

**Noel**

Very early, at 7 a.m., we started work in order to be able to closely monitor what was happening in Bujumbura, Burundi and to inform you thereon. As for Kantano, he arrived here very early in the morning to cover the event. He has just gathered some information and will transmit them to you.

**Kantano**

As the saying goes "the leopard cannot change its spots" The thirst for power and blood for which the Tutsis of Burundi are known has just resurfaced. At the moment, blood and tears are flowing in Bujumbura. How did this start? On 6 March 1994, soldiers invaded Kamenge (neighbourhood) and killed over 200 people. Radio Bujumbura has confirmed the figure. Most of the victims were intellectual or eminent Hutus.

Last Saturday, soldiers invaded Kamenge again; this time around, the purpose was to dismantle the stronghold of the FRODEBU party. They surrounded Kamenge with heavy weapons which included those brought in from Gitega to serve as reinforcement. They began to kill people as they liked. Faced with this situation, the authorities in Bujumbura tried to react. On 21 March 1994, President Cyprien Ntaryamira, the Prime Minister, the two Chiefs of Staff and the Chief of Intelligence held a meeting. They agreed that the army had to assure security in Bujumbura and in the entire country in general. Rather than abide by these decisions, criminals and the so-called Burundi soldiers preferred to attack and shoot the population. They killed, looted and committed other atrocities they were notorious for as they wished.

Yesterday 22 March, the Burundian cabinet held a meeting characterized by quarrels. The Tutsi group supported the criminals while the Hutu group condemned them as was to be expected. However, at the meeting, many (ministers) agreed to proceed with the replacement of the two chiefs of staff -Bikomagu and his colleague. Supporters of the Chiefs of Staff, led by Lieutenant Colonel Kadoyi and someone named Twangamungu, Chief of Military Intelligence, commonly known as G2, were against this decision and decided to overthrow the government immediately.

Last night, they donned their uniforms and tried to execute their plan. They began to look for President Cyprien Ntaryamira but, thank God, they did not find him. At the moment, we do not know where he is. Some leaders took refuge at hotel Club Tangayika where they remained under the protection of the French. MPs who were unable to take refuge in the hills fled to Uvira in Zaire and to other places. Therefore you see that the situation in Burundi is very critical. Those trying to force us to set up phoney institutions should intervene in Burundi instead.

As the saying goes "trying to satisfy an enemy will bankrupt you." When Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu, was elected President of the Republic of Burundi to succeed Buyoya, a

Tutsi, the Tutsis were gripped with fear for they realized that the power which they had possessed for years had slipped away from them. On 21 October 1993, Ndadaye and some of his closest associates were gruesomely assassinated.

As you know, clashes ensued between the people. Ethnic groups in Burundi clashed and many people fled to Rwanda and to countries bordering Burundi. To date, they have not returned to their country. The power vacuum was continuously felt until it was decided that elections should be held to fill it. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya who was made a widower when he was being pursued with Ndadaye became President of Parliament. In fact, he was to have become President of the Republic but the Tutsis rejected him, accusing him of being a CDR member. [sic]

After acrimonious debates, it was agreed that Cyprien Ntaryamira be appointed President of the Republic. You will recall that it was not very easy to swear him in. Similarly, the putting in place of a government was just as difficult because there was need for him (the President) to review the list of ministers and include Tutsis belonging to small political parties such as RADDES.

About 27 ministers were appointed to please the Tutsis. But then the saying goes "trying to satisfy an enemy will bankrupt you". The government was unable to function; additionally, as you have just heard, the violence did not cease, particularly in Bujumbura.

Very recently, one Hutu Burundian refugee visiting Kigali stated the following: "I am going to Burundi to free President Ntaryamira because he has been taken hostage." He added with the same humour. "Ntaryamira is not free, he does not draw up his own programmes. In the morning, Tutsi soldiers take him from his prison, hotel Club du Lac Tanganyika, to work, bring him back at lunch time and take him back to work and so on. ."

Well-informed observers accepted the statements as funny but the Burundian in question was stating some facts. Cyprien Ntaryamira, just like Melchior Ndadaye, did not have any power over the army which he supposed to be commander in-chief. His inability to bring recent unrest to an end demonstrated his powerlessness. Moreover, it was the Tutsi soldiers who were behind the unrest because they had refused to grant people the right to elect their leaders. Their attitude was hardened by the fact that they knew that if elections were held, the Hutus would win because they were in the majority.

Therefore, the trouble makers had no other choice but to organize a coup. It was a coup that they had tried to organize the other night. Even though all the leaders had fled, the coup threat undoubtedly persists. It is obvious that the soldiers are in control, and so are the Tutsis of UPRONA and its satellite parties.

Another reason for the coup planned against President Ntaryamira was his recent visit to Gbadolite in Zaire where he met his opposite numbers: Motubo Sese Seko of Zaire and Habyarimana of Rwanda. (That meeting) was not appreciated by the Tutsis of Burundi who claimed it was a plot between the Hutus and Mobutu whom they also considered to

be a Hutu. As far as Tutsis in Burundi were concerned, killing influential Hutus was some form of pleasure. Uncountable Hutus have already perished in Bujumbura, an estimated number of over 500. Ndadaye and his associates were murdered by Burundian Tutsi soldiers in the night of 20 to 21 October.

In Burundi, killing a Hutu was a form of pleasure. This commenced with Burundi's accession to independence. For example, Monseigneur Gabriel Gahimbare, murdered before his coronation in 1961 was a Hutu. And so was Minister Ngendandumwe, former Prime Minister, assassinated on 15 January 1965 after setting up his government. Joseph Bamina who became Prime Minister in 1965 was assassinated; Paul Mirerekan, President-Elect of UPRONA party in 1961 was removed because he was Hutu and assassinated in 1965. Dr Henehene, former Director of Prince Louis Rwagasore clinic was assassinated in 1969. One must not remain silent about the murder of 30 or so MPs in 1965, of 70 civilians and soldiers including the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence in 1969, accused of planning an alleged coup.

The killings became cyclic occurring in 1962, 1965, 1969, 1972, 1988 and in 1991 and claiming about 300,000 Hutu lives. About 1,000,000 others (Hutus) went into exile. To date, the Tutsis are still bloodthirsty. In fact, they are used to shedding blood and they continue to do so. Today, as they are still planning a coup, it means they still want to shed blood, this time around, on a large scale.

A sad thing. The international community passively supports the atrocities being committed by these criminals. Moreover, one can dare criticize some individuals who claim to be defending human rights because all those being killed are human beings.

What lesson can be drawn from what is happening in Burundi? Whatever the case may be, we must draw a lesson from the events of Burundi. Tutsi grandchildren who fled Rwanda gave themselves the name *Inkotanyi* and attacked Rwanda in 1990. They claimed they wanted to install democracy but, to date, it is obvious that they want to take back power seized from them by the Hutus in 1959. We no longer have doubts about that all schemes, whether they are unfolding in Arusha, Mulindi, Kinyihira or Kigali are geared towards this same objectives. That is one thing that we must always bear in mind: those hungry for power can only obtain it after removing all the people blocking their way. Explicitly, this applies to Hutus opposed to Faustin Twagiramungu and Agathe and, in particular, to those referred to as "power". As a matter of fact, a close look reveals that they have already eliminated a lot of these persons.

Where is the Hutu Gapyisi? Where is the Hutu Félicien Gatabazi? Where is the Hutu Martin Bucyana? Where is Rwambuka? Where is the MP Safari? We still have a long way to go, the fight is raging and the goal unchanged. It has been reported that in Kigali, a hit list is being drawn up. That is scary but not a joke. Whether the transitional institutions are installed or not, manoeuvres aimed at seizing power in Rwanda and Burundi are the same because they are being carried out by the same people.

This is Kantano Habimana of *Radio Télévision Libre de Mille Collines*.

**Noel**

Fausta Hitimana, of the urban *commune* of Nyarugenge, Kigali, a staff of SNEP as indicated on her identity documents, native of Kayumba in Kanzenze *commune*, daughter of Cyendahoro and Uzanyindamba is requested to report at RTLM to collect her identity documents in her hand bag. She is being advised to report with some money to pay for this announcement as well as a reward for the person who brought her identity papers to RTLM. She should see a woman who would hand over her things to her.

We have the following press announcement.

The Gisenyi MRND prefectural congress met on 20 June 1994 under its chairman Wellars Banzi. The delegates reviewed the party's situation at the prefectural level as well as the prevailing political climate in the country and painted a positive picture of party activities. Once again, they urged leaders and grass root decision makers to redouble their efforts in sensitizing (the people) about the ideals of the party.

Besides, they elected Léopold Gahamanyi Vice Chairman of the party for Gisenyi *préfecture* to replace Mr Léon Mugesera

Secondly, delegates voiced their distress at the fact that the country is continuously being destroyed with impunity by acts of violence and by the killings of innocent people and politicians. Delegates requested UNAMIR to immediately publish the findings of investigations into the killings which occurred in Mutara *commune*, Kirambo *sous-préfecture* and in Kinshira so that the culprits may be brought to justice. They urged UNAMIR to intensify efforts to maintain the safety of people in demilitarized zones, people who have remained *Inkotanyi* targets.

Thirdly, the delegates expressed concern at the attitude of the government and its relevant organs who did not seem interested in conducting investigations into the killings of politicians including government members; it was as if the killings meant nothing to them. Specifically, they requested that an inquiry be opened into the murder of Minister Félicien Gatabazi, Martin Bucyana, CDR President, as well as Rwambuka and Gapysi. They requested that the inquiries be conducted immediately so that the perpetrators (of the murders) could be punished as a form deterrent to others.

Fourthly, delegates expressed dismay at government's passivity; it has failed to react to the killings and violence perpetrated by the RPF and its cohorts against innocent members of the population and against its opponents.

These reprehensible acts are a violation of the Arusha Agreements and a hindrance to Rwandan unity. Delegates reiterated their support for the Arusha Agreements as long as signatories respect the Agreement.

Fifthly, the delegates condemned the scheming and tyranny which the RPF and leaders of some political parties were known for and which involved favouring selfish interests to the detriment of their parties and the people. This conduct is contrary to democratic ideals and impedes the installation of transitional institutions. Members of the Gisenyi MRND prefectural congress took that opportunity to condemn the conduct of Faustin Twagiramungu who had revealed his fondness for the *Inkontayi* by publishing the names of Ministers, this could be tantamount to organizing a coup. He had violated the Arusha Agreements and circumvented relevant (government) bodies as well as the parties that had been invited to participate in the transition institutions

Sixthly, the delegates paid homage to the United Nation Organization, the diplomatic corps, consuls accredited to Rwanda and to representatives of religious groups for their contribution and determination to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement. Moreover, (delegates) reiterated their appeal to the institutions above to continue to assist Rwanda and the RPF in removing all obstacles impeding implementation of the Arusha Agreements and teach the people of Rwanda the principles of true democracy, free of ruse, restraint and sectarianism. The announcement was signed by Wellars Banzu, MRND chairman for Gisenyi *préfecture* and Juvénal Uwiringiyimana, MRND secretary for Gisenyi *préfecture* (Music)

It is 10.10. a.m. At the moment, most students, particularly secondary school students, in private and government schools have finished their exams. Many of them are with their families, others are still at school while others are listening to the radio, this cherished radio station! Listen to the music we play while waiting for the verdict... You see, obtaining examination results could be likened to a court hearing, it is almost a trial! I dedicate this song to Boniface Kwizera who resides in Nyakariro *secteur*, Bicumbi, in Kigali Rural. That is someone who often sends me news and asks me questions. I shall respond gradually to his questions. (Music)

George Ruggiu:

(In French in the original)

*In Kigali, eh yes, dear listeners a special broadcast in French. This is because we have breaking news; unfortunately, once again we shall be reporting about Burundi. Oh yes, Burundi, abortive coup*

(In French in the original)

This night in Bujumbura, it is continuing, throughout the night, soldiers led by Lieutenant Colonel Kadoyi sought out and pursued the Head of State of Burundi, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira, following the decision taken to sack the two Chiefs of Army staff, (one of whom is Bikomagu), for the role they played in the 21 October 1993 coup and the continuous killings of the people by the Burundian army.

Therefore, the Head of State and leading figures in the country, including those from FRODEBU, are being pursued. His Excellency, the Head of State, allegedly took refuge at the French Embassy. MPs fled to Zaire, to hotels guarded by the French and even to the

mountain. The massacres have continued in all the neighbourhoods in Bujumbura and in the entire country, since this night. But the killings had commenced well before now; you are aware that days back, we reported some killings and have not stopped informing you about them since the month of October

To you, members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Rwanda and to other countries listening to us, rather than focus strictly on the setting up of broad based transitional institutions in Rwanda, do not forget to assess and condemn the criminal acts committed by this putschist Burundian Army- of which the RPF is an accomplice- here in Rwanda. Do not forget ... that the fate of an entire people also depends on this condemnation, that Burundi has been suffering from this putschist army since 1960 and that if the institutions of the broad based government are really to be installed as a step towards democracy here in Rwanda, the problem in Burundi would also have to be resolved. The country should stabilize itself through democracy and the respect of human rights which was demonstrated in June and July last year.

Therefore, it is not only by forcing the Rwandan government to install institutions that the Rwandan problem would be resolved; the related Burundian problem must also be resolved, we are still awaiting communiqués from ambassadors and western consultants here in Rwanda expressing condemnation, they should not just remain silent and merely witness the insignificant incidents occurring in Rwanda. *More serious incidents are unfolding in Burundi and no Western Ambassador has yet criticized or condemned them, and we truly believe that nothing concrete can happen here in Rwanda as long as the West does not condemn what is happening in Burundi. Of course, we shall keep you informed of news that reaches our desk about Burundi. At any rate, we hope to be with you again at 8.30 p.m with full news of the unfortunate events unfolding in Burundi.*

Noel

...I am telling those near homes, near drinking places, near their kitchen that here, we have no electricity. I am therefore talking to those near... Ha! I was going to say near kitchens! Some people could no longer do it! However, to those near drinking places, I am informing them that time is flying. Others are preparing concerts, people such as François Chouchou Mihigo who states that the entire weekend is for him. We are currently listening to one of his songs. To those who give us their music, we give our support. That is the way it goes! (music)

Mbilizi

*Very shortly, it will be 11 a.m. in Kigali; you are listening to Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines. Abortive coup this night in Bujumbura. The entire night, soldiers, led by Lieutenant Colonel Kadoyi tried to track down the Head of State, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira, following the decision he took to sack the two Chiefs of Staff responsible for the coup of 21 October 1993 as well as for the ensuing killings; both chiefs of Staff, one of whom is Lieutenant Colonel Bikomagu. The Head of State and leading figures in the*

country and in FRODEBU were pursued. The Head of State took refuge at the French Embassy and the MPs fled to hotels guarded by French soldiers in Zaire. Killings continue in neighbourhoods in Bujumbura and in the entire country. To those of you listening at the moment, to you members of the diplomatic corps, rather than focus your attention on the installation of transition institutions in Rwanda, start condemning the criminal acts committed by this putchist Burundian army- of which the RPF is an accomplice- here in Rwanda; because nothing will work here in Rwanda if the situation remains chaotic on the other end, in Burundi. The silence of the international community in the face of this chaos that the soldiers have plunged the nation into is worrying and one wonders the reason for this passivity; how can the countries who prodded Africa to embrace democracy now fold their arms in the face of the carnage being perpetrated by a military junta in Burundi?

Noel

It is 11 a.m. "We are the children of Africa" says François Chouchou Mihigo. We shall continue to listen to this song, but first and foremost, I would like to greet the following persons who have written us often to share their views. I would cite, among others, *Gendarmerie* Corporal Fabien Nteziyaremye who wrote us the following: "I am stationed at Muhima camp, but I can also be found in Nyamirambo." I received his letter. He sends greetings to all soldiers in the Byumba operations area, in particular to Lieutenant who has just dropped by to say hello. I greet him for he is a brave man. He just said to me: "Noel, I would like to inform you that I have just bought some more shares. This shows that people continue to buy RTL M shares. All you need to do is go into the bank or come to the accounts section here and pay 5,000 francs, 10,000 francs, 15,000 francs, 20,000 francs, 100,000 francs, 500 thousand francs, 1 million up to 5 million francs.

If you prefer to go to the bank, all you need to do is ask for the RTL M account number and pay for whatever number of shares you want into that account. You will be given a paying in slip. On our part, we receive stubs (of the paying in slip) with which we would obtain the identity of the persons who have paid money into our account. Their names are in the register and we know them all. If you come to us and request to see where your name appears on the shareholder's register we will immediately show your name, date of payment and the branch account to which payment was made. Um! That is the way things are. You could also pay your money here. The Second Lieutenant from Byumba has requested to remain anonymous. He said: "All I came to do is pay in this money. Now I am leaving" I greet those at Byumba and Gako. I was telephoned from Gako. I greet the soldiers at Gako and request that they maintain their positions. Keep your positions. Stand firm. In a minute, if Kantano does not mind, we shall talk about the crisis in Burundi again. I am sure that he is in favour of that because it is our duty to keep you informed of how the situation around us is evolving. I greet the people of Kidaho.

Dear Friends in Kidaho, I know you are experiencing hard times. You see, the development brought by the *Inkotanyi* is a poisoned chalice. For example: one *Inkotanyi* Lieutenant opens a drinking place and installs a video there so that people can watch films after paying an entrance fee of 20 francs. You have to pay 20 francs to watch a film

on the video. You see that they have already begun to colonize the country. What an idea! Force people to pay a 20 franc tax. If the goal is development, people should be allowed to watch the film free of charge because the person shooting the film is using stolen equipment. If he claims that this is untrue, he should show us the shop where he purchased the equipment. They are making money with looted property. This is a thorny problem for the people of Kigali but I am urging them to stand firm. In 10 minutes, it will be 11 a.m. (Music)

Kantano

You can drive out nature with a pitchfork but she keeps coming back. That applies to the thirst for power for which Tutsis in Burundi are known. It has become clear today that this thirst is supernatural. As you know, last night, there was an assassination attempt on the newly sworn-in leaders. Before these leaders were even able to start work, a coup was attempted.

You are probably wondering how that happened? Ah well, I shall go back and remind you that on 6 March, soldiers invaded Kamenge neighbourhood and killed over 200 people. This figure was confirmed by Radio Bujumbura. Needless to ask for the identities of the victims for most of them were Hutu intellectuals.

Noel

In fact the Kamenge neighbourhood was only inhabited by Hutus.

Kantano

Um! Its inhabitants are only Hutus. So last Saturday, soldiers returned to Kamenge with the intention to completely destroy this FRODEBU party stronghold. Kamenge is that neighbourhood where Hutus chased from other places in Bujumbura have come to stick together; they had made it their stronghold. Soldiers surrounded the areas with tanks and other weapons and then began to kill people, house by house.

Subsequently, the Bujumbura authorities tried to react. A meeting was held on the 21<sup>st</sup> bringing together President Cyprien Ntaryamira, the Prime Minister, the two Chiefs of Staff including Bikomagu and the Chief of Intelligence. They agreed that the army must, in collaboration with the gendarmerie, maintain public order in Bujumbura and in the country as a whole. Rather than maintain public order, this band of criminals who did not resemble a real army because it was made up of one ethnic group believed that it had been authorized to invade the neighbourhood in order to kill and loot. As for Kamenge, it was suspected of having arms and ammunitions caches. It all began with an incident involving a bus on the 21<sup>st</sup>. The bus was transporting people to Bururi. As you know, Bururi is a Tutsi stronghold. The bus could be likened to a bus that would transport people to Nyamata. All presidents are from Bururi. Back to the bus, someone, probably a criminal, on Bujumbura hill on the roadside threw two grenades into the bus. About 5 Tutsis died in the bus. It was after that attack that Kamenge was invaded and destroyed (by the army) in a surge of revenge.

Yesterday 22 March, the Burundi cabinet met to assess the situation. At the meeting, a heated quarrel broke out when a group of Tutsis supported the criminals while a group of Hutus condemned them. At the end of the meeting, most of the participants became reasonable and decided to sack both chiefs of staff, that is, the chief of staff of the gendarmerie and the chief of staff of the army, Bikomagu. That was the spark that started the prairie fire! Ah! Led by Lieutenant Kadoyi and Twagiramungu, Chief of Military Intelligence, (G2 in our country), they immediately decided to topple the government. This government of 27 ministers had been installed to please the Tutsis so they would allow the government to function.

-Are all political parties represented?

-Yes, all parties, small and large, are represented in the government while here in our country, we refuse to involve parties such as the CDR in the transitional government. They involved these parties (in the government) to please them. Nonetheless, last night, Bikomagu's supporters got together and went to look for the President of the Republic in order to make him suffer the same fate as...

-(The same fate) as Ndadaye.

-(The same fate) as Ndadaye. Thank God, he escaped and took refuge at the French Embassy. Other ministers immediately took refuge at the Tanganyika Club where they remained under French protection. As for the MPs..

-Ha! Ha! Ha!

-Some of them are here in Kigali but most are at Uvira and the others elsewhere. What can be deduced from all that is happening is that once again, institutions have been dismantled. Though this coup could indeed be described as abortive, it is not totally an abortive coup because the plot remains. It remains, especially as even Ndadaye's murderers are still roaming around freely unpunished. Thus, you agree that the plot still exists. You see dear Noël, one thing surprises me: after the colonization of Africa, the Whiteman forced us to adopt the one party system. Today, 30 years later, they are advising us to abandon that system and embrace multiparty politics. This system involves elections which allow the majority to be elected and to rule the people. That was what happened in Burundi when Ndadaye was massively voted for in a transparent manner. Sworn in by the people, he seized power from the minority. As the minority had a stranglehold on the army, it refused to accept defeat and preferred to kill him. Whatever the case may be, the persons who killed those people have still not been arrested. Subsequently, attempts were made to set up political institutions but see what the spoilsports have done. However, the whites, who claim that as far as democracy is concerned the majority must rule, have remained indifferent. But then, they are putting pressure on us to set up broad based transitional institutions while the minority is seeking to cheat.

END OF SIDE A

Kantano

In democracy, it is the majority that rules. With respect to Rwanda, those people are not saying anything thereon. Let's go back to the case of Rwanda. The white are still unaware of the fact that the minority are resorting to fraudulent methods to seize power from the majority. When we say the majority, we are referring to ethnic background or political parties. For example, Twagiramungu is in the minority within the MDR; I would say he is all alone. The PDC is a minority party but that has not prevented it from having four seats in legislative Assembly. The CDR which represents the majority won only one seat and had to fight to get it. The same applies to the PSD. The minority have the tendency to monopolize everything. The whites are aware of all of this but have not condemned anything.

Noel

The RFP is also facing the same problem.

Kantano

Yes, the RPF too (many voices at the same time).

Noel

What is its representativeness?

It is in the minority. However, he wants to use ruse to seize power from the majority. However, rather than condemn the state of things, the white have remained silent. That's food for thought and we wonder if the white who taught us democracy believe in it. This attitude is difficult to understand.

Noel

Dear RTLTM listeners, it is 11.04 a.m. here in Kigali. I would like to ask Kantano one last question: In view of the fact that what is happening in Burundi can have repercussions here in Rwanda, what should our most seasoned and most patriotic politicians do? Should they immediately set up a strong government or leave Faustin Twagiramungu to set up a government? What should they do?

-My dear Noel, here at RTLTM, we often air matters and the public label us alarmists. We were accused of disseminating rumours or false information. However, a close analysis reveals that the same plan that the Tutsis in Burundi had to seize power and hold on to it also exists in Rwanda. In short, both situations are similar. In fact, it should be recalled that the *Inkotanyi* launching the attacks are descendants of Tutsis and the grandchildren of Tutsis who fled the Republic and democracy in 1959. They left, they changed their looks and returned with the title *Inkotanyi*. They had become strong and returned lying to the international community, claiming they were bringing back democracy and seeking the return of refugees. In actual fact, the return of refugees was no longer an issue.

Nobody chased away those who had returned to the country. On the contrary, they settled, though in the property of others, and this problem would probably be resolved. As for the refugee problem, it was no longer an issue

-Can I tell you something about that?

-Um .

-If they want us to provide a list of people who have returned and who have now become influential...

-Um

-Then, they should go to the BRD (*Bank Rwandaise de développement* –Rwandan Development Bank) and they would see that its manager was a former refugee who studied abroad sponsored with funds earmarked for refugees. Can they name any former refugee who is not a leading figure today? Eh!

-Therefore, the purpose of the refugee problem was solely to sensitize the international community. It is obvious that we have been at war for three, even four years. If all that the *Inkotanyi* wanted was to return escorted by UNAMIR in a convoy of motorcycles in January or October so they could be sworn in at the House of Assembly, we would have gone to fetch them because we had buses.

If the problem had been that of the refugees, we should have been asked to go and fetch them in Uganda in January which we would have done and all of them would have been returned. On the contrary, they continued the war and whenever they experienced problems at the front, they resorted to negotiations. They went to Arusha and stole power. They stole posts (key posts). They obtained the post of Minister of Interior and other posts. In short, Ngunzira gave them everything. But then, they still want more. You understand that what they want is power, complete and not partial power. It is true that we would have experienced something similar in Burundi if Ndadaye had not been assassinated. In fact, his death saved us. We would have suffered the same fate as Ndadaye. There would have been a coup like that plotted by Kavaruganda. He was unable to carry out his plans because of our harassment. We would have experienced a coup which would have involved the murder of all influential Hutus in the country just like it happened in Ndadaye's country. We should remember this:

-A similar programme is already on-going

-This programme, so...

-This programme has begun because people are being killed every week.

-Where is Gapyisi?

-And so?

-And where is Gatabazi?

-Where is Bucyana?

-So, where is Bucyana?

-Where is (that man from) ...Nyamata

-Rwambuka?

-Rwambuka.

-Where is that person? Those who do not closely follow the trend of events spend their time accusing one another. They blame Habyarimana, the MRND, and I do not know who else of all these misfortunes. But then, there is a well designed plan, the execution of which is on-going. The target of this plan is the movement referred to as "power." As you have heard, meetings were held at Mulindi. Ngango and his cohorts attended the

meeting and signed a covenant aimed at fighting what is called the "power" movement wherever they may be. That means..

-The idea was to fight all Hutus...

-(against) any Hutu convinced that Rwanda is his country, that his group is majority and that it is the majority group that must rule and not the minority group. You do realize now that these people are carrying out their plan. As for events unfolding in Burundi, a while ago, you were condemning people drawing up lists, but in actual fact though people are scared when they hear about that, these lists do indeed exist. The lists are being drawn up and they would be used to either to kill, have people killed and buried, or to hunt down and arrest people; this explains why they want the Ministry of Justice. People will be arrested and locked up over a long period of time and since courts and tribunals would not be operational, detainees will die in prison. Gendarmes will be sent out to arrest and imprison people, accusing them of being *Interahamwe* and of throwing grenades etc. Undoubtedly, this plan exists because Kagame himself stated that even if the armies are integrated, the *Inkotanyi* have only one goal: to take power. Thus, the Tutsis will seize and hold on to power, which the Hutus took from them in 1959, for as long as they want. However, they are fooling people and stating that the transition will only last for 2 years

-Ha ha ha

-Um!

-It (the transition) can even last 100 years.

-Yes, it could even last for 100 years. You do understand now why we must draw a lesson from the events in Burundi. We are asking the international community not to allow the minority to exterminate the majority by trying to seize power from them by ruse and by use of arms. The international community must condemn these people, and, if necessary, for example, in the case of Burundi, deploy international forces. Did the United States not send soldiers to...

-To Somali

-To Somalia, and Bosnia Herzegovina to end the massacres. Why, for example, did they not send an intervention force to Burundi, between the Hutus and the Tutsis, to prevent the army from exterminating the people, the Hutus?

-Does France not intervene regularly in Mobutu's country? En! When there are disturbances in Mobutu's country, particularly in Shaba, France sends parachutists there.

-Um!

-So then, why don't they intervene in Burundi? They should intervene in Burundi.

-They must intervene in Burundi. It would be a mistake to believe that Burundi and Rwanda will enjoy peace or that Rwanda will enjoy peace when there is no peace in Burundi. However, I should remind Noel and all our listeners that the Burundian conflict is a struggle for power. The Tutsis are trying to be the only masters in charge. That means that they will not accept democracy, they will not allow the majority to rule even if it won the elections. Similarly, in Rwanda....

-The same situation prevails.

-Yes, it is the same situation. The *Inkotanyi* do not want to face the truth about their numerical strength. They are lying stating that they would like to promote democracy, for, in my opinion Rutaremara revealed who they are when he stated that "Democracy is

not synonymous with elections." This means that their major concern is not the elections. Their main concern is to take power, complete power through ruse.

-Kigali is experiencing a minor technical problem, but I would like to thank ELECTROGAZ for thinking about us. I would now like to thank the staff of the army headquarters, my own army headquarters, I mean the Munanira army headquarters. I am appealing to them to remain vigilant and continue to work hard. To the members of the army headquarters in Munanira I say: take courage! I know that they know themselves.

Once again, you will be able to hear about the Burundian crisis in French. This will be presented by Mbilizi and George shortly, after this song. These two journalists will comment on the Burundian crisis. I greet Charles Mutuyemungu wherever he may be. I have heard about him and passed on some of his suggestions to the people they were meant for. (Music)

Mbilizi

*Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines.* (Music) The three of us shall try to put our heads together again, on the paradoxical situation in Rwanda and Burundi, following this abortive coup in Burundi. Contradiction of course on the part of the West for because if what is going on in both countries is closely assessed, one gets the impression that there is double talk, indeed some sort of complicity. Let's proceed from the La Baule conference where all support from France was contingent upon the advancement of the democratization process. The West had the same view, besides, they even went further with economic measures, you will recall the recent devaluation of the CFA franc, contradiction. With Valerie and Georges, we shall restrict ourselves to the region no doubt taking into account ...news

**Valerie:** Good day Philippe.

**Mbilizi:** Good day George.

**George:** Good day Philippe.

**Mbilizi:** Valérie, let's start with the prevailing situation in Burundi.

**Valérie:** Eh.. George, as you know, since this morning, in fact, since yesterday evening, they have been talking about the incidents, an abortive coup which allegedly occurred yesterday evening in Burundi. In any case, it could be said that this abortive coup is indeed a coup. For key figures have fled. There are .. let's say...leading... the President of the Republic has taken refuge at the French Embassy and the ministers have also taken refuge at Hotel du Lac Tanganyika and MPs have headed for ...Uvira in Zaire. This means that a coup did indeed take place in Burundi. As you know.....I Philippe and to all our listeners who are following our broadcast now, during the night, soldiers headed towards ..soldiers led by Colonel Kadoyi attacked, wanted to attack the chief of en... His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryimira following the decision taken to fire both chiefs of staff one of them being Bikomagu who led the ..the coup which claimed the President Ndadaye's life. This means that the soldiers, they are. they are angry...they are angry, they did not like the decision taken by the President.

This explains why they organized a coup, a putsch to overthrow the President, en...of the Republic and power eh the FRODEBU party.

**Philippe:** Okay, Valérie, before going into details, I want to ask, I want to ask George to...to compare this with what is happening in... Rwanda, to briefly tell us about the situation in the country.

**George:** So, here in Rwanda, the situation eh... is exactly the same. Violence also exists, moreover, eh... we do not need to remind you of the...murder of Gatabazi, Bucyana and even the...murders of leading figures and, in particular, that of a PL candidate for the position of an MP. As you can see, fear reigns. Similarly, the abortive coup happened for we remember that Faustin Twagiramungu, the Prime Minister designate, is trying to impose the government he has composed and the MPs he has selected.. So...eh... action had not been taken...fully, but we are not far from doing so...the destabilizing situation in Burundi also exists in Rwanda

**Philippe:** That is the destabilizing situation in Burundi, similar to that in Rwanda, contradiction of the West, What is the West saying to Rwandan politicians, are they condemning Burundi in a similar manner first... the reaction of the West to the situation in Rwanda.

**Valerie:** In fact, the ...the reaction of the West to the events in Burundi is completely negative, because since there was a coup, let's start with the elections...the elections eh... which brought President Ndadaye to power in June 1993. He was elected by universal suffrage, he won the...the elections under his FRODEBU party. And there was .. People were appointed to the Assembly in July 1993.

**Philippe:** Yes

**Valérie:** In any case, the minority always, the minority was not pleased eh...with the elections and wanted to topple the government of. .eh...His Excellency Mr Ndadaye So on 21 October, there was a coup in Burundi which resulted in the assassination of President Ndadaye and...and let's say, of his associates, his allies. So, the West, did not react, but again insisted that the FRODEBU party set up the government and put in place all democratic institutions; this means...

**Philippe:** of course with members of...of...of...of.. that opposition

**Valérie:** of that opposition, Exactly. So he now asked that the majority en... also be be part of these institutions of these new...of these new institutions. This means that.. our...given...our. we...we...we believe, what we see exactly is that the West strongly supports the minority

**Philippe:** who a or who has...who has 40% , or...

**Valérie:** who has 40%

**Philippe:**...whose representation is 40%.

**Valérie:** 40%

**Philippe:** In . the government.

**Valérie:** Yes

**Philippe:** And I remember what I heard yesterday on *Radio France Internationale*, one of the RADDES leaders Mr Nzeyimana, yesterday evening, probably when the coup was being carried out shouted on the .

**Valérie** Umm

**Philippe:** *Radio eh...France Internationale* that ...their party was determined to play the democratic game. So George, the prevailing situation in Rwanda. What is the reaction of the West to the prevailing situation in Rwanda?

**George:** eh. yes, thank you Philippe. First, I insist on recalling because it is important, even for the situation in Rwanda, that Mr Nzeyimana, President of RADDES party in Burundi is one of the brains behind the ghost town operation in Bujumbura which resulted first in the loss of many lives and also in huge financial losses to Burundi. So eh in Rwanda, the situation is similar. In fact, war was declared by the RPF in October 1990, but it was the West who forced Rwanda to seek a negotiated solution. They often gave several ultimatums to the Rwandan government to...share power with people they knew had committed massacres and killed the population and these ...RPF members were only a small minority here in Rwanda, in fact a very weak minority outside because in any case in Rwanda at any time, about 8% Tutsis are left. This therefore...the West is forced to negotiate the ...and share power with people who massacre the populace and who are a weak majority because they now do not even represent over 10% though they have been given, in some areas, up to 50% of the posts in the army and key posts within the government; for the vice-presidency is theirs, the Ministry of Interior, Chief of staff of the gendarmerie, in short, they did, ...the West have succeeded in forcing the Rwandan government to practically reward murderers. Thus, even if.. they claim that ..they are in favour of democracy, in fact, both in Rwanda and in Burundi, they have they have been able to...to favour the minority to the extent that they can dominate the dominate the majority both politically and socially.

**Philippe:** So...the last it...ultimatum of ...which should be clearly stated, comes from Belgium .. so eh.... It could be noted that ..the time spent on giving ultimatums is more that that used to condemn killings perpetrated by the RPF in the country. Regarding Burundi, nothing...almost nothing is being said. Georges Ruggiu and Valérie eh .who is.. who is here...let us talk, for example about the abortive coup in Burundi... Let us go back a little and speak of what happened after the death of Nda...of eh eh before Ndadaye

**Valérie:** eh going back a little bit...on the events in Burundi. .b. .efore the death of Ndadaye (silence, broken by the rustling of paper...which meant that the speaker was either reading or had notes) I spoke a bit... a little bit...just like in passing but... let's just say that before the coup, elections were held. And the elections, resulted in the election of the President of Burundi Mr, late Melchior Ndadaye in June 94, eh... 93 rather and then in July 1993, the legislation, that is, the national assembly of Burundi was established and after 21 October President Ndadaye was assassinated and there was a lot of bloodshed following his death and a lot of killings in Burundi., the people, the people of Burundi requested protection and the international community was unable to protect these people. On the contrary, it insisted, it imposed on these people, as well as on FRODEBU who won the elections, the reforming of institutions just as I had mentioned earlier, at the beginning of this broadcast. After the putting in place of these institutions,

there was ...in addition to pressure from the West that the enemy had to be part of the institutions.

**Philippe:** So Valerie, that was what happened in Burundi eh...where they killed a democratically elected president, they did not even not even deem it necessary to send a small peace-keeping force...while here in Rwanda where...one... seems to favour...the...the...the the rebels who are...that are...eh who are responsible for the displacement of many people, of many murders, etc etc... Let us now go back to the La Baule speech, Eh...La Baule for democracy, what exactly is it? I do not know if George would like to talk about it?

**George:** Okay. In fact, the La Baule speech which was delivered by President Mitterrand during his first 7 year term already...eh...linked...development aid and assistance itself from France and also from the European community which follow-up to democratization of regimes in place. The speech insists eh...launched the idea that countries who did not have a democratic system must be forced to embrace democracy eh...and eh... there were already...some financial constraints, that is eh...the speech more or less proposed blackmail "*if you embrace democracy you will receive funds, if you do not embrace democracy, we cut the flow.*" Eh...first eh...this is more or less an anti-democratic attitude eh...by countries who claim to be democratic eh...they were behaving as if democracy only existed in the West and was not for others. Eh...they could very well have proposed assistance eh...without really linking their aid to some forms of blackmail which is what they are still doing both in Rwandan and Burundi and...not forgetting the ultimatums that Jacques Roger Booh booh did not hesitate and which...others... such as the Belgian Ministers of Foreign Affairs did not hesitate to give.

**Philippe:** The representatives of the World Bank too.

**George:** Of course, "*if you do this, if you do that, you will receive funds, if you do not do this, the flow will be cut*" Is it necessary...to behave as if demo...democracy...was only a thing for the West and that it did not exist in Africa? A minority cannot be permanently protected with impunity under the pretext that democracy is to be imposed when a majority heu...itself eh... demonstrated its wish, particularly, in Burundi, clearly following elections, and then some things are imposed and are made contingent on development aid. Moreover, in any case, nowhere and at no time has it been proven that peace... peace...attributable to a guerilla had been produced other than through violent acts or even war. So, to favour this minority group using democracy as an excuse and to strangle countries at war or those experiencing problems, still using democracy as an excuse, does not seem to be a good sign for the...respect of the rights of the majority and that is where the problem lies.

**Philippe:** Right. And that is indeed where the problem lies. Personally, Valérie, I would like us to try and understand this kind of ultimatum. Here is my reasoning. Problems exist within the...parties that must be part of the broad based transitional government. But...ultimatums as if these...these ultimatums were enough to resolve all the problems

within the parties; for if the problems within the parties are not resolved, it would not be possible to install transition institutions effectively.

**Valérie:** Yes Philippe, because rather than resolve problems, these ultimatums aggravate them. There are problems within the parties, we are well aware of that. These problems must be resolved in order that . . . so that . . . the institutions may be installed. However, if the problems persist, it will not be possible to install institutions. If we take . . . if we are referring to the democratization imposed by the La Baule meeting . . . that democratization, in spite of all the noise made about it, you will realize that in all the countries of Africa that have . . . who have embraced that . . . that democratization . . .

**Philippe** Eh

**Valérie:** there are a lot of problems in . . . these countries. I can even give examples: there is the Congo, Gabon eh...there is even not far away, let's take the example of Burundi it's next door. Like now, people are talking of . . . of that country and Rwanda, there are many countries, there is Togo, Bénin, okay, there is Cen..eh..Central African Republic, all of that, all these problems, there are a lot of problems after this democratization. Fine, the West, Western observers made a lot of noise when FRODEBU won the elections, but they did not set good examples, they did not set good examples but they did not protect this democratization. They did not protect it; on the contrary

**Philippe:** They did not protect it, on the contrary it has (Valérie and Philippe's voices together) to say later that Ndadaye deserved... what he got.

**Valérie:** That was what he deserved moreover...that was what they always said and that he had to protect himself. How would he protect himself now? How, Ndadaye did not have the right to choose. .neither his residence... nor his office; he could not pick their location himself.

**Philippe:** He could not... yes . . . is. he was facing an army that had been in existence for a long time

**Valérie:** Exactly

**Philippe.** A guard...

**Valérie:** A guard even.. from this army

**Philippe:** from this army . . .

**Valérie.** of this army the . . .

**Philippe.** . . .who put the dictators in power

**Valérie.** Exactly

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**Philippe:** ..a single ethnic army

**Valérie:** Single ethnic

**Philippe:** ..and...this is what happened, George, I do not know if you have anything to add to that?

**George:** In fact, again in Rwanda something similar is unfolding, because first eh.. something incredible, they went as far as including the name of the Prime Minister - Elect in the ...Accords and now that the West is totally attached to this person when it is becoming increasingly clear that...that the entire population, nobody, including his party who have rejected him, want this Prime Minister-Elect, ...thus one is being forced to . set up institutions with people who have been rejected, but who are being imposed on us Eh...eh. moreover...this Prime Minister-Elect even went as far as appealing to the people to fight and stated that finally, there was need to have the victors and the vanquished and that the victors must truly be victors and the vanquished truly vanquished and . the West is busy forcing us to make peace and have a transition period similar to that which they want to introduce in Rwanda or in Burundi, that is, mainly keep people that are dependent on them and then that...that they may abandon using democratization as an excuse, eh . an easy excuse, again, when it is convenient for them; meanwhile one can easily economically and politically strangle both Rwanda and Burundi and...also, it is remarkable that...eh...all the pressure exerted on Burundi at the time of the coup.. Melchior Ndadaye when the West refused a ...military force to support the government of Burundi; on the contrary, in Rwanda, the President was not allowed...to put in place some thing and pressure was made to bear and UNAMIR was deployed to the country to pressurize and force the President to accept some concessions and maybe make concessions and assign the Ministry of Justice to a . .*Parti Libéral*...

**Philippe:** I would even say...

**George:** . very close to the RPF!

**Philippe.** illegible

**Valérie:** Right

**Philippe:**.. because he was being asked to make totally unreasonable concessions.

**Valérie:** Yes

**Philippe.** Take for example the abortive coup in Burundi, until now ..nothing had been said...moreover *Radio France Internationale* granted, gave air time to opposition parties in Burundi who were responsible for the deterioration of the situation in Burundi. And now in Kigali, pressure is being made to bear on the President of the Republic to accept

eh. to force them to concede to the RPF...the Ministry of Justice. What does this mean, what would this represent; that, we would say...of our Belgian journalists...eh

**George:** In fact, I think that eh...the Belgian journalists days back, became clear eh it is

**End of side B**