

TAPE No.: RTLM 51, 0036
DATE: 21 June 1994
IDENTITY OF TAPE: RTLM transmission
DATE OF TRANSLATION: 9 July 1997
DATE OF REVISION: January 2001

CASE No.: ICTR-98-42-T
EXHIBIT No.: D. 284 C (Nyirama Suhuko)
DATE ADMITTED: 21.03.2005
TENDERED BY: Defence
NAME OF WITNESS: F. Shimamungu

SIDE A

Speaker: Kantano Habimana:

... All of you are young. You should become soldiers, especially since this country has been attacked. I don't think that some people are more courageous than others ... they aren't ... but ... let me continue ... What we are asking you, Kantano, is to lift our morale, that is, always talk about things the way they are, without beating around the bush or being slanderous. You have to work for your country the way you should do, without discouraging people. If there are cowards in the *gendarmerie* ... we think that there are cowards everywhere, in all the services ... however, they should be blamed without any partiality. We are keenly awaiting your visit here in Kacyiru. You will see that we are standing firm. Peace be on you. We, Kacyiru gendarmes. Regards. (he laughs). Oh my God! I have nothing to add to that. I don't want to discourage you or to divide the army. I don't want to criticize some people and encourage others. Our wish, all of us, even someone who was a coward and even someone who is afraid of dying – as General Bizimungu said, he who is afraid of dying will not live to be a hundred – our wish is to die for the motherland. You refuse to give your blood to your motherland, you refuse to spill your blood for your country, but the dogs drink it for nothing. I think that is what I wanted to say. And you cowards, get your act together. For us, this is a way of reprimanding you, of reprimanding you cowards. This is a way of giving you a blow ... with ... I was going to say with a stick, whereas the gendarmes like using the word truncheon. I would love to beat you with a truncheon on your thighs so that you can really advance ... advance. It's so surprising to see a soldier running in front of a civilian and telling the civilian "run, run!" and to see them running together. Imagine that! It's really ridiculous. We wonder why they don't return the guns and go do something else ... even if they were running away from unemployment when they joined the *gendarmerie* or the military service. Why seek refuge from unemployment there? When you look at some officers, you wonder why they didn't choose to become doctors or mining engineers and why did they go to hide at ESM (he laughs). Yes, they exist!

There is someone here who told me ... he is a man who often likes to express his ideas ... I'm going to read out the letter, it is long but I'll read it out in a few days' time. He is requesting *Kangura*, the newspaper, to start conducting inquiries on people who have shown courage during this war so that they could be rewarded. That's fair. It's true that people pay attention to what's going on. For example, people will no longer say what Busunyu said. Busunyu of Cyangu said "I am the Director-General, therefore I have to be at such-and-such a place because I am a native of such-and-such a place and son of so-and-so". We are going to change all that. We will change all that. Where were you going to discharge your duties as Director-General when the country was on the point of being captured? There are people who don't even know how their Ministries were demolished, how it all happened and who don't know where their staff members are; yet they are claiming that they are Director-Generals ... Director-Generals of where? In what office?

We are indignant at those cowards, whether they are civilians or not. As those gendarmes are saying, there are cowards everywhere ... cowards. Where would Kigali be if this country had cowards only and no youths who put up resistance? Where would Kigali be? If all soldiers had been cowards, stooping over things that they have hidden or looted, where would Rwanda have been today? Museveni's people would have taken over Rwanda, and Gatutsi's children would be tyrannising us. There is no country which has produced only cowards. I believe that Rwanda has many brave people. And then ...

(3 minutes 6 seconds).

Valérie Bemeriki:

It is now 8:25 at RTL M's makeshift studio. I would like to greet all the members of the Rwandan army, the national army, wherever you are. At the warfront and at your positions. I greet you all. I would like to send my greetings to all the generals, wherever they are. I know their bravery and I know that they are standing firm, and they will inculcate that into other soldiers. I would like to send my regards to the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, second lieutenants, chief warrant officers, warrant officers, quartermaster sergeants, first sergeants, sergeants, corporals and privates. To all of you, be strong. We are all together. I wanted to greet you this morning and urge you to remain courageous and brave, qualities which have always characterized you.

I am sending my greetings to all youths wherever they are at the roadblocks supporting the national army. The youths have risen up and they are fighting against *Inyenzi-Inkontanyi* in order to prevent the enemy from taking over the country. The youths are obviously winning. I would also like to greet the people, all Rwandans, without any exception, who are determined to combine their efforts to fight the enemy who has not found an opening. The enemy is in a situation where he can neither advance nor retreat. So he is just waiting for death. He has to die at that position from where he can neither advance nor retreat. We can't wish the malevolent enemy anything else.

(5 minutes 4 seconds).

I would like to tell you that, as you know and as you can hear now, this is Valérie Bemeriki, and our technician is Jean Ntezimana. As you know, we will bring you a variety of news, particularly with regard to the situation at the warfront: the situation during the night and this morning. We will try to bring you news from the front and other news broadcast by other radio stations as well as information we have collected for you. So we will bring you a variety of news which will make you happy. We are doing our best to see to it that you are happy with our news. We will be together from now up to noon.

You know that in our programmes, we have announcements and messages. We have messages which RTL M's avid listeners love to send out through this radio station. So anyone who doesn't want to be disappointed entrusts his message to RTL M as the Editor-in-Chief often likes to tell you. It's true. We don't disappoint you. We have to broadcast your messages quickly and as we receive them from you. I would also like to tell you that this morning, we will have discussions with some guests and, if it's necessary, we will inform you of the purpose of our discussions, or the guests themselves will do that. This morning, we will do everything possible

to have discussions with the distinguished guests. With respect to information broadcast by various radio stations, our colleague Ananie Nkurunziza is here with us. He will try to analyze information broadcast on outside radio stations. I would like to wish you a nice day and hope that the day begins well for you. I will be with you again shortly. I wish you a pleasant listening to your radio station's programmes.

Earlier on, I told you that we were going to talk about the situation at the warfront and that we will bring you news broadcast on foreign or local radio stations. I was telling you that in a few moments I will be with our colleague Ananie Nkurunziza who will bring you a detailed analysis of those news. I was also telling you that we will be having guests and we will be airing their views when we come back. I will now leave you in the company of Ananie Nkurunziza. He will bring you the news and will talk about the situation at the front. I will be back later and present to you what our guests have told us. So I will now leave you with Ananie who will bring you the news.

Ananie Nkurunziza:

Thank you Valérie. Good morning, friends of the RTL. Good morning, the people of Kigali. Good morning, Rwandans, wherever you are. I would also like to greet all those of you who are at the warfront battling the enemy. Today is the 21st June 1994. The time here at our makeshift studio is about sixteen minutes to nine. I think that last night you were told that certain areas of Kigali were calm, apart from the fact that I have just come across mainly women and children who seemed frightened. They were coming from SEGEEM in Gikondo. Although we don't know yet what the situation there is like, we would like to request the people of Gikondo to calm down. We are asking the army and the battalions which are there to fight like the 61st Battalion that fought here in Kinamba on the day before yesterday and put the *Inyenzi* to shame. Yesterday we had a discussion with the *Préfet* of Kigali, Colonel Renzaho. Everyone is praising Colonel Renzaho's bravery, especially in these difficult times when we are fighting the enemy. Everybody appreciates the manner in which he protected the people of Kigali. We talked about the fires which you saw ... the fires which were launched in the air by the *Inyenzis* and which lit up the sky and the earth. They are called "fireworks". The enemy launches them for at least two understandable reasons. The first reason is that maybe they want to light up [the atmosphere] in order to know where the Rwandan army is so that they can attack it. They may also direct them somewhere as a decoy to mislead their enemy, that is, by making their enemy believe that a given area will be attacked but, instead, an attack will be launched from another area later. In military tactics or strategies, that is known as diversion. The third reason, which cannot be understood anyway, is that they want to distract the people. As the *Préfet* told us, this is the enemy's new ploy: he is launching in the air those fires in order to terrorise the people, distract them and misdirect their vigilance. That is what happened on the night of the day before yesterday in the Nyamirambo area, and that is what happened again last night. However, what is worrying in all this terror and distraction is that the people too saw the enemy's things and fired – even heavily - at them. We can't know the number of bullets that were used ... Anyway, every bullet is expensive. I think that the current cost of one bullet is a hundred francs. If you fire needlessly a hundred bullets without shooting at the enemy, then you should know that you are burning ten thousand francs. As the army's Commander-in-Chief told us, I think that Rwanda's problem is not financial. The problem is rather getting the bullets because our enemies have

tarnished our reputation. As Colonel Renzaho explained, that object – I am talking about the shell that is launched in the air, lighting up [the atmosphere] – dissolves itself and fizzles out in the air. So it cannot harm anyone. You have to know that this is the new tactic used by the enemy which we have just found out and, maybe, my colleagues kept telling you about it yesterday. However, they didn't tell you that wasting bullets and being scared amount to falling in the enemy's trap. In short, shooting at those objects means wasting bullets. Amidst such a hail of bullets and while your eyes are fixed on the sky, the enemy who is down here on the ground could take advantage of such a situation and infiltrate [us]. So you should know that this is another trick by the *Inyenzi*, on top of their barking, mooing, crowing and mewing.
(12 minutes 8 seconds).

People are talking about youths who are committing various types of atrocities: killing, raping and looting. I don't know whether most of our young listeners know what rape is. Rape means having girls by force. People continue talking about the young people who are killing, raping and looting. What is sad is that they call themselves *Interahamwes*. What we at the RTL – a radio station which is loved by *Interahamwes* and which supports them and the youths of all republican parties – know is that those youths are in the same group which is commonly known as *Interahamwe* who, as General Bizimungu said, are at the front. That is what we know about those youths above reproach who are at the warfront in Nyamirambo and Kimisange. They are on the frontline everywhere, in Muhima, in Rugenge. I have just met many of those youths. They were going to fight in Gikondo. However, we have to cast suspicion on all the people who are involved in looting, carrying out illegal attacks, raping women and who bear the name *Interahamwe* because, as a matter of fact, they exist, and we see them. Since we see them and they call themselves *Interahamwe*, I think that we could refer this problem to leaders of the *Interahamwe* and, at the same time, ask ourselves whether the enemy's trickeries – which are numerous – are not deceiving our youths and *Interahamwes*. That could be worse than looting and raping. Those youths calling themselves *Interahamwe* and committing atrocities would be working for the enemy and stabbing us in the back. We have always talked about that. The enemy's tricks are many and varied. That is why we have to be vigilant. I would like in particular to send this message of call to vigilance to leaders of republican youths in order to avoid entryism in *Interahamwe*, which is a branch of MRND, because the *Inyenzi*'s current opposition is aimed at MRND. Remember that, at the beginning of the fighting, international radio stations protested against MRND's *Interahamwe* and the Presidential Guards. The *Inyenzi* protest against those whom they know are useful. So you, *Interahamwe*, be careful and don't let the enemy infiltrate you in order to commit atrocities which could be blamed on you. At this juncture, I would like to recall the words of General Bizimungu, the Commander-in-Chief of the Rwandan army, who said, "Let the youths commonly called the *Interahamwe* - who are helping us - help us. It is true that they are helping us, but they should help us with discipline. We will not let them do whatever they want to do". The enemy then does everything and reaches everywhere. That is what we call entryism. So be vigilant so as not to allow the abominable [enemy] to infiltrate your ranks because we depend on you.

(15 minutes 7 seconds).

Once again, Twagiramungu has cried out that he doesn't want the French to set foot here. He's even asked that they be replaced by Canadians. Twagiramungu is currently in New York. Yesterday he was in Canada. He is expected to hold talks with Boutros Ghali in New York. What

we can say here is that, within MDR, they have continued being indulgent with that mercenary, so much so that in the future he could cause us problems. In fact, at one point they talked about the MDR national congress which was supposed to sort out the disagreements which had been caused by Twagiramungu's dismissal by the Kabusunzu Congress. However, when Twagiramungu refused to accept his dismissal, there was talk of the need to hold another referendum congress which would show Twagiramungu the truth. That was something possible because, apart from him and some *Amajyoyi*, Twagiramungu did not have other forces within MDR. The congress, aimed at sorting out disagreements, did not take place. So Twagiramungu still thinks that he is the Chairman of the party. Even now, after showing himself to be an *Inyenzi* and fleeing the country, nothing has been done. The congress has not been convened to ... to ... sort out the disagreements and sack Twagiramungu because his ideology is against the republican ideology. This is the man who still keeps on calling himself a minister in the Broad-Based Transitional Government. He is a man who is going to cause us serious problems. Now I would like to request the technician to play us some music. I am going to check out something. I will be back in a few moments and tell you what the situation is.

Ananie Nkurunziza, RTL M journalist:

... from Ananie ... in a few moments ... I took leave of you to go somewhere. I was talking about Twagiramungu. I was saying that if we are not vigilant, he is going to be a considerable danger to us. I had just remembered that Gahigi and Valérie had gone to interview authorities, including the Prime Minister. So I thought that it would be a good thing to go and suggest to them the question concerning Twagiramungu so that they can include it among other questions which they are going to ask. So, Twagiramungu is an imminent danger. He is an *Inyenzi*. Since he has become an *Inyenzi*, measures have to be taken against him. The measures, however, have to be taken by the party to which he claims to be a member.

Let us look at some more news this morning. Once again, the *Inkontanyi* are doing their best to prevent the French from coming to Rwanda with a plan to help us so that the French can stop the *Inkontanyi* from continuing to kill the people. At this point, I would like you to know that the *Inkontanyi*'s plan is to kill much more Hutus. Everyday they kill more people. Yesterday, we told you about the people they dismembered in Rugenge *secteur* in the communes in which they are committing atrocities. Yesterday, I read out to you a death announcement of a warrant officer. RPF killed his whole family, including babies. That's it. They want to reduce the number of Hutus - maybe to exterminate them ... I think that it is impossible to exterminate them - maybe to reduce their number to that of the *Inyenzi*. So, in collaboration with Belgium, especially Belgian newspapers, they are accusing France of, firstly, shooting at the Rwandan President's plane, the late Juvénal Habyarimana's plane. Three Frenchmen died in the same plane. The *Inyenzi* and the Belgians are accusing the French of having killed their own children. We've talked about it and that is what is in the headlines.

They are accusing the French of fighting behind the Rwandan Armed Forces. However, a journalist with an English radio station which was heard this morning in Kigali asked the big *Inyenzi*, Bihozagara, who is representing the other *Inyenzi* in Europe, why the *Inyenzi* and the Belgians newspapers had never accused France of all those things which they are now accusing it of, before France took the important decision of coming to assist Rwanda. Bihozagara

answered that they had tangible evidence, but they were waiting for the right time, to present them. He then alleged that – and I think that this is part of the evidence that he had kept – France was repairing Kamembe airfield. Without dwelling on the matter, we should note here that, after shooting down the late Rwandan President Habyarimana's plane, the *Inyenzi* – who, in collaboration with the Belgians, had shelled it – accused the Presidential Guard battalion and *Interahamwe* of MRND, founded by the country's President, of shelling the plane.

So you can see that what the *Inyenzi* are doing is not truthful and serious at all. On the contrary, what they are doing is deplorable. They are talking nonsense and crawling like *Inyenzi*. The United Nations Security Council spent this night considering the decision to intervene in Rwanda. The decision was submitted by the French Government. Troops from foreign countries will therefore be led by the French contingent. The United States of America has stated that it will support the decision. Even in his letter to the Chairman of the Security Council supporting the French decision, the United Nations Secretary-General requested that that army should be in Rwanda for three months. So you can see that the decision is practically [*sic*] supported. When a decision is supported by the United States and by the United Nations Secretary-General, it means that it is on its way to implementation. However, since the *Inyenzi* and their accomplices who are working in Canada, which is near New York, the UN Headquarters, are crawling all over the place, they have now started saying that there are problems. People are even saying that it would be better to send only Africans to Rwanda and that the French should not come here. Twagiramungu is saying that Canadians should come here instead of the French. All those people want to block the decision. But let us wait and see because it was being said that negotiations are still going on this morning. We heard in the same context that, during his visit to Brussels where *Inyenzi* are crawling, the Archbishop Desmond Tutu too said that he does not think that it is a good thing for the French to come and help Rwanda, he thinks that only Africans themselves can come here to do that. When Martin Ukobizaba, the Representative of Rwanda's interests in Paris - where Ndagijimana is representing the *Inyenzi* – was asked by RFI journalists what was his opinion on Archbishop Desmond Tutu's comments, he said that he thought that Africans were not materially capable of helping Rwanda and that the French should come and assist Rwanda. We were also told that a French military envoy went to New York for talks with senior United Nations officials on the coordination of the activities of the army which will be led by the French and UNAMIR II which will replace the army in question after a provisional period. Another abominable thing is that the Tutsi of Burundi are still preparing demonstrations against the arrival of the French in Rwanda. We have said many times that they are all the same. They are all the same because when Ndadaye was murdered by Bikomagu, Kagame went to Bujumbura. It is possible that the *Inyenzi*, the Belgians and Bikomagu knew about the plan for the accident involving the Presidential plane. His Excellency President Habyarimana and the President of Burundi, Ntaryamira, were in the plane. Another piece of news regards the exchange of displaced persons which continued yesterday. Three hundred Tutsi and their friends went to Kabuga and three hundred Hutu returned to our zone. The reason we are still asking ourselves questions is that, when some of those Tutsi reach Kabuga, Nyacyonga or Kabuyea they insult the people they left behind. They often forget that – and I think that is why he who cursed them never blessed them – they often forget that one shouldn't pass judgement on a situation which has not yet come to an end. They better watch out if we meet them in the near future in Kabuga still insulting [others]; they will be responsible for everything that Muhabura made them say when the Ugandans, who are working through Muhabura, will have gone home. We have also

learnt that, in Shauritanga, Kilimanjaro district which, I think, is to the north of the Serengeti forest, along the Kenyan border, in the area inhabited by Masais, 40 girls died when their dormitory was set on fire. A *New York Times* journalist has written in the latest edition that there are no longer any devils in hell; they are all in Rwanda. That is what I heard in the French language news, but the original should be in English because the *New York Times* is an English language newspaper.

(25 minutes 1 second)

It is obvious that, since we talked about the *Inyenzi* who came to Rwanda from Uganda, the situation has become tragic. Tehran, in Iran, is also in the news. The Mujahideen, who are opposed to the Government, placed a bomb at Imama Léza's mausoleum – that is, the mausoleum carrying Imam Leza's name – killing 21 people and wounding 70 others. Maybe this news item is more important because radio stations have not stopped talking about the 21 people who were killed there, but we haven't heard the same radio stations talking about the lives of people that have been destroyed by explosives which are more powerful than the one used at Imam Léza's mausoleum. This is the discrimination practised by the newspapers. This is discrimination practised by white people who, for the most part, are dividing us. With regard to the French soldiers who should be coming here, the Western European Union will today resume negotiations on the sending of French soldiers. The negotiations had been adjourned on Friday. The negotiations are being held in the same context as the ongoing discussions in New York. So let us hope that tomorrow morning we will be able to tell you whether the decision to send troops to Rwanda has been taken or not. Whatever the case, we told you on RTL M that we have found "power". The first "power" is ours, that is, we who are fighting for the truth and for the republic. The second "power" is the *Inyenzi* power which considers itself dangerous. The third power is France's power. The French are saying that they should come to Rwanda, come what may. The fourth power is the power of the United Nations. Out of those four powers, we should depend on our power, which is the first power. We have to protect our country, whether the French are coming or not. As the Rwandan proverb says, "Your neighbours' help comes after the rain". Yesterday, I told you about a football match between Belgium's Red Devils and Morocco. The Red Devils defeated Morocco by one goal to nil. The match ended with fighting between Belgium hooligans and Moroccans living in Brussels. So there was trouble on Sunday between the supporters of the two teams who fought each other with clubs. The Belgians had clubs. This is not surprising because Belgians cannot prevent themselves from not doing harm [*sic*]. At the World Cup, tonight Nigeria will once again play Bulgaria in Dallas in the State of Texas, which is one of the states of the United States of America. We are told that the Algerian team is strong because, out of its 22 players, 17 play for European clubs. We therefore think that the Algerian team will not have problems defending itself. Up to now, security has been tight at the stadiums in the United States. People are not allowed in the stadiums with nail-cutters, glass bottles or umbrellas with metal. Alcoholic drinks are also out of bound. We will be together while my colleagues have gone out to gather news. You are with Ananie Nkurunziza. I'll now request our technician Jean, who has been with me since this morning in our makeshift studio, to play us some music. As we told, the bodies of eight people have been found this morning. The bodies had been hidden in ...

(28 minutes 3 seconds)

SIDE B (A part of this side of the tape is empty)

Ananie Nkurunziza:

... at Saint Paul's, there were 1,500 people. When we found out how things were after their evacuation, we were told that there were only 50 people left there. The *Inyenzi* say that they had evacuated 600 people. So when you look at the figures, you will see that, in total, there were 1,500 people at Saint Paul's. Fifty people remained there. This means that 1,450 people left the place. We are told that 600 people reached their destination. When you deduct that figure, you get a shortfall of 850 people. Where are they? Did they manage to escape from the *Inyenzi* or were they killed by the *Inyenzi* when they got there? That is the question. (Inaudible) ... another thing that we can say regarding the preparation of attacks by our armed forces is that, I think that we should rely more on our armed forces than on the forces which will come from outside. I would like us to pay attention to this point because we could fall in a trap which is very different from the one about which our late President Habyarimana liked talking to us when he told us that external assistance arrives only after the rain and that Rwandans should rely on themselves. Reliance on our strength has enabled us to build this country which the *Inyenzi* are in the process of destroying. Our strength has given us a reputation of being a pro-development country in Africa, a country which pays its employees, has a working telephone system and electricity. All these facilities have been destroyed by the *Inyenzi* who said that they were bringing democracy. I would therefore like to say that we should not depend on the arrival of the French. We should depend on the national army, the Rwandan youth and on all the people belonging to the popular majority who are determined to confront the enemy. The Rwandan popular majority knows that they should not be taken hostage, wherever they are, in Cyangugu, Kibuye, Gisenyi and Ruhengeri, where they are fighting the enemy. The people of Ruhengeri have taken up arms and are hunting the enemy in Kinigi and elsewhere in the forests, in the Byumba *préfecture* where they are maybe having difficulties battling the enemy. Maybe now they are secretly listening to RTLM. They are there fighting the enemy with more difficulties in Kibungo *préfecture*. They are there in Ngara, Tanzania. To all those people who are listening to us, everyone who is fighting the enemy in Kigali, people from communes which have been devastated but who were able to escape with a radio set, all of you in Gitarama, Butare and Gikongoro, RTLM, your radio station which is helping you in your fight, is always thinking of you. Everything that we do and say is to support you. Recently, in our makeshift studio, we hosted a certain Damas Gisimba. Damas Gisimba is the son of Gisimba who was devoted to helping orphans and who passed on that heritage to his sons. So Gisimba Damas junior remained with the orphans. At one point, white people shouted that they were going to evacuate the orphans by vehicle because the *Interahamwe* were going to kill them. However, Gisimba refused that and said that there was no problem other than hunger. He said that he did not have food for the children. He estimated that there were more than 300 children. Gisimba told us that on the Day of the African Child. He said that the day came at a time when children were starving. We are requesting Gisimba or anyone who sees him to tell him to come here to our makeshift studio so that he could talk to our Director on the modalities of getting help for the children. I think that he should try to come here. We have just found out where the assistance is coming from. We thank Phocas' wife (inaudible) for getting the help for the 300 children. So Gisimba can come and see the help that has been obtained ... good news, RTLM's Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Gaspard Gahigi, has just interviewed His Excellency the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda. They had an interview and Gahigi asked him whether the

Government was going to come back from the place they had withdrawn to so that they are not taken by surprise by the enemy. You will hear their interview; I am not going to repeat what they said because you are going to hear it for yourself. After that, we will bring you the Minister of Family and Women Affairs, Mrs. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko's interview with our colleague Valerie. But again, I don't want to repeat what they said. I would like to invite you all to listen to the two interviews which are going to be broadcast consecutively. We will begin with His Excellency Prime Minister Jean Kambanda's interview with the Editor-in-Chief Gahigi.
(21 minutes 1 second).

Jean Kambanda (Prime Minister):

Thank you. It is true that – as I was explaining to Rwandans - the Government has not fled. The Government went to prepare for its return to the capital. I can tell you that, from today onwards, the Government will be based here and my office will be here in Kigali and nowhere else. The listeners should know the truth. They should have no doubt. They should know that we will be in Kigali. So, for anyone who needs us, we will be here in Kigali.

Gaspard Gahigi:

Thank you Mister Prime Minister. Another question being asked by the people now is, the Interim Government, which you are heading, had agreed to find weapons for them so that they can fight against the enemy. The people are firm in their determination to fight the enemy. How far have you got in respect of the weapons?

Jean Kambanda:

Getting weapons, guns, has been difficult for us. That is not because the Government is not interested in getting them. As you know, the United Nations has imposed an arms embargo against us. You know very well that we don't agree with that decision. We wrote to the United Nations Secretary-General and told him that the decision is prejudicial to Rwanda's interests and that it should apply to the two warring parties (inaudible), the other party has continued receiving weapons from Uganda. We would like to see the decision apply to Uganda also. Even though the decision does not apply to that country, the Government has kept on doing everything possible to get weapons. I would like to tell Rwandans that, as of now, soldiers have weapons. They have what is needed to fight the enemy. We are in the process of gradually getting weapons for the population. We have deemed it proper to give the soldiers weapons which we have already acquired. However, our plan is that at least 200 civilians in each *préfecture* will soon receive weapons so that they can fight the enemy with the weapons, (inaudible).

Gaspard Gahigi:

Another question. A certain Faustin Twagiramungu, whose nickname is Rukokoma, has in recent days been all over international radio stations. He considers himself a Minister under the Arusha Accords. Now, my question is: You are the Prime Minister and a member of MDR (inaudible). Faustin Twagiramungu continues saying that he is a member of MDR and the Prime Minister appointed under the Arusha Accords. Why doesn't your party sack Twagiramungu, as

you said, so that he stops telling those radio stations that he is a member of MDR and that he is the Prime Minister appointed pursuant to the terms of the Arusha Accords?

Jean Kambanda:

Well, I think that no one should be worried or intimidated by what the *Inyenzi* and Twagiramungu are saying. Someone can appoint himself anything according to his wishes. If he has appointed himself to the post of Prime Minister, then that is because he wishes to do so. He has been calling himself Prime Minister for about one year whereas he has not been a Prime Minister. So Rwandans should understand that no country would want Twagiramungu to become our Prime Minister when we, Rwandans, don't want him. With regard to his replacement within the party, we think that that is an urgent issue because it has become obvious that Twagiramungu is no longer in our party. He has become an *Inyenzi*, a member of RPF. We don't understand how someone from RPF can become our Prime Minister. As regards the Arusha Accords, people who think that they can be implemented to the letter don't understand anything or don't want to understand. We think that the Arusha Accords cannot currently be implemented to the letter. Many articles in the Accord have to be changed as a matter of necessity. The first Article regarding the cessation of hostilities has not been respected by the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* who started the war. Since the second Article is related to Twagiramungu's credibility in MDR, it too is not possible [to apply]. The reason is that MDR members cannot tell you that Twagiramungu is a member of their party. They cannot accept him because they know that Twagiramungu is now a member of the party - if it actually exists - or rather of the RPF family. We also think that it impossible to reconstitute the PL as one party. The same thing applies to PSD. Those people don't know the truth. They think that the Arusha Accords should be implemented in its present state. Today, in Rwanda, there are only two parties. There is the party of Rwandans who were in Rwanda before and then there is the party of the *Inkotanyi*. These are the parties that will share power. Concerning people who think that they can hide behind the [political] parties and say that they represent those parties, they should know that that is no longer possible and that we cannot accept it.

(25 minutes 1 second)

Gaspard Gahigi:

Thank you. In the war that they are waging, the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* have protested against RTLM, among other things. Mister Prime Minister, could you please comment [on that] to RTLM fans, the listeners?

Jean Kambanda:

I would like to tell RTLM listeners that RTLM is also a weapon that the country has used to fight this war. People think that the war is being fought only with guns and bullets. The truth of the matter is that educating the people is also fighting a war. We would therefore like to thank this radio station for educating the people and for telling them the whole truth. This radio station is one of the weapons that the country has used in fighting against the enemy and continues to use. Even in other countries, you have heard that, when there is a war, information is one of the

weapons used in fighting the enemy. We appreciate the manner in which this radio station has been used to educate the people and to tell Rwandans the truth regarding this war (inaudible).

Valérie Bemeriki:

Madam Minister of Family and Women Affairs, could you please tell Rwandans what is the situation of Rwandan women now, when the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* are waging a war against us?

Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Family and Women Affairs:

The Rwandan woman, just like all other Rwandans, is on the battlefield, fighting the enemy who is in the RPF family. Her work is harder than her brother's because she has to fight and take care of her children at the same time. Rwandan women have been more affected by the war because, even when she is fighting this war with weapons, she also has to look for food for her children and husband. So, just like their brothers, Rwandan women are on the battlefield.
(26 minutes 9 seconds)

Valérie Bemeriki:

At present, when everybody is on the battlefield, some women are not available, but we don't know why. I don't know whether you could comment on that?

Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Family and Women Affairs:

Women are not very visible because there aren't many women in the military service. However, there are women in the armed forces, if you look at women who have been trained and at their ability. Rwandan women are also taking part in civil defence that we are doing [*sic*]. I saw them somewhere being trained. They were being trained to fight the enemy. They were with their brothers and they had no problem at all. Moreover, when their husbands and brothers go to the battlefield, they remain behind and prepare food which, as you know, is one way of fighting because you cannot fight on an empty stomach.

Valérie Bemeriki:

I remember that when the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* said that they didn't want the French soldiers who were here in Rwanda, we, women, were the first people to demonstrate. We wrote to the French President and told him that we didn't want the French troops to leave because, if they did, the situation here in Rwanda could get bad and hostilities could resume. All that happened, and that is what we are seeing today. Did you remind the French President, Francois Mitterand, about that letter? He said that, no matter what, he has to send the troops to our country to see what was happening. So, regarding that letter, where are we?

Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Family and Women Affairs:

Rwandan women and men wrote to Francois Mitterand and told him that they didn't want the French to leave. We also wrote him a letter to thank him for everything that the French