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144

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA  
TRIBUNAL INTERNATIONAL POUR LE RWANDA

K0146902

TRANSLATOR'S CERTIFICATE  
CERTIFICAT DE TRADUCTEUR

I, Wellars MUGABO, hereby certify that:

Je, \_\_\_\_\_, par la présente certifie que:

1. I am duly qualified and approved by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Law Committed in the Territory of Rwanda and by the Rwandan citizens in neighboring States between 1st January and 31st December 1994 ("Tribunal") to translate and interpret from the Kinyarwanda and English/French languages into the English/French and Kinyarwanda languages.

Je suis dûment qualifié et reconnu par le Tribunal pénal international chargé de juger les personnes présumées responsables d'actes de génocide ou d'autres violations graves du droit international humanitaire commis sur le territoire du Rwanda et les citoyens rwandais présumés responsables de tels actes ou violations commis sur le territoire d'Etats voisins entre le 1er janvier et le 31 décembre 1994 ("Tribunal") pour interpréter du kinyarwanda vers le français/anglais et du français/anglais vers le kinyarwanda.

2. The attached document consists of a translation of an audio cassette identified as C.7/K95 provided to me by the relevant Tribunal Property Officer. The translation is from Kinyarwanda into English. It contains 8 pages.

Le document ci-joint est la traduction de [veuillez préciser ex., cassette audio, article de journal, livre, etc.] qui a été mis à ma disposition par le dépositaire autorisé des documents du Tribunal. Cette traduction est du kinyarwanda en français. Elle comporte: \_\_\_ pages.

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3. After the audio cassette was provided to me by the relevant Tribunal Property Officer and during the time I translated the au[source document], the audio cassette remained in my sole possession and custody. At no time during this period was the audio cassette in any way altered or modified. When I finished translating the source document, I promptly returned it to the relevant Tribunal Property Officer.

Après avoir reçu [le document original] du dépositaire autorisé des documents du Tribunal et pendant que j'en assurais la traduction, celui-ci est resté en ma seule possession et sous ma seule responsabilité. A aucun moment pendant cette période, le document original n'a été altéré ou modifié. Aussitôt que j'en ai terminé la traduction, je l'ai remis au dépositaire autorisé des documents du Tribunal.

4. The attached translation was made faithfully, independently, impartially and to the best of my ability. It was made with full respect for the duty of confidentiality.

La présente traduction a été effectuée avec dévouement, indépendance, impartialité, au mieux de mes compétences et dans le plein respect de mon devoir de confidentialité.

I declare that the foregoing is true and correct. Made this 21st day of August 1997 at Kigali, Rwanda.

Je déclare que tout ce qui précède correspond à la vérité. Fait ce \_\_\_\_ jour de \_\_\_\_\_, 1996 à Kigali, Rwanda.

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Cassette identification: C. 7/K95

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Speaker: Habimana Kantano

(starts somewhere in the middle)

... he finally said that he would receive us tomorrow in the following words: thank you, Rwandans, for kidding me. And now we are awaiting the explanations he will give us. But, Gahigi, the problems related to ethnicity are too obvious. Even here at the hotel, in a few minutes ago, people tried to assault the Radio Rwanda car on board of which we came.

(Gahigi interrupts): assaulted by whom?

(Kantano answers): assaulted by people who are unhappy with it. Few minutes ago--(Gahigi interrupts again): Which people? Why don't you tell us who they are since you are a journalist?

Kantano answers: People do not, eh, they are some people; right now we have hidden the car

(Gahigi comments): Then you do not want to reveal their identities?

(Kantano continues): A few minutes ago, the deputies who were to arrive here from the Kayanza road failed to reach destination because there is no security there. It seems that people have blocked the road. Therefore, if insecurity continues, maybe we won't be able to pass tomorrow. However, some have managed to come by plane.

Gahigi interrupts again: Kantano, I would like to ask you a question because time flies. At those ceremonies, did you see any military there? How did they behave? Did the members of the famous group attend the ceremonies? How were they? They are the ones who staged the coup d'Etat?

Kantano answers: Regarding the military, Major Buyoya and his wife were there. Bagaza also came to the Church for a while, but he did not attend the reception. But the one who amazed us is

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Bikomagu. He brought a bunch of flowers in his capacity as the Army Chief of Staff. He was holding it together with the Gendarmerie Chief of Staff. They came marching and people started whispering to each other saying : that is the famous Bikomagu.

Gahigi: Were they dressed in military uniform?

Kantano: Yes, together with their ranks.

Gahigi: Is there any final word you would tell the RTLM listeners?

Kantano: The final word is that we were especially curious to see Mr. Bikomagu and he has just said that he would receive us tomorrow at 7:30 AM in Muha military camp where President Ndadaye was killed. We will ask him a lot of questions so that tomorrow evening, if I'm lucky, I'll come and tell about them in full. Right now, I do not tell you about them in full due to lack of time.

Gahigi: So we wish you a safe trip back to Rwanda.

Kantano: RTLM listeners, have a nice evening and you too, RTLM employees. See you tomorrow.

Gahigi: See you.

Speaker: Gahigi

The time is 8:51 in our studio. There was a press conference that was held in Hotel des Diplomates yesterday evening. A word was said there which has personally satisfied me. It was pronounced by Bishop Chipenda from Angola. He said that those procedures often carried out by groups of people sitting together and concluding accords on power-sharing -- he mentioned the

case of Mozambique, Angola and I would add **Arusha** -- do not constitute democracy. As is always defined, democracy is the power given by the people and working for the people. Therefore when people put themselves together, sit down and share the power, that is no democracy because if democracy is the power given by the population, we feel that those people are not mandated by the population. When they say that there are special questions, let's share the power and solve those problems and finally return the power to the owner--the latter being the population. It is not often the case because people who come to power in that way, do not want to let go of it and return it to the owner. This is especially so because the owners of the power do have the necessary strength--yes, they have the strength, but they do not know how to use it to seize the power from those who took it. That is why when you hear that people have sat down and shared the power, very often you hear that they call that situation "a transition" and you see that they often want to make it broad-based. This results in a difficult situation based on the **Arusha Peace Accords**: People said that RPF attacked Rwanda with the aim of coming to power; there are members of the Opposition who want the power themselves; there are also those who were holding it; let's sit down and share it. So, they sat down down and shared it among themselves and they said: here is the broad-based transitional government. One wonders: when will the population be given their power so that they could give it themselves to whom they want? This is a problem. Because this was said by a bishop, I feel I could say something on the role of the church towards bringing democracy in our Africa because we see that the Church plays a role in today's political events where people seize power and monopolize it while the church has said that it always sides with the weak, the masses, the destitute whom it should defend by rendering what is referred to as social justice. We therefore feel that the Catholic, Protestant Churches, and

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all the other Churches have a significant role to play in trying to see how countries could be well-run, in a democratic way. This is all the more so since I feel that the priests, the pastors and all religious people are not only concerned with the soul, but also with the body of the people as well as the social justice. The last phrase is theirs, so they must help the population to gain back their power and subsequently entrust it to whom they want. I do not know whether you are familiar with what is called "intelligence". Evidence has emerged that the Vatican--i.e. the Catholic Church--has the best intelligence services according to what I hear in the history of intelligence services. Also, it seems it would have the best intelligence services all over the world which are far better than the American CIA, FBI, the Russian KGB, the French DGSE, and the Israeli MOSSAD. It is said that the Holy See has got the best intelligence service. This is due to the fact, we should not refrain from saying it, that the priests know all sorts of people. They know them well. The population provides them with information about people. The authorities themselves reveal information about the people they know. Their investigation goes even lower. Most intelligence services limit themselves to towns and villages, the churches' intelligence --I cited the Vatican, but the same goes for all churches--reaches the towns, the authorities, and branches off into the hinterland up to the plain peasant--that is what I would call them. They know them. They know all sorts of people from the ordinary peasant in the countryside replete with birds and animals. The church men know all those people: they know the bad elements, the good ones, the killers, the betrayers, the wicked. Therefore, the Church must help the population not to promote the greedy, the criminals and the betrayers. If the Church truly believes that it is its responsibility to defend the weak, this means that it must also help not to promote people that will decimate the population, people that are killers, criminals and betrayers. We therefore feel that the

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Church has a role to play in all what is taking place. We even think that the Church should help the population by backing them up to recover the power from those who take it by force, those who usurp it pretending to have it on behalf of the population, thus causing the elections to take place and teaching the population to choose carefully. So the population would elect appropriate authorities instead of having people continue capturing and exercising power on behalf of the population while the latter has no role to play in that exercise. We really think that the press conference that was held at the Hotel des Diplomates in Kigali has led to recommendations that we commend; we therefore believe that the Church should not keep silent and let the power usurpers continue oppressing the population; rather, the Church should really side with the poor, the weak and then help them elect their authorities. As criticism must go both ways, the church also should not be seen taking sides; it should rather look for the truth. It should not stand up because this or that is said about it; it should rather stand up for the actual truth, the social welfare for the population; it should stand up for the setting up of authorities that are convenient for the population and appointed by the population through elections. The Church should therefore do its best so that a good climate is restored in our country, a climate that doesn't aim at feeding the greedy, one aiming at the recovery of power by the people to entrust it to whom they want afterwards. I remember that it was once said in the history of the church that the authorities stand for God himself. It means that they have to be active; God is not greedy. So the Church has the responsibility of finding for the weak masses authorities that truly represent God. Such authorities would not be greedy, thieves or killers and then the Church would play a role in their selection so that the authorities could really stand for God according to the words of the Church.

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You know where the transitional government has taken us; you know that. In any case, those who are reasonable know very well that it has led us onto the brink of collapsing because people are no longer working, people are looting; it is not the population that is looting, but those who call themselves "authorities". I personally confirm that it is not the population who are looting, but those who call themselves representatives of the population in the administration. Because those who consider themselves as the Government's senior or junior officials do not work any longer. Those who report to work, it is a mere formality. They go and return home saying that it is a transitional period, so they go back home when they have had the courage to come; there are some who do not even so much as go but remain at home. There are others who report to work, but do not get any job due to the current party practices whereby following the power sharing, this or that ministry belongs to this or that party. An employee who was formerly working there is subsequently dismissed on the grounds that he/she is not a follower of the party that has won this or that ministry. So they tell him: since you are not a follower of our party, sit down, you do not have any job. They sow confusion among the employees. You come, but because you do not bear the party cap, they refuse to give you files to deal with. When you are registered with a ministry of your party, you say it is your party, no one will ask you for explanation, so you leave your coat on the chair and you go away; and you are considered to be working. The situation is very regrettable. Today people do misbehave. People say: we are going to "liberate" the marshes, the roads. Suddenly you see that a plot is given where it should not; you see someone suddenly erect a house in the road; you see that another one puts it where he pleases. In short, things have got disorganized, I don't know where we shall stop them.

Now I would like to inform you that--once I told you that I will tell you about the song entitled



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"Letter to the General Director", I therefore thank a man called Haguma working with MINITRANSCO who has just brought it to me and I will let you listen to it after the song of a peasant named Ngirabagenza Jean Marie Vianney, from Rutare commune. The song discusses the way the transitional period is run: people are looting; people are no longer attending to their usual duties; the country is gradually falling into sheer poverty. There is a man called Franco who renamed himself Luambo Makiadi at the time of the Zairian Revolution. That man called Franco put himself in the place of the population and wrote to the administration of the transitional Government; he wrote to the Director General saying: Director General, you are a human being; when you were still a student, you used to say that you'll change things at the speed of an airplane. Now you are occupying the post of the Director General, you have forgotten your initial principles; the files are heaped in front of you up to your head; you are sleepy because you spent the night moving in search of girls. Therefore, Director General, one doesn't tie their goat beside a bad one; when you started, you had good objectives and now see how you manage the public affairs. I will thus have you listen to the song and maybe I will say something about it again, but I don't feel it is necessary, it is in Lingala that can be easily made out, and for those who do not speak Lingala, there is a lot of French in it; you can follow the French words alone. However, that man called Luambo Makiadi seems as if he put himself in the place of the population, and he wrote a long letter to the Director General as follows: this is how you manage the public affairs; your studies are useless; instead of helping the population develop, you take them backwards into poverty. In this country, we have also educated people we can write to. We can call them Directors General and we ask them what they are doing against the country. The first people we would write to are those were put in charge of the Savings Fund of Rwanda. Recently, they

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suddenly said that the Savings Fund had gone bankrupt. They said that the thing to be done urgently was to give the money back to the people, which is a good thing indeed. If one could ask those in charge this question: what the devil has caused the Savings Fund to go bankrupt? They are educated and responsible for the management of that fund; what is behind that bankruptcy? What caused them to fail since they are educated and have the authority and power to punish? What brought the Savings Fund to go bankrupt?

Now let's write to those in charge of the transition, it is true that the Savings Fund has gone bankrupt, you are an educated person and an educated person is characterized by having long-term plans. Have you ever examined where you will reassign the employees that were working with the Savings Fund? Have you ever asked yourself where those employees will be reassigned? Are those employees responsible for the bankruptcy? If you fire them, do you think that you will be congratulated on your management studies while you do not even know how to manage human resources. We therefore feel that educated people should feel ashamed of saying that this or that has happened and fail to foresee its consequences. You say that if the Savings Fund has gone bankrupt, give the money back to the people. And as there is no money available, the Government will pay for it. Even if the money is paid, those employees --because there are some employees who have performed well at the Savings Fund-- are not the ones who have misused the money; it is clear there are some employees who worked diligently; and then you say that this or that employee should be fired while in fact they are not the ones to be blamed for mismanagement as they have performed well. We think that is not fair. And the letter we are going to address the Director General, we are going to target the Savings Bank authorities, and even all the authorities because all those things are discussed in the Cabinet's meeting. The government represents the

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people. We the population have the right to write to it and ask the following: you were quick to liquidate the savings Bank, why have not we heard about any of your quick action to recover the recover the debts owed to the Savings Bank? Let me remind you that people owe the Savings Bank an amount equal to 900 million, I think. No, I think it is maybe RWF 9 million 8 hundred thousand. Or it is in billion, I do not have the exact figure; I will check soon. I think that the debt amounts to 9 billion 8 hundred million. Nobody has ever tried to rush to recover that money from the debtors. We therefore feel that such a situation is not acceptable. As Luambo Makiadi says, the letter we should send to those authorities, they should understand that they are not managing the country's property accurately and it is their responsibility to manage it; if they are educated, they have become so for the interests of the population, therefore they must run the country adequately. I would like to have you listen to the song, that letter the population sent to the people in charge of the country, especially those in charge during the transition. I personally dedicate this song to them.

Luambo Makiadi wrote a letter to the Directors General, saying: You directors general--I too seem to be addressing those in charge of the transitional government because, as I told you, this song is dedicated to those in charge of the transitional government--, then he says: you who are the authorities of the transitional government, do not put the blame on me, I have never heard of anyone born Director general or an administrator; you become an administrator for you to work in the interests of the population; then do work for them. In that letter, he adds the following: Honorable Directors General, Honorable authorities of the transitional Government, do work for the interests of the country and not your selfish interests. That is, I believe, the kind of lesson one would draw from the letter Luambo wrote to the Directors General, but he appeared to do it in

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the name of all the population saying: Honorable Directors General, stop working for your own bellies, and work for the interests of the country. Besides, no one was bor Director General, and one is appointed to the position so that they can work for the country. Indeed, one becomes an authority to lead the population and not to mislead them nor misappropriate their property. This is the lesson we can take from this long letter that Luambo wrote to the leaders. We too at the RTLM we addressed it to the leaders of the transitional government telling them: if one could stop looting the public property, things would go right because misappropriation of property has gone too far during the transitional government. I do not think that, as people say, even the good administrators will find anything left.

You who were listening to this song, I greet you. But I warn you that you should be cautious especially you who are preparing to marry each other. So when do not rush when you see a gazelle move around, nor should you grow wings when you see well-built girls. I would like you to be careful because you can love a girl while she is loved by someone else. That is why I dedicate this song to you. Those who want to get married in town areas should be careful because you may love someone while she is loved by someone else or you may love him/her while they do not love you.

There are also other issues. There is also the crucial problem of the cell members. The cabinet meeting has convened today and is discussing the issue. Those who are complicating the problem still block it; that is how matters stand. The cabinet meeting is therefore discussing the issue of the cell members and we should wait for the outcome. But we told you that the issue had caused a lot of turmoil, and we have a man called Ntawutagiripfa Jean, commonly known as "Congolese", who was the first cell member to ask that question. At the moment, the Cabinet meeting is

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examining their problem, "Congolese"--Ntawutagripfa commonly called "Congolese"-- says: My fellow cell members, our question demonstrates that some authorities and even the parties' representatives are competing for administrative posts and their aim is not to help the population develop, but rather to oppress them. He poses a question: what problem does the remuneration for the cell members cause to any authority as regards what he is entitled to? What I would ask my fellow cell members, "Congolese" continues to say, is to not lose heart and betray the majority population they work for because it is now clear that what those administrators do results from orders taken from the known enemy of the country who is constantly decimating the majority population.

Speaker: Habimana Kantano.

Shortly after the burial of His Excellency Ndadaye, the Tutsi did not approach the roadside, they were observing from far away. There are also FRODEBU followers dressed in T-shirts bearing NDADAYE's photo. They were on line where the military and the other high-ranking officials passed accompanying NDADAYE's coffin. One does wonder: where will that situation lead? In any case, it is clear that the problem based on ethnic lines has become crucial. I asked some of the government's civil servants how they worked. At night, the Tutsi are moving around on night patrols; then during day time, they cannot work because they sleep. As for the Hutu, they spent the night in the bushes or change houses, so they sleep uncomfortably. Furthermore, they have been mourning their president so that they could not go to work. In Burundi, there has been more than a month without working. In the meantime--which is understandable because it is always the

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case in a place where there is anarchy--highway bandits from all ethnic groups have come into existence and they have all sorts of pretexts to assault people. When you fall into a group of outlawed Tutsi, you die. Similarly, when you fall into a group of Hutu who have constituted themselves as policemen and something like that, you are killed as well. That trend of banditry that has come into being in Bujumbura is another thing that worries the population because they do not know very well who those bandits are. Thus, this is a serious source of concern for the Bujumbura residents.

In the countryside in areas where we have been able to pass, people in provinces such as Kayanza have resumed their activities--the occupation for the peasants is agriculture. But, there are Tutsi refugees, I saw them eh...where did I see them? I do not remember well, I do not see the place very well, but it is a place when you have passed Kayanza near a place called Bugarama, there are Tutsi refugees sheltered in classrooms and guarded by the military. Obviously, the Hutu refugees have taken refuge beyond the Akanyaru river. But when you look around, you can see that people visit each other, offering beer to each other to the point that you can see that life is returning to normalcy. On the roadside, there are no houses damaged, apart from the fact that people start coming back timidly wondering what the situation is. In short, that is the situation prevailing in Bujumbura and in the countryside where we could pass by.

Soon we'll get to Bikomagu. Right now, I am telling you about the situation in Bujumbura.

Minutes ago, we were talking about the situation prevailing in Bujumbura and in the countryside. I told you that in Bujumbura, just like Rwandans, when a Burundian asks his fellow "What is the news?", the other answers "the news is good", but when you observe carefully, you find out that there is something hidden behind especially that, when you bear in mind there is no authority, you

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conclude that the situation is critical.

As for the power--before we get to Bikomagu--, starting from Bujumbura, the administration has been seriously affected. The ministers are no longer working in their offices, but in the Tanganyika Hotel. There they are guarded by the French.

Just to see how Bikomagu is cunning, they do not approach the hotel, but they have dug holes behind the Hotel so that when the French military go to ensure protection to the remaining Burundian ministers, the Burundian military come to jointly guard them. There is even a warship in the lake. So, when you come to think of it, one cannot know whether the French are protecting the Government or the French are guarded by the Burundian military. You can see that those people are hopeless. As regards the multinational force, you listen to Bikomagu talking about the issue, he is not supportive of the idea because he often says that he does not see what that force can do. Very often, he comes back to the word "government", "government". Then there is the government issue: the Prime Minister says: go out and join your ministries. But see where the trouble is: let me start with the example of Sylvestre NTIBANTUNGANYA. Now he has become the interim President of FRODEBU party, thus succeeding late President Ndadaye. He is now the Minister of Foreign Affairs. But remember that 50 military were sent to look for that Sylvestre Ntibantunganya. When they missed him, they cried a lot saying: "it is not possible, we had to get him even if we had to miss all the others". Then they went away. When they came back to check whether he had been back, they missed him again. So they killed his wife and another neighbor woman. Then they went away filled with sadness. Even if he is moving alive, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya--he is that Hutu you would even recognize in the dark--is afraid. Not because they fear that he could become the President of the Republic--it is said he is a suitable candidate

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for that position--but he is afraid because those who send those military to kill him are still there. Those who came to hunt him down are still there; none of those who killed his wife has been arrested. That is why, at the burial ceremony, he said: You too my wife, farewell. It is as if he were saying: "This coffin was mine, I was the one to be in it, so you sacrificed yourself for me". How do you think he can work? His heart would be peaceful if he could know that those who murdered his wife are arrested and if those who ordered the murder of his wife were arrested. Now then, the government has split into two sides. As the whole issue is centered on ethnicity, Sylvie Kinigi tries to play the card of her ethnic group because she is also afraid of the military. Even if they are her brothers, she fears them because they are the ones who have power. She therefore tries to side with her ethnic group, it is obvious. The others also remain skeptic about her wondering why she does not arrest some of her brothers and put them in prison. Also, each side fears that what has been discussed in the meeting is disclosed to the others so that no decisions are made. As a result, the power weakens gradually so that it will hardly stabilize. There are even those who say this: "the maker of this government was Ndadaye, he was the mediator. Now that he is no longer there, it is better that all this collapses and we start some new order. Who would put in place that new order as the army is still the same and keeps an oppressive control over them? This is the real problem. But there is also another problem in the government: the problem of PALIPEHUTU. As people believe in Burundi, they say that if, instead of the Frodebu, the Palipehutu party had been officially approved, it would have taken advantage of the votes of the Frodebu party. Now people say that if the Frodebu is experiencing problems, is not this an opportunity for the Palipehutu party to take positions or to say that it is time for them to join the government now that the profiteers have gone? Therefore, even if you put aside the



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problem of ethnicity, there remains a problem of political parties. Because people say this: those who were against Palipehutu should change the Constitution to allow Palipehutu to join the Government. The Frodebu followers who had already started to see the 'national cake' come closer to them--the rule of greed is found everywhere and what we observe in Rwanda is also traceable in Burundi--feel also at a loss. This is also a source of concern. And as I discussed with  
(end of side A)

Side B is empty.

Nom du traducteur : Hélène Moeneback  
Identification de la cassette : RTLTM no10 C.9/K95 du 09-10/12/1993  
Date de traduction : 09-09-96

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C.9/95

FACE A

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**HABIMANA KANTANO :**

Il est 10 h 45, la RTLTM annonce vos communiqués (il annonce les communiqués commerciaux que je ne trouve pas nécessaire de traduire).

Il ya ceux qui nous aiment et nous écrivent et d'autres qui ne sont pas contents de ce que nous disons. Par exemple aujourd'hui, je viens de croiser quelqu'un en chemin qui m'a blâmé comme quoi je suis pour le MRND ; je ne suis pas venu ici pour défendre le MRND, il a ses dirigeants et qui le défendent suffisamment, donc je n'ai pas à le défendre ; mais seulement je ne suis pas d'accord avec les Inkotanyi qui font et racontent n'importe quoi pour dire que c'est le MRND. Ils disposent des mines à Taba et disent que c'est le MRND parce qu'ils ont battu les Interahamwe de cette commune, ils disent que c'est Silas qui a disposé les grenades ; Silas est un homme calme et connu par tout le monde et qui n'est pas capable de faire un tel acte. Ils disent que c'est le MRND qui tue ses propres adhérents dans les communes Kidaho, Nkumba, Nyamugari, pour en avoir plus. Ils disent que c'est une mise en scène du MRND dans la commune de Mutura, je ne peux pas être d'accord avec ça. Je ne peux même pas accepter que l'on accuse une ou un autre parti politique. Ceci c'est faire du mal à ceux qui ont perdu les leurs, ils tuent un bébé parce qu'il est partisan de quel parti ? Ceux qui tuent, tuent des fois leurs adhérents sans le savoir. Une personne peut changer de parti quand il veut parce qu'il n'est pas attaché au MRND, au MDR ou au PL. Tuer une personne parce qu'il adhère d'un tel parti, c'est la méchanceté ; je pense qu'il peut même quitter son parti pour adhérer à un autre, pourquoi le tuer ? Moi je trouve qu'il faut d'abord voir le droit de l'homme et ne pas l'associer à un parti politique, ceci est la propagande des politiciens et d'autres personnes que je n'arrive pas à connaître leur intelligence.

Donc, ce monsieur m'a suivi pour rien, je ne défends pas le MRND, je défends plutôt les gens qui collent les choses sur un parti pour se moquer d'autres, rien d'autres.

Les gens nous écrivent. Il ya quelqu'un qui nous écrit ceci : vous aviez parlé d'un dénommé Rwubatse André qui travaille pour les Inkotanyi et qui fut fonctionnaire de la Préfecture de Byumba ; vous aviez aussi parlé d'un dénommé Nkabura Jean, résident dans le secteur Rugarama, commune Kidaho Ruhengeri. Rwubatse réside dans le secteur Rutete, Kidaho à Ruhengeri. Je suppose qu'il s'adresse aux personnes qui connaissent cette commune, j'ai vu qu'ils sont nombreux ici et qui suivent la RTLTM, je ne peux pas manquer à vous en parler. La famille Nkabura est la belle-famille de Rwubatse parce que le fils Nkabura dénommé S/Lieutenant Niyonsenga Pascal résident dans le camp Mukamira a épousé la fille de Rwubatse dénommé Uwamaliya Consolée. Il dit que s'ils avaient un rôle dans la désignation, personne ne peut l'accepter parce que Nkabura ne s'entendait pas avec Kanyamibwa parce qu'il avait plus d'argent que lui. Le défunt Kanyamihigo Callixte est voisin de Hakizimana Eric, il était contre lui parce qu'il est membre du MRND ; Hakizimana est inspecteur du secteur scolaire primaire Kidaho ; il peut désigner les gens sans problème. Il dit encore qu'il met en garde la RTLTM parce qu'il y a

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certaines personnes qui disent que vous détestez les Tutsi, j'ai entendu dire que les Tutsi allaient vous faire du mal ; que les gens cessent d'exagérer, tous les Tutsi ne sont pas mauvais, tous les Hutus ne sont pas mauvais, tous les ethnies du Rwanda c'est la même chose, l'être humain est ainsi ; mais qui est cette personne qui dit que la RTLM hait les Tutsi ? Qui hait les Tutsi ? Tu hais un Tutsi parce qu'il fait quoi ? Tu peux voir un Tutsi passer et l'en vouloir parce qu'il a un beau nez et qu'il est grand. S'il a un beau petit nez pointu, toi aussi tu as ton gros nez qui te donne suffisamment d'air pour aérer tes poumons, pourquoi le haïr d'autant plus que vous ne vous êtes pas créés, la RTLM ne hait pas les tutsi, elle ne les nourrit pas eux non plus. Mais qui hait les tutsi à la RTLM ? Est-ce Kantano ? Je les hais parce que j'ai passé la nuit chez eux ? Est-ce qu'on se nourrit ? Ils passent moi aussi je passe. Quand je passe au quartier matheus ils font un cercle sur moi. C'est possible que je raconte ce qui ne les plaisent pas, je ne peux pas dire ce que je pense des Inkotanyi pour ne pas être en conflit avec les tutsi, c'est leur affaire par ce qu'ils (tutsi) croient qu'ils (inkotanyi) vont leurs faire aboutir au pouvoir. Je ne peux pas me taire aux torts des Hutus pour ne pas être en conflit avec eux ; toute personne mauvaise doit être condamné parce que si la terre et le Rwanda n'avaient que de mauvaises personnes, toute leur descendance serait mauvaise.

Cette personne nous met en garde parce qu'il peut y avoir un fou qui nous fera du mal, il dit que si nous voyons un véhicule AB 8589 de monsieur Kabagema à la RTLM, il faut faire trop attention. Malheureusement nous n'avons pas de parking. Kabagema est allé dans un meeting dirigé par Rukokoma (Twagirumungu) et Agathe à Nyanza, pendant l'animation, il a perdu un pistolet et les gendarmes l'ont emprisonné, puis ils l'ont muté de Nyanza à Gitarama. Il n'avait pas l'autorisation de se munir d'une arme, il était emprisonné moins d'un mois parce que sa soeur a pu avoir les pièces justificatives. Question ? Pourquoi a-t-il été emprisonné et relâché sans montrer les pièces avant ? Si ce pistolet est utilisé pour commettre des crimes ce sera sur la tête de qui ? Pourquoi les dirigeants de l'armée ne disent rien quand ils voient de telles choses ? Ces choses doivent être condamnées sinon il y aura beaucoup d'Inkotanyi au Rwanda d'autant plus qu'ils disent que ce sont des malfaiteurs.

Nous remercions celui qui nous a écrit cette lettre, j'espère que tous ce qu'il a mentionné est correct ; merci de nous prévenir mais j'espère qu'il n'y aura personne qui deviendrait fou jusqu'au point où il viendrait nous embêter en disant que nous n'aimons pas les Tutsi, les Inkotanyi, le MDR, la CDR, le MRND, que nous n'aimons pas toute chose. Rien de ça, nous choisissons la vérité à dire aux Rwandais, on a pas d'autres objectifs, ce que nous aimons et détestons se trouve dans nos coeurs.

Vous continuez à suivre la RTLM qui émet de Kigali, dans cinq minutes ce sera 11h dans nos studios mais je continue avec vous jusqu'à midi.

Nous allons transmettre vos communiqués, notre radio est rapide comme l'éclair.

- communiqué nécrologique
- communiqué d'un procès

Le congrès extraordinaire du PL a élu Kayiranga en rivalité avec Mugenzi Justin ; Kayiranga qui est président du PL, aujourd'hui, il organise une conférence de presse à l'hôtel des diplomates à 17h. Le président du PL élu par le congrès de la fois dernière aura quelque chose à dire aux journalistes. Mugenzi Justin organise aussi son congrès ; le PL aura deux présidents ; on ne sait pas ce qui va sortir du PL Hutu et du PL Tutsi, il y a ceux qui disent qu'il y aura une division au

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FPR dès qu'il sera au Rwanda, il y aura le FPR Hutu et le FPR Tutsi, et fin des fin le problème Rwandais serait clair, et d'ailleurs c'est déjà clair, ce n'est que le problème Hutu-Tutsi et comme ça ils pourront abandonner les parties politiques. Donc, ceux qui ont le temps pourront aller voir Kayiranga Charles à l'hôtel des diplomates écouter ce que le PL Tutsi va dire sur le PL Hutu et ainsi l'affrontement va commencer. Les politiciens ne s'en sortent plus, nous devons prier pour eux.

Nous autres nous sommes des journalistes, nous ne faisons que l'animation, s'ils nous provoquent, nous allons nous moquer d'eux. S'ils nous laissent tranquilles nous allons les laisser. Ce matin, quelqu'un m'a dit que cette nuit je n'ai fait que parler du mal sur madame Uwiringiyimana Agathe. Ce n'est pas moi, c'est elle qui a sorti un article dans un journal, j'ai eu le temps de le dire comme je veux. Je ne dis pas comme je veux, mais c'est la réalité. Elle demande de la secourir parce qu'elle est menacée de mort ; moi aussi je dis que c'est une crise à tous nos premiers ministres proches de la fin de leurs mandats, ils prennent fuite et raconte qu'ils allaient être tué et afin eux reviennent quand ils n'ont plus honte. Dismas Nsengiyaremye est parti en disant que l'on veut le tuer, quand il est revenu n'a-t-il pas retrouvé les mêmes personnes, où est-ce qu'ils avaient mis leurs armes ? Il n'est pas mort jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Elle dit qu'on veut la tuer, de toute façon ce sont des personnes qu'elle soupçonne, c'est peut être ceux qui veulent la tuer politiquement, parce qu'il ya deux façon de tuer, ce sont ceux du même parti qui veulent l'écartier dans la politique. Ceux qui veulent la tuer viendront d'où ? Qu'ils cessent de tromper la communauté internationale parce qu'ils sont bien vues. Nous journalistes, nous disons à la population que ce n'est pas parce que un tel est politicien que tout ce qu'il dit soit accepté comme l'Evangile. Il ne faut pas avoir peur parce qu'une personne monte au sommet pour dire qu'il est menacé de mort. Il faut qu'elle dise les gens qui veulent la tuer et ne pas soupçonner, il ne faut pas dire que c'est peut être le Président Habyarimana parce qu'il ne vient pas à la réunion du gouvernement, s'il n'est pas venu, qu'elle préside la réunion pour prouver que c'est la dame de fer. Et s'il tombe malade elle ne les présidera pas ? Trois à quatre réunions viennent de rater, ceci montre que ce gouvernement n'as pas de force ; si une personne est fatiguée, il ne faut pas qu'elle accuse d'autres.

Vous continuer à écouter la RTL, il présentement 11h 24 dans nos studios, écoutons de la musique pour ne plus avoir des soucis au coeur.

Il est presque 11h40 dans nos studios. La RTL risque de faire des fous les personnes qui ont les têtes fragiles. Il y en a qui aiment téléphoner pour dire tout ce qui veulent parce qu'on dit un tel ou tel mot, c'est leur droit de critiquer. Il y a un motard qui viens de me téléphoner pour me dire que je les discrédité parce qu'il y en a qui violent les femmes, est-ce qu'il pense qu'il n'y a personne qui peut être au courant, je n'ai pas parlé de tous les motards, mais j'ai dit qu'il y a des motards qui violent, ils sont connus, même maintenant je peux vous les montrer ; dire que se sont les journalistes qui violent, tout cela c'est se lancer des mots. Il y a certains motards qui mettent les gens sur des motos pour les amènent aux bandits expressément parce qu'ils les prennent des cabarets déjà soûl (soûlard). Il y a ceux qui amènent les putains qui rentre tard des cabarets pour les violer au tapis rouge (terrain de footbal à Nyamirambo) ; tout cela, se sont de mauvaises habitudes. C'est comme les professeurs qui se battent avec les étudiants ; je sais que même à l'école primaire il ya des enfants impossibles et incorrigibles, mais si le professeur commence à se battre avec eux, ils peuvent le blesser, imagine-toi si un étudiant donne un coup de tête à un

professeur et lui arrache les dents, on ne se moque pas de l'étudiant mais du professeur. L'enseignant Niyitegeka Victor, les Zaïrois Paruku et Kazindu enseignant à l'ETM, je pense qu'ils doivent faire attention, ils peuvent retrancher les points aux élèves mais ne pas se battre avec eux ; Niyitegeka Victor, est-ce-que je mens ? Il ne faut pas te battre avec les élèves de l'ETM (Ecole Technique Muhazi), il faut plutôt leurs retrancher les points de conduite. Les enfants de l'école secondaire sont majeurs, battre un enfant parce que tu le vois avec un petit rien d'un parti politique ou une photo de NDADAYE, avec ta colère et tes pensées, tu le gifle parce que tu es son supérieur ; tout cela peut causer des malentendus parce que un enfant de l'école secondaire a ses idées et ses droits.

Eric de l'Utexirwa me demande pourquoi je ne leur parle pas du sport, tu ne nous dis même pas que Rayon sport va jouer avec Etincelle ce dimanche ; ceux qui veulent faire le pronostic des buts qui seront marqués peuvent nous téléphoner ici ; merci Eric et tout le personnel de l'Utexirwa, je vous salue tous et je sais que vous êtes amis de la RTLTM.

(Il continu a faire des commentaires sur le foot ball qui va opposer le Rayon sport contre (équipe de Nyanza-Butare) et l'étincelle (l'équipe de Gisenyi)

**Kantano continue :**

Il ne faut pas amener le régionalisme ou parti politique dans les jeux. Voir quelqu'un dire que l'équipe Rayon sport est du FPR ou du MDR, ou l'équipe étincelle est du MRND ou de la CDR. Je me rappelle au moment où le multipartisme était encore fort, les Inkotanyi leurs avaient chauffer les têtes, il y a eu un match de l'étincelle, les gens applaudissent en disant "CDR" ; celui qui donnait un coup de balle le rater parce que l'on dit CDR, c'est une honte. Un jeux c'est un jeux sans voir la région. Nous avons connu Bakarisi et Pélé, ils nous ont fait plaisir. Le multipartisme n'a pas de rapport avec le jeux. Les partisans du MDR l'ont constaté, tu es content pendant 90 minutes en regardant un match, mais dans un parti, tu ne peux pas être content pendant 90 minutes. La politique n'est pas un jeux et le jeux n'est pas la politique, il faut savoir les différencier, ça ne veut pas dire que si l'équipe est de telle région parce qu'il vient de là. Il y en a qui m'ont dit que Kiyovu est une équipe des Interahamwe, que c'est MRND parce que son président est RENZAHU Tharcisse, non, ce n'est pas correcte, les joueurs sont indépendants, ils ont droit d'adhérer un ou l'autre parti, tu ne peux pas prendre le FPR plus le PL pour dire que tu as le MDR, non, c'est impossible.

Vous continuez à suivre la RTLTM, il est midi moins 12 minutes. Que les restaurants nous amènent leur publicité. Il y a ceux qui nous disent de publier leur restaurant, et quand les gens y vont, ils sont déçus par la préparation, ils reviennent nous dire que le restaurant que nous avons publié est décevant, il n'y avait personne pour nous servir la cuillère, la sauce, nous avons terminé les bananes avant que l'on amènent les haricots. Si les gens lancent des publicités, il faut qu'ils s'apprentent à tout. Si une personne t'appelle pour te servir dans cinq minutes, il faut qu'il le respecte pour que le client rentre directement.

Parmi les restaurants qui sont venus publier, il y n'a un nommé Normal qui est tout près de l'électrogaz là où dans quelques instants on a découvert trois grenades, mais ils y sont plus. Au restaurant Normal espérons qu'ils sont prêts à accueillir les clients qui viendront y manger dans quelques instants.

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Le restaurant pizza près de l'isangano, j'espère qu'il ya du pizza et la bière de banane.

*Communiqués:*

*Il appelle à tous les journalistes de venir suivre une conférence de presse du Parti Libéral.*

Fin de la face A

FACE B

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Nous fermons dans quelques minutes pour vous rejoindre à 18h.  
Je termine en vous rappelant le communiqué du parti libéral : Le comité exécutif du Parti Libéral donne une conférence de presse aujourd'hui le 9 à 17 h 30 à l'hôtel des diplomates, signé Kameya André, secrétaire général du PL. Ils vont nous expliquer la division dans leur partie ; vous aviez entendu que même Mugenzi veut faire un autre congrès ; il y a maintenant le PL Hutu et le PL Tutsi, qui gagnera ? Est-ce le PL Hutu ou le PL Tutsi ? Ils vont se battre jusqu'à quand ? Est-ce que les Députés viendront de quel PL ? Venez leurs poser beaucoup de questions ; c'est un comité élu par le congrès national du 13 et 14-11-93. Ce jour là, ils ont élu Kameya comme secrétaire général, Kayiranga comme président à la place de Mugenzi, mais Mugenzi n'a pas changé d'avis.  
Bonne journée, vous étiez avec Habimana Kantano et notre technicien Kamanzi.

**GAHIGI Gaspard :**

Vous êtes à l'écoute de la RTLM, votre radio, radio libre. Vous aviez écouté que de la musique depuis ce matin mais maintenant nous sommes entrain de vous chercher nouvelles ; nous venons d'apprendre qu'aujourd'hui il y aura les négociations entre le gouvernement Rwandais et le FPR ; nous y avons envoyé nos journalistes Kantano et Philippe Mbirizi ; nous vous tiendrons au courant de l'évolution.

**HITIMANA Noël :**

Je viens d'avoir des discussions d'une heure avec un Inkotanyi qui a déserté, je voudrais que vous suiviez le problème des Inkotanyi, surtout la jeunesse qui va chez les Inkotanyi, je voudrai que vous suiviez ce qui vous attend.

Maintenant je suis avec un Inkotanyi Niyibizi Emmanuel, un jeune noirâtre petit de taille qui porte un tenu des Inkotanyi, qui porte des bottes ; c'est un jeune de 27 ans originaire de la commune Mugusa à Butare. Niyibizi Emmanuel est Hutu.


*(Emmanuel dévoile les secrets des Inkotanyi, il parle aussi de comment les Inkotanyi tuent et la raison pour laquelle il les a fuit, il parle aussi du chemin qu'il a poursuivi jusque dans les positions des forces armées Rwandaise)*

**Fin de la cassette.**

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Certified that I have screened the Tape RTLM n° 10 C.9/K95 of 9-10/12/1993 and I made the Transcription of the said tape to the best of my ability.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J. V.', written over a horizontal line.

Date : 09-09-96