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AV/920  
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Face A: \*L'entretien de la journaliste Mukarutamu de radio rwanda et les responsables des partis politiques cités sur la face B de la cassette AV/919.

En fait tous les responsables des partis politiques essaient de démontrer que les Tutsis seront exterminés si le FPR ne reconnaît pas le Gouvernement de Kambanda Jean et n'accepte pas les exigences de la partie gouvernementale.

Face B: \*L'accusation directe de Rafiki Hyacinthe contre les Belges. Il les accuse d'avoir tiré sur les soldats rwandais et d'avoir combattu aux cotés du FPR.

\*Murego Donat et Agenesita Mukarutamu la journaliste félicitent la population dans ces actes c'est à dire les massacres des tutsi. Pour Murego Donat c'est la révolution de 1959 avec plus de conscience. Murego Donat dit que pendant la révolution de 1959 le peuple avait opéré sa révolution en s'en prenant aux dirigeants politiques mais que pour le moment ils ne vont épargné personne des tutsis.

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**Tape AV/920 of 17/04/1994**

**Names of the translator: Lydia MPAMBARA**

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**SIDE A:**

**Murego:** . . . That is significant. That confirms also the almost hidden will, the lies that sometimes guided it during the negotiations for not being perceived as it really is. However, I think that the fact that it refused that kind of interference from any member of any party not provided for in the Arusha agreements confirms that it had other intentions at the very beginning of the negotiations. The president of the PL. said before that everybody had realized with this attack. I think so. That the RPF has not understood because of this usual mentality which it thinks it can restore in Rwanda. What it did not understand is a lesson from history. In fact, the political skeleton before 59 is clear: Some people command and others obey, and the RPF inserted its objectives in that scope. Some people who are commanding, that is before 59; others who are obeying, that is before 59. Since the conditions have changed, there is no way to impose oneself as it was before. The cow does not longer have any meaning as before 59. The lie can be dissected. It had to use other means. It chose the vilest. With some support that we will perhaps have the opportunity to define, but what happened is that it is a genuine restoration of the former reality where some people commanded, you understand who, and others obeyed. Those who saw that they were commanded and that they obeyed have learnt to say "no." That is where the president of the PL. has made an important statement: " those who are saying no today, they are saying no considering their history, the history of their country. They do not just want to obey as in 59, they refused, their fathers refused to go on obeying without participating at the management of their country." It is maybe there that the RPF made a mistake. Maybe it would sometimes be better to recall to it the history of this country that it is transforming, writing it in another way, but for me, that would be useless. Before 59, someone well-informed, who had well studied and analyzed the Rwandan society had defined the situation of the parents, the grandparents of those who are now saying "no" to the RPF while their grandparents could not say "no" to those who then commanded them. That researcher described the Rwandan society like this: "I am afraid that the RPF deluded itself, believing that it is the same situation that it will impose again." What said that author? He said this, describing the situation of the poor or the weak, (inaudible) in this country: " bending under the yoke, their spirit was not raised higher. We have the impression that they have never dreamed, before the European penetration, of a better conception of life. They found it natural that the strong one took advantage of his situation to live handsomely at the expense of his subordinates. " That is very serious. Today, those who are resisting en masse at the RPF's invasion do not want this situation anymore. Their spirit has raised. That is what the RPF should understand. Never after 59 and especially today, Rwanda will never be anymore like before, it will not be anymore a people of slaves.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu ( according to Wellars Mugabo and Léopold Furufuru):** So, we are now facing an RPF victim of its illusions especially now when even the worst of the apartheid is

collapsing. I would like us to go backwards. As a historian, have you ever envisaged that disaster that we are attending? In a strong position because of the 1959 history and even before, of what followed 59, of what you know about RPF and Tutsi refugees, have you ever envisaged this socio-political disaster?

**Murego:** When the October war broke out, when the RPF attacked Rwanda, in some social spheres, with some people, it was clearly said that it was not anything else but a war of conquest and revenge. It is confirmed today, but the level reached today was not foreseeable. Because we could hope, especially with the Arusha agreements that reason would prevail, since the majority of Rwandans who remained in the country did not deny to them this right of coming back to those who longed to come back to their country, nobody would have thought that they would be so blind and come to massacre their fellows, trying to enslave a people who has said "no" to slavery.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Thank you Doctor. They currently say that Rwanda is beyond all understanding regarding that socio-political disaster as I was saying. The specialists are now saying that we are the first to have such a situation happening and lasting. I would like to hear the opinion of the president of MRND about this subject.

**Ngirumpatse:** Thank you Madam. First thing, at the risk of disappointing many Rwandans, especially the educated people, I have always considered the Arusha agreements as an exception in the peoples' history. No any people make a Revolution just once. France has made a Revolution, it had two or three Restorations, it took 100 years for the Republic to imposed itself. When I say Republic, I mean the power of people. Because in the Republic, the form of the state is not so important, what is important is how the state is functioning. For the RPF is also able to institute a Republic but with a minority at the head who outstrips everyone. So, I consider the Arusha agreements as an exception in the peoples' history. Maybe the Rwandan people made a mistake of thinking that the Revolution was finished once for all. There are some examples in the history. I gave the example of France but can also give the example of the URSS. Not long ago, when the URSS collapsed as an empire, the prince descending from the tsar, he lives somewhere in Paris or somewhere else, gave (inaudible) saying that perhaps he was the history or the Renaissance of his country. Under the same circumstances, the king of Romania went. He went to Romania to be a king once again. However, the people told him that he was deluding himself, that the Revolution they were making was not challenging the principle of Republic. He went back, crying for sure, but he went back. So, I consider the Arusha agreements as an exception in history, probably because of the international pressure, the fact of the good will of the Rwandans (it must be said) about this problem made the Arusha agreements a real exception. The RPF unfortunately did not accept this exception.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** understand it.

**Ngirumpatse:** ...understand this exception in history. It is a position that can disappoint but personally, I . . . we are ready to implement the Arusha agreements as the others have said it, those agreements are applicable if people understand that it is an exception in history. I once said

during a popular meeting that the idea of domination, especially from the monarchists, becomes a culture and can only disappear with time when the people who had acquired that idea have acquired a different culture and education. A short while ago, during the debate, we have seen that this culture did not have time to change.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** We are talking about Arusha peace agreements. I just had a question: what do we do with them? Do we bury them? Do we implement them? What will we do with the peace agreements?

**Ngirumpatse:** It does not depend on us. It depends on the RPF because we are still believing in them. We are not the ones who provoked the war. We are just defending ourselves. It is for them to believe in them and to come back to them. Because when I hear through the media what they are proposing, it does not look as if they want to come back to the Arusha agreements. Personally, and maybe the RPF should note that from where it is listening to me, I am afraid about the perspective that it is the majority of the population who would take to the bush at the place of the minority. So there, the minority should be considered as to be deleted from the face of this country. I would not like to envisage that perspective as a human being, as a humanist, as a lawyer. However it is the RPF that must come back to the Arusha agreements. I think that the other parties in the interior are still attached to them but it is for the RPF to come back to them.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Mr. Nsengiyumva.

**Nsengiyumva:** As the president of MRND is saying, the current Rwandan government is ready to follow the Arusha agreements. Now that the Arusha agreements are violated by one party, the RPF, it is to them to come back to the line. Because the government is still on the rails. Only the RPF must urgently cease the hostilities and sit at the same table and implement the Arusha agreements. We are still ready and furthermore, it is one of the objectives that the government assigned to itself: to set up the transitional boarded-based government within six weeks. They must understand well our appeal and come back to the right track. We are on the rails and we are waiting.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** So, an appeal will be sent out to the RPF that has so many responsibilities to assume as we have just seen it. Mr. Mugenzi.

**Mugenzi:** Thank you Madam. We were talking about responsibilities but I would like to come back a bit on what was said when Mr. Ngirumpatse was explaining his statement on the disaster that we are living today. You had asked the question that if somebody have had a glimpse of this disaster's prospect. I have to tell you that if you remember rightly, in different accounts and in different communications that we have made during the months of January and February, there have been many warnings against the needs or against the new RPF's demands. When people warned the RPF, when we have tried to attract the attention of the international community representated at Kigali, that community that was trying to plug a bit to allow the setting up of the institutions. We were telling them: caution! It was said that RPF has got more than it should have

had, has got more than what its part in the socio-political context of Rwanda could reserve for it, and that they had to consider that very carefully, and that they should not try to have more. Because a large part of the population had accepted the Arusha agreements despite themselves. They had agreed with them despite themselves and they said: "so long as that can prevent for (inaudible)." . . . we have made the warning and the international community, most of the chiefs of the diplomatic missions in Rwanda who are surely listening to us can remember several warnings like that one. When we have told them: "go and tell the RPF that such a demand on the Parliament or on the government or on the individuals in charge of this is unusual, and it goes beyond the limits of the Arusha agreements. That RPF should be happy with what it has received, it should be really satisfied and then, we should start going that way together." So, the prospects . . . we are all . . . my colleagues are here to testimony about that . . . we are all ready to come back to the logic of the peace agreements, I do say the logic of the peace agreements. Certainly modifying it here and there would be necessary because it was seen that if the implementation met with some difficulties and did not make any progress, it is because there were some deficiencies. There were some contradictions . . .

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** We have seen it a short while ago. You are (inaudible) a bit . . . You are talking about prospects. I would not like to disconcert you too . . . I would like us to talk about solutions. You are talking about negotiations that the Rwandan government is ready to continue with the RPF. What do you exactly think to do to come to a solution that should save the Rwandan people?

**Mugenzi:** Listen . . . it is the government's duty to look for the ways which would solve this problem. The first indicated way is negotiation. It is the human contact. The RPF is saying that it does not want to recognize the government. We precised that the government did not need the RPF's recognition. And that the RPF should rather agree to sit with its partner. For the government has always been the RPF's partner. It is not another force. There have been some mediators. Today we hear that UNAMIR is doing this mediation. The RPF must agree to meet with its partner and around that table, they should make an inventory of old and new problems. Problems that this reopening of the hostilities generated, that were also generated by the catastrophe of the President of the Republic' assassination, by the fear, the fury that we noted among the Rwandan people. So, the RPF does not have to take refuge and say: I do not want to recognize you, I do not want to have dialogue with you, I do not want to converse with the government. So, if it does not want to have dialogue with the government, who will be then its partner?

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** In the juridical context . . . Mr. Ngirumpatse . . . In the juridical context, is not it quite ridiculous for the RPF to state that a government . . . What does it say again? . . . That a government is illegal, that it does not want to negotiate with it, is not that an interventionist, dominant spirit? I really do not know which word to use to emphasize on the quite ridiculous side of the RPF when it even wants to designate its interlocutor.

**Ngirumpatse:** It is surely ridiculous. Because I do not see . . . First, it is not for the RPF to

choose an interlocutor for itself. You are talking, they are talking about the legitimacy of the government. There is no doubt about the legitimacy of this government. All the governments that we have since 1991 do not result from any popular elections, from any popular will. The government that practically disappeared during the tragic events after the assassination of the president was a conventional government, with exactly the same parties as today. That shows once again the will of the RPF to consider more the individuals than their political formations. The same political parties constituted the same government. We elaborated another protocol of agreement between the parties, we signed it, we followed the constitution because . . . it is relied on the Arusha agreements but we have not yet implemented them because the government can only take an oath before the transitional National Assembly and such assembly does not exist. So, the government that we have formed following the former one, is conventional as the first one, it is quite legitimate. In the other part, to nominate the Chief of State, we followed the terms of the Constitution which is still in force. By heart, they say that the MRND should produce a candidate but that did not correspond to the law because the two candidates had to be submitted to the transitional National Assembly, which did not exist. Those people practically wanted to gain time, to let the situation be rotten, to let the country in the blankness in order to ease the break out of the war because there was not anybody managing that clearing. The government is quite legal, it is quite legitimate, what I would like to add is that the RPF should come out from the fiction and go toward the reality. I would like to recall to our listeners that if in 1961 in Gitarama, when people set up a government in Gitarama, if they had asked the authorization to do it from the international community, that authorization would have never been agreed, never been given. So, the government imposed itself and I think that this government is more than legitimate. A government that followed the Constitution, that has a president of the Republic, that chosen a Prime minister, that leads the war. Because the Armed Forces are battling under the instructions of that government . . . That legitimacy . . . nobody is attacking it, the people are not attacking it, the Armed Forces did not refuse to fight against the RPF. So, the RPF must get out from the illusion and go toward the reality of things. This government, our government is legitimate, is legal. The Armed Forces support it and so do the people.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** The sovereign people. We were talking about responsibilities a short while ago. We are coming back to that. We talked about the international community, and we talked about it again. Mr. Mugenzi has just told us that on several occasions, the political leaders warned the embassies, the international organizations . . . What can we say on the international community as far as responsibilities in this disorder are concerned?

**Mugenzi:** I think that in this socio-political disorder as you say, in this disaster that some journalists called the head of cruelty, of barbarity . . . I think that the international community has too many responsibilities . . . Too many responsibilities, we have to underline the "too." I will explain: all what done to set up the institutions which finally failed, developed under the vigilant eyes of the international community. There is UNAMIR that is the armed representation of the United Nations. There are the embassies, the great powers that were observers during the Arusha negotiations: the United States, France, Belgium, Germany etc. If you look at the launch of hostilities, it was made easier by the infiltrations of RPF's agents, of RPF's soldiers in different

quarters of Kigali. The presence of the RPF's battalion in the capital has made those infiltrations possible without having waged any military conquest to install its battalion in Kigali. By the complicity of the international community that guaranteed, that blessed the Arusha agreements, that encouraged the fast implementation of Arusha agreements, the RPF's battalion came in Kigali under the surveillance of UNAMIR. Note it well . . . under the surveillance of UNAMIR with all the war equipment: tanks, aircrafts, helicopters . . . anything that they needed to guard, to control the RPF's battalion. It had not been the case. They have not surveyed that battalion at all, it went out and entered as it wished. A very big weakness must be noted, from this authority of the international community or from that corps that represents the United Nations. A so far big weakness from them: they have not surveyed the RPF's battalion as it should have been, UNAMIR did not do its job because it had to guard the RPF inside their compound.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** And ensure the security of Kigali.

**Mugenzi:** And ensure the security of Kigali. The launch of hostilities resulted from the assassination of the President of the Republic. There was a notorious weakness from the UNAMIR chiefs concerning the surveillance of the airport, the airport's security. If it has been possible to assassinate the President of the Republic at the Kigali airport or during the landing manoeuvre of his aircraft, it is once again because UNAMIR, the international community has failed in its surveillance. The other embassies that counseled the RPF every day have done nothing . . . They have rather . . . we have pieces of evidence that they encouraged the RPF with its immoderate pretensions. They have rather encouraged them instead of asking them to modify their tone. I say this with firmness and assurance because I can name to you one or two ambassadors to whom I talked and who said such words. There is one ambassador to whom I said: "Caution! You are encouraging the beginning of the disaster because what you are asking us to do for the RPF is not acceptable for the Rwandan people and there is a risk that it should break the camel's back and that will bring you some responsibilities." He did not like that I told him that he will bear those responsibilities but the reality is there. I will meet him one day and I will ask him if he is ready to shoulder the responsibilities of his acts. Let me give the opportunity of talking to the others.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Responsibility . . . responsibility . . . responsibility . . . So, we are talking about the international community and UNAMIR. I cannot not say here the population's worries about the Belgian contingent that belonged to UNAMIR. I would like us to talk more about that.

**Ngirumpatse:** Thank you Madam. Let me denounce the international community in this disaster we are now. Everybody is aware that they have confided the alleged demilitarized region to UNAMIR. RPF has always committed barbaric and fascist acts in that region. They killed the population in Kirambo. The people kept quiet. They killed the population in Mutura. The people kept quiet. UNAMIR pretended to conduct some investigations but the result of those investigations do not come out. Politicians died under their eyes. I will name the former Minister of public works Mr. Gatabazi Félicien who died in Kigali in the zone that was under the control of

the Belgians. I will name Mr. Bucyana who also died.

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**End of side A.**

**SIDE B:**

**Ngirumpatse:**...And the Belgians were in Kigali and they were supposed to guard the airport. Until now, they did not say anything about the assassination of the President of the Republic. They did not reveal any author. They just brought their soldiers, with their military equipment. They said that they were coming to help the nation, that they were coming for an humanitarian operation to evacuate their nationals. That has not been the case. For Belgians were seen firing at Rwandan soldiers. Belgians were seen fighting on the RPF's side. What is not acceptable in the view of everybody, of all the Rwandans. So, from all what we have just said, the responsibility of Belgium, the responsibility of UNAMIR is engaged in this disaster. Thank you.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Doctor Murego, it is curious that Belgium gets bogged down every time that there are problems of power between Hutus and Tutsis . . .

**Murego:** That question of responsibility is a very important question that we cannot eclipse here. I emphasize, as those who talked before me, on that notorious weakness of UNAMIR. The international community failed in its mission. At several times, as the PL.'S president said it, ambassadors and UN representatives received enough analysis and communications showing clearly that there was a danger to maintain their behaviour in the line that was often detected when it was a matter of facing and assuming their responsibilities. I think that in the whole, there is dishonesty at the base. It is possible that this dishonesty was born from the manipulation of RPF's elements or sympathizers. It is also possible that the unconfessed ignorance of the history of these Rwandan people dictated that behaviour. However, what is baffling is the refusal to open the eyes, to hear, to analyze and to make conclusions that are useful to the mission assigned to UNAMIR. Clearly, UNAMIR particularly has a serious responsibility. Several times, from the beginning, the Rwandans denounced the behaviour of UNAMIR military chiefs. They did not know it (UNAMIR). They discovered it through its behaviour. Several times, the Rwandans, the Rwandan community, the Rwandan society claimed for the conclusions of investigations to be brought up to date, so that we would know the truth, especially about some assassinations committed. It is the silence. The silence of the leaders known as leaders but who keep quiet. When one is a leader, he (she ) does not makes fun of the people like that. The Rwandan people have got rights that when you are in such a mission like UNAMIR, you must know how to have them respected and to respect them. You asked the question of the Belgium's responsibility in the events that are now happening. It must be emphasized first that a good part of the Rwandan population has not appreciated the arrival of the Belgian contingent. That good part of the Rwandan population showed signs of discontent about that presence. Still, there was not any reaction, rather, one should think that it was an encouragement to accentuate that behavior that was unappreciated by the same population. What is the basic cause of such a behaviour for a contingent that belongs to UNAMIR? They are Belgians in UNAMIR but they are a part of the



United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, the military assistance in Rwanda. It is not understandable how some members of that contingent behaved as if they had to conquer this country again. Must we attribute that kind of behaviour to Belgium? They will reply us that since they belong to the UN contingent, that still that they are Belgians, Belgium has nothing to order to them what is a subterfuge but we can recognize that the behaviour of some Belgians members of this contingent is not acceptable when referring to their origin. Belgium administrated Rwanda in an international context. What is currently baffling is this lasting attitude of some of its nationals members of that contingent. We hope that they will be repatriated in the interest of relations of Rwanda and Belgium and in their own interest. However, it is baffling that until now, there has no been any blame, any disapproval from the Belgian government in the face of such a behaviour that Rwanda keeps on denouncing. Doubtless, we should hope that they will leave but that does not cancel the judgement that we must make on that presence, in that (inaudible), in UNAMIR. We said it, and we will say it again, that some of them, maybe from their own initiative, took sides with the RPF to harm Rwanda and the Rwandans. They have told us that . . . let us hope that evidence has been retained . . . that some Belgians have been killed. Where were they? What were they doing? If by chance they were at the front while they belong to UNAMIR? Does that correspond to their mission? From then, the Rwandan people cannot be indifferent. There is no matter of being emotive about the break or the future of relations between Belgium and Rwanda. I think that at the current stage, we must think things in the context of interstate mutual respect. Rwanda became an independent country that nobody can invade it, to support the invader without being denounced at the risk to see the relations weakening or even being interrupted until the moment that the two countries in mutual respect, can revise their behaviour.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** If I understand well, the behaviour of the Belgian contingent in UNAMIR is deplorable for the diplomatic (inaudible) between our two countries. I would like to hear Mr. Ngirumpatse about Belgium before we start the following topic.

**Ngirumpatse:** Thank you Madam. I will first begin by a jest. At the beginning of the war in October 1990, I was in New York, and a Belgian told me in the corridors of the (inaudible): "you Rwandans you are very polite, you will never gain your cause." I actually think that the Rwandans have been very courteous since the beginning of the war about this problem. What also lacked which I regret is that in face of that courtesy we did not meet the expected modesty from the international community. I have always told the foreigner ambassadors residing in Rwanda that we are supposed to know better our compatriots that they can do. And that when you are accredited in a country, you have to show modesty. First examine the people, be circumspect and do not believe that you know everything in advance. Some indications should have started us thinking. The first one: you remember that some political parties or certain members of political parties (because currently a certain differentiation must be made) wanted a contingent of 800 Belgians to come in UNAMIR. MRND refused to support that. That made much noise and personally, for the fact that I have made a quite long intervention at the television I think, they questioned me for inflaming relations between Belgium and Rwanda. But I would like to make a differentiation: maybe it is a lot to say Belgium, we know that some Belgian people understand this problem. Still, what we must emphasize on is that we noticed that in reality, Belgium as a

State does not have a constant policy regarding foreign affairs. That naturally prejudices the relations with other countries and if the government was changed tomorrow, you will see the Belgian foreign policy swinging to 360 degrees. However, concerning friendship, that friendship's policy should be constant. So, understanding that will be difficult for the Rwandans. Second indication: during the first ceremony of taking the oath that did not take place, you noticed that the UNAMIR Belgian soldiers escorted the M.Ps of Lando's side. While the M.Ps of Mugenzi's side were elbowing their way at the entrance and were repulsed. All those are indications that should have allowed the UNAMIR leadership to get their aim right in time. There is also a possibility that if we had not been too courteous and too polite as I said it, we had then the possibility to get our aim right. However, I would like to emphasize on something: I am very worried that they continue to link the problem of the docility that some people show particularly concerning cooperation or democratization, to link that docility with the cooperation. I think that . . . maybe it is not blackmail . . . but we should choose in a didactic, more smart and more educated manner. I would have preferred that the African said: I do not want money, I want democracy. I do not want them to say: I want democracy because there is money behind. And I think that it is for the people, the Rwandans, the Africans or others to make a clear choice: give up the liberty and in the case of Rwanda, to be submitted to RPF, hands and feet tied in order to receive money from abroad. If that happens, if RPF takes the power, how will that money reach the people? People do not have to live in illusions. That money will remain in the hands of some persons in town but will never go downwards in the country. The RPF, even if it takes the power, will never dare to go in the country. I think that we should make some clarifications, maybe with our friends. That does not mean that our friendship with Belgium is thrown out of the window. As I said it, it is a matter of foreign policy and a matter of individuals. Still, we also notice that since the end of the east-west conflict, there is no longer any comprehension, because nobody says no. I think that this is very dangerous for the powerful countries because one can be powerful . . . I would not like to recall that adage of one Roman emperor to whom they were forbidding to go down in the streets because the people who hated him might kill him. He replied: "let them hate me so long as they are afraid of me." I would not like that some countries adopt that adage or that language of a Roman emperor because maybe they are not considering the necessities of good relations, courtesy, comprehension toward other peoples.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Thank you Mr. Ngirumpatse. I think that we should not end these discussions without talking about Uganda. I was thinking if it worth talking about it but Uganda in all of that . . .

**Ngirumpatse:** Since the beginning of the war, it was noticed that some elements of the Ugandan Army fought on the RPF's side. We denounced it, we said it loudly and even some equipment of the Ugandan Army was captured on the front. Now, Uganda cannot be spared in any case because all the equipment that RPF is using now is from Uganda. Museveni, the Ugandan president, himself declared that he will help the RPF to carry a punitive action in Rwanda. When the anger of the population showed itself and when everybody started to kill people, Museveni forgot that the population had lost their president! An elected president, a president officially recognized! He did not condemn that ignoble act of killing the president, but he rather said that they had to punish

a government that is moreover legal because the population had shown a certain anger. So, this statement of Mr. Museveni is directly linked to the military action that RPF is carrying on in Kigali and at the border of our country.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** Uganda or the president Museveni, as it was not enough for him to dominate his house, wants to transfer practically what is happening in his place to the neighbouring countries. That recalls to me the responsibility of the international community. Do not you find paradoxical that such a president is not practically implicated and that the problem of human rights is mentioned in other countries that are maybe doing less wrong than Uganda? Minister Ngirumpatse.

**Ngirumpatse:** Thank you. You know, I think that in foreign policy, what we can regret especially presently, is that there is no more humanism. Just because the commercial interests of some people in Uganda are going well, nobody wants to open their eyes, nobody wants to talk and denounce the violations of human rights that are taking place in Uganda more than anywhere else. Nobody wants to denounce them because of purely mercenary interests. Myself, I say that as a lawyer, as a humanist, I cannot understand that. I cannot accept such hypocrisy. However, I believe that the Ugandan people, which is an extremely intelligent people, I think that Museveni's interest is not to get stuck in, not to get bogged in the Rwandan question. Because in a short time, the same should develop at his place too. He must be able to ensure his arrears, to know at least where he will seek refuge when that problem will develop at his place. I am sure that it will.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** I would ask the most senior member of our guests, Dr. Murego, to tell us the last word on all what we have said during this debate.

**Murego:** I think that this meeting in this studio is a good thing. It can certainly serve to all the good wills to understand the seriousness of the situation and the preoccupations of the Rwandan people. A short while ago, the president of MRND has been talking about docility. That docility cannot last when they are dealing with a power that does not serve their interests. In reality, what is happening, and from all what we saw when talking about the responsibility of the international community, the Rwandan people, in the face of RPF's behaviour, through their current behaviour of fierce defence wants to make it clear that they cannot be longer unconditionally docile. They want to be in the control of their destiny, of themselves, served by a government that they want, recognize and cover and not by anyone who will be prompted by an adventurer spirit. I would like to recall to the Rwandans to understand the deep down of this reaction of the people who want, who (inaudible) at the opportunity of these current events, a new revolution that is a mental revolution. It is mental in the sense that in comparison with the 59 revolution, a step is crossed. In 59, it was especially a matter of liberation from bad physical leadership. In the reaction of the people, the leaders were the targets and not those who called on to the family or ethnic belonging of those leaders. Now, a step is crossed and maybe it is there that we have to be vigilant, it is that these people who conquered their liberty, who liberated themselves one day make clear that they will never stand anymore to be anyone's slaves. Before, the Rwandan was a docile man. The leader and the man in power had made him (her) docile. If you examine the trace of that

behaviour in the Rwandan society, the most appreciated virtue for the Rwandans these latter days was principally that reserve and that respect. However, the exterior was not necessary corresponding to the interior convictions. What were they saying actually? It is that in the feudal regime broken by the 59 Revolution, the duty of being docile was evident. It was principally because of fear. And first, one had to know how to obey. It was unconditional. They gave you the order to make an errand in the night, under a heavy rain and you obeyed. That was all. You did not reply. It is dangerous, you are afraid of going alone but that did not count. A total and entire obedience was obligatory. The one who did not comply with that was not able to get anything from the authorities. There were no rights. The feudality broken in 59, especially accentuated that respect. What . . . Matthieu Ngirumpatse said it a short while ago, that jest of the man he met in the UN corridors is very significant, he did not think that in Rwanda there are people who can react. In that society that the current Rwandan cannot go back to, when they called you, you did not stand up straight. Look at the today old men's behaviour. They do not stand up straight when called. But a bit bended as somebody who wants to prick up his (her) ears. Observe well our society even today. A proud attitude should have been improper. In Rwanda, we generally use the familiar "tu" when speaking to somebody, it is our style, the style of our language. Still, the one who is an inferior will never allow himself (herself) to do such a thing for his (her) master. Please, observe our society. Even today, we do not stare at our master or our superior. And from time to time, we avert our gaze for him not having the impression that we are staring at him, for he is our master. And when an important official gives his hand, we greet him, take his hand without talking to him. We wait for him to speak first. The 59 Revolution and the current events where the people say "no" to any dictatorial orientation concur. Today, the conscience is stronger because the Rwandan, liberated in 59, absolutely wants to remain in control of what he (she) has conquered. And he (she) will never give up under any condition. That is what explains the current situation. Some agree to lose their life for their country not being handed over to the enemy.

**Agenesta Mukarutamu:** So, hereby we close our debate, and we remind our listeners that the Rwandan people are more than ever determined to be in the control of their destiny, to defend their right to dignity and respect even if they can still be courteous. However, remaining courteous means also that they must be vigilant and intelligent. I thank the listeners that are listening to us and I would like to thank one more time our guests. They are **Mr. Ngirumpatse**, president of MRND; **Justin Mugenzi**, president of PL., **Doctor Murego Donat**, National Secretary of MDR and **Rafiki Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva**, member of the political department of PRB. Thank you.

( Religious song.)

**End of tape.**