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 CONTENTS OF TAPE
 (Original text in French, page 1)

SIDE A

1. Interview of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Jérôme Bicomumpaka by Yacinthe Bicomumpaka, a Radio Rwanda journalist, concerning the Minister's working visit to Kenya and Zaire, bilateral co-operation, negotiation of a cease-fire with the RPF and the cause of interethnic massacres in Rwanda.

02-26.4

2. Interview of *Préfet* T. Renzaho of Kigali by the Rwanda Radio journalist concerning the tactic that the urban population should use to protect itself against the RPF shelling of the capital.

27.5-30.5

SIDE B

1. Continuation of *Préfet* T. Renzaho's interview by the Radio Rwanda journalist concerning the tactic that the urban population should use to protect themselves against RPF shelling.

0.6-2.5

2. Interview between Jean Pierre Nshimyumuremyi, a Radio Rwanda journalist and Mr André Rwajekare, a CND (Conseil National de Développement) M.P. living in Kigali

town, concerning the war against the Inkotanyi, mobilisation of the urban population and the country for civilian defence, the origin of the Inkotanyi attack and the war situation in general.

2.5-31.5

(Translation into French from p. 2 of the original text)

SIDE A

SPEAKER: Yacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist with Radio Rwanda

... The objectives and outcome of the mission?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Yes. Thank you very much; Mr. Bicamumpaka. You are right, I have just returned from a mission in Kenya. I moreover seized the opportunity to visit Zaire. I visited the capitals of both countries. My mission had to do with the situation we are experiencing today. As all Rwandans know, we are living in difficult times because of the war. You will therefore appreciate the fact that the government must do all it can to find a solution to the problems facing our country. The aim of the mission was therefore only to visit friendly countries, contact people, try and understand what they think, especially those people against whom we are fighting, so that we can find a solution to the problems facing our country.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist.

Your Excellence, so you travelled to Nairobi, which, as we know, is an Inkotanyi den. Many Inkotanyi members live there. Did you happen to discuss with them about the problems facing Rwanda, problems concerning the war and the negotiations that we must have with the RPF in order to end the war and so that Rwandans may at last live in peace?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Yes, I saw those people. Moreover, they are lucky to meet someone. Some of them say: "He has fled. We are lucky, let us approach him and ask him to talk on Radio Muhabura." Indeed, when they see a Minister outside the country, they say: "He has fled, let him talk, he has come to make the RPF family bigger." Thus, these people come and ask you a thousand and one questions. However, you introduce yourself to them because they are Rwandan refugees who are amongst the people attacking us or funding the attackers. So we saw those people and some of them were able to overcome their fear and came to me saying: "Do not go back to Kigali, we have taken the town." I asked him: "With whom did you take the town?" The

person could not answer. I then told him: "Come on! If you have taken Kigali as you claim, why don't you go back home?"

He was uncomfortable with this question. There seems to be some problems amongst them, between the former refugees, those who are currently fleeing from the Inkotanyi. When you ask the former refugees questions, they say, rather those fled recently and the former refugees, you find that there are two Inkotanyi factions who do not share the same views. The new refugees say: "You who fled a long time ago, you lied to us when you asked us for contributions. You asked us for money saying that you were going to take Kigali within three days. We gave it to you, and now instead of taking Kigali within three days, it's been one month now. You caused the death of our parents, no member of our families is alive! You are criminals! You are wicked people. " And the others reply,...the older refugees say: "When we were sleeping in holes, you were celebrating with champagne in Kigali." In brief, there are so many problems between them that they actually do not talk to each other.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, journalist.

Your Excellency, you have just mentioned that there are factions among the Inkotanyi. That reminds me that in Radio Rwanda, we saw a letter that talked about another RPF wing. I would not say that that was the case, it was a party of former refugees who call themselves "*le Front Rwandais de Redressement*" [The Rwandan Recovery Front]. So the question is: "Will there be three wings within the Inkotanyi as well? But when you talk to the new refugees, what do they say about peace in Rwanda?"

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Yes, that's true, there are factions among the Inkotanyi, moreover, among the fighters, there are those who have been referred to as "*extremists*." These "extremists" are people like Kagame, Rutaremara. They have only one objective, that is, to kill. To kill every Hutu, without any question of sharing power with the Rwandans in the country. As far as the new refugees are concerned, they will, in my opinion, create their own faction since they know Rwandans well. You know as well as anyone else, that it was they who had a lot of property here in Kigali. They were the very wealthy ones here in Kigali. They are the ones who had a lot of riches in Rwanda. I am not exaggerating by saying that the big, beautiful buildings in

Kigali belonged to them. In my opinion, they are the cause of their own flight. They fled the consequences of their acts. They fled from the fighting between the RPF and the Rwandan Armed Forces. These refugees can be heard saying to the RPF: "If only we knew! You brought us ill luck; you have brought us intense suffering. We should not have followed you because it is the present Rwandan government that is right, even if you spend your time accusing it of killings." Concerning the issue of killings, I told them: "Come on! Your wickedness is beyond comprehension. Who is behind this war, since the peace accords had already been signed?" And they say: "It's the GP [Presidential Guard]" When you asked them whom the GP is supposed to have shot, they cannot say. They say: "The GP killed the Tutsi." I tell them that that is not true, and that, on the contrary, they are the ones who, by killing the President of the Republic, caused the death of the Tutsi.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist

Tell me, Your Excellency, looking at these two factions carefully, could one say that the Rwandan war is far from over? Indeed, I keep telling myself that if we continue fighting the Inkotanyi, some of them will remain outside. So, if we sign other peace agreements, we are going to fight against the other factions, because people say there are several factions. So, if we are to hold talks, with whom will it be? With the old or the new refugees?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister

Bicamumpaka, this is a difficult question, but when you analyse the way the war is going, you realise that they cannot win it. When you ask them: "Are you going to rule the country?" They reply: "We cannot rule a country which is inhabited by Hutus alone. We would not be able to do it." They realise that even if they were to win this war, this would not be able to manage this country, for they know that the people hate them. You also know that wherever they go, the people flee from them. When they arrive in a certain region, the only solution for the people is to flee. They say that they are going to rule. Whom are they going to rule, since the people flee from them? This war is complex and will not come to an end through military victory but rather, through negotiations, as you say. However, concerning negotiations, they say: "Ha! Negotiate with you whereas you killed people?. And in saying so, they forget that it was their fault that those people were killed. They say: "The talks are impossible for the time being." Indeed, if Kanyarengwe's statements are anything to go by, he does not seem to

believe in the Arusha Accords any more. When you ask him what he believes in, he does not reply. The Rwandan government's position regarding the Accords is as follows: "We abide by the Arusha Accords even if some do not. **Let us put down the weapons and try to see to what extent we can implement them.** However, we notice that the RPF is not keen, because it is aware that if the accords are implemented, it will no longer get what it wants, namely, one third of the number of Ministers that it was demanding so that it can block the decisions of the government, since it no longer has accomplices within the government. If they come, they will be five and not seven. The two people they need on their side to block the decisions of the government will not be there. The same case applies to the Parliament. They will have eleven parliamentarians only. They will not be able to count on their usual accomplices. That is what they do not want. And they are saying: "Let us fight and occupy a major part of the country and then if we have, let's say four *préfectures*, we shall have 40% of the posts". That means they will have about nine ministers within the government. Therefore, they say: "Let's occupy a major part of the country and denounce the accords; we shall say that we control 40% of the national territory and for this reason we want 40% of the portfolios."

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, journalist.

How are you, as government, going to react *vis à vis* RPF's stand and plan? Does it mean that we shall continue fighting or are we going to continue asking the international community to [interruption]... you recently heard **the speech that the Prime Minister gave, in which he said: "Each Rwandan must have a gun, even in his farm. And if the Inkotanyi threaten him, let him fight them."** You understand...And did that not demoralise them? Are they as they used to be, that is if you saw them when they launched their first attack during the 1990 war?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister

They were very discouraged by this situation, for they did not know that the Hutus could show solidarity. They did not know that they would unite if attacked. They knew that the political parties had divided us, that they could not unite to combat the enemy. That sapped their moral, especially when I told them: "For the time being, instead of having lots of property that they can abandon if attacked, Rwandans now prefer to have little, which

they can share." It is better to have a shirt and a trouser, instead of ten shirts and ten trousers that you abandon when attacked. But if you have only one shirt and only one trouser, you can defend it. You would sell the other nine to buy weapons to prevent the dogs from eating your property. That is what they are afraid of, especially when we say: "We are going to invest all our property in the war in order to combat the enemy. If necessary, we are not going to sleep in houses with iron sheet roofs, for they know that if they destroy them, we shall sleep in sheds made of plastic sheets, provided that Rwandans stop taking to their heels when they see ten Inkotanyis. **Instead of fleeing, they should stop and face them as the Prime Minister said. When they go to their farms, let them take their guns and cartridges and if they hear "dududu", if the Inkotanyi shoot, let them shoot back I think that that will be a lesson. Talking of lessons, I think they have already had some, except that they are people who do not want to see reality. They have been taught a lesson moreover, they should be satisfied with that and accept the truth. They should understand that they wish to seize the country at a time when the inhabitants of this country do not want them.**

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, journalist.

There is one very small question that I forgot to ask you. You went to Nairobi as we know and foreign radios allege that Faustin Twagiramungu is there. Did you by any chance have the opportunity to meet him and discuss with him?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister.

I did not see Twagiramungu, but I know that he is in Nairobi from where he incidentally declared that he is Prime Minister. He said that, but our Ambassador, our country's representative in Nairobi, said that as Ambassador, he only knew one Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda; that he did not know any other. The proof is that, as you know, Twagiramungu had started issuing statements on foreign radios. Our Ambassador to Kenya, a courageous man whom I wish to commend on your behalf, told the Kenyan authorities: "That's going too far! We cannot accept that. Our country has only one Prime Minister. You are a friendly country, and we therefore do not understand how you could allow an individual to denigrate our country." Kenya understood the situation and cut off his telephone. At the moment, he has no telephone and so he can stop lying by saying that he is Prime Minister. Now Twagiramungu has started begging for clothes. I heard about it and I met someone, an Indian, who took some to him and who was saying: "Is he really as badly off as that?"

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist.

Hum!

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister

He is currently in the wilderness. He even wanted to seek asylum in Tanzania, on the pretext that he did not want to go too far from Rwanda because he wanted to keep abreast of the situation. He thinks that Arusha will give him the post that he had given himself, that he had reserved for his party. Incidentally, I do not know whether he is still a member of the party.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist.

Yes, we heard that he joined the RPF.

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister

Yes, but he did not put it that way. He says that he wants to go to Tanzania. The only problem is, Tanzania has turned down his request, saying: "After uniting the Rwandans, we cannot welcome someone who is coming to denigrate the Republic of Rwanda, whereas you have refused our good offices. We cannot welcome him into our country." He is currently looking for a country that will grant him asylum. African countries know him and moreover, they all know the aims of the RPF, especially because they are not new. They are comparable to those of Hitler. A fascist, a Nazi. *Twagiramungu is a Nazi like so many others.* He should be arrested and prosecuted, because he participated in the tragedy we are experiencing today. I heard that his immediate aim is to go to Canada. Moreover, Kenya has given him a few days to leave the country. At the moment, he is being guarded by two people, has no telephone and cannot move about since he has no money.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist

This enables Rwandans to know where or the situation in which one of their compatriots is. Half a word is counsel to the wise! Now, to come back to the issue of relations between Rwanda and Kenya, has Kenya understood the tragedy that occurred in Rwanda?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicamumpaka, Minister.

Kenya has understood Rwanda's tragedy. You are more over aware that when the Head of State died, Kenya immediately sent its condolences to the people of Rwanda and declared a three-day mourning period with flags at half mast. But that's not all, for you also know that

this country was one of the first countries to recognise this government, which obviously shows that they sympathised with us. Besides, as you know, after the death of our Head of State, the Inkotanyi drank a lot of alcohol and danced in the streets. In Nairobi, however, they were arrested, beaten up, imprisoned and fined. Some were even deported from Nairobi. These accidents took place. You will hear about them, they are not lies. So, as you can see, Kenya is a friend of Rwanda, and wants to help it. I have no doubts, by the way, that they are going to help us since it is a strong country with which we used to trade. We expect a lot from them and they understand the real extent of our tragedy.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, journalist.

Can we talk about the relations between Rwanda and Uganda? Some Ugandans say: "Museveni is going too far. He is attacking a neighbouring country which is very useful to us in terms of trade between African countries." Are there no Ugandans with such good ideas that you might have met and with whom you might have held discussions on Ugandans politics?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister.

Ugandans are a people who have undergone a great deal of suffering, the suffering of being led by someone like that. But even if people say that Uganda supported the Inkotanyi, all the Ugandans do not like them and are not behind Museveni. Consequently, we cannot say that it is all the Ugandans who are attacking us. That would be putting it too strongly. Our political relations with Uganda are not good at the moment. But they should be good because Uganda is not Museveni. Uganda is Ugandans and all those who live there. Museveni will cease to be in power one day, either through elections, by force, a military coup for example, or death. All that is possible. I cannot say that if he is no longer in power, Rwanda will no longer have good relations with Uganda like before. I would like to remind you, and I am sure you remember, that some Ugandans donated money saying: "Let us help the Rwandan Forces so that they can give the Inkotanyi a rough time." But at the same time they wonder: "We give them a hard time, but where will you send them, if not to Uganda, and Museveni will continue to help them. You should also realise that the Inkotanyi are giving a hard time to Ugandans. Up to now Kagame is a Ugandan soldier. He did not resign, you know". Elie Kategaya is from Ankole, he is from Ankole, he, Kagame, Museveni and company are cast in the same mould. He is still there. At the diplomatic level, we cannot say that we are in conflict with Uganda. Uganda had the misfortune to have a bad leader, a bloodthirsty

warmonger, who, as I said, deserves to be prosecuted. Besides, the tribunal in question (the one about which there is so much talk) should be set up without further delay so that we can try these people.

Let them never leave Uganda and go elsewhere.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, journalist.

Let us not talk about Uganda because we shall not get anywhere, especially because our relations with Uganda... our relations are bad because they helped the Inkotanyi and destroyed Rwanda. Besides, today I talked with an Inkotanyi who told me how Uganda is helping them. So, let us move on from that country to Zaire, through where you passed. Did you happen to meet or hold discussions with any Zairean authorities?

SPEAKER: Jérôme Bicomumpaka, Minister.

I did not spend much time in Zaire, I spent a total of 16 hours there. I can tell that I did not meet any senior officials. I saw people come to welcome me at the airport, and our Ambassador. As you can imagine, we discussed issues concerning Rwanda, and which worry Zaire, a country with which we used to trade, and which we can consider as a very close friend. You will remember how they came to our aid from the very beginning, in 1990. The Zaireans were very shocked by the death of Habyarimana, our President. They were so distressed by his death that they took measures against the Inkotanyi, to such an extent that some of them are fleeing and the property of others was seriously looted. That seriously sapped the moral of the Inkotanyi who are attacking us, for they are the ones who were supposed to give the money. They will not have any more money. The Zaireans react quickly. They were very affected by their friends' death. You know that President Habyarimana was a friend of the Rwandans. Whenever he arrived in Zaire, people rejoiced. They were distressed about his death and as you know, they too organised mourning. They too are ready to help us and they are helping us, furthermore, because he who merely tells you "take heart" when you are on the battlefield has already helped you.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, Minister.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to conclude and I will do so on the basis of what I said earlier. First, the RPF should see reason and negotiate with the Rwandan government to put an end to war. Indeed, as I told you, the problem can never, and I repeat, never be solved through war. Secondly, the RPF should accept to share power with the

people whom they find in the country, without boasting that they are a superior ethnic group. If that is done, we shall have won the war. If the RPF accepts to share power with those who are inside the country, we shall have won the war... In other words, all Rwandans will have won this war. It will not be the victory of the RPF alone and neither will it be the victory of the official party. It will be the victory of all of us.

Another thing I would like to add is that the RPF should stop saying that the Rwandan government killed people. I told you that the Rwandan government has never killed, but it was the Rwandan population in collaboration with the army who led this war. The army fought against other soldiers on the battlefield, while the population fought with the accomplices. They also fought those who had ammunition, those who gave food to the Inkotanyi in their houses and those who made contributions. They should realise that.

SPEAKER: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, journalist.

Thank you, your Excellency. Dear friends and listeners of Radio Rwanda, that is what the Inkotanyi think of this war that Rwanda is waging against them. Those were the opinions of the Minister concerning the progress of the negotiations as well as the ideas that must be discussed for the success of the talks. But as you also heard, there are problems among the Inkotanyi. We therefore wish to thank His Excellency the Minister for sharing his ideas with us. We thank him and also thank you for tuning in.

(A song which is interrupted).

SPEAKER: Tharcisse Renzaho, préfet of Kigali town.

... A few days ago, [the security] started getting slowly back to normal and the situation was good. But since yesterday, the Inkotanyi have been throwing bombs relentlessly into the town, into the various areas, among the people, in the markets, targets which are anything but military. Wherever the bombs fall, they kill people. I think that resuming such actions amounts to terrorism, because it is aimed at sabotaging the Government's decision to return to Kigali and work there. In fact, the Ministers arrived yesterday and worked, just like they did today. As for the bombs that are being thrown indiscriminately, for example at the Presidency and other places where they were thrown in large quantities, the objective is merely to terrorise them so that they do not implement the decision that they took. Furthermore, we think that this indiscriminate bombing is also a kind of terrorism aimed at preventing the workers from calmly returning to their places of work. People are requested to return to their

places of work , because there is a lot to be done, but that must be done peacefully. The heads of departments must first go to work and they can then take care of their workers. But that must be done gradually; there should be no rush, because work cannot go on in some buildings due to their state. The bombs that they have started throwing can also be a factor that can prevent people from working. There is also the fact that they are bombing the market perhaps with the aim of preventing the people from going there to get food supplies. Yet, we had said that those who go shopping in the market must not stay there for too long chatting and exchanging news. Whoever wants to buy something should do so quickly and leave immediately, because as soon as they see a crowd of people, they throw a bomb. Judging from the way they throw those bombs indiscriminately in all the residential areas, it is clear that these acts are aimed at frightening the population, creating confusion so that they can abandon their houses and flee and then the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi would occupy them immediately. It would therefore take us a long time to beat them, for once they occupy the houses , it would be difficult to get them out. I think that the people should understand that and follow the instructions that we have given them, that is, in case of bombing, they should find shelter where they can protect themselves and hide. Since bombs do not fall in a specific area, one can hide in a house. But if you are outside, even if it does not fall on you, you will surely get hurt because of the shrapnel, sulphur and other objects that it can throw up at you and kill you. So let them dig holes as we showed them.

SIDE B

SPEAKER: The *préfet* of Kigali town

... in a nearby place of refuge, because nobody should move without safe refuge. So they wait until things calm down and then resume their various activities. The only thing is, they should avoid remaining outside where there is no shelter, in case they get killed

SPEAKER: An unidentified Radio Rwanda journalist.

Sometimes, some people are afraid when they see these bombs fall and they run away. What can you tell them to reassure them so that they can remain at home?

SPEAKER: The *Préfet* of Kigali town.

Run away... I don't know, flee perhaps when one has somewhere to go; but when you flee, that implies leaving a place to go to another one which is better. You can flee the bombs and once you have found refuge, you can encounter other accidents. The only protection against these bombs is to find a way of countering them, in other words, to dig holes and cover them or look for another hiding place, such as a house covered with a reinforced concrete slab through which a bomb cannot tear. One inside, you wait for the bombing to end. A bomb cannot kill someone who is in such a shelter, unless it falls directly into the hole. If it does, it means that his hour will have come, he or she must die and there is nothing that one can do. However, that is more the exception than the rule. In my opinion, these people should follow our instructions, instead of continuing to run as if the places they are running to are in different world from the one we are living in or as if we were not in Rwanda where we continue to face these people who do not want us to have peace.

SPEAKER: An unidentified Radio Rwanda journalist.

Sir, we would like... [interrupted by the Kinyarwanda news bulletin].

... And the way they prepared to face the heavy bombs dropped by the enemy. This programme was prepared by Jean-Pierre Nshimyumurenyi.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

Dear listeners of Radio Rwanda, we have here in the studio a resident of the *Préfecture Urbaine* of Kigali town, a man of experience, who is going to introduce himself before our discussion.

SPEAKER: André Rwajekare, a resident of Kigali town and a member of parliament.

My name is André Rwajekare and I come from the Rushashi commune. I was born in 1940 and I am 54 years old. I have just completed 30 years in this town of Kigali. I worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for ten years and at the Ministry of Justice where I am still working. For all that period, I kept abreast of the political situation in the country. But before that, when the MDR-PARMEHUTU party was still in existence, I was a member. I was one of its representatives here in Kigali town. Until 1973, I was a member of what was then known as "the MDR-PARMEHUTU Urban Committee. After that, I was a member of the MRND management; I was supervised the organisation of various activities and community work. Although I combined political activities with my work, I have always carried out my duties as I should. Even with the introduction of the multiparty system, when I witnessed the creation of many political parties, since I had been a member of the MDR-PARMEHUTU - I am a parmehtu - I joined the renewed MDR-PARMEHUTU, but it is the same party which liberated Rwanda.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

Mr. Rwajekare, as a representative of the people, how do you see the situation of the people whom you represent in this town of Kigali in the light of the war?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

The people were not surprised by the war. They were not surprised by the war imposed by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi and which started in 1990, since it was not the first one. The Inyenzi-Inkotanyi started fighting on 4 July 1962, only three days after we obtained independence. In 1960, the Tutsis fled the revolution of the Rwandan masses comprising mainly of Hutus. When the masses noted that they were entitled to share power by virtue of their numerical strength, they carried out the revolution. Accustomed as they were to being served and in command, the Tutsi did not like the revolution and preferred to go into exile.

In 1960, the parmehtu activists got together and popularised democracy by explaining to the people the justification for power based on elections, which is a mark of democracy. They

therefore set up the institutions they wanted, and which they had been longing for. In July 1960, the first elections referred to as the "*suburbs*" elections, that is, the election of *bourgmestres* and *conseillers*, were organised. Since the Tutsi did not believe in democracy, they lost the elections because most of the *conseillers* and *bourgmestres* were from MDR-PARMEHUTU. Thus, the provisional government led by His Excellency Grégoire Kayibanda, the founding president of MDR-PARMEHUTU was set up on 26 October. On 28 January 1961, the party activists, including the *conseillers* and *bourgmestres*, met in Gitarama and decided to put an end to the monarchist regime by replacing it with a Republican regime. At the time; the members of the APROSOMA and UNAR parties refused to participate in the meeting. They came but decided on their own accord not to participate. But there were some APROSOMA activists led by Habyarimana Gitera as well as *conseillers* and *bourgmestres* belonging to the MDR-PARMEHUTU. The members of UNAR who did not accept that said that it was a *coup d'état*, a take-over facilitated by the whites. The members of UNAR did not accept the government formed in Gitarama. It was actually in Gitarama that the people expressed their desire to have a democratic regime as well as their refusal of the monarchic regime and serfdom, which they replaced with the Republic and democracy. Thus, they set up democratic bodies, including the Presidency of the Republic. Dominique Mbonyumutwa was elected as the first President of the Republic of Rwanda. A national assembly was also formed, comprising of the members of parliament elected by the *bourgmestres* and the *conseillers* present. The High Court was also established and put in control of the entire judicial system. Its first president was Isidore Nizeyimana.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

Mr Rwajekare, without meaning to interrupt you, I would like to ask you to be brief on the historical background so that you can answer the question I asked you about how the people of Kigali town that you represent feel about this war.

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

In the course of this war, people understood that the problem was not between them but rather between the Hutus and the Tutsis. Indeed, when the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi came, they said that they were bringing democracy, that they were coming to overthrow the dictatorial regime. But it was in fact a trick to grab power which they had tried to take over by launching unsuccessful attacks. The pretext they are using now to attract the attention of the international community and obtain assistance is democracy and the fact that there was a

totalitarian power in place. The people have understood that when the Inyenzi say that they are coming to overthrow the dictatorial regime and replace it with democracy, that is false because as they came, they killed the people in all the regions where there was fighting. They killed the people when they were coming. No democratic regime is characterised by murder.

Democracy is characterised by positive ideas and transparent elections, in such a way that the person who obtains the majority becomes the leader. The fact that as the Inyenzi came, they killed, by shooting down people and pushing them into exile shows that they are the same people who, a long time ago, were driven away by democracy and that they want to return using this trick to grab power. The people have understood that and are getting ready to face them **and conquer them, for the problem is now clear, it is the Tutsi who want to take over power again, using manoeuvres. The people cannot allow the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi to take over again by force, the power that they lost through elections. If they do so, they will exterminate the majority.** The people are therefore determined to fight relentlessly against these Inyenzi, with all their might and resources. The only problem is that they do not have enough weapons. Otherwise, instead of being under the yoke of the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, the old men and women, the young men and women are ready to fight tooth and nail in defence of their motherland, national sovereignty and people's power, which is accepted by the people who participated in free elections.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

In this merciless war, the people are actually working in collaboration with the present government, which they support. But when you discuss with them, what in your opinion do they demand of the government?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

The people have the desire and the strength to collaborate with the armed forces, to support the national armed forces and the government of national salvation led by His Excellency Jean Kambanda. Indeed, the people have noted that this government is united and defends their interests. They also support the President, Dr. Sindikubwabo who succeeded the late Major General Habyarimana. But their greatest problem is the lack of means, especially weapons, to confront these Inyenzi-Inkotanyi,. When the Inyenzi arrive in a residential area, they have guns, grenades and kill innocent people. **The people have machetes, bows and stones. These weapons are not strong enough to be used against people who are armed**

with guns. For now, the people, the youth, the men, especially in Kigali town, in all the sectors, are ready for military training, to learn how to use the gun. The problem is how to find guns to be used for the training, night patrols and in the residential areas, so that should a wretched, foolhardy Inyenzi happen to appear or in case of an attack, the people armed with these weapons can, before the arrival of the soldiers, fight those Inyenzis who are not more than we are. When the soldiers arrive, they will find that the people have already stopped these Inyenzi from advancing.

SPEAKER: the Journalist.

It's true, the people are fighting this war with the national armed forces, our armed forces who are continually forcing the enemy to retreat. The enemy has decided to destroy the development infrastructure by dropping heavy bombs on our hospitals, the refugee shelters, the people's granaries and in many other places. What is the people's attitude *vis à vis* such cruelty?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

The destruction of the development infrastructure and the bombing of the refugees who have fled from these Inyenzi show that these Inyenzi are sly and wicked. Indeed, if you destroy this development infrastructure, can you say that you have taken over power, that you have captured the Capital, Kigali. If you start by destroying the development infrastructure acquired by the people through great sacrifices, can you claim that your aim is to bring happiness?

Do these Inyenzi want to rule over ruins? Since they are killing all the people they meet, do they want to come and lead a country without inhabitants? That shows that the Inyenzi's intentions have been unveiled. The people have at last understood that the reason the Inyenzi are dropping bombs is that they are discouraged. Indeed, they are fully aware that the people and the national Armed Forces are collaborating to fight them and that they have cut them into such small pieces that only a small number of them remains. The small number that is remaining is hiding in houses, in holes; they dare not face our soldiers and our people, so that the winner can come to power. On the contrary, and for no apparent reason, they prefer to sabotage, destroy the development infrastructure, shoot at the people in their shelters or in the residential areas where there are no military facilities. The aim of all that is to drive away the people, then they would come and stay in the ruins or occupy the abandoned houses. They

would come and hide there and one single wretched [*Inyenzi*] would remain in a residential area and say that he is in town. He would stay in the ruins and then they would say on the airwaves and foreign radios that they have besieged the town, which the people would have abandoned out of fright; there would not be a single living soul. After destroying the modern buildings for no reason, they will tell the international community: "We are the only ones in this town, we are the ones who conquered it, for we are the only ones occupying it". But do these *Inyenzi* really believe that they can drive away all the population of Kigali town? How many are they? If they are brave, why do they refuse to face our soldiers, to fight with the people, so that we would be the strongest, instead of hiding in banana plantations or in holes, or taking to their heels.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

The *préfet* of Kigali town recently issued a series of instructions to the people concerning measures that must be taken to protect oneself from bombs, from the heavy shelling by Katyusha tubes. He said: "Dig holes or look for shelters where you can hide." How did the inhabitants in your areas react to these instructions to protect themselves against the bombs?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

The people in our areas are happy with the *préfet's* instructions because they understood their usefulness. Thus, since the day before yesterday, they have started digging holes to protect themselves against the bombs and to say that they will not flee, but that they will hide in holes. The people also understood that the shells only kill the people whom they hit but cannot kill someone who is hiding in a hole. Those hiding in houses are less exposed than those outside. What the people must avoid is gathering by the roadsides, in visible places, because when the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* see them gathered together that way, they start shelling in order to kill as many people as possible. And that shows how wicked the *Inkotanyi* are. The people have also understood that the bomb problem is comparable to lightening. When it is raining, there is thunder which can strike somebody. People in a vehicle travel in the hope of arriving home, but some may be killed in an accident while others escape unscathed. People have therefore understood that they must not be afraid of bombs, but that they must face them. Let those who have to die die and those who have to remain remain without fleeing from the town that they themselves built, leaving it in the hands of the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* who are not seen and who, moreover, have no more power.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

But usually, these activities are restricted to soldiers. Don't you think that the people need the assistance of the *conseillers*, the members of parliament such as you and other officials to dig those holes or participate in other exercises? In your opinion, do they need the assistance of the people I have just mentioned?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

One does not need a great deal of knowledge to dig and cover holes. Moreover, there is always a reservist in almost every residential area. There are former soldiers who know how to dig and arrange these holes. They are the ones to show the others how to go about it. It is those soldiers and reservists who teach the youth and the men how to defend themselves; they teach them civil defence. It is not necessary for the soldiers to leave the camps or their positions on the battlefield to go and train people. The soldiers train their colleagues voluntarily and joyfully, without demanding any payment. The only remark perhaps is that the *conseillers* and the heads of *cellules* should show greater enthusiasm and collaborate with the people, for if you are teaching people to defend themselves, to face the enemy, if it is a government decision, it means that it has force of law at the local administrative levels: *préfets*, *bourgmestres*, *conseillers*, leaders of *cellules* and heads of "ten households", youth leaders and political party representatives. Indeed, the defence problem is an issue that is of interest to every honest inhabitant of Rwanda., especially the Hutu, since he is the one facing the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi at the moment.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

In times of war, such as now, the media has a big role to play, whether in making denials or in disseminating true information. What assistance do you request from the media, especially Radio Rwanda?

SPEAKER: Rwajekare.

Radio Rwanda, just like Radio RTLM and other media, has a major role to play. They must inform the people, the inhabitants of Rwanda about the war situation, while at the same time calming them down to ensure that they are not discouraged. Indeed, some people listen to foreign radios and when they tune into Radio Muhabura, they think that the country has been taken. They discourage the people. With its long-range broadcasts and since the people are used to it, Radio Rwanda in particular has a big role to play by informing Rwandans about

the situation and nature of the war. It is true that some people flee out of fear, it is their right, because not everyone is courageous. But when they move out further, they talk about the situation from which they have fled; they cannot describe the real situation on the ground so that the people can know how the war is being fought and how we are winning.

Moreover, because of conniving with some foreigners, the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi give false information in an effort to win the sympathy of the people, and the foreign media only transmits it. Consequently, it is necessary for Radio Rwanda to closely monitor foreign radios, so that if a radio tells lies based on false information from the Inkotanyi, we journalists of Radio Rwanda and the authorities, especially government Ministers, can give more accurate information. This will enable foreigners to have a better understanding of the situation. Thus, we would refute RPF's lies broadcast by Radio Muhabura. As far as the Rwandan population is concerned, Radio Rwanda must keep reassuring them by telling them the truth about the various phases of the war and how the Inyenzi have actually been defeated. They have lost their morale and are at their wits end. When the hostilities resumed and after assassinating the Head of State, they said that they would be in Kigali on the 7th. Their leader, Kagame, said that he would set off from Mulindi and arrive in Kigali within four hours. That means that he should have arrived here on the 7th. Having failed to arrive, he said on the following day that he would arrive in Kigali within 48 hours, that is, within two days, between the 7th and the 9th. It's been a month now and they have not taken any of the 19 *secteurs* of Kigali town. They have not occupied any military camp. They are not in any area, since they hide as they move along. So as you can see, they have been defeated. The people heard how the Inyenzi were fighting in Kigali for the whole of last month, but were not able to take any area in Kigali. [Radio Rwanda] should say that they have been defeated for good and should organise interviews with the people from these *secteurs*, and a well-known resident of each *secteur* would tell Rwandans that he lives in the Cyahafi *secteur*, in the Muhima *secteur*, in Nyamirambo, Gikondo, Kagarama, Kacyiru. He would give his testimony on the radio and say that Kigali is still inhabited by Rwandans who were there before and that the Inkotanyi have not taken any area. This information would enable the people in the rural areas to understand that their capital is still intact and would give them the joy and courage to fight wherever they may be.

SPEAKER: J.P. Nshimyumurenyi, Radio Rwanda journalist.

Mr Rwajekare, there is a proverb that says: "Half a word to the wise is enough." Your listeners have understood, be they Radio Rwanda, the people you represent, the authorities and the Government; even the Inyenzi have understood. Now, do you have a special message to the listeners of Radio Rwanda living in Kigali town, or to the people in various *préfectures*; or anything else that you consider important?.

SPEAKER: Rwajekare

There are two things that I wish to say to all Rwandans:

First point: **Every Rwandan, especially the Hutus, must know that he is a citizen of this country;** that this country belongs to him, that the Hutu who live in Rwanda are many and that the immutable principle is that the Tutsi minority will never lead the Hutus who are greater in number and who rejected the yoke of the Tutsi during the 1959 Revolution. This is an immutable principle. Rwandans must understand that it is their duty to fight for this principle, especially during this period. Moreover, the people must understand that there is only one problem now: the problem between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Every Hutu wherever he may be must fight this war in collaboration with brother, his sister and his neighbour. This is not a war between political parties. There have been political parties, and I believe in multiparty politics, but for the time being, the general problem is to fight against the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, against the Tutsi.

In other words, members of the other political parties such as the MRND, the MDR, the PL, the PSD and the PDC must understand that they have the same problem, that they must put an end to mutual suspicion and jealousy which leads to frenzied recruitment of members. All that must stop if we are to solve our common problem, for if the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi come to power, they will not ask whether so and so is from the MDR, so and so from the MRND, and so and so from the PL or the PSD and other small parties. **The important thing is that he is a Hutu.** Let the Hutus from the MRND, the MDR, the PL, the PSD and other small parties that I shall not mention understand that they are brothers, let them understand that they need to be united in order to fight a ruthless war, this war which was started by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi.

Third (sic) point: **Rwandans, especially the youth, must no longer tell themselves that they will do this or that later. If it is possible from this very day, let each *colline* have**

some young people, ten or twenty men, who take the decision to learn how to use traditional weapons. Before the whites introduced firearms, the Rwandan territory expanded following many wars in which Rwandans fought with traditional weapons such as bows, spears, machetes and stones. These weapons can be used to defeat the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, for it is impossible to give firearms to the entire population. If the Inyenzi attack in groups of 50, of 10 and a given *commune* has five thousand men armed with arrows, spears, machetes and stones, which are available everywhere, if 50 or 10 Inyenzi appear, the inhabitants would shout, use whistles, drums and horns to call. These are instruments which were formerly used to call out for help. They would assemble in one place, hide in banana plantations, in the grass and shoot at them with hooked arrows, pierce them with spears and throw stones at them. If we proceed in that manner and if we dare, we will be able to drive back these Inyenzi - enemies of Rwanda.

The first thing that Rwandans must understand is that they must fight in this war, that they must not always put their belongings on their heads and flee from the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi who do not even number one million, wherease the Hutu number about six million.

It is difficult to understand how six million Hutus can go and take refuge in Burundi or Uganda. How will the Hutu flee to Uganda whereas that is the direction from which the Inyenzi attack? Will Museveni grant us asylum? Are all of us the Hutu going to leave this country of by six million Hutus to flee to Tanzania? Are we going to leave this country of by six million Hutus in the hands of 500,000 people. Who would understand that? The 1959 Revolution would have been in vain. Therefore, let the *bourgmestres*, *conseillers*, leaders of the *cellules*, heads of "ten households", political party representatives, youth representatives, stand up today and bend their bows, sharpen their spears and machetes; let them look for very round stones and practise; let those who can shoot with arrows and throw spears very far teach the youth who do not know how to. That way, we shall form an impassable wall by using our traditional weapons. Later on, the soldiers will bring us guns to assist us, but we shall have pulled our weight. Women and young girls will remain indoors, while the men will go to the front. Thus, we are going to face [them]. Truly speaking, we shall have driven the Inyenzi back by the end of this month of June.

I would also like to talk about the refugees from Ruhengeri and Byumba in particular. Let them, from their places of refuge, take the bows and practise shooting; let them look for spears and machetes and sacks of stone. Then let them prepare to go and recover their property and resettle. What the Inyenzi want, in fact, is what they themselves stated, that is: "Let the Hutu flee and spend 30 years outside our country". That is unacceptable. Let the Kibungo, Kigali and Ruhengeri people take action