

K0364107

**IDENTIFICATION** : May/946 of 1 May 1994

**DURATION** : 60 min

**QUALITY** : Good

**BROADCAST** : Radio Rwanda

**Names of Transcribers** : Jean Maguru Chinyema (French)  
Drocella Icyitegetse (Kinyarwanda)

**Date of transcript** : 12 April 2002

**File name** : 946

**Dictaphone** : SANYO BO- 760/16  
SANYO BO- 760/34  
Serial No. P 9407754 F

**SIDE A****Jean Kambanda, Prime Minister:**

- To govern and lead the country in a firm and convenient manner, particularly to give priority to restoring and maintaining security for all Rwandans and for their property.
- To pursue negotiations with the RPF,

The broad-based transitional institutions should be put in place in not more than six months, as recommended to the State of Rwanda by the United Nations Security Council.

- Third mission: to resolve the problem of famine threatening a good number of members of the population, in particular war-displaced persons.

On the basis of the messages His Excellency the President of the Republic addressed to the people of Rwanda, particularly on 10, 13, 14 and 17 April 1994; on the basis of the messages I personally addressed to the people of Rwanda recently; on the basis of the recommendations by the Council of Ministers, which has never stopped reviewing the security problem and addressing pacification messages to the people of Rwanda, particularly at the close of the joint meeting between the ministers and *préfets* on 11 April 1994, and the Council of Ministers of 27 April 1994; in the name of the government of Rwanda, it is an honour for me to announce the directives to be followed by all bodies charged with the security of the entire Rwandan people, with a view to the immediate return of the security and calm that have been disturbed in various regions of the country.

**First:**

As is already being done in most *préfectures*, you are requested to urgently convene prefectoral security council meetings in the *préfectures* headed by you;

This message is meant for *préfets*; but it should be noted with satisfaction that these meetings have been held in accordance with these directives. In any case, it is better for these meetings to continue, because all the problems linked to security cannot be resolved during one single meeting. That is why they should be held regularly so that the population should be sensitized to the need to strive for security.

In these meetings, the necessary measures should be taken and immediately implemented depending on the security problems that arise in each *préfecture*. Each prefectoral security council meeting should make provision for a follow-up programme with a view to cross-checking the implementation of the measures and hence to assess the progressive restoration of security.

**Second:**

Considering that reinforcement of security is incumbent on each and everyone, you are requested at all levels dealing with the security issue to call on all bodies and authorities empowered to assist you, leaders of political parties, heads of judicial services and army chiefs. It is therefore fortunate to mention here that all the authorities who can lend a helping hand to the central administration and the *préfectures* in the drive to maintain security have been invited to this meeting.

**Third:**

The enemy who attacked the country is well known: it is the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. Consequently, you should explain to the population to avoid whatever can cause trouble on the basis of ethnic group, region, religion, politics, hatred, etc., considering that such trouble is a stepping stone for the enemy. We should emphasize this for all to understand: people should not confuse the enemy with their neighbours, the enemy with a Tutsi, and the enemy with someone with whom they have a dispute. The enemy who attacked our country is well known: it is the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. That is our enemy. It is this enemy we are facing; it is the enemy we are fighting. We have already explained this: the RPF has infiltrated its *brigades* everywhere in the country, but the *Forces armées rwandaises* have also done their best to dismantle them. We should therefore not confuse the *RPF-Inkotanyi* with our neighbour; we should not confuse the *RPF-Inkotanyi* with a person from this or that ethnic group. The RPF, its marksmen and its fighters: it is the last named that we are fighting.

Meanwhile, the population should remain vigilant in order to spot the enemy and his equipment; if someone is captured, he should be taken before the authorities; if members of the population are unable to do this, they should call for the *Forces armées rwandaises*.

It should therefore not be imagined that the RPF is based in Kigali town alone, in Byumba, Ruhengeri or in other regions where fighting is taking place. The RPF has installed its *brigades* everywhere in the country; and that is what caused the troubles we are experiencing, as the *Préfet* already mentioned in these words: "we have noticed that in the communes, some people had arms." Therefore, if the evidence shows that these are RPF fighters, you should be vigilant and put them in the hands of the authorities; if that is not possible, you should signal the armed forces; but be careful not to rise against one another, because not every neighbour is necessarily an RPF fighter.

Communal authorities, *secteur* authorities and *cellule* authorities aided by the *Forces armées rwandaises* should, as much as possible, determine the exact spots where known and recognized roadblocks should be set up, and plan night patrols so that the enemy should not find an opening. Members of the population manning roadblocks or out on patrol should refrain from attacking innocent people. I will not dwell too much on this; I think the *préfet* spoke at length about it.

**Fourth:**

Acts of violence, looting and other acts of violence should cease immediately. That is why the Rwandan army, prosecutors' offices and other judicial bodies should severely punish those who will be found guilty of such acts. You should, if necessary, call on the *Forces armées rwandaises* and on judicial bodies to put an end to the troubles and acts of banditry and looting; you should also sensitize the population to the good policy of mutual assistance and self-defence. I would like to use the same opportunity to say that you should remember once and for all that in no case will the government of Rwanda support criminals, whether they be criminals who kill innocent victims, or those who are fishing in troubled waters and are indulging in acts of looting the property of their fellow-citizens or any other criminal acts. We firmly ask the institutions charged with security to follow this issue of criminals closely because these acts also constitute a weapon that the enemy can use to make the war drag on.

**Fifth:**

You are requested to sensitize members of the population to refrain from listening to directives, I mean rumours, emanating from persons who want to sow division among them; you should instead sensitize them to give unflinching support to their government and to cooperate with the *Forces armées rwandaises* who are at the front, fighting to defend the integrity of the territory and a return of security to Rwanda.

By this we mean those persons who listen to broadcasts from various foreign radios spreading rumours, in particular *Radio Muhabura* broadcasts, instead of following the directives given by the authorities of our country. I should like to insist and to request you not to pay attention to the rumours whose sole objective is to discourage you; they will tell you something like: "the country is already taken by the enemy; the government is in flight; the entire capital is under our control." Instead ask yourselves the following questions: "How is it that our radio has continued to broadcast if the *Inkotanyi* had really taken the capital? How have people continued to go there and markets have resumed business?" What we have here is a media war; our elders know it better than us. In every war, even rumours play a part; this is a weapon like every other that the enemy uses. You must therefore take care not to listen to rumours; instead, follow the instructions given by your authorities; know too that the enemy uses this weapon both within the country and abroad with a view to discouraging members of the population, the army and even the government.

**Sixth:**

All vehicles, whether government or private vehicles travelling from one commune to another should have a *laissez-passer* (a pass) issued by the *bourgmestre* of the place they are coming from.

The *préfet* has just said a short while ago that it is not necessary for people travelling in areas where they are known to hold a *laissez-passer*. However, account should be taken of *Inkotanyi* tactics, the more so as nobody can be known in all of his/her *préfecture*. I fail to see how a person from Nshili can travel to Muko, even as the two communes are in the same *préfecture*, and will be known by the entire population of the two communes, his native commune and his commune of destination; those who are travelling should therefore hold a *laissez-passer* even if it

was valid for one month. This *laissez-passer* is better than nothing because the *Inkotanyi* have all the tricks, those are known and are not a secret for anybody. You should not be naïve and cancel travel documents so quickly; you should instead refer the matter to us before it becomes too late.

We therefore think that each *préfecture* should determine in which manner the travel documents will be used; perhaps it should ease the procedure for their issuance and limit the duration of their validity. The existence of these documents is necessary because we know very well that the enemy disguises and mixes with members of the population. These documents are there necessary for vehicles in particular. We wish that any vehicle which travels from one commune to another should carry a document making it possible to know the occupants of the vehicle. This would permit us to know the people who are travelling in all those vehicles and to know their itinerary.

Government vehicles and private vehicles travelling from one *préfecture* to another should carry a *laissez-passer* issued by the *préfet* of the *préfecture* from which they are coming. Government vehicles used for missions should carry a *mission warrant* signed either by the minister or by the *directeur de cabinet* or the *directeur général*. Army vehicles should carry a *travel warrant* issued by the army commander. The names of all the passengers should appear on these documents. We like people to understand very well that the *Inkotanyi* often use vehicles. Sometimes the *Inkotanyi* travel on board project vehicles or on board government vehicles. These have even been stolen, as you have heard, and the *Forces armées rwandaise* are actively looking for them. That is why vehicles should carry *travel warrants* so that a distinction can be made between vehicles sent on official mission and those used by the enemy and those that may have been stolen recently by criminals.

#### **Seventh:**

We should facilitate the job of humanitarian organisations which are helping victims. Vehicles used for such activities should carry a *travel warrant* issued by the officials of those organisations. The names of the passengers on board or the nature of the load should be mentioned on this document. We want to make people understand that the country is actually in a crisis; that we are in need of first-aid workers and charity organisations. You are requested to facilitate the movement of vehicles belonging to the *Red Cross* or other organisations like *Caritas* or others who are coming to the assistance of the starving and the sick. In fact, it has been noted that there are people who attack the said vehicles and seem to forget that there are people who do their utmost to help others.

We are not saying that these vehicles should not be checked, but the idea is to verify that the vehicle concerned is carrying documents mentioning the identity of the passengers or the nature of the load. Please let these vehicles continue their way if you see that all the documents are in order. You will thus be making it possible for these organisations to accomplish their mission which consists in bringing help to victims.

**Eighth:**

You should, as and when the security of persons and of property returns to normal in your communes and *préfectures*, urgently consider the conditions for workers to resume service, ensure that markets are reopened as usual and organize the resumption of activities in factories. Farmers and stockbreeders should apply themselves to their daily activities in order to fight against the famine that is threatening us. Here I would like once more to thank the *préfecture* of Gikongoro which took the lead in asking workers of all categories to return to work and in authorizing the reopening of markets and resumption of activities in all the other *secteurs* as from Monday 2 May. We are happy that you have already taken this decision, but we insist that these activities should be carried out effectively. The fact that professional activities are continually paralyzed serves as a pretext for the enemy who is accusing us in the eyes of the world of being a country with a power vacuum, where there is no authority and there are no activities. By resuming our activities at the level of political parties, of the *préfecture*, the commune and the markets, we have proved that our country still has a government; that citizens are bent on putting everything back in motion, and it will be the place of the enemy who is attacking us to explain why he is doing it.

**Ninth:**

You are requested to draw up a schedule of meetings with the population for each commune so that, together, you can examine the adequate ways and means of restoring and maintaining security.

**Tenth:**

I insist that these directives be applied without delay. Prefectoral security committees should make use of them to adopt measures and take actions that will be conducive to the restoration of peace and security in Rwanda. These directives will serve as a basis; but it is quite legitimate for *préfectures* or communes to supplement them if they believe that this would help to maintain security better.

I take this opportunity once to pay homage to the *Forces armées rwandaises* for the courage and devotedness which they have always shown, and I ask them to continue to work with enthusiasm to defend the integrity of the national territory and to ensure the security of all the inhabitants of Rwanda.

I would not be happy to end without thanking you for the very significant role you are playing and the probity you have shown ceaselessly to ensure the security of persons and property in collaboration with the *Forces armées rwandaises* and the judicial authorities.

That therefore was the first message concerning directives on the restoration of security. As I have already said, I will give you the second message just in the way we addressed it to the *RPF-Inkotanyi* yesterday. Since the present government was put in place on 9 April, it committed itself in particular to do its best to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement.

What is clear from the address by the President of the Republic and from the address by the Prime Minister or ministers is that all these speakers asked the *RPF-Inkotanyi* to end hostilities

and adopt the path of negotiations. Some people still wonder if the *RPF-Inkotanyi* really wants to end hostilities. Of late it declared in a superficial manner that it was ending hostilities, but, as you have followed on the radio, these statements were not followed by concrete acts on its part. The *RPF-Inkotanyi* has not ended hostilities because on the very day that it declared it had done so, it shelled Kigali town the whole night long and its shells targeted mainly civilian infrastructure like Kigali hospital or the Grégoire Kayibanda Airport. In a communiqué made public yesterday, the Rwandan government addressed certain points which, according to it, would contribute to a return to peace and an end to hostilities.

We are convinced that it is not only by way of arms that this war will be brought to an end. We think that the political problem facing the country and which people continue to avoid under the pretext that this conflict is about power-sharing among the political parties, is in reality a problem of power-sharing among the ethnic groups. For us, this problem cannot be solved by way of arms. This war is of no benefit to anybody and is only causing enormous havoc. We thus foresee an end to hostilities so that there should once more be negotiations that would lead to a definite end to hostilities and power-sharing among the ethnic groups in Rwanda. And this should be done in total transparency.

We think that before ending hostilities, we should first agree on some preliminary issues. The *RPF-Inkotanyi* says it wants to negotiate with the *Forces armées rwandaises* because it says it does not recognize the government. We have said time and again that the Arusha Peace Agreement does not make provision anywhere for negotiations between the *RPF-Inkotanyi* and the *Forces armées rwandaises*. It is said that there are two camps taking part in the negotiations, namely the government camp and the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. The government of Rwanda represents the *Forces armées rwandaises* and the population. Therefore if the *RPF-Inkotanyi* says that it does not recognize the present government, it should say which one it recognizes and the representative thereof. You know that nearly all Rwandans and nearly all the political parties of the country support this government. When the RPF says it does not recognize it, this is perfectly understandable. It (the RPF) should not recognize it because it has to negotiate with the government. It will only recognize it when the ground for an agreement has been found. It is therefore not surprising that at this stage where negotiations have not yet been clinched, the RPF says it does not recognize it. Those who know the history of the country will recall that a similar government was put in place in Gitarama in 1961. The *Inyenzi* at that time also declared that they did not recognize it and asked for a referendum to be organized, and this was done. The RPF ought to put an end to this debate by asking the UNO to organize a referendum on the legitimacy of our government. It would be a mistake for the *RPF-Inkotanyi* to think that by not recognizing this government, that takes away its legitimacy.

We therefore affirm that the RPF ought to be reasonable and understand that the present government is the only party with whom it should negotiate and sign an end to hostilities. It is incumbent on the government to appoint its representatives to the negotiations. The delegation could be made up of members of the armed forces or of other persons chosen by the government. But the RPF should not dictate the persons who should represent us at the negotiations. We have informed it on several occasions that it is no longer possible for it to choose partners from within the population and political parties of Rwanda; that that time is past; that, in actual fact, things

have changed, and it should understand that the people have put in place a government of its choice, in disregard of RPF demands.

Furthermore, it should be clear in peoples' minds that the President of the Republic, His Excellency Major General Juvénal Habyarimana did not die in an accident. We know very well that it was not accident which cost him his life; that it was instead through a plot and that his plane was shot down. We do not yet know who shot the aircraft, but we think that the persons who were responsible for protecting the airport should give an explanation to the international community and to the Rwandan people about the motives of those criminals. You know very well that UN forces were deployed in Rwanda to ensure not only the security of Kigali town but also that of the airport. The protection of the airport fell to the Belgians. The Belgians should therefore explain to the international community and to the people of Rwanda how they failed in their mission to the extent that the plane was shot down. This was a first in the history of our country. We therefore think that the Belgians should describe the circumstances of this crime to us instead of continuing to distract us by saying it was an accident, whereas it is obvious that criminals brought down the aircraft and killed our Head of State and the Burundi Head of State.

We believe that in order to arrive at an end to the hostilities, the RPF should fall back to the positions it occupied before the breach of the ceasefire. You know that the RPF controlled an area and that there was also a demilitarized zone. We therefore ask the RPF to re-position its elements in the part it controlled in the month of December, before the deployment of its combatants in Kigali. This is a pre-condition to the ceasefire and the opening of negotiations.

You know, moreover, that of recent the RPF killed members of the population in the zone under its control. Listeners to foreign radio stations are not informed about these killings, considering that these stations do not say enough about the killings. From information reaching us, at least 30,000 persons were killed by the RPF in Ruhengeri in Nkumba, Cyeru, Nyamugari and Butaro communes, as well as in the *préfectures* of Byumba, Kibungo and Kigali. The RPF kills everything in its way. We are therefore asking it to end these killings so that hostilities can come to an end. We have much evidence to show that the RPF kills innocent members of the population.

We ask that the 600 fighters that the RPF deployed in Kigali should be sent back to the zone under its control because we think that they are not doing anything in Kigali. They were sent to ensure the protection of senior officials of the *Inkotanyi* who had to be incorporated in the administration of the country. Since this is no the moment to put in place the institutions of government, the RPF should take back its forces and send them to its positions outside Kigali town. This is another measure we have asked to be implemented before ending hostilities. We request that the war-displaced persons whom the *RPF-Inkotanyi* has removed from their properties in Byumba, Ruhengeri, Kibungo and even in Kigali should return to their homes. Hostilities will end as soon as these war-displaced persons have recovered their possessions. We therefore do not endorse the RPF idea that it should maintain its present positions and apply the ceasefire without moving from those positions. We cannot accept that. It should go back to its former positions. It breached the Accords and we should resume debates on power-sharing. But it should first of all go back to its former positions.



We also think that it is necessary to increase the number of UNAMIR blue helmets, who, as you have heard, number only 270. This reinforcement will help in the effective monitoring of the application of the ceasefire, help in knowing which party breaks the ceasefire and permit a verification that the RPF has stopped carrying out killings. We therefore think the number of blue helmets should be revised upwards, but the countries which have manifested their support for the RPF should no longer send their forces to this corps. Only those countries whose neutrality is known should be retained.

We also accept that the international community should send investigators to look for all those who have committed crimes, in particular those among RPF members who helped fighters to kill innocent citizens. The RPF is fooling the international community by telling it (*sic*) that the government of Rwanda is a government of killers as it (RPF) says. We instead assert that we are a government of the *Abatabazi* and ask, in order to do this, that the international community should send observers across the entire country to identify the perpetrators of the killings. Troubles have occurred; that is a fact; but we assert and confirm that in actual fact, the government has put an end to the killings in the entire territory under its control. The RPF for its part was unable to do the same. That is why we support the idea of the international community sending observers to identify the killers, record the killings carried out by the RPF and write an *ad hoc* report.

These are briefly the points we raised in the message we addressed to the RPF yesterday asking it to end hostilities. We asked the RPF to pay particular attention to these points. We are therefore waiting for their response telling us whether they have accepted or rejected the points in question, then we can meet to engage in discussions based on the message that we sent to them.

#### **Edouard Karemera (?)**

... you have just listened to the Prime Minister's address in which he gave you a message from the government. You have understood that this is a message dealing with the restoration of security in the country. He has even delivered to you the message that the Rwandan government addressed to the *Inkotanyi* for the continuation of negotiations. You understand that if we achieve this, security could be restored in our country.

Our government was put in place on the basis of an agreement made between political parties. I ask you therefore, before I give the floor to the representatives of political parties at the national level, to applaud once more for the Prime Minister to thank him for his address. (*Applause*)

#### **Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka:**

Dear listeners, you have listened to our broadcast and now you know that our country is in the hands of true patriots led by the Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. You have understood what the government is doing to put an end to the war and the troubles, and thus permit the country to embark on the path to true democracy, which, by the way, is the very basis of the respect for human rights. I will not dwell very much on this; but I would like to request the population to implement the programme of the Interim Government and to ensure security for everyone

K0364116

without discrimination. This is one wish that the government shares with the representatives of political parties. We will not come back on that. Stay tuned to Radio Rwanda.

**END OF SIDE A**

**SIDE B**

(Signature tune of the news in Kinyarwanda)

**Unidentified Radio Rwanda Journalist:**

...In the headlines:

- The *Inkotanyi* continue to kill the innocent population with cruelty. Today they attacked members of the population who had sought refuge in the *Sainte Famille* Church. They fired "*katiyusha*" type shells at these people killing 13 and wounding 113 among the displaced persons.

(Musical interlude)

The *Inkotanyi* have continued their killings against innocent people. Today in the afternoon, they took it out on Rwandans who had sought refuge in the *Sainte Famille* Church. They fired *katiyusha* type shells at the church killing 13 and grievously wounding 113 others. The *Inkotanyi* fired six shells non-stop at the faithful who were coming out of the church at the end of Mass to receive humanitarian aid. One of the houses used for lodging these displaced persons was also destroyed by the shells. The refugees are complaining about the behaviour of UNAMIR [United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda]. They were in fact convinced that UNAMIR was aware of the attack because, at the time of the attack, no UNAMIR soldier was on the spot, whereas they had been there yesterday and day before yesterday.

In the meantime, when we went to the scene of the catastrophe, at the time when we were about to leave, UNAMIR forces arrived. When asked about these events, the UNAMIR soldiers said that their presence cannot stop the enemy, the RPF, from committing acts of cruelty which are distinctive to their nature.

The priest who is taking care of the displaced persons at *Sainte Famille* and some of the displaced persons gave us a few testimonies.

**Journalist:**

Can you first introduce yourself to our listeners and then tell them in a few words about the catastrophe that has just occurred in this place.

**Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, *Sainte Famille* Parish:**

I am Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka; I am in *Sainte Famille* Parish. I am in charge of welcoming people who are fleeing ethnic troubles or attacks by the *Inkotanyi*... I am the one welcoming them; in fact, I am the one taking care of them. (*A child cries*)

I am surprised about these events, considering that I did not think someone could launch bombs at the civilian population of displaced persons in distress! I am really surprised...

**Journalist:**

Could you give us some clues to determine the origin of these shells or could you propose some action we can urgently take on both sides, namely the Rwandan government and the RPF in order to bring the atrocities to an end?

**Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka:**

That's it. I am not able to name the person who fired these shells. But for me and these people on whom the bombs fell, the shells apparently came from the direction of the Méridien Hotel, between the Méridien Hotel and the Egyptian Embassy. We saw sparks over there and, after a few moments, bombs exploded here. Yes, I could say that the bombs apparently came from that direction.

What I would ask the *Forces armées rwandaises* and the RPF fighters is to understand that they are not fighting with the civilian population. Let the fighting go on between soldiers in the two camps; but let the civilian population be spared! You have seen this wounded child, for example! He knows nothing. He does not know his father; he does not know the President of the Republic or the *Inkotanyi*; but it is actually he who has paid the price!

As we were taught a long time ago, I think that civil infrastructure should be respected, in particular places where persons in distress are lodged. They should instead have assisted us and sent food for feeding these people. They should buy food instead of buying arms to kill us while claiming to be serving us. You cannot claim to be serving people and at the same time fire bombs at them!

**Journalist:**

That is understandable. But when the situation is serious, there can be emergency proposals, which we can qualify as the "*watchword*". So what can you, personally, propose to the Rwandan government so as to put an end to such acts?

**Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka:**

Listen! We priests do not do politics. I am unable to give you the progress or even the object of the conflict. That I would not know! I am only interested in the lives of people created in the image of God because I am a priest in the first place. But, as a Rwandan, I must say that the war should first be stopped *unconditionally*. War has never solved any conflict whatsoever. We have had experience of wars everywhere; we know the damage they have caused. After the fighting stops, negotiations (*sic*) are started to address issues of common interest. Whatever the case, they [the government and the RPF] will one day negotiate, whether they like it or not. Negotiations should be made in time instead of waiting for people to be decimated whereas they are claiming to save these people.

**Journalist:**

By your estimates, you who are taking care of these displaced persons, how many people sought refuge here? Where did they come from? Are they Hutu or Tutsi?

**Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka:**

I cannot give you figures because they change regularly. Yesterday towards 12.00 hours, we counted some 6,000 persons and more... Some were coming and others were leaving. Since yesterday evening, they came from Bicumbi and Ndera, such that the number is nearly eight to

nine thousand. It was precisely at the time that we were getting ready to welcome these new arrivals that the shells fell on us.

Concerning those who seek refuge here, we do not ask them ... if they are of the Tutsi or Hutu ethnic group. We welcome everyone who comes here, and all displaced persons cohabit here peacefully. I think this is one of the things we should be happy about. Hutus and Tutsis cohabit peacefully; they lend each other pots... You have seen the wounded! The Tutsi who arrived here as they were fleeing the troubles are helping their wounded neighbours. They are thus sharing these living conditions and cohabiting peacefully. I am particularly surprised by what I am learning from them! There is no problem of an ethnic nature here. To the contrary, people cooperate fully because they have the same problems, they are all suffering. Moreover, it is that fact (that there are no problems of that nature) which encourages me not to leave the place. Otherwise I could flee like the others. I am encouraged by the fact that people are cooperating, showing that they have assimilated the Gospel and that they are filled with Christian life. Truly this encourages me in spite of all the challenges I am facing.

**Journalist:**

You, what is your name? Why are you here?

**Laurent Habarurema, a war-displaced person:**

My name is Laurent Habarurema; I am a refugee; I come from Kacyiru, the first neighbourhood that was attacked by the *Inkotanyi*.

**Journalist:**

Did you follow the events which took place here? Were you there? Were you inside or outside the house? What happened?

**Laurent Habarurema:**

I was there! I was on that side of the church. I heard about three explosions of bombs and right away, we saw many people go up ... the wounded; there were also some deaths.

**Journalist:**

You personally, what do you ask of the Rwandan government, or rather, what is your reaction to the cruelty shown by the *RPF-Inkotanyi*?

**Laurent Habarurema:**

You have also noticed that many persons are victims of these criminal acts by the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. The *Inkotanyi* believe that they are doing good; but it is the contrary. They do not know those persons who have just perished over there. They do not know their number, and .... In fact, I think that the *Inkotanyi* do not want us to have peace.

**Journalist:**

How do the Hutu and Tutsi gathered here cohabit? Do you think the RPF fired those shells thinking it was only Hutus who were here?

**Laurent Habarurema:**

I do not think that when the RPF fired those shells it wanted to kill Hutus or Tutsis. No. About cohabitation between Hutus and Tutsis, here ... no problem arises. We are cohabiting peacefully as usual.

**Journalist:**

What is your name? What can you tell our listeners about these acts of cruelty?

**Apollinaire Kamurase:**

My name is Apollinaire Kamurase. I came for treatment in Kigali hospital; I came from the camps [of war-displaced persons] of Murambi and Muhura, in Bugarura. I would like to inform all the members of my family wherever they may be, if they are still in the Bugarura camp or they are elsewhere, that we are still alive and that we are here in the *Sainte Famille* Church in Kigali. They should stay hopeful and inform us about the place where they are at this moment.

**Journalist:**

What did you escape from? Did the *Inkotanyi* attack you over there?

**Apollinaire Kamurase:**

No. We came to have treatment. But we have been displaced by the war for 3 years 6 months. We hail from Kiyombe commune.

**Journalist:**

What is your reaction to these acts?

**Apollinaire Kamurase:**

Which acts? We believe ...

**Journalist:**

These shells that are falling on you and that have wounded many people.

**Apollinaire Kamurase:**

Whether it is the *Inkotanyi*, or those supporting them to continue to spill the blood of Rwandans and of other people, because it is not only Rwandans, because strangers even perish in these wars, we wish that they come back to reason and understand that Rwandans have suffered much. If there are countries which still supply them arms, may God remind them that the time will come to pay the price for the blood spilled. We wish the war to end so that victims who have been mutilated should be treated.

**Journalist:**

I can see that you are suffering much; you are wounded; I can see it. But I would like you to try to speak ... Tell me your name and describe your suffering following the wounds from those shells.

**Jean-Baptiste Musengimana:**

Hm! My name is Jean-Baptiste Musengimana; I come from Gisozi, Kacyiru commune. Shells fell on us today at about 12.30 hours. We do not know where the shells came from. I would like hostilities to end; that the warring parties should go back to the negotiation table so that we should not continue to suffer unnecessarily.

**Journalist:**

Where are you exactly?

**Jean-Baptiste Musengimana:**

It is at the level of the thigh ... I think that all the bones have almost been crushed. I can't bend or extend my leg any more. I have nothing more to say!

**Journalist:**

Are you Hutu or Tutsi?

**Another displaced person:**

I am of the Hutu ethnic group.

**Journalist:**

Hm!

**Displaced person:**

Hm!

**Journalist:**

What do you ask the government to do in collaboration with the international community to put an end to these criminal acts by the RPF?

**Displaced person:**

I ask it to move towards direct negotiations so that we can survive; otherwise we may all disappear; we shall all die.

*(Brief moment of silence)*

**Journalist:**

As you have just heard, the acts committed by the RPF against the Rwandan population provide food for thought. In Kibungo *préfecture* for example, more than 500,000 Rwandans fleeing from the massacres and atrocities by the RPF have sought refuge in Tanzania, according to different international organisations, including the High Commission for Refugees. Why is the Rwandan population fleeing whilst the RPF claims to be the liberator? It is fleeing from the dangerous enemy. Why did it not flee long before that? Who might this dangerous enemy be if not the RPF?

In Kigali, the population has fled the areas attacked by the RPF, particularly in part of Kacyiru, part of Remera and part of Kimihurura. Some sought refuge in the *Sainte Famille* Church.

Despite the sacred name “*Sainte Famille*” and the honour that belongs to it, the RPF fired shells at more than 8,000 persons who had sought refuge in that church. You have heard the number of the dead and wounded. They are victims of the cruelty of the dangerous enemy, the RPF and all its supporters. In fact, everywhere the RPF passed, it left in its wake tears and lamentation; they do not know which way to turn. The time has therefore come for the RPF to come back to reason, cease hostilities, negotiate with representatives of the Rwanda government and accept peaceful cohabitation.

The *Inkotanyi* are too cruel to spare even new-born babies. In the combat zones, the *Forces armées rwandaises* are continuing with search operations for the *Inkotanyi*. In Ruhengeri, the *Forces armées rwandaises* are still engaged with the *RPF-Inkotanyi* combatants, particularly in Nkumba commune and in Kirambo *sous-préfecture*. It is obvious that Uganda is continuing to provide major support for the *Inkotanyi*. Testimonies from the local population in the RPF zone mention regular military reinforcements from the NRA [National Resistance Army] originating from Gisoro in Uganda. These testimonies also mention the presence of heavy weaponry manipulated by white people.

In the Rulindo combat zone, the *Forces armées rwandaises* have continued to show courage in pushing back the *Inkotanyi*. In Kibungo, the *Inkotanyi* have started preventing the population from fleeing and are subsequently massacring them. The High Commission for Refugees condemns these acts by the RPF, which is preventing people from leaving areas where they do not feel secure, characterizing these as serious violations of human rights.

*(Musical interlude)*

The MFBP (*Mouvement des femmes et du bas peuple*) party addresses hearty thanks to all Rwandans who have appropriately discharged their duties. It however deplores the behaviour of some persons who, for selfish interests, have failed in their duties and have betrayed the nation by collaborating with the enemy of democracy, namely the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*.

The MFBP party takes this opportunity to pay homage in particular to the former Head of State, His Excellency Juvénal Habyarimana as well as to former Army Chief-of-Staff Major General Déogratias Nsabimana, who showed courage and abnegation during the entire period that they were in the service of the nation, up to their last breath.

It is in the same context that the MFBP party offers praises and support for the national armed forces particularly for their saving action marked by success in the face of attacks by the *Inyenzi* since the dawn of independence in Rwanda. Considering that the enemy of democracy, the *Inyenzi*, who have given themselves the name *Inkotanyi* since the attack of 1 October 1990, pursues his objective of re-conquering power by force, although he is losing in the field, the MFBP party calls on all agents to refrain from greed, pride and distraction .... These are the types of vices that tolled the death kneel of the Faustin Twagiramungu government even before it saw the light of day.



For Rwanda to continue to have the assurance of God's protection, the MFBP party recommends that the judicial and security authorities should take effective measures to severely punish all those found guilty of acts of looting and of violence against innocent people because such persons are in no way different from the enemy. That was the press release of the MFBP party signed by Mrs. Gaudence Nyirahabimana, Chairperson of the party.

*(Signature tune of end of news in Kinyarwanda)*

*(Signature tune of radio news in French)*

Speaker: Unidentified Radio Rwanda Journalist

*The news in full following these headlines starting with the ... military plan; there is relative calm in the capital where the Forces armées rwandaise are continuing their search operations. RPF elements have continued to shell the capital; shells are even falling on innocent civilians. This was the case with thirteen persons killed and two hundred wounded by RPF shells fired close by the Sainte Famille Church.*

*In Ruhengeri, the Forces armées rwandaises are also engaged in combat with the enemy, particularly in Nkumba commune and in Kirambo sous-préfecture where the enemy is trying to make a breakthrough but in vain. According to testimonies from people fleeing the RPF-controlled zone, the RPF is in the process of massacring all Hutu intellectuals. The testimonies mention of Ugandan military reinforcements freshly coming from Gisoro as well as the presence in the RPF zone of heavy weaponry, double-barrelled guns manipulated by two whites.*

*In Rulindo, the Forces armées rwandaises are valiantly pushing back the enemy; but in Kibungo the situation is desolate. RPF combatants are causing panic within the population and massacring everything in their path, from the old persons to babies; that is why in the past few days, there has been a massive movement of the population from Kibungo in the direction of Tanzania. The population is precisely fleeing this selective genocide because it is only the members of the majority ethnic group, the Hutu, who are targeted. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, about five thousand Rwandans have sought refuge in Tanzania over the last three days. For the UNHCR, this is the first time that such a high number of refugees has been recorded in such record time. The UNHCR denounces these acts of violence by the RPF which is preventing the population from moving freely so as to kill them in cold blood. The UNHCR adds that this attitude is against respect for human rights and for the International Convention that guarantees people the freedom to seek refuge wherever their lives will be in security. The RPF, which passes off for a liberator, ought to take this hostility for what it is worth, as can be seen from this unprecedented flow of the civilian population which is intensifying as the RPF is gaining ground. If the RPF did not stand out through the systematic elimination of civilians, the exodus of the population would not have reached these alarming proportions, forcing the international community to mobilize and assist the population, which until yesterday, could still manage to meet its own needs. It should be noted that the RPF initiative to resume hostilities is clearly supported by foreign countries, particularly and specifically Uganda and Belgium. Defence Minister Augustin Bizimana in other respects yesterday condemned the attitude of these two countries in an interview granted Radio Rwanda.*

*The facts we have just mentioned concern the exodus of more than half a million Rwandan civilians to Tanzanian territory in less than three days, as well as the blind violence by the RPF which was concretized this afternoon by the firing of bombs into the midst of some eight thousand displaced persons who sought refuge in Sainte Famille Parish. This is food for thought about the behaviour of the RPF and its true motives. How indeed can one explain the mass exodus of the population that we have witnessed since the RPF resumed hostilities? The exodus is not only to Tanzania but also within the country and to Burundi and Zaïre, whereas the RPF claims to those who want to listen that it comes as a liberator. How can one also explain the mad killing this afternoon of a mass of defenceless people in the yard of the Sainte Famille Parish? This is what the population is fleeing from: the blind massacres and violence by the RPF that leave desolation in their wake. It is time for the RPF to come back to reason, accept to return to the negotiation table to negotiate peace and reconciliation of the people of Rwanda. Today is the (inaudible). The MFBP heartily thanks all Rwandans who have validly performed their duty in a disinterested manner. The MFBP party strongly condemns those associated with the enemy of Rwandan democracy, that is, the RPF-Inkotanyi, for their secret interests. The MFBP party takes this opportunity to thank in particular former President of the Republic Major General Juvénal Habyarimana and former Army Chief-of-Staff Major General Déogratias Nsabimana who showed courage and selflessness all the time they were at the service of the nation, until they were called by the Lord. In this well defined context, the MFBP party cannot but hail the saving action of the Forces armées rwandaïses who marked success in the face of attacks by the enemy, from the dawn of independence on 1 July 62. The press release signed by the Chairperson of the party, Mrs. Gaudence Nyirahabimana adds the following, quote: "Considering that the enemy of democracy continues his scheming to usurp power since the outbreak of the war on 1 October 90, the MFBP party recommends that all politicians should avoid greed, pride and overzealousness and obstinacy because these are all vices that tolled the death knell of the Faustin Twagiramungu government which did not see the light of day."*

*(Notes of religious music)*

**Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, Radio Rwanda Journalist:**

When the RPF launched the war, it said it was striving for the culture of democracy, power-sharing with the Rwandan government, peaceful cohabitation and the social wellbeing of the population. But what ensued has proved the contrary. In fact, as the situation evolved, the RPF organized a murderous campaign without people realizing it. But the RPF, and its subtle manoeuvres, was following all that was happening. This has been proven by the lists drawn up and dispersed throughout the country by the RPF, weapons distributed to its members and recruitment of agents everywhere to initiate them in Mulindi to the handling of firearms so that, later on, they could exterminate the people of Rwanda. The criminal acts it has committed everywhere in the country, mostly in Kirambo *sous-préfecture*, Kinihira and elsewhere also prove this.

Today, we are with a survivor who had a close encounter with the bullets of the *Inyenzi* and their cruelty. But before we begin the interview, I would first like to ask him to introduce himself to listeners of Radio Rwanda.

**Isaïe Kimonyo, a war-displaced person:**

Thank you Mr. Hyacinthe; my name is Isaïe Kimonyo. I was born in Rubungu and I am father of three children. I am not with my wife; I will tell you later about the circumstances in which we lost sight of each other;

Concerning my studies, I did six years in the primary school and one year in secretaryship and accounting. I have done different jobs. I was secretary/accountant at the AIDR; I worked at the AJENCO, Jean Habyarimana's consultancy [for projects]; in Antoine Gasana's enterprise, and in the *Institut des finances publiques* (ISFP) in Mburabuturo. I was also secretary at the Rubungo communal office where, at the start of the war in 1990, I fought by the side of the communal authorities. The population of Rubungu knows very well that I spared no effort. Up to this day, I was working in a charity organisation, *Catholic Relief Service*, in Kigali.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

This means, in fact, that you know the situation well since you say that in 1990 you fought!

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes! I know the situation well because it was through the unity of the people of Rwanda and common night patrols that we succeeded. Each evening when I returned from the office after work, I spent every night on patrol everywhere with the population. I used my motorcycle. Luckily, I came out safe and sound.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

And yet in 1990 the war had not reached Rubungo commune?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

No, it was simply a way of preventing any infiltration by the enemy. Rubungo did not experience the war.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Yes, Rubungo did not experience the war.... And now Rubungo is attacked at a time when all Rwandans were asking themselves the same question: how is this war? What does it look like? There is a saying which goes that [one who knows a misfortune is better placed to talk about it]. Here are the *Inkotanyi* now attacking Kigali town. Have they reached Rubungo?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes, the *Inkotanyi* have reached Rubungo. A few days ago, we came out of our houses to see shells falling on the town. Since we are situated on the hill just opposite the town, we see everything that happens in Kigali town. We live on a hill between Karama and Rubungo.

It was on the 9<sup>th</sup>, around 15.00 hours; we saw people from Gikomero moving; they seemed to be fleeing, but we did not take it seriously. At about 15.00 hours exactly, we saw a column of youths coming down the Karama hill. The women fled. We, adults [*sic*]...youths, we stayed back to see what was happening. When they were 1 km from our position, they entered my house. We immediately concluded that these were the *Inkotanyi*. Some of my companions confirmed this,

saying that they were speaking much about me on *Radio Muhabura*, because I was criticizing the *Inkotanyi* abundantly.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

What did you say about them?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

In the broadcasts of the PECO [party], what I said about them was true: their cruelty and the predictions I made about their criminal enterprise. They may have thought that I denounced their secret enterprise. That is how they started taking it out on me and soiling my image over *Radio Muhabura*.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Yes. How did they know you? How did they localize your house?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Well, I do not know. But by my own reckoning, there must have been one person among them who knew my house well. In fact, many young men from the region joined the ranks of the *Inkotanyi*. It must be one of them who showed them my house.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Are there neighbours who joined the *Inkotanyi*, who fought in the ranks of the RPF?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes. There were some from the neighbouring hill, in Karama, the hill opposite the hill on which we live and with whom we knew one another well; they joined the *Inkotanyi*.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Do you know their names?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes. Among them there was one Janvier Hategekimana.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Hm!

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

It's him whose name I recall. He had been a *gendarme*, and then he was sent away because he was undisciplined.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Yes. You were telling us that you fled with the others, abandoning your houses.

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes. We abandoned our houses and we moved to Kimironko. On the 10<sup>th</sup>, at about 15.00 hours, the *Forces armées rwandaises* attacked those enemies, the *Inyenzi*, and completely chased them away on the 11<sup>th</sup>. In the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup>, we were told to return to our houses because the *Inyenzi* had been chased away. On our way back, we were struck by the number of corpses that lined the roads. The majority of victims were old persons, but there were also young persons who, because of hunger, had returned to look for food supplies.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

And as soon as they arrived, they were killed.

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Once they arrived they were immediately killed.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Do you know the names of some of those who were killed?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes, I know them. I will start with my father, Léonidas Gasamunyiga. Born in 1906, he was 88. When they [the *Inkotanyi*] reached the house, so said my mother, they did not want to kill the old woman. They said that whether they killed her or not was the same thing because she would die of hunger or simply of old age.

Then they spoke to the old man:

- Where is your son?
- Which one? He replied.
- Isaïe Kimonyo, *Inyangarwanda*. [The enemy of Rwanda (sic)]
- I do not know because he lives in his own house.

Next they threatened him [sic] saying: You must show us where he is.

After having ransacked my house, they searched my father's house, looking for me in vain. They then began to torture my old father.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Did they maltreat him?

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Yes, they maltreated him.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

"They tortured him."

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

They tortured him believing that he had hidden me or that he knew where I was. My old mother told me that they killed him in her presence. With one stroke of the sword they pierced his mouth

from the chin to the roof of the mouth, piercing the tongue as well. Another stroke of the sword pierced his mouth from the right to the left jaw.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
Hm!

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

And lastly, with another stroke of the sword they pierced his head, reaching the brain. They had first of all tied his hands behind his back.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
Yes.

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

Then they threw the body in the kitchen. That was the last time the old woman saw her husband. We found his body in that state.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
Hm!

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

...and we buried him. They [the *Inkotanyi*] killed many persons. But who did they kill? They killed an old man of about 96, the father of the Director of *Catholic Relief Service* called Kabiligi. This was a wise man and he had a very humane sense. He was killed in a sorghum field. They also killed an old woman by name Kanyegamo, the mother of Kwibeshya, student at [sic]... They killed Rukabu, the grandfather of Côme Bizimungu who was *préfet* of Kigali Rural *préfecture* and who is today in ...

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
*Miniplan* [Ministry of the Plan].

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

He is working in *Miniplan*.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
Hm!

**Isaïe Kimonyo:**

They killed old Rwamakuba, the old woman Mukabarinda, 90 years old, Cassien... We actually counted ... buried. There were even bodies that we found in our houses, in the room. These were very poor people. Among them was a man who had an incurable wound which he had had for long and that I knew; and he could not move.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**  
Hm!

**Isaie Kimonyo:**

They killed that man and his wife and their baby. The baby received a stake in the anus which pierced his intestines. We found them at the foot of the bed of...

**END OF SIDE B**

-----