

## SIDE A

***Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, Chairman of PL party***

Yes...yes... you are correct in asking how a minority of people succeeds in mobilising the international community while the majority is sitting idly. In my opinion, there was a problem of overconfidence. You are no doubt aware that the previous government, led by Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana, came under serious attack for being the accomplice of the *Inkotanyi*. This therefore means that if it was an accomplice, it could not defend the interests of the nation at the international level. You may perhaps wonder what we intend to do now that we are aware of the situation. We are going to mobilise ourselves; our Government intends to approach the international community. It may be difficult now to convince the members of the international community who have been dragged into this conspiracy, but we can still win over those who are not yet fully committed.

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

Yes, Hyacinthe and all our listeners, I believe you have heard the explanations of the PL Chairman. Our guests will endeavour to briefly answer these questions, to which I will add others along the same lines, so that they can address them at the same time, and then close this discussion.

The first question is to know how a minority can overcome a majority up to the point of taking over power by force. The second one concerns public comments on this government that you have formed but which is not recognised by the *Inkotanyi*. Thirdly, we would like you to tell us what you think about the Arusha Accords, and what they are worth today. To end the discussion, you will supplement the statement by the PL Chairman, Justin Mugenzi, by letting us know what strategies your political parties are implementing to get the people out of this deadlock, whether they are Rwandans, members of political parties, or even those who do not belong to any political party. What matters most now is not to defend the interests of political parties, but rather to defend the interests of the country; but given that politics is played within political parties, and that it has become evident that political party representatives played a major role ... Let us start with Mr Édouard Karemera of the MRND... (*inaudible*)... these questions very rapidly to put to rest the debates on this issue.

***Speaker: Édouard Karemera, MRND***

Thank you, Bamwanga. Let me start with your first question. You say that in the course of conversations you have had with quite a few foreigners, including Whites, relating to the events taking place in our country, you explained to them that Rwanda is inhabited by Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. You pointed out to them that though the Hutu are the majority, a small group of Tutsi refugees, who by the way are very few, want to seize power and you are wondering why foreigners do not understand this state of affairs.

Let me suggest that the next time you meet them you ask them where these Whites, these foreigners come from, because if they are those Ugandans, those Belgians, ... we know their responsibility ...

**Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist**

It was someone from Dakar, in Senegal, who put this question to me.

**Speaker: Édouard Karemera, MRND**

The problem is to explain to them where this small group of *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* draws its strength from. The PL Chairman, Minister Mugenzi, has explained this, so I do not want to dwell on it. They have no strength, they are simply at the service of imperialists, at the service of those who want to seize our country and annex it to theirs. By so doing, Rwanda's plans will disappear in favour of the designs of Museveni and of certain Belgians who are unaware of the historical ties between Rwanda and Belgium, or who are aware of the ties, but disregard them. However, I think that the person who asked you that question relied on knowledge acquired from books. He thinks a minority cannot overcome a majority and seize power. But let me tell you that this is possible, as evidenced by the history of mankind. What a minority cannot do is to accede to power through democratic means and go against the wishes of the majority. But the minority can accede to power through cunning, dictatorship, terror and trickeries like those of the RPF, and even exterminate the masses. Hence, if someone were to ask me such a question, I would answer by asking how people who are aware of the history of mankind and who support democracy, flout the democratic principles according to which the majority has to govern, according to which the will of the majority has to prevail, how can such people accept that a minority without any base seizes power, is vested with power by foreigners, whereas they cannot continue supporting it in order to maintain the majority in the impasse? This is the answer I can give to this question, while warning foreigners who have taken it upon themselves to back the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* in violation of international agreements and of the laws which govern inter-State relations, and in violation of the special accords they signed with Rwanda. They think that by being cunning and hypocritical to hand power to the *Inkotanyi* in this country, the majority will just sit still. But this is not possible.

Your second question concerns the fact that the RPF has not recognised the government put in place by political parties, namely the MRND, MDR, PDC and PL. The RPF is not entitled to recognise or reject this government. It is not its business at all. It is not the RPF that swears in the government in Rwanda. Just as our opinion was not sought when the RPF was formed, so too should it acknowledge that it has no role in the setting-up of a government in Rwanda. It will have a role during the formation of the broad-based transition government, in which there are posts earmarked for it. In the mean time, it has no right whatsoever to say that this or that person should not be in the government in Rwanda, otherwise this would be tantamount to interference or sheer malice. All what the RPF can say is that it will not negotiate with this government. That is its right, but in that case, it should be ready to bear the consequences of its decision.

We, members of political parties, with ministers in this government, are of the opinion that although the Arusha Accords are in many respects imperfect, they can still be used as a basis for the agreement of Rwandans. The refugees and RPF members should come and work together with the other Rwandans to see how peace can be restored in the country, but the RPF is categorically against this. There is no need for the RPF to reject this government. Rejecting this government is of no importance. The RPF wants to go it alone and impose its ideas, but if it has a

genuine desire for negotiations, if it has a genuine wish for the current problems to be looked into, it should not try to be smart and think that the government that it had won over and which no longer defended the interests of Rwandans would still be the order of the day in this country. That is history now.

Your third question relates to the value of the Arusha Accords. Let me tell you that the Arusha Accords have lapsed. The RPF has violated the preliminary provisions of these Accords which sought to put an end to the hostilities, and we cannot stay still. The RPF ought to pull itself together and as much as possible, these Accords should be construed with the national interest in mind and on the basis of the provisions that can be implemented, disregarding those that cannot be implemented, so that together, we can seek what is needed to redress the situation. To conclude, we have strategies ...

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

Before you conclude and reveal your strategies to us, let me ask you what is the stance of your party, MRND, regarding what was said, I think in Kampala, by one of the representatives of the RPF-*Inkotanyi*, to the effect that in view of the current situation, the RPF is ready to put in place a government which will bring together some of the political parties that are in the present government. But that government would be put in place with certain [politicians] who had published communiqués, for instance those of the PL, including professor ... we will come back to this ... *(statement by an unidentified person)*

***Speaker: (unidentified)***

Joseph Nsengimana

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

...Joseph Nsengimana; they say they disagree with what Justin Mugenzi has done and that they oppose what Ntamabyariro and others are doing. They seem to insinuate that they will form another government with those people of the other group. Before revealing to us your strategies at MRND, tell us what you think about this, so that those who are with me here in the studio can take note of it and make comments accordingly.

***Speaker: Édouard Karemera, MRND***

Honestly, the RPF cannot be prevented from seeking out other accomplices, if it thinks that those it was using are not so any longer. Let them join it and form the RPF government before we form a broad-based transition government which will include the RPF and its militants. I do not want to dwell on this point. The RPF can equally form an interim government which will include those people who are its followers. Let them close ranks. That is it. And ultimately, we may be able to get together. On our part, we have formed a government. The organs of power are in place in Rwanda. The RPF thought that after assassinating the President of the Republic, that was it, as you had mentioned at the start of this programme. But Rwanda has heroes. Rwanda does not rely on only one person, that is why Rwanda remains Rwanda and that is why it will not

disappear. They have killed the Head of State but the law of the land has provisions for his replacement. That is what we did. If the RPF finds that some of its collaborators are no longer alive, and that it has to replace them before meeting us, let it as well redistribute its posts instead of refusing to join the transition institutions. Then we will meet and review the Accords to see how to form a broad-based transition government which will take on board the political parties, the RPF and its accomplices.

**Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist**

And what about the strategies?

**Speaker: Édouard Karemera, MRND**

Bamwanga, though activities have ground to a halt in the country, within the political parties, our hands are full; we have to comfort our militants and seek the ways and means of reaching them. With regard to the objectives that we are implementing with the other parties, they were published in a joint communiqué signed on 10 April 1994. This communiqué was signed by Mathieu Ngirumpatse (party Chairman) and Édouard Karemera for the MRND, Karamira and Donat Murego for the MDR, François Ndungutse and Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva Rafiki for PSD, Minister Gaspard Ruhumuriza for PDC, Justin Mugenzi (party Chairman) and Mrs. Ntamabyariro for the PL.

Let me remind you of the two points in the communiqué that we addressed the Rwandan people. I would like to enjoin the militants of our political parties to remember them. In that communiqué, political parties urge all Rwandans, and even foreigners in Rwanda, to stay calm and understand that each person's safety is important and each and everyone should seek his safety while ensuring that of the next person. For these reasons, the participants at the meeting called on the members of their respective parties to be models so that security is restored in the country irrespective of their adherence to a political, ethnic or regional entity. That is the first objective sought and insisted upon by the political party leaders. Secondly, the participants called on the grassroots administrative organs to do everything necessary for the unrest, killings and lootings in the country to stop immediately, especially in the towns. In addition, they expressed the wish for the security services to immediately sanction anyone who violates the law or the instructions seeking to ensure security. More especially, Bamwanga, we have called on the government formed by the political parties that we represent, to within the shortest possible time, seek the ways and means of sensitising *conseillers*, members of *cellule* committees, and "Nyumbakumi" (heads of 10 households) to work together with the people and the armed forces and to ensure their safety so that no one will be attacked any longer. This is very important.

The cheerful news is that according to the communiqué aired over Radio Rwanda, the Cabinet Meeting that was yesterday took the decision to review the issue of the allowance of members of *cellule* committees. We will revisit this in an ad hoc programme. I would like that...

**Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist**

... more so as the Cabinet Meeting acknowledged that the State owes that allowance to be paid to members of *cellule* committees. This means that the members of the *cellule* committees no longer have any problem in this regard; once we are out of the difficulties we are facing, the government will have to honour it, since it is a sovereign debt.

***Speaker: Édouard Karemera, MRND***

Bamwanga, you are quite aware that I have referred to this issue on several occasions and the members of the *cellule* committees listening to us are aware of this. The members of the *cellule* committees, sector *conseillers*, *bourgmestres* and other local government authorities must first of all discharge their duties before laying claim to the payment of this debt. This should be well understood. They should be confident, because we now have a government that defends the cause of Rwanda and that does not sabotage those who are sacrificing for peace. Members of *cellule* committees, where we are here – and my colleagues will add to what I am saying – let me allay your fears while reminding you that the safety of the people under your jurisdiction is necessary for the country to regain its identity, get out of this impasse and for the debts to be claimed and paid.

As for my last point, regarding the strategies, we have called on the government to inform Rwandans about the current problems. We are aware of them: many people are hunger-stricken, many others have been displaced from their property; even those with money in the bank cannot access their money. However, we have called on the government to within the shortest possible time, inform Rwandans with resources on how to provide support to the Rwandan Armed Forces. I will end by calling on MRND militants who by the way are many, to fasten their belts so that we can support the *Inzirabwoba*. Let the government tell us how this person can chip in a bag of rice that he had stored, or how another person can contribute 1000 francs, 100 francs, so that the *Inzirabwoba*, together with the majority of the people, can overcome the enemy. Thank you.

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

Let me hand over the microphone to Justin Mugenzi to deal with the fact that the RPF does not recognise this government, especially given that some people have published a communiqué stating that they do not recognise what the PL Chairman, Justin Mugenzi (sic). He will also deal with the present worth of the Arusha Accords and briefly, the political strategies to be mapped out for our country to get out of distress.

***Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman***

Thank you. As Édouard just said, it is not necessary for RPF to recognise the government. Not at all. However, RPF should understand that the hostilities and the resort to armed conflict will not do it any good. It is impossible, because the people have mobilised to show RPF that it will not rule them. You can state this loud and clear: RPF will never rule this country. RPF should be reasonable and agree with the authorities of this country to ensure that the sharing of positions as laid down in the Arusha Accords is effective. Besides, the Accords should be amended because they contain many inconsistencies. But the pretext to seize power by force so as to set up a government that would include its advocates within the political parties will not become reality.

It will not be possible and I am categorical. Therefore, the RPF need not recognise this government. If it does not recognise it at all, that is its business, but let it know that it will not achieve its objectives through the use of force. It will ultimately be obliged to deal with this government.

**Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist**

And what about the present value of the Arusha Accords?

**Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman**

You told me there were some persons, including Dr ....

**Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist**

Nsengimana ...

**Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman**

Joseph Nsengimana, it seems that they have declared that they do not agree with what I am doing. Of what right do they challenge what I am doing when they are not in any of the party organs? Were they with me when I formed the party, for them to demand that I consult them? Ask that Nsengimana fellow the date when he knew of the party, and when he joined the party. I do not have to seek his opinion about what I have to do. I do not have to ask Esdras Kayiranga. Whatever I do is in conjunction with my party aides. The founding members of the party are still around. Those are the people who should know our aims and how we steer the party. Grumblers like Nsengimana and others, may go their way and join the RPF because the Parti Libéral is beyond their control, it is no longer in line with their ideology.

Secondly, with regard to the strategies, the government is at war and the party is asking it to realise this. It is a government that is fighting to protect its national sovereignty, for the freedom of the people and for the power that the people conquered thanks to the revolution. This 1959 Revolution which is still being ignored was a crucial turning point. When the party was formed, we said that we had been concerned by the fact that the 1959 Revolution did not fulfil its objectives. This is enshrined in our manifesto. The 1959 Revolution did not fulfil its objectives. It should meet them now. The people should analyse the ideology of the 1959 Revolution, they should carry on from where it stopped so that the country can attain genuine democracy and each and every Rwandan should be completely free. This is the objective of the Parti Libéral and we are calling on the government to do everything possible not to stand in the way of any citizen who aspires to his freedom and genuine democracy. The *programme* is now clear: the government should do everything to ensure that the citizen is not impeded in the path he has plotted and for which he had fought, the path that our party and the others which work together with it, has shown him: the path to freedom and democracy founded on truth and the power from the people. We want the government to give us the electoral calendar so that the people can sort out the problems of power. As for picking up power from the streets or seizing it with a Kalashnikov, it is impossible. Power belongs to the people.

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

Mr. François Ndungutse of the PSD, I would like you to also briefly answer the same questions, starting with the one on the minority that says that it has to rule the majority by force. Afterwards, you can address the one on the non-recognition of the government by the RPF, then give your appraisal of the Arusha Accords, before ending with your strategies.

***Speaker: François Ndungutse, member of PSD party***

Thank you Mr. Bamwanga. I think it is impossible for a minority to seize power by force. In the past, there were such cases because people used lies to claim that the [others] were not born to rule, but these lies have been exposed. I agree that a minority can sow anarchy by triggering insecurity among the members of the population, but it cannot take power and claim to govern the majority. No one – be he a Rwandan or foreigner – can think that this can happen. Those who are trying to do so are doing a disservice to the nation as I said at the very beginning of my statement.

If they recognise that they are Rwandans, though born and bred abroad, they ought to remember that they have understood that now they are Rwandans and seek the ways and means of returning to the country without destroying it. They will not gain anything from its destruction.

With regard to the recently formed government, as I told you, it was set up under very difficult circumstances. There was an absence of security in Kigali and there was a power vacuum because the President of the Republic who performed his duties under the transition was dead.

It is rumoured that many people have lost their lives in the unrest including leaders, members of our party but whose names I cannot give you here and now because I do not have proof, since people are still locked in their homes. The phone lines are not working, so one cannot know who is dead or who has fled. That said, we deemed it necessary to put in place a government which should take emergency measures in order to sort out the problems we are facing in the country and for the RPF to have someone to talk with. We agreed that this government should within the next six weeks solve the problems plaguing the country and initiate talks with the RPF.

To me, the fact that the RPF does not recognise the government is a joke, because when two people want to agree, it is because they have many differences. If you do not recognise this government and you want to put in place your own government, how will you agree with the others? They should not say that they recognise or do not recognise this government, let them come and discuss with us; our discussions will usher in this broad-based transition government in which the RPF will participate. Otherwise, it would be a way of misleading Rwandans. I will advise them to forget about this option. Concerning the Arusha Accords ...

***Speaker: Jean Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist***

In your opinion what are they worth at present?

*Speaker: François Ndungutse, member of PSD party*

The aim of the Accords was to put an end to the hostilities, but the hostilities have resumed, even in Kigali ...

*End of side A*

**SIDE B**

*Speaker: François Ndungutse, member of PSD party*

... the resumption of hostilities has rendered the Accords obsolete, since they have violated them, they should first of all ... (interruption)

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