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ENGLISH

SIDE A

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SIMBIZI, CDR Chairman: ...Whom are we going to give the positions? If the RPF is not interested in taking part in the transitional institutions, they should tell us so that other political parties could share the positions and we Rwandans could organise elections towards a real democracy.

Valérie BEMERIKI, an RTLM journalist: There is a question I would really like to ask you. We know that the CDR is not one of the five political parties authorised to form the interim government recently put in place. I want to ask you what you CDR members expect from this government? How should the government go about solving all the problems we are facing?

The interests of the MDR, as one of the parties constituting this government may tally with those of the government which they put in place. MDR has even nominated a Prime Minister. What are the expectations of the CDR, which was not a member of the government? In what way would it be useful to Rwanda? How will it function? In your opinion, how should it function?

SIMBIZI: Eh, we CDR members have always desired a government that defends the interests of the people, the interests of the masses and not those of this or that minute group. So we expect this government to be reasonable and not help the RPF create problems as did the previous government, which was no different from the RPF, only exacerbating the suffering of the Rwandans. Instead of making the Rwandans suffer, we want this government to help the Rwandans come out of this crisis and embark on a real democracy so that the citizens could recover their freedom of speech.

Unidentified speaker: Mr. KARAMIRA [inaudible] too, has a word to say especially as I realised that his party, MDR, supported those Ministers hitherto turned down by Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU.

KARAMIRA: What I want to say about this government is that everybody should know that when a government is put in place, it is a government for the entire country, not for political parties. Political parties put a government in place in order to serve the people. Governments put in place, like the previous one, comprised of persons who were not members of the party; they were expelled and banished by the MDR, because they did not serve the interest of the country. I think people have discovered what they did...

The MDR had always pointed this out: your personal weakness has nothing to do with your party's weakness. The government has to be united and serve the entire population. Similarly, all Ministers, whatever their political parties, should trust one another in the interest of the country. This is what we wanted. We sincerely hope that this government will have the wherewithal to work fully in unity and save us the trouble of saying it is the MDR or the MRND which did this or did that, pointing fingers at this or that party. It is a government for all Rwandans and it will work towards the two goals we set for it: restore peace and security among the Rwandans and continue negotiations in the spirit of the Arusha Accords, if possible.

You can see therefore that it is not an MDR government as one might be tempted to believe. It is a government for all Rwandans. When a government is put in place, it is a government for all; we have always wished that the government should realise first and foremost that it has to resolve Rwanda's problems rather than serve the interests of a group or a party [inaudible] as already happened in the past.

I would however like to add here that we MDR members, as we used to say, were not part of the government. Those who were members of the government were dismissed because what they did was far from commendable. Nevertheless, we should back the government in rebuilding trust in the people, in the army, and on the battle ground, in order to win victory for all Rwandans.

Kantano HABIMANA: I would like to thank you for sharing your constructive ideas with us and I believe our listeners would benefit from them.

...Uuh...Mr. KANTANO, before we go, I would like to say a word to the Rwandans, especially those who are still being disturbed by RPF's rumours that Rwandans are fleeing, that only a handful of people remain in Kigali and that the Rwandan Armed Forces were in disarray. I would like to tell Rwandans living outside Kigali that this is not true and reassure those in Kigali not to be afraid, that wherever they live, they should not be disturbed by lies that people in the neighbourhood have fled and so they have to follow suit. I want you Rwandans to remain calm, especially those of you in Kigali.

5.4 min

...those of you who do night patrols and those of you at the roadblock, be courageous and stay calm. Do not let rumours disturb you. Stay calm and collected, be vigilant and you will see that whoever is peddling those lies will be put to shame.

[a musical interlude "*Moi, je n'aime pas les Bahutu*" ("I do not like the Bahutus") by Simon BIKINDI]

Kantano HABIMANA: To the refugees and our listeners, I say "have a nice day". We are going through difficult times, difficult times, through a war imposed by the RPF - those stubborn, proud and contemptuous *Inkotanyi*. At any rate, in our reaction to their contempt, we have shown them that you have to think twice before you scorn someone in his own house, bearing in mind that the person is self-sufficient.

I think it has dawned on the *Inkotanyi* the extent to which the Rwandans are united in their efforts to fight them. There is no point putting on airs and boasting they can take Kigali if they are not given all they asked for, if all power is not conceded to them and if everyone in the country does not yield to those from Uganda, Tanzania or wherever...all these people who never served with the country with the sweat of their brow but rather shoot us with old Kalachnikovs. It is unimaginable that a 22- or 23-year-old young man who has never set foot in Rwanda would come to the country, armed to the teeth and threaten to seize all the property acquired by the Rwandans in his absence. The same applies to the man who has spent forty years in exile and comes back overnight to harvest the fruit of the Rwandans' labour. The Rwandans will rise against this; no matter what, we shall rise against this and we are determined to protect our property, our lives and those dear to us.

It is incredible. Throughout the country, people are determined to fight the *Inkotanyi* because they have had enough of their contempt which ended by infuriating them. Today, there is no fighting in Kigali apart from the three or so bombs just launched, which will crush the few *Inkotanyi* allegedly hiding around the Kigali hills. Everything is quiet apart from the few gunshots you heard. The *Inkotanyi* should stop fighting but imagine someone who has been promised a house and many other things, you can see why he will be so determined to fight. That is why you have to be vigilant since the *Inkotanyi* never give up. They are tireless. So be equally tireless, because whoever fights them should not give up. He has to fight on. Uuh... so, the mischief...

8.8 min

I heard a short while ago that four *Inkotanyi* were heading for Kimisagara, going to Kimisagara, ah... two of them are going towards APACE premises while the other two are going towards Nyakabanda. It is Bernard NTUSHOBYE's houseboy who told us this. Two young persons in

stone-washed jeans with grenades in their pockets told him: "Young man, come and show us where people were killed last night." The young man went before them and showed them [inaudible]. Did you really come across anyone? [inaudible] people in stone-washed clothes? The young man said they had taken footpaths. You can imagine the *Inkotanyi* taking such footpaths!

So the people asked the young man, Bernard NTUSHOBOYE's houseboy, for further clarification about the spot where he left the *Inkotanyi*. Therefore, you inhabitants of Kimisaga, start looking for them within the APACE premises in Kabusunzu. You people of Nykabanda, be vigilant, search the footpaths thoroughly and see if there are any *Inkotanyi* there. Go after them and ferret them out. Those of you at the roadblocks should go on checking particulars so as to avoid any surprises. Take heart, continue checking because anyone fighting the *Inkotanyi* should remain vigilant and should not slumber or even drink water since they always lie in wait for the slightest breach to sneak in.

Take heart, you listeners of Free RTLM radio station broadcasting in Kigali and environ, we are together. Today is Friday 22 April 1994... You can imagine that the days are running fast and many people are wondering why they have not yet received their salary though the month is drawing to an end. We are discouraged and wonder if we will be paid without working; in fact, there are so many problems right now. In any event, let us go to the front first and win this war, then if there is anything to eat, we will eat later. If we need to drink, we will drink, if we need to... everything we need... provided we actually win the war, then we can say: "We have pushed back the *Inkotanyi* and now we can agree on how to share power; we will no longer endure their dictatorship,..."

11.4 min

... their noise. All of that will be settled before the whole world. So be patient, we hope the situation will be come back to normal, if it is not too late. Shortly, we shall review the Arusha negotiations and look into the role of the current government, the United Nations and UNAMIR. We shall also consider Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU's swear words and show the *Inkotanyi*'s true colour. TWAGIRAMUNGU, alias RUKOKOMA, caused us a lot of problems because of his insolent attitude. There is no other way out. This morning, it was the same TWAGIRAMUNGU who was talking about the "infamous *Radio Libre des Milles Collines*". I do not know exactly where he said so, but he must have said it from a makeshift shelter. He no longer walks with his head high up. He must be huddled up somewhere, shamefully. We will come back to that later.

(After a few tunes of BIKINDI's song). Stay tuned to your RTLM radio station.

K0163176

Kantano HABIMANA: We have just spent fifteen days fighting the *Inyenzi* and *Inkotanyi*, who resumed hostilities though we have signed the Arusha Accords. They started war again as usual. They dodged us but did not catch us unawares this time around. They are now battling with the Rwandan Armed Forces on all fronts, on all fronts. Here in Kigali, you can hear the noise of bullet falling on the SGP throughout Remera area. The bullets are meant to dislodge the *Inkotanyi* hiding in houses where they have surrounded and killed people savagely. People asked the Red Cross people to assist them in burying their dead relatives but they refused, saying: "Fend for yourselves, we do not want any trouble with the *Inkotanyi*". This is actually a deplorable attitude because when someone is killed, you do not ask for anything else. It goes without saying that the Red Cross should do all it could to try to set free the people whom the *Inkotanyi* have surrounded and turned into a human shield. They surround them and turn them into human shield. They hide behind an old woman so if someone shoots them, the bullet will hit the old woman and the Rwandan Armed Forces dare not do that. These people hide inside houses, like real bandits, and will rather die without food. Anyway, they are bandits. So they stay with their hostages, some of whom died. I heard about one Thaddée, I still hear about...other persons whom they found inside the houses... the occupant was a Hutu, he would be cut into pieces with a machete or burnt alive. Whoever was an *Interahamwe* or a member of the CDR, who is not a member of PL LANDO, PSD, MDR RUKOKOMA or PSD/NZAMURAMBAHO, has his fate sealed. There are currently some unfortunate people in Remera who have not been able to escape the killers. They were savagely killed, with the same fate as the *Inkotanyi* (sic). These desperate *Inkotanyi* found some people in their houses and preferred to lock them up and leave them to die of hunger. That clearly shows that the *Inkotanyi* love property and power and not the people. A while ago, the song "Nanga Abahutu" (I do not like the Hutus) was played. As a matter of fact, with all the misfortunes befalling Rwanda, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, alias Rukokoma, KANYARENGWE and Pasteur BIZIMUNGU breached the Arusha Accord. TWAGIRAMUNGU falsified everything, believing that everything he said in Arusha would be accepted by the Rwandans when he came back. These personalities and the other *Ibyitso* (accomplices) in the country are responsible for the prevailing disastrous situation. You can see clearly that Rwanda is unfortunate to have produced people like KANYARENGWE and Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, their accomplices and others like Pasteur BIZIMUNGU. You can see what misfortune they have brought on us.

These Hutus went to sign a pact with a small group of extremist Tutsis called *Inkotanyi* who were actually *Inyenzi*. These are the people responsible for the misfortune of this country. But

fortunately, people continue to pool their efforts and discover that democracy (noise...)it encourages those who came to usurp power, to usurp power, they came to plunder and grab everything the Rwandans have amassed in 30 years. That is why we have [noise] to fight tooth and nail to defend our lives and property. Everywhere you go to seek refuge, the *Inkotanyi* will go after you, asking: "Eh, are you part of the army that killed thousands of people?" You will be immediately arrested. Where will you run to? Take heart and continue struggling. Tighten your belt and become an *Inkotanyi* fighting the Rwagema *Inkotanyi*. In other words, an *Inkotanyi* fighting for Rwanda, your motherland.

18.1 min

...fighting for your life, your property and your country. That's all, otherwise their blood flows like ours, they are intelligent and so are we, as pointed out by Prime Minister Kambanda, when he said: "If they learn something, we too will learn something else, if they use a technique, we will discover it and use it too." The *Inkotanyi* have adopted a technique whereby they occupy localities not containing more than 50 people, install a *commune* office there and drive out the *Bourgmestre* and policemen. Then they immediately start spreading rumors on Radio Muhabura that they have attacked a particular region and the inhabitants have fled, thus proclaiming they have liberated that area. Subsequently, they commit acts of vandalism, starting from Muhura and moving on quickly to Murambi; they claim they have occupied the region.

With regard to the Arusha negotiations, they say every warring party should remain where it is currently. What does that mean? A case in point is the buffer zone occupied by the *Inkotanyi*, firing gunshots and scattering all the population. The area they claim to control is a buffer zone. As a matter of fact, they terrorized the population and the authorities, forcing them to flee, but they cannot claim they have conquered the area. How many *Inkotanyi* are there to take entire *communes* like Mutara and the entire Byumba *préfecture*? Tell me, how many *Inkotanyi* are there? Would they also claim that the number of the Rwandan armed forces has decreased? We are lucky this time around because they attacked before using their demobilisation ploy.

The Rwandan armed forces have been keeping an eye on them: there are at least two Rwandan armed forces soldiers to every *Inkotanyi* soldier. Now, the idea of lying that they have taken Kayonza *commune*... that they have taken... is an attempt to delude the international community into believing that they have liberated the country. It is the same scenario when two *Inkotanyi* arrive in Kanzenze; they always fire gunshots to scare the *Bourgmestre*, making him to flee. Two *Inkotanyi* fire gunshots in Runda, three others in Muyaga and the following day, they claim the whole world has collapsed for good and they have ravaged the entire country. This is a ploy

so that during the negotiations, they could say this is where we are. Even if a disabled or one-eyed *Inkotanyi* stands guard in front of the *commune* office, they will claim it is their stronghold. So, the same manoeuvre that was used for Kinyihira area should not be repeated, should not be repeated, should not be repeated.

20.5 min

Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, alias Rukokoma, made some statements on a certain European radio station which I do not know. He has even lost his reputation of riding a high horse. Listening to him, one has the impression nobody supported him anywhere. Even his high horse has been reduced to nothing. He has withdrawn into his shell, huddled up in his makeshift shelter and has been reduced to nothing! My goodness, he himself talked about the infamous *Radio de Mille Collines*. Infamous! My God, how dare he say that the popular radio station is disastrous. How many times did the RTLM ask this Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, alias Rukokoma, not to be inflexible, untouchable but rather to be humble?

How many times did the RTLM ask TWAGIRAMUNGU to return everything that did not belong to him, to return to the party what belongs to it, through the song "Nanga Agasuzuguro" (I hate contempt). Although TWAGIRAMUNGU, like his supporters, listened to the song, what did he do? Did he think it was sung by the RTLM? It was sung by Gitarama people, from his father-in-law's village. However, we gave him some advice. How many times did we tell TWAGIRAMUNGU not to manipulate another man's wife, which is a sin. Not to toss her left and right, not to get her used to acting impulsively and encourage her to be involved in an incoherent programme with the President, even though she is the Prime Minister. Is she anywhere close to TWAGIRAMUNGU at the moment? All these lies and greed only show selfishness, pride and other things that plunged the country into disaster.

Attacking the RTLM radio station is going too far and it is a baseless defamation which nobody will support. As to who shot down the President's plane, TWAGIRAMUNGU claimed that it was neither the whites nor the *Inkotanyi* but rather some extremist soldiers who wanted to resume hostilities. You need to listen to a Rwandan claiming to speak on behalf of Rwanda! We commended a man named Alphonse NKUBITO who told the *Inkotanyi* that even if they took Kigali, the population would rise against them and Rwanda would be governed through a consensus in the interest of the majority of the people. It is Alphonse NKUBITO himself, the famous shaggy-bearded prosecutor who said it. He always asked us to defend ourselves in a document in which he accused us of quoting him as saying this or that on the radio. He at least managed to escape but before leaving, he gave a word of advice to the *Inkotanyi* that it will serve

no purpose to capture Kigali because the people have changed and urged them to heed this advice. Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU was sorry for missing Arusha. Many people however had told him that his divisive government will not be put into place because he denied the CDR a post, it will not be put in place because of his opposition to the CDR; it will not be put in place because he has opponents within his own party. What is more, after his co-accused had won their case before the Tribunal after so many appearances, he continued to force them --- All of this was a way of ridiculing the people by saying that he was a hard liner.

What is going on in TWAGIRAMUNGU's mind in his makeshift shelter? If he still has any brain in his bald head, let him examine himself and ask for forgiveness because it is he who conspired against Rwanda. With regard to the United Nations Organisation which reduced its troops in the country to only 260 soldiers,

27.0 min

it is rather unfortunate and regrettable. Soldiers from Bangladesh, Ghana and other countries I do not know... who came to make money, left cursing the *Inkotanyi* who deprived them of that opportunity. They had started projects; some of them thought that in two years, they would have earned enough dollars to build a small house. All these soldiers left cursing the *Inkotanyi*. Anyway, they did not curse the Rwandans because the Rwandans did all they could to show them that they were at peace with them; they even let them know the injustice they were suffering. Let these brothers leave in peace and not blame the Rwandans, because they have lived together, peacefully because no Bengalese, Ghanaian, Senegalese or any other soldier was hurt

Moreover, we were on good terms with the Africans among them --- the Bengalese are not Africans. Those from Congo, Senegal, Ghana --- none of them was hurt because we were with them. And I believe that is why the OAU has been negotiating to send its own troops so that each country could participate according to its capacity, by sending ten, five or twenty soldiers ... who would come under the auspices of the OAU.

The Rwandan Ambassador to the United Nations did all he could for the UN forces to stay in Rwanda. Even last night, he asked why the United Nations sent 30,000 soldiers to Bosnia Herzegovina, a tiny country with a lower population than Rwanda, while it cannot keep the 2000 men already stationed in Rwanda, but rather decided to reduce its contingent to 270 men.

So the Americans with their Tutsi and Belgian friends started threatening to put their dollars elsewhere if Rwanda refused to give power to the Tutsis. Leave them alone and we will see what

happens. Let the Tutsis go in peace and we will solve our problems ourselves. Anyway, the problems of a country are solved by its own citizens and not by foreigners.

The whites have just abandoned us and that is no surprise! What relationship is there anyway between us and them? If you depend so much on them, you will eat trash. You should not rely on their assistance or their lies because they are always after their own interest. When they realised that their interest were not here, they went elsewhere and will sneak back through the back door. Let them go, we will manage with these few 270 men.

There is no end to Rwanda's misfortune: soldiers were entrusted to a man called DALLAIRE who has not stopped mourning the death of his sister, Mrs. Lando. He showed his true colours right from the word go. How is he going to lead these men? How is he going to lead them? Anyway, we are going to stay behind a man called Roger Boh Boh, this son of Cameroon, whom you cannot really complain about. He even understood the CDR and PL problem. The Tutsis disappointed him when they asked for the justice portfolio, even though the Bishops had resolved the matter through a power sharing formula. The whites had done everything, but Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, Landouald NDASINGWA and the *Inkotanyi* threatened to resume hostilities if they did not obtain the Ministry of Justice.

When Roger Boh Boh heard them, he told them to be realistic but they refused and went on to start the war. What power does he have left then? It is amazing but we will continue to do our best. The Rwandan God is on our side, he is not far away and I believe he will continue to help us in our misfortune, our serious misfortune which has no parallel in the world. How can a minority, a small group of people assemble bandits to chase the authorities elected by the majority of the population out of power? That has never happened anywhere and I hope such will never happen to the Rwandans. The God of the Rwandans will save us from this. Stay tuned to free RTL radio broadcasting from its station in Kigali.

Those of you listening to us should take heart at these difficult moments. Maybe God will intervene. Tomorrow, there will be negotiations in Arusha and we want to know if Ministers from the Government of His Excellency Jean KAMBANDA will be there. I have just learnt that a delegation of about ten Government Ministers left Kigali today on a mission across the world. Among them is Mr. Mathieu NGIRUMPATSE, the MRND Chairman. Some left for Arusha, some for France and others for America; everywhere, the *Inkotanyi* had tarnished Rwanda's image with their honey-coated tongues, their only asset. So tomorrow, there will be negotiations in Arusha. Stay tuned. Shortly, you will hear the Army Chief of Staff.

K0163181

30.3 min (End Side of A)

Kantano HABIMANA: They want to negotiate only with the military commanders of the Rwandan armed forces and refuse to have any dialogue with the Government, forgetting that the Rwandan armed forces and the Government are one. Anyway, the RPF attacked the country and the Government belongs to the country. There is the only government and there is no other President for now but Mr. Théodore SINDIKUBWABO. There is no other known Prime Minister but Mr. Jean KAMBANDA who heads a recognized government invested with so much power. All this portrays the intransigence of the RPF, still living under the illusion that things have not changed.

KAMBANDA actually said it: that even if the RPF managed to take the capital city Kigali, that would not in any way help them. They may enjoy it for one day, forgetting that they will be throwing themselves in the mouth of a hyena and committing suicide. Let them come and commit suicide.

They will all be exterminated and none will live to tell the disastrous story. Let them come, the Rwandans are waiting for them with machetes and other equipment they received in sufficient quantities. Throughout the country, young men and women have put down their names and taken uniforms, burning with the desire to go and fight the *Inkotanyi* to finish and beat them pants down. The only people without such confidence are the United Nations people, hesitating, watching and informing their friends about our situation. Anyway, I hope they are telling the truth. We have a strong government which will engage in negotiations with the *Inkotanyi* in Arusha if ever they accept to go there. They are used to it; as we speak, they are already there with their *Ibizungerezi* (beautiful girls - Translator's note) to seduce the people with their malicious smiles.

It is strange. To those of you listening to the RTLM, we say take heart, we are together. Continue to listen to the songs supporting our armed forces and continue to support one another. Some people told me... take heart, inhabitants of Kimisagara. I went somewhere and people told me: "When we heard the RTLM had been bombed and destroyed, many of us started packing our baggage, thinking that our genuine source of information had been destroyed and the *Inkotanyi* had taken over the country." In a way, it is true. The *Inkotanyi* threw twelve bombs on our radio station; each of those twelve bombs costs two million, totaling 24 million. I think that was to keep you quiet, and make you lose track of their advance and hide their true face, so that they could continue roaming about in foreign countries and deceive you too.

Man proposes but God disposes. We were born, we are alive, we have been hurt; we.... We told our brother Noël to take heart; he fell on the battle ground. We shall continue to struggle and if we die, others will take over from us but we know that we are on the right track. Nowhere in the world has *Rubanda Nyamuke* (the minority) governed *Rubanda Nyamwishi* (the majority). That is history and it is over...

Georges Ruggiu: The *Inyenzi - Inkotanyi* and their stooge Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, made statements on one of the international media. Now we will continue with the story I was telling you a while ago. It is not only today that the PRF's *Inyenzi* Batutsis want to take and monopolize power in order to oppress the Hutus and cast democracy out of the window, the Batutsi's superiority complex has been around for a very long time. Thus, they established schools like the famous Astrida Secondary School in Butare and the *Ishuri ry'Indatwa*, the elite Nyanza School in Nyabisindu, opened in 1907. The schools were not for everybody, much less for the Hutus, who had been enslaved for centuries and had no access to these schools. According to the feudal colonial legend, the schools were meant for only those born to govern, in other words, Tutsi children considered as the most intelligent. It is this superiority complex which set the Tutsis apart because, even today, many of them are still convinced of their intellectual superiority to the rest of the Rwandans. With the support of the British, the Belgian troops occupied Rwanda in 1916 and after the war, the League of Nations consolidated Belgium's colonial designs by bestowing on it a mandate to Rwanda. In implementing its colonial policy, Belgium managed to gain a foothold in catholic missionary activities and the already monopolistic catholic missionaries used their competitive edge to force the German Protestant missionaries and German troops out of Rwanda.

However, the new colonial master kept a remnant of the German colonial reform system - the whip- *ibikobo*- which was nothing but a product of the erstwhile Germano-Tutsi alliance.

7.0 min

The catholic missionaries undertook ethnic-free educational reforms and made schools accessible to all. So, the first Hutus were able to go to school. The early educated Bahutus included Grégoire KAYIBANDA, Joseph Habyarimana GITERA, Balthazar BICAMUMPAKA and many others; they were more conscious than ever of the Hutu phenomenon- or rather the problems of the Hutus, who hitherto had been enslaved by the feudal Tutsi monarchies. They then started to organize themselves into groups and rise against their feudal masters. This happened under the reign of the last but one Rwandan king, Mutara RADAHIGWA, considered by the Batutsis as a

progressive.

However, according to the irrefutable statements we heard from Mr. Jean-Paul HARROY, who is believed to know Mutara RUDAHIGWA quite well in his capacity as the Vice Governor of Rwanda-Urundi, I quote: "He opened up to me one day and told me in clear terms what one of his advisers, Father Janvier MURENZI, had earlier referred to as a square peg in a round whole, in other words, reconciling a feudal monolithism with democratisation reforms". In this regard, I want to repeat the imagery he used: "a young girl cannot be a little bit pregnant; and, tell me frankly (sic)... that is the end of our concessions with the leaders and friend. I will defend the *status quo* which will make the Hutu peasants happy if you citizens and priests do not fill their heads with false hopes of freedom (sic)". Can one be progressive and at the same time deny freedoms? That is the problem.

This royal speech is in no way different from those made by the feudal lords and echoed in Fidel NKUNDABAGENZI's *Rwanda Politique*, published on 17 May 1958 in Nyanza, the former royal capital, and signed by twelve Mwami's *Bagaragu*. In it, the signatories clearly recognized their ancestral links with the Bahutus, stating: "The relationship between us Batutsis and Bahutus has always been and is still based on servitude and so there is no ground for fraternity between us."

Indeed, what relationship exists between Batutsis, Bahutus, Batwas? The Bahutus claim the Batutsis and Bahutus and Batwas are descendants of the same father, Kanyarwanda. Can they tell us with whom Kanyarwanda bore them? What is their mother's name and what family is she from? With the same tone and arrogance, they said in the document that they came to power through the baptism of fire. History has it that Ruganzu killed many Bahinzas.

These were Hutu kinglets. Like him, the other kings killed the Bahinzas and conquered the country of the Bahutus ruled by the Bahinzas. All the details can be found in the *Inganji Kalinga*. Since our kings conquered the country of the Bahutus by killing their kinglets and then enslaving the Bahutus, how could they claim to be our brothers? That also is a problem. It is exactly 4:00 p.m. in the RTL radio station. It is 4:03 p.m. in our studios, the Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Gaspard GAHIGI, has a very important message which will be broadcast to you shortly. (Translator's note: French version in the Kinyarwanda text)

Gahigi: ...This will enable us understand how our President, His Excellency Major General Habyarimana was killed by criminals who shot down the plane carrying him and others from a

meeting in Dar-es-Salaam. Another important piece of information is that the Prime Minister, Mr. Jean Kambanda, will shortly receive Mr. Jacques Roger Boh Boh, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to Rwanda, who is coming to monitor the prevailing situation in our country. Another thing we like to tell you is that some Rwandan envoys have started leaving Kigali today while others will leave tomorrow because of air transport arrangements. Their mission is to clearly explain the current situation in Rwanda. They will go to Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Gabon and Togo; on the African continent. In Europe and America, the Rwandan envoys will visit France, Belgium, Germany and the United States. Other Rwandan envoys will go to the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Headquarters. Some will leave tomorrow, as others who have gone for a similar mission return from Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania, South Africa and Switzerland.

Where will they go? They will go to these friendly countries and international organizations to explain the prevailing situation in Rwanda. They will also explain what happened after the death of the President of the Republic, His Excellency Major General HABYARIMANA, assassinated by criminals on 6 April 1994 when they shot down the plane carrying him from a meeting of Heads of States in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The envoys will also explain how the RPF *Inkotanyi*, assisted by foreigners, succeeded in assassinating the President of the Republic. The assassination caused unrest, exacerbated by the RPF's resumption of hostilities on 7 April 1994. The RPF wanted to take power by force because they had just found out that (inaudible). Their resumption of hostilities has reduced the Arusha Peace Accord to nought. The RPF has resumed hostilities on all positions throughout the country. With the assistance of other RPF soldiers who sneaked into Kigali, the 600 soldiers who were here in Kigali attacked the Presidential Guard barracks head on. As the fighting continued, the Rwandan armed forces chased them away from several positions here in Kigali.

The Rwandan envoys will explain how the RPF *Inkotanyi* have been killing innocent people in their way, especially in the buffer zone which should normally be free of hostilities. These Rwandan government envoys will also explain the current government programme; how Rwanda applied the 10 June 1991 Constitution after the RPF *Inkotanyi* had nullified the Arusha Accord; that the Speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Théodore SINDIKUBWABO, was appointed President of the Republic on the basis of the 10 June 1991 Constitution. They will also explain how the five political parties which formed the decapitated government met again and decided to constitute another government led by His Excellency Prime Minister Jean KAMBANDA. These envoys will explain the government's programme and that of its Prime Minister. The Rwandan delegations sent to South Africa, Europe and America, will explain how the RPF resumed

hostilities and rejected the peace agreement signed in Arusha.

They will explain how the RPF *Inkotanyi* resumed hostilities everywhere and will ask the international community to do all it can to make the RPF *Inkotanyi* stop turning a deaf ear and realise that the only way to peace in Rwanda is to stop hostilities. These Government envoys to friendly foreign countries and international organizations will ask the RPF to stop hostilities and opt for negotiations. We will ask these friendly countries and international organizations to provide assistance to persons displaced by war and to Jean Kambanda's government in meeting their responsibilities, especially with regard to peace. I recall that these Rwandan envoys will visit some African countries like Togo, Senegal, Morocco and Egypt; they will also go to the United Nations in America and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. They will visit the Americas, Europe, Belgium, Germany, United States, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

In each country and organization, the Rwandan envoys will meet with some personalities to tell them about the current situation in Rwanda. We wish them a successful mission, but they should remember that they represent all Rwandans and should work for the country by clearly explaining the purpose of their mission. Other envoys, led by Minister André NTAGERURA, will be leaving Rwanda for Arusha, Tanzania, to meet the RPF *Inkotanyi*. The delegation will also include Minister Agnès NTAMABYARIRO and senior officers of the Rwandan armed forces. They should tell them in Arusha that it is the RPF that attacked Rwanda in October 1990 and that it is the same RPF which unilaterally resumed hostilities on 8 February 1993 even though an agreement had been signed to stop war and we were on the verge of sharing power with the RPF and that the population was shocked by RPF's behaviour, as they did not understand the reason for such hostilities.

Nevertheless, the smart ones quickly understood that the RPF wanted nothing but to take power by force. The same scenario continued right after the President was assassinated on 6 April 1994; on 7 April 1994, the RPF triggered war again, thus rendering the Arusha Accord null and void. So, as long as the RPF does not recognize the current government constituted on the basis of the 10 June 1991 Constitution, the Arusha negotiations will be at variance with those that led to the signing of the Accord and should therefore be reconsidered. We will also ask the Rwandan delegation to clearly explain the situation and make the international community and facilitators understand the RPF's behavior. Then, the negotiations will resume after the RPF must have explained its behavior regarding the resumption of hostilities.

We believe that the real negotiations are yet to start. They will start when the RPF must have

explained to Rwanda and its people why they want to take power by force, even though they claim to be fighting for democracy. In the course of these negotiations, the RPF should ask for forgiveness from all Rwandans, promising them not to resume hostilities again in Rwanda, especially as it has signed the Arusha Accord which has been defeated by its behavior. Nobody should take power again through the barrel of the gun or worse still, through war.

What the RPF *Inkotanyi* should do is go down on their knees and ask for forgiveness from the Rwandans, saying: "We will not start again", as would a repentant Christian in a confessional; the RPF should say they will not resume hostilities again. From there on, we might work on the Arusha Accord, wrongly called Peace Accord because it has only benefitted the RPF who has used it to prepare war. All of this only helped exacerbate the situation in the country...

End - 24.5 min.