

AV/918  
17 April 1994

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Side A:

- Sindikubwabo Theodore's Speech as an address to the nation approximately (8 minutes).
- Cabinet meeting at which the *Prefets* of Butare and Kibungo were removed.

Side B:

Interview of Representatives of Political Parties:

- Mathieu Ngirumpatse of MRND
- Justin Mugenzi, Chairman of PL
- Donat Murego of MDR
- Hyacinthe Rafiki of PSD

Conducted by Agnesta Mukarutamu, Journalist of Radio-Rwanda

Identification of the tape: AV/918 of 17 April 1994

Address by the President of the Republic of 17 April 1994 to the Rwandan people.

Rwandans, people of Rwanda,

On 8 April, following the death of the President of the Republic, His Excellency Juvenal Habyarimana, we issued a communique reporting an important decision, that the political parties in the Transitional Government had just taken, to set up another Government based on consensus among them. We informed you that, following a consensus, the parties concerned had conveyed their decision to us and had asked us to comply with Article 42 of the 10 June 1991 Constitution. We welcomed the decision and formed a Government to be led by Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. They (the Ministers) swore before the nation to perform the duties entrusted to them, their priority being the restoration of the peace and security which had just been disrupted. In our message to the nation on 14 April, we stated that we could already welcome the fact that the Rwandan Army, in collaboration with the Government which had only been in office for a week, had succeeded in stilling the unrest and the violence which had taken a turn for the worse. We said that nothing worthwhile could be done until peace had been restored in our midst; it being a prerequisite for tolerance, mutual forgiveness and repentance. However, it appears that there are still groups of criminals and bandits, who are not yet prepared to abide by these instructions. We wish to seize this opportunity to condemn such enemies of peace and call on all security services and the entire population, still untainted to condemn such enemies of peace and flush them out so that they be punished in an exemplary manner. At a time when the Army is doing its utmost and the Government is working round the clock to ensure that everyone's rights are respected. We cannot accept that there be groups of killers and bandits circumventing our efforts and continuing to tarnish the image of the country before the world. It is for this reason that we firmly direct all Government Departments, from the *cellule*, the *secteur*, and *commune* to the *prefecture*, including the Prosecutor's Offices and the courts to act together and put an end to such scandals in our country. We also warn all authorities at all levels that it would be unfortunate if anyone in their midst is found to have participated in such despicable acts, because this cannot in any circumstance be condoned. The respective services are accordingly requested to inflict exemplary punishment so as to deter anyone who may want to take away someone else's life or to destroy property.

Rwandans, people of Rwanda,

We hope that you understand the significance of this address. We ask for your support so that we can issue one last warning to these enemies of peace because, let me repeat, all our efforts would come to naught, as long as there are people who still do not believe that one cannot give what one does not have in other words, that we can only give peace to others, if we ourselves have peace in our hearts. We have always said, right from the beginning to this day, that one of the devices used by the enemy is to split your ranks sow discord and stir up ill feelings so as to ensure that they achieve their purpose. Can we imagine that you have eyes so as not to see, or ears so as not to hear or that, it is a question of ignorance? In any case, time has now come for you to face reality and to be vigilant otherwise you would regret it, and it would be too late.

Rwandans,

We are not concluding this address, we are merely suspending it. We will be watching you closely particularly, those holding positions of trust in the Civil Service of this country because any error, whoever might have committed it, must be wiped out. Once again, we thank you all who have tried to understand and to help us. Stand firm, we cannot allow evil to triumph over good. Always stay united and pray to God. He will answer our prayers.

I wish you long life.

Speaker : Eliezer Niyitegeka

Communique issued by the Rwandan Government.

The Cabinet of Ministers met today, 17 April 1994, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, His Excellency Jean Kambanda. On its agenda was the issue of the administration of the country. It was necessary, in these difficult times, to appoint *prefets* to *prefectures* where there were none. They include: Kigali, Byumba, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. After having heard the desires and proposals of the political parties represented in the Government, the Council made the following appointments to these *prefectures* :

Francois KARERA, *Prefet* of Kigali

Elias NYIRIMBIBI, *Prefet* of Byumba

Bazile NSABYUMUGISHA, *Prefet* of Ruhengeri

Dr. Charles ZIRIMWABAGABO, *Prefet* of Gisenyi.

The Council also decided to dismiss the *Préfets* of Butare and Kibungo. Mr. Silvain Nsabimana was appointed *Préfet* of Butare and Mr. Anaclet Rudakubana *Préfet* of Kibungo. It commended the performance of the *Préfets* of the city of Kigali, Gitarama, Gikongoro, Cyangugu and Kibuye and accordingly decided to renew their appointment *Préfets* in their respective *préfectures*.

The new list of *Préfets* and their respective *préfectures* is as follows:

*Préfet* of Kigali Mr. François Karera.  
The *Préfet* of Gitarama Mr. Fidèle Uwizeye.  
The *Préfet* of Butare Mr. Silvain Nsabimana.  
The *Préfet* of Gikongoro Mr. Laurent Bucyibaruta.  
The *Préfet* of Cyangugu Mr. Emmanuel Bagambiki.  
The *Préfet* of Kibuye Dr. Clément Kayishema.  
The *Préfet* of Gisenyi Dr. Charles Zirimwabagabo.  
The *Préfet* of Ruhengeri Mr. Bazile Nsabyumugisha.  
The *Préfet* of Byumba Mr. Elias Nyirimbibi.  
The *Préfet* of Kibungo Mr. Anaclet Rudakubana.  
The *Préfet* of city Kigali Mr. Tharcisse Tenzaho.

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The Council of Ministers instructed the new *Préfets* to take up their duties no later than Tuesday, 19 April 1994.

This communiqué is read by Eliezzer Niyitegeka, Minister of Information and Spokesman for the Government.

Speech delivered by the Archbishop of Kigali, His Grace Vincent Nsengiyumva.

Reverend Father, members of religious orders and all Christians of the Kigali Archdiocese, wherever you may be. Greetings. As the Gospel says, on this Third Sunday of Easter, after his resurrection, Christ greeted his disciples by saying unto them, "Peace be with you". On my part, I greet you and wish you and your loved ones, peace. My sympathy goes to all those among you who have had the misfortune of losing members of your families as well as those who have had to flee abandoning your property. I also sympathize with those of you who have not had peace of mind because of the noise of arms. When our Head of State died on 6 April 1994, tragedy began spreading in many regions of Rwanda. This was followed by war and turmoil which resulted in a lot of human casualties including officials, members of religious orders and other Rwandans. I firmly urge those spilling blood to stop the killing - as Jesus told Peter, "Put up again thy sword into his place : for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." Matthew 26: 52.

In Kinyarwanda, we say, "Power that allows crime to go unpunished is half overthrown". On the contrary, Jesus prevents us from doing that and even obliges us to love our enemies. "Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you. Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. For if you love them which love you, what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them" Luke 6: 27-28, 32.

Christians of the Kigali Archdiocese, I urge you to reject anything that may divide you. Let us be

Rwandans who believe that their fraternal relationship comes from God the Father, who is the Father of all of us, and that we are all descendants of Kanyarwanda sharing the good times and the bad. In line with the Roman Catholic Bishops of Rwanda yesterday, I beseech the Government of Rwanda and the RPF-Inkotanyi to stop the war and turmoil tearing our country apart. Let all those who have gone back to fighting know that these attacks have made Hutus and Tutsis, "Abakigas" and "Abanyenduga" and political parties hate each other to the extent of spilling blood. In order not to be accused of being responsible for the destruction of the country and for the continued spilling of the blood of Rwandans, the RPF and the Government of Rwanda should come back to their senses and put an end to their confrontation. They should think about their kith and kin who are dying or are without shelter. The democracy that we all seek cannot be achieved through spilling blood. Our forefathers passed on to us the saying of the wise, "In unity lies strength". That is why the RPF and the Government of Rwanda should meet immediately and unconditionally and agree to set up a broad-based transitional administration. This is the only path to the peace awaited by Rwandans within and outside the country. Christians of the Kigali Archdiocese, I urge you to keep the peace bestowed on us by Jesus. Assist all those who turn to you and work together to wipe out evil by doing good. Let us pray all together to God for the forgiveness for our sins. God does not abandon those afflicted by misfortune. I wish to thank, in particular, the priests, members of religious orders and other people who have been there for those who have sought their assistance. Christians of the Kigali Archdiocese, continue the struggle of believers, of those who have faith in a resurrected Christ. May God spare us the trials that we are now going through and may He be our succour.

**May the grace of God be upon you.**

The meeting of the Security Council was attended by Mr. Laurent Bucyibaruta, *Préfet* of the Gikongoro *prefecture* and Mr. Jean Baptiste Habyarimana, *Préfet* of the Butare *Préfecture*, who was accompanied by the military Commander of the Butare-Gikongoro region the Commander of the Gikongoro squad. The agenda had just one item: a review of the security situation in the *communes* bordering these *préfectures* and consideration of appropriate measures to ensure that security is fully restored. The Council noted that, on the whole, a fragile security situation prevailed following the ethnic unrest which had occurred in Nshili, Mubuga, Rwamiko, Nyamagabe, Kinyamakara and Rukondo in Gikongoro. The same unrest could soon spread to the *communes* of Nyakizu, Runyinya, Maraba, Ruhashya and Nyabisindu in Butare because of the large number of refugees moving to those places. The authorities were also worried that the unrest had further compounded the famine bedeviling the population. The unrest is accompanied by reprehensible acts of murder, arson, looting and ravaging. The Council therefore asked the State and the administration of these *préfectures* to do their utmost to restore peace urgently. In that regard, the Council then adopted the following measures:

1. Préfectoral, communal and sectoral authorities should hold urgent meetings to reassure the people in those *communes* where unrest is reported.
2. Movement outside one's *secteur* of residence is prohibited except for work-related reasons and attested to by the appropriated papers; group meetings are equally prohibited. Refugees should remain in the camps where they are sheltered.

3. Communal and sectoral authorities should assist the population in checking attacks by troublemakers and criminals who have already infiltrated in their ranks. To that end, authorities should organize night patrols and set up roadblocks.
4. The population should avoid listening to rumours and be wary of radio broadcasts irrespective of where they come from.
5. Administrative departments should prosecute rumour mongers.
6. The population should inform authorities of persons in illegal possession of weapons. They must constantly bear in mind that they will be the first to suffer the adverse consequences of their culpable silence.
7. Security personnel and especially members of the national armed forces, agents of the Public Prosecutor and communal authorities are instructed to legally use their power as required by law to put end to criminal acts wherever these are reported.
8. The Council requested the State to do everything possible to restore the telecommunications services.
9. It also took the opportunity to request the State and humanitarian organisations to assist, without further delay, the victims of famine, Burundian refugees left on their own and recently displaced persons.

Announcer : Not identified

You are listening to Radio Rwanda broadcasting from ..... Mukarutamu in a programme with leaders of political parties.

Mukarutamu in a programme with political party leaders.

Radio Rwanda listeners, once again we are here with politicians that I will introduce to you later on. Naturally, we shall be discussing the so-called October War declared by the RPF and which, unfortunately is persisting to the detriment of Rwandans.

We are here with Mathieu Ndirumpatse, the MRND Chairman, Donat Murego, the MDR National Secretary, Justin Mugenzi, the PL Chairman and Rafiki Hyacinthe Nsengiyumva, a member of the PSD national executive committee.

So, we are going to talk about the war, its causes, and consequences, the role played by those involved. And we shall start with the background to the war.

*What were the causes of the war?*

Mr. Donat Murego. I would like to remind our listeners that Donat Murego is a historian and a politician. He is going to tell us about the causes of the war.

DONAT MUREGO: There is indeed a need to talk about the causes of the war which, this time around, has broken out under extremely worrying circumstances. Political leaders, in particular, must say something about the war. We are unable to carry out in-depth or critical analysis of the current war. Nevertheless, one must mention some of its aspects beginning with the issue, shown by research of determining the causes of this war. In my opinion, this war is a result of a deliberate action embarked upon by some of the Rwandans who went into exile following the October 1959 revolution. I believe that if they left Rwanda (inaudible) not only the revolution but especially the consequences of the 1959 revolution and more particularly of the will of the people to be free, to become integrated in a democratic system. Therefore, those who fled the country did not really have a change of mentality. These people kept the same ideas and seemed to have educated their children along the same line of thinking: that they are the superior race destined to rule like their fathers. We acknowledge that this spirit of domination has persisted and has been ingrained in those no longer lived in Rwanda though they remained Rwandans. They also found that right and understandable to the extent that they have begun to think of taking power in their country of origin by birth. In view of this, we can understand why there were different publications preparing these refugees or, in any case, a large number of them who had succumbed to the mentality of seizing power from those who held it in the country. Therefore, one of the reasons and that is the main one, is this will to dominate through a new struggle which will be fought by those who today call themselves the *Inkotanyi*. The second reason is linked to the perception they have from abroad of the main realities in the country. From a relatively negative analysis, they have made people believe that the people of Rwanda were under a tyrannical rule and they were going to free them and install democracy. Today, it seems that this lie which was promoted among Rwandans in power, in any case, before 1959 has resurfaced among their descendants. They misled international opinion, told the nation that their goal was to bring democracy to Rwanda. It should be borne in mind that their parents fled from democracy. The question today is what kind of democracy is being referred to when you have to take up arms, impose yourself through a conquest and you dare talk of democracy! It is nothing like that as we can see; democracy does not commit murder, democracy does

not cause divisions, democracy unites, democracy must be an element of peace (inaudible). I think that the people of Rwanda who were freed from as 1959 had accepted the principle, implemented the concept of this democracy where the majority imposes a line of conduct on everyone. In democracy, he who wins the election for example must bring others to join him. That is what should be done; these other people must try, in the collective interest of all, to improve the system so someone may take over power.

The third reason the war is being fought apart from the refusal of these realities, is that I believe that the RPF leaders are selfish. This kind of selfishness is not surprising; adventurers have always existed and to them any method seems fine. These people have opted for an armed conflict. Was it not being said that all those within the RPF who claimed they belonged to a league did not necessarily agree with the objective? What I am saying is that among those who have opted for this solution, there are always those who think straight, those who know what they want. But since they have joined forces with others they are influenced, forced to appear, to adopt their objectives. I do not think that all these RPF members, or less still, all the refugees in general whom people no longer talk about, approve of these massacres. This war declared by adventurers, killers, murderers of the Rwandan people, this war is doing a lot of harm to the Rwandan society, to Rwandans who are patriotic and proud to be Rwandans, and is particularly affecting those who consider themselves to be Tutsi.

**MUKARUTAMU:** Thank you Doctor. I had said earlier that the war... you have done well to point this out and reiterate that the war constituted a serious danger to every one irrespective of their ethnic group; maybe we can come back to that. For now I am interested in one of the causes of the war which you mentioned; in fact, there was no change in mentality among these Tutsis who returned calling themselves the RPF. How do you explain the fact that, and this question is to the Chairman of the PL, how do you explain the fact that one generation later, Rwandans did not, not at the beginning of the war at least, understand that there had not been a change in mentality among the descendants of the 1959 refugees?

#### **Side B:**

Justin Mugenzi, PL Chairman. Thank you for the question (inaudible) to explain or show that the people understood but preferred to use other methods to discourage the (inaudible) the domineering ones or the domination, the people of Rwanda understood why the October War 1990 broke out. They understood that it was the new generation of refugees who were coming back to take power. The media publicized this, this was aired on the radio and the people realized what those people wanted. Everybody, I did not conduct an opinion poll. However, many people understood; that is all I can state. Many people understood that the struggle to take back power commenced with the creation of political parties in June 1991. After the war broke out, the political parties began to look for a solution to this problem. They went about this in different ways. Their goal was the same namely, find (inaudible) with the people. The political parties and the people of Rwanda who spoke through political parties understood that domination by one group was no longer possible. Also, the Hutus could no longer impose their rule on the Tutsis



and the Tutsis too should not try to impose themselves, for, if a solution were to be found, it had to be through democratic means. And democracy, is a game of numbers, democracy is the people's choice. The political parties almost unanimously proposed a negotiated solution tending towards power-sharing. That was the spirit behind the negotiations that were held in Arusha for a whole year. So, we have fully understood, the people of Rwanda have fully understood the intentions of the RPF, the intentions of these former refugees, the descendants of the refugees. However, they did not want to turn them down, and so they said to them: "Do you want to participate in running the country, come and share power with the others, running the country alone, no." The RPF wants to impose itself: but we know that the 90% majority or so of the Rwandan population have never wanted them to wield exclusive power. Because you cannot say that you want democracy, you cannot say that the 1959 revolution was embarked upon to install genuine democracy in the country and at the same time say that you alone want hold the reins of power. Exclusiveness and democracy are two incompatible notions.

MUKARUTAMU: You are saying that exclusiveness, democracy, are incompatible notions. I am practically going back to that issue; we will then begin to understand that a change in mentality was necessary. I would like Mr Ngirumpatse to comment on that.

Ngirumpatse: Dr Murego and Minister Mugenzi have given the main causes of the war. They laid a lot of emphasis on the lack of change in mentality. I am going to try to ?????? concrete facts. The main issue must be traced to the history of this country. According to dynastic poetry, Rwanda belonged to the *Mwami* and, consequently, mainly to the Tutsi ethnic group. The other ethnic groups were people meant to support them in running the country. This brought on us a certain superiority complex culture. And there was no change in mentality. In countries with this type of monarchy, the Monarch considers himself to be the best in the world. The members of his family, the people of his race and ethnic group consider themselves to be the best in the world. Consequently, the people also consider him the best in the world. The first comment I am going to make is that these refugees did not adjust, did not adjust to the mentality of the host country. This created a lot of problems for them because when they arrived in the country, they considered themselves to be superior persons. They therefore remained rigidly locked up in their culture, family education and were continually being told of the superiority of their culture and consequently of the superiority of their ethnic group over other groups. Had then been able to learn a few lessons abroad; had they been able to adapt to the people of the host country and as is the case with most refugees, their mentality might have changed. But they lived in seclusion because they always believed that they were the best in Africa and did not belong to earth. Secondly, they claimed that Rwanda was not accessible to them. However I can speak as a former Rwandan ambassador to other nations. As early as 1965, we received (inaudible) to integrate them into the Rwandan society and in 1974 already when I was in Ethiopia, I met some refugees working for the Organization of African Unity as refugees. I issued Rwandan passports to them under the new policy. What they did with these passports? From 1979, they began to distribute documents against the Republic of Rwanda within the OAU though we had agreed to absorb them as Rwandan staff members using the quota of Rwandan. Furthermore, Mr Masabo, he made a lot of noise in Europe when I was the

ambassador to Germany; he was a student holding a Rwandan passport. He left from here. Moreover, he was a member of the Executive of the Cellule for Rwanda Students in Germany. When he said that Rwanda (inaudible) that was unacceptable. Therefore, I believe that the absence of cultural liberation, the lack of acceptance of other people's culture, this lack of open-mindedness, I am telling you that it is a (inaudible) of openness, has made them pursue their idea to take power. They claimed that it is a refugee problem. Those who spoke before me have reiterated that we should no longer talk about this. However, this problem, I must remind you that in 1989, even in 1990, a solution was found to it because at that time, I was a member of the Committee on Refugee Matters and we held discussions with the Ugandan government. We were waiting for the Committee on Refugees to visit Rwanda on 28 September 1990. They preferred to come with weapons. The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Organization of African Unity visited the camps to find out how many refugees wanted to return home. They were told that the refugees preferred war, that the problem of refugees would not ... (inaudible). There was therefore a historical context which helped promote their lies, they took advantage of global democratization to advance their theory. What I deplore as a lawyer and career diplomat is the fact that the International Community did not accord equal treatment to all. Take for example, someone like the President of Uganda, Museveni. For the past 6 to 7 years there have been calls for him to embrace democracy. He refused and nobody has ever commented on that. Look at our neighbours to the south! They assassinated a democratically elected President, they practically betrayed the next one for we cannot say that our President's assassins did not know that the other President was on board. Nobody is saying anything. This is the disturbing factor and this is what discourages people from changing their mentality. But I think that the International Community must open their eyes and must not continue to (inaudible) on stereotypical inapplicable principles in many situations because having been flooded with information from various sources, I think that the international community has lost (inaudible)

**MUKARUTAMU:** We will come back to the role of every one including the International community. I mentioned that in the introduction. Earlier on, I asked Mr Mugenzi if everyone understood that the RPF came with the domineering mentality of their ancestors; I would like us to revisit that issue. I would like Mr Nsengiyumva of the PSD party to answer that question. Let's take Kigali, the conduct of the people, don't you think, we should understand at the last minute, I would say that the RPF wants power at all cost?

**NSENGIYUMVA:** In my opinion, the people understood a bit late. For when the war broke out in 1990, people thought that it was only because the refugees wanted to return to their homeland. As for their return, do not think that they had been shut out; for, as the MRND President had said, this was not true because all the regimes that had succeeded each other had always wanted the refugees to return home but their feeling of superiority prevented this move. They wanted to come back and rule the country at all cost. And this was not possible! For they are in the minority. So when they returned, they brainwashed the international community. People have now begun to realize, though a

little late, what they meant when they were told "come, take your place in government, participate in running the country." But they simply did not want to because they did not want to share power. They did not want to share power with the majority. Moreover, those who had remained in Rwanda could not just hand over power like that to people whom they did not know. They were claiming to be Rwandans because they were the sons of 1959 refugees and they had been told "return without fear." But they did not want to return like that for their idea at the time was to take over power. But through what means? They preferred to take power through an armed conflict. That was why they refused the negotiations and then people understood that that was a motive behind their return. But now I believe everybody is aware of the interests of the RPF in our country. They are not interested in negotiations, they do not want peace, they want to seize power by any means and the means they have chosen is war, armed conflict.

MUKARUTAMU: Armed conflict, this problem, I think one can go far with that. I think the chaos we are faced with (inaudible). Let's leave that and discuss developments in the war of October. The war of October, one cannot discuss its development without mentioning Arusha. We have for a longtime spoken of a market (inaudible) in Arusha. If you do not mind, I would like Mathieu Ndirumutse to answer this question. Let him talk to us, as a jurist, about the Arusha negotiations.

NGIRUPATSE: Yes our party has always denounced some of the provisions of the Arusha Accords, but there was no unwillingness to cooperate. We know that the Arusha Accords made it possible for the RPF take over power easily, without struggle, democratically of course, as pointed out by Dr Murego. As a jurist, I agree with you that there is no perfect Accord. There are always defects. However, the problem took on extremely worrying proportions in that it has (inaudible) the problem of the Arusha Accords when the RPF revealed its true intentions. People prepared the Accords, they will only change if the people want them to. However, people can only change their ideas, and opinions, when they want to. So the Accords became suspicious, all the more so when the RPF insisted that the other parties must not change their minds. For, given the number of people available on the ground, they had secured so many seats in the national assembly, so many positions in government and, as far as they were concerned, power was in their hands. However, when the people changed their minds, they no longer wanted to accept the Accords. But in actual fact, nothing had changed. As I pointed out, the Accords, like any other Accords, had defects. But where it becomes risky, and I am speaking frankly, is when people claim that there are no ethnic groups in this country and they advance the exclusion of ethnic background from identity cards as proof. I'm trying to understand that but it does not get rid of the problem. It is therefore some kind of wool pulled over the eyes of men but which will not solve the problem. You take 10% of the population and give them 40% of the Rwandan Armed Forces and think that you have solved the problem. However, people should go and check within the RPF to establish if there are people from the two or even the three ethnic groups; I would like to be told how many Hutu or Twa officers are in the RPF army. So the criticisms we have made about the Accords are not in the interest of the party but in the interest of

the nation. We knew that each party has its share but we did not have a right to this share because given the state of mind of people and the RPF's calculating schemes, power would never get back into the hands of those who should have it nor to the ruling party at that time; but according to RPF insiders, those were places reserved to welcome the RPF to take over of power. The proof of this is that when the parties decided to send such and such a person to the Assembly, include such and such a person in government, the RPF began to say that the Accords were worthless because they were people the RPF did not want.

MUKARUTAMU: And it was from that time that things began getting heated.

NGIRUMPATSE: And that is when thing began getting heated.

MUKARUTAMU: I would like to ask Mr Mugenzi a question, how did you see what was going on?

MUGENZI: The Arusha Accords could have been implemented if every one was willing. It appears that while preparing the Arusha Accords, people had hidden agendas. They were calculating and such calculations should have led to the implementation or execution of a certain policy that would have resulted in the domination Mugego talked about earlier. So why did that fail? It is because in the implementation, the RPF monitored what was going on in other parties and tried to assist and arrange things its way so that the Accords would be beneficial to them. That was where things went wrong since the other parties did not accept this logic. And that is why we say that the Arusha Accords was not a negotiation as claimed by some people but had the Accords been closely monitored and implemented to the letter, we would have achieved something that would have enabled us lay the initial groundwork for democracy. Shared power with the hope of handing over power to the people so that they can transfer it to the people they want. That is democracy and that was the idea behind Arusha Accords. It was like saying: "Gentlemen stop fighting, you are all struggling for power; in the final analysis, power belongs to the people; this is a system that will enable you move towards elections when the guns go silent; from that time onwards you would have legally and positively taken power. The RPF could not have accepted this reasoning for it did not tally with its objectives.

MUKARUTAMA: But then the RPF was given all that it required. They were even given more than they wanted but they were not very sure they would be in power after the institutions were set up.

MUKARUTAMA: Your comments, Mr. Nsengiyumva

NSENGIYUMVA: Thank you madam, I do not believe that the Arusha Accords achieved its objectives as it is being claimed. Not at all. The Arusha Accords were indeed the outcome of negotiations. And in the course of these negotiations concessions were made here and there. These negotiations resulted in the Arusha Accords. As far as I am concerned, both parties, the government party, accepted to sign this Accord because the war had to end, because Rwandans were all tired, they wanted those people to return

home and concessions were made, they conceded more than was necessary. As for them, as every one had said, they had a hidden agenda. They said: "Now the Arusha Accords have been signed, I am now going to pick my men from the parties that are signatories to the Arusha Accords. That was why it did not work. They failed at this level. They neglected the time factor, the time to implement the Accords. In the meantime, there was a change in mentality; people became aware of the impending danger and since they refused, since the calculations of the RPF regarding the putting in place of institutions failed, RPF realized that its objectives would never be achieved. You would recall that it was only after the signing of the Arusha Accords that the parties began to disintegrate; before then, there was no disintegration. Everyone believed the RPF was sincere. When people came to know that the Arusha Accords contained some (inaudible) they began to express concerns within their parties. This is what triggered the disintegration within the parties. And nearly all the parties beginning with the PL, MDR and the PSD, as well as ...groups that were not formally established; but there are two groups, one for the RPF and another which was aware of the danger that some malicious people referred to as "power," "the power wings."

MUKARUTAMU: Dr Murego

Dr MUREGO: Thank you madam. I have listened attentively to what the MRND Chairman and Mr Mugenzi, Chairman the PL have said. A very important issue was raised and I believe we should revisit it, particularly regards the Accords...