

CASE NO: ICR...01...72...T
 EXHIBIT NO: P16(E).....
 DATE ADMITTED: 18-08-06
 TENDERED BY: Prosecutors...
 NAME OF WITNESS: Investigator K0166643
 Aaron MUBONDA

Pages 1 to 23 (French text transcribed the way it is)

IDENTIFICATION:	CE 85/95-0177 of 21/03/94
DURATION:	60 Minutes
QUALITY	Good
TRANSMISSION	RTLM
TRANSCRIPTION DATE	24/9/99
NAME OF TRANSCRIPT TYPIST	M. Vianney UWAMAHORO
FILE NO.	sept 0177.wpd.
DICTAPHONE	Voici Precessor
	Serial number: 665857
	Make: 2750

SUMMARY OF TAPE NO. 0177

SIDE A:

Phillipe MBILIZI talks of the problems blocking the installation of the transition institutions, of the audience President HABYARIMANA granted Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU on the matter and reads the communiqué from the Office of the President of the Republic.

Emmanuel RUCOGOZA talks of the protestation published by the Prime Minister designate and the incumbent Prime Minister. The CDR expresses concern over the prevailing insecurity in the country.

Communiqué by the MRND-Belgium criticizing the behaviour of the Prime Minister designate towards the President of the Republic and the people of Rwanda.

MBILIZI reads the position adopted by the Melchoir NDADAYE foundation concerning the murders perpetrated in some neighbourhoods and the call by the *Association Rwandaise des Intellectuels pour L'Ethnique Démocratique* (Association of Rwandan Intellectuals for Ethnic Democracy) requesting relevant bodies to identify criminals and find a solution to the Rwandan political impasse.

George RUGGIU lambastes what he calls the partial position taken by Belgium in the democratic process.

SIDE B

RUCOGOZA denounces what he considers RPF targets in the demilitarized zone, talks of the insecurity in Bujumbura following the assassination of the Burundian President Melchior NDADAYE and recites the prayer of Father Pierre.

Kantano and an unidentified speaker discuss the complicity of some senior officials such as Prime Minister Agathe UWILINGIYIMANA and the Prime Minister designate Fautsin TWAGIRAMUNGU with the RPF.

SIDE A

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, RTLM

(inaudible) of the transition, on condition that the government removes some of the remaining obstacles between now and then; the RPF is creating confusion in the buffer zone; Belgium's policy of partiality is polluting the Rwandan political landscape; Burundi...some areas in the Bujumbura capital are once again under siege; Today's thought: a prayer by Father Pierre, but let's start with today's news.

Speaker Phillippe MBILIZI, RTLM

The news: Political elegance is something of absolute importance, the current political impasse can also be attributed to the absence of political elegance.

The Arusha peace agreements were quickly qualified as agreements between NGURUNZIRA and KANYARENGWE, not to say that it is a one-way convention, indeed a kind of plot against the popular majority. The opposition, while still in the opposition, and in collaboration with the armed RPF, succeeded in imposing itself, thanks to the speedy manner with which the wind of change was blowing. It had, it had, the opposition was in control of a government that pretended to discuss agreements whereas it was nothing but a trick played on the people of Rwanda. All of this happened thanks to the circumstances prevailing at the time. So, the people's conscience did not matter.

Some politicians understood this and hence changed their stand. A spectacular turnaround for which Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU and the RPF did not forgive Emmanuel GOPYISI, RWAMBUKA, GATABAZI, BUCYANA and many others who paid for their spirit of patriotism with their lives. The boot is on the other side! Today, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU wants to play tricks, old tricks, forgetting that we know what he and his allies have been up to, in spite of the terror they are dispensing all over the place; as of now, they are mere toothless bulldogs. One of the main problems is the fact that Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU's name appears on the said accords and yet Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU's personality is questionable. Having before him, Agathe and behind him the RPF, he plays the leading role in the current political impasse. This group of three is made up of people with questionable past and character, who must have people enjoying popular and sure support on the same government team and in the same parliament.

These are political manoeuvres blocking the installation of the transition institutions. The Prime Minister designate is not a neutral person; he is a servant of the RPF; he must stop taking unilateral decisions to find a way around the agreements. Nominations of cabinet ministers and members of the transitional national assembly must be done in consultation with political party leadership. As for the RPF and the current Prime Minister, they should each mind their own business. This means that the RPF should stop interfering in the problems of the PL and that Prime Minister Agathe must continue to convene the cabinet meetings rather than being Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU's puppet. When all is

said and done, given the prevailing situation, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU can no longer accord the RPF the power promised in Arusha on a platter of gold, for the agreements have been signed and only need to be implemented. A little elegance, and we shall be out of the crisis.

The time for acting and intimidation is over, everything is now crystal clear. (Music)

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA

....five minutes in Kigali, presidential audience today. The President of the Republic met with Mr Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, the Prime Minister designate of the broad-based transitional government. Here is a communiqué from the Office of the President:

-The President of the Republic, Major General Juvenal HABYARIMANA met Mr Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, Prime Minister designate of the broad-based transitional government today 21 March 94. The Prime Minister designate explained to the Head of State the criteria used in the selection of Ministers whose names were broadcast on Radio Rwanda on Friday 18 March 1994.

The President of the Republic informed the Prime Minister designate that he was prepared to proceed with the appointment and swearing in of the Ministers who had been selected in consultation with their political parties as stipulated in article 52 of the Arusha Agreement. To that end, the President of the Republic informed the Prime Minister designate that on 20 March 1994, he received a letter of protest from leaders of the Liberal Party regarding the candidate nominated for the position of Minister of Justice. The Head of State urged the Prime Minister designate to carry out further consultations with the Liberal Party in order to solve this ... misunderstanding and nominate a candidate for the position of Minister of Justice approved by the leaders of that party, particularly in accordance with the compromise reached at the meeting of 27 February 1994 which consisted in distributing the positions allotted to the Liberal Party at a ratio of two Ministries to one to each of the two factions within the party, with the agreement that the wing which provides the Minister shall nominate a candidate for the Office of the President or the Vice President of the transitional national assembly. The President of the Republic regretted the confrontational attitude in the speech delivered on 18 March 1994 by the Prime Minister designate, during the publication of the list of nominees for ministerial post in the broad-based transitional government. Once again, the Head of State urged the Prime Minister designate to promote consultations and dialogue and avoid the politics of unilateral decision-making.

Furthermore, the Office of the President of the Republic informs the public that on 20 March 80...94, the Head of State received the letter from the Prime Minister containing the list of parliamentarians for the transitional national assembly. The President of the Republic...would like to point out that this list contains some anomalies which hamper the installation of the transitional national assembly. Once again, the Head of State is requesting that the Prime Minister ensures that the unjustifiable obstacles preventing the CDR party from joining the transitional national assembly are removed. Moreover, the Prime Minister of the transitional government is being called upon to ensure a true representation of the PDI party in the transitional national assembly.

Lastly, the President of the Republic is reminding the Prime Minister that the courts of law have made a decision on ...on some cases filed by parliamentary nominees of the MDR party and is asking her to take into consideration these court decisions which are legally valid. The President of the Republic is ready, with effect from Thursday 24 March 94, to preside over the ceremonies for the installation of the transitional institutions. However, he is requesting that between now and then, the government remove the few remaining obstacles for this would pave the way for the putting in place of stable transitional institutions able to meet the great challenge the country is faced with.

The communiqué was signed by the Director of Cabinet at the Office of the President, Mr Enok RUHIGIRA. You do remember, dear listeners, that today is Monday 21 March, the day ...the government of Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU should have assumed office, according to what he told you. You have undoubtedly been following the various protests provoked by the cabinet list as well as that of the parliamentarians published by Mrs Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA, the current Prime Minister.

Political observers of the Rwandan situation feel that the coming days will be explosive, for it would appear that the people are determined to challenge TWAGIRAMUNGU who is claiming that the whole of Rwanda is behind him. We have just said it; the radio addresses of the out-going Prime Minister and the in-coming Prime Minister a few days after the killings in Cyohoha-Rukeri provoked a lot of controversy.

By way of a reminder, here is a reaction from the CDR-Gisenyi ...following a regional committee meeting.

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA RTLM

The regional committee of the CDR in Gisenyi reaffirms that in conformity with the provisions of the Arusha Agreements, the list of cabinet ministers and members of the transitional parliament are to be drawn up by the relevant organs of the political parties. Consequently, the Prime Minister designate does not have the right to act in the place of these organs as far as the nomination of cabinet ministers are concerned.

Similarly, the current Prime Minister has not been mandated to draw up the list of members of the transitional national assembly. Consequently, adds the statement, the lists produced by these two people are null and void. The regional committee in Gisenyi insists on pointing out that the participation of the CDR in the transitional National Assembly is in line with the Arusha Agreements and should not be attributable to any body's goodwill.

The *Impuzamugambi* have therefore decided not to lift a finger to defend their rights which the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* and their accomplices are trying to trample on. The CDR is therefore concerned about the insecurity in the country. Regarding the prevailing insecurity, particularly the murders perpetrated by the RPF and its agents, the regional committee in Gisenyi would like to warn the RPF...(interruption)...

Speaker: Phillippe MBILIZI, RTLM

(Inaudible) electricity but ...on our side, we have just sorted that out. We were saying that today is 21 March, the day the government of Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU is to take office. No doubt, you have been following the various, the various... protests arising from the cabinet list and even that of the members of parliament prepared by Mrs Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA, the current Prime Minister. With regard to the insecurity in the country, especially the murders committed by the RPF and its agents, the regional committee for Gisenyi would like to warn the RPF that the people who would not allow themselves to be massacred with impunity may react violently. On his side, the President of the Republic should shoulder his responsibilities by putting in place a government able to ensure the safety of the people and fight the RPF murders. Meanwhile, the regional committee of the CDR party in Gisenyi is calling on the national army to help the people in ensuring their own security.

Speaker: Phillippe MBILIZI, RTLM

And since yesterday, we have... we have been informing you of a reaction from the MRND-Belgium.

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, RTLM

Reaction of the MRND-Belgium to the Prime Minister designate Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU. The MRND-Belgium condemns this dishonest way of wanting to place the people of Rwanda before a *fait accompli*. The Prime Minister designate has, in collaboration with the RPF, allowed himself to override the provisions of Article 52 of the Arusha Agreements. Let's give you excerpts of the communiqué:

"With the connivance of the RPF, the Prime Minister designate who lacks political courtesy and tolerance, has allowed himself to breach Article 52 of the Arusha Peace Agreements on power sharing. And also, he has hurled insults, has slandered... at the Head of State just like street children, a behaviour unworthy of a statesman. By publishing this list without consulting all the parties that are to join the government and before presenting it to the President of the Republic as stipulated in the Arusha Agreements, he was trying to trick him in order to accuse him before the international community of being responsible for the impasse.

He risks falling into his own trap for it is obvious that nobody can stand such a clumsy procedure. Consequently, the MRND-Belgium group

-condemns this dishonest manner of wanting to place the people of Rwanda before a *fait accompli*,

-insists that the Arusha Agreements be implemented in their entirety, taking into account the laws governing the political parties;

-condemns all interference in the internal affairs of the parties;

-supports the spirit of the Arusha Agreements and deplores the fact that they were poorly negotiated which renders their implementation difficult.

-is therefore infuriated by the fact that the names of the two destroyers of the Rwandan people who took part in the negotiations, NSENGIYAREMYE and NGURINZIRA, appear on the proposed list of Ministers and is wondering whether the MDR-Power which suggested their names is not hiding its true intentions from the Rwandan people;
 -supports the February 27 1994 compromise between the political parties forming the government;
 -firmly supports the Peace and Democracy Forum declaration of 29... of 19 March 1994 and requests that their message be understood; and
 -calls on the international community not to be misled by a renowned swindler who is trying at all costs to avoid going to prison for his enormous debts and murders...inaudible...guilty or partners...
 They...the Rwandan people to mobilize (interruption) to... thwart...(interruption)

Speaker: **Philippe MBILZI, RTLM**

On its part, the Melchior NDADAYE foundation for the defense of democracy and for ...the promotion of human rights expressed great shock at the murders of innocent people because of their political leanings, particularly the murders of Felicien GATABAZI, Executive Secretary of the *Parti Social Démocrate* ("PSD"), Mr Martin BUCYANA, President of the Coalition pour la Défense de la République ("CDR"), Mr NYIRINKWAYA, Manager of the Cyohoha-Rukeri tea factory, his wife and his three colleagues. They were ruthlessly murdered on 21-22 February and 16 March 94 respectively.

Shocked by the attitude of the dubious politicians who rather than concerning themselves with the interest of all the citizens of Rwanda and guaranteeing their right to life, to peace and to their participation in the management of state affairs, spend all their time spreading hatred, political and ethnic intolerance between the various people that make up the Rwandan society;

Convinced that all crimes or murders must be punished and that it behooves on the Rwandan Government to immediately conduct serious inquiries with a view to obtaining reliable and tangible results.

Convinced that everyone in authority must concern themselves with defending the rights of all citizens without any discrimination whatsoever and not shy away from their responsibility...by strictly taking action against fraudsters, looters, murderers and hardened criminals;

Deeply concerned by the Government's passive stand regarding the defense of the human rights of...of all Rwandans;

Considering that all the people of Rwanda are aspiring to peace and to build a state governed by the rule of law;

Vigorouslly condemns the resurgence of murders of whoever it may be and calls on the political, legal and administrative authorities to do away with their passivity and allow the rule of law to reign on the entire territory of Rwanda;

Urgently appeals to the Rwandan government, particularly the Ministers of Justice, of the Interior and of ...of Defense to set up a special commission of inquiry to look into the circumstances, the real reasons for and the perpetrators of all the recent murders in our country. The commission should be made up of officials from the judiciary, human rights specialists, representatives of NGOs, officers from the Intelligence services, from the Ministry of Interior and of ...of Defense, all reputed to be impartial in their daily life, and known to be competent and for their concern for the protection of human lives;

Requests that the RPF and all political parties lay aside their personal and selfish interests and dedicate all their efforts to the immediate installation of the broad-based transitional institutions recognized and supported by the majority of the Rwandan population.

Lastly, reminds all the political groups and the civil society that in a civilized country like Rwanda, all the problems should be... solved through negotiations. Violence is synonymous with the absence of the rule of law. Therefore, it should be banned forever from the Rwandan society. Regarding the Melchior NDADAYE foundation, Védaste RULINDA, president. (sic) As for the Rwandan Association for Ethics and Democracy, the "ARIED", it is calling on all parties to the peace agreement to get the country out of the impasse, by trying to put the interests of the nation before anything else; by demonstrating true democratic ethics and by preaching the benefits of national unity and peaceful cohabitation among the people; and earnestly requests that the parties to the Arusha peace agreement honour the exceptional assistance of the UN and religious bodies and to meet the aspirations of the public and the international community by immediately putting in place the broad-based transitional government and transitional national assembly.

It is only at this price that the parties to the Arusha peace agreement will meet the peace and prosperity needs of the people of Rwanda and legitimately enjoy its total confidence.

You are listening to *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, it will be 9:30 p.m. in less than two minutes. Because of its love of the RPF, the Belgians will not hesitate to "somaliarize" Rwanda. This is the time to say this. The Belgian blue berets want authorization to impose this peace. Tell me, the Belgian Blue berets, this opinion is reflected in an article by our Belgian colleague, Colette BRAELMAN, who is talking of an ultimatum given to the Rwandan government by Minister DELCROIX .

But our colleague Marie-France Cross of the *Libre Belgique* is making people say that the current impasse is the fault of the Head of State. In her articles, she also attacks the *Radio Television Libres des Mille Collines* by saying that Belgium had the impression that the Head of State was delaying the process, yet he does not have the right to do so. Moreover, Minister Delcroix raised with the Rwandan President the issue of negative role played by the RTLM, a radio which favoured the extremist Hutus.

Dear listeners, at this juncture, I would like to propose a commentary by George RUGGIU

Speaker: George RUGGIU RTLM

Recently, the newspaper "Le Soir" published an article by our colleague, Colette BRACEKMAN, entitled "Minister DELCROIX's ultimatum to Rwanda". The article very honestly revealed Belgian's stand on the issue of Rwanda. Peace must reign and the transitional institutions must be put in place and if need be, have it done by force. How can the Belgians who have for three years supported the bloody RPF feudal-monarchists and have imposed an inapplicable Arusha Agreements on the Rwandan government arrogate themselves the right to impose leaders and peace on all the people of Rwanda, with murderers backed by UNAMIR and totally conceal their crime?

The UNAMIR mission was to help with the implementation of the Arusha Accords. This is a sovereign country. What gives UNAMIR the right to impose a government and ministers that neither the people nor the political parties want?

UNAMIR might therefore be an accomplice in a coup d'Etat. If the Belgians had been more critical of everyone and had not only listened, favoured and supported the RPF and its allies, the Arusha Agreements would have resulted in peace. Unfortunately, the statements and the attitude of the Belgians are still tinged with their old colonialism, and paternalism. If they are really imposing a government of thieves, bandits, murderers on Rwanda, they would in actual fact be playing into their hands and the sovereign people will know how to react. The people will therefore place the Belgians and maybe UNAMIR as a whole, in the category of enemies.

There will therefore be a ruthless struggle against an occupation army of Tutsi colonialists. When Madam BRAECKMAN writes "instead of promising a peace which exists only on paper, the blue berets would like to be authorized to impose this peace and if the peace cannot be achieved, then an early withdrawal of the blue berets would be envisaged". She envisages a solution from the onset. If the Belgians had been more neutral and more objective in the face of the Rwandan problem, they would not have shamelessly supported the RPF and its allies who are insignificant in Rwanda and kill the Rwandans with the tacit complicity of the Belgians within the UNAMIR.

Rather, they would have tried to listen and understand all the Rwandans without a priori...and should have shown more reservation and skepticism towards the RPF. Now that the Arusha Agreements and the UNAMIR mission have failed, they are planning to impose their will on the Rwandans. If the agreements and UNAMIR have failed, it is the fault of the Belgians in particular, for they often gave the Rwandan government ultimatums "sign this or that" and impossible, and unreasonable agreements were concluded under duress with the complicity of the Belgian government. And yet, it is out of the question to consider imposing a peace agreement such as that concluded in Arusha by force. If the people reject it because it cannot be implemented and has had its contents distorted by the RPF, force, no matter how terrible it may be, will not solve anything. And the Belgians cannot transfer their failure in Somalia to this country. If the Belgians want to become accomplices in a coup d'etat, or want to strangle Rwanda by starving it

of funds from the West, they are deluding themselves, for the Rwandans will never accept that.

Rwanda is not Somalia and the pride of a people can never be trampled upon by any United Nations force nor by a foreign government even if it claims to be a friend. That is tantamount to a declaration of war and the friendship would turn into merciless hatred. Better to be proud and poor than humiliated and rich. So, if the Belgian government is thinking of imposing on Rwanda agreements and govern...government it does not want, that is stupid and a dream. The Belgian Bwanas must wake up, they are no longer gods to the people of Rwanda. And if the Belgians do not accomplish what they want, they should go, the reality of things should have already made them go for this solution. No to the Belgian colonialist and dictators! Yes, to real friends! Unfortunately the Belgians are becoming the accomplices of the enemies of Rwandan and maybe enemies of themselves too.

So, beware!

Speaker: Philippe MBILIZI RTLM

...Libres des Milles Collines. That was our colleague George RUGGIU. It is 9:37 p.m. in Kigali. Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, the demilitarized zone has been declared a neutral zone but the almost permanent presence of the RPF bothers the peaceful citizens.

Speaker Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, RTLM

The *Inkotanyi* are pursuing their plan to destabilize institutions in Rwanda. In fact, these *Inkotanyi* want to take advantage of the power vacuum to organize by force large scale demonstrations in *Kinshira sous-préfecture* which is currently referred to as a buffer zone. These destabilization manoeuvres in favour of Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU and Mrs Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA are being carefully planned in order to take over almost all power.

According to reliable sources, the *Inkotanyi* are inciting the population of Bura...Buramira, Murambi and Bugenda *secteurs* to demonstrate on 24 March 94 failing which, they will be...

SIDE B

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA RTLM

...the security of the local population, because the zone is qualified as demilitarized. While making the ...plan to set the country ablaze and cause bloodshed, the *Inkotanyi* attack nationals, so the *Inkotanyi* are planning to attack foreign nationals residing in Kigali and by so doing leave a deep diplomatic wound. These criminal acts come in the wake of the statement made on 19 March 94 in Muvumba by the President of the Patriotic Front, Alexis KANYARENGWE, in which he said that the *Inkotanyi* must wait and take advantage of the insecurity and the hunger ravaging our country so that we...so that we can become their subjects.

At the same meeting in Muvumba, Paul KAGAME reaffirmed he would seize power by force, in spite of the merging of the two armies.

Phippe MBILIZI, RTLM

Right, this is Radio 106 and now news about Burundi

Speaker: Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, RTLM

Operation ghost town in Burundi. Some areas in the capital Bujumbura have once again been attacked by Tutsi military junta. In fact, the paracommando unit is infiltrating Kamenge, Nyakabiga II and III and Cibitoke areas in armoured tanks.

All the areas, (inaudible) which are under siege, are at a complete standstill and all the roads linking these areas have been cordoned off with barbed wire. According to witnesses from Kamenge, these acts of sabotaging peace are being perpetrated in Bujumbura in order to introduce political connotations against the commission of inquiry arriving in the Burundian capital tomorrow to investigate the assassination of President Melchior NDADAYE.

Phillipe MBILIZI, RTLM

That is all we had for you this evening but one more thing, the thought for this evening is a prayer by Father Pierre, read yesterday in a parish, Saint Kizito parish. (music)

...end of next week is Palm Sunday and Sunday 8th will be Easter Sunday. And for the people of Rwanda...one can say it has been Easter since October 90 and this prayer concerns the people of Rwanda.

Lord,
Merciful Father

You whose name is love
 You who have given us a mind and freedom
 So we can love
 Make us understand that a genuine no to war
 Is synonymous to a yes to peace and justice
 Teach us this truth
 Help us to learn this
 Teach us to learn this truth
 And make it the basis of our education
 And the basis of our action

God made man
 You who fought evil
 You who gave us the ability to know and to love,
 Teach us to express anger against evil
 Transform our irascibility into energy
 So we may fight misery
 Against everything that prevents man from being human
 Teach us not to be content with acts of irascibility
 To protest against the war
 And to discuss justice
 But to truly work with boldness
 With passion and realism

Oh God! Give us your spirit of force
 So that we can come together and fight poverty
 Instead of fighting our brothers
 And so we can stand up and fight
 The ignoble exploitation of the poor by the rich

Rather than fight a war
 Lord, we know
 This takes a toll on time, intelligence and money
 To relieve from poverty the homeless and hungry
 Those who cannot go to school, get medical treatment and the unemployed
 But how much, how much does this war cost?
 Lord, Teach us how to spend money
 Ingenuity, passion not to kill each other
 Men, women, children and the elderly
 But that eventually everyone's face
 Will radiate your light
 With you Lord
 We declare war
 War against anger, death.

There you are, dear listeners, it is very deep but it is worth the trouble. To crown it all, I am going to play you a very religious song in Lingala called "Nayaki pamba". "Nayaki pamba" simply means "I came empty-handed, I will return to my God empty-handed." This message is addressed to all the opportunist politicians who cannot look beyond their tummy. "Nyaki pamba."

Ah! I came empty-handed and I will return empty-handed; those who understand the spiritual language clearly understand ... that I came from paradise empty-handed and I will return to paradise empty-handed. To someone who understands the weight of the words in the holy book, this is very deep. And yes, *Radio Television des Milles Collines*, I would like to read you an announcement first: the Chairman of the board of directors of "BCK" *Boucherie Charcuterie de Kigali* would like to inform all its shareholders that the general meeting slated for Saturday 19 March 1994 has been postponed. The new date for the meeting will be announced soon.

We have just...just played you the song entitled "Nayaki pamba" by the group called Limase, a group made up of twins who have decided to devote their entire lives to the Lord. They only produce religious music and sang "Ayakwa" a song which speaks of...of the death of Jesus; and many other songs. They visited Kigali but I did not have the opportunity to meet them.

Someone named Francois NTIRIVUMWA, you are the *Bourgmestre* of Gahora *commune*. Onesphore RUHIGIRA is wishing you a good night's rest. A lady called Alphonsine of Radio Rwanda telephoned us and we say thank you. We greet her, we wish all our listeners a happy evening and I know that we have a lot of them in Bukavu, in Goma in Zaire, in all the *préfectures* of Rwanda and luckily, we have even learnt that some people are forced to climb to tree tops just to be able to listen to RTL, and you know we are in the country of one thousand hills, there are a lot of hills, there are a lot of valleys, those people in the valleys..., in the valleys always have problems when listening to us ; they like radio 106 so much that they are obliged to climb to tree tops in order to listen to *Radio Television des Milles Collines*.

We received a long letter of congratulations from Michel SIBOMANA, from spiritual friends of the College Saint Sauver in Kigarama *secteur*, Gikondo, Kigali town.

I thank this man. I am flattered by his kind words to the RTL journalists and we welcome this. In any case, in all areas of human endeavour, some things work while others don't. Please do not hesitate to tell RTL journalists what is wrong with their way of doing things for we are an independent radio station and an independent radio station cannot be more independent than its listeners.

If you are not happy with what we are saying, you have the right to tune to another station though we would not be happy to hear that you switched channels while listening to RTL. We would prefer that you, dear listeners tell RTL journalists "do this" so that the radio106 can remain popular.

And I hope that by playing this song, radio 106 will remain popular with you. Lucky Dube, Running, Running, Running and that is for your listening enjoyment Landa Mori. OK?

Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, RTLM

...of the RTLM in fractions of a second it will be 10:00 O'clock. We will be closing transmission soon and would like to thank all our listeners where ever they may be, thank you...all. You have been with our colleagues Noel HITIMANA and Valérie BEMELIKI for Kinyarwanda, for French you had Mulonda MIBILIZI and Emmanuel RUCOGOZA, whom you are listening to and the technical team was made up of Onesphore RUHIGIRA and...all...all the colleagues. We wish you a happy evening; hope to be with you again tomorrow morning at 8 a.m. See you at ...10 ... at 8 o'clock.
(Music: National anthem in French)

Kantano HABIMANA, RTLM

...all of you listening to us, how are you today, did you sleep well? Normally you should be with Gaspard GAHIGI, the editor in chief of your radio station, RTLM independent radio; however, something terrible happened to him, his father died. Um...he should be courageous in the face of this situation. Whatever the case, people must help each other, I will be here until midday and will keep you company. When Emmanuel NKOMATI arrives here, we shall work together so that your radio station can remain on the air.

Of course as I said, people must help each other. How are you today, what is your situation like in terms of security? Let's hope that in the days to come, our political leaders will show concern for our country, for the safety of the people who live there and as the President has said on Thursday we will finally have a government and a national assembly no matter who they are made up of.

Then we will enter into a transition period with a broad-based government in which the *Inkotanyi* will participate, a transition that should normally be characterized at the political level by honour and not disorder.

It is clear that as your radio is in the habit of doing, there is fresh news from every where. We will read the announcements and play some good music so you may enjoy your day and be filled with joy in your heart. As for you, staunch supporters, be courageous, one does not cry endlessly because one is sad; this is life. You therefore understand that you must stand the sadness and continue to listen to tune in to RTLM, the independent radio.
(Music)

...slander his party, as it appears....said he supported Faustin Rukokoma TWAGIRAMUNGU by saying that the parliamentarians to be appointed must be the ones selected by MDR members in agreement with TWAGIRAMUNGU and the others. Those ones can join the assembly; as for the others who have cases pending in court, normally they should wait but...but NSENGIYAREMYE, supports TWAGIRAMUNGU

and says "meanwhile the parliamentarians we do not accept, SEBAREME and the others; but the others will join after they win their cases in court".

Normally, that should not be the case; those with cases in court should not be appointed parliamentarians; they should only join after settling their cases in court; matters in dispute....should be...settled as quickly as possible. That is the way things should be done. However, in his usual manner, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU says: "in any case, I will give notice of an appeal, the magistrates will delay judgements; meanwhile, parliamentarians from my party will be passing bills; this will be to my advantage for the trials will be long-drawn.

This shows intrigues and Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE backs these manoeuvres. Another thing that has annoyed the people is that they have heard that someone called Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE, a native of Gitarama who people thought belonged to the Power wing...what surprises them even more was the fact that he got involved in the affairs of the PL MUGENZI. He got involved in the affairs of the PL; one could say he was tricked by the journalists; if he was indeed a politician, but then that is the way it is...dear friends, a bad beginning makes a bad ending⁶. NSENGIYAREMYE's experimentation have been going on for quite sometime. Now that... you do remember when NSENGIYAREMYE said in Kibuye: "Rwanda has strong youths at its disposal; they will rise up like one person to defeat the *Inkotanyi*". He said that and then kept quiet. Subsequently, he made unhealthy statements about religion when he said that Rwanda belongs to the children of God; statements he himself cannot explain. In short, the experimentation of NSENGIYAREMYE date back to a long time ago and are still very much around today.

This veterinarian has not yet given up his experimentation, not at all. In my opinion, it would be better to make him head a parastatal, reappoint him to head OVAPAM for example, instead of bringing him into the new government! Getting involved in the affairs of the PL by arguing that MUGENZI had not participated in the meeting and in many other allegations... It does not matter, if he did attend the meeting...he had something preventing him; consequently NSENGIYAREMYE should not say that MUGENZI did not come nor try to explain his absence; why is he getting involved in the affairs of MUGENZI?

It is clear that he is on Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU's side who supports the *Inkotanyi*. Some think that Dismas NSENGIYAREMYE belongs to the Power wing, but from what he said yesterday, I think he revealed he belonged to his own power wing. He revealed his position here and there. For example, the others sometimes say: "We shall not attend the meeting". As for him, he sometimes pretends to be sick and continues to look at pictures in the hall where the meeting is to be held, thereby remaining with the *Inkotanyi* and TWAGIRAMUNGU whom he is begging for a position.

That is probably why TWAGIRAMUNGU trapped the MDR members. He said to them: "Give me ten candidates". He thought that NSENGIYAREMYE would not be one of them and that NGURUNZIRA who had a hand in thwarting the Arusha Agreement

would not be on the list. Moreover, brave Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU immediately picked NGURUNZIRA who subscribed to the Arusha Agreement, this agreement that NGURUNZIRA ...He also chose NSENGIYAREMYE whose experimentation he was aware of and whom he could place where he wanted and manipulate as he wanted.

One should therefore expect him to speak slowly. One should expect this because as far as I am concerned, he cannot say anything good, for we were surprised that he got involved in the affairs of MUGENZI. If he was truly of the "power" wing, he would know what MUGENZI is after and what most Rwandans want. However, we have seen his way of being a member of the "power" wing; he slanders his party; he cannot understand why people are saying that candidates elected by a legally constituted government but who still have cases pending in court cannot join the assembly and that while they wait, their seats should remain vacant for in any case, they would win the cases as some people have. He does not even support KAMARI who won his case, by affirming that he should at least join Parliament.

But the fact that he supports TWAGIRAMUNGU means a lot.

You are still listening to RTL M the independent radio transmitting from Kigali. It is 11 minutes to 9; please stay tuned to your station RTL M (music)

Speaker: **unidentified**

...he has just told you, we are here together from morning until midday. The technical aspect is being taken care of by our young man, the youngest man here at the radio station, his name is Laurent KAMANZI. Now...we shall continue to entertain you with our programmes, we have political news and will read it to you as it comes in. Mr. Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, Mrs. Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA, Mr. Joseph KAVARUGANDA and those with them pursue the interests of the RPF, by openly scorning the right of the MDR, PL, CDR and the PDI parties and all that resulting from a well arranged plan aimed at giving all the power in Rwanda to the RPF.

They are to blame for the crisis our country is facing because they are concerned by their own interest. They are the ones hindering the putting in place of the transitional institutions for they no longer want to respect party political guidelines in the selection of their candidates who would join the broad based transitional institutions. The two Prime Ministers are interfering in the internal management of some parties and are making decisions on their behalf and on behalf of the party leaders solely for the sake of safeguarding the interests of the RPF supporters. This is contrary to the duties assigned to them which is to enforce the respect of law, a duty reinforced by the Arusha Agreements. This will lead to the handing over of power to the RPF and their supporters. Another deplorable thing is that Mrs. Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA is refusing to convene a cabinet meeting in conformity with Article 8 of the Arusha Peace Agreements, which stipulates that the government must continue to lead the country until the broad based transitional institutions are set up. Some informed political observers state that

such a move is aimed at enabling Mrs. Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA work as she likes, say what she wants, in short, behave as she wishes, on behalf of the government. It is against this background that she suddenly published the list of members of the broad based transitional national assembly, while TWAGIRAMUNGU did the same for the cabinet ministers for the transitional broad-based government. The lists shocked the people in charge of putting the other broad -based transitional institutions in place, as well as some political party leaders. You will see that this way of surprising the people is cunning and hypocritical and reveals a desire to close the current institutions claiming that their terms of office has expired.

Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA should know that this makes the country look as if it is not being governed, thereby causing increased worsening of the security and the economic situation in the country. Moreover, this is what impedes the putting in place of broad based transitional institutions, for as long as cabinet does not meet to resolve matters that concern them, the RPF will have nobody to negotiate with.

Another surprising and disturbing issue is to hear and notice that the RPF continues to seek an armed solution to possible problems. However, people understand that the RPF had committed itself to solving their problems through negotiations using the Arusha agreements as a basis for this procedure.

To envisage the resumption of hostilities because of problems of allocation of posts within some parties would show that the RPF does not accord any importance to the Arusha Agreements and that they are only using the agreements to reach their hidden ends.

Furthermore, Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU, Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA, Joseph KAVARUGANDA and all their allies must release themselves from RPF control and put the interest of the country first, and fully implement the Arusha Agreements, so that the institutional organs can be put in place.

It is ten minutes past nine, let's listen to a song entitled "*Twasezereye ubuhake, twasezereye ingoma ya cyami*" (We said no to pastoral slavery
., we said no to the monarchy)(music).

It is nine seventeen in the RTLM studios, whose transmission reaches the thousand hills. A man named Faustin TWAGIRAMUNGU and his friend Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA continue to hinder the proper management of the country. How much longer will the people stand this? It is really a shame. When you look at their behaviour, their way of doing things, their speeches, you will realize that they are defending the *Inkotanyi*, that they are on the side of the *Inkotanyi* and would like to do what the latter want. Consequently, the people are being asked to be vigilant, the enemy is still the same, brandishing the same spear; his plan to shed blood remains the same; all his tricks to launch a surprise attack in order to seize power must be vigorously condemned. This requires a proper identification of the enemy, for he keeps disguising himself.

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Nevertheless, he is still the same. I would therefore like to dedicate this new song to the Rwandan Armed Forces, our forces who have shown bravery and seriousness. They have done a great job and prevented the enemy from taking over our country and destroying our property. To all our armed forces, be they gendarmes, or soldiers, all the armed units, from a private to Major General; to all, where ever they may be: at the front, in the barracks or even those outside, taking care of security; to all of you. I hope you hear this song and please enjoy it. I also dedicate this song to all Rwandans committed to peace and democracy. Here is the music.

End of Side B.