

**RESUME DE LA CASSETTE N° 0099 LIB 20/11/93**

**FACE A:** \* **HABIMANA Kantano** annonce la tenue d'une réunion du Conseil du Gouvernement présidé par Mme UWILINGIYIMANA Agathe, Premier Ministre pour étudier sur les salaires des conseillers de secteurs.

Le Conseil des Ministres a parlé également sur la situation qui prévalait dans le nord du pays, spécialement dans la préfecture de Ruhengeri où le FPR a perpétré des massacres sur la population civile.

\* Entretien entre **GAHIGI Gaspard**, **HABIMANA Kantano** et **NAHIMANA Ferdinand** sur les attaques menées par le FPR sur la population civile en Préfecture de Ruhengeri. Ces deux derniers s'étant rendus sur lieux.

**FACE B:** \* Suite de l'entretien entre **GAHIGI Gaspard**, **HABIMANA Kantano** et **NAHIMANA Ferdinand**.

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FACE A

**Orateur Kantano:**

...Tubabwira igice, igice, igice. E... mu kanya nababwiraga yuko inkuru ishyushye ni inkuru y’Inama ya Leta ... ni Inama ya Guverinoma. Iyo Nama ya Guverinoma yateranye iyobowe na Ministre w’Intebe, Madame UWILINGIYIMANA Agata. Iyo Nama ya Guverinoma rero yahereye saa ine n’igice rugeretse ku kibazo cy’abaselire bigeza saa kumi n’ebyiri abaministre bavamo nta cyo bumvikanyeho na kimwe kubera ko e... TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawusitini kuri icyo kibazo yaranangiye, e...ubundi Inkotanyi na zo ziranangira ariko birumvikana kuko abantu bazakorana e... bagomba gushyira ibitekerezo hamwe. Hanyuma rero ngo iyi Nama irangiye inama irangiye , icyatangaje ni uko e... baganiriye ku kibazo cyo mu Ruhengeri babibajije Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, Ministre w’Intebe, Ministre w’Intebe bakomeje batabaza cyane bati “wagiyeyo” ahubwo agahitamo kwigira

i Kinihira ni... ni... ni... no kureba Inkotanyi ku Mulindi na hehe. Ubwo rero bamubwiye bati ese biriya byo mu Ruhengeri urabitekerezaho iki, arasubiza ngo... mu gifaransa ngo "c'est un incident comme tant d'autres" et il y en aura d'autres". Ngo "ni ibyago nk'ibindi" ngo "hazaba n'ibindi". icyo gisubizo ndakeka yuko n'utari umunyaruhengeri ntabwo kimushimishije. Ariko kenshi... kenshi ibintu tubamo ni politike y'Inkotanyi yatangiye ikatubwirwa yuko hari Abahutu beza n'Abahutu babi, hakaba abakiga n'abanyenduga. Noneho Inkotanyi ziti "mwebwe... mwebwe abanyenduga muri abana beza, turasa turakorana twarabanye, muturekere abanye... abakiga ni ibisambo twibonanire. Noneho bituma abantu batumva yuko bariya baturage batakaye baba muri blindes ari Abanyarwanda nk'abandi. Ibyo bintu birababaje! Baranatwigishije rero, Inkotanyi zaratwigishije ngo "amashyaka" ngo "amashyaka afatanije n'Inkotanyi" ngo "ni yo meza" ngo "ariko MRND ni mbi", ndetse n'andi mashyaka batashyize muri Guverinoma kuko banze kuyiyegereza, uretse PDC barobye. Nuko bati "MDR uri mwiza", "PSD uri mwiza", "PL uri nziza", ngo "ariko MRND ni yo mbi". Hinga tube ari yo duhonyora du... tuyihige nitumara kuyimara ubundi twicare hasi twinywere, muri abana beza. Ariko ibyo ubyemera ni injiji, kuko ruba ruriye abandi rutamwibagiwe.

Maze rero, icyo kibazo ne kugititndaho. Ibyo mu Ruhengeri yenda c'est un incident comme tant d'autres ku mugani wa Madamu UWILINGIYIMANA Agata, ariko rero hinga twumve NAHIMANA Ferdinand, Umuprofeseri muri Université, Docteur en histoire, inararibonye kandi na we yari yagiye mu Ruhengeri, atubwire amasomo yakuye muri ibyo bintu byo mu Ruhengeri, atubwire KANYARENGWE uwo ari we, atubwire n'Inkotanyi icyo ari cyo. Tumwumve.

### **Gaspard GAHIGI:**

...muri Université y'u Rwanda, akaba ari Docteur muri histoire kandi akaba yarayoboye n'ikigo cya ORINFOR. Nkaba mwakiriye ndi hamwe na HABIMANA Kantano, nkaba mwakiriye kuko ari HABIMANA Kantano, ari Professeur NAHIMANA Ferdinand, bombi ejo bagiye mu karere kabereyemo amarorerwa yakozwe na FPR Inkotanyi. Nkagira ngo rero, NAHIMANA, Umwarimu muri Université, inararibonye muri histoire kandi wayoboye n'abanyamakuru atubwire amasomo

yavanye muri ako karere atubwire uko yabonye ibyo bintu, atubwire n'isomo avanyeyo yageza ku bantu bumva RTLM. Ferdinand NAHIMANA.

**Ferdinand NAHIMANA:**

Urakoze Bwana GAHIGI, koko ejo nanyarukiye mu Ruhegeri, muri kariya karere kabayemo amarorerwa umuntu atabona uko yayita, amarorerwa FPR...FPR yagiriye abaturage. Ntabwo ndirirwa mvuga ibyo Kantano yabonye kuko hamwe mu... aho yanyuze hamwe nanjye narahanyuze, uretse ko tutari mu modoka imwe. Nawe ubwawe GAHIGI ejo nimugoroba numvise ibyo wavuze, naranabishimye. Ntabwo rero ibyo byose nirirwa mbisubiramo. Ahubwo ndibanda nk'uko umaze kubivuga mbese ku bintu bitatu, bitatu umuntu yagenda akuramo amasomo.

Ikintu cya mbere navuga ni uko abaturage ba kariya karere abanyapolitiki bafatanyije na FPR bise ngo "ni akarere katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikari", abo baturage rwose bari mu kangaratete. Ntibagira kivurira. Yewe hari umunyapolitiki witwa Fawusitini TWAGIRAMUNGU ukunze kuvuga ngo "politiki y'amacenga" ngo "arayanga". Aba yikomye MRND ariko kugeza ubu ntaravuga politiki y'amacenga ya FPR. Abaturage rero ejo nashoboye guhura na bo ejo ee... hariya mu Ruhengeri. Baravugaga bati "politiki y'amacenga iri muri FPR naho mureke biriya byo kuvuga ngo "amacenga" ngo "ari muri MRND".

Dore koko uko abaturage babivuga nanjye dore uko mbibona. Muribuka ko iteka, rwose GAHIGI nawe Kantano mwagiye mukurikira uko intambara yagenze. Iteka igihe FPR yabonaga iri mu mazi abira abasirikare b'abanyarwanda bayishushubikanyije, iteka yasabaga guhagarika intambara. Abaturage ba hariya baravugaga bati "niba ari amacenga ayo ni yo macenga". Ariko cyane cyane bakavugaga bati "dore ejobundi, nyuma y'ukwezi kwa kabiri, hari igihe rwose abasirikare bacu bari bahagu... bahagurukiye inta... i... Inkotanyi, bagiye kuzimenesha, muribuka ko icyo gihe uwari

Ministre w'Ububanyi n'amahanga NGULINZIRA Bonifasi yaravuze ati "intambara irahagaze. Ntihagire umusirikare w'u Rwanda uva mu byimbo bye". Mbese aba... abaturage baravuga bati: "kuva uwo muntu yavuga iryo jambo ni ho icyo bise zone tampon ni u... iwanyu aho ngaho mu gifaransa, icyo bise akarere katarangwamo n'igisirikare kavutse". Bati "umuntu witwa TWAGIRAMUNGU yatanze Byumba na Ruhengeri, umugabo witwa NGULINZIRA atanga zone tampon ayiha e... ayiha FPR".

Noneho kuva ubwo, abaturage bakavuga bati "rwose, iyo abanyapolitiki bacu bamenya amacenga ya FPR bari kumva ko igihe ... iteka bavuze ngo niduhagarike intambara bashakaga kugira ngo "bisuganye, bashakaga kugira ngo babone aho bari... bahagarara, bagire ibirindiro, bagire n'aho bajya".

Ubwo rero abaturage bakavuga bati "kuva icyo gihe... ngo zone tampon kuva iki... kuva igihe bavugaga ngo intambara irarangiye ni ho nanone ya masezerano ya Arusha, ya masezerano ya Kinihira yatangiye kuvugirwa. Nyamara twebwe abaturage turi mu kangaratete". Bati "namwe mwirebere: bavuze ngo zone tampon, iyo zone tampon, Perefefu wa Byumba, Perefefu wa Ruhengeri ntibashobora guta... gukandagizamo ikirenge. Nta musubusititi, nta mu procureur, nta mugenzacyaha, nta ki, ushobora gu... guta... gukandagizamo ikirenge. Bourgmestres, aho bari, ntabwo ashobora kurindwa n'abasirikare, n'abapolisi bafite imbunda. Umupolisi ntashobora kubona ikintu kibangamiye umutekano ngo ashobore kugira icyo akora". Baravuze bati aba... aa... n'abapolisi baba... baba muri zone tampon bajye bitwaza ibibando". Ikibando se wowe GAHIGI cyangwa se Kantano ikibando cya... ii...cyakora iki? Icyo kibando cyakiza Bourgmestre?

### **Gaspard GAHIGI:**

Ariko nagira ngo nguze mu ijamba ku byerekeye zone tampon, zone tampon mu kinyarwanda baravuze ngo ni akarere katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare. Kandi kuva ibyo bintu byavugwa, byakwitwa gutyo, FPR ntiyigeze ihava.

- Hum.

- Kandi abasirikare b'u Rwanda bo barahavuye. Ku bwawe, kuki FPR yahagumye? Leta y'u Rwanda yarabyamaganye? Communauté internationale, ndavuga amahanga, yarabyamaganye kugeza aho noneho ako karere FPR isa nk'aho yakigaruriye? Ku bwawe kuki ari GOMN, wa mutwe wa... abasirikare utagira aho ubogamiye ari Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yatereranye ako karere ikakabarekera kugeza ubu?

- Hum.

- Ku bwawe byatewe ni iki? Umva, bakarekera iyo kugeza igihe FPR ikagize akayo, jye ntabwo nigeze numva ari Communauté internationale, ari Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ibyo bintu ivuga iti ni ko bimeze kugeza ubu.

- Ubwo usa n'umbajije ikibazo nari nakomojeho gato sinagitindaho... Ni uko ni... ni ya macenga nyine. Nдавуга nti kariya karere bise... navuze ko ari abanyapolitike bo mu Rwanda na FPR bakise ngo ni akarere katarangwamo ibi... ibikorwa bya gisirikare. Abasirikare b'u Rwanda ari n'aba FPR ntibagombaga kubamo. Ariko, kuko abasirikare b'u Rwanda bazwiho kugira discipline barababwiye bati "muhagarare aho ngaho". Kuva igihe NGULINZIRA yavuze ati "intambara irarangiye", rwose abasirikare b'u Rwanda ntabwo bateye intambwe. Ahubwo muzi ko nyuma baravuze bati "nimusubire aho mwari muri mbere yu... y'ukwezi kwa kabiri". Abasirikare b'u Rwanda basubiye aho bari bari mbere y'ukwezi kwa kabiri. Ariko inkotanyi koko nk'uko umaze kubivuga ntizavuyemo. Ntizavuye aho hantu bise zone tampon. Uti "kuki batereye iyo? Kuki batereye iyo?"

- Bakahaterera iyo?

- Batereye iyo kuko mu by'ukuri wagira ngo abategetsi b'iki gihugu, abanyapolitiki b'iki gihugu wagirango kariya karere kuri bo nta cyo kavuze. Baraga... baragatanze. Kuko abaturage babikubwira,

abaturage bara... Numvise nimugoroba Perezida wa MRND avuga ati "Komite Nyobozi ya MRND yitabaje Ministre w'Intebe, atwakira inshuro eshatu tumubwira ko rwose muri kariya karere abaturage nta mutekano bafite". Abaturage bari bamaze iminsi bavuga bati "dore Inkotanyi rwose ibirindiro byazo biri hariya Inkotanyi ziragenda aho zishaka zigakora igikorwa kibi, ziki... zigashimuta abaturage, zikica kanaka, mwumvise iby'i Bwisige n'ahandi". Premier Ministre nta cyo yigeze avuga.

Ntuza, Komite ya MRND mu... mu karere ka Ruhengeri na yo yitabaje e... Ministre w'Intebe. Baramubwira. Ndetse bigera igihe bamubwiye bati "twumvise ko e... ukunze guhura n'abantu bo muri FPR, wagiye i Kinihira wagiye e...", sinzi niba ku Mulindi yaragiyeyo, ntabwo mbyibuka neza ariko umenya yaragiyeyo, turabas... "turabasaba ko ahubwo ...", kuko uretse iby'i Bwisige ejobundi Inkotanyi zateye, zaje mu isoko rya Rugarama, muri kariya karere ka Kidaho na Nkumba. Zigeze mu isoko, zimenesha abanyesoko bati "wowe Ministre w'Intebe, Madame Agata UWILINGIYIMANA uzaze aho hantu ukoreshe inama abakuru ba FPR uzabatumire, abo mu Rwanda ubatumire, noneho ubihanangirize, wihanangirize cyane cyane abo ba FPR ko bariho barica imi... amasezerano. Umugore ati ndagacibwa ibere. Ntabwo yigeze ajya... ajyayo.

Njyewe nkumva ko e... mu magambo make hari uburangare, uburangare bw'abanyapolitiki bacu, uburangare bw'abategetsi bacu. icyakora abategetsi bacu aha ngaha nkavuga nti ko babujije Perefese ku jyayo ari uwa Byumba, ari uwa Ruhengeri, bakabuza substitut, bakabuza iki nkuko nabivugaga mu kanya, ntabwo bari guca ku mategeko ubutegetsi bwabahaye, ariko noneho abategetsi bakuru, abo ngabo bafite uburenganzira bwo gukwaliza, ndabona bafite uburangare bu... bu... bukabije. Bukabije ku buryo babishyize mu masezerano yenda. Nibuka rwose ayo masezerano iii ndiho ndasubiza ikibazo cyawe, ndibuka amasezerano ee... ukuntu MRND yavuze iti "harimo ibintu byinshi bifutanye". Kugeza igihe ndetse yigaragambije mu kwezi kwa...kwa mbere, umugabo rwose TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI n'Abakombozi bati "MRND yanze amahoro". Inkotanyi zibyumva bwangu ziratera ngo "MRND yanze amahoro".

Bariya bagabo rero ubu barabona ko, koko muri ariya masezerano harimo ... hari harimo ibintu

bifutamyeye byinshi cyane, byinshi cyane. Ejo abaturage baravugaga bati (arimoje) “iyi dushaka kumva tuba twarumvise”. Abanyapolitiki e... baravuze ngo ... bakunze kubwira MRND ngo “ni umuti”. Ngo “turawuvuguse” ngo “ni umuti mugomba kuwunywa”. Abantu bawe ba... bakuyobotse ngo “ni umuti” ngo “bagomba kuwunywa”! Bati “iyi tubyumva neza tuba twarabyumvise”. Kuko ubundi umuti w’umuvugutano , umuti w’umuvugutano urica, urica.

- Ehehe!

- Umuti w’umuvugutano urica ...

- Hum.

- ... burya ni uburozi. Ubwo burozi rero abaturage ba hariya haruguru bariho ba... barabonywa, ubwo burozi bwabamaze. Ni bwo bwabishye. Kuko n’iyi uvuze, uretse ko mu... mu rwego rwa politiki ni bo bavuvuguse ntabwo uri kubarebera izuba. Urabona... aka... akaduruvayo kari mu mashyamba, icyakora icyo umuntu yavuye, ni uko e... iyi tureba kure tuba twaku... tu... tu... twararebye ukuntu ariya masezerano tuyadoda mu buryo buri wese yumva abonye. Naho ubundi, uko ateye, barayasinye, bamaze kuyasinye, abany... abanyandikishije bakanayasinyisha ni bo ba mbere batari kuyakurikiza. Urumva se bidateye agahinda?

**Kantano:**

Ari... ariko, Bwana NAHIMANA ntaguciyeye mu ijamba, ee... duhereye kuri biriya bitero byo mu... byo mu Ruhengeri, njye ntabwo ndi umunyaruhengeri, wowe uri umunyaruhengeri, ubwo kandi tuzi ko KANYARENGWE ngo ari Perezida wa FPR. Koko niba ari Perezida wa FPR, kugaba ibitero byo gutsemba abanyaruhengeri abifitemo iyihe nyungu ?

**GAHIGI:**

Ahubwo agomba kuba avuka muri Komine imwe na NAHIMANA. (Barasetse)



**NAHIMANA:**

E... KANYARENGWE, KANYARENGWE e... uretse no kuvuka muri Komine imwe nanjye, ahubwo tuvuka no ku gasozi kamwe. E... ariko mbere yo kugira ngo nsubize ikibazo cya Kantano ndagira ngo mbanze nsubize icya GAHIGI, mvuge ko kuba FPR yarateye, nyine ni ukwerekana ko kuri yo nta bwo yubahiriza amategeko nyine ariho. Icyo kabiri ura... u... GAHIGI wavuze uti "kuki yateye, ndetse ikibasira abantu batowe"? Si ko wambajije? Nagira ngo nkubwire ko e... FPR, demokarasi yayo iri kure. N'ubwo yateye ivuga ngo izanye demokarasi bwari u... bwari uburyo bwo kugira ngo abantu cyane cyane abazungu bayikunde bavuga bati hariya mu Rwanda hari umutwe umwe wa politiki, Guverinoma ishingiyeye ku ... ku mutwe umwe wa politiki, none bariya bantu bazanye politiki ishingiyeye ku mashyamba menshi, politiki twavugaga ya demokarasi. Kwari ugushaka kwikundisha mu rubuga mpuzamahanga. Ariko icyo urebye ejobundi abantu batowe, batowe ku mugaragaro bakurikije amabwiriza ya... ya ... ya Kinihira. Hatowe abantu ba FPR bahari, abantu bahagarariye Guverinoma y'u rwa... y'u Rwanda bahari, ndetse n'abantu navugaga bari bagiyeye ku... kurebera uko amatora ameze. Namwe abanyamakuru mwagiyeyo. Hanyuma amatora yabaye meza. Noneho rero ibyo byabaye i Burundi, bariya bantu...

**GAHIGI:**

Ahubwo, ni... ni icyo nashatse kuvugaga, hari abantu bavugaga bati e... "Perezida NDADAYE bamwishe amaze gutorwa", bati "none FPR na yo muri kariya karere yishe abantu batowe", bati "urebye ubigereranyije bati ni kimwe".

**NAHIMANA F:**

E... ubwo rero ngiyeye gusoza igisubizo cy'ikibazo cyawe, bimpe kujya ku kibazo cya... cya... HABIMANA Kantano, e... mu by'ukuri baariya bantu bitwa FPR namwe ejo nimugoroba mwa...mwabivuze, ari Kantano ari nawe GAHIGI ikintu kandi nabivuze kenshi, ikintu kigiyeye kwica iki gihugu ni ugushaka kutavugisha ukuri. Inkotanyi zigizwe hafi mirongo cyenda ku ijana ni Abatutsi. Iyo mfashe ibyabaye iBurundi navugaga ko ari kimwe n'ibyabaye hariya haraguru ejo mu ijoro ry'ejobundi rishyira ejo hashize. Kuko navugaga ko Abatutsi b'i Burundi ntabwo bemera na gato ko

umuntu utowe cyane cyane iyo abaye Umuhutu ashobora gutegeka. Hariya haraguru rero na ho muri Nyamugari, Cyeru, Kidaho, e... na Nkumba ntabwo FPR igizwe n'Abatutsi benshi bemera ko umuntu utari uwabo ategeka. Ni na yo mpamvu nyine bibasiye abantu bari batowe kugira ngo abo ngabo bari bafite icyizere cy'abaturage bahave, noneho abo FPR ishaka gutoresha bazatorwe, bazatorwe. Ariko umuntu akibaza ati ese batwiciye abantu mu kwezi kwa ... kuva mu ... mu ... mu kwezi kwa cumi kw'igihumbi magana cyenda mirongo cyenda. Cyane cyane biba agahomamunwa mu kwezi kwa kabiri k'uyu mwaka wa mirongo cyenda na gatatu. None dukubitiyemo ko twari tugize agahenge bibasiye abo twari tumaze kwitorera. Abo baturage bo bibwira ko ari ibicucu ku buryo bazatora abo FPR izazana? Ahubwo bakwemera gupfa aho kugira ngo batore abo bantu b'abishi babo. Kantano rero ati "sindi umunyaruhengeri, wowe uri umunyaruhengeri, uriya mugabo KANYARENGWE, Perezida wa FPR arashaka kugera kuki yicisha bene wanyu, yicisha bene wabo?"

#### **GAHIGI:**

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

- Hum.

- Ku bwawe, demokarasi ishingiyeye ku matora muri ako karere iracyashobotse?

#### **NAHIMANA:**

Ku bwanjye, e... demokarasi ishingiyeye ku matora igihe cyose FPR izaba ari FPR tuzi, ari FPR itaraza ngo ijye mu ruhando mu nkubiri ya demokarasi yuzuye, ntabwo amatora ashobora ku... u... u..., ntabwo kubaho muri kariya karere, ntabwo ubutegetsi bushingiyeye kuri demokarasi bushobora kuhaba. Kuko iteka uwo tuzatora muri kariya karere adashimishije FPR bazaza bamuce umutwe.

Numvise General DALLAIRE avuga ko mu byumweru bibiri, umenya ko ariko yavuze, mu minsi icumi, mu minsi icumi, ko azagerageza gu... gushyira umutekano uruse uwari uriho muri kariya

karere. Ariko twibuke ko DALLAIRE afite abasirikari bakeya. Ndetse, nk'uko umaze kubivuga, niii... niba koko inkuru ari impamo, kandi ndakeka ko mwabivuze mumaze kuuu... kuu... kubigenzura, u... umaze ku... wowe GAHIGI umaze kuvuga uti "hari umuntu bamaze kubona kuri Minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu wambaye akagofero k'aba MINUAR, k'abasirikari ba... ba... ba ONU". Ubwo se izo Nkotanyi nizambara iyo myenda ya ki ONU bakaza bakajya, nkababona ku i... bakajya ku irembo ry'umuturage, umuturage a... azananirwa kubugururira imyugariro?

**GAHIGI:**

Ahubwo ni zo mpungenge dufite!

- Ubwo rero urumva ko icyo gihe ni biba bimeze uko biri izo Nkotanyi, izo FP... iyo FPR itemeye kuza mu nkubiri y'amashyaka ng... y'amashyaka muri demakarasi yuzuye ni... ni inzozu kuvuga ngo tuzatora noneho utowe ategere, ategere umutekano muri kariya gace.

- Reka noneho tugere ku kibazo cya Kantano.

- Hum.

- KANYARENGWE usa n'umaze bene wabo, ee... urabivugaho iki? Ni ikibazo cya Kantano.

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

- Oya, nagira ngo nkubwire ko muri Murambi yahatuye nyuma, n'ubu umuryango we ni ho uri. Yahazanye nyina ahagura isambu, afite n'abana, ariko yaje aturutse muri Gatonde

**NAHIMANA:**

E... yaturutse muri Gatonde. Ntaho tumwihakana.

**GAHIGI:**

Cyokora ... cyokora afite urugo i Murambi.

**NAHIMANA:**

... nashakaga kugira ngo nkubwire gusa ko ifishi ya KANYARENGWE itakiri muri Gatonde. Ubu ngubu iri muri Murambi.

**GAHIGI:**

Nta kibazo. Ibibazo aduteye natwe turabizi.

**NAHIMANA:**

Kandi i... ibyo turabisangiye. Ubwo rero icyo navuga na cyo cyabera isomo KANYARENGWE. KANYARENGWE mu kwezi kwa kabiri, muzi ko Abanyarwanda twese twahagurutse, ndetse n'Imiryango mpuzamahanga n'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw'ikiremwanuntu hano mu Rwanda no... no mu mahanga barahaguruka bati "Inkotanyi zamaze abantu". Abantu babaza KANYARENGWE bati " KANYARENGWE, kuki umaze Abanyarwanda"? Kuko iyo umunyaruhengeri apfuye, iyo umunyagisenyi yapfuye, umunya... byumba apfuye, umunyakibuye apfuye, ni Umunyarwanda. Icyo kibazo barakimubajije: "kuki umaze Abanyarwanda?" Icyo kabiri: "kuki, noneho muri abo Banyarwanda wibasiye bene wanyu"? Ati: "rwose ndagashahurwa", ati "ntabwo jyewe nohereje Inkotanyi zanjye kwica abanyaruhengeri, kwica Abanyarwanda", ati ni abasirikari ba HABYARIMANA. Ibyo ngibyo, iteka, mwamubonye no kuri Televiziyo y' u Rwanda a..., ni cyo yashyiraga imbere, avuga ati "mu kwezi kwa kabiri Inkotanyi zanjye ntabwo zigeze zica". None rero, ubu ngubu arabihakana ate? Yahakana ate ko abo basirikari b'u Rwanda, ntabwo ari aba HABYARIMANA, abasirikari b'u Rwanda bari aho bababwiye kuba?

Umutu... abaturage abacitse ku icumu ejobundi, ejobundi birirwaga ... birirwaga bavuga bati “ni Inkotanyi twiriwe tuzibona mu i... mu isoko, twiriwe tubabona hariya mu muhanda, ni Inkotanyi”. KANYARENGWE rero niba adashoboye gukontorora izo Nkotanyi ze, niba yemera ko atica, izo Nkotanyi zikaba zaramu... zaramutanyeye zikamu... zikarenga ku mategeko atanga, njye namugira inama. Namugira inama y’uko yakwegura kuri... kuba Perezida wa ririya shyaka, nako w’uriya Mutwe, nta nubwo ari ishyaka, uriya Mutwe wa... wa gisirikari, akemera akavuga ati ndatashye, mvuye muri FPR cyangwa se ndi muri FPR ariko ndetse kuba Perezida wa FPR, mbeho aho kugira ngo nkomeze kuri... kwitwa Ruvumwa, nkomeze kwitwa umwicanyi kuko e... numvise mu minsi ishize ko hari abasore cumi na batatu bavuka muri Ndusu, mu karere k’u Bukonya nyine KANYARENGWE avukamo. Abantu baravuze bati “rero abakonya mwabaye FPR”. Twaje ku... kubaririza, nanjye ubwanjye nigiriye mu Mataba, nigiriye muri Ndusu, nigiriye e... mu duce twinshi twa... twa Komine Ndusu, naganiriye na Burugumesitiri ndetse n’abakonseye, bambwiye ko abo basore n’aba (inaudible). Ni byo koko bagiye muri FPR.

Mais abo basore ni bantu ki? Ni ba bandi n’ubundi bafunzwe mu makomine, ugasanga ba se bari muri MRND cyangwa muri CDR. Ariko abo basore barabananiye. Noneho nkavuga nti “ese” nti “mwa bantu mwe”, abo nagiye mpura na bo, “koko mugiyeye kuvuga ko ejobundi KANYARENGWE agiyeye gutaha ngo ni uko ari mwene wanyu wavukiye ino, mugiyeye kuvuga muti, e... Kanyarengwe oye, FPR oye, FPR ramba”! Bati “ntibishoboka!” Ubu, tugiye guhinduka tube FPR”. FPR bivuga iki? Ni Umutwe w’Abanyarwanda kandi bakurikije amateka y’iki gihugu, FPR ntaho itaniye... ntaho itaniye n’Inyenzi.

**GAHIGI:**

Yee, uti “uretse ko ntaho itaniye n’Inyenzi”, reka nkomeze ikibazo cya Kantano kandi kuri KANYARENGWE, ...

- Hum..

- ... FPR ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi mu mateka, wenda wabisobanurira abatwumva, icyo FPR ipfana n'Inyenzi.

- Hum.

- KANYARENGWE yazijemo ate?

**NAHIMANA:**

Bon, ndamanza ku kibazo cya mbere. FPR nta ho itanduye ... ntaho itaniye n'Inyenzi ...

**GAHIGI:**

Kandi KANYARENGWE yarwanyije Inyenzi. Noneho udusobanurire rero uko yaje kuba Perezida wazo.

**NAHIMANA:**

FPR nta ho itaniye n'Inyenzi kuko ee... Inyenzi ni na bo bazi. . impunzi zahunze u Rwanda Abanyarwanda nyamwinshi, rubanda nyamwinshi imaze gukora révolution yo muri mirongo itanu n'icyenda ubwami buvuyeho repubulika ishingiyeye kuri demokarasi ishi... ihawe intebe muri iki gihugu.

Abanze ku... kwinjira muri Repubulika, abanze ku... kuyoboka demokarasi bafata inzira barahunga. Abadutera... nti... ntibyateye kabiri, muri mirongo itandatu na kabiri kugeza muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi abo bari bahunze bashatse kugira ngo repubulika nshyashya bayisimbuzye ubutegetsi bwa cyami bwa mbere. Baratera ibitero byica abantu, ariko e... icyo gihe u Rwanda rwari rumaze kugira Umutwe w'ingabo, e.. Armée nationale, garde nationale, abo bana b'igihugu bakora uko bashoboye bahashya ibyo bitere ku buryo muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi Inyenzi zahagaze. Bategereje bari.. Baragiye barisuganya. Muzi ko kuva muri za mirongo itandatu na karindwi bari bafite urebye icyicaronyabo muri Uganda.

Umuntu wahaye agahenge u Rwanda ni Obote. Obote asenya mbese icyo nakwita “ quartier général” ya... y’Inyenzi.

**GAHIGI:**

Ariko no mu Burundi ubanza bari bariyo.

**NAHIMANA:**

Ye, oya no mu Burundi hirya no hino bariyo , ariko urebye e... aho bakoreraga cyane ni muri Uganda. Igihe ntuza Obote yabwiye Kigeli ati “mvira aha” n’abo bari bafatanije, Kigeli ava muri... muri Uganda ajya muri... muri Kenya, abandi bamwe bava aho ngaho bajya muri za Kanada, bajya ahandi hirya no hino, mu by’ukuri mbese imi... Umutwe w’Inyenzi icyo gihe wabaye ujegajeze ariko bakomeza kwisuganya hafi imyaka makumyabiri, ubwo twavugaga makumyabiri n’i... n’itanu hafi. Bon, e... mu... muri uko kwisuganya na none bisuganyije bavuga bati “ahatubera hafi ni muri Uganda”.

Ubwo hagati aho ngaho bari baragiye mu... mu ngabo za Uganda, ndetse bategeka izo ngabo, bafatanyaga na Museveni bamugira inshuti, karahava. Uti... ubwo rero FPR yaduteye, murumva ko ari ba bandi mu by’ukuri bafite imvano mu... mu bahunze muri mirongo itanu n’icyenda. Noneho tuti bahunze muri mirongo itanu n’icyenda, ni ba bandi baduteye kugeza muri mirongo itandatu na karindwi. Ni ba bandi bisuganyije rero biyita FPR. Intambara igitera muri mirongo cyenda twavugaga tuti “ Inyenzi zaduteye”. Ijambo Inyenzi ryavuyeho ejobundi dutangiye imishyikirano. KANYARENGWE n’abo.. n’abantu be bati ntidushaka kwitwa Inyenzi.

**GAHIGI:**

Yari inye... KANYARENGWE rero azijyamo ate?

**NAHIMANA:**

Noneho rero nijyewe ndatekereza nti ahubwo ya macenga navuze, KANYARENGWE na we yari ya... yayacenze abanyarwanda. Yanze kuvuga ku... yanze ko bakomeza kuvuga Inyenzi kandi

yarazirwanyije. Ati “jyewe ndi umuntu mushya ariko uteye igihugu, ndi Inkotanyi”. Uretse ko na bo ntibarebye kure. Nyine navugaga ko i... Inkotanyi, Inkotanyi zari Umutwe e... wa Rwabugiri. Ni abantu bari barayogoje igihugu. Uturere tw... tw’uru Rwanda, uturere cyane cyane tutari twakayobotse intuza, ingoma ya cyami nyiginya. Ubwo rero nta ho yavuye ntaho yagiye. Ari Inyenzi, ari Inkotanyi, bese ni abatera bica.

E... KANYARENGWE uti rero yaje kuba umutware w’Inyenzi-Inkotanyi ate? Ibyo mwariho, mwari abakozi, ibyo byatangiye muri mirongo inani. Mirongo inane, yagize amakimbirane avuga ko ashingiye ku butegetsi, cyane cyane ko ntavuga ko ashingiye kuri politiki, ni mu butegetsi. Ari HABYAMANA, ari KANYARENGWE, ari n’abandi basirikare bakomeye ... (inaudible).

FIN DE LA FACE A



FACE B

...numero deux muri iki gihugu nyuma ya HABYARIMANA. KANYARENGWE yafashe e... yategetse za Minisiteri zitoroshye, za Minisiteri zikomeye zamuhaga uburyo bwo kumenyekana. Igituma mbivuga ko bagomba kuba barapfuye ubutegetsi, ni uko KANYARENGWE yabaye Ministre w'Ubutegetsi bw'igihugu ndetse aho e... MRND bayishingiye, abashirize MRND ntaho barimo, aba... ku... e... ntuzaza umwe mu bagize Komite e... y'igihugu, e... Comité central ya MRND. E... ahunga muri mirongo inani, yari Ministre w'Abakozi ba Leta, Ministre de la Fonction Publique. Ndayekaga ko ntibeshya. Nkatekereza rero ko hagomba kuba harabayeho amakimbirane nta... ari we mu bibazo mwagiye mumubaza mwebwe abanyamakuru, nta na kimwe aratangariza Abanyarwanda ngo avugye ati njye nahunze iki ngiki. Ari HABYARIMANA, murubuka ko HABYARIMANA yavuze ati "harimo abahunze amahoro". Na we ntaratubwira ati icyo mpfa ... napfuye na KANYARENGWE ntabwo tu..

**GAHIGI:**

E... kugeza ubu ngubu koko nta muntu urasobanura impamvu KANYARENGWE yahunze.

**NAHIMANA:**

Kugeza ubu, kugeza ubu. Rero jye nkavugaga nti imikino ya politiki n'ibi by'ubutegetsi, bariya bantu bo mu... bafashe ubutegetsi muri mirongo irindwi na gatatu bose bafitanye amabanga. Kuva kuri HABYARIMANA kugeza ku wari... ndakeka ni... na ba majoro, bese, ...

- Hum.

- ... icyo gihe bari mu... abari bamwungirije bari abamajoro hari harimo n'abakoloneli, abo bese bafitanye ibanga ryabo.

Icyiza twari twishimiye, ni uko, nkuko NGANGO yigeze kubivugaga ati "kubona haba coup d'Etat, coup d'Etat, Abanyarwanda tukavuzaga impundu, tukabyina, ni uko hari umutekano muke mu gihugu,

ni uko politike yari iriho icyo gihe ni uko ubutegetsi bwariho bwari bubwiye. icyo twari twishimiye twese ni uko nyine koko abo bantu bafashe ubutegetsi batuzanamo politike y'amahoro ndetse n'ubumwe. Ariko ejobundi e... nyine muri mirongo inane u... ubwo bumwe bwagombaga kubanziriza muri abo ngabo bari bashyizeho iyo politiki y'ubumwe n'amahoro, ubwo bumwe bwari butangiye kuba buke. Ku buryo ndetse ari KANYARENGWE, ari n'abandi, KANYARENGWE yari yahunze, abandi barafungwa, urumva rero ubumwe ndetse ni... n'amahoro byari bitangiye guhungabana. KANYARENGWE rero yari yaragiye. Baduteye muri mirongo cyenda, ubwo yari amaze imyaka icumi mu buhungiro. Abantu bakurikiranye ubuzima bwe hanze, bavuga ko Inyenzi zamwi... zagerageje kumureshya igihe kirekire ariko ngo arabangira. Nyuma niba ari ubukene, ari iki simbizi nyuma bagomba kuba baramureheje bakamwerekana amafaranga... ndetse bamwe bavuga ko banamushyiriyeho n'umukobwa wabo. Ibyo ngibyo azabitwibwirira cyangwa tuzabibona naramuka atashye, ibyo tuzabibona.

E...bamaze kumureshya, yumva ko ubu abo yafatanyije na bo bakiri mu gihugu, baba... bamwirukanye, abo ngabo ni abanzi be. Njye rero nkatekereza ko yagiye muri FPR kugira ngo akonde ubutegetsi bwa ba bandi bari barafatanyije kubushyiraho. Ku isonga ry'abo ngabo mvuga hari HABYARIMANA. Kuko wibuke ko iteka iyo KANYARENGWE ba...mubajije ikibazo aravugaga ngo "ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA, ubutegetsi bwa MRND ni bwo yashatse kurandura". Ariko muri uko gushakira kuburandura ntiyabona... ndakeka ko batamubwiye neza cyangwa atabibonye by'ukuri ko bo batari bashakira kurandura ubutegetsi bwa HABYARIMANA gusa, bashakaga kurandura ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika. Ubwo rero koko kimwe namwe ntabwo byumvikana ko KANYARENGWE warwanyije Inyenzi arwanira Repubulika, ageze igihe cyo kwemera ko Repubulika igwa, ndetse no mu uko kugwa kwa Repubulika akemera ko abo bava inda imwe, abo bavuka hamwe, abo baturanye mu karere kamwe bamarirwa ku icurnu n'abo abereye Perezida.

#### **GAHIGI:**

Ku bwawe rero e... icyatumye Inkotanyi zitera n'icyatumye KANYARENGWE aziyamo urabisobanuye. Tuvuge koko Inkotanyi ziramutse zitahutse na KANYARENGWE agatahuka,

watubwira nk'umuntu wize amateka (voix superposées) ...(inaudible) abona imbere? (Inaudible)  
KANYARENGWE n'Inkotanyi na HABYARIMANA (inaudible).

**NAHIMANA:**

Icyo gihe nibataha bose tuzaba turi Abanyarwa... N'ubundi n'aho bari ni Abanyarwanda. E...mbibona ku buryo bubiri: FPR izaza na KANYARENGWE na we atahe. icyakora jyewe mu kanya navuze nti niba atari we uvuga ngo Inkotanyi nizitere, zikaba zaramutanye, niyegure. Nkaba ntekereza ko niba ateguye bazamenya ko ari we uzohereza. icyo gihe rero imibanire ya KANYARENGWE na FPR yo ishobora kuzakomeza kuba u...(inaudible).

Ariko icyo ntinya ni uko... nako icyo ntekereza (inaudible) ... ntabwo mfite uburenganzira bwo kubitinya, e... icyo ntekereza ni uko bishobora kuzaba nk'ibi tubona muri PL. Hakazaba FPR y'Abatutsi, hakaba na FPR y'Abahutu, dore ko harimo bamwe bagerageza kumwamamaza muri twa turere tw'iwacu, bavuga bati ... bakavuga bati "buriya KANYARENGWE ni amacenga acenga ntuza. Inkotanyi z'Abatutsi, naza ndetse azigira mu ishyamba ryacu". Nta kuvuga ngo tuzi ibyo ari byo ngo hatagira uvuga ngo ... ngo babikorana na ... na KANYARENGWE w'Inkotanyi.

Ubwo urumva rero ko, bishoboka ko igihe KANYARENGWE yatashye, hashobora kuzaba FPR Ntutsi na FPR Mputu nkuko hari FPR Landuari dusigaye twita PL ...PL Landuari dusigaye twita PL Ntutsi, na PL MUGENZI dusigaye twita PL Mputu.

KANYARENGWE na HABYARIMANA. Njyewe numvise ko HABYARIMANA, navugaga ko abantu, bariya bantu bariganye, bariya bantu barakoranye, bariya bantu bafatanyije gukuraho politike yari itangiye kuzamba muri mirongo irindwi na gatatu, barakomeza barakorana kugera muri mirongo inani. Niba barapfuye ubutegets, KANYARENGWE naza akabona agiye mu butegets, ndumva ikibazo cya HABYARIMANA na KANYARENGWE kizaba gi...gikemuwe ndetse abantu bagiye i Kinihira hamwe...

**GAHIGI:**

Ariko, nje ntabwo mbyemera kuko KANYARENGWE niba ari ubutegetsi bapfuye, yahunze ari Ministre w'Abakozi ba Leta. Naza rero kereka naba Perezida! Ubwo rero ikibazo kizaba kigihari.

**NAHIMANA:**

Sinzi niba i...nababwiye mu kanya ko tutari twamenya neza icyo ...mu by'ukuri bapfuye. icyakora kandi sintekereza ko ari HABYARIMANA gusa kuko ni na cyo Abanyarwanda badakunze ku... gukurikira e...kwibeshya, abantu nyine bashaka kutu... kutujegajereza ntuzaza... ubutegetsi e... n'imibereho yacu iteka batwereka HABYARIMANA, HABYARIMANA. Ndateka ko HABYARIMANA ndabibona koko HABYARIMANA ni umutegetsi muri système. Ndateka... nkabona ... nkabona ko KANYARENGWE ntabwo avuguruzaga HABYARIMANA gusa agomba kuba yari afite ikibazo muri système politique administratif yari iriho. Ubwo rero wa mugani naramuka aje (inaudible) kuko azaba ari mu ruhando rw'amashyamba menshi, afite n'ishyamba rye, icyo gihe azaza yiyamamaze. Urumva azaba afite ubutegetsi, ni ho nari ngeze. Uti ko ashakaga kuba Perezida, aiyamamaza . Nitu... abaturage nibamuturaza azatorwa. HABYARIMANA nibamuturaza, aho ngaho ni ho hazaba ikibazo. D'ailleurs ndatekereza ko HABYARIMANA natorwa, n'abandi batari FPR nibatorwa bakababwira turati...umuntu yatinyaga kuzabona ibyabaye hariya hepfo mu Burundi. U... e... nasubizaga ikibazo cya KANYARENGWE na HABYARIMANA.

Ariko nyewe nongeyeho ikindi, KANYARENGWE n'Abanyarwanda. Koko niba tuvuye ngo KANYARENGWE niyiyamamaza bakamuturaza simvugaga ko adashobora gutururwa...ariko sinzi amagambo azakoresha kugira ngo abaturage yiciye, abaturage yashubije , nta n'ubwo ari ku isuka kuko badafite n'aho bahingaga, mbese abaturage yagize inzererezi. Muzi ko muri kariya katwe barahingaga, abana babo bararyaga bagahaga, none abana babo bishwe na bwaki, abandi bishwe na macinya, abandi bishwe na rougeole, rougeole ni...ni iseru, abo bantu bahindutse abatindi nyakujya. Abo bantu se ni bo KANYARENGWE azajya kwaka amajwi? Ni demokarasi?

**GAHIGI:**

Uvuze abo ngabo bavanywe mu byabo n'intambara n'ingaruka nje nibuka ahubwo n'Abatutsi ...

- Hum.

- ... batibagiwe KANYARENGWE kuko uramuzi, ni uw'iwanyu muri Gatonde..., muri Murambi ho ntiyakunze kuhaza cyane nje simuzi neza ...

- Hum.

- ... ariko bavuze ko ari umuntu utaremeraga ibintu by'Abatutsi. Ndetse akabwira HABYARIMANA ati "ibyho ..." politike y'ubumwe n'amahoro" ati "nje sinyemera" ati "Abatutsi nibagende dutegereke cyangwa birangire". No... nje nagiraga ngo nongereho ko n'Abatutsi ahubwo batazamubabarira.

**NAHIMANA:**

Ahubwo harimo n'aba... n'Umututsi duherutse kuvugana twitonze, turavugana rwose dusangira akabyeri... arambwira ati "ariko" ati "burya muribeshya", ati "intambara ntimugire ngo nimwebwe yakoze mu nda mwenyine", ati "ahubwo abana bacu barashize". Ati "uriya mugabo witwa KANYARENGWE" ati "ni mubi, yabaye mubi kuva kera" ati "kuko...", we yaravugaga ati "icyo yahunze ni amahoro" ati "kuko HABYARIMANA yaravugaga ati ubumwe n'amahoro hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi" ati "KANYARENGWE akabyanga"! Ati "none" ati "ariho arashyira mu bikorwa ibintu bye yari afite kuva kera" ati "ahamagaza abasore bacu bari bameze neza" ati "akabashyira ku rugamba ..."

**GAHIGI:**

Bagashira! (Aseka)

**NAHIMANA:**

Ati “abantu bapfiriye hariya mu Ruhengeri” ati “harimo abana bacu i... batagira ingano”. U... Ubwo mvuga ko, sinzi ukuntu azabigenza nyine kugira ngo nyine yitoyeshe abantu bamutore niba ashaka kuba Perezida abe Perezida. Ahubwo hari n’ikindi njya nibaza. Ni ukuzatubwira ahantu az... azatorezwa, azatorerwa. Azatorerwa se mu Ruhengeri atak... atakihafite ifishi? Azatorerwa muri

Byumba se? Azatorerwa muri Kigali se? Ni ikibazo ariko iki ni ikibazo cyeye ntabwo ari ikibazo cyanjye.

**GAHIGI:**

Ubwo azaza wenda yiyandikishe, komeze izamwakira izamwamamaze. Hanyuma, nshuti mutwumva nagira ngo mbibutse ko nakiriye Ferdinand NAHIMANA, Professeur muri Université, muri Kaminuza y’u Rwanda, e... akaba ari umuntu wize iby’amateka, ari Docteur en Histoire, akaba ari n’umuntu w’inararibonye mu... uzi ibintu by’itangazamakuru kuko yigeze kuyobora ikigo cya ORINFOR, akaba yari yaragiye aho amarorerwa yabereye ejo, nkaba namwakiriye ndi hamwe na HABIMANA Kantano. Nkagira ngo wenda muhe akajambo k’umwanzuro, k’agashinguracumu niba hari icyo naba nibagiwe... atubwire. Atubwire cyane cyane ariko ahera ku marorerwa yabaye ejo akozwe na FPR.

**NAHIMANA:**

Urakoze ... urakoze GAHIGI. Ndagira ngo mvuge mu magambo make, e... nanzura iki kiganiro twagiranye. E... nagiraga ngo mvuge amasomo abiri nakuye ku byo nabonye ejo. icya mbere nkuko na... nigeze kubivuga, abantu no kuri Radio Rwanda barabivuze. Kuba baravuze ko Inkotanyi ejo zitabiye ... zibasiye abantu bo muri MRND koko ni byo. Ariko nagira ngo mbwire abatwumva ko Inkotanyi zica MUTIMA, zikica Kalisiti, zikica Karoli, zikica n’abandi ntabwo zarebye gusa ngo ni... ni umuntu w’umuyoboze wo muri MRND, zishe Umunyarwanda. Ni na yo mpamvu, ikintu cyatangajye kandi nishimiye cyane, ni uko bariya bantu bo muri Nkumba ni ho nageze no muri ... no mu Ruhengeri hariya, abo... abo muri MRND, abo muri CDR, muri MDR ni bo nakunze kubonana na

bo, bese bararira! Bese kandi barafatanyije kugira ngo bahambe abantu bishwe n'Inkotanyi. Hari swe... solidarité.

Ibi ngi... ibi ngibi kuri nje bikaba ari isomo abo baturage b'aho hantu bahaye abanyapolitiki. Abakuru kuri nyewe, abakuru ba MRND, aba MDR, aba PSD, bariya ba PL n'abandi... bari bakwiye guhaguruka, bakajya muri kariya karere. MINUAR yaraje, MINUAR ibahe abasirikare bajyeyo, ndetse bari kumwe, bahumurize Abanyarwanda bari hariya.

Ikindi cya kabiri navuga ni uko e...mva mu...mu Ruhengeri nageze hanu i Kigali, hari umu...byeyi wanyegereye arambaza ati nageze hano mu kanya bambwira ko wagiye mu Ruhengeri. Koko ibyavuzwe ni byo? Koko abantu bapfuye? Ko abantu bari kuvuga ko ari ikinamico rya MRND ndetse ryo... ry'Abakiga”?

#### **GAHIGI:**

Ahubwo natwe tubivuga abantu bavugaga ngo “ni igikabyo” ngo “cya RTLM” ngo “ntabwo ari byo” ngo “ntawapfuye”. Ndetse n'imibare twatanze kuva mu gitondo abantu bumwe nimugoroba bumwe ko ari byo.

#### **NAHIMANA:**

Yee. Ubwo rero nagiraga ngo mbabwire ko nje igisubizo namushubije, naramubwiye nti umva rero wa mubyeyi we, mbere intambara igitera bavuze ibyitso. Harimo ibyafunzwe, ntabwo ibyitso byose byafunzwe. Kandi abafunzwe bese si bari ibyitso. Ariko, mu by'ukuri, mu bafunzwe hari harimo ibyitso. Ibyitso ni collaborateur. Nta ntambara ibaho itagira ibyitso. Uretse ko (inaudible) amacenga ndifuza ko Fawusitini aza, aza...azumva neza icyo icenga ari cyo. Ni ya macenga ya FPR. Bamaze kuvuga bati ibyitso, iryo jambo ibyitso baritera hejuru baravugaga ku buryo ryabaye banal. Mu by'ukuri ibyitso birahari byo. Byariho kandi biracyariho. Ndetse uretse ko nyine nk'uko nabivuze birakora ku mugaragaro. Barakorera ku mugaragaro, baragurisha utubendera twa FPR, barajya ku Mulindi bagatanga amafaranga... mu tubare bari... baravugaga. Noneho nkavugaga nti, naramushubije nti abo bese

bari hano ba FPR, birumvikana ko iyo bumvise ko FPR yakoze akantu ikintu bihutira gukora ni ukuvuga ngo a... ngo buriya ni... ni amacenga ya MRND! Kugira ngo hatabamo confiance nationale, tudahagurukira rimwe nk'uko twahagurutse mu kwezi kwa kabiri. Kuko mu kwezi kwa kabiri, ba... bakoze umubare mubi. Twarahagurutse, naho ku... kuri njyewe mu Ruhengeri kugeza mu kwezi kwa kabiri hari imitwe ishyushye hagati ya MRND, MDR cyane cyane. Ariko amarorerwa yabaye, kuko ari MRND yagize abantu bayo bapfuye, ari MDR ari n'abandi bose, twese twahise... batwiciye abantu turahaguruka. Ni byo...ubu ngubu rero nkavuga nti bariya bantu bariho barashyushya imitwe bavuga bati ni MRND gusa. Kugira ngo ni muri MRN... muri MDR bo mu rindi shyamba yumve bitamureba. Nkumva rero...

#### **GAHIGI:**

Ariko ari icenga.

#### **NAHIMANA:**

Ari icenga. Nkumva, kugira ngo ndangize GAHIGI nawe Kantano mvuge nti abantu FPR irabacira hariya muri zone tampon abategetsi bacu baga... bagashyira agati mu ryinyo, amashyamba agacira agati mu ryinyo. FPR hano mu gihu... hano hagati, hano muri za Kigali, mu mujyi, irica conscience nationale. Aho ku... aho kugira ngo umuntu wo muri MDR avuge ati yayaza ati batwiciye abantu ba... bagakora ku buryo bisekera bati "hum! MRND yajya yumva"! Umuntu wo muri PL aho kugira ngo avuge ati abantu bo mu gihugu barashyize avuge ati "MRND yajya yumva"! Bityo bityo... Ikindi e... narangirizaho, nkavuga nti iyo conscience nationale koko iri gupfa!

Ejo nimugoroba mwumvise ibyavuzwe kuri radio n'Inama y'Abaminisitiri. Njyewe, kuri njyewe byatangajwe cyane. Nta... ntabwo nari nzi ko biri buvugwe kuriya. Nari nzi ko inama yateranijwe ku buryo bw'igitaraganya, bagiye kwiga kuriya kibazo cyo muri... cyabaye muri Nkumba, Nyamugali, Cyeru n'ahandi, mvuga nti Guverinoma y'igihugu irafata umwanzuro. Ariko se, twagiye kumva twumva baravuze ngo... nako simbisubiramo. Ahubwo nari ntegereje ko bavuga bati: "Ntuza, Ministre w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga..., nizere ko yabikoze niba batabimusabye, Ministre w'Ububanyi



n'Amahanga tanga amabwiriza ahamye uyahe abaduhagarariye mu mahanga bakore za conférences de presse, berekane ko MR...plutôt FPR iriho yica amasezerano twasinye. Nari ntegereje ko Ministre w'Itangazamakuru avuga ati ORINFOR nanjye Ministre w'Itangazamakuru reka dufatanye wowe ORINFOR ufite za adresses z'amaradiyo mpuzamahanga, z'ibinyamakuru byandikwa..., wohereze mu mahanga inkuru y'imvaho. Muri iki gitondo nari nzi ko amaradiyo menshi mpuzamahanga ari buramuke avuga iby'u Rwanda n'ukuntu FPR yishe amasezerano. Sinzi niba byakozwe. Nari ntegereje ko, ndarangiriza aha ngaha ko amashyaka ari MRND, ari MDR, ari P... ndetse bibaye na ngombwa bahagurukira hamwe bagakora conférence de presse, bakavuga icyo batekereza. Nari nzi ko, uretse ko, n'iyi nama yabaye, ko Ministre w'Intebe Agata agira icyo atangariza Abanyarwanda. Numvise ukuntu yavuze Inkotanyi zavuze ngo ni...ni... "nibabahe abantu cumi na batatu", bariho, bari bariho! Ndetse bari babajyanye mu miryango yabo! Barahaguruka, Guverinoma irahaguruka ibajyana, ijya kubakura muri Ndusu, ibajyana muri... muri zone y'i... y'Inkotanyi. Nari nzi ko Ministre washyizweho ngo aze ayobore iriya Guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho Yaguye, Fawusitini TWAGIRAMUNGU, akunze kuvuga byinshi, nari nzi ko arahaguruka akavuga. Mbese muri iki gi... ubu yavuze uyu muni?

#### **GAHIGI:**

Ntabwo namwumvise.

#### **NAHIMANA:**

Maze rero njyewe nkumva ko ye... bariya bayoboke ba MRND bari batowe ku buryo bwa kidemokarasi barishwe, n'abandi bari bategereje gutorwa kuko bari bafite gu... gushyigikirwa kw'abaturage barishwe. Ariko kuri njyewe ntabwo bishe abaturage b'... b'abayoboke ba MRND, bishe Abanyarwanda. Inkotanye zarenze ku masezerano! Bagombaga ka... kwamaganwa natwe twese, Abanyarwanda twese, amashyaka yose, imiryango yose, ya yindi ivuga ko iharanira kurengera ikiremamuntu.

**GAHIGI:**

Cyokora ku muntu uzi politiki nanjye hari interuro yatangaje. Uravuze uti ubundi koko inama ya Leta yateranye igitaraganya tukumva icyo yateraniye ari ukugira ngo isuzume amarorerwa yabaye kandi ifate umwanzuro. Hari uwundi mwanzuro y... yafashe imubaza. Byambabaje nti ku muntu uzi politiki ndavuze nti Guverinoma ivuga mu gifaransa iti "Le Gouvernement a demandé à la Communauté Internationale de continuer à aider les deux parties à mettre en pratique ledit accord qui appelle aussi bien le Gouvernement Rwandais que le FPR à abandonner l'inacceptable politique de violence". Njye nkibaza niba iyo Gouvernement rwandais inama yateranye igitaraganya...

- Hum.

- ... niba Gouvernement rwandais yo na yo ifite de... d'abandonner l'inacceptable politique de violence. Kuki iyi phrase bayishyira kuri Gouvernement rwandais kandi Gouvernement yateranye igitaraganya yamagana ... igomba kwamagana FPR?

Iyi phrase rero ni confusion politique iteye ubwoba!

- Yee.

**NAHIMANA:**

Twayivuga mu kinyarwanda dutya ngo "Inama y'Abaministre yasabye Imiryango mpuzamahanga na... n'ibihugu gukomeza gufasha Guverinoma y'i... y'u Rwanda na FPR gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano. Kandi irasaba ko ntuz... iyo... iyo miryango mpuzamahanga n'ibihugu mpuzamahanga byakomeza gusaba ko Guverinoma, ntuz... Leta y'u Rwanda na FPR bareka ibikorwa byabo by'ubugizibwanabi.

**GAHIGI:**

Guverinoma y'u Rwanda se muri ... Guverinoma y'u Rwanda se ivuze nabi... ivuze nabi (inaudible).

**GAHIGI:**

Ni ibyo ngibyo bitumvikana, niba inama yateranye igitaraganya kugira ngo yige ubugizibwanabi bwa FPR, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ubugizibwanabi ibujemo gute?

**NAHIMANA:**

Ahubwo GAHIGI urakoze ku... ku... kuba ufite rwose aka gapapuro, ndabona ari photocopie kugira ngo abantu batwumva yenda batagira ngo tu... turi kuvuga ibintu bidashi...bitagira ishingiro. Ni photocopie y'urupapuro rwa nyuma rwanditswe na Fawusitini RUGOGOZA, akaba yararwisinye. Nkaba ntekereza ko aha ngaha Ministre w'Itangazamakuru niba koko ari umunyapolitike, niba atabeshyeye bagenzi be bari muri i...bari hamwe muri Guverinoma, yari akwiriye gusobanurira Abanyarwanda icyo yashatse kuvuga aha ngaha.

Koko nakwemereza ko Perezida wa Repubulika, mwumvise ko yari arimo, ari we wari uyiyo boye, Ministre w'Intebe yari arimo, koko abo, Inama y'Abaministre na...bo muri Guverinoma, abo bantu uko bari bicaye bemeye ko ibyabereye muri ...muri ariya makomine ari Gouvernement y'u Rwanda yabiteye? Koko Gouvernement y'u Rwanda yakoze iterabwoba, yakoze...yishe?

**GAHIGI:**

Kuko iyi nteruro iravuga ko na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na yo...

- ... yishe!

- ... yigeze gukora politique de violence.

- C'est ça.

- Noneho bagasaba ee... la Communauté internationale, donc bakabasa... "abandonner l'inacceptable politique de violence". Nk'aho ub... twebwe natwe twayikoze

- Yee, ko natwe twayikoze!

- Ubwo rero , ubwo rero bibaye nka bya bindi abantu ba... ba... bavuze mu kanya bati “ese ko uriya Général DALLAIRE abaturage bavuga bati “tumaze kwicirwa abantu barenze mirongo ine” we akaba akivuga makumyabiri, abaturage bakaba bavuga bati “e... abatwi... abatwiciye ni Inkotanyi, turi... turabi... turabizi ,we akavuga ngo aracyashakisha abatwishe, ati, a... a... “aho ngaho ntibigiye kujya muri ibi ngibi ndetse ahubwo Inkotani zikabyuriraho, n’amaradiyo mpuzamahanga ee... akabyuriraho ati “ndetse na Guverinoma y’u Rwanda” ati “dore...”ndetse na KANYARENGWE akavuga ati “na bo bivugiye ko ...

### **GAHIGI et NAHIMANA :**

... le Gouvernement rwandais pratique la politique de violence”.

### **GAHIGI:**

Ni ukuvuga rero ko natwe badushyize hamwe. Nshuti mutwumva rero nagira ngo dusoze iki kiganiro dushimira Ferdinand NAHIMANA na HABIMANA Kantano natumiye muri studio, e... muri iki kiganiro twagiranye, Ferdinand NAHIMANA akaba yatubwiye amasomo yavanye ejo ahabereye amarorerwa mu makomine yo mu Ruhengeri. Yagiyeyo, akaba yatubwiye amasomo yavanyeyo mu kiganiro twagiranye.

Mu magambo make yatubwiye amasomo yavanyeyo. Nkaba nagiranye ikiganiro na we mfatanyije na HABIMANA Kantano na we wari aho ngaho mu Ruhengeri.

### **HABIMANA Kantano:**

... ivugira i Kigali. Ubu ni saa tatu n’iminota itanu muri studio zacu. Mwarimo mukurikirana ikiganiro cyiza twagiranye na Professeur NAHIMANA Ferdinandi, dogiteri mu ma... mu by’amateka. Abantu benshi iki kiganiro bagishimye. Ariko rero na none, na none e... amacuti ya KANYARENGWE na

yo yasizoye ngo “baramushyira mu bintu byi... baramucirira” ngo “ibyho mu Ruhengeri” ngo “none ngo ... “kandi” ngo... ngo “nta gihamya” ngo “yuko ari Inkotanyi zabikoze”...e.bon... Ndukeka yuko... umuntu ashobora gukunda undi cyangwa agakunda n’i... n’ibitekerezo bye! Hari n’ukunda yenda ibyo undi akora, ariko rero ukunda ... ukundira undi ko akora amarorerwa ni uko na we ashobora kuyakora. Ibyo rero twe kubitindaho, ndakeka ko ntibishimisha abantu benshi, ahubwo bibatera isesemi. Kiriya gikorwa cyo mu Ruhengeri n’umwana arabibona ko cyakozwe n’Inkotanyi.

Kumera rero nka KAGAME ngo “ni Interahamwe” ngo “ni ibiki”, Ndukeka yuko ibyo ni ugutera iseseme, nta n’ubwo ari no gutera imbabazi. Ubu rero mu bandi batelefonnye mu kanya, mu bandi batelefonnye kuko Radio RTLm iba ikorana namwe buri kanya, mu kanya twigeze kuvuga yuko hari umuntu wari wambaye ingofero ya... y’ingabo, isa n’iy’ingabo za ONU hanyuma anyura ku Kacyiru kuri za Minisiteri, noneho abantu baza kumubona ahita ajya muri bus.

Uwo mugabo rero yitwa NKUSI Felisiyani maze kumumenya, yitwa NKUSI Felisiyani. Yaje kundeba arambwi... yambaye n’iyo ngofero y’ubururu koko iriho akantu kanditseho SECURIC. Noneho arambwira ati “Kantano numvise muri radio yanyu mumvuga, hato hatazagira n’umuntu untera amabuye, ni byo koko nitwa Nkusi Felisiyani. Anyereka urupapuro rw’akazi, ati “jyewe nkora muri Société yitwa SECURIC ishinze sécurité yitwa ngo Service de sécurité.

Abakozi bayo rero ibambika ingofero z’uburu... z’ubururu n’umweru. Aho rero ni ikintu, yenda koko kugira ngo birinde, kugira ngo umuntu yirinde ko abantu bakwivanga gutyo, yenda iyo ngofero bayihindura bakongeraho akandi kantu, bakongeraho akandi kantu ku bururu nta cyo byaba bitwaye...

Bakongeraho akandi gatambaro. Ariko ntise n’iy’abo bantu ba ONU kugira ngo wa mugani umuntu atazajya abyitiranya.

Uko byamere kose rero NKUSI Felisiyani ndakeka yuko nta wuzagutera amabuye. Gusa patron niba anyumva uzamubwire uti e..muzaduhindurire izi ngofero kuko zisa n’iza... n’aba ONU, ni iz’aba

ONU. Ibyo ari byose, sic... Service de sécurité ukoramo biroroshye kuyibwira guhindura ingofero kurusha kubwira abantu bo muri ONU. Urumva rero abantu bo muri ONU tubabwiye ngo duhindure... nako ngo bahindure urumva ko byatugwa nabi.

Mwebwe muri Société yanyu muzahindure iyo myenda isa n'iya ONU. Ariko rero hagati aho bambwiye yuko icyo kibazo Inama y'Abaministre na cyo yaki... yacyizeho, ariko isaba amaradiyo yose ari mu Rwanda ni ukuvuga Radio Rwanda na RTLM kugeza iki... kugeza kuri iki gihe, e... n'ibinyamakuru yuko basobanurira abantu bo muri... Abanyarwanda yuko umuntu uri MINI... muri MINUAR donc muri bariya ba ONU ntaza mu rugo nijoro, ntiyaka ibyangombwa ee... kandi ikimukwerekaga, abenshi ni abanyamahanga. Nako bose ni abanyamahanga. Abarimo ari Inkotanyi, ari Inkotanyi nka KARENZI uba hariya ku i...ku Ihoteri kuri Méridien, bamwita Officier de liaison.

E... nta .. ntabwo rero afite uburenganzira bwo kuba yaza kwivanga mu bintu bya ONU. Ube wamugezaho ubutumwa, ubwo ashyira Inkotanyi, ubwo akoresha iki... ariko rero nta... nta kindi ashobora gukora. Ntiwabona KARENZI aje iwawe, ngo nnyewe ndi MINUAR cyangwa se n'abasirikare bandi bakora muri MINUAR b'Abanyarwanda baguma kenshi mu biro, baguma kenshi mu biro. Ntabwo rero bajya hanze. Abasirikare rero ba MINUAR ntabwo atera mu ngo, ntiyaka ibyangombwa, ntaza gukomanga ku rugi. Uza rero akomanga, kuko amabandi azi ubwenge bwinshi yakwigana izo ngofero ndetse ni... ndetse n'amapantaro. Ko bigana se ibya... ko bambara n'ibya gisirikare!

Ariko rero uwa... uwa MINUAR we afite... uwa ONU afite ukuntu agenda. Ni cyo gituma navugaga yuko nk'Inkotanyi ikunigiye mu... ikunigiye muri quartier kuzahabona umusirikare wa MINUAR ni ha Mana. Cyangwa se nawe unigiye Inkotanyi muri quartier, ee... kuzabona ubatandukanya ngo ni umunyamahanga wa MINUAR... Reka da! Ni ukuzaza gakora anketi igihe azabonera umwanya. Ni cyo gituma rero burya ingabo z'amahanga, zirinda ibirindika. Abanyagihugu, abanyagihugu wa mugani w'Abarundi abaturage, abaturarwanda ni bo bakwiye ku... kwigira hamwe, bakajya inama bakavugaga bati twebwe turi Abanyarwanda dusangiye uru Rwanda tuzarutegekana nta wuzaru... nta

wuzaruryamiramo undi. Noneho bo bakiha gahunda bavuga bati dukoze amahoro, turayubahirije, nta wuzayacaho, noneho bikaba ikintu cya charte nationale.

Nanone rero abandi... undi muntu wadutelefonnye, kuko za telefone na zo ziba ari nk'amakuru, ni umuntu watelefonaga avuga ati " Abaministre bo muri MRND nk'ubu koko baracyakora iki muri... baracyakora iki muri Guverinoma? Kujya gusuzuru...gurwa n'umugore Ministre Agata ba... bakwiviriyeho bakigendera ubundi... Hari bamwe batazasubira muri za Minisiteri, hari iki, hari abashigaje iminsi ingahe..."ati "aho kugira ngo birirwe bata igihe bajye mu nama zi... z'urudaca".

E...TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawusitini Rukokoma ya...ya...yanangiye kuko abwira madamu UWILINGIYIMANA ibyo akora akaba ari byo akora kuko amwisabira akanya ko kuzaba Ministre. Yenda yagira imana bakamusubiza kuba Ministre w'uburezi..Aho ngaho yenda akaba yabona uko... uko ahonoka KAMBANDA umurwanya kuri uwo mwanya avuga ati ntabwo mureba Abanyabutare ko bose uburezi buducitse, bugiye ku Kibuye kubera uriya mutegarugori?

Nuko. Ahari bawumushubije rero uwo mwanya, yabona noneho uko ahindura abandi ba ensipegiteri, akabona uko akorerwa MDR. Naho ubundi bitabaye ibyo ndakeka yuko... ariko rero buriya ndakeka ko babireba, barabicunga. Madame rero UWILINGIYIMANA Agata nta wamurenganya, na we arareba TWAGIRAMUNGU Fawusitini ati andebye nabi yenda yankuraho amaboko ugasanga ibintu byadukomeranye.

**Orateur : Non identifié**

Ayo yose i... (interruption).

FIN DE LA CASSETTE