. Bazane rero amabuye y'iradiyo aba... ba

importateurs, abegereye hafi y'aho... y'ahatabera intambara, noneho baya... bayegereze abaturage, kugira ngo na bo biyumvire uko ibintu bimeze.

Mukomeje kumva... Radiyo yigenga RTLM ivugira i Kigali, ubwo mu kanya... ndaza gusoma ubutumwa bwanyu, mwe gukomeza gukurwa umutima n'ibyo bintu biturika, ni ibintu Inkotanyi zipfa kubeshyabeshya, zibeshyeshya abantu, zibeshya abazungu ngo "ubwo biturika" ngo "imirwano" ngo " font rage". Hein! Dore ko abazungu nyine bagira ngo...les... les combats font rage, ngo kuko haturitse ikintu ngo kimwe kikica nk'imbeba imwe, cyangwa ebyiri, cyangwa kiga... kikica imbwa, ngo ubwo les combats font rage, ngo... ngo kuko byaturitse. Ibyo rero ni... nyine ni ibintu byo kubeshya, twebwe tuzi yuko nta cya... nta... nta na kimwe kiba cyabaye gitangaje, uretse nyine ku...hisha abantu ubwoba.

Mukomeze mwumve RTLM, Radiyo yigenga ivugira hano i Kigali. (Un bref silence)
(Indirimbo ya groupe-choc ya ELECTROGAZ : Ni nde watubasha). (Un bref silence)
(Musique)

30min08sec

Fin de la face A.

FACE B.

K0145752

- Orateur: Jean KAMBANDA, premier ministre. 01min01sec

... yahise asimbura by'agateganyo "Prezida" wa Repubulika, bityo Nyakubahwa SINDIKUBWABO Théodore aba "Prezida" wa Repubulika. Abantu benshi, cyane cyane Inkotanyi zivuga ko iyi Guverinoma itemewe. Mwarabyumvise namwe. Ngo... "ntiyakurikije amategeko", ngo "yagombaga gukurikiza amategeko ya Arusha". Twemeza ko F.P.R n'ingabo zayo zitasomye neza ariya masezerano, kuko ibi zakoze byo kwica "Prezida" wa Repubulika ntizari zarabiteganije. Zari zarateganije kuzamwica inzego zaramaze kujyaho. Inzego z'ubutegetsi ziturutse mu masezerano y'Arusha zaragiyeho, ni ko bari barateganije ko ba... uko bazasimbura "Prezida" wa Repubulika. Babikoze kare rero, bamwica mbere yuko inzego zijyaho. Bityo kumusimbura ntibyari biteganijwe muri ayo masezerano y'Arusha, ndetse ayo masezerano y'Arusha yari atarajya... yari ataratangira gushyirwa mu bikorwa, kuko nk'uko ayo masezerano abivuga, yagombaga gutangira gushyirwa mu bikorwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho igiyeho. Murabizi mwese iyo Guverinoma ntiyigeze ijyaho. Ntabwo rero amasezerano yigeze ashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni yo mpamvu amashyaka atanu ari muri Guverinoma yo yasanze igihugu kitaguma mu gihirahiro, yemeza gukomeza Itegeko-nshinga igihugu kijya... ee... cyari gisanzwe kigenderaho ryo... mu kwezi kwa gatandatu muri mirongo cyenda na rimwe, ari na ho ryateganyaga yuko, mu ngingo ya mirongo ine na kabiri, iyo "Prezida" wa Repubulika, kubera impamvu iyi n'iyi ngiyi adahari, asimburwa na "Prezida" w'Inama y'Igihugu iharanira Amajyambere. Ibyo rero F.P.R ibyirengagiza ibizi, kugira ngo ikomeze ivuge ko iyo Guverinoma itemewe. Usibye ko ku bitureba, tutabona n'u... n'ukuntu hubwo yayemera. Iramutse iyemeye yaba imeze nk'iyo yasimbuye. Ntabwo rero twifuza ko F.P.R yemera Guverinoma yacu. Ntabwo ari ngombwa. Twemeza ko Guverinoma yacu atari ngombwa ko F.P.R iyemera, kuko ari yo bizahura mu mishyikirano bikumvikana. Igihe bizumvikana iyo izemera ni izajyaho, na yo izaba irimo. Naho kuvuga ko itemera iriho ubu ngubu, twumva... bidatangaje, cyane ko amateka atwibutsa ko muri mirongo itandatu na rimwe, hagiyeho Guverinoma y'abatabazi nk'iyi ngiyi, yagiyeho ku itariki ya makumyabiri n'umunani, ukwe... mu kwezi kwa mbere muri mirongo itandatu na rimwe, na yo

K0145753

Inyenzi z'icyo gihe zivuga ko zitayemeye. Haje kubaho Kamarampaka, abaturage berekana ko bo iyo Guverinoma ari yo bashaka. Ubu rero twemeza ko niba F.P.R ibona yo itayemera, nisabe Loni n'ubundi irahari, ikoreshe Kamarampaka, ibaze abaturage niba iyi Guverinoma bayemera, cyangwa se batayemera. Naho kuvuga ko yo itayemera, dusanga nta cyo bitwaye, ndetse ahubwo iyemeye byadutera impungenge kuko yaba itangiye kugiramo ingabo, igatangira kugiramo abavugizi, nk'uko yari... yabigize muri Guverinoma zabanjirije iyi ngiyi. **04min00sec**

Tukaba tubemeza ikintu kimwe, tunabibwira F.P.R ngo ibimenye, nimenye ko igihe cyose izaba itaraza mu butegetsi, itazongera kugira umuvugizi muri Guverinoma. Nta muntu uzongera kuvugira gu... mu... F.P.R muri Guverinoma ngo tubyemere. F.P.R ni igipande kimwe giteganijwe mu masezerano y'Arusha, hakaba na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ivugira Abanyarwanda, abaturage b'u Rwanda. Bityo, mu gihe cyo kuzasezerana, ni ho izabona abavugizi, kuko izaba yinjiye mu nzego. Igihe rero itarinjira mu nzego, ntigomba kubona abavugizi. Ndagira ngo byumvikane neza, igomba kuba mu nzego zose ntabwo ari muri Guverinoma gusa. Ni ukuvuga rero ko bamwe bigize ibyitso bya F.P.R, bamwe bigize abavugizi ba F.P.R mu butegetsi, no mu mirimo yindi isanzwe, abo ngabo bagomba guhitamo, bakajya ku Mulindi, cyangwa se bakajya inyuma y'igihugu bagategereza ko F.P.R izaza mu... mu... mu Rwanda kugira ngo babone kujya mu butegetsi. Naho kuvugira F.P.R uri mu butegetsi, ibyo turashaka ko bisezererwa. F.P.R ikabyumva, ikabifata gutyo, ikamenya ko nta muntu tuzongera kwemerera ko ayivugira ari mu gihugu. Ushaka kuyivugira, twabitangiye azajya asaba uruhushya, asabe abamuherekeza, ashyikirizwe MINUAR, na yo imushyikirize F.P.R, ajye kuyivugira aho ngaho. Ajye ku...kuri Muhabura avugireyo. Nta jambo izongera kugira kuri Radiyo Rwanda igihe cyose izaba itaragera mu butegetsi. Ibyo byumvikane gutyo, kuko uzagerageza kubikora, tuzamufata nk'umwanzi. Umwanzi twa... twaramumenye ndaza kubibabwira, tuzi uwo ari we, ubwo rero na we tuzamucira urubanza nk'urwo ducira abanzi b'igihugu. Nibyumvikane gutyo, he kuzongera kubaho ikintu cyo gu... cy'urwikekwe, cyo kuvuga ngo... ngo ba... twumvise ejobundi F.P.R ivuga ngo "yababajwe n'uko" ngo "twakuyeho Abaperefe bayivugiraga". Ntabwo bitangaje, n'undi wese uzayivugira, aho azaba ari hose, ubutegetsi azaba arimo bwose, na we tuzamukuramo, ategereze ko F.P.R izaza mu butegetsi, ategereze ko tuzagirana amasezerano yo kugira ngo dushyireho

Guverinoma F.P.R irimo, noneho abone kuyivugira. Cyangwa se ahitemo, ajye ku Mulindi, cyangwa se inyuma y'igihugu ajye ayivugira ariyo.

Aha ngaha nkaba mboneyeho umwanya wo... kugaya ku mugaragaro abanyapolitike bamwe na bamwe, cyangwa se abiyita abanyapolitike atari bo. Ntangazwa n'abantu, mu minsi yashize twumvaga bihandagaza, ndetse tukumva ari bo bigize abavugizi ba rubanda, ubu ngubu batagaragara. Ubu tutazi aho bagiye, bakaba bari munsi y'igitanda igihe twe turi ku rugamba. Ubu ngubu Umukuru w'igihugu yarishwe, igihugu kiraterwa, hajyaho Guverinoma nshya, n'ibindi byabaye muri kino gihe, abo bantu biyita abanyapolitike bari he? Barakorera nde? Turavuga tuti "cya gihe cyo guhitamo cyaraje", nibahitemo ba... ba... bemeze ko barwanya Abanyarwanda, barwanya abaturage, tubimenye, tubafate nk'abanzi. Bitabaye ibyo, nibahitemo bemeze ko bashyigikiye igihugu, baze bafate ijambo kuri radiyo, baze bafate ijambo mu baturage, bavuge. Tumenye aho bavugira, tumenye aho bari.

Ndashima, nubwo bwose ntabakunda, byibura ab'abagabo bemeye aho babogamiye, berekanye n'aho babogamiye, bakanyonyomba bakajya kuri Radiyo Muhabura, bakatubwira uwo bavugira n'uwo bakorera. Abo ngabo byibura berekanye uwo... abo bari bo. Ariko abandi bihishe, nyabuneka mumfashe kubamagana, mumfashe no kubasaba yuko bakwigaragaza bakerekana aho bari n'uwo bakorera. Icyo ngicyo na cyo ni gishya, kandi cyumvikane gutyo.

Iyi Guverinoma rero yashyizweho n'amashyaka atandatu, mu by'ukuri ifite inshingano eshatu.

Inshingano ya mbere:

Hari ugutegeka no kuyobora igihugu mu buryo buhamye, kandi buboneye, cyane cyane ikihutira kugarura no kubumbatira umutekano w'abaturarwanda n'uw'ibintu byabo. Iyo nshingano ikaba ari yo ndetse y'ingenzi iyi Guverinoma ifite, ikaba kandi yaratangiye kuyishyira mu bikorwa nk'uko tuza kubireba mu kanya.

K0145755

Inshingano ya kabiri:

Hari ugukomeza imishyikirano na F.P.R kugira ngo Inzego z'inzibacyuho yaguye zijyeho, bitarenze ibyumweru bitandatu, nk'uko Inama ya ONU ishinzwe amahoro ku isi yabisabye Leta y'u Rwanda. Aha na ho ni ngombwa kuhasobanura. Twe tuzi neza ko intambara idashobora kurangiza ibibazo bya politike igihugu gifite. Ikibazo cya politike igihugu gifite, ni icyo kugabana ubutegetsi hagati y'amoko atuye iki gihugu. Byarahishwe, birahishirwa, bakajya babiviringa, bituma tugera muri iyi ntambara. Turashaka rero noneho ko bimenyekana, yuko ari ukugabana ubutegetsi hagati y'amoko atuye uru Rwanda. Noneho uri Umuhutu akamenya uruhare afite mu butegetsi, uri Umututsi akamenya uruhare afite mu butegetsi, uri Umutwa akamenya uruhare afite mu butegetsi nta gihu cyongeye kuba. Nta wongeye gushyiramo abandi igihu ngo abajijishe, ababwire ko nta moko akiba mu Rwanda kandi twese tuzi ko ahari. Ngo ababwire ko ubutegetsi bashaka atari ubw'ubwoko ubu n'ubu ngubu kandi tuzi ko ari bwo bashaka. Nibigaragare, bimenyekane, F.P.R tumenye ko ari Abatutsi, n'abandi babagenderaho, noneho ihabwe imyanya ikwiranye n'uko ingana. Tumenye ko andi mashyaka asigaye ari ay'Abahutu, na bo bahabwe imyanya ikwiranye n'umubare bafite. Abatwa na bo bagenerwe imyanya yabo.

Kwibwira ko izarwana, ikarwana ngo igafata ubutegetsi ku ngufu, usibye ko yishuka, kuko natwe ntituza... zabyemera. Niba Abatutsi icumi ku ijana, ndetse sinemeza ko ari n'Abatutsi bose, niba F.P.R, abantu bakomoka ku Nyenzi zo muri mirongo itandatu barahunze, bagashaka intwaro, bagatera igihugu, bakaba bagishyize mu kaga kangana gutya, nemeza ko abaturage batuye iki gihugu, bari mu Rwanda, barenga mirongo inani na batanu ku ijana na bo bashobora kubona izo ntwaro, ba... na bo bafite ingufu nk'izo ngizo zatumya... zatuma barwana bagatsinda. Usibye ko twe twemera ko intambara ubwayo itaba ikemuye ikibazo. **10min04sec**

Ariko F.P.R nti... ntiyibwire yuko bya bindi bakomeje kugenda bahishira, ngo "nuvuga F.P.R" ngo "iratera" ngo "irwane". Ah! Ngo "nyabuneka", ngo ntu... ngo "ntuvuge nabi F.P.R" ngo "kugira ngo ida... idakora imirwano". Ubu rero, yaradutinyuye. Imirwano se yindi izakora irenze iyi ni iyihe?

Nirwane noneho ubwo wumva ishaka kurwana ngo itsinde, nirwane itsinde tuyirebe. Icyo tuzi gusa ni uko tudashobora kwemera ko itsinda, abantu barahagurutse.

Ndagira ngo mbonereho, ku mugaragaro, Nyakubahwa Bwana Préfet, nshimire Préfecture y'Umujyi wa Kigali n'abaturage bayo, kubera ko ni bo babaye intangarugero mu guhangana n'umwanzi. Ba... bafashije ingabo ku buryo bugaragara, bahangana n'umwanzi. Ibyo biraboneka, ndetse byabereye n'andi "maprefegitire" urugero, ku buryo n'ahandi hose ubutwari abaturage ba Préfecture y'Umujyi wa Kigali bagize bahanganye n'umwanzi dushaka ku... kuzabugaragariza mu... butumwa tuzohereza andi "maprefegitire" kugira ngo na bo uko mwabigenje, bazabarebereho, umwanzi ye kuzabona aho amenera.

Iby'intambara rero F.P.R, nishaka niyikomeze, abaturage turabafite, Guverinoma turayifite, ingabo turazifite, n'intwaro turazifite. Ubundi turwane, niba koko ari byo yiyemeje. Twe si byo dushyigikiye, ariko niba ari byo ishyize imbere, nimenye ko natwe twiteguye kuzayirwanya. Niba ishyize imbere imishyikirano, ni yo twifuza. Turanayishaka kugira ngo twumvikane. Ariko nta gihu, nta buriganya, nta mayeri yongeye kugaruka mu mishyikirano. Abantu bakagenda bakabwizanya ukuri, tukoherezayo abantu bagenda bakavugisha ukuri, abatavugisha ukuri baka...bavugisha... bavugira F.P.R, bakagenda bakaba bari mu gice cya F.P.R, bakajya bavugana na F.P.R bari mu gice cya F.P.R. Abavugira igice cy'u Rwanda, bakaba bari mu gice cy'u Rwanda. Ibyo bigatandukana, ntihagire umuntu uvugira F.P.R ari u... ari mu... yitwa ko ari muri Guverinoma y'u Rwanda. Uvugira F.P.R akavugira F.P.R ari muri F.P.R, ari mu gice cya F.P.R. Noneho tukazumvikana, twumvikanye koko nyakumvikana, bitari igihu i... nk'uko byagenze kugeza ubu ngubu. **12min04sec**

Icyo ngicyo... ubwo butumwa nizeye ko F.P.R buyigeraho, ikumva ko Abanyarwanda batagifite aho bahungira, batagifite kwirukanka. Ibyo byo kwi... kwi... kwi...rwa n'akarago ku mu... ku mugongo byaturambiye. Byatunaniye ntitukibishoboye.

Ni yo mpamvu nsaba yuko abantu bose, bagaruka mu byabo hano i Kigali, noneho Guverinoma iga...

igashaka intwaro, ikazibaha bakirinda, bakarinda n'ibyabo. Bakirinda bakarinda n'ibyabo hano i Kigali. Abavu...abavanywe mu byabo haba za Kibungo, haba za Byumba na bo baka... bakigishwa i... imi... i... ibya gisirikare, bagasubira mu byabo i Byumba, bagasubira mu byabo i Kibungo, agafata isuka agahinga, igihe yumvise barasa, agafata imbunda akarasa, bamara kugenda akongera agafata isuka agahinga. Tukamenyera intambara dutyo. Ntabwo miliyoni zirindwi, (bamuhaye amashyi), ntabwo twemeza ko miliyoni zirindwi z'Abaturarwanda zizakomeza kubungera ngo tujye tubasanga ku mihanda, n'akarago, n'udufuka, ibyo ntibyakomeza kwemerwa. Nibahagarare bashire ubwoba, bamenye ko abazapfa intambara iza... iza... izica, bazapfa, ariko abazasigara, basigare na bo barwane, kugeza igihugu bakibohoje, hose, haba mu majyepfo, haba mu majyaruguru. Ntihazongere kwitwa ko ku Mulindi hahariwe Inkotanyi, yuko muri Butaro hahariwe Inkotanyi, igihugu bakakijyamo cyose, bagahabwa intwaro bakajya mu gihugu cyose, umuntu agasubira mu mirima ye, akemera akajya arwana ahinga, aragiye inka ze, akora n'indi mirimo, yahashya umwanzi agakora. Igihe umwanzi aje, akarwana. Ni yo "geriya", natwe turashaka ko abaturage bayiga, bakayikora.

Abatubeshya rero, batubwira ngo "nimudezarume abaturage", ngo "ni ho amahoro azaza", ntidushobora kubyemera. Ntidushobora kuza...mbura intwaro abaturage, igihe cyose F.P.R izaba ikibarasaho. Nibabanze "badezarume" F.P.R, natwe abaturage tuzabaka intwaro. Ariko igihe cyose F.P.R izaba i... irwana, abaturage bagomba guhabwa ahubwo intwaro, nibiba ngombwa a... ubukungu bwose buri muri iki gihugu buzashirira muri icyo ngicyo cyo kugira ngo abaturage bahabwe intwaro birwaneho, ahasigaye bahinge, batungwe n'ibyo ba... bejeje, ibituruka hanze bihagarare, ariko icyo tu... twimirije imbere ubu ngubu ni ugushaka intwaro.

Iyi Guverinoma twavuze ko ari... ari iy'abatabazi, ikumva ko ari uwo murimo wo gutabara abaturage, ikabakura mu gihirahiro, ikabakura mu guhora bangara, birukanka imisozi yose. Icyo ngicyo ni intego twiyemeje, kandi tuzayigeraho. Uwo murongo ni wo tugomba kugenderaho nta wundi, bikaciya... bi... bikumvikana gutyo, F.P.R ikamenya ko ubu noneho abaturage na Guverinoma, n'abasirikare, twese hamwe tugomba kuyihagurukira, tukayirwanya, tugasubira mu byacu ku ngufu, noneho yatera, uwo iteye, buriya buteroshuma itera, abantu cumi na batanu bakaza bakirukankana Komine yose, abantu

makumyabiri bakaza bakazenguruka ikigo cy'abasirikare ngo cyafashwe n'abantu batanu, ibyo ngibyo bigomba kurangira. Abaturage bakumva barashe, bakajya kureba aho urashe arasiye, aho kugira ngo birukanke. Bakumva isasu rivuze, aho kugira ngo birukanke, bakajya kugota umwanzi aho arasiye, bakahamumenesha, byaba ngombwa bakitabaza ingabo, ariko na bo babanje gushyiraho akabo. Icyo rero ni ikintu kigomba kumvikana. Mu... imishyikirano turayishyigikiye, tuzanayijyamo, n'ubu twayigiyemo, nk'uko mu... nza kubibagezaho, ariko imishyikirano, igihe bo bihaye kuvuga ko bayanze, bati "turashaka kurwana", nibamenye ko natwe tu... tuda... tuzitegura, tukarwana.

15min07sec

Inshingano ya gatatu:

Hari... ugusubukura, hari... ugukemura ikibazo cy'inzara yugarije abaturage benshi, cyane cyane abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara. Murabizi, maze kubivuga hari abantu benshi muri ino minsi bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, hari ndetse n'abandi mu turere twavugwagamo inzara. Icyo kibazo rero na cyo Guverinoma yagishyize ku murongo w'ibyo izagerageza gukemura, kandi sinavuga ngo yaragikemuye, ariko imibonano imaze iminsi igirana n'Imiryango mpuzamahanga iratwereka ko Imiryango myinshi, yirengagije ibihuha n'ibigambo bya F.P.R-Inkotanyi, yiyemeje kuzadufasha no kuzatugoboka muri ibi bibazo dufite. Namwe... hari amakuru amwe n'amwe mujya mwumva kuri radiyo, asobanura ko hari imiryango imwe n'imwe yemeye kudufasha.

Nshingiye rero ku butumwa, Nyakubahwa "Prezida" wa Repubulika yagejeje ku Banyarwanda, cyane cyane ku matariki ya munani, cumi na gatatu, cumi na kane na cumi na karindwi Mata mirongo cyenda na kane;

nshingiye ku butumwa nanjye ubwanjye maze iminsi ngeza ku Banyarwanda;

nshingiye ku byemezo kandi by'Inama z' "Abaministiri" zitahwemye gusuzuma ikibazo cy'umutekano no kugeza ku Banyarwanda ubutumwa bugamije kubumbatira umutekano mu gihugu, cyane cyane ku nama yahuje "Abaministre" n'Abaperefe yo ku wa cumi n'umwe Mata mirongo cyenda na kane, inama y'"Abaministre" yo kuri makumyabiri na gatatu Mata mirongo cyenda na kane n'inama

y'"Abaministre"yo kuri makumyabiri na karindwi Mata mirongo cyenda na kane, mu izina rya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda, nshimishijwe no kubagezaho amabwiriza agomba gukurikizwa n'inzego zose zishinzwe umutekano n'a... w'abaturage, kugira ngo... umutekano n'ituze byahungabanye hirya no hino mu gihugu bigaruke vuba.

Icya mbere:

Nk'uko abe... ahenshi mu ma préfectures byatangiye gukorwa, musabwe namwe kwihutira gukoresha kenshi inama z'umutekano mu rwego rwa "prefegitura" mushinzwe kuyobora. Muri izo nama hagomba gufatirwamo ingamba zihamye zigomba guhita zishyirwa mu bikorwa, hakurikijwe ibibazo by'umutekano byabonetse muri "prefegitura". Buri nama ya "prefegitura" ishinzwe umutekano, igomba gu... guteranya... guteganya uburyo bwo kugenzura uko izo ngamba zishyirwa mu bikorwa, kugira ngo ishobore gukurikiranira hafi uko umutekano ugenda ugaruka. ... ngibi umuntu yakwishimira ko bigenda bigerwaho muri "Prefegitura" y'Umujyi wa Kigali, kubera ko amanama nk'aya ngaya dusaba umuntu asanga yajya akorwa kenshi, umuntu rero akaba yavuga ko bikwi...bakwi... bikwiye gukomeza gutyo.

Icya kabiri:

Kubera ko... ee... kubera ko gu... gushimangira umutekano bireba buri wese, musabwe, mu nzego zose zisuzuma ikibazo cy'umutekano, kwifashisha inzego z'abantu bose bashobora ku... kubunganira. Hari abahagarariye amashyaka, abahagarariye amadini, abahagarariye ubutegetsi bwite bwa Leta, ubucamanza n'ingabo z'igihugu. Umuntu ntiyavuga ko mutabyubahiriza, ariko iyo umuntu arebye ...hari, asanga izo nzego zose atari ko muri iyi nama zaje, umuntu rero akaba yakwifuza ko mu nama zindi mwazagerageza gukoresha izi nzego nk'uko zivugwa, mwagerageza kujya muzitumira, tuzi neza ko hari ibibazo byinshi muri uno mujyi kubera abantu benshi bagiye bahunga bava mu byabo cyangwa se baka batakiri ino, ariko ...hari abahari bose mwajya mugerageza kubatumira kugira ngo amabwiriza nk'aya ngaya cyangwa se inama nk'izi ngizi na bo bagerageze kuzikurikirana.

19min03sec

Icya gatatu:

Umwanzi wateye u Rwanda arazwi. Ni F.P.R-Inkotanyi. Aha ngaha, ndagira ngo na ho nsobanure, byumvikane, bye kuzitwa yuko ari amazimwe, F.P.R ye kuzibwira ko hari uzongera kuyi...vuga ko ari umuvandimwe, igihe cyose izaba irwana. F.P.R ni umwanzi w'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda igihe cyose itutera, ikaturwanya, umwanzi rero ugutera, akaguteza intambara, umufata gutyo, nawe ukirwanaho utyo. F.P.R rero ni umwanzi igihe cyose izaba irwana, si ibanga, igomba na byo ku... na yo kubyumva, yuko igihe imirwano izaba itarahagarara ngo ize mu butegetsi, twumvikane na yo tuzakomeza kuyita umwanzi. Impamvu mvuga ko umwanzi ari F.P.R, ni ukugira ngo tuyitandukanye n'abandi bamwe bashaka kwita umwanzi yenda atari bo.

Musabwe rero... guhugurira no gusobanurira abaturage ko bagomba kwirinda icyo ari cyo cyose cyatuma basubiranamo bitwaje amoko. Hariho bamwe bakeka ko uwo mudahuje umwoko ... abo mudahi... mudahuje amoko ari we mwanzi wawe. Kugira ngo abe umwanzi, agomba kuba ari F.P.R. F.P.R rero ifite abayoboke bayo, ubu barazwi ntabwo bikiri ibanga, kuko impapuro twagiye dutahura, haba muri za Butare, haba muri za Gitarama, zitugaragariza buri... muri buri komine ingabo za F.P.R aho ziri. Abo ni bo banzi bacu. Umututsi, Umuhutu, Umutwa utari ingabo ya F.P.R uwo si umwanzi wacu. Ntabwo rero twashingira ku moko gusa ngo tuvuge ngo uwo tudahuje ubwoko uwo ni umwanzi. Ngo uwo tudahuje ngo akarere ngo uwo ni umwanzi wacu. Ibyo hariho abenshi ba...shaka kubyitwaza, cyane cyane F.P.R kugira ngo isubiranyemo abantu, noneho ibone aho imenera.

Nk'uko nabibwiye abantu ejo ku Kibuye, hari umuntu uherutse kunsanga i Gitarama, arambwira ati "Interahamwe zikomoka mu gace k'amajyaruguru y'igihugu, ziteye Gitarama na Butare ngo zijye kuhayogoza", ati "ni Interahamwe bomu... bahohereje zigeze ku gihumbi". Naramushubije nti ubonye amakamyo angahe ashoreranye agiye i Butare? Nti tubaze neza, ikamyo tukayishyiramo abantu ijana, ubwo twabona amakamyo byibura icumi ashoreranye yuzuye Interahamwe zitu... zikomoka mu majyaruguru y'igihugu zigiye gutera aba...abanya... mu majyepfo? Nti hari izo ubonye? Nti ese ko tubaze neza tukumva ko yenda bisi yajyamo abantu bapakiye bageze kuri magana abiri, hari bisi eshanu zishoreranye zuzuye Interahamwe waba uhuye na zo ukavuga uti tabara? Nti tuvuze ko ari

za minibisi, hari minibisi mirongo itanu zirimo makumyabiri, makumyabiri ubonye zishoreranye zikaba zitwaye abo bantu, ukaba uvuga uti bateye prefegitura ya... ya Butare ndazibonye? None se ko jye maze guhura n'abantu bakomotse muri Komine Kibayi bakambwira ko basanze ingabo za F.P.R zatangiye kurwanya n'abaturage, ubwo ni Interahamwe zari zimaze kuhagera? **22min03sec**

Aha rero ni ukugira ngo abantu bahasobanukirwe, birinde abo babacamo igikuba, bababeshya bati "abapfa ni abo muri kariya karere, abicwa ni abo muri kariya gace", kuko F.P.R ijya gutera, nta ho itaturutse. Ndetse umuntu yavuga ko yaturutse mu majyaruguru y'igihugu. None se kuki yo yaturutse mu majyaruguru y'igihugu? Ejobundi se imvururu yakoresheje mu gihugu hose hari aho yasize? Hari ahantu yasize se idafite ingabo?

Ibyo bintu rero byo gusubiranyamo uturere tugomba kubyirinda, kuko ni imwe mu ntwaro zikomeye F.P.R ishaka gukoresha muri kino gihe. Yabonye ko ibindi yagerageje bitayihiriye, ubu ngubu ikaba ihatana, kugira ngo irebe ko abantu basubiranamo bitwaje uturere, amadini. Ntabwo twifuza ko harimo abasubiranamo bapfa amadini. Twumvise ko abu... hano i Kigali, ntabwo birahagera ariko hari andi maperefegitura twumvise ko harimo abatwika za Kiliziya Gatolika, ngo bagira ngo ahari idini ryabo bayobotse rya... iri n'iri ngiri rizabe ari ryo rigira abayoboke, bavuga bati "ubwo kiliziya tuyitwitse, ntabwo aba... aba... i...izongera guhaguruka, bityo tuzaba tubonye abayoboke". Ibyo ngibyo rero na byo ni ibintu tugomba kwirinda, kuko na yo ni intwaro y'umwanzi, ni intwaro ya F.P.R.

Abantu bagomba kumenya ko tutagomba gupfa amashyaka. Amashyaka ariho, turayazi. Agize Guverinoma, turayazi. Ashyigikiye abaturage, turayazi. Ashyigikiye Inkotanyi, turayazi. Abantu rero bagombye kumenya ko muri iki gihe, kuba wapfa umu... n'umuntu yuko mutari mu ishyaka rimwe ari ukuba igikoresho cy'umwanzi. Amashyaka tuyagumemo, ariko tubanze dutsinde intambara, tubanze tumenye ko iyi ntambara, F.P.R niramuka ije igafata igihugu, ntizakurebera ngo ni uko uri

mu ishyaka iri n'iri ngiri, izadutsembatsembera rimwe nk'uko yabitangiye. Ntabwo izavuga ngo wowe ndakubabariye kuko uri mu ishyaka i... iri n'iri ngiri. **24min23sec**

Ahubwo yamaze kwerekana... ndagira ngo na byo mbibabwire, icyo yo yita umwanzi. Twabitahuye mu nyandiko zayo, twa...fatiye i Butare n'i Gitarama. Yavuze ko ifite abanzi bane. Umwanzi wa mbere ngo ni M.R.N.D, umwanzi wa kabiri ngo ni C.D.R, umwanzi wa gatatu ngo ni "umupawa" aho ava akagera, ngo yaba P.L pawa, P.S.D pawa, M.D.R pawa, ngo umwanzi wa kane ni impunzi y'Umurundi. Aba... abatari rero impumyi, cyangwa bakaba batari ibipfamatwi bumva umwanzi wa F.P.R uwo ari we. Iyo ivuze ityo, abantu bose bagombye gusobanukirwa, bakumva uwo yita umwanzi, kuko irabyigisha dufite amakaye y'inyigisho yahaye abayoboke bayo, ibigisha ko abanzi babo ari abo bane. Natwe rero, abanzi bacu ni abayobotse F.P.R bose. Kuko icyo umuntu aguhaye, nawe ni cyo umwitura. Niba ivuga ko abanzi bayo ari M.R.N.D, ari C.D.R, ari abiyita "abapawa" aho bava bakagera bose, hakaba n'impunzi z'Abarundi, natwe F.P.R n'abayikunda, n'abayiyoboka bose ni abanzi bacu. Ibifate gutyo na yo.

Twirinde kandi kuba twasubiranamo tuzize inzangano zisanzwe. Niba wari ufite icyo upfa n'umuntu mutumvikanaga, umenye ko iki gihe atari igihe cyo kujya kumwi... kujya ku... kumugirira nabi. Kuko F.P.R niza, ntizamenya ko mwanganaga na kanaka, izabazingazingira hamwe. Ugomba kumwisunga ahubwo, mukigorora, kugira ngo murwanye umwanzi ukomeye, ubugarije, ari we F.P.R. Ibi tubigirira kugira ngo abaturage bamenye kwirwanaho, bamenye kwirinda, kandi bamenye gushakisha umwanzi nyamwanzi aho ari, aho kumushakira aho atari.

Bariya rero basahura, bariya bishora mu bikorwa by'ubugizibwanabi, by'ubusahuzi, twemeza ko na bo ari abanzi bacu, kuko ntibadushakira amahoro. Abo ntibigeze bumva umwanzi aho ari. Ntibumva ko batiza umwanzi umurindi. Abajya mu bikorwa by'ubwicanyi, bakananirwa kujya kurwanya umwanzi, bakarwanya umuturanyi, bakajya mu bikorwa byo gusahura, bagasahura umuturanyi wari kuzamurengera mu i... mu gihe kibi, abo ngabo na bo dukwiye kubafata nk'abanzi bacu, nk'abanzi b'igihugu. Kuko baraha umwanzi umurindi, baramutiza ingufu. **26min09sec**

Natanze urugero ejo, abenshi ntibararusobanukirwaho, rw'abantu basahura amafaranga, bakibwira ati ubwo maze kugira miliyoni y'amafaranga mu mufuka, nanjye biratunganye. Yaba ari ingabo y'igihugu, ati jye sinongera kurwana kuko maze kuba umukire. Yaba ari umuturage, akava ku irondo akajya kurarira ya mafaranga a... amaze gusahura, ugasanga mbese yadohotse. Nibamenye ko igihugu kitariho, Guverinoma itariho, ingabo z'igihugu zitariho, ya mafaranga afite, umubare uwo ari wo wose, ahinduka ibipapuro. Sinzi niba babizi neza, yuko iyo uvuye mu gihugu, ukajya mu kindi ya mafaranga wari ufite aba ahindutse impapuro zisanzwe. Ubu ngubu uvuye hano ukajya muri Gabo (Gabon) ufite miliyoni y'am... y'amafaranga y'amanyarwanda, nta gihugu ukigira, nta Guverinoma ikibaho yi... yitwa ko ari iyawe, ya mafaranga aba yahindutse ibipapuro. Washaka wabijugunya mu muhanda kuko nta wuba ukibikeneye.

Bibuke ibihugu byabayemo intambara, ukuntu bajyaga kugura umugati bahetse igunira ryuzuye amafaranga, kubera ko nta Guverinoma yabaga ihari, nta butegetsi bwababaga buhari, kubera ko nta gihugu babaga bafite. Bamenye ko iki gihugu tucyambuwe, tukagitwarwa, bya bindi basahuye byahinduka umuyonga. None se abantu bari guhunga, abo ngabo Perefe avuga ati "nibagaruke mu byabo", ntabwo bari bafite za "etaje"? Ntabwo bari bafite se amakamyo? Ntabwo bari bafite se ubukire? Za videwo? Amamodoka? N'ibindi? Ntibabitaye bamenengana, batazi n'iyo bajya, bakabisiga aha ngaha! Wowe se iyo ubisahura, ubirunda, urundanya, ubirinda, bakubwira bati "F.P.R igeze ku... hariya ku irembo, i... irarwanira kuri Rebero, wumva uzabijyana hehe? Uzabijyana ryari? Uzabijyana ute? Hitamo. Hitamo. Wowe rwana, ubanze urengere igihugu. Ibintu birashakwa, ariko igihugu ntigishakwa. Nibakigukuramo, wikwibwira ko frigo warunze uzayijyana ukabona aho uyijyana. Igihe uzaba umaze kugera mu mahanga, frigo uzayita hano wirukanka, bamaze kukumenesha nk'uko n'abandi ubona, ujye urebera ku bandi uko bibamereye. None se za "etaje" barazirukankanye? Amakamyo se ntabwo yiri...a... arunze aha ngaha? Amafaranga se ntibari bayafite? Za champagnes se nta zari ziri muri frigos zabo? Menya gusa ko igihugu ari cyo cya ngombwa. Urwanire igihugu, ibindi nubona igihugu, ukabona ubutegetsi buhamye, ibindi uzabishaka, nk'uko n'abandi babishatse. Abo ba... birirwa rero barinze ibyo basahuye, bakibwira ko byabatunganiye ntibaratekereza, ntibariyumvisha ukuri. Abo bibwira ko iyo bamaze kugira amafaranga miliyoni baba

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Rex A. Lear, Official Court Reporter for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, do hereby certify that the foregoing proceedings in the above-entitled cause were tape recorded at the time and place as stated; that they were thereafter transcribed by computer under my supervision and control; that the foregoing pages contain a true and correct transcription of said proceedings to the best of my ability and understanding.

I further certify that I am not of counsel nor related to any of the parties to this cause and that I am in nowise interested in the result of said cause.

Rex A. Lear
Official Court Reporter - ICTR