

CD # 9E
P103/9B

ICIR-99-52-5
PROS. EX 18 P103/9D
TENDERED ON 12.7.2002

K0169252

IDENTIFICATION : 17/5/94 RTLM 18/5/94 0009 (Side A)
18/5.94 KANTANO (Side B)

DURATION : 90 minutes

QUALITY : Good

TRANSMISSION : RTLM

FILE NAME : 0009.wpd

DATE OF TRANSCRIPTION : 3/2/2000

TRANSCRIBER : M. Vianney UWAMAHORO

DICTAPHONE : Sanyo MODEL: TRC-8080
SERIAL No.: P8806620

SIDE A:

- Gaspard GAHIGI, RTLM Editor-in-Chief, talks about a United Nations Human Rights Commission of Inquiry that is due to be sent to Rwanda.
- He talks of complicity on the part of the United States and Uganda to exterminate the Hutus in Rwanda.
- Interview by Kantano, RTLM journalist, with Mr. MUKINGO regarding the problem of food supplies and security in PVK.
- Kantano talks about the United Nations decision to send troops to Rwanda, French assistance to Rwanda and of the weaknesses and wickedness of the *Inyenzi*.

SIDE B:

- Kantano talks of a victory for Paul KAGAME.
- He talks about the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* being abandoned by several foreign countries because of their wickedness.
- He repeats the explanations given by Mr. RWABUTOGO about the song "*Nanga Abahutu*".

SIDE A:

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SPEAKER: Gaspard GAHIGI, Editor-in-Chief, RTLM

About a thousand persons cross the border daily, fleeing from the *Inyenzi*, those *Inyenzi* who continue to target intellectuals, as well as those they accuse of being *Interahamwe*. They actually check identity cards and do not spare any Hutu. An estimated one thousand people flee daily across the border into Tanzania. KANYARENGWE affirms that, of the thousand fleeing every day, some return, including some *Interahamwe* militiamen. But KANYARENGWE is exaggerating. When a Tutsi from Radio Muhabura asked him: "Can the *Interahamwe* also return?" he answered: "Yes". He said that some of the *Interahamwe* participated in the looting and killing. "But", he went on, "we forgive them all, they can come back". So wherever they are, no matter whether they are besieged by the *Inkotanyi*, *Interahamwe* must try to leave and head for the positions of the Rwandan Armed Forces. Another item of information today is the announcement of the creation a United Nations Human Rights Commission which is due to meet in Geneva (Switzerland) on 24 and 25 May, that is next week. The aim is to choose a representative to investigate human rights violations in Rwanda, described as massacres.

The Commission of Inquiry was proposed by Canada, a country you know very well, since DALLAIRE is a national of that country, as is NDASINGWA's wife. Canada wants to come and look into what is happening in Rwanda. We shall no longer be conciliatory regarding what is happening in Rwanda; we shall fight relentlessly. Today, certain white people, especially Americans, Canadians and Belgians, believe that the villain in this country is the machete and cudgel-wielding Hutu, whereas the Hutu is only trying to ensure the Hutus are not annihilated by the descendants of Gatutsi.

For a long time, the white man has harboured the erroneous conception that the Tutsis are the good people. In the white man's view, the Tutsi is more handsome and more intelligent - even though the criteria for beauty have not been defined. Thus, as we were

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saying, it is the Tutsis, MUSEVENI's group, that the Americans are assisting. Er...As I indicated earlier, the aid brought in by the Americans is for the *Inkotanyi* to go and study in their country, in places like Arkansas, Bill Clinton's home State. Such aid has now increased from \$150,000 to \$400,000 US dollars. Besides, they have disbursed \$50,000, or rather \$50,000,000 US dollars to Uganda to fund the demobilization of soldiers of MUSEVENI's army. Nevertheless, there has been no reduction in the army strength, as most of the Ugandan troops concerned have been sent here. Part of the money was used to purchase arms, which is the reason we are living under the threat of annihilation.

And yet it is we, the Hutus, who are armed with machetes and cudgels in order to prevent our annihilation, w #zÁ -lÁ ÈQho are considered wrong. We are the villains. Let them go ahead with their enquiries, but not in our country, so long as they are not aimed at identifying the persons who assassinated His Excellency, the President of the Republic, those who caused us so much pain and plunged us into darkness. They will not catch us napping again. Even in Somalia they suffered defeat.

Moreover according to the media, this information comes from abroad; the number of murders in the United States has substantially risen since 1992, especially those committed with firearms, to such an extent that the United States now has among high-risk countries, the countries considered dangerous.

Moreover, Parliament or similar institutions, that is to say the senate and congress met recently and voted an anti-corruption law. It is surprising to note that people accepted the bribe generation! The United States has a little known phenomenon called lobbying. This is donate money to leading candidates in return for favours once they are elected. This is a clever tactic. It is now used, for instance, by Museveni through certain wily individuals who defend his interest before American members of congress. Then the congressmen bring pressure to bear on the President of the United States. That is how this kind of decision is arrived at. A Hima from Uganda uses American crooks and they tell the President to "kill the Hutus".

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However, the American President will be astonished when he hears the truth about the Hutus in Rwanda and realizes that they represent 90% of the population, I believe he will be astonished. This is how we often fall victim to things we do not know. There is the story of a Hutu who went to serve a nobleman with Tutsi companions. One day he was asked blow on the fire during a vigil. But when he bent down to do so, the others exchanged signs as if to say: "Look at this fool who is blowing on the fire". Later, he spoke, but he realized that nobody was paying attention to what he had to say. Once he understood what had happened he said to himself: "I am in a tight spot". Therefore, we too must understand what we are victims of. The Tutsi groups have sold us with the assistance of American crooks. We do hope that when the President of the United States realizes that they want to exterminate the Hutus, he will stop listening to them.

I would like to conclude the news by congratulating all those we find on the roads we pass every morning returning from night duty at the roadblocks and patrols. And we condemn those who I believe reportedly burst into houses and say to the heads of family : "Your name is on the list of accomplices, give me money and I will watch over you". Do you see who I am talking about? Most often they are armed. Those people ask the accomplices for protection money and I think there is reason for us to ask several questions regarding this matter. We have reason to wonder whether the accomplices are not the ones or whether the villains are not the ones. We would also wish to look into the issue of the *Interahamwe* president for Muhima, Leonard Majyambere. We heard that he was taken unawares and arrested (inaudible). He was arrested because he played a predominant role within the *Interahamwe*. That is all I had to say. Good day!

SPEAKER: Kantano

...Over to you, Mukingo.

I agree with what you have just said about the white men ...those white men who sold us, those Tutsis who sold us abroad. Henceforth...I know that there are some white Canadians here who are doing everything to have the surviving Tutsi orphans at

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Gisimba's and in other places, sent abroad. They also want those orphans to be escorted by *Interahamwe* and *gendarmes* until they board the plane.

All this raises the following question: "There are Hutu orphans from Byumba and elsewhere. Why are this people not trying to help them too?" Therefore there is a problem. You realize that the Tutsis laid a trap for us abroad, they are frantically running from place to place. So we also must do something.

Kantano, Radio RTLM Journalist

Thank you Mukingo, but perhaps you ought to have said a word on the question of security, since I often see you at the roadblocks.

Mr. Mukingo:

...Thank you Kantano. I must tell you that there is no problem whatsoever regarding security in Kigali and the population is vigilant at the roadblocks. In fact, (inaudible) nobody sleeps at home. People spend the night in trenches, and at the roadblocks, armed with machetes and whatever they can lay their hands on, ...no problem. Of course some problems still persist, but from what I noticed the last time I was with them, a major segment of the population living in Kigali, has started returning home. Indeed the people thank Radio RTLM for what it did, as that Radio station appealed to people to come back and see for themselves that all inhabitants of Kigali had not fled, that they had stayed put. The problem the people of Kigali are now facing ... pertains to food supplies. You see Kantano, one kilogram of potatoes now costs between 30 and 35 francs. The people are saying : "We already know that the price in Ruhengeri is no more than above 7 francs a kilogram. If it costs less than 7 francs, why is it 30 to 35 francs here in Kigali?" You see, that this is detrimental to the population. When we ask traders why they charge that price, they reply: " Roadblocks are our problem. Those manning them demand money; they ask us for this and that and this raises the cost price per kilogram to 20 francs".

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Under the circumstances, I say; "The Minister of the Interior ought to issue instructions to the *bourgmestres* and to *nyumbakumi* (heads of ten houses) in charge of the areas where the roadblocks are located, to educate people too and get those manning the roadblocks or those at the front to change their ways. We are well aware of the fact that they are at the front, but they must know that those traders are also at the front, because they supply food to the inhabitants of Kigali. You see Kantano, one kilogramme of Irish potatoes sells for between 30 and 35 francs, whereas the cost price is 5 francs. You can see that this is tantamount to cheating the people. Therefore there is a problem and the *bourgmestres* who are responsible for these roadblocks should ensure that such practices cease; the practice of forcing traders to pay something ...and if not, they are not allowed to proceed until they dip their hands in their pockets. You understand the problem, as it is us, the inhabitants of Kigali who are suffering. This is the problem facing the inhabitants of Kigali...I heard that tippers belonging to the Ministry of Transport are used for transporting potatoes. That poses the problem of fuel, but anyhow those tippers are state-owned. It seems...it seems that when the lorries get to the roadblocks, the people say the vehicles belong to the *préfets* and so their occupants are not bothered. How can anyone buy potatoes at 5 or 7 francs and sell them at 30 francs when he reaches Kigali? You do see that those people are cheating the population. That is why the Minister of the Interior ought to collaborate with the *bourgmestres* and *conseillers* in order to resolve this problem, which is a big burden for the population.

There is another problem affecting the inhabitants of Kigali. There are youths (inaudible) ... who remained in Kigali and are still there, and who held out and stayed there. Those youths have not yet been paid. Could you please look into the problem rapidly, and make sure that people are compensated so they can buy cassava, bearing in mind that cassava is purchased at 60 francs and retailed at 100 francs a kilogramme. So, Kantano, you understand that the people of Kigali have been wronged, they are suffering because of that even though they are the ones who agreed to remain here and fight for their fatherland, Rwanda.

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Could you please ensure that those problems are resolved speedily. Another problem is that ...several persons had accounts at the *Banque Populaire* ... some have money in those accounts and they say: "...the customers of the *Banque Populaire* have passbooks showing the balance in their accounts in order to be able to withdraw money from any branch upon presentation of such passbooks. Why does the *Banque Populaire* not make arrangements or take measures for a branch like the one in Nyamirambo, which is still intact and branches in other *préfectures* to reopen, to enable customers with pass books to withdraw money? This would be a great help to the people.

Kantano: Uh-huh!

Kantano, you understand that this is a genuine problem. Something must be done about it; we must help the people. Those of us still in Kigali also need assistance ... those of us still ensuring security in Kigali. I tell you that certain persons who fled are now returning, they are here. You see, this is a major concern ... There is also need to look into my request concerning blocked roads... those *Inkotanyi* launching *katiousha* devices because they are only a few of them. They say that they are in Shyorongi, that they are here and there, but ... they are not, you can count them one hand. The *Interahamwe* go there (inaudible) and chase them away, yes ... soon after the *Interahamwe* move away, return and shoot at vehicles. From time to time, you hear that a road has been blocked, either the Ruhengeri-Gitarama road, or the Kigali- military attack to flush out those *Inkotanyi*. Thus, the local population should stay put and the road will be re-opened to allow foods supplies to reach us. I believe this issuedeserves ...a great deal of attention, and moreover, I believe that the task is incumbent on the Army.

Another problem pertaining to security in Kigali city...yes. In any event, you must have noticed, Kantano, ...that our youths have woken up, and are training every morning. What I would urge them to do is for the youth of, say, Kamisagara *secteur* to watch out, to train in Kamisagara by running. They should also organize themselves and learn to do so systematically as even the *Inkotanyi* can organize themselves and move around, without leaving Kamisagara *secteur* to enter Cyahafi *secteur*.

- Uh-huh.

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Therefore, you have noticed that the inhabitants of Cyahafi *secteur* do not know their neighbours. Our youths would be better advised to train in their respective *secteurs*, because when they run past the roadblocks, we do not stop them. In principle, we believe that they are part of our youth. You know that the *Inkotanyi* know the traps very well. That is why youths must train in their respective *secteurs*, because they are known there.

Today, for instance, I saw those from Cyahafi, who were running up the hill, near Kamisagara or thereabout, wearing their distinctive uniforms. I disagree with that kind of thing; I find it dangerous. The inhabitants of Kamisagara *secteur* *do not know them*. Besides, the *Inkotanyi* can disguise them and mingle with them and lead them into a trap. Hence the need for them to adopt a systematic approach in everything they do; they must be vigilant; they must watch the *Inkotanyi*; that is what they must do, Kantano¹.

Uh-huh...

Another thing that concerns me relates to firearms. It is true that the population obtained arms, but distribution was done haphazardly, without stopping to think about the recipients of such arms. If you received a firearm, it is for your security, for manning the roadblocks, and not for strolling over to Kantano's house, not for attacking Kantano's house, not for holding him up and snatching money and other property from him. Weapons should be used to protect public funds. They should be used to maintain security, and not for stealing.

Some people spend the whole night shooting ... I do not know whether ... whether they do so in order to learn how to use those weapons, but it is a concern, especially in Kigali town, particularly in Cyahafi and elsewhere. Those people must...try to stop the shooting. Isn't that correct Kantano? When somebody shoots at night, we say if he is

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shooting... normally you only shoot when you are attacked, when you see something, when you see the enemy. Yes... We do not understand what the problem is...

If someone is shooting, we believe that he has seen the enemy, and when we hear that he is shooting at the enemy, we...

An *Inkotanyi* can attack you and we think that it is your usual practice, and by the time we find out the truth, it is maybe too late.

Concerning the reports of shooting, the competent authorities should do something about it and restore order, so that nobody shoots before seeing the enemy. I would like to end on this note, I would like to stop here, but I realize that people are starting to return to Kigali as things are going well. Our leaders must help them because the army alone cannot . . . in order for the army to win this war. It is up to us the people to encourage it, by being on its side, by supporting it. Mukingo, how do you think the Rwandan Armed Forces are performing in the area of security? Some people say that it is unacceptable for a soldier to spend a night in a bar, spend a day in the bar, or drink from morning to dusk; it is evident that by evening he is completely drunk at a time when the country is at war.

It is quite true Kantano. We are usually at the roadblock and I know that when you leave here you too will do the same. They are genuine problems. There may be a shortage of weapons, but the behaviour of such soldiers raises difficulties. When a soldier approaches you with a gun, you think, "This soldier is one of us". But the problem that some of them go and get drunk and then harass civilians because civilians do not carry weapons. I feel that the army must organize patrols to arrest the elements engaging in such deplorable acts. You will remember the ones I talked about the other day on RTLM, who went to burgle houses on the opposite hill.

I disagree with this kind of behaviour and that is perhaps why the army must set up units in charge of keeping those soldiers under close surveillance. Each soldier ought to be at the front fighting beside his colleagues. I do not see what they are looking for in homes. I know that such things happen and I often observe ... them manhandle people, saying, "You, sir, you carry no weapon, I am a soldier and I am busy fighting for the country."

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Give me money, give me this, give me that". Under such circumstance you cannot do anything against him. All you can do is to say, "Take this; take that". Then, he leaves you poorer but in peace.

In my opinion, the Presidential Guards must be responsible for security. They ought to maintain security and be able to ask any soldier who is roaming about aimlessly to show his particulars and, if necessary, impose the appropriate penalty.

Mukingo, before I conclude, ... let us go back to the state of security in Kigali town. The president of the Republic, Théodore SINDIKUBWABO, Prime minister Jean KAMBANDA, ... the *préfet* of Kigali, leaders of political parties, *Interahamwe* chiefs ... all say that the massacres have stopped. Since you have been going round Kigali, Mukingo, how did you find the situation? Have the massacres actually stopped or are they continuing?

Thank you Kantano for having raised the issue. The massacres seem to have stopped and the perpetrators are the same people I was talking about a moment ago. For instance somebody is issued a firearm, as soon as he receives the firearm, he steals away from guard duty at the roadblock and goes to kill a person for refusing to give him money. I assure you Kantano, ...even if orders have been issued to stop the killings, there are people who feel they are untouchable and above the law. It is a long time since those people have been asked to stop the killings as the situation was calming down. The people are on good terms. In the *secteurs* and the *cellules* people are united. But behind their backs, certain individuals are trying to go it alone, saying, such and such is my enemy; this one is this or that. For instance somebody goes to Kantano's house and says: "What is wrong, Kantano? You are a Tutsi. You are this and that. You are a traitor. You are an *Inkotanyi*". You do realize that these are threats. Some of them are not...(inaudible). They cut his throat; they kill him ...(inaudible)...money. It is greed. Although...in certain *secteurs*, in certain *cellules*, ...I believe that from the level of *secteur*, security units have been set up, at least in...

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Five persons have been elected and are responsible for this zone. From 8:00 p.m. nobody is allowed to move from one area to another, from one *secteur* to another, to visit someone else. This existed. That is what we were saying, these predators have always been greedy; they have always been killers who only think of their stomachs. We are saying that nobody must leave his zone and carry out arrests elsewhere. It is not possible ... I would therefore propose that be applied to other *secteurs* to prevent exactions against others. So, let us live in peace ... All of us (inaudible), Hutus and Tutsis alike to live in harmony; we are united.

Consequently, I believe that the other *secteurs* (inaudible) should do the same, for the sake of public law and order and defeating the enemy. That is what they ought to do instead of tearing each other apart, and saying that we are going ... arrest Kantano, that we are going to arrest such and such a person or such and such an accomplice, that such and such person had a narrow escape. But if he had a narrow escape, well and good; it is his luck! He is alive, you help one another, and stick together. Even if the person is Tutsi, Kantano, so long as you are together, manning the same roadblock, fighting the enemy together, why attack him? Why call him an ... *Inyenzi*? Such things are not acceptable. You see, Kantano (inaudible), we set up these security units, because as we mounted patrols, those predators were ... circumventing the roadblocks and attacking people's houses, for instance, your house. So we put a stop to all that. Even if we have to search people's houses to make sure they are not hiding *Inyenzi* [since some persons do], it is the said five-man security unit that must choose individuals in the area to search the various homes. But this is conducted in a transparent manner. Searches should not be decided on a whim... and then go to somebody's home, arm in hand, to conduct a search. That is prohibited; we have decided that anyone behaving thus will be considered an enemy and shot; he must be arrested and shot.

Now things are all right in our *secteur* (inaudible) and I would like to encourage Rose, *Conseillère* Rose (inaudible), to hold out because her house, in her *secteur*, was shelled. But she was able to hold out, and is still in that house; she is doing fine (inaudible). You

see, she is ... braver than certain men are. While the men were fleeing, she stayed put and is still there.

Kantano: Thank you, Rose, and the other brave people ... as she is, for helping to drive out the enemy. Dear listeners *Radio Libre Mille Collines* transmitting from Kigali, the time is 11.51 a.m. Good morning! This morning, you are listening to Kantano HABIMANA. Greetings! Today is ... today is Tuesday, 18 May 1994. If all works well for him...Paul KAGAME will spend the night in Kigali, the capital; at least that is what he announced. ... We wish him a safe journey, but he must first consult the soothsayers, because, as Radio Muhabura pointed out when announcing that the inhabitants of Kigali were marijuana smokers because ... we had not fled from the *katiousha* and the other projectiles exploding over our heads. Ha! I believe the type of reception that the marijuana smokers give KAGAME will be such that it would be wiser for him to spend the night in Mulindi. It was from Mulindi that Paul KAGAME, alias KAGOME, gave an interview to the Voice of America. We shall examine the tenor of that interview later.

Here is good news, good news for the Rwandan people. We have started receiving good news, really good news. After the decision by the United Nations to send 5,500 soldiers from African countries, France also agreed to send troops. Once more, France provided an amount as assistance, and promised to increase it. However, in order for us to continue receiving this kind of good news, they are asking that no corpses be seen by the roadside and that no one is killed while onlookers laugh, instead of handing him over to the authorities. With the worsening of our relations with the Belgians, they have started losing something. They will no longer be able to sell the supplies intended for UNAMIR. This will teach them a lesson. They have lost the sympathy of the majority of the population by supporting a small group that call themselves *Inkotanyi*. So, Belgium is losing its interests, especially as the *Inkotanyi* will continue to eat... this time with others.

People are asking: "What has become of the *Inkotanyi* in Kigali city?" The score of the *Inkotanyi* is indeed sealed; the fate of the *Inkotanyi* in Kigali city was sealed at about 2

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p.m. yesterday ... yesterday, Monday, when the inhabitants killed at least nine *Inkotanyi* at the Sun City Hotel in Nyamirambo. When they were flushed out, one of them, who was very wily, managed to escape. But that makes no difference ... he can run but he cannot hide! He will be caught and put to death. The inhabitants killed nine of their people who did not know what to do, as they had run out of ammunition, food and were in rags. That is the fate imposed on them by Paul KAGAME, by sending the Tutsi youths to their death before he assumes power. In any event, they got what they deserved.

Kigali was calm last night, but three shells tore the skies and landed on the *Inkotanyi* not far from here, around Gacuciro, where they are progressively retreating. Shells, large projectiles were launched and one would have thought the sky was ... about to cave in. The shells were about to land on *Inkotanyi* who were hiding in banana plantations there ... in Gisozi. Clearly, none of them survived. But fighting is presently going on in Gatenga, the Rwandan Armed Forces are trying to mop up the area overlooking the cemetery, where the *Inkotanyi* are hiding. They were reaping people's maize, picking spikes in the sorghum fields and harvesting cassava. That is where they are being massacred. Imagine the embarrassment in being found dead with cassava in your mouth like a jackal. And yet they expect to take over power!

... When will those people understand, when will it dawn on them that the son of Kanyarwanda, that the son of Sebahinzi is determined and that he cannot tolerate the fawning, hypocrisy and arrogance of a small group calling themselves *Inkotanyi*? But anyone who observed the sky saw that yesterday the *Inkotanyi* launched a glowing projectile over Kigali, in the direction of Mulindi. The observers believe it was a signal to tell the *Inkotanyi* in the city to try to return to Mulindi ... before things turn nasty for them. This kind of signal is known as a sign to withdraw. It is very likely that the *Inkotanyi* are gradually retreating to Mulindi, after realizing that they could not take Kigali. This question was put to KAGAME [*speaker coughs*]; we shall hear his answer in a few moments. Meanwhile, here is some music. I also promised to go back to the *Inkotanyi* who was caught yesterday. In a moment, I will tell you the stories tells

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everywhere he goes, and you will laugh. You will hear how a shell fell on sorcerers, burning them together with their fetishes. After which little *Inkotanyi* reportedly said, "In any event, since the fetishes are burnt there in Rebero, it's all over, we shall be defeated". He could not have put it more aptly, since they at once understood that they were effectively beaten; they were all engulfed by flames: sorcerers, women suckling their babies, and all...soothsayers, invisible beings called "*shwekuru*", all of them were faced with enormous difficulties. The little *Inkotanyi* will narrate all that.

We prepared several other broadcasts to keep you abreast of the prevailing situation in the country. Stay tuned to ... (*Interruption. Music*).

It is only in foreign countries that they are managing to hold out. But when you say to a girl of easy virtue, "Miss, you are licentious", she denies it. That is not serious. But when she gets pregnant, she can no longer refute the fact. The *Inkotanyi* have reached that point. They are like a young girl pregnant with an illegitimate child, thus providing irrefutable proof to those who were accusing her of lustful behavior. All this would have been more tolerable if the *Inkotanyi* were only not guilty of licentiousness. When you tell them: "You, *Inkotanyi*, you kill people, you kill people atrociously, you indulge in torture", they resort to flattery with their smooth tongue, pride, arrogance [speaker coughs]. They jump here and there ... and the white people do not seem to be interested in getting to the root of the matter; they are saying that the *Inkotanyi* do not kill people, that they are aristocrats and that the nobility do not kill people. But now the Red Cross has them in its sights. They got caught and this is how one discredits oneself. That is how the *Inkotanyi* discredit themselves. The Red Cross said: "You torture people". I heard an *Inkotanyi* in Nairobi refuting it, saying the assertion was outrageous. I do believe that the massacres are outrageous and not the assertion. . Quite to the contrary, it is not the accusation ...the assertion by the Red Cross that is outrageous, because their employees saw with their own eyes how the *Inkotanyi* were executing people, how ... they threw them into the water, killing those accused of being *Interahamwe*. But, in reality, no one bears a mark on the forehead to show he is an *Interahamwe*. Those officials saw how the *Inkotanyi* killed people accused of being militiamen and so on. The

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question also was put to KAGAME ...Paul KAGAME, alias KAGOME. The Voice of America interviewed him in Mulindi. They asked him: "Mr. KAGAME, it is reported that you are taking revenge by killing people and that you have already annihilated masses in Kibungo and Byumba. Is it true?" KAGAME replied that no such thing happened, that it was only a case of who, trying to refute the fact. But the journalist asked the question as if to refute the fact, as if to say, "I heard him say that and I believe him". That is how KAGAME tried to ...
[No recording of the remaining part].

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SIDE B

Kantano, RTLM radio journalist

(The previous part is empty) ... he says somewhere: "We ... we are controlling half of the country". But I do not know how KAGAME and his people figured that. Can one really talk of controlling half the country by applying a dispersion tactic consisting of running around in the hills, as the inhabitants flee, whereas everyone is fleeing? Since they want to govern by force, hence their flight (inaudible)? Can one talk of half of the country under such circumstances? When KAGAME talks about half the country including a park, a national park inhabited solely by wild animals, did he chase any armed forces out of there? And indeed there were armed forces. Can he indeed claim to have conquered that part of the country too? Furthermore ... even if KAGAME were able to conquer half of the country - although that seems unlikely - knowing that that the zone comprises only uninhabited hills, what will he do after conquering the area? Maybe he is saying: "Well, I have conquered half the country, the RPF-*Inkotanyi* has conquered half the country, we shall therefore govern that half". That is the basis for his calculation. Yet KAGAME will gain no political advantage from the territory he captured, as it is uninhabited. Moreover, he must not expect any credit, any praise from the refugees he created, from the displaced population or from those whose close relatives he killed.

KAGAME is deceiving himself when he instigates wars that have occurred.... in Angola, Sudan, Liberia and Mozambique, believing that those countries are somewhat linked to Rwanda. I can give him the example of Angola. SAVIMBI fought a war relying on his ethnic group, the Ovambundu, in Ovambundoland. Did KAGAME by any chance discover a Tutsiland somewhere? In Byumba perhaps, or where? Vast territory, a major part of the country was inhabited by one and the same ethnic group, who did not approve of the government in Luanda and decided to "fight" against it. That is what happened.

It is the same scenario in Sudan, where John GARANG is fighting. KAGAME is not John GARANG because he is not John GARANG. In Sudan, the issue is that the blacks

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do not like the government dominated by Arabs. The north is at war with the south. The people in the south do not like the regime dominated by the Moslems, Swahili ..., Arabs from the north. The south is fighting the north. The blacks in south are fighting against the north. Is KAGAME perhaps claiming that the *Rukiga* are fighting against the *Nduga*? ... Is KANYAREGWE the warlord of the *Abakiga*, who allegedly attacked the *Abanyenduga* or the *Banyagisaka*? That is not so, and KAGAME is once again mistaken, as there is no similarity between the situation prevailing in Sudan ... and the one in Rwanda. Events in Savimbi's Angola are not comparable to what is happening ... in Rwanda. The same goes for Mozambique, where DRAKAMA of RENAMO relied on one part of the country occupied by his people, who did not want "to be governed by strangers".

That is really why KAGAME cannot derive any advantage from what he terms the conquest of part of the country, because Rwandans are fighting for a unified country. No part of the country has ever belonged exclusively to the Tutsis who possibly may have attacked the Hutu country. Rwanda is one and the same, with a mixed population of Tutsis and Hutus. ... Therefore, KAGAME cannot compare Rwanda and Angola, especially as there is no Ovamboland in Rwanda. There is no Tutsiland. Moreover, he cannot liken Rwanda to Sudan and compare himself to John GARANG, as it is not the South of our country attacking the North, or which is refusing to be governed by the North, and vice versa. Our case is not even comparable that of Liberia, or ... Mozambique. Nothing enables him to say, "I am controlling half the country, I ... I shall therefore take Kanyarwanda, Gatutsi, Gatwa and Gahutu, scattered across all the regions of Rwanda, scattered throughout Rwanda. KAGAME should think again; he cannot create a Tutsiland, he cannot create an Ovamboland or what you will. Let him not hope for anything, there is nothing he can do. Therefore, I do not believe that his military gains, the fact of conquering hills and banana plantations, fields without farmers, trees, stones and birds give him any political advantage whatsoever. He must realize that and stop making off with everything on his way [speaker coughs], if they want to gain something in the end.

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I believe that the soothsayer who advised KAGAME to attack Rwanda now, to drive the Rwandans into Tanzania, shooting *katiouhas* at them, disemboweling the survivors, killing them, cutting off their breasts and genitals, gave him the wrong advice, because this is really not the opportune moment. It was not the right moment. That is why he is dead wrong to affirm that he will capture half of Rwanda, since the other half will fight him. The population abroad will fight him. That is why, in my view, the white people should supply us with arms instead of wasting our time. This way, the Hutus will all rise and ... kick out the *Inkotanyi* and KAGAME, who wish to split the country in two.

It will cost them dearly, and the foreign countries will help us to fight against whoever tries to split the country into two, to separate one ethnic group from the others, to confine one group to a ghetto like in South Africa. We shall fight such a person to the bitter end. I do not see what the ... *Inkotanyi* are driving at or what they expect, since it is obvious that theirs was an act of madness and that they are suffering grave consequences. Even if they do not all perish, they will lose so many human lives that they will be considerably weakened.

Meanwhile, we have just received news from Brussels, Belgium, that some Belgians have started hating the *Inkotanyi* ... so much, so much, so much that ... For instance, a large building had been prepared in Brussels to house Tutsi refugee children. There were already three hundred children in the country and the idea was to put them in that building with other children expected from Kigali and other parts of Rwanda. And lo and behold, the entire building went up in flames yesterday. The building is still smoldering as we speak. It has been reduced to ashes. It was a very big building with several floors. I think those responsible for the fire must be among the Belgians who say: "We abandoned our property because of the folly of the *Inkotanyi*; we abandoned our vehicles, our prostitutes.... our concubines are being killed because we were unable to bring them with us. You, *Inkotanyi* killed our comrades and relatives, your children cannot find refuge anywhere". This is the real situation. The *Inkotanyi* need to watch out, because even their foreign backers are beginning to realize how cruel and wicked they are. Only the United States of America continues to make the same mistake as they hope for a

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repeat of their intervention in Haiti, Granada and elsewhere. But they too will soon realize their mistake. If they send us a good Ambassador, who understands how things actually work ... he will have no trouble understanding that a little group calling itself *Inkotanyi*, will never take over power in Rwanda.

Once more, we thank Mitterand's France for continuing to assist Rwanda ... in various ways. You must have understood that Belgian policy has just suffered a setback, as France has assumed the leading role in Rwandan politics. They lost that position due to *Inkotanyi* tricks, when they requested that only the Belgians be authorized to maintain a contingent of troops in Rwanda. So the Belgians are leaving; the international community has sent them packing. They can no longer take part in United Nations operations; they can no longer take part in OAU operations; they can no longer ... in short, the *Inkotanyi* have clearly dealt them a devastating blow; they have caused them real damage. The influence they had on Rwanda, the esteem they enjoyed in Rwanda, has diminished. They are leaving with the *Inkotanyi*. Let the *Inkotanyi* take them with them to the part of the country they claim to have conquered. It was all lies! Let them go and eat *matoki* (banana puree); let them go and eat together ... drink wine together in Kibungo. In any event, they have lost credibility in Rwanda, for having chosen to follow a small group of persons who want to be regarded as a formidable force, as force capable of taking over power, a force made up of formidable fighters. They are in the vanguard with their bullet-proof vests, sophisticated weapons, with intent ... to snatch power, hoping to get whatever they want from the *Inkotanyi*, ... this shows that they have lost miserably.

Then, ... another item of news about the *Inkotanyi*, another amusing news item about the *Inkotanyi* is that when you kill an *Inkotanyi*, you find money on him, money wrapped ... in sheets of paper. As recently as the day before yesterday, someone showed me ... 50,000 RWF found on an *Inkotanyi*, wrapped in a sheet of paper. But since the *Inkotanyi* walk in the mud, go across marshes, the money may perhaps rot, get damaged. What he found needs to be held together. In truth, there is very little money left for them to take

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from the people they killed. So you understand that they are really in distress. The *Inkotanyi* are in great distress.

You are still listening to radio RTLM, the independent radio station broadcasting from Kigali. ... Listening to him, he says: "Please, the Arusha process ... [inaudible] [the speaker coughs]". I am talking about the Minister I just mentioned, ... For, I have not heard Seth SENDASHONGA for a while. I would advise him to go back to his job in Nairobi, which he left of his own volition. They continue to tire themselves without knowing that things have changed in Rwanda, that there has been an irreversible change since 1959. The situation will never be ... the same as in Arusha or anywhere else. The situation in Rwanda has changed for good, since the *Inkotanyi* were foolhardy enough to attack the Rwandan people. They want to slap the Rwandans, seize power from them, wage war here and there. They now announce that they intend.... As the *Inkotanyi* want to impress by saying, "If they stop us from decimating the Rwandan army, let us get our hands on them; they would have committed a fatal error". All this is designed to boost their morale. ... Somebody must come to the help of the *Inkotanyi* before we exterminate them, so such so that we may not have even a sample of them to show to foreigners, to show to...(inaudible)... and say, "Those people were formerly *Inkotanyi* and ...". The white people should run to ... (inaudible) before we exterminate the *Inkotanyi*, before we eradicate them. They should advise them (inaudible).

When the majority population is angry, you have to bow to their wishes to avoid being exterminated, eradicated. There are (inaudible) ... belligerent, foolhardy, (inaudible) ... completely, so much so that no one will talk about them, it will be all over for them. Thus, I believe the *Inkotanyi* will be exterminated if they persist in pursuing this course of action. That's just the way it is. Stay tuned to RTLM, (inaudible) ... it is madness. I do not know when the *Inkotanyi* will come to their senses. I think that the fact of bringing Tutsi children into Kigali in order ... (inaudible), to take over power when they would have all perished, is also part of the suicide, the error. However, saying all that to the *Inkotanyi*, trying to reason with them, serves no purpose. They do not understand that those they are sending into the city are perishing (*interruption*).

Unidentified speaker:

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[Inaudible]

Kantano continues: We know that only the elderly, the former supporters of the monarchy are left in the countryside. What will happen when those old persons die, since their children are ... (inaudible) perishing in Rwanda? Will there be any Tutsis left anywhere? Yet the Tutsis are not reckoning with that; and that includes KAGAME and his cohorts, as their only interest power. But things being what they are at the moment, who do they expect to rule? How are they going to govern? Do they not realize that they run the risk, if they are not careful, of losing the possibility of ever governing Rwanda for the simple reason that they will die? Of course, they can say that power (inaudible) ... and decide to rely on the tea crop, which they will take to Uganda. But what advantage would they derive from the power they would have fought for?

This morning, I saw a large number of youths [quite a large number of them] training (inaudible). Can one swear that even KAGAME and his horde of consorts will not end up committing by suicide the day they find themselves against the wall? (Inaudible) ... a place ... in the Ugandan Army. He could once again become Major KAGAME, make a great deal of money and live in opulence, especially as nothing (inaudible) ... I no longer have a place in Rwanda [speaker coughs] ... that he has killed almost all the Hutus. He is mistaken; it is rather the *Inkotanyi* (inaudible). Even if they manage to kill one million Hutus, there will be six million left. How many Tutsis would be left if one million were killed? I find, on the contrary, that KAGAME's calculations are wrong and inspired by bad intentions. (inaudible) ... KAGAME would be better advised to stop his atrocities. How could any one say: "Get going children, take the lead and work . . Go face death (inaudible)." But the day will come when there will be no one left to fight on his behalf; he will be forced to come to the war front in person. He will certainly not return from there. Thus, pondering over the issue, (inaudible) ...

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We have just been listening to a song called "*Nanga abahutu*" (I hate the Hutus). We shall now listen to a journalist named RWATUBOGO, François RWATUBOGO, of the newspaper *La Medaille Nyiramacibiri*, who also says: "I hate the Hutus. I too hate the Hutus, who are wicked, wicked due selfishness, poverty, jealousy and ignorance. A selfish Hutu can eat alone and forget his kin, those belonging to the same ethnic group as he does. He can conspire against his country to fill his belly, and that is why the Tutsis say, "The Hutu consults his soothsayer about what to eat rather than about what will kill him". He adds: "The Hutu is always surrounded by women who gang up with Tutsis, in order to plot wrench power and the county's wealth from him, in favour of the Tutsis, in order to fill his belly". He says: "KARAMIRA knows very well how all this started. The "*Amakotanyi*" (inaudible) . . . This type of Hutu does not like taking precautions. . You find this type at all echelons - in the army, in the administration, among the high-ranking officials, among the youth and even among street children in the same league as RUKOKOMA, who is notorious for having sold the country in order to fill his belly".

He explains the past by saying: "The Tutsi is spiteful and the Hutu servile and lying in wait, like a snake preparing to bite Rwanda and the Rwandans. Since the beginning of this war", RWABUTOGO adds, "Till date, some Hutus hurried to loot property and . . . forgot to repel the enemy. Some of them are killing people and dumping the bodies by the roadside for us to incur the criticism of international organizations. Others disappeared under women's skirts instead of defending the country. Such Hutus can also be found at all levels of the society". He says, "Those girls should change their behaviour, we must (inaudible) . . . that certain Hutus refuse to become wicked and are resolved to serve their country, Rwanda".

You have been listening to RWABUTOGO commenting on the song titled '*Nanga abahutu*' by Bikindi. He was describing the kind of Hutu he detested.

I would now like to salute a number of people. I would like to say hello to the doctors in the various hospitals , particularly those in Kigali Hospital. We also condemn all the doctors who fled and are now in Gitarama, Gisenyi and elsewhere, and spend their time

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drinking beer and saying that they were doctors in Kigali. They are not thinking of returning to take care of the many patients they left, patients in a serious condition; which makes me wonder what kind of doctors they are. Greetings to Dr. RWASYITARE and to Sister Marcianne. All those persons deserve our esteem. We also salute Dr.

KARANGWA. Some people claim that Dr. KANYANGABO, Medical Director, does not treat his patients well. If it is true, that is a serious matter. If the hospital does not have enough food, all he has to do is to appeal to all Rwandans in Kigali to bring food to the medical staff. They must be well fed, they must eat potato chips and meat, instead of their daily diet of maize and rice. Uh-huh . . . it is quite a pity to see the hospital staff eating only maize and rice. Yes, to see them trembling to the extent of not being able to operate patients properly; unable to suture properly. Do you understand the gravity of the situation? If the hospital lacks food, the people can provide some so that the medical staff can work under acceptable conditions. Moreover, if the hospital lacks water because there is nobody to empty water tankers or whatever, I think that the help of patient attendants should be enlisted. Since they are generally in good health, they should be able to offload the water in order not to overtax the hospital employees.

Moving along . . . François Michel SEBAZUNGU, François Michel SEBAZUNGU, alias BAYAGAMBE, would like to inform Pierre TURIKUNKIKO, in Byangabo (Busogo), Béline NTACYOMBONYE, in Kabere II and Fidèle, wherever he is, that Justin BALINKA, his wife and all his children have been abducted by the *Inyenzi*. They are kindly requested to send identity cards to SEBAZUNGU as the *Inyenzi* taken away the ones he had. They should send the papers by today. They can bring them to Radio Rwanda or . . . to the home of RUSHUKU, at Kicukiro (Gasharu) . . . !

A woman living in Nyamirambo asked me to salute a young man . . . her son, Army Sergeant ASUMANI now in Cyangugu. Hang in there, people of Cyangugu! Fon't give up, be prepared, prepare yourselves by training wherever you may be - in the *communes*, *cellules* and *secteurs*. Let us liberate. . . Kibungo and Byumba; chase the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* from those regions. There is no alternative; Rwanda must remain a single entity. No region belongs to Hutus; no region belongs to Tutsis; no region belongs to the

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Twas. If that were the case, Rwanda would no longer be Rwanda. That unacceptable; we must go ahead . . . If the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* do not give up other people's houses they are occupying, we should go and kick them out and make sure Rwanda remains one territory. If necessary, we shall recover all the territory which was part of Rwanda during the RWABUGIRI era. That is the way it is: Whoever is provoked has a right to get angry.

A woman in Nyamirambo said to me: " Please convey my greetings to Sergeant ASUMANI, who is currently in Cyangugu. Tell him that his mother in Rugunga is still alive, that Hawa is alive too and is doing fine". Greetings to Sadi NZIRORERA; Sadi NZIRORERA is a driver at ONAPO in Cyangugu; he encountered serious problems here in Kigali. Upon his arrival, war broke out, fighting intensified and he lost track of his boss, who was with him. He and his boss had spent the night at different locations and never saw each other again. He found himself in a quandary, but he was finally able to return home.

Our greetings go to Dr. Laurent HABAYEZU of Kabora Hospital. Take heart, Dr. HABAYEZU! Continue treating patients. To all inhabitants of Kibogora, we say stand firm! We too are doing fine in Kigali; we are pursuing our struggle against the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*. But, in reality, we put them in a tight corner, so that all the noise they were making has died down. They came in triumphantly, announcing that they were going to capture Kigali. The cowards fled, but we continued to get our supply of cannabis, which we have smoked lots of it; we are very angry; we are now seeing red and have taken up our weapons, traditional and modern, we have manned roadblocks. The *Inkotanyi* who must have realized that their end was near, and beaten a hasty retreat. They are now thieves, stealing from our fields. In nearby Kicukiro, they have eaten our entire banana crop, they are the ones who eat our bitter bananas; they harvested all our sweet potato. It is incredible! Incredible! In a while, you will hear a small *Inkotanyi*, a mere child. The *Inkotanyi* are very wicked - they got this 15-year old boy to operate a machine gun, a powerful weapon that shakes its operator. They piled tree trunks to hold it in place. When I saw him, he had lesions all over his shoulders. He and his comrades were

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carrying ammunition in the middle of the night. Dear listeners, you may want to know how they were dressed? My God! If only you knew how they dressed? They were in rags. But they will tell you that when they take power, they will be compensated and dress in suits. (Inaudible) ... Kigali is well stocked; you can find very expensive suits. But where will you go, to which tailor will you go with your expensive cloth? They [the *Inkotanyi*] do not know that Kigali is experiencing problems with ... looters, who have taken everything. Presently, all the shops are empty; there is nothing left. So there is nothing for those *Inkotanyi* seeking to capture the town in order to obtain foodstuff and all ... I would advise them to return to Mulindi where they can eat maize, but it is quite embarrassing for them to spend their time eating sorghum spikes and raw maize.

My greetings go to gendarme Corporal Alphonse BARAHIRA of the Kibuye Brigade, now in Kacyiru camp. He would like his mother, Euphrasie NYIRAKIBUCI and his sister, Marie-Gaudence MUKABARARA to inform him about their place of refuge and whether they are still alive. He also requests his younger brother, Private Marie-Védaste MUGABO of the 64th Battalion to make sure to see him in Kacyiru ... Urugwiro position, to discuss the flight of their families.

So, as you see, this Corporal has a problem, a serious problem. Some people are wondering whether Rugwiro has already fallen. No. Not at all, it is still under our control. We go there for a drink. Another reason for us to rejoice is that our army is disciplined. Er ... There is iron discipline in our army. No soldier hangs around in the bars, no soldier returns late at night when on leave, not even a few minutes later, ... never. It is therefore a good thing and the population will be well advised to use this as an example to refrain from stealing, or killing members of other families. If this happens, you will see us win the war. There are people still in the bushes and marshes, who keep firing shells as if they are in a hurry to use up all their ammunition and return home. In the circumstances, we shall show them we can do when provoked.

Paul BURAREMA's family sorrowfully announces to Corporal Emmanuel NYANDWI of the 1st. Muvumba Battalion that his sister Vestine MUKANDANGA has been assassinated by criminals. He is requested to come home as soon as he hears this

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announcement. Anybody in touch with him is kindly requested to convey this message to him. Albert KAMONDO, an *Interahamwe* official below the CHK, sends his greetings to Dany John IRIMASO of Biryogo; Eliel NKUNDA of Kibungo and his mother in Gikondo. He also sends his greetings to Julienne UWINEZA and Geraldine whom he misses a lot. Aha! . . . Julienne UWINEZA and Geraldine, whom he misses a lot, Geraldine, he thinks a lot about her, likes radio 106, the people's choice. He also sends his regards to Appolon NKOMATI of CHU and Sergeant HABIMANA, Alexandre KAGAMBE and all the youths with "power". He message is: "We have replaced the guitar, we have swapped the guitar for firearms".

Albert KAMONDO, artist, . . . he is a real artist. We have also received a letter from . . . A letter from who? I have trouble making out his name. Let us listen to some music and I will be back . . . momentarily (inaudible, music).

END OF TAPE