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: ZIKULIZA Charles

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Side A

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NB: A PART WHICH COMPRISES SEQUENCE 1 AND 2 ON THIS SIDE A WAS NOT WELL RECORDED AND SOME WORDS ARE INAUDIBLE.

1. [KANTANO is the speaker]: ...Recently people said on RTLM Bazivamo is an Inyenzi and when the latter's child heard it he cried. [Inyenzi is a nickname given to RPF members or to its accomplices]. The child wondered how his father could become an Inyenzi whereas the latter has made people flee their homes [LAUGHTER]. It is a pity to hear what people say about parents, especially when what is said is not true. So, child, you should not bother because your father is not an Inyenzi as the counsellor of Giciye Commune said it on 24 March 1994. This was a meeting of reconciliation which gathered Semasaka Faustin, Subprefect of the Subprefecture of Kabaya, Hagumimvugo Isaac Bourgmester of Giciye Commune and Bazivamo Christophe, Homologous of the chief of IPV project and Kuradusenge Thomas who had quarreled with the Bourgmester's assistant [a Bourgmester is an authority who governs a Commune which is territorial entity in Rwanda]. In that security meeting they thoroughly solved the problem. On the fourth line it is said that the people who are concerned with security found that what was broadcasted on RTLM was not true. That means that Bazivamo Christophe is not an Inyenzi. He was not at all sent by Twagiramungu and Mrs Agatha. So, I hope that the child of Cyungo [A Commune of Byumba] is no longer worried. And that is the same for my children who think I am talking from inside a radio!! They should know that we send our voices through the air thanks to Bazungu [the White people]. They should also compare the size of my body to that of a small radio [LAUGHTER]!

Ah! Ah! heu! People have problems! Let me finish by the anger of the people from Muyira Commune, in Butare prefecture. They say they are harmed by those who should normally protect them. They say Mr Niyongira Justin, born in Commune Muyira and working in Minijust [Ministry for Justice], in collaboration with Bazatoba Balthazar and Ruzindana Silas, who are traders living in Muyira, constitute a danger for Muyira Commune. Mr Niyongira, who is a PSD-member, says he is the boss of all the prisons of Rwanda. In Muyira, PSD-members kill people whenever they want because when they are taken to the court at Nyanza Mr Niyongira protects them. And because the judges of the Well of Court fear Niyongira, they do whatever he asks them. Then when a case reaches the Court in Nyabisindu Mr Niyongira does what he wants with it. He [may be the writer of a letter] gives an example of people who were killed in the night of 17-18 September 1993. A man called Rutaganzwa Theobald in collaboration with Muhinda Thadee, Mulindahabi Michel, Mudacumura, Saruhara and others killed three young boys from Nyakibungo Sector who are Habonimana Augustin, Ndagijimana Anasthase and Byumvuhore Samson. Those persons were caught near the road and when Counsellor Rutaganzwa Theobald said those fugitives are Interahamwes [the militia of MRND Party] since they originate from Nyakibungo Sector. He ordered to kill them and they were killed on the spot. That angered all the people because the counsellor who was suspected was released from prison. They said to the Inspector of the Judiciary Police [IPJ in French] of Muyira Commune, the provisional Bourgmester and all the employees of Nyabisindu Subprefecture that that was unbelievable. All those persons confirmed that the killers were the one already mentioned. But Niyongira rescued them once they were put in prison. And now people from Muyira Commune, in Nyakibungo Sector cannot visit other people living other sectors because they say they underwent some injustice.

Another sad news is that in the night of 11-12 March 1994, between 20 and 21 hours, MP Muhutu [name] had a narrow escape. Mr Niyongira had plotted against him. And when the killers were in limbo, Niyongira gave them 10.000. So people say Niyongira is to be blamed because he moves from bars to bars saying that the prisoners will be set free as long as they are jailed in Rwanda. And they say Niyongira is a serious problem to the population. I hope the concerned person is listening to RTLM and I [Kantano] know that the people of MUYIRA also listen to RTLM. There is also another case showing that Niyongira puts in prison some leaders, and gives privileges to people of his ethnic group or his party. And this creates disparity in a democratic country. You are still tuned to RTLM, a private radio broadcasting from Kigali. It is now 20.30' here in Kigali. You were with Habimana Kantano from 18 o'clock to 20.30'. I am going to leave you with our french programme since I need to quench my thirst. So stay tuned to RTLM up to 22 hours. And I inform you that in between the french program you can here some urgent announcements if there come any. There is always a Kinyarwanda announcer and if an urgent announcement arrives one broadcasts it. That is how RTLM was the first to announce the death of Katumba [a prominent member of CDR's militia]. So, stay tuned to RTLM up to the moment it signs off. Your radios should not go far from you and those who are capable can by 2 or 3. Today there is a radio which started to transmit on FM and people thought its aim was to sabotage us. [Kantano] think it is Radio France International which signed an agreement with Radio Rwanda and has started to send music on FM. So, I think it does not matter and they are not sabotaging us and it is not easy to sabotage us. So, your radio is still ok and it does not matter to have rival radios. We will keep on challenging them with better programmes. Have a nice night you all, the young and the old. See you tomorrow.

2. [French programme with 2 Journalists: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA and Philippe MBILIZI MULONDA. Sound Engineer is Laurent KAMANZI]:

[MBILIZI]: ... You are tuned to RTLM. It is 20.40' here in Kigali, 18.40 UTC. Good evening dear friends who are tuned to RTLM, and welcome to this french programme. This evening you are with Emmanuel RUCOGOZA and Philippe MBILIZI MULONDA. Our sound engineer is KAMANZI Laurent. Good evening one more time and first of all a remark:

[RUCOGOZA]: " 132nd day today since the killings of KIRAMBO [An area in what was called a demilitarized zone between the RPF and the Rwandan Army. It is in Ruhengeri prefecture]. We are still waiting for the results of the UNAMIR's investigations. Should General Dallaire work or else go away."

[MBILIZI]: The news headlines: - After the assassination of Katumba, a very prominent militant of CDR at Biryogo, Stanislas Simbizi member of the executive committee of that party has had a narrow escape.
 - 13 students of Nyanza who form a brigade that is called "INZIRAGUTEBA" will soon be enrolled by the RPF. [the name means "persons who are never late"]
 - It is not the RPF which has to prevent CDR from entering the transitional Parliament.
 - 12 Ministers have protested against dishonesty and political unconsciousness.
 - Our reflexion of tonight is a look at socio-political and judiciary... [inaudible word]. It will be developed by George and Gahigi.

That were, dear listeners, the news headlines and let us start right now with the attempted coup against Mr Stany SIMBIZI who is a member of the Executive Committee of CDR. "Coalition pour la Defence de la Republique".

[RUCOGOZA]: The Patriotic Front has started a phase of physical elimination of persons who do not share his machiavelic ideologies. That was declared by Mr Stanislas SIMBIZI, member of the Executive Committee of the CDR who has just had a narrow escape from an attempt. It has happened. Stanislas is telling us what has happened to him. He is interviewed by my colleague Philippe MBILIZI.

[SIMBIZI]: Thank you my friend Mbilizi. As I said at noon, the blow against Katumba was not a surprise. The RPF has a programme of killing all those who do not subscribe to his views. I have just had a narrow escape. After the assassination of Katumba we did what we could to take his corpse to Ruhengeri, where I am chairman of CDR. In the evening when I was at about 5 meters of my home, I found a "guy" who was chatting with a woman and another one who was talking to the soldiers of Kigali Camp because I live in its vicinity. The gendarmes who were accompanying me asked themselves questions about those persons. They called upon them to say who they were. One of them said he was a soldier. But when I looked at [inaudible word], I found that it was not true. The man had been sacked on 26 March 1994. The other one who pretended to chat with his girl-friend [inaudible words]. He all of a sudden decided to run away. The gendarmes wanted to shoot at him but as two of them were already running behind to capture him they were unable to do it. They simply shot in the air. Mr Habyarimana [unknown] was not able to follow the other one who was already surrounded by the military trying to explain that he was acting in collusion with the woman. The woman denied. The military went... [inaudible words]. When we searched the suspicious man, we discovered a letter dated on 30 March 1994 which threatened one of his colleagues who had been happy because the former had been sacked from the army. What surprised us is that when he saw his friend running away, he immediately lay down whereas no one had touched him. He did as if he was dead.

[MBILIZI]: I think that he did not keep dead?

[SIMBIZI]: No. He did not keep dead. We took him in a vehicle of the gendarmerie. The population had beaten him, however, before the gendarmes arrived. That is why we were obliged to take him to hospital. And he stood up himself to talk to the physician.

[MBILIZI]: I have the impression that you have precisions (information) about the suspected person...

[SIMBIZI]: According to the evidences that we have, the suspect MSC was dismissed from the Rwandan Army RL n. 0574/MSC.1.5.0 of 26 March 1994 [... Inaudible words] a way-bill n. 014/94. He had to leave the camp and go to Kibungo-Muhazi from Monday 28 March 1994 unity B.N. [Inaudible word] to join his native hill. His regimental number is 21040. His Name is Habimana. He is a simple soldier and he was born in Kibungo Prefecture, Muhazi Commune, Sector, [inaudible words] with which the military travel as civilians. This has not been the case. The way-bill has been signed by Major B.A.M. [Inaudible] Francois-Xavier. He pretends that he [inaudible words], it is in the letter he got from his friend. But when he put an ambush near my house, all the persons... [inaudible words].

[MBILIZI]: Yes, MR Stanislas SIMBIZI, this has happened some hours after the assassination of one of your important militant Mr Katumba. So, Mr Stany what has been your reaction after Katumba's assassination and what message can you tell your members about it and about the aborted coup that was prepared for you?

[SIMBIZI]: Thank you Mbilizi. According to the information at our disposal, we are now in the phase of a systematic physical elimination. RPF'S plan says that CDR wants violence. That is not true. There is no evidence about it. We have met RPF and asked the evidences about it but we did not get them. We talked to the Diplomatic Corps to know those evidences but we did not find. And RPF undertakes such exactions to provoke CDR-members. We have been informed that those who killed Katumba are RPF soldiers who are members of the family living in the house from where the bullet was shot. I will not say their names because we have investigators. What I can add is that among the victims to become one finds principally Mr Ngeze.

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And we get this information from our informers who are in better position to know RPF's thoughts. I can also add that yesterday's plot had to be carried out in every area of the town of Kigali. Unfortunately things did not happen the way RPF wanted it. May be they will resume tonight and tomorrow.

I invite the militants of CDR-members not to accept RPF's plans and not to indulge in bad actions because that would be giving it ways of taxing CDR with criminality. Our party wants a peaceful cohabitation between the ethnic groups which are always in confrontation in Rwanda. And I hope that if RPF made an effort, a peaceful cohabitation would be reached. It is absolutely necessary and it will be possible if persons with good grace put pressure to those who only advocate death in Rwanda. Thank you.

3. [RUCOGOZA is the speaker]: Assassinations and ethno-political violences happen so often nowadays in the town of Kigali. As a matter of fact, Ingabire Alphonse alias Katumba, Advisor of taximen at "Gare Routiere" [a bus station in Kigali] and active-member of CDR has been harshly assassinated yesterday at Biryogo [a quarter in Kigali] around 21.45. He was chatting with a friend of his, not far from his house, when his head was crashed by a gunshot. All the people around rushed to their houses because they were panicky and the atmosphere was particularly gloomy. Katumba lived in Biryogo quarter which is made especially by dense spontaneous agglomerations. And some of its parts are less lighted by electricity. On this same line of thought Kigali, the capital, is in an abnormal atmosphere. Some shops were closed and some others were desperately open. Motorists, pedestrians and other passengers have suspended their daily activities. Only monastic silence and calm prevail in the capital. One could read a strange attitude in the eyes of people: fear, disappointment, indignation and worry. All the taxis and mini-buses which are used to carry passengers have stopped their activities. People of Kigali, mainly those living in the suburbs were perplexed.

[MBILIZI]: Thank you a lot Emmanuel Rucogoza. It is now 20.52'. Kigali time. 13 students of Nyanza have just been enrolled by RPF. As a matter of fact, students from schools of Nyanza such as ESPANYA, COLLEGE CHRIST-ROI, ECOLE DES SCIENCES, ECOLE NORMALE DE NYANZA and ECOLE TECHNIQUE DES FILLES have just been enrolled by RPF and are waiting for the departure to join it. To be more precise, dear listerners, it is a group of people called "Brigade Inziraguteba" which is made of the following students : - Rwakayiro Placide, Coordinor of the brigade, 18 years and student at Espanya P.O.Box 67. His code name in the RPF will be Rwayitare.

- Kabengera Jean Damascene, Secretary of the Brigade, 17 years and student at College Christ-Roi P.O.Box 61. His code name in the RPF will be Rudasumbwa.
- Rwandekwe Richard, Chief of Security and Discipline in the brigade, 18 years and student at Espanya. P.O.Box 67. His code name in the RPF will be Karinganire.
- Rudahangarwa Egide, in charge of security, 18 years and student at ESM P.O.Box.30. His code name will be Rwagatare.
- Ngabo Ange Regis, in charge of security, 17 years and student at Ecole des Sciences de Nyanza P.O.Box 30. His code name will be Rugenda.
- Duhirwe Gilbert, in charge of Finance, 13 years and student at Ecole des Sciences de Nyanza P.O.Box 30. His code name will be Hirwa in the RPF-Inkotanyi.
- Nsengimana Jacques, in charge of sports, 18 years and student at Espanya P.O.Box 67. His code name will be Rugengwa.
- Rugema Clement, in charge of information, 18 years and student at Christ-Roi. His code name will be Mucyo.

- Manzi Prosper Robert, in charge of production, 18 years and student at Espanya. His code name is Migenzo.
- Bizimana Claude, is in charge of PMM [Political Mobilization and Propaganda], 17 years and student at Ecole des Science de Nyanza P.O.Box 30. His code name in the RPF will be Kasubutare.
- Uwase Sabine, in charge of culture, 16 years and student at Ecole Normale Primaire de Nyanza. Her code name is Munyenjishi.
- Uwera Frida, in charge of enlistment, 17 years and student at Ecole Technique des Filles, P.O.Box 13. [inaudible] Ruzigira.
- Umuhozo Francoise, Junior in the Brigade [Mbilizi says he does not know what junior means], student at Ecole Technique des Sciences Sociales, P.O.Box 13. Her code name will Mukandengo.

So, dear listeners, you have noticed that these students are very young and that can be very dangerous. We have to say that this confirms sufficiently the information that was diffused on RTLM saying that the RPF has infiltrated schools. This is even the case for University, mainly the faculty of law. That's it! Soon in 30 minutes it will be 21 hours.

4. [Mbilizi is the speaker]: RPF does not want to hear about CDR's participation in the Transitional National Assembly. According to the RPF, CDR [Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique] preaches violence and violates the political code and ethics. At this present time Faustin Twagiramungu [now prime minister of Rwanda and president of MDR party], Lando [he was president of the Liberal Party and minister of labour. He was assassinated by the Rwandan Army] and other accomplices of RPF pretend to be mediators between the latter and the President's house on what they call CDR-OBSTACLE at the Transitional National Assembly. Eleven Ministers of Agathe's cabinet have said their opinion on the enrolment of CDR in the National Transitional Assembly. We will come back to it. Let us first emphasize on the precisions that CDR has issued about the RPF's accusations. The RPF recognizes that it is the Committee for Unity and National Reconciliation provided for by the agreement protocole about power sharing in its 81st clause, signed on 9 January 1994 that will have to monitor that each political party respects the principles set forth in clause 80. That task is not, therefore, RPF's which accuses CDR of having violated some of its principles. The RPF has to be patient and submit its complaints to that commission instead of setting up for prosecutor and victim. Concerning the allegations of violence, CDR party says that RPF has nothing else to say except the demonstration of 21 March 1994. One can, therefore, say that the RPF has not found anything to say about the arguments given by CDR to refute all these accusations of violence. In a meeting chaired by Mr Khan, Advisor of the UN Special Envoy on 24 March 1994. It is not, therefore, [inaudible] which has organized the killings of innocent people, tortured many women, children and the old and displaced more than 1 million people, the majority of whom having died of hunger, inclemencies and various shortcomings which can give lessons of peace and national reconciliation. Logically it is not CDR which has to turn over a new leaf but it is rather the RPF which has to give up its ideology of coming to power by force, violence, revenge. The RPF is not at all qualified to demand the exclusion of CDR-party of the Transitional National Assembly. It is rather the RPF which has to be excluded since it has not at all given up committing crime.

I go on with this announcement. I think it is obvious that the RPF will not accept that CDR can join the National Assembly. But this goes beyond RPF's competence. CDR has to enter this institution on the first day and in the same conditions as other political parties. We remind that CDR signed the political code in order to enter the Transitional National Assembly but the RPF, which is an army rebellion has stood against that. It is also worth-mentioning that on 28 March 1994, European Embassadors and the representative of the mediator had legitimated the participation of CDR in the transitional institutions.

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Eleven ministers of the government refuse the on-going silence which allows the RPF to go on with its deeds with impunity. They say they support the entrance of CDR in the transitional National Assembly as it is for other political forces and in line with the legal conditions found in articles 61,80,81 and 82 of the protocole about power-sharing signed in Arusha. This was said in the letter sent to Mrs the Prime Minister. In the same letter one also talk of PDI [may be "Parti Democrat Islamiste], and the restoration of order in the government's action. The letter is written as follows:

Dear ^{Madam} Sir, it is with honour that we refer to our letters of 14 and 21 January 1994. Both letters were about the cabinet meeting. We ask you one more time to organize the cabinet meeting in which crucial problems that our country is now faced with will be tackled. As it was said in a report issued after the sessions of 25 and 27 February 1994 held between the president of the republic and political parties. the government [END OF SIDE A]

- (a) Name of translator : ZIKULIZA Charles
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Side B
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N.B: SIDE B STARTS WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE LETTER SENT TO PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMANA BY ELEVEN MINISTERS (cfr side A of the same tape)

1. [MBILIZI] : "....the present government has to continue its activities, notably via cabinet meetings to face the problems that the country knows mainly in security matters. It has also to solve the problem related to the implementation of transitional institutions." Following the statement that you yourself [Mrs Uwilingiyimana] signed you convened a cabinet meeting on 29 February 1994, a meeting which had not been organized since 2 months. With this new conflict that resulted from the meeting of political parties represented in the government, and the president of the republic, one could hope that the cabinet was finally going to function normally and assume its responsibility in this very difficult period that our country is undergoing. Alas that seems not to be the case today as it is now almost 1 month that the cabinet has not met. What is astonishing in all this is that you go on speaking on behalf of the government whereas you have no mandate for that. The latest declarations were made on 24 - 25 March 1994. They were about the installation of the broad-based transitional institutions, and on behalf of the government you took unfounded decisions on the case of MPS's mandated by PDI (Parti Democratique Islamique), MDR (Mouvement Democratique Revolutionnaire) and CDR (Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique). you have, in fact, adopted and let known to the public a list of MPS of the Transitional National Assembly which excludes CDR's whereas the latter has respected all conditions required by the Arusha Peace Accord that you have yourself recognized [MP=Member of parliament]. Furthermore, your list does not include an MDR's MP who won his case in justice following the provisional execution whereas you know well that when jurisdictions commands a provisional execution, the trial is executed notwithstanding any appeal. Finally, the list mentions a PDI MP who has not been designated by his party's organs which are entitled to do so. In this same line of thought and after the failure of the ceremonies marking the swearing-in of MPS at the Transitional National Assembly and the new cabinet on 25 March 1994, you met the RPF in an attempt to find a solution to that impasse on behalf of the government whereas you had not consulted the latter beforehand. The signers of this letter insist once again so that the cabinet could meet without delay in order to put up clearly the government's stand about this non-installation of the broad-based transitional institutions. An acceptable solution, to communicate to the RPF, will be found if only the government is associated to the decision-making on very complexed and delicate matters. Such a solution will be reached via a consensus which is to be obtained after the deliberations of a veritable government. Yours faithfully. The signers are the following ministers:

- Minister of Interior and Communal Development, Munyazesa Faustin
 - Minister of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture, Mbangura Daniel
 - Minister of Public Services, Mugiraneza Prosper
 - Minister of Family and Promotion of Women, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko
 - Minister of Justice, Agnes Ntamabyariro
 - Minister of Defence, Augustin Bizimana
 - Minister of Plan, Augustin Ngirabatware
 - Minister of Commerce, Industry and crafts, Mugenzi Justin
 - Minister of Health, Dr Casimir Bizimungu, now on mission
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-Minister of Environment and Tourism, Ruhumuliza Gaspard
 -Minister of Youth and Associations, Callixte Nzabonimana
 -Minister of Transport and Communication, Andre Ntagerura.

You are still tuned to RTL, a private radio which transmits on magic frequencies 106.4 , 94.3. The sympathetic radio. In the minutes which follow our reflection I am going to ask Kamanzi [RTL sound-engineer] to disclose to you one of his musical secrets. [SONG]

...cannot rally the army. And Kamanzi tells me it is going to be warm tonight. We still have something like 40 minutes of entertainment and information via RTL [Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines].

Since the signature of the Arusha Peace Agreement on 4 August 1994, the conventions encounter obstacles continually. The last problem to occur is the one related to the entrance of CDR in the National Transitional Assembly. This last problem explains one more time the difficulty of putting the Arusha Accord into practice. The accord, as everyone knows, concerns mainly the Rwandan population who paradoxically have not been consulted during the negotiations. It seems that every time when the population want, through the parties who have signed the accord, to find themselves in those texts, by pointing out some questions; these do not find satisfactory answers. That is how there is a political impasse born from the divisions which are observable in the parties' executive committees. As a matter of fact, the basis of those parties [the members] have realized that their representatives were not meeting their profound aspirations. That explains the animosity directed towards opposition leaders such as the Designated Prime Minister of the broad-based transitional government [Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu]. Things were totally different on the day of the signature of Arusha Peace Accord. Occidental countries believed in the opposition and the population had no clear idea about the RPF. Here in the country, one doubts about the viability of those accords and their application seems to be difficult, and even uncertain, because the opinion says the RPF does not want peace and democracy but wants rather to come to power. With all the grievances which are attributed to those rebels who are said to have murdered and assassinated many people throughout the country, the unceasing refusal of the RPF to sit in the chamber with CDR MPS is explained by the fact that CDR has been the first party to support all the Hutus and condemn whoever attempts to overtake power by means other than democratic. It is, therefore, the only party which deigned to challenge the RPF without fear. CDR spares no effort to challenge the Feudo-Monarchists [RPF]. With the RPF in the Transitional National Assembly one foresees stormy debates with CDR of course. And that is what RPF avoids because it is afraid of contradictions. But what is worth precisng, dear friends and listerners, is that the verification of the respect of conditions which are required by paragraph II of clause 61 of the accord protocole about power-sharing, a protocole, that the RPF wants to take advantage from, has already been done at Arusha. It even had to be done by negotiating parties as it is provided for by the last phrase of paragraph II, clause 61 of the mentioned protocol. That has been said by CDR's statement. When negotiations and the signing of the peace accord are over, one can no more talk of verification. Furthermore, there is no more negotiations among parties, we only have parties which have signed. Let us also remind you the following because the present conditions make CDR to saying some truths which one might perhaps forget. It is not, therefore, an organization [RPF] which has massacred several innocent civilians, tortured many women, children and the old, displaced more than one million, many of whom died of hunger, various inclemencies and privations, which can give lessons of pacification and national reconciliation. Yes, CDR says that it is accused of perpetrating acts of violence in the country. On the contrary, this accusation has rather to press over the RPF. The latest assassinations accuse the RPF once again. Let us wait for the investigations for further information. CDR says that it is not it, therefore, which has violated the ethic code but rather the RPF. And despite the assassinations and the displacement of more than one million people, one has accepted that the RPF can remain in the Assembly and be in the government! Why , why this would not be the case for CDR? We also have to precise, as we have not yet said it, that 11 political parties have given support to CDR so that the latter can join the Transitional National Assembly. They said it in these words:

"The parties which have signed the present declaration, wants a strict respect of the Arusha Peace Agreement. They are conscious of the imperious necessity of restoring an ever lasting peace in

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Rwanda. And since they are actuated by the spirit of equity, they declare to support the immediate and unconditional inclusion of CDR in the Transitional National Assembly under the same terms and legal conditions than other political forces' in accordance with clauses 61, 80, 81 and 82 of the agreement protocol about power-sharing signed in Arusha. This has been signed by:

- Mathieu Ndirumpatse, President of MRND,
- Karemera Froduald and Dr Murego (MDR)
- Justin Mugenzi, President of PL
- Munyarugerero Amiel, 2nd Vice-President of PDC
- Mr Didace, member of the Executive Committee of PDC
- Nyirahabimana Gaudence, President of MFBP
- Nzeyimana Emmanuel, President of RTD
- [Name ungiven] (PPGR-RAMA RWANDA)
- Butera Jean Baptiste (PECO)
- Cheikh Kibata Juma, President of the Executive Committee of PDI and Babuzinyire Juma
- Nyasungira Jean Baptiste (PADER)
- Bagabo Egide (PARERWA)."

Dear listeners, in CDR's opinion, if one is credited with the death of thousands of persons or with the displacement of more than one million throughout the country many of whom have died of various inclemencies, one then has no lessons of pacification and national reconciliation to give to other parties, mainly to CDR which has a lot of members.

The last obstacle to the setting up of the transitional government, if one can call it an obstacle, can even make people think. There is famine here, desentery there, other economic problems and the sword which is suspended over the heads of politicians by the threats and ultimatum of the institutions of Bretonwood and those of the International Community. One asks oneself what is the future of Rwanda going to be like? Then some people have reflected aloud for you, dear listeners, and that is our tonight's reflection. The ball is on your court Gaspard Gahigi and George Ruggiou.

2.[GEORGE and GASPARD GAHIGI]:

[GEORGE]: Gaspard Gahigi, good morning.

[GAHIGI]: Good morning George.

[GEORGE]: It is a great honour for us to have our editor present here to reflect a little with us on the current problems and in fact on how one can overcome. What makes us think that things have changed? With the attempt of setting up the transitional institutions, things will no longer be as they used to. And probably the Arusha Peace Accord will never be applied even if they are still with us. What would make us think that things have changed so far?

[GAHIGI]: It is perhaps a very difficult question. But I wanted to remind you, George, that the Arusha Peace Agreements were signed between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front. By the time of negotiations and by the time of signing the agreements, the government of Rwanda was lead by the opposition made up by the parties that you know. And the latter had signed a pact with the RPF in Brussels in order to create a movement that they called "LES FORCES DEMOCRATIQUES POUR LE CHANGEMENT". As a matter of fact, nothing will be similar to the past because RPF thought it was going to form a common block with the integrated opposition after the signing of those accords. The latter became aware that their partner [RPF] did not show the look that it had offered before. And the internal opposition split up and that led to the blockade and I remind you that Mr Pasteur Bizimungu [current president of Rwanda], in a press conference held in Brussels on 18 January 1993, had declared that the RPF was part of political parties who are fighting against the leaders in place in Rwanda. That means MDR, PL and PSD. One understands, from this declaration that things have changed because those

parties constitute no longer an internal branch of the RPF. That is really a start that people have to understand because people have understood the plans of the RPF.

Rwandans who were members of political parties which composed the internal opposition do no longer believe in the RPF and do not want to share the ambitions of the latter.

[GEORGE]: Obviously a lot of things change; the RPF is now isolated and threatens to resume war. Even if that war was not resumed right now, it would no longer be an aggressive war because we are expecting it and since a part of the country is now occupied. How then would we describe the hostilities?

[GAHIGI]: The hostilities, in any case, would be different because the RPF occupies a part of the Rwandan territory and the RPF is in Kigali [by that time a 600 battalion of the RPF was sent to Kigali to be part of the new Rwandan army which was agreed upon at Arusha] and it has certainly or probably infiltrated many of its soldiers in urban centres. So, if the war is resumed, the population will not be able to flee as it did before because things will have started from the inside. The war will be different because the Rwandan population know now what is RPF. That means it would, actually, be a total war. The population and the army would stand up together as one to fight against the RPF. And the war would start from the inside and perhaps it would cause lots of damages. But certainly and probably the RPF would not lose war.

[GEORGE]: It is true that there are people who said that they were going to occupy Kigali in one day, and up to now they have not been able to occupy Ruhengeri [another district of Rwanda]. One can ask oneself some questions. As you have just pointed out, the enemy is now known, their collaborators are also known, some foreign allied to the RPF are known. The RPF has even began to tell some of its European collaborators that now it does not understand anything about the Arusha Peace Accord. What is happening on the RPF's side? How can we understand that the RPF is telling its western allies that they do not understand what the former want, that they are behind the times?

[GAHIGI]: I sincerely believe that the RPF is in desperate straits because in 1990 when it launched the attack, it had a pretext of democratizing this country. Paradoxically, when they came they found that there were opposition parties in the country and there was a democratic game already. And the international community has begun to understand that the RPF does not want to play the democratic game. The RPF does not want free and democratic elections because it knows that it would lose. That is why the RPF tries by all means and stratagems to come to power without resorting to democratic elections. And that is why the RPF had undertaken an immense propaganda to convince the International Community it is has initiated democracy. However, the international community and the internal opposition have now noticed that the RPF does not want the democratic game at all. It wants to achieve power by force and trickery.

[GEORGE]: Since the national and international opinion have noticed it, we have demanded the departure, for a long time of Prime Minister Mrs Uwilingiyimana because her government was not working. With that hypothesis, which kind of government are we expecting? Are there party-members who are ready for alternation?

[GAHIGI]: Concerning Mrs Agathe Uwilingiyimana's government, the latter has herself said that her government was not functioning but she always proclaims herself Prime Minister. For me this is a flagrant contradiction which is not just like a political personality that holds a rank of Prime Minister. And I sincerely think that if a government is not functioning the only thing one can do is to dismiss it. And I think all the states all over the world and all the citizens have the right to choose a government of their own. And there is no problem about dismissing that government because the latter has been set up by five parties which are part of it. They set it up after a meeting whereby they had decided that the post of Prime Minister was attributed to the MDR. And those parties are capable of meeting once again to realize

Agathe

that that government is not competent and replace it by another. I think that is an act of courage that is worth-doing because Rwandans cannot live without government. That was the first point.

The second point is that Rwandans have not to be penalized because there is delay of installing the broad-based government, stipulated by the Arusha Peace Agreement. Then I think Rwandese people have to provide for a government capable of negotiating or re-negotiating the Arusha Accord since the latter cannot be applicable. So, either the RPF accepts that it has to really take part in the democratic game that is being played in this country and then a broad-based government involving the RPF would be set up, or it refuses and then the people of Rwanda would provide themselves for another government while waiting for the RPF to come and play fair.

[GEORGE]: You were saying that one had to negotiate or re-negotiate the Arusha Peace Accord, what is the real problem provoked by those agreements?

[GAHIGI]: In fact the, Arusha Accord centered around two main axis. The first axis was that of halting the war. The second which is, in my opinion, the main axis, was about power-sharing. You know, however, that the RPF does not want power-sharing. It wants to take it all as it wanted it when it launched the attack in 1990. Then, the principal problem of these accords is effectively the power that the RPF wants entirely. And when you know the nature of the RPF i.e. people who have organized in a politico-military party, who are descendants of feudo-monarchists who left the country in 1959, then they come to re-conquer the power entirely and I think the people of Rwanda are not ready to give all of it. The people of Rwanda have perhaps been logical enough by accepting to share power with the RPF. If the people of Rwanda gave power to the RPF that would be a counter-revolution of what happened 59 and I think the people would not accept it. And the signs augur that it is the splitting of internal parties because they have remarked that it was treason to enter into a compact with the RPF and take power from MRND. Then those parties refused. Actually, the splitting of political parties such as MDR and PL, does not mean anything than the refusal of granting power to RPF. And Mugenzi Justin [president of [PL-POWER]] often repeats it. In any case, Rwandans are not yet ready to give the power to the RPF.

[GEORGE]: Well, there is, therefore, a last problem and we had had an opportunity of tackling it. The international community had practically imposed the conclusion of the Arusha Accords. But now they are aware that they are not applicable. In fact these accords would be taken as an imposition of a foreign body on the population of Rwanda. Does the international committee feel that there is a radical change? And if ever those accords of Arusha were not effective, what would Rwanda get as support from the international community?

[GAHIGI]: I think that at a certain point, we can understand, as far as international policy is concerned, the pressure that the international community has brought on the government of Rwanda and the RPF in order to sign the Arusha Accord. It is quite understandable that one needed peace and one needed to put an end to the war. And now that those accords have been concluded and signed, the international community has had enough time and every needed explanation concerning the stake of this war. The reason behind this war, as it was declared by the RPF, was to democratize this country. I think that the international community has an obligation to bring pressure to bear on the RPF so that it can accept to effectively play the democratic game. If this is not the case, Rwandans are able to refuse that foreign body. If ever the RPF refuses to be part of the Rwandan community and act as Rwandans, it is the obligation of the international communities and Rwandans to refuse the anti-democratic game of the RPF. And I think that Rwanda should be efficient and dynamic in matters of foreign policy to tell the international community that those people they were supporting are not at all democrats but rather dictators.

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X
- a) Translator : Fabien NSENGIYUMVA
 - b) Date of Translation : 17/ October 1995
 - c) Loose tape # RTL M 4
 - d) Date : 12/4/1994
 - e) Side A

K0113785

Note : * The tape is dated 12/4/1994 whereas the broadcast may have taken place on 23/4/1994 as one journalist says.

SIMBIZI Stany RPF's posts will be given to others. If RPF doesn't need to enter the transitional institutions, it should say it so that other parties can share its posts and then Rwandese people can prepare together elections which will lead us to true democracy.

BEMERIKI Valerie (journalist) : This is the question I would like to ask Mister **SIMBIZI**. We know that CDR (Coalition for the Defense of the Republic) is not among the five parties which form the transitional government, I mean the government recently created. In CDR , what are your expectations from this government? How, according to you, this government can work to solve the problems prevailing in this country? Since MDR is one of the parties forming that government, it may have views which cope with the attributions of that government. They have established the government knowing well what it will do for them as we know that they have given the Prime Minister. So what does CDR think this government will do for it, for the country? How, according to CDR, this government must work?

SIMBIZI : We, in CDR, have always wished to have a government which defends the interests of the population, instead of defending the interest of given groups of people. So we expect from that government to be reasonable, not to side with RPF by bringing complications as the preceding government has been doing. You noticed that the former government was not different from RPF. It collaborated with RPF to make the Rwandan population suffer. So this government, instead of making the population suffer, must help

people to leave misery and follow the true process of democracy and then the citizen can regain his right of speech.

Journalist (It maybe Bamwanga of Radio Rwanda) : We would like to hear what Mister KARAMIRA thinks, especially that I noticed that MDR party has appointed ministers whom TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin doesn't like.

KARAMIRA : Actually our expectations from that government are the same as what we expect from the entire population. All the people must know that the government has been established for the whole country. It is not the government of parties. Parties create the government so that it can work for the country, for the population. If then there has been governments, especially the preceding one which had appointed even persons MDR had dismissed as they couldn't work for the interest of the country, I think that others saw what this government did; MDR was saying it... (unfinished idea). Even if you are weak, you cannot say the party rendered you weak. The government must work together for the population. For the interest of the country , all ministers, regardless of the different parties they belong to, must trust in one another for the interest of the country. This is what we wanted and now we hope that the government is going to have a good way of working together without attributing its actions to one of the parties. But it is the government of Rwandans which is going to accomplish the two attributions we gave it which are : to restore peace and security among Rwandans and to continue negotiations in the light of Arusha Peace Accords if possible. So it is clear that it is not the MDR's government as some people may intend to say. It is the government, created for all Rwandan people. We have always wished that the government cares for the Rwandan problems instead of leaning itself on one wing of the party. If it behaves this way, we can no longer call it a government. Unfortunately such things happened. Furthermore, MDR was not in that preceding government. Our people who were in it had been dismissed from the party and we have to forget what they did, though no one can appreciate them, in

order to see how to restore confidence in the population, in the army on the battlefield and by thus doing we can win the war.

Journalist: Thank you for your good constructive ideas and I hope that our listeners have gained something from these views.

BAMWANGA : Mister KARAMIRA, before we close this discussion I would like to tell Rwandans, particularly those who are afraid of rumors propagated by RPF that Rwandese have fled; that very few people are in Kigali town; that soldiers are fleeing. I would like to inform Rwandese who are not in Kigali that these things unfounded. People who are in Kigali shouldn't be desperate because they have heard that in a given quarter of the town people have fled. Stay calm, especially you who live in Kigali; you who are on night patrols, on barriers, don't pay attention to rumors, stick together and defeat the inventor of this rumor.

(Song belonging to BIKINDI)

KANTANO : You are still tuning to Radio RTL M broadcasting from exile. I wish a good day to all our listeners. We are living hard times of the war launched by the stubborn RPF inkotanyi due to their conceitedness and contempt. We have made them aware of their mistake of not having thought twice before they attacked; the mistake of having underestimated us. Now they have noticed that all Rwandans stick together fighting against RPF. So they are wrong to declare that they will take Kigali if all their requirements are not met; that they will take the entire power. They are wrong to believe that people who in the country will be chased by people from other countries such as Uganda. We can never accept that a young man of 20, 23 years, who has never been in Rwanda, comes with a gun to take what Rwandans have achieved. And never shall we accept that someone who has spent 40 years abroad, comes running to take our assets. We have decided to defend our properties, our life and our people. That is why in

all corners of the country a lot of people, angry with Inkotanyi's contempt, are busy fighting against RPF.

Today here in Kigali we haven't heard fighting except some three bombs which were destined to crush Inkotanyi hidden in close mountains of Kigali. However, since they are promised heaven and earth, they continue fighting; they never get tired. Therefore your vigilance is needed. To fight against them is not put one's weapon down. They have a lot of tricks.

I have an information that 4 Inkotanyi are trending towards Kimisagara. Two are going to APACE school and other two are going to Nyakabanda. This information comes from the house worker of SINSHOBOYE Bernard. Two young men, in washed-out trousers with grenades, in their pockets came and asked him to show them where people have been killed yesterday. This child went to show them. We asked this child whether no other person saw those Inkotanyi but he told us that they made him pass in small paths.

So, you people who are closer to where this child is, continue questioning him so that he can show you where he left these Inkotanyi. Those who live at Kimisagara should go trace them in the premises of APACE KABUSUNZU. And at Nyakabanda, people must be vigilant, see whether Inkotanyi are not passing in small paths, trace them to know their hiding-outs.

And you who are on barriers continue reinforcing your vigilance. To fight against Inkotanyi requires to be vigilant. Otherwise, they can turn the occasion to account. You listeners of RTLM, stand firm, we are together. Today we are on Friday 22/4/1994. Days are passing, last month some people were not paid and this month is going to expire. People are asking themselves whether and how they will get paid since they didn't work. We have a lot of problems these days but we must fasten our belts. After the victory, we will have what we want provided we are victorious against Inkotanyi. So be patient maybe things will go better, we are confident that better days are coming very soon.

In a short time we are going to discuss the Arusha Peace Accords, the present government, the United Nations and UNAMIR, and TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin alias RUKOKOMA (name meaning the national conference. It was given to him because

he was claiming for the taking place of the national conference) who plunged us in these sad events due to his stubbornness. In the morning he has declared that our radio is the Famous Radio of Thousand Hills (RTL) I don't know where he was, but he may be in exile. He is no longer sure of himself. Continue listening to your radio RTL, we will soon discuss these above-mentioned points.

We have been fighting against the Cockroaches (name given to the former refugees who became inkotanyi, by the government) Inkotanyi for 15 days. They have resumed the war while we believed that we had signed, with them, the Arusha Accords. Now they are fighting against the Rwandan Forces on all fronts. Here in Kigali shootings are heard in the area of SGP, in that entire region of Remera. These shootings aim at tracking down Inkotanyi from their hiding-outs, in houses where they have encircled people, killing them atrociously to the extent that some people have asked the assistance of the Red Cross so that they can bury their people but the Red Cross has refused saying that it doesn't want to be killed by Inkotanyi. These things must be condemned because when someone is killed his or her relatives have the right to have the body for the burial. The Red Cross should do whatever possible to free people taken as hostages by RPF.

Inkotanyi are using people as shields. For example Inkotanyi can hide himself behind an old woman so that if he is shot at, the old woman can serve as his shield. This is the reason why our army doesn't want to shoot. Inkotanyi hide themselves in houses and live there without any thing to eat. They become like thieves and indeed they are thieves. They stay in houses with persons they find there but many of these hostages have died. I heard about a man called Thadee, even all the people who have been found in houses have been killed. Any Hutu found in a house has been killed with machetes. They have killed all Interahamwe, members of CDR and anyone who was not PL Lando, MDR Rukokoma, PSD Nzamurambaho.

So at Remera, people who have no way to flee from these killers are being killed atrociously. They are sharing misfortunes with Inkotanyi whereas these dare-devils came and found people in their houses, in their properties. They burnt these houses and made people starve. This is a proof that Inkotanyi like only properties and power, not people.

You were listening to the song entitled Nanga Abahutu (I hate Hutus). The sad events we are living are brought about by people like TWAGIRAMUNGU Faustin alias Rukokoma, KANYARENGWE, BIZIMUNGU Pasteur, the latter who spoilt all the Arusha Accords believing that Rwandans would accept the declarations he made in Arusha. These people and all other accomplices in the country have ruined this country, plunging it in such misfortunes. The country has had bad luck to give birth to Kanyarengwe, Twagiramungu , accomplices and others like Bizimungu Pasteur and now see what they have plunged us in. Those Hutus who joined the extremist group of Tutsis, who call themselves Inkotanyi whereas they are cockroaches, have brought about misfortunes to this country. However, we appreciate the fact that people continue to work together. We immediately understood that.....(not clear)

They have come to take the power by force, to steal what people have achieved in 30 years. This is the reason why we have to fight enthusiastically to defend our properties and our people.. (not clear, not audible)....

Even if you are a corporal, Inkotanyi will track you down, wherever you can go. If they find you, they will tell you that you were in that army which killed thousands and thousands of people and immediately they will kill you. You have no where to flee to. Stand up and fight, attach your belt and be like Inkotanyi (indefatigable warrior). I don't mean Rwigema's Inkotanyi but be inkotanyi who defending your country, your life and your properties. This is the situation. Inkotanyi bleed and we too bleed; they have the head and we too have one.

As Kambanda, the Prime Minister, said Inkotanyi have studied some things we too will learn others. If they invent other tricks, we will discover them and learn others. Inkotanyi use the trick of attacking in a group of less than 50 people. They attack a commune, chase the burgomaster and police men. Radio MUHABURA propagates rumors that RPF has attacked in a given place. When they hear, people flee and then RPF profits to take that place and they go on.... They started this in Muhura, and then in Murambi. So they use this trick and say that they have taken those places.

Now that they talk about the Arusha talks, they want to say that everyone will stay where he is. What does it mean? It is like the tempo Zone. Inkotanyi declared to have taken everywhere they have arrived and from where the population has fled. They thus call the region tempo zone. The truth is that they have frightened people and the authorities who fled but they cannot say that they have seized that region. How many are Inkotanyi so that they can take communes and the whole UMUTARA in Byumba? Does it mean that the number of Rwandan soldiers has reduced whereas we have got the chance since they have attacked before the implementation of their trick of demobilization? They will have to deal with the Rwandan soldier. Every RPF soldier has got at least two Rwandan soldiers.

Then to tell lies that they have seized regions like Kayonza and so on is a mere lie. For example you can hear two Inkotanyi shooting at Kanzenze and if the burgomaster flees they say that they have taken that commune, if other two Inkotanyi shoot, being at Runda, they will say that they have taken this commune; other three will shoot, being, for example, at Muyaga and they will say that they have taken the whole country. This is a trick to convince the world that they have taken the whole country. They want that during the negotiations, they can say: "WHERE WE ARE". Anywhere they have one Inkotanyi, even a cripple, one-eyed Inkotanyi, they will say that the place is theirs. They used the same trick during the Kinyira negotiations but we hope this will not be repeated.

As for Twagiramungu Faustin, alias Rukokoma, today I don't know on which European radio he made declarations. But hearing him you feel that he is no longer proud of himself. He has declared that our Radio, which he called the famous private Radio of Thousand Hills, spurs the troubles. However, we have never ceased to advise him to be

cool and moderate, to give back what he had confiscated, give back to the party its belongings. We used to play on our radio a song entitled Nanga agasuzuguro (I don't like contempt). Twagiramungu turned a deaf ear to this song. Maybe he thought that it was sung by RTLTM while it had been sung by people of Gitarama at his father in law. Didn't we give him advice? Haven't we always advised him not to make the Prime Minister commit what we can call sin? Have we failed to tell him not to take her here and there, making her declare what she hadn't prepared. Didn't we tell him not to make her do what she didn't agree upon with the president even though she was the prime minister? Is he with her now ?

His way of working like Inkotanyi, his self-admiration and greediness plunged the country in sad events. So to throw the responsibility at RTLTM is to exaggerate, it is a baseless lie and no one can believe in him. When some people asked him whom he thinks has brought down the plane of the president of the republic, he said that first of all it is not Belgians and secondly it is not inkotanyi, he said that those who brought down the plane of the president of the Republic are some of the extremist soldiers who wanted to resume the war. Listen to a Rwandan who answers for Rwanda!

However, we have appreciated the man called Nkubito Alphonse. In fact he has given advice to Inkotanyi that even if they happen to take Kigali the population will not side with them. In Rwanda the power will be given by the population but the interests of the majority must take the lead. This are the declarations of the Prosecutor Nkubito Alphonse Marie with his beard. He always summoned us to come in front of the court accusing us of having talked about him on the radio. He succeeded in fleeing but he gave a good advice to Inkotanyi that to take Kigali doesn't mean anything since people are no longer the same. Maybe Twagiramungu Faustin is not happy because he will not be the Prime Minister according to the Arusha Accords. However he made a mistake of not paying attention to what people were telling him that that his government will not be created because he doesn't like CDR, the party of true Hutus who speak for other Hutus. People told him that his government will not be established because he is against those who worked with him in the party and when they beat him in the court he sent them to other courts so that he could continue ruling in the meantime. It is his policy of excluding

misfortune. Twagiramungu, where he is in exile, should sit down to think and repent if he still has the brain. He must ask pardon since it is he who has betrayed Rwanda.

As for the United Nations Organization, it is sad that it has reduced its troops and left only 270. But soldiers from Bangladesh, from Ghana, all of them had come to make money. They will leave cursing Inkotanyi who prevents them from this occasion. They had made plans for the dollars they gain but now they are going home. In any case they are cursing Inkotanyi, they don't curse Rwandans because we have tried to live with them friendly, to tell them injustice we are victim of. Let them leave in peace but they shouldn't blame Rwandans, because we have treated them like friends. No Bangladeshi, Ghanaian people chanting that you are playing the highest politics, which has plunged the country in, Senegalese, has been injured. In brief, we lived well with these Africans though the Bangladeshi are not Africans but none of African soldiers from Congo, Ghana, Senegal got injured. This is perhaps the reason why OAU, wants to send troops and would like each country, depending on its capacity, to provide troops which will come at the level of OAU.

The Rwandan Ambassador at the United Nations Organization has, yesterday in the night, unavailingly been struggling for the UN blue berets to stay in Rwanda. He has argued that UN has sent 30000 soldiers in Bosnia, a small region with a few people but in Rwanda they have refused to keep the existing number of troops. The Americans, their Tutsis and their Belgians have immediately shouted saying that if Tutsis are refused to take the power they will take their dollars to another place and then see what will happen. Let them go. We will find solutions to our problems. It is known that the problems of a country are solved by its citizens, not foreigners. We have to be cautious with them even when they assist us. Their assistance goes with their interests. As they have no interest to save in Rwanda they prefer to leave us to come back when the situation will be better. Let them go but we will stay with these 200 soliders.

Another disadvantage for us is that these remaining troops will be commanded by a man called Dallaire who is still mourning for his sister Mrs. Lando and other people who died. No one ignores the way he came, in Rwanda, full of himself. We ask ourselves

how he will command these troops? Fortunately, our God didn't close the eyes, we stay with a man, worth the name, Roger Boh Boh that Cameroonian citizen. He had understood the problem of CDR, the problem of PL but Tutsis didn't respect their engagement when they claimed for the Ministry of Justice. However, bishops had settled the situation; white men had done everything but Twagiramungu Faustin, Ndasingwa Landuald and Inkotanyi refused because the didn't receive the Ministry of Justice falls in their hands. They said that they had won the war and so it was all the same, better to fight and take even the little they had given us.

Roger Boh Boh understood the issue and asked them to be cautious but they refused and resumed the war. He has no more power. We will continue to fight. God is always with Rwanda. It will continue helping us in these greatest misfortune the world has even known. It is strange to see the minority group gathering people, bandits and whatever to come and chase, from the power, the authorities of the majority group. This has never happened any where in the world and I hope it will not happen in Rwanda. The Rwandese God will spare us from this misfortune.

You are still tuned to RTLMB broadcasting from exile, in Kigali. Dear listeners, continue proving your patience in these hard times. We are confident that God will calm them. Tomorrow negotiations will take place in Arusha. I have information that about ten Ministers of the government of His excellency Kambanda Jean, have left Kigali for all countries of the world. These delegations include Mister Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, chairman of MRND. Some will go to Arusha, others to France, USA and other countries anywhere Inkotanyi have spoilt our image. Then negotiations will be held tomorrow in Arusha..... (Continue on Side B. See File RTLMB4)

- a) Translator : Fabien NSENGIYUMVA
- b) Date of translation : 18 October 1995
- c) Loose tape # RTLM 4
- d) Date 12/ April 1994
- e) Side B

HABIMANA KANTANO..... RPF wants to negotiate only with Rwandan army commanders and not with the government. This to ignore that both the government and the army work together like one person. RPF attacked the country and this government works for the country, we don't have any other government. We don't know any other president aside from SINDIKUBWABO Theodore; we have Kambanda Jean as the only Prime Minister of our strong government accepted in the country. So the refusal of the government is but an obstacle set by RPF. RPF doesn't know that times have changed. Kambanda has said that even if RPF arrives here in Kigali to take the capital, this would be a one-day joy. It will even be to endanger itself. Let them come; we will finish them up; ^{no} ~~on~~ one of them will survive. **In any case Rwandans are waiting for them with their machetes and other kind of arms, available to them.** In every part of the country, young men and young girls are being recruited in the army ready to fight against the cockroaches Inkotanyi until we defeat them completely. So it is clear that there is much hope. We stay with UN men who follow up the situation in order to inform the International Community. We are confident that they will report the truth.

We now have a strong government. Tomorrow, the government will hold negotiations with RPF in Arusha. Inkotanyi have accepted to go to Arusha. They know the place to the extent that they have already arrived there to propagate lies. They have with them their IBIZUNGEREZI (Tutsi Ladies whose striking beauty can make men lose their heads) to mislead people with their smile full of mischief and wickedness.

We think of you dear listeners, stand firm while listening to this song supporting the army and which gives you strength. You people of Kimisagara, how are you? I visited one quarter and people told me that after having heard that bombs fell and destroyed Radio RTL, many of them got out of themselves saying saying that since the radio which used to tell them the truth is destroyed, Inkotanyi have taken the country.

In fact this is true, no one could have thought of Inkotanyi throwing 12 bombs on our former office. Now we have moved to another place. I told you that one bomb costs two million francs which makes 24 million. They wanted to reduce to silence your voice, so that you can longer know where they are, the truth. They wanted to continue telling lies to the world and to you. But don't worry, God saved us. We have been injured but we are not dead. I ask our colleague Noel, where he is, to endure the blow. He has been injured on the battlefield. We will continue working, if we die others will continue. But we know that we are on the right path. No where in the world the minority group has ruled the majority group. This happened in former times but things have changed.

(From French)

George :

We are going to talk about the malice of the cockroaches Inkotanyi and their manservant Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU who has made absurd declarations on one of international media..... (It seems they don't continue with the same topic)

Now we are going to continue with history. It is not today that the group of Tutsis Inkotanyi, RPF wants to take and monopolize the power to oppress Hutus and ipso facto make democracy disappear. The Tutsis's superiority complex dates from time immemorial. In fact, schools have been created among which the first School Group of Astrida in Butare in 1917. They called it the school of the preferred people. This school of elites was established at Nyabisindu not for every body and afortiori not for Hutus, slaves since a lot of centuries but for only Tutsi children, who according to the colonial legend, were born only to rule. They were considered as the most intelligent. It is this

superiority complex which characterizes these compatriots Tutsis because even today many of them are still convinced of their intellectual superiority on the rest of Rwandese. The Belgian troops occupied Rwanda in 1916, thanks to Great Britain's support. After the war, the Society of Nations (SDN) confirmed Belgium, in its colonial ambitions, by giving it a mandate on Rwanda.

To accomplish its colonial policy, Belgium had already "tools" in the catholic missionaries. Already monopolists, the catholic missionaries used their influence to oblige the Protestant missionaries of German nationality to quit the country at the same time as German troops. The new colonizers kept, without much reform the German colonial system, for example the whip which was but the creation of the pristine alliance between Germans and Tutsis. The school reforms undertaken by the catholic missionaries, no longer taking into account ethnic belonging, opened a school for everybody. That was how the first Hutus received school education.

These first Hutu intellectuals led by Gregoire KAYIBANDA, Joseph HABYARIMANA GITERA, Balthazar BICAMUMPAKA and many others who, more conscious than ever of the problem of Hutus up to that time enslaved by the Feudo-Monarchist Tutsis, began to organize themselves publicly and consequently to revolt against their master. It was already on the reign of the last but one Rwandan king, Mutara Rudahigwa considered by Tutsis as a "progressist".

However, Mister Jean Paul Harois, who is thought to have known enough Mutara Rudahigwa since he was vice general governor of Rwanda-Burundi, and whose declarations can be doubted with difficulties, reports and I quote : " he may have been, one day, quoting one of his counselors, father Janvier MURENZI, and declaring to me that all of us have been stupid to believe, even a little, in a possibility of what you qualified above as the century dream : to conciliate a Feudal monarchy with pro-democratization reforms. Concerning this point, I would like to repeat my self. He used the following image : ' a young girl cannot be a bit pregnant' and to affirm myself with frankness, let's end our disputes. From now on, with my chiefs and friends, I will defend the statu quo of the present system which is perfectly capable, in the concept of the triple people, of

looking for the welfare of Hutu peasants, if you territorials and priests (the word is not clear) don't come(not clear) ..illusive hope of freedom.

Must we be progressist and combat liberties? This is the question. This royal speech doesn't differ from the declarations made by feudal masters and quoted in "Rwanda Politique" of Fidele NKUNDABAGENZI. A book published on 17 May 1958 at Nyanza, the former Royal capital and signed by 12 royal vassals in which the signatories clearly denied their ancestral links with Hutus and confirmed I quote : " The relations between us Tutsis and Hutus have always been based on selfdom. Therefore, between them and us there is no foundation of brotherhood. In fact, what relation existing between Tutsis, Hutus and Twas? Hutus pretend that Tutsis, Hutus and Twas are sons of Kanyarwanda, their common father. Can they say with whom Kanyarwanda begot them? What is the name of their mother and to what family she belongs?

With the same tone and the same arrogance, they exclude in the same document, that they have acceded to the power in Rwanda by killings. According to history Ruganzu has killed many Bahinzas (Hutu kinglets). He and other kings have killed Bahinzas and have thus conquered Hutu countries which these Bahinza governed as kings. We find the details in Inganji Karinga (by late Father Alexis KAGAME). Since our kings have conquered the Hutu countries by killing their kinglets, and have thus enslaved Hutus, how can the latter pretend to be our brothers? This is also a question"

The time now in our studio is 4 PM o'clock .(Let's listen to a song)

(The song is not recorded)

It is now 16:03 in our studio our editor Gaspard Gahigi has prepared, for you, a reflection that you are going to listen to :

(the beginning is not clear)

.... The delegation will accuse RPF. Through this accusation they will clarify how our president Juvenal HABYARIMANA has been killed, when wrong-doers brought down his plane on his return from the meeting in Dar-Es -Salaam. Another great information is that

the Prime Minister, Mister Kambanda Jean will receive Mister Jacques Roger Boh Boh, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General in Rwanda who came to follow up what happens here in our country.

We can also inform you that the Rwandan delegations have started to leave Kigali. Another delegation will leave tomorrow due to the schedule of the plane. These delegations will try to explain, in detail, what is happening in Rwanda. They will go to Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Gabon and Togo. These are African countries. As for European and American countries, they will go to France, Belgium, Germany and United States of America. Another delegation will go to OAU (Organization of African Unity) and to UNO(United Nations Organization) .

Apart from these above mentioned delegations, there is another delegation which returned from Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania, South Africa and Switzerland. They have the mission to explain, in detail, the situation prevailing in Rwanda. These delegations will go to International organizations and our partners (countries) giving the present state of things in Rwanda. They will explain what happened after the assassination of the president of the Republic his Excellency Major General Habyarimana, on 6 April 1994, by wrong doers who brought down his plane on his return from the meeting in Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania. These delegations will explain how RPF inkotanyi, assisted by foreigners, assassinated the president of the Republic and how this assassination has been followed by troubles and then these troubles were reinforced by the resumption of the war on 7 April 1994 by RPF which, profiting by the death of the president, wanted to take the power by force.

This resumption of the war by RPF has immediately annulled the Arusha Peace Accords between the Rwandan government and RPF. From all its positions, RPF resumed the war in the country. Its battalion which was in Kigali, assisted by other RPF soldiers who had infiltrated here in Kigali, immediately attacked the camp of the presidential guard. The fighting continues but the Rwandese Army Forces are defeating them here in Kigali and in other parts of the country where they have positions.

These delegations will explain how RPF is killing innocent people where ever it passes, especially in that demilitarized region. They will also explain the duties of the present Rwandan government. They will explain how after RPF Inkotanyi have disregarded the Arusha Accords, the country is led by the constitution dated 10 June 1991 and thus the president of the parliament, Theodore SINDIKUBWABO has become the president of the Republic as stipulated in this constitution. They will also explain how the five political parties forming the beheaded government have met and decided to create a new government led by his Excellency Jean KAMBANDA. They will also explain the attributions of this government and those of the Prime Minister. These delegations sent to Africa, Europe and America will explain how RPF resumed the war rejecting thus the process of peace agreed upon in Arusha.

They will explain how RPF Inkotanyi resumed the war in the whole country and then ask the International Organization to make RPF understand that the war cannot bring peace in Rwanda. These delegations will ask the International Community to convince RPF to stop fighting and accept negotiations. They will go on asking donor countries and the International Organization to assist not only the war displaced people but also the government led by Kambanda Jean so that it can achieve its objectives which mainly lead to the process of peace.

I remind you that these delegations will go to African countries to : Togo, Senegal, Morocco, Egypt... They will go to the United Nations Organization in America and then to the OAU headquarters in Adis Ababa in Ethiopia. As for European and American countries, they will go to Belgium, Germany and USA. They will even go the World Bank and to the International Monetary Fund.

In each country, these delegations have on their agenda persons they will meet in order to explain what is happening in Rwanda. We wish them a good mission. They should know that they represent all Rwandese and then work truly for the country and explain in detail the message they have to give.

Another delegation which will leave tomorrow will go to Arusha in Tanzania. It will be led by Minister Andre NTAGERURA and will also include Minister Agnes NTAMABYARIRO and some senior officers of our army. What we can tell this

delegation which will go Arusha is that they must explain that it is RPF inkotanyi which launched an attack in October 1990; that while we had signed the Arusha Accords and stopped the war till the time of sharing the power with RPF, the latter has once again resumed the war on 8/2/1993. People were astonished because they didn't understand the reason for this war. But any careful person clearly understands that RPF aims at taking the power by force. The situation continued till the assassination of the president of the Republic on 6 April 1994. On 7 of the same month, RPF resumed the war annulling thus the Arusha Accords.

The fact that RPF has disregarded these Accords and the current government is guided by the constitution of 10 June 1991, that means that Arusha negotiations are not those which have been signed but there must be others. So we ask the Rwandese delegation to well explain, to convince the international community and the mediator on actions of RPF Inkotanyi. Negotiations will come after these explanations; after having heard RPF's view and its answers on resumption of the war. So we feel that negotiations haven't started yet. They will start after RPF has explained to Rwanda and its population the reason why every time it wants to take power by force whereas it pretexts the process of democracy.

We think that RPF should, during these negotiations, repent to the Rwandese people and promise to never resume the fighting in this country especially that it had signed in the Arusha Accords, which it has violated, that no one will take power in this country by force. Inkotanyi should ask pardon in the same way as a sinful Christian repents. They should swear that they will not resume the war anymore. Then negotiations can start. It is tricky to say that we will start from Arusha Accords, called Peace Accords whereas theses Accords have helped RPF to prepare the war.