

K0247490

IDENTIFICATION : MAY/967 OF 9 MAY 1994  
DURATION : 60 MINUTES  
QUALITY : GOOD  
TRANSMISSION : RADIO RWANDA  
DATE OF TRANSCRIPTION : 21 OCTOBER 1999  
NAME OF TRANSCRIBER : Drocella ICYITEGETSE  
FILE : Mai967.wpd  
DICTAPHONE : SANYO: BO - 760/19

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**SIDE A****- SPEAKER: RPF SOLDIER, PRISONER IN GITARAMA**

Your are sent straight away to fight without undergoing training, not even for few days in order to master fighting tactics, how to position yourself and to move while shooting.

**-SPEAKER: RADIO RWANDA JOURNALIST:**

But you, do you know how to handle firearm?

- Hum! I know how to handle firearm, we were taught.
- How many times have you fought in front?
- Since we left in 1990, we have being fighting for three years. We fought in Byumba and in Mutara. We left the front, and were mobilized again. We went to the front on several occasions. If you refuse to go to the front, you are shot instantly.
- We have just spoken about Belgian, but we did not talk about the involvement of Ugandans. How many Ugandans are with you?
- Regarding Ugandans, Museveni mobilizes soldiers from all his military camps and send them to fight by the side of the *Inkotanyi* in order help them conquer Rwanda.
- Precisely, you are considered a Rwandan. You are an *Inkotanyi*, but you are also a Rwandan. If you are asked: "What can you produce as evidence that Uganda is providing support in Rwanda? What proof can you give?"

- The proofs are obvious because Museveni is openly providing his assistance. The *Inkotanyi* are normally in the forest. Ugandan military vehicles are seen with Ugandan soldiers on board. When the vehicles arrive where the *Inkotanyi* soldiers are, they are made to board the vehicles and are seen going to the front together with the Ugandan soldiers. As for the Belgians, they take positions behind the lines using heavy weapons to provide cover for the *Inkotanyi*, allowing them to launch close attack on the positions of the Rwandan armed forces.
- The *Inkotanyi* are now fighting the Rwandan armed forces. If you are to assess the situation since the beginning of the war – a war - that you recently triggered off on 7<sup>th</sup>, how many *Inkotanyi* have been killed in the front?

To say the truth, the *Inkotanyi* are dying in great numbers. It is as if you place black ants on the ground and step on them at the same time, killing them.

The *Inkotanyi* are dying as they advance because of their foolhardiness in battle. They rush forward shouting without knowing the positions of the Rwandan armed forces. They shoot blindly. And suddenly, Rwandan armed forces counter-attack and kill them one by one and few survivors return back to Uganda. When they arrive, they are asked why they came back, and are sent again to the front.

- To our knowledge, the *Inkotanyi* know English, they speak English. Since 1990 that you joined them, you have not been able to speak English?
- No. Only the high-ranking officers speak English, that is, the high-ranking officers with stripes, because they are educated. They learnt English, all languages. In fact, these are the people that collaborate with Museveni, as they speak English.
- Yes, but where were you living before you were sent to Gitarama?
- Before I was sent to Gitarama, we were positioned... in Mutara forest. We took actions contrary to our wishes and we were sent...

- No. Where were you living, before you went to Mutara,?
- Hum,... before going to Mutara, I lived with others in our home in Rwamagana.
- We know that the national armed forces liberated Mutara long ago. However, it was only recently when you attacked that you reached Mutara. You had told me that you left Rwamagana in 1990, where did you live before going to Mutara?
- In fact, in order to reach a place that we wanted to observe, some us had *Interahamwe* uniform and when we met soldiers, we said, "We are *Interahamwe*, we are looking for other *Interahamwe*...".
- No. Answer my question. My question is this. When you left Rwamagana in 1990, where did you live before going to Mutara?
- Before going to Mutara, we lived in Byumba. We camped in Byumba, the area of Byumba that the *Inkotanyi* had taken.
- In which *commune*?
- What? I think that it is in Kigombe or Kidaho *commune*, I don't know. These are *communes* of Byumba (sic). It is in that place that the *Inkotanyi* set up their camps. According to the *Inkotanyi's* strategy, a group attacks from one place while another group attacks from another direction in order encircle all the positions of the Rwandan armed forces.
- But there is no Kidaho *commune* in Byumba *préfecture*. Certainly, you know the name of the *colline* on which you camped. What is the name of the *colline*?

- Regarding the *colline*, I don't know Byumba that much. We were simply taken to the locations under RPF control. Once in a location, you are to wait until you receive orders to go the front. You are given a gun and taken to the front.
- And then, what is the name of the commander of your positions?
- Our commander was Lizinde. He was the person in command.
- Did you have another commander other than Lizinde? Who was the other commander with a rank lower than Lizinde's?
- How?
- Who was the second-in-command to Lizinde? Who was with you apart from Lizinde?
- Lizinde was the only person commanding us...
- No. There were other commanders. It is true that Lizinde was the person in charge, but there were others below him. Who are they?
- People like Bunyenyezi were second-in-command to Lizinde. They took command in the Lizinde's absence. They guided us in the front, showed us where to take position and fight. Whenever the situation became dangerous, they went back to Uganda on board vehicles.
- What are the names of the *Inkotanyi* officials that you know?
- I know the following *Inkotanyi* officials: The RPF Chairman, Kanyarengwe, people like Kagame, Lizinde and Rwigema who has died. He died before we saw him, before he was presented to us. Do you know that on that day, he was killed in Mutara. Do you know that it was after his death that Kanyarengwe replaced him as RPF

Chairman? He said, "Since the other has been killed, go, find and kill a high ranking authority in the enemy's camp".

- Let us go back to a point. You said that you are a native of Rwamagana, however, we have just learnt that your mother is an origin of Oman. What is your origin exactly?
- In fact, my mother is from Oman. Since we left without their knowledge, they thought that we went for a walk somewhere. All that time, they did not know where we were. They did not know that we had joined the ranks of the *Inkotanyi*.
- Where is your mother now living?
- She took refuge in Burundi. I met people who told me that she took refuge in Burundi.
- What did she flee from?
- What? It was said that she fled because of the fighting in Rwanda. In fact, she was living in Rwamagana. She left with her neighbours, when the *Inkotanyi* attacked the locality.
- We know that you started the fighting on the 7th. Yet, you did not have heavy weapons in Kigali, how did the other consignments of weapons arrive in Kigali? What was your objective?
- It was said that they wanted to take Kigali. After taking Kigali and the Radio, they would steadily take the rest of the *préfectures* from their positions in Kigali and from behind the lines situated in Uganda. They were also designing a strategy to win over the population.
- I would like to take you back to the question that we asked you, which you have not answered. When you attacked, the people staying in CND did not have heavy

weapons. How did you obtain the weapons that were utilized on the 7<sup>th</sup>? How did you take them to Kigali?

- They were secretly transported in vehicles. Since search was being conducted in Kigali, as it was understood that the conflict had been resolved, weapons were secretly brought in with the aim of utilizing them in the event of a resumption of hostilities. The weapons were sent by Uganda and distributed to the *Inyenzi* who were in CND. When search was being conducted in CND, the *Inyenzi* hid the weapons in the houses of their accomplices in Kigali. When the situation deteriorated, the weapons were taken from the homes of the accomplices and used in combat.
- You were in the front fighting the Rwandan armed forces. Did your superiors say that they were going to continue fighting or to negotiate? What is their objective according to what they said?
- Certainly, the *Inkotanyi* also wanted to negotiate. They did not want to die. However, it seems that their Chairman Kanyarengwe does not want negotiations. It seems that he does not want to collaborate with the government of Rwanda which is illegal. They do not recognize the appointed President and Prime Minister. They want to fill the post with a candidate of their choice.
- Who did they want to appoint according to the information you have?
- Excuse me?
- Which candidate do they want to appoint according to what they said?
- It seems that they wanted to appoint Kanyarengwe as President to lead the country for a year or two so that he can taste the honour of ruling Rwanda. This is because he has fought a long time and he is still doing so. Has wants to rule the country. It is for this reason that he does not want to negotiate with the Rwandan armed forces and gather

their ideas so as to end the war. This would allow them to restore peace in the country as before.

- Let us go back to a point. What mission was assigned to you in Byumba before coming to Gitarama? What were you coming to do?
- We were sent with an assignment to mix with the refugees so as to slip through the roadblocks, get to Gitarama, come back and give them the location of the positions of the Rwandan armed forces and the camps of their soldiers. Another group had transmitter-receiver radios; they move in taxis and they wear *Interahamwe* uniform, to enable them to move around like the *Interahamwe*. If by chance you are able to reach Gitarama, after gathering information, you turn back and transmit the information to the group which contacts the *Inkotanyi* to inform them of the situation prevailing in Rwanda.
- What was the taxi like?
- Excuse me? Taxi?
- What was the make?
- They are white coloured. I don't know what they are called...
- Hiace?
- Yes! It is that type of taxi they use. The one with three seats.
- How many people were in the vehicle?
- They were many; about twenty. They were crammed into the vehicle. When they arrive in a locality, they rent houses and mix with the population. They also obtained



*Interahamwe* card and mixed with them. When members of the population see them, they believe that they are really *Interahamwe* fleeing the fighting to save their skin.

- How did this people obtain the vehicle, since they are apparently utilizing a Rwandan vehicle?
  
- In fact, these people lived in Rwamagana well before the fighting collaborating with the *Inkotanyi*. They lived in the Rwamagana town centre; since they mixed with the *Interahamwe*, they could not be identified. It was when Habyarimana died, at the onset of the events, when the looting started, that they seized the taxi. In the beginning, they had seized two vehicles. One of the vehicles was taken from them in the vicinity of Gashora communal bureau. It was a policeman that took it from them saying that the Rwandan armed forces needed it and that it should be driven to the communal office. Meanwhile, they had succeeded in going away with one of the vehicles having already gone beyond the communal office. They then parked the vehicle in Gati, in the military camp. As the number of refugees increased, they took the taxi and mixed with the refugees. When the refugees stopped moving, they also parked the vehicle. When they identify a house to let, they settle in it and the public mistake them for their kind, although they are infiltrators.
  
- I wish to ask you to inform us on the type of firearms the *Inkotanyi* carry, that is, the *Inkotanyi* that disguised as *Interahamwe*? What type of firearms did they carry?
  
- The *Inkotanyi* that moved in a taxi carried machine guns. They had about 4 rifles which are to be given to the important individuals among them. They transported them in big suitcases that can be found in shops. They wrap them up in clothes, concealed under plies of other clothes placed in locked suitcases. At the roadblocks, they only show the visible part of the interior of the suitcase saying that there are only clothes inside; and they are left to go through. In this manner, they are able to cross the roadblocks with the weapons. They are now getting close to Gitarama. At the place where I saw them, they told me that they are waiting for the events to be

triggered off so as to load the guns and enter Gitarama. They hoped to seize that opportunity to mix with the refugees and cross the roadblocks in order to reach Gitarama.

- What are the events that were to be triggered off?
- Excuse me?
- What events were to be triggered off?
- You are asking of the events that were to occur? What I meant was that the *Inkotanyi* would arrive firing. Then the refugees would leave their camp and others would leave their residence because of the explosion. The infiltrators would start the vehicle and follow the refugees; those seeing them going through the roadblocks would take them for refugees fleeing.
- And those of you without vehicle, how many were you?
- You mean those without vehicles? Those of us without vehicle walked in groups of three. About twenty others would cram themselves into the vehicle. We did not have room in the vehicle. It was said that it was too risky to cram ourselves into the vehicle. "As for you, go on foot, we will meet in such and a such place. You will find us at the place where the taxi will be parked", they said. Thus, when you see a place where the minibus is parked, you would find them there. Often, they took it out on you and asked why it took you time to join them. "What were you doing", they asked. Or they asked, "Were you leaking our secrets"? "Do you want to have us arrested"? You would notice that they were spiteful instead of receiving us with kindness. You would sense that they asked pointless questions such as; "What were you doing behind since our departure"?
- But then, were all of you arrested, or some are still free?

- I denounced the other infiltrators to the Rwandan armed forces, that is, those who mixed with refugees. For instance, some were arrested this morning. I was arrested by members of the public who took me to the *bourgmestre's* house. The *bourgmestre* calmly asked me to tell him where to find the *Inkotanyi*. I told him, "I don't want to lie because you are a senior official. I left the *Inkotanyi* in such a place. You will see taxi parked, arrest everyone you find in the taxi". He left. He found three people in the taxi and arrested them, and brought them with his vehicle. I identified them as the wanted people. Straightaway, the *bourgmestre* handed them over to the public and were killed. I then told him that there were others. Normally, they move with girls who cook their food. Some young Tutsi girls compelled to follow them as if they were *Interahamwe*. They rescue young girls and abuse them, among other things. They make the young girls board the taxi and hide them in it. When they arrive in a locality, the young girls cook their food. Sometimes, they are seeing buying goats, renting a house in which they hide their belongings. In the night – as did the young men killed (Kamahija and Damascène) – when the rest of the population was asleep, under cover of darkness, they take out their transmitter-receiver radios to contact the *Inkotanyi*. At dawn, they hid their communication devices.
  
- Were such transmitter-receiver radios seized?
  
- Excuse me?
  
- R: The *bourgmestre* continues to search for the transmitter-receiver radios. The three young people are detained in the communal office, but had refused to indicate where the radios are hidden. However, the *bourgmestre* insists that the radios should be found. The young people must, at all costs, disclose where they are hidden.

One other thing I wish to ask you: Often, you are in one place or another and you go through the dwelling places of Rwandans. It is said that RPF did not kill civilians, is that true?

- You should not trust what RPF says, because it is the first to kill civilians. For instance, when they meet a pregnant innocent woman, who has nothing to do with the power struggle, and does not oppose them in any manner, they grab her, cut open her womb, bring out the baby and cut the baby to pieces. In fact, RPF kills with wickedness; it cannot claim that it does not execute civilians.
- Do you know people that RPF killed?
- How? RPF executed many people that could not flee. For instance, RPF does not spare the sick that cannot run. RPF kills them without trial.
- Do you know how many people RPF killed to date?
- Ah! RPF has already killed thousands of people. Since they act indiscriminately, they do not make any distinction between civilians and soldiers. Instead of fighting soldiers, they take it out on civilians. RPF acts in haste and kills civilians. Recently, you said on the radio that RPF fired "*Katiouchas*" shells on refugee camps. Indeed, RPF continues to go after civilians so as to exterminate the population.
- You lived in the forest and yet you claimed that you listened to the programmes of Radio Rwanda. Does that mean that you move with radio on you?
- Excuse me?
- Do you move with radio set so as to follow the programmes of Radio Rwanda?
- We had the habit of listening to the programmes in the minibus that I told you about. Often, we followed the programmes of Radio Rwanda, like news, since it is Radio Rwanda that broadcasts genuine news.

- Why did you say that it is Radio Rwanda that broadcast genuine news?
  
- Excuse me? Because it is Radio Rwanda that receives correct information and broadcasts them in full. As for Radio Muhabura, it broadcasts news that has not been crosschecked in order to deceive the international community with the aim of gaining recognition.
  
- How many were you in your section?
  
- We were 500.
  
- What names can you mention among the five hundred persons?
  
- You mean those whose name I know?
  
- Who were those that lived with you, whose name you can give us?
  
- Those that came as...
  
- Mention their names if you know them.
  
- Among those that came, were Kamahija and Damascène who were killed. Very many others remained in Uganda and did not give their real names. Most of them gave false names, and never names that feature on their identity cards. Someone could say, my name is such and such", to avoid that if you are arrested together, you cannot disclose his true name. If you disclose to a Rwandan soldier the name that your mate claims, he would produce his identity card to deceive the soldier about his identity. Many of them do not like to give their real names.
  
- And now that you are arrested.....

- Yes.
  
- What can you say to the *Inkotanyi* who are yet to be arrested?
  
- I would ask them to stop the hostilities and negotiate with the Rwandan armed forces and live calmly together in a stable and peaceful country. The *Inkotanyi* will not achieve their objective. In fact, I noticed that the Rwandan armed forces are effectively holding their positions in the front and they are not necessarily less ready to fight than the *Inkotanyi*. I would ask the *Inkotanyi* to lay down their arms and return to where they came from. Even if they are receiving assistance from two countries, namely Belgium and Uganda, I am telling them that they cannot defeat the Rwandan armed forces. I can tell them that they cannot defeat the Rwandan armed forces and conquer Rwanda.
  
- Ok, my dear friend. Many *Inyenzi* have been captured and have disclosed the objectives of RPF on the radio. Many have been captured. Have you heard them speaking on the radio?
  
- Yes. When they were arrested, we heard their interrogation on the radio.
  
- But then, for long, it was being reported that the *Inkotanyi* are dying in great numbers and yet they maintain their objective. Why did you fight even when you learnt that people were dying?
  
- For the *Inkotanyi*, the objective is clear, namely conquer Rwanda. Hence, they do not communicate the number of victims. Only soldiers learnt that the *Inkotanyi* were exterminated; and since the *Inkotanyi* were sent by force to the front, they unwillingly knew that they were not going to return. They said, "The punishments you are inflicting on us are not just. You are sending us to our death. The Rwandan armed forces are stronger than us and you do not even give us heavy weapons to fight with. You

give us one gun each and send us to the front". So, the *Inyenzi* have themselves killed like... I do not what... For example, if two thousand *Inyenzi* were sent to the front, only five hundred may survive the fighting and return. The others are cut down by the bullets of the Rwandan armed forces.

- Tell us; it is said that the *Inyenzi* are going to attack from Burundi and Tanzania. Are you aware of that by any chance?
- They planned to attack from Burundi and go through Cyangugu region. Another attack would be launched from Rusumo. These two attacks would allow them to completely surround Rwanda. However, I wish to say that they cannot defeat Rwanda, regardless of where they attack from, because the places where they launched the first attacks have similar routes to the above-mentioned regions and they were not able to conquer the country. The outcome will be the same; even if they attack from these two new locations, they cannot take the country.
- To conclude, can you say something to your relatives and your *Inkotanyi* friends who are in Mulindi or Byumba. I am giving you the opportunity to tell them something important to you.
- I wish to tell my mother that I am in Gitarama military camp. I was captured by the Rwandan armed forces, but I am treated well and I thank them. I wish to tell my relatives that I am with the Rwandan armed forces and that I am denouncing my former comrades in arms. I want to say that I am all right. To the young *Inkotanyi* who stayed behind, I wish to tell them that it would be better for them to lay down their arms and negotiate with the Rwandan armed forces, in order to work and live with them in peace, instead of shedding the blood of Rwandans.
- I also want to ask a question regarding the *Inkotanyi's* food supply, and also regarding your training.

- Since the *Inkotanyi* do not have enough food, they give us maize. They cook the maize in Uganda, bring them and distribute them in bowls to everyone. If you had a bowl of maize today, you will not have right to another the following day. High-ranking officers from Uganda are the only people that have right to a nice meal. They are given rice and meat. For us, the rank and file, they tell us we have to eat maize in order to go the front, because maize gives strength.
- Where do you train then?
- In general, we had training in Byumba. We were taken to Mulindi for training.
- How come that you know Mulindi and Byumba only. Do you not know other *collines*?
- We were not taken to other *collines*. Each group was trained in a locality which had to be its place of departure for attacks. The place of training was close to the target of attack so that once trained in war tactics, the combatants can launch attack without delay.
- All things considered, you have just spent a long time in the bush. Do you like life in the bush? Do the *Inkotanyi* like life in the bush? Sometimes, do they tell their commanders that they also want to live in peace?
- Obviously, most of them do not like life in the bush where they are bitted by mosquitoes. Spending the night in a forest without blankets, staying in the forest for days without seeing a thing is a trying experience. They also wish to live in peace. However, when any soldier gathers the courage and tells his officer-in-charge that he wants peace, the officer orders one of his colleagues to execute that soldier. The commander justifies his action by saying that the remarks of the condemned soldier were not tolerable, that he must rather fight until his superiors decide they want peace, until they decide to negotiate. Since they have good dwelling place, their beds are



made and they sleep on mattress, they ignore the problems faced by those who spend the night in the forest and are bitten by mosquitoes. The superiors stay in fortified camps, while the others stay in the forest exposed to mosquito bites, in order to fight, ..... for the leaders.

- It was said that there are divisions among the *Inyenzi* and that they have split up into two rival groups. Do you know anything about that?
- There are divisions from time to time. If someone does not want to fight and wants peace, he withdraws his soldiers and separates them from others. He does so in order to reduce the troops, compelling those who do not want peace and no longer want to fight to accept negotiation. Then, the group that wants peace and the group that no longer wants to fight come together once again. After coming together to negotiate, if any of their demands are not met, the *Inkotanyi* withdraw to resume hostilities. They say that they are going to fight because their demands were not met.
- In your opinion, do the *Inkotanyi* have weapons and food? Do they really plan to fight to the last man?
- In fact, they no longer have weapons. Indeed, they are going to lose the war. Even if Uganda is assisting them, it will give up in the end and ask the *Inkotanyi* to count on themselves. Thus, the *Inkotanyi* will lack the funds required to purchase arms and food. This is when they will accept the negotiations, since they would lack financing and will not have any choice.
- Moreover, you told us that the Tutsis, these *Inyenzi*, these *Inkotanyi* are attacking civilians and massacring elements of the population, especially Hutus?
- The suicidal Tutsi *Inkotanyi* first infiltrates the Hutu population. An *Inkotanyi* disguises as a villager, wears ludicrous knickers, carries a hoe and goes to the farm by going near areas inhabited by civilians whom he kills. After killing them, he goes

back and reports that he has accomplished his mission. Since elements to the population do not readily identify him as an *Inkotanyi*, they consider him as their village neighbour. Seeing his getup and the hoe he is carrying, they feel that he is not living far away while in actual fact he is an *Inkotanyi* who has infiltrated them. Other elements of the population that seek refuge in the areas controlled by the *Inkotanyi*, are also massacred by the *Inkotanyi*. The population accommodate the *Inkotanyi* believing that they are villagers coming back from somewhere. Thus, members of the population live together with the *Inkotanyi* without knowing, and at night, the *Inkotanyi* attack and eliminate them.

## SIDE B

Speaker: Radio Rwanda Journalist:

You already said it.

Speaker: RPF Soldier

That everything is okay...

No, you already said that. Say something else.

- That they, they too, can share ideas, decide... to tell these *Inkotanyi* that they should be reasonable, that they too are Rwandan citizens, that they should therefore be reasonable and decide to live together peacefully and honestly. Habyarimana was always saying that they were all Rwandan citizens and that they should come and live together with others in this country.
- So, talking about Habyarimana, you reminded me that his plane was shot down. Did the *Inkotanyi* leaders not talk to you about it?
- The *Inkotanyi* leaders had kept it a secret. I do not know if they had hatched it together with those Belgian soldiers since they had hidden it from us. As they were getting ready to assassinate him, they were telling us: "Wait, we are still negotiating. We are waiting to be told when we should return to Rwanda. So wait. If there is any change and the negotiations fail, then we will resume hostilities." We were seated, listening to the radio when all of a sudden, it announced the death of Habyarimana. In fact, when we first switched on our radio set, Radio Rwanda was not broadcasting. When the broadcast started, the radio station announced that Habyarimana, the Head of State, died from shots fired by the Belgians. Several *Inkotanyi* were dismayed by Habyarimana's death at a time when peace agreements had just been signed.

- So, really... how dare you lie publicly? We know that parties were held in Tanzania, Burundi and Belgium. Why did you say the *Inkotanyi* were dismayed?
- Many of them started to like Habyarimana. Others did not like him and they were the ones who held parties while others...
- Among the *Inkotanyi*, I mean among the *Inkotanyi*.
- Err. So the *Inkotanyi* who liked Habyarimana joined those who did not like him to celebrate. The latter group was saying: "Rejoice, for Habyarimana, the enemy of peace, is dead. Rejoice, because now that Habyarimana is dead, the country is under our control".
- In your opinion, those *Inkotanyi* who liked and still like Habyarimana, why did/do they like him?
- Excuse me? They liked him because of his good politics and governance. He was visiting every country in quest of peace for Rwanda. Those who liked Habyarimana did not like to go and fight and die at the front. They wanted peace and supported the negotiations. Indeed, many of the *Inkotanyi* who liked Habyarimana were happy as the agreements were about to be signed in Arusha. They thought the war was going to stop and people were going to live in peace, in normal conditions, and not with these daily back and forth movements routinely made underground.
- Yes. We are now going to talk about other things. Do you remember the date you were told to take up arms to go and fight?
- That day, Habyarimana had died the previous night and the following morning, they gave us weapons in order to resume hostilities. They told us: "Carry on, because Habyarimana is dead. Resume hostilities since the person we were looking for has

just been killed. The Rwandan soldiers are probably demoralized, so take advantage of it and conquer the country.”

- Did you personally like Habyarimana?
- I also liked him and, as a proof, I am still carrying his photograph in my pocket.
- And Rwigema's?
- Excuse me? Rwigema's? No, I only have Habyarimana's photograph. I liked everything he said. He wanted us to secure peace agreements. Everywhere he went, he sued for peace and urged the *Inkotanyi* to return to the country and live peacefully as equals with other Rwandans, without ethnic discrimination.
- Since you liked Habyarimana, it means you also like the Rwandans; now that you are here, would you agree to go to the front and fight the *Inkotanyi* if you were given a gun?
- I am ready to go and fight them if I am given a gun because I was trying to quit their ranks to come and join the Rwandan Army. They should give me a gun so that I too can go and face those enemies of Rwanda who do not want peace. The Agreements should normally bring them good things, enabling them, for instance, to return to Rwanda and earn their living. Rather than staying in the forests, exposed to mosquitoes and hunger, and rather than fighting in the false hope that they will take over the country, they should come here and live together in peace with the Rwandan army and civilians. In my opinion, they will never conquer Rwanda.
- Eh... I am going to ask you one last question. You have just said that you are ready to go to the front and fight the *Inkotanyi* the day you are given a gun; who will be your first target?

- When and if I have a gun and see that Kanyarengwe, I will immediately empty my gun into him. Even if he is among hundreds of soldiers, I will kill him right away because he is opposing the peace agreements. It is he who, when he was living in Rwanda, once said that he would not get along with any Tutsi until hair had grown back on his head. But he has now become the most important Tutsi of those Tutsis he hated. So, that Kanyarengwe, who is opposing the peace agreements would be my first target.
  
- So you have just heard the *Inkotanyi*'s tricks, namely simulation and lies. Lying has become *Inyenzi*'s second nature for they never tell the truth. Even when they are captured, they will not reveal their secret; it is a strategy they have learnt. So there is a still long way to go. For your part, stand firm at the roadblocks and remain united. Thank you, dear listeners, for your attention.

(Music)

(Brief interruption)

**UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:**

...in collaboration with other law and order services, we considered that we can resort to no means other than requesting the intervention of gendarmes who will come to help carry out a mopping up operation in order to capture them because there is tangible evidence of the acts that they have committed. That way, the people will have peace. This is my wish. Thank you.

- **Speaker : Jean Rwabukwisi :**

My name is Jean Rwabukwisi. I am a member of MDR secretariat. Your Excellency the Prime Minister, ministers, *Préfet*, distinguished participants. I believe that all Rwandans support this government. They are also of the opinion that if, from the outset, there had been unity within the government, this war would not have occurred. All Rwandans support the national army. If the national army had been given...if there had been unity within the army...if the political parties had not divided the army in two parts, this war would not have taken place. Your Excellency the Prime Minister. You have just said that *Inkontanyi* soldiers are operating under the cover of the United Nations forces. Given the fact that you were able to drive out those Belgians who brought them, you should complain against the rest of these soldiers to those who sent them because they are shooting at us. It should not just be said that it is the *Inkontanyis* who are doing it when they are acting under the cover of the United Nations forces.

Still with regard to the war which we are fighting, you give assistance to young people by training them in the use of weapons. Since the country does not have sufficient resources, we, the older people, would like you to help us by placing at our disposal weapons which we could buy cash or on credit. You can also help us by issuing

authorisation for carrying weapons to people who can get them in order to precisely legalise carrying them. (applause)

Minister Ndindabahizi of PSD said that we should not unrelentingly attack PSD. But since the leaders of parties are present, I would like to ask the following question: As you have said, PSD has indeed played a role in the same way as the other parties. However, what about those people who collaborated with the Inkotanyi and who say bad things about the people, whether such collaborators are members of PSD or MRND? How will they continue leading the people? How will they be able to talk to the people? If they want to restore security, will they dare express themselves fully so as to satisfy the people? This is the question that I wanted to ask.

- **Speaker : *BOURGMESTRE OF GISOVU COMMUNE* :**

You said that the *Inkotanyi* have deployed fighters everywhere. This is true because we have often noticed that, particularly in Gisovu commune which I head. Near the border between Gisovu and Gishyita and even near ... and Gitesi, there are people who we can describe as *Inkotanyi*. In fact, they are big *Inkotanyis*. We believed that they were people who were causing insecurity and, following disturbances, we went there in order to restore calm...but policemen and gendarmes were killed there. The *Préfet* talked about it. I would therefore like to request you to assist us and you, the government, to know that there are big groups hiding in certain places. Before that, that area was used as a training site for the national armed forces. The area is really propitious - forests, holes and so on - where people can hide. It is not Tutsis but rather the *Inkotanyi*. Consequently, I am requesting for assistance so that we can drive away the *Inkotanyi*. They have even hoisted an RPF flag. Everyone can see it. Hum! From time to time one can see the flag flying there. There is therefore a need for considerable resources in that area, given the fact that many people among us lost their lives there. Thank you.



- **Speaker: CHARLES SIKUBWABO, BOURGMESTRE OF GISHYITA COMMUNE:**

My name is Charles Sikubwabo. I am the *Bourgmestre* of Gishyita commune. I have the same question as my colleague who spoke before me. However, I would like to add something. On three occasions, we did try to send reservists to that place. They confronted those people and succeeded in killing about three hundred of them. Even at present, those people go down to look for food; they go near Mubuga, in the Musenyi *secteur* where they kill people. Yesterday, an off duty soldier managed to kill forty people who were coming down. You will have to understand, however, that they are well trained people. They pass through “*cracks*” in the hills. Of course, they fall in ambushes laid by people who are on patrol, but without firearms that is not possible since from time to time they throw grenades and use guns. In fact, they are saving their bullets and, when we analyse the situation, we can be led to think that they are waiting for policemen to run out of ammunition in order for them to attack the population and to do to them what they want.

I would also like to say that in our region, which is far from the headquarters of the *préfecture*, we rely on *banques populaires* (popular banks). The attack launched by the enemies of Rwanda took us by surprise. The banks were basically managed by people who were pro-RPF, something that tallies with their political line. A number of them went to take part in the attacks and, even up to now, they have not yet come back. Even if we had authorised the resumption of certain activities, we wonder how this will evaluate (*sic*). We are also requesting you to get new employees so that the banks could resume their activities. Those people left with keys, so we are requesting you to look for others so that the service as a whole can run smoothly and so that someone with money in the bank can use it. Thank you.

- **Speaker : Léonard Hitimana, DOCTOR AT KIBUYE HOSPITAL**

My name is Léonard Hitimana. I am a doctor at Kibuye Hospital. I am also a member of MDR. I have two questions.

I would like to request the Prime Minister to answer my first question. You know that Kibuye *préfecture* is isolated. Consequently, it has numerous problems which are specific to it. Recently, however, those problems have worsened with the outbreak of endemic diseases such as dysentery and malaria which are rife in all the *préfectures* bordering Lake Kivu. At present, on top of this gloomy situation, there is the famine affecting the Kibuye region. Moreover, last April, the situation deteriorated with problems linked to insecurity which caused the loss of human lives thus leaving many children orphans; some people had to leave their homes. Those people need protection. Kibuye does not even have telephone. We do not have the means to reach Gitarama where your offices are located. There are no departments representing this ministry, the *MINITRASO*, which could, maybe, take care of those people. During your speech, you said that aid could be made available. In that regard, I would like to request you to think about those people who are here in Kibuye facing a series of inextricable problems.

There is another small problem related to the problem which we are currently experiencing. During the disturbances, people in various parts fled. However, some people have obviously come back and placed themselves under our protection, that is, the protection of the Red Cross. Those people have come back to the hospital where we are. I would like to once again request the Prime minister to maybe speak to them since, in reality, it would seem that their security is still not guaranteed. We are also wondering whether we should continue treating them and send them to God knows where. What should we do for those people? This is a very thorny problem. Our concern is based on the fact that the hospital could, maybe, appear to be a rallying point for people to attack other people, whereas we all know that the hospital is a safe place for each and every person.

My second question is for the national Secretary-General of MDR. In his speech, he told us that this is not the time to recruit militants, something that is quite true. Rather, this is a time for collaboration. In his speech, however, the first Vice-Chairman of MRND told us about the numerous messages that they sent to the *Interahamwe* regarding the conduct to be adopted during this period. I would therefore like to request the Secretary-General of MDR that, in the same way, a concrete message should be issued by senior officials of the party. Maybe, to this effect, the Minister of Information, who is also the MDR chairman in Kibuye, could assist him. That way, clear instructions will be set forth and they will serve as a point of reference for giving firm instructions, without violence or disorder, to the MDR youths in Kibuye who are still quite numerous.

**- Speaker: François Xavier Nsengamungu:**

My name is François Xavier Nsengamungu. I am the Director of the I.G.Z.I project, charged with the protection of the Nyungwe forest. Its activities cover the préfectures of Kibuye and Cyangugu. My question concerns the Nyungwe forest. As you are aware, the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* war is a guerrilla war, which I find disturbing. It is all the more disturbing because the project covers the communes of Gishyita, Gisovu and even Rwamatamu. Yet, it has been noticed that some Inyenzi who succeeded in fleeing the attacks have taken refuge in this forest, in the hope of reaching Burundi. However, we hope that they cannot reach Burundi through the forest. Meanwhile, we still meet them in the forest. The forest wardens meet them every day. But the communes bordering the forest, namely the Gisovu, Rwamatamu, Gatare, Kirambo and Kagano seem to be isolated considering that the forest is not inhabited. This makes it difficult to ensure security in the region. In addition, the projects set up in this region do not have the necessary logistics to ensure security. Nevertheless, I appreciate your initiative to train people in sectors. I hope that the *bourgmestres* have understood it and that when we will go to enrol, they will give us priority. It is not only true that we do not have reservists but we also do not have the logistics.

Within the framework of the project, I would want that we should also be provided with this equipment so as to block the way of the Inyenzi who might pass through that region. This is all the more necessary as this is a scantily inhabited forest region far from the Administration.

The second question relates to the United Nations troops. You told us that after launching the attack on Kigali town, the Inkotanyi took refuge behind the position of the said troops. As I see it, the position of UNAMIR troops was determined by the Government. Now that it appears difficult to dislodge the Inkotanyi from positions where the UNAMIR is stationed, could the Government not envisage relocating UNAMIR so as to recover those strategic areas, which had been chosen by its troops through some unknown arrangement. Those were my questions.

**- Speaker: Cyriaque Nsengimana, MRND Chairman in the Gitesi Commune.**

My name is Cyriaque Nsengimana and I am the MRND Chairman in the Gitesi Commune. My questions deals with the attitude of the three transitional governments, including yours, i.e., the current government of Prime Minister Jean Kambanda, towards Uganda. At a certain point, the CDR Party suggested that a complaint should be filed at the United Nations against Uganda for provoking the war against our country. Both the government of Prime Minister Nsengiyaremye and that of Prime Minister Agathe, had evidence which they neglected. For your part, can you not envisage the possibility of lodging a formal complaint at the United Nations against Uganda, for this country to explain why it let loose on us the Inkotanyi who are going to massacre all our people? This goes hand in hand with the complaint spoken about on the radio that the Government had filed against Belgium at the United Nations for having participated in the assassination of the President of the Republic and created problems in the country by supporting the RPF by all possible means. I learnt that

Belgium has requested the Rwandan Government to withdraw that complaint. What decision have you taken?

Similarly, given that it has been proved that Mr. Dallaire is an accomplice, what do you say about that considering that he played an important role in the deployment of the Inkotanyi within the country, facilitated the transportation of troops and weapons for the Inkotanyi from Mulindi to all parts of the country, backed the movement of new recruits who left for training, and I don't know what else. Are we going to continue to fight at the same time against the UN, against Dallaire and against the Inyenzi? Concerning all these wars, would it not be necessary to adopt a few firm decisions?

I would like to submit a problem close to my heart to you, and I request you to understand it in the manner I am going to pose it. You know that criminals killed the President of the Republic on 6 April. The Government has declared a period of mourning until the fifth of this month. Now, we have ended the period of mourning. Recently, I followed suggestions made by the Melchior Ndadaye Foundation on the befitting funeral to be accorded to this father of the Nation. I would like to know how far you have gone with the preparations.

He was the Head of State and a militant of a political party that I like. I would therefore like to ask you how far you have gone with these preparations or whether you have scheduled the funeral for after the war, in which case you will also give me an answer.

Now, I am not posing a question but, rather, I am congratulating the Minister of Information. For a long time, Radio Rwanda had been taken hostage and it was forbidden to broadcast any news edifying us. Moreover, at a certain point, we the members of the "peace and justice" commission, in the Rutsiro commune, in the Congo-Nil Parish, made a demand to that effect. At the moment, I am satisfied with the functioning of radio Rwanda. But then I would like to ask you to put more

emphasis on national news during this crisis period we are going through. Keep us informed of what is happening here and there, without omitting anything, and tell us how the international community perceives this war. Given that many people do not understand French, so in order to have exhaustive information on the international community's perception of the situation prevailing in Rwanda, it is necessary to understand other languages in addition to Kinyarwanda [SIC!]. I would therefore request that a specific broadcast should be devised to inform Rwandans of what the international community thinks of the Government and the war situation and what it plans to do in order to help us end it. Thank you.

**- Speaker: Prime Minister Jean Kambanda**

Before I answer your questions, I want to inform you that of all the meetings that we have organized, this is the only one where I have found foreigners who have decided to assist us. In my message to the nation and other people who have resolved to assist us, and who are residing in Rwanda, I said something concerning foreigners during this period we are going through. I therefore want in a few words to thank them, in particular, for as I have said, a friend in need is a friend indeed. At that time, I therefore said: "We appreciate the assistance that foreign benefactors have accorded us in peacetime. We are pleased with what we have accomplished with their support. But we would further appreciate their assistance to us during such a period of desolation and misfortunes". I would therefore want, without flattering you, to thank you from the bottom of my heart. Given that the media have broadcast all sorts of information and that, despite everything, they decided to assist us during this period of misfortunes, I would like to ask you to join me in expressing publicly our gratitude to them (round of applause). We thank them and make a request to them. All sorts of things are being said, particularly lies, but they have been able to know the truth. They have lived through the events. They know the problems we faced. They know the efforts that the Government made in this regard. We request them to act as our spokesman. They should tell the truth to their countries and fellow citizens. Nothing but the truth! We are not asking them to be bias towards us by inventing good deeds

that we did not do, or by omitting to bring out the ills we have committed. We ask them to tell only the truth. Nothing but the truth! We demand nothing else from them. They should tell the truth and nothing but the truth, for we are sure that the truth will prevail over lies. Our thanks go to them (round of applause).

The *Bourgmestre* of Bwakira asked a question relating to the frequency modulation radio. An adviser also asked the same question by talking about the PANASONIC NATIONAL radio, I think, or NATIONAL PANASONIC radio. In reality, here you are raising questions relating to communication and Radio Rwanda. The enemy that attacked us, decided to cut us off from the rest of the world in order to slander us, knowing certainly that we do not have the resources to make our views heard. But they particularly took it out on development infrastructures. You are aware that the fighting took place on Mount Jali. You have also learnt that fighting also took place on Mount Rebero. For communication experts who know these mountains, including Mount Kigali, if you control them then you can assume that you control Kigali. Those conversant with military tactics, like the Bourgmestre of the commune, understand what it is. When you control these mountains, then you control Kigali. For from those mountains, you can fire at any target in Kigali, given that from that height, you are overlooking Kigali town. Hence, the enemy who received assistance from numerous accomplices has concentrated his attacks on those mountains. It was on Mount Jali that the FM antennae and other communication infrastructures were set up. It was also on the Nyanza hill that installations, which enabled us to communicate with the rest of the world by telephone, were found. During the fighting that took place on Mount Jali, the enemy who was positioned there began to destroy the installations. I saw the images yesterday on television. He did not only fire at those installations but he destroyed them completely. The installations fell to pieces. For now, the Rwandan Armed Forces have dislodged him from there. There are still some pockets of resistance at the foot of the mountain but the enemy has left the summit where these communication infrastructures were found. This also happened on the Nyanza hill, which is close to Mount Rebero. Ever since the Rwandan Armed Forces dislodged the enemy from Rebero, he has taken refuge on the Nyanza hill. However,

the communication installations found on the Nyanza hill were intact before a few UNAMIR troops left our country. We were therefore surprised to note that it was at that time that those installations were targeted. We are therefore wondering whether the person who fired at them does not have links with those troops. Whatever the case, it is known that the infrastructures had been destroyed by artillery fire and that the telephone was out of order. This cut us off from the rest of the world for two weeks. No one could telephone. The Government could not communicate with the outside world. They wanted to tarnish our image during the two weeks we were cut off from the outside world. We could not contact any ambassador abroad, nor anyone within Rwanda. To telephone, you had to go to Goma or Kayanza in Burundi. You understand that it was very difficult to leave Gitarama to go to Kayanza or Goma to telephone. Yet, I would tell you that the Government did not just sit by. We approached Rwanda's usual friends and we obtained a satellite telephone, so much that at the moment, they should not be mistaken, for we can now telephone from anywhere, either from the bush or the forest, anywhere ...