

Witness Code: RTLMZZZ

RTLMZZZ-5

CASE NO: ICTR-98-41-T
EXHIBIT NO: P252e
DATE ADMITTED: 8-8-2004
TENDERED BY: PROSECUTOR
NAME OF WITNESS: M. NKOLE

WITNESS PSEUDONYMS			
Case	Pseudonym	Testified	Testim.
TBD		No	

RTLM tape / transcript of radio broadcast April 3, 1994 ; Tape Nos : 192, 193 & 194;
Re : RPF's planned attack
on April 2, 4 & 5 with a break on the 6th

DOCUMENT INFORMATION		For Witness Statement:	
Doc Type	Radio Broadcast	Signature Date	
Doc Sources	ICTR	Interviewer 1	
Doc Original No.		Interviewer 2	
Doc Date		DOCUMENT CODING:	
Original language	Kinyarwanda	Document code	RTLMZZZ-5
Translation	French; English	ERN Number	K014-5624-51
ERN Translation	3241-69; K027-3270-3307	Disclosure Codes and Exhibit Numbers	
Case	Disclosure Code	Exhibit Number	
TBD	RTLMZZZ-5		

Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure----Past Disclosure				
IN	Code Used	Date	Support	Sup Code
BAGOSORA, Théoneste (colonel)	RTLMZZZ-5	02-apr-02	No	
KABILIGI, Gratien	RTLMZZZ-5	02-apr-02	No	
NSENGIYUMVA, Anatole	RTLMZZZ-5	02-apr-02	No	
NTABAKUZE, Aloys	RTLMZZZ-5	02-apr-02	No	

K0273270

Identification : C.58/K95 0192 03/04/94

Duration : 60 mins.

Quality: Good

Transmission: RTL

Name of transcriber: MUTETELI Pénine-Joie

Name of file: 0192 rtlm wpd

Date of transcription: 19/5/2000

Dictaphone: Express Writer Model 2750-6SN516525-51

SIDE A

Speaker: Noël HITIMANA, RTLM Journalist.

00min 00sec

...I have said that we will first of all listen to some religious music, that is the programme, that is what I had planned. Let us enjoy the music first of all. It is now quarter past eight. Then we will continue with the programme by bringing you the "hottest" news, we do have loads of these. (Religious music.)

so ...regain your good health, so that we will not think that the current government does not pay its employees well. Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha! (Still laughing). The government pays, it pays, it pays, we are doing well, there is no problem. Gishwati is also taking care of us, we are told: "Have some little cheese". There is no problem, the cheese from Gishwati are here.

At the moment I am not eating properly. But I do not mean that I do not have vegetables, I will definitely have some meat later on, because at Gishwati people rear cattle.

Now, this is a 500 Franc note. It is an amazing note judging from the manner it was manufactured and its appearance. The 500 Franc note was given to me by a certain Mathias Shirubwiko from the Giciye *commune*. This is the first time I am seeing such a

note, a note bearing the general's picture in the emblem! Inside the emblem! It bears number Z 10501 on top and at the bottom, towards the right, number Z 10501 of 19 April 1974.

This is what Mathias Shirubwiko said: "I went somewhere for a drink and I was given change. When the change was given to me, I thought I was witnessing a miracle. I looked at the notes given to me and when I saw the 500 Franc note, I was astounded. Noël, have a look at this note.

When were such notes printed and where are they used? Since when have they existed?

I do not know either. I do not know. Maybe those who work at the National Bank, those who issue the notes, know more than I do and could enlighten me.

The note bears the signatures of the Governor and the General Manager. They signed on 19 April 1974. That was a long time ago, I think it was Birara who was Governor of the National Bank at that time. I believe that is it. Everything is there. The words: "counterfeiters shall be punished by law" are there as well as the image of the old man in a tea plantation with a basket on his head ... I believe it is indeed a tea plantation, there are also some trees on the side. The words: "promise to pay on demand", "counterfeiters shall be punished by law" {in French} are also there. It is indeed a 500 Franc note but with the picture of the general in military ceremonial attire.

03min00sec

This is really the first time that I have seen such a note. At RTL M we do see incredible things sometimes. He too told me: "I saw a miracle, this note." And I asked him what he was going to do with it. He replied: "I will keep it throughout my life, so that my children, my grand children, my great grand children, and my great, great, grand children would see it and know that there is a note bearing the picture of the General."

This is the first time I am seeing this too, it's hot news.

Nevertheless, there is a lot of news; listeners from Shyorongi have just called, even before we finished with the other news. One Augustin Twilingiyimana from the Rusiga *secteur* told me the following: "Please try to warn these people who are giving us sleepless nights, these Tutsis, who are preventing us from sleeping by putting our names in the reports they send to the *Inkotanyi* for them to exterminate us. So, Noël, even if we have to die, we would like to die after having told them that we know it."

Also at Gatsata, at Uzabakiliho's house, the Gatsata inhabitants, did you hear what happened yesterday evening, it was serious. By the way, UNAMIR officials visited the place. You have heard of the attack, which was launched there. So if over there at Gatsata, at Uzabakiliho's house, they are still alive, if he is still alive, he should say so. However, let him know that we have heard about it, the fact that UNAMIR came to his rescue.

Hum ! There, at Mumena, at Kigingi's house! At Kigingi's house in Mumena ... it was very easy for me to hear gunshots, it was as if the sound came from my very bed. At Kigingi's house, which is often called Habyara because he likes Habyarimana. So, at Kigingi's house, this motorcyclist who likes the President of the Republic with passion, and who said: "I will still continue to like him, even at my life's peril."

How are things at Mumena? How are you doing at Mumena? Keep it up. We will dedicate a small prayer to you, a religious song, and after we will continue praying (background music). Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

(...background music) from Kigali, from Kigali. I have said that we were in celebration for the joy of Easter but there are some people who were in grief. For instance the family of Jean de Dieu Rwabuzisoni, a doctor at Kigali hospital, is sad to announce to relatives and friends the death of his father Augustin Kwisaba, from Gitaraga *secteur*, Kidaho *commune*, which sad event occurred yesterday, Saturday 2 April 1994. The burial will be held at his residence at Kidaho *commune* in the afternoon.

05min05sec

At Kidaho, the inhabitants of the buffer zone have implored the government to come to their rescue. Even if they have lost relatives, they are begging the government: "Come quickly to our rescue, a misfortune has befallen us, the *Inkotanyi* are as wicked as ever." On 29 March 1994, that is last Tuesday, at 10 a.m., a certain Jonas Munyamasoko, a driver at *ONATRACOM*, who was off from work that day (he clicks his tongue against his

upper jaw to express displeasure or regret) went to his house situated at Kidaho *commune*. When he got there, some individuals who are *Inkotanyi* accomplices informed them of his arrival and revealed his identity to them. When Jonas Munyamasoko learnt about that, he said: "That's the end for me, my name has been given to the *Inkotanyi*!"

The *Inkotanyi* live in the buffer zone, they are not found in the positions they should be. So he immediately took his bicycle with the intention of going to Ruhengeri to save his life. When he arrived at Butete, he found some *Inkotanyi* there who surrounded and caught him and beat him black and blue. He obviously defended himself but was taken away all the same. So Munyamasoko was abducted. When the people saw that happen, they turned to UNAMIR.

Due to the problem at Kidaho, the buffer zone in the north of the country, wherever UNAMIR elements are stationed there are no *gendarmes*. Even so, it had been decided that the *gendarmes* would work with UNAMIR, that they should always be together because the UNAMIR soldiers came from Ghana and other countries and spoke neither *Kinyarwanda* nor French. The *Inkotanyi* were the ones who spoke English and since they came from Uganda and other English-speaking countries, they could talk with the *Inkotanyi* who told them lies.

You can therefore see that the inhabitants of Cyeru, Nkumba, Kidaho, Butaro, Cyumba, and Cyungo, of the whole region up to Muvumba do not speak English at all. Even where

there are some UNAMIR soldiers in this area, they do not understand anything because the inhabitants do not speak English. Do you understand?

When people noticed this, they decided to defend themselves. They said: "We too, we are going to catch the *Inkotanyi*." So they captured two of them. They also captured two *Inkotanyi*, bound their hands and feet and then took them to some UNAMIR soldiers and said: "Surrender our man to us or else we will take care of these *Inkotanyi*."

The UNAMIR soldiers do not have the mandate to get people killed, they therefore assessed the situation diplomatically, in line with the provisions of international law. They therefore said: "We will prepare a report, we will see." This was what took place. But they also said: "If we do not find Munyamasoko, we will kill these *Inkotanyi* if you set them free." So you understand what the problem was. Hum ?

So they requested RTLM to state this problem. Hum? They are saying: "They should give us *gendarmes* who could work with UNAMIR so that we could have somebody who could act as our interpreter or to whom we could expose our problems, someone who could tell foreigners what is happening." So you understand.

They then asked me a question, actually, they wrote me a long letter! This is what they said: "Dear RTLM journalists, we have stopped saying that it was the *Inkotanyi* who killed our men in November last year, hum!" (*brief silence.*) And Daleyi, (he laughs) ... (he continues laughing)... the way they wrote Dallaire's name is strange! "Hum, so

they had to undertake investigations, but we have not been informed of the conclusions of those investigations. What about that incident, which took place in broad daylight, at 10 a.m., under our very eyes? We believe that the Rwandan government should send our *gendarmes* to stay with UNAMIR forces in order to protect us by preventing the *Inkotanyi* from violating the zone.

Here is the list of individuals we believe collaborate with the *Inkotanyi*. They have prepared a list. They are saying: "The individuals we believe collaborate with the *Inkotanyi* are:

- Sebucinganda of Butete at Kidaho. Hum!
- Laurence, the wife of Kanyenyeli, Kajenyeli, hum ...Kakenyeli ...'the wife of Gakenyeli. Laurence is the wife of Gakenyeli. – It is difficult to decipher – She is the wife of Gakeneyeli.

10min09sec

- One Kura, Kura from Butete.
- The *Conseiller* of Butete also collaborates with the *Inkotanyi*.
- Haguma also, who is an *Inkotanyi* who owns a bar situated near the Kidaho communal office, within a building belonging to the wife of Gakenyeli. He speaks English with UNAMIR soldiers and this is disconcerting to the population. That one speaks English, this Haguma speaks English.
- Young people from Gitare *Secteur*, in an area known as Rusizi.
- Young people from Burambi, who will know one another."

They continued: "That incident rekindled the memories of our people who were killed in an atrocious manner, including:

- Charles Kanyamibwa, his three wives and his children.
- Gasopu and his wife.
- Osée Mutumwa, who was abducted during the night last May and who has been reported missing since then. He was abducted by the *Inkotanyi*.

We are appealing for help, please tell them to help those of us here in Kidaho, we are dying although this is a buffer zone. UNAMIR is only observing because its soldiers do not know what is going on. They come dressed in civilian clothes like the other inhabitants, they speak English and chat with the UNAMIR soldiers who do not understand anything, who do not know what is happening."

This is what they have been saying repeatedly: "Give us *gendarmes* as you have promised. You have stated that they should work together, that you have considered the modalities." I have also heard that. They say: "They should work together, UNAMIR needs the *gendarmerie* in order to work efficiently. They should give us *gendarmes* who will work with them, so that there will be people we can talk to for assistance, and who can tell these strangers what is happening. If not, how will you provide information? Who should be warned? Can we warn people who do not understand, just like dumb people? In fact, we are living like dumb people, this is what we are going through."

K0273279

I will not disclose the name of the person who gave me this message. If I do so, he will be killed right away. In any case, I believe there are a lot of people among RTL M listeners who occupy high ranking posts and who have adequate means at their disposal. They should therefore come to their rescue because the situation is extremely serious.

Let us now listen to some religious music, because we should pray in Easter.

13min 01sec

...the programmes ...to show...Gaspard Ukwizagira, Gaspard Ukwizagira, ah, ah, ah ... he nearly got assassinated yesterday, he nearly got killed yesterday. He nearly got killed whilst the Belgians, the Belgian soldiers were present and saw everything. Ah! Let them prepare a report then!

Let us continue listening to this music because Gaspard Ukwizagira likes it a lot.

....it is almost 9 a.m. here in Kigali, ha, ha, ha ...someone called me today and said: "Noël, why are you so happy, what happened?" Hum? He said: "Maybe you took something before coming!" I replied: "I had tea, my dear, only that one can't find sugar anymore. Maybe sugar is available at Kabuye but it is very expensive. It is very expensive, times are difficult now. "

You should control your spending, so that your children will not lack ... I was going to say sweet potatoes, but here, in Kigali sweet potatoes are more expensive than potatoes!

A kilogramme of sweet potatoes is double the price of a kilogramme of potatoes! Times are difficult. Not to mention bananas, it's even more serious. Before, a bunch of bananas was sold for 100 Francs and now it sells for 800 Francs. Times have become very difficult. Times are hard; one cannot have the luxury of buying sweet potatoes or bananas! For the time being, we try to survive with rice, because even the price of beans has gone up.

I asked how much a kilogramme costs. 75 to 80 Francs, I was told.

- What about a kilogramme of sweet potatoes?
- 40 or 50 Francs, hum!
- And a kilogramme of bananas? – 40 or 50 Francs, hum!

Nevertheless, potatoes still sell for 27 or 24 Francs. Hum! Maybe this is what we could afford to buy. Hum! One should try to survive! No one could just say whatever. Ha ha! Or ask what had happened!

Greetings to Joseph Rudatsikira of Gatenga, I greet you, dear brother, you are like Noël, the *Inkotanyi* are always calling your names, I am not sure if they do so to praise us or to warn us of our impending death. One can never know. However, since it is said publicly, we will know who the killers are and a lot of people are thirsty for revenge. It does not matter if you die after so much has been said about you, it is not the same as dying like a stray sheep, without anyone talking about you. It is better if people talk about you. It is said that...(he grumbles) ...when one farts, it is better to emit an unpleasant smell, one should not suppress the noise when farting. When a reality exists, one should talk about

it. In the same way, someone alive should accomplish all tasks that need to be accomplished; if not, he will die like a dog. He will die like a dog. Do not be afraid of the *Inkotanyi* who are slandering you on the airwaves, on their radio stations, on Radio Muhabura by saying that you had yourself elected, that you are a self-appointed official, whilst you were elected by the people. Ah, ah, ah!!!

15min07sec

Greetings to Simon Bikindi, Simon Bikindi. This is what they said: "Listen to Simon Bikindi and that devil of a radio station called RTLM where they gossip all day long." They say: "Simon Bikindi!" But I asked Bikindi: "This dark complexioned man, this fat man dark in complexion, why did you refuse to disclose his name?" Eh! He replied: "I did not want to disclose his identity because we met face to face. I told him, I told him if he provoked me, I will show him what I am made of. And that if anything happened to me, others will take care of him." Bikindi could die, but there will be other Bikindis who will remain, just like Ndadaye died in Burundi but at present there are Ndadayes who are getting down to work, the Ndadayes who remained are getting down to work. There is no problem. As you've made your bed, now you must lie on it. That is true, as you've made your bed, now you must lie on it. As a Rwandan name indicates, within this army the flock is kept by courageous brave men {*zirimwabagabo*}. People are listening, they listen.

I would now like you to listen to a programme, we will play the religious songs during the *communiqués* we will broadcast after this programme.

For several days now, a rumour has been circulating that Frédéric Nzamurambaho, the Chairman of the PSD was summoned as part of the enquiry on the death of Félicien Gatabazi and that he had refused to appear. He refused to appear when summoned. He indeed refused to appear going by what the Prosecutor of the Court of Cassation, Bonaventure Mbarushimana said to the RTLM editor, Gaspard Gahigi. Listen to what he said about that situation. Eh, eh (he continues laughing), the manner in which this man, Frédéric Nzamurambaho, refused to appear when summoned by the court. On this Easter Sunday, listen to this story, to know how the situation evolved.

Speaker: Gaspard Gahigi, RTLM Journalist.

17min06sec

Frédéric Nzamurambaho, PSD Chairman, was summoned as part of an enquiry into the death of the party's Secretary General, late Félicien Gatabazi. I was lucky to meet Bonaventure Mbarushimana, the Prosecutor of the Court of Cassation, by chance. Mr. Prosecutor, I would like you to confirm the rumour that you summoned Frédéric Nzamurambaho, PSD Chairman, and that he refused to appear before you.

Speaker: Bonaventure Mbarushimana, Prosecutor of the Court of Cassation.

Thank you, Gahigi. Yes indeed, as you have heard, Minister Frédéric Nzamurambaho was summoned but even before the day he was supposed to appear, certain individuals

said he would not appear. For me, it is unheard of for someone to refuse to appear when summoned if he has nothing to hide.

So what you heard is correct, this individual was summoned and he did not appear. It is really unfortunate that some authorities now refuse to appear when summoned in line with the law, although legally speaking, no one is above the law.

What is more appalling is that, in principle, when such tragic events occur, everybody, the authorities and members of the public alike, should communicate to the relevant authorities any information which could assist the judiciary in knowing the truth, so that the wrongdoers can be prosecuted.

-Mr. Prosecutor, when you said he refused to appear when summoned, I remembered that in the Arusha Agreements, it is stated that Rwanda being a country where the rule of law reigns, none is above the law. If he still refuses to appear what disciplinary action will you take against him?

-Thank you. According to the law, when an individual fails to appear when summoned by a judicial authority, a court or the Office of the Prosecutor, he is liable to one-week imprisonment or a fine of 2000 Francs. However, I do not have the relevant text with me here because you took me unawares (he clicks his tongue against his upper jaw to express displeasure or regret). We met by chance, but our criminal law provides for penalty for such offence. However, let me add that in the near future, when we start implementing

the Arusha Agreements, it will not be possible to put the authorities that do not respond to summons under preventive detention any longer. That does not mean that such individuals could not be arrested and penalized, but given the current political situation, we might run the risk of public opinion saying that such and such was arrested because of his political leanings or his opinions. So we have to be careful. What I am saying is that according to the law in force, any individual who fails to appear when summoned by a judicial authority will be penalized, but I do not have the relevant article with me to read out to you. I thank you.

I would ask you to dwell upon a point that you have just mentioned for the benefit of listeners. You said that when some one in a position of authority is summoned, he has to appear, especially if he has nothing to hide. Don't you believe, Prosecutor, that Nzamurambaho might have reasons to feel guilty because prior to Gatabazi's death, they had just taken part in a meeting together before they separated? In addition, according to his statement, when he arrived at his house, he heard a gunshot coming from the direction of Gatabazi's residence and in spite of being the Chairman of the party in which Gatabazi was the Secretary, he did not go to his residence until 10 p.m. Do you believe that this man has nothing to reproach himself with?

That is a very difficult question. But let me tell you that even if I thought that Minister Nzamurambaho is to be blamed, even if I knew that, I will not tell you because I am bound by professional secrecy. So even if I knew, I will not tell you. I will keep it to myself or I will look for evidence to enable me confirm that assumption. Nevertheless,

even if it is the truth, I do not have the right to tell you.

That is true, it is professional secrecy. You have said that you cannot reveal this to me and I do agree with you. Nevertheless listeners know that you have initiated investigations, what I would want you to tell us is not whether you were able to obtain probative information but rather if the investigations will be successful, whether, in your opinion, they are on the right track.

Yes, we do hope so because a lot of people have taken part in these investigations. I am not implying that things will go smoothly because of the large number of people involved but we hope so. UNAMIR, the Public Prosecutor's Office, the *gendarmerie* and the Prosecutor at the Kigali Appeals Court will all take part in these investigations. I believe that they are capable of finding the evidence needed to incriminate the perpetrators of this atrocity. I am confident that men of such caliber, trustworthy and experienced as they are, will obtain results. I believe we will obtain results, that this case will be different from the Mayuya and Gapyisi cases.

(2 seconds silence).

(Song: "Voyage" by Koffi Olomide).

25min02sec

Speaker: Noël Hitimana, RTLM Journalist.

(background music) It is ten minutes past nine, here in Kigali. You have just heard what happened to Frédéric Nzamurambaho, the Chairman of the PSD party, how he was summoned to be told about the investigations, to be questioned as part of the enquiry into the death of Félicien Gatabazi and how he refused to appear.

You were listening to Mr. Bonaventure Mbarushimana, Prosecutor of the Court of Cassation in an interview with Gaspard Gahigi. Frédéric Nzamurambaho has shown how uncompromising he is here in Kigali by refusing to appear when summoned by the authorities. Even at Gikongoro, he wrecked so much havoc among the people that he is now considered to be among the misfortunes that threaten Gikongoro, in the same league with famine, diseases, hum, famine and diseases, as you hear once in a while on other radio stations.

26min01sec

Now you can listen to the interview that Gaspard Gahigi had with Ananie Nkurunziza, who returned from an investigation mission at Gikongoro, Nzamurambaho's *préfecture* of origin. Listen to this interview.

Speaker: Gaspard Gahigi, RTL M Journalist.

Hello, dear listeners. This is Gaspard Gahigi saying hello. The Gikongoro *préfecture* has been hit by famine, and all of its 13 *communes* are at present hit by famine. People are

dying of hunger or diseases such as malaria and dysentery, which affect those weakened by hunger.

Apart from the famine affecting the Gikongoro *préfecture*, there is talk of another problem, politics. I am here with Ananie Nkurunziza who is quite familiar to listeners now. Ananie Nkurunziza just returned from Gikongoro, he was able to see with his own eyes the effects of the famine and I will not come to that again, but Ananie Nkurunziza who just returned Gikongoro told me, and also to listeners the following: "Gahigi, apart from the problem of famine, Gikongoro *préfecture* is confronted with another problem in the person of Frédéric Nzamurambaho, the Chairman of PSD."

Nkurunziza, you just returned from Gikongoro where you had discussions with members of the population, is it true that Nzamurambaho now constitutes a calamity just like the famine?

27min06sec

Speaker: Ananie Nkurunziza, RTLM Journalist.

Thank you Gahigi. Hello once again our friends, RTLM listeners. In my view, the problem of the famine that has hit Gikongoro is not the sole concern of this *préfecture* or Rwanda, but should be of concern to well meaning people all over the world who by the way, have mobilized themselves to assist the inhabitants of this *préfecture* in distress.

It is true that this *préfecture* is experiencing famine, which has hit all its 13 *communes*. It is obvious that they are not affected at the same degree, there are some *communes* of

Bufundu such as Mudasomwa which are located near the forest, whose inhabitants have tried to overcome this situation. Other *communes* of Nyaruguru which grow tea have managed on their own because the inhabitants used their money to buy food at the market. In the Kinyamakara *commune*, in the zone next to River Mwogo, the inhabitants have also tried to survive by cultivating the marshlands. But generally speaking, the *préfecture* is hit by famine. It is hit by famine, and benefactors have come to its rescue, but this has not resolved the problem.

People are dying because of the famine. For example in the Karama *commune* at Bufundu, near the prefectoral office, on the way to Rukondo, 317 people died in two months. Last December, 197 people died of hunger or diseases that affected those weakened by hunger. In the same *commune* in January, the death toll decreased, but it still remains extremely high at 120.

There is need therefore to seek for assistance for this *préfecture*. Radio RTLM and its listeners should remember our brothers who are hungry.

Since you have asked me, misfortune can affect individuals or a whole region, and amongst the problems affecting this *préfecture*, even the Minister is mentioned ...

30min00sec

END OF SIDE A

SIDE B

Speaker: Gaspard Gahigi, RTLM Journalist

01min02sec

...you said that he has aggravated the suffering of the inhabitants of this *préfecture*, by first of all grabbing the marshlands. Moreover, this *préfecture* is experiencing famine, and instead of encouraging people to take up farming, all he is doing is mobilizing them for "*kubohoza*" politics. These people whose land was grabbed by Nzamurambaho, who were forced by him to set fire to the forests, do you think they still support him? Or have they changed their minds?

Speaker: Ananie Nkurunziza, RTLM Journalist.

When I arrived there, I asked them questions, more so as the inhabitants of that region have been victims of other misfortunes apart from the problems we mentioned earlier. Even if the whole of Rwanda has lost people, this region encountered particular misfortunes; they have lost the Secretary General of PSD, who, as we know, garnered the majority of votes in this region. His death was closely followed by that of Martin Bucyana, President of CDR who also died in this region. A lot of misfortune has befallen the region. This cannot be denied, even if the whole country was affected by such misfortunes, the region has suffered more than the rest.

I was told that since the demise of Gatabazi, Nzamurambaho has not visited his region of origin. I was not able to confirm if what I was told was the truth, because he could well go there at night to see his cows and return, which would enable him to affirm that he did go there. Nevertheless, he has not yet visited the region in an official capacity.

I have also noted that most of the people had confidence in him, and that they were members of his party. By the way, some of them say that someone from their region controlled the party, that the President of the party was one of them, and that they have decided to follow him. I believe that most of these people, going by the ideas they expressed to me are saying the following: "He betrayed us. He betrayed us politically, for sometime now, he has aligned his party to RPF, because we have heard over Radio Rwanda and even the *Inkotanyi*'s radio that he went to Murindi, that he caused confusion ... " As regards this famine which has overwhelmed them and which was caused by the reasons we mentioned earlier on and for which he is partially responsible, they made no mention of any assistance brought to them.

03min08sec

So I asked a lot of questions to people and they said: "Even if we have not returned our membership cards, we are not interested in PSD anymore." Besides, we have noticed that some of them seem to have joined the « power » movement. Most of them have joined that movement.

It is obvious that you cannot go to Gikongoro without passing through Butare. Whether on the away or return trip, you must stop there. You therefore understand that the famine affecting Gikongoro also threatens Butare. We have seen that in these two *préfectures*, there was famine, some Burundian refugees settled there, but they also encountered the political problem I referred to earlier on, that is, the death of His Excellency Gatabazi, and the death of His Excellency Martin Bucyana, which, by the way, took place in Butare.

On my return from Gikongoro, I stopped at Butare, and talked to the inhabitants of the *préfecture*. I realized that they were still mourning the death of those two persons. I specifically recall what they said when I asked them who, in their view, killed Gatabazi and Martin. I asked them: "Who do you think killed those two? " That is a difficult question that we, Rwandans, are still asking ourselves. It is not normal that someone dies and no one knows who killed him, it is just like someone who robs you, you should be able to identify him, even if you do not know where he hid the stolen object.

At present what is very sad is that people lost their relatives but are not able to know who killed them. That was why I asked the following question: "In your opinion, who killed those two men who are militants in their political parties? " In their answer, they reminded me of an extraordinary thing, the fact that the party chairman, Nzamurambaho, as we have said on several occasions, had affirmed that His Excellency, Honourable Minister Gatabazi was assassinated by MRND. Exhibiting clear-sightedness, the inhabitants of Butare asked him: "Was he really assassinated by MRND? Do you have

any evidence, so that we will not have to make investigations as is required from us? ”
You understand that Nzamurambaho did not answer that question. In Butare, I was informed that he had not been seen there for a long time.

As I was saying, when I went to Butare, they were still saddened by the deaths of Gatabazi and Martin Bucyana. In this regard, someone told me: “Here in Butare we have experienced a great misfortune, we have lost our son, an important personality and sometime after, such an important figure like Bucyana also died here.”

06min07sec

According to what that person told me, those who saw Bucyana’s body said that the assassins did more than simply killing him, he was butchered. That person told me: “The last time we saw such a mutilated corpse was when we saw the corpse of Kayuku, Member of Parliament, who also died during the years the *Inyenzi* launched their attack. After killing him, the *Inyenzi* took out his intestines and replaced them with stones. That was what they also did to Bucyana. They slit his throat and then a motorist drove on top of his body.” When Butare inhabitants talk about this incident, they are still under complete shock, “*bouleversés*” as they say in French.

I therefore asked them who, in their opinion, had killed these people. I will not say here that they told me that they were killed by such and such, rather they had doubts too, as they did when they asked Nzamurambaho : “Do you really believe that he was killed by MRND, should that be taken as the truth?”

That is where the problem is, Mr. Gahigi and dear listeners, that is the crux of the problem.

The trip to Butare led me to question the manner in which the following people died:

- Honourable Gatabazi.
- Honourable Martin.
- And all those who died before them.
- Emmanuel Gapyisi who died in the prime of his life.
- Rwambuka and the rest.

Who is killing these people? Some individuals are saying: "Who is killing the Hutus of Nduga but spares the Hutus of Rukiga?" This is a question that should be asked. Is that person not killing two birds with one stone? By killing these Hutus, is he not in the same vein killing Hutus and at the same time pitching Hutus against each other? This is a question that I have often asked myself.

On my return, I read once again my former articles in *Isibo*. Our colleague, the editor of *Isibo*, hails from Gikongoro where I just visited. The inhabitants of that *préfecture* have read his magazine, particularly volume 126, in which he contributed an article entitled "We Have Found Gatabazi's Assassins."

09min02sec

I read the magazine once again, I saw it here at RTL, and on page 4 of *Isibo* volume 126, our colleague, the journalist, wrote this: "In volume 125 of *Isibo*, we questioned why Nduga inhabitants and people who were not MRND members were the only ones being killed."

However, on page 7 of the same issue, he listed all those who were killed during the new wave of violence and among these he named Mayuya from Gisenyi, as he had written, as well as Rwambuka of MRND.

Let us now go back to volume 126 of *Isibo*. He had written that Gatabazi's killers had been found, that they were four in number and had ambushed the victim near his residence, and after shooting at him, two of them ran uphill towards Kimihurura. The route they used to go uphill ... if you observe the place where that incident took place, the killers allegedly ran uphill to Kimicanga. It is impossible to go uphill from Kimihurura to get to Kimicanga. He also stated that two others ran downhill and that they boarded an unmarked car which was parked at Kigali Night. He said that Kigali Night is a nightclub belonging to the son of President Habyarimana. In the final analysis, the only correct information in this whole story is that the nightclub belonged to the son of President Habyarimana. The explanation that these people ran till they got to a parked car is not plausible.

In the magazine our colleague wrote that a car belonging to members of the Presidential Guard which was driven by a young soldier in civilian clothes ...who is still in civilian

clothes, it is not even a soldier in civilian clothes on that day..., no, he was still in civilian clothes, with a thin face, a fine moustache and lower jaw, and that the car was parked at that place.

I was told that the journalist did not tell much to listeners, who were eager to read the paper to know the killers of late Gatabzi.

He also wrote that ...we would also like to insist on that point ... he wrote that the following individuals took part in the same meeting with Gatabazi. The meeting was presided over by Twagiramungu and the participants were Nzamurambaho, Ngango, Ndasingwa, Nayinzira and others from RPF whose names he did not mention.

The objective of the meeting was to consider the possibility of setting up transition institutions the following day. This piece of information is surprising.

Further down, in concluding the article, he wrote that the investigations were running smoothly, that UNAMIR soldiers had started the investigations, but that they were scared and that officials of the Prosecutor's office were scared of being attacked in retaliation. Once again, it cannot be said that investigations are running smoothly if those who undertake them are scared. The investigations cannot advance if the investigators are scared.

Without wasting much time, that was the news I brought from the South, from Gikongoro and Butare.

Speaker: Gaspard Gahigi, RTLM Journalist.

-Thank you Ananie. Political pundits, ee...compare politics to a very sharp sword in the following manner: "an inexperienced person should never carry a very sharp sword, because he might hurt himself or others."

Minister Nzamurambaho has been Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Forests for a long time now, and not recently with the advent of a multi-party system. He was also Minister of Agriculture for a long time during the one party era, the Revolutionary Movement.

I do not believe that it is now when people are fighting against regionalism that Nzamurambaho will do what he has not done before for his region. And besides, you have just said so, and even for what has already being accomplished, he had the forests « liberated » by setting them on fire.

You have also said that Nzamurambaho even grabbed the marshlands, which could have been cultivated to help starving people. Ananie, you also talked about "the bull-calf that killed the cow which gave him birth." In effect, Nzamurambaho has aggravated the problem of the famine that has hit his *préfecture* as a result of his politics of "*kubohoza*"

because instead of encouraging the population to seek for ways of survival, he encouraged them to adopt that brand of politics, which is superficial because genuine politicians are concerned with the well being of the people.

You have also told us that people now know who assassinated the politicians. In the newspaper that you referred to, it is not clear, our colleague, the journalist did not explain much on the investigations to enable us to know who were the culprits, but we hope that the investigations will continue.

Ananie, what we can conclude is that Nzamurambaho's policies in Gikongoro aggravated the peoples' misfortunes instead of alleviating their sufferings.

14min05sec

I thank you once more Ananie, and on behalf of our listeners also. We will continue together to improve this radio station, by seeking for reliable and detailed information.

Speaker: Noël Hitimana, RTLM Journalist.

...that is the *Inkotanyi*'s meeting place, in the buffer zone. So that is where they meet at the lieutenant's place, the lieutenant of the *Inkotanyi* who had opened a bar at that woman, Laurence's place. They decided to install video equipment there and charged people an entrance fee of 20 Francs. Those who do not pay are not allowed to enter, which is understandable because if you are reluctant to pay 20 Francs to watch a video tape showing their history, the ideology of the *Inkotanyi* that you should retain, then its

your own business. You should pay that sum to see how the world gets them drunk, at Laurence's, at Lando's, at the home of the lieutenant of the *Inkotanyis*.

One Xavier from Kagarama was beaten by some relatives of Makuza. They robbed Kagarama of everything that he had, including his tools. (He clicks his tongue against his upper jaw to express displeasure or regret).

Ah, Xavier my brother, keep it up! These people who are neighbours of yours are Tutsis from Gatete's house, we know who they are. As for Gatete, he fled, his whereabouts are unknown. Among them are Marc and this Victor ...the three brothers from Rwanda Foam. Hein! People know them, those who hit you are known, but you also, you are strong at your workplace, there is no problem.

Hum! There are 10 houses in Kagarama and Gatenga whose inhabitants have deserted them, only the guards remained. People have deserted their homes and have gone to stay at Nyamijos. Nyamirambo has become the paradise for those fleeing, they are looking for houses at Nyamirambo. They even came to my place and asked me: "Noël, would you know of any house available for rent?" At present, in Nyamirambo, houses previously rented for 10000 Francs, now go for 40000 to 50000 Francs because people are saying: "Nyamirambo is paradise, that is where we should live." This is the situation at present, rentals for a small room in Nyamirambo are very high. A small room in Nyamirambo now costs a fortune to rent! People of Nyamirambo, hold on to your houses, because a lot

of tenants are on the lookout for them.

16min07sec

They want to concoct something during this Easter period, and besides, they are saying: « we know the dates already ». They know the dates, we know them also.

They should be careful, as we have accomplices within RPF, my dear. We have accomplices within their midst who give us information. They tell us: « on the 3rd, 4th and 5th, something will happen in Kigali ». From today, Easter day, as well as tomorrow, and the day after, something is planned in the city of Kigali and on the 7th and 8th also. So be prepared to hear gunshots or grenade explosions.

However, I hope the Rwandan armed forces will be on the alert. There are *Inzirabwoba*, yes indeed, divided into several units! I cannot name all of them. The *Inkotanyi* who had clashed with them before know them. They know them more than I do because they confronted them and know what they did to them. If not, those who launched the attack against Nyamagumba are well placed to tell us how the vultures feasted.

As regards the protection of Kigali, yes, yes, we are aware, we are aware, on the 3rd, 4th and 5th something is planned in the city of Kigali. And besides they should ...take a rest on the 6th and do something on the 7th and 8th ... with bullets and grenades. Nevertheless they had planned a large-scale attack and planned that: « after perpetrating confusion in the city, we will then launch a large-scale attack (Noël Hitimana, RTLM, 3rd April 1994).

K0273300

18min05sec

Last night, the *Inkotanyi* attacked *SGP* at Remera. They attacked the *Interahamwe* in that neighbourhood known as the "*Zoulous*" and wanted to kill their president, Aloys Ngirabatware. Hum! They pursued him to *SGP* where he was at the time. When they got there, they found the *Zoulous* on the alert and when they could not kill them, they launched an attack at another place not far from there. The *Zoulous* were with their president, in a house belonging to a man whose name I cannot remember. I will remember his name later. Luckily, nobody was wounded.

The *Zoulous* have warned some individuals who live in Nyakabanda neighbourhood at Remera at *SGP*, who, under the pretext that they have parental links with the *Inkotanyi*, denounced the *Interahamwe*, and pointed out the places they were stationed. Hum! The individuals who are indicating these places, for example the residence of Kabonabake, would experience the same fate as those at whom a grenade was thrown recently.

They are saying: "Finally we are warning taxi drivers who pick the *Inkotanyi* from *CND*, they are hereby warned."

Since they are well known, they should not say that they were not warned the day their taxis would be reduced to smithereens. They do see those who go to fetch people from *CND*. They do see them, it is the drivers who put the *Inkotanyi* hot on their heels, hein!

20min05sec

- Emile Musabyimana, have you understood well?

- Kiroso, do you understand?
- Kalisa, do you understand?
- Kwetu, do you understand?

Hum! Ha! Ha! It is the taxi drivers of Giporoso. The *Zoulous* will therefore not spare you, you know the *Zoulous*, they have warned you, and besides, the *Inkotanyi* also are aware of that.

They also mentioned the Belgians, who also went around with the *Inyenzi*. You should not be overawed simply because they work for UNAMIR. Hum? They say: "We are going to confront them, they also fell in a *tenk*." (He grumbles.) They said « *tenk* », but I believe they meant « *tank* ». Let them not say that they were not warned. If they are not careful, they will fall in a tank, hum. It is the head of discipline of the *Zoulous*, Paul Zikanga, who signed the message. The head of the *Zoulous*, the head of discipline of the *Zoulous* who signed this.

21min06sec

Without much ado, let me read the obituary announcements.

Eh ...the problem of the parties should not arise, whilst he is the one involved. According to him, this problem should not arise. The important problem is that of security, we should therefore ensure security without fail.

We should be firm because we have received some information from friendly Tutsis. The friendly Tutsis told us the following: "We do not want war. We want things to be clear, to be sorted out. All we want is to survive and work to improve our living conditions, cater for the needs of our offspring and families, so that they can progress and live well. We should therefore not be mistaken for these bandits, these bloodthirsty individuals who have attacked the country, their homeland."

I have said that if we do some thorough research, we will discover that Museveni is himself a Rwandan. If you go to Ndibwami's house at Ndera and ask him what parental links exist between his wife and Museveni, you will see that she is his sister! If you ask Ugandans: "Is Museveni from Kabare a Rwandan or Ugandan?" They will tell you that he is Rwandan. And as for her, you will see that she is Museveni's sister! So if you do a lot more research you will discover that Museveni is Rwandan. So you understand that these were Rwandans attacking Rwanda. We have accepted this, on that issue there are no problems.

23min00sec

The *moderate* Tutsis as they are known told us: "RPF did not win any political victory." Hum? And all those who helped it, all those countries, the international community, all the embassies... We have heard that they are at the Embassy of Belgium, then the Embassy of Germany, and then later on the Embassy of the United States with UNAMIR! Hum! They are campaigning all over the place.

23min06sec

All those with whom they have parental links have abandoned them. They said: "We have discovered your true colours, we have understood the nature of the war that you want to create in this country, we have understood." They have understood, and besides they have been very categorical by saying: "Even in the case of *CDR* that you have condemned, let them participate in the government like you, would you? Leave *CDR* in peace."

The RPF evidently got annoyed, especially against those who misled it. Who are the people who misled them? First and foremost there was Nzamurambaho, Twagiramungu and Kavaruganda. They misled them by telling them: "Come, this is the land of milk and honey. We will cede the land to you, and you will make us rich. We will become important personalities and will hold our heads high."

Hum! As for, Twagiramungu, cunning and crafty as he is. He said: "If I cannot keep my head high, if that becomes impossible, I will throw in the towel."

At least he is saying so, but what about Nzamurambaho whom Ananie has just described to us, is he going to stay put in the Mwogo swamp? Ahaaa! What about Kavaruganda? He will cross and go all the way to Shyorongi and will try and settle there. Well, let him go there, we shall see what will happen! They will not let them get to their destination! Even if he gets there now, I will challenge him to cross ... Even at Kimihurura, when he passes there one of these days ... Not long ago, I saw him pass by, someone called at him and he turned the other way. Then, someone jeered at him and told the *gendarmes*:

"Shoot him, shoot him." The *gendarmes* laughed whilst they were the ones guarding him. They made fun of him and I was shocked. Ha, ha!

25min02sec

So...(he laughs) when these three persons saw that RPF was unhappy with them because it realized that it could not obtain what it came for, they also got angry. They got angry and decided to look for tricks so that they will be seen doing something. They said: "Let us get down to work. Let us do something out of the ordinary, let us provoke a war and let us kill as many people as we can from this moment." They then decided to embark on what is known as *combination of attacks and assassinations*. They will launch attacks and kill people simultaneously. That was how they started. They killed people one after the other, whilst at the same time preparing to launch an armed attack. Hum!

25min09sec

However, these people ...at the RPF, they also have a lot of problems even though they never talk about it. Ha! They stated that Deus will become a member of parliament, and someone else revealed the following to me: "It was Lizinde's name which was withdrawn from the list." Heh! Heh! If Deus becomes a member of parliament, it means that Lizinde's name will be withdrawn from the list. So if Lizinde who is an *escaped prisoner*, is withdrawn, how is he going to take it because he will not have the immunity anymore that will stop him from being arrested? He escaped from prison and he knows it. He knows all the provisions of the law that justify his arrest, he studied this, he knows it very well. I know that he knows it very well. Hum? If Deus takes his place, how could Lizinde leave *CND* if he is not a member of parliament?

This is one problem they are finding difficult to solve. They also have another problem, the Hutu problem, Hutus who are members of RPF. RPF Hutus therefore said: "During the battle of Nyamagumba..." You remember this battle at Ruhengeri, the last assault? They therefore said: "We the Hutus, they put us on the frontline and a lot of us were killed. We lost our lives there, none of our brothers who went to Ruhengeri came back alive. You now see why we should escape from the RPF. We should leave, we should escape at all costs." And others are saying: "Try to escape and we will catch up with you and kill you with small worn out hoes. We will exterminate you." This is what is happening at present.

I have evidence. Let RPF members deny if on Friday, 1st April, in the volcanic regions, they did not use worn out hoes to kill 32 Hutus including 4 sub-officers who had escaped? They killed them! Let them tell us. Hum? Let them tell us what the situation is.

27min06sec

Let them deny if the Hutus did not leave the camp of the *Inkotanyi* when they realized that there was democracy in the country, that democracy was gaining ground. I will tell you how they left, I will give you the statistics. The following are the ones we know escaped from the *Inkotanyi*'s camp:

- They are 64 at Cyanika. Let them prove otherwise if that is not true. At Cyanika, they are 64.
- At Butaro, the ones we know who escaped are 107 in number.

- At Byumba-Est, is it not true that those who escaped are 44 in number? There surely must be more because we do not have the exact figures.
- A Byumba-Ouest, there were 45, not so? Hum! The figures we are giving you date back to Friday.
- In the volcanic regions, I have told you about the 32 but there were 36 others they were not able to capture, so they do not know their whereabouts. Hum, 32 plus 36, equals 68. Hum!
- Those at Cyahafi, understand that we know you, we know you, we know all the *Inkotanyi* wherever they are.

As for Sergeant Cyambarantama, his whole platoon vanished into thin air, where are they? How would we know where they are? Hum! Now all these people who are escaping, among those that I have just mentioned, 3 are dead and 7 wounded, including 4 who might recover from their wounds. Hum! And believe me they do not leave empty handed, most of them carry all their weapons and war equipment with them. They do not abandon them to the *Inkotanyi*, and the *Inkotanyi* know that. They know very well that their soldiers have started getting out of control. Hum! They are beginning to realize that this will not lead them anywhere, (he makes a sound in disgust), they have started to scatter. The staunch Tutsis, the staunch Tutsis of the RPF want to seize power through the use of weapons. They want to carry out a little something during the Easter period. In fact, they're saying: "We have the dates hammered out." They have the dates, we know them too.

29 min 09 sec

They should be careful, we have accomplices among the RPF, my dear. We have accomplices among them who provide us with information. They tell us, "On the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th, something will happen in Kigali city." As from today, Easter Sunday,

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tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, a little something is expected to happen in Kigali city; in fact also on the 7th and the 8th. You will therefore hear gunshots or grenade explosions.

30 min 03 sec

Nonetheless, I hope that the Rwandan armed forces are vigilant. There are *Inzirabwoba* [fearless], yes, they are divided into several units! The *Inkotanyi* who were confronted with them know who they are. They know them better than I do, because they were face to face with them, and they know what they did to them. Or, those who launched the attack on Nyamagumba would be in a better position to tell us how the vultures had a feast.

As concerns the protection of Kigali, yes, indeed, we know, we know, on the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th, a little something was supposed to happen in Kigali. And in fact, they were expected to once again take a rest on the 6th in order to carry out a little something on the 7th and the 8th ... with bullets and grenades. However, they had planned a major grenade attack and were thinking: "After wrecking havoc in the city, we shall launch a large-scale attack, then...."

31 min 02 sec

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