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SIDE A**0.0 I min**

Mamélique Mukabanana:Now the soldiers are blaming their undisciplined colleagues for ruining their reputation. I am talking about the fault of one individual extending to his entire group. Members of the population should, they themselves, flush out the bandits and criminals hiding in their midst and bring them before the authorities. Those who attended the security meeting did recall that in Butare the curfew started at 6 pm and ended at 6 am and that everyone was concerned. The participants requested the Bourgmestre and Councillors to choose from the recruits and those trained in self-defence, young people and men of integrity, good conduct, life and morals, for it is only at that price that we will be able to defeat the enemies of Rwanda. Considering that the Inyenzi are rebels who like the bush, it was resolved that, tomorrow Wednesday, 18 May, all Butare town residents should clear the forests and elsewhere within the context of community work "umuganda".

Mamélique Mukabanana ORINFOR/BUTARE

Journalist: Now, the time is 16 minutes past 6 pm in the studio of Radio Rwanda, broadcasting from Kigali. National news: France is ready to send troops within the framework of the United Nations international contingent and increase its emergency assistance to Rwanda. In a press statement made public by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France wishes that an international force of 5,500 peacekeepers be sent

rapidly to Rwanda. A press statement from the same Ministry was pleased that the United Nations was honouring its commitment.

1.6 min.

France has donated 20 million French francs to Rwanda as humanitarian aid, that is, more than six million Rwandan francs, and is ready to increase this aid. 4,000 tonnes of cargo will soon be brought to Rwanda to help those in distress. Eight million francs or 240 million Rwandan francs will be made available to international organizations for aid to people in distress. And three million French francs, that is, almost 100 million Rwandan francs will be used to provide assistance to Burundians who have returned to their homes from Rwanda.

[News signature tune]

(This is Radio Rwanda broadcasting from Kigali; the time now is 18 minutes past 6 am.

Under foreign news, there is talk about a cabinet reshuffle in Chad ...

Anastase Nzabirinda.

(French transcripts – pages 3 to 10)

ANASTASE NZABIRINDA

The time is thirty-one minutes and thirty seconds past six in Kigali. You are listening to Radio Rwanda. This is the news read by Anastase Nzabirinda

(Signature tune)

In continuing his pacification tour, Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, President of the Republic, was yesterday in Cyangugu. He met administrative and political authorities as well as other personalities representing pressure groups in that Prefecture. Our colleague, Yacinthe Bicomumpaka, reports.

YACINTHE BICMUMPAKA

During the meeting attended by some members of Government as well as certain high political officials, namely Mr. Justin Mugenzi, Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. André Ntagerura, Minister of Transport and Communications and Doctor Murengo, who represented the political parties in government, the President of the Republic dwelled on the problem of security and national reconciliation.

3.3 mins

...following the disturbances that shook the country and the pacification message addressed to the nation on several occasions by the President of the Republic himself and

by the Government. In a speech befitting, the President of the Republic thanked the Cyangugu Prefecture authorities for having implemented the pacification recommendations issued by the country's authorities, since disturbances, which flared up following the assassination of President Habyarimana, and the RPF resumption of hostilities, have literally been contained. Still under government actions, the President of the Republic told the audience that despite hesitations by the RPF, which is intent on continuing its course of war, the Government of Rwanda was sticking to its mission to restore security and law and order and to seek ways and means of ending this war by resuming negotiations with the RPF in order to form a broad-based transitional government, including the RPF, within six weeks, as recommended by the United Nations. Within this resolve to secure the population, the President made an urgent appeal to the international community on account of people in distress, namely the starving and war-displaced persons who are dying slowly.

Taking the rostrum, the Préfet of the Cyangugu Prefecture gave a summary account of the damages caused by disturbances following the assassination of President Habyarimana and the RPF resumption of hostilities the day following that crime. He was pleased that peace had returned to the entire Prefecture.

In accordance with the pacification message that the authorities are engaged in conveying to the population, the ... the President of the Republic is pleased with the results achieved. However, even though the President of the Republic, Théodore Sindikubwabo, has praised the efforts made by the Cyangugu Prefecture authorities within this framework of pacification,

5.1 mins

he regretted that there were still hundreds, that acts prejudicial to the line of conduct prescribed by the government still existed in certain communes. He requested the Prefets of all the Prefectures to transmit to him reports on the security situation in the districts under their jurisdiction. The President of the Republic vehemently condemned habitual offenders and recalcitrant people, who notoriously disregard decisions of the State. Consequently, he called on the forces of law and order and the Offices of Public Prosecution to arrest all troublemakers and act in an exemplary manner. The enemy against whom we ... we must all combat is none other than the RPF, the President of the Republic reminded. It should be emphasized that at the end of this big meeting, President Théodore Sindikubwabo granted audience to the Governor of the South Kivu Province in Zaire. The subject of the discussions was not disclosed.

Journalist (?): The Kibuye Youth Community held a meeting on the 15th of this month, in Rutsiro, to examine the situation prevailing in the country. The meeting expressed a certain number of wishes and recommendations, contained in a press statement read for us by Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka

Speaker: Yacinthe Bicamumpaka

Press release. Following the resumption of hostilities by the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi and owing to the current insecurity within the country, the Kibuye Youth Community met in

Rutsira, on 15 May 1994, to examine the situation and state their viewpoint thereon. The Kibuye Youth Community expresses its profound condolences to the family of His Excellency, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Republic of Rwanda, and to that of his Burundian counterpart, Cyprian Ntaryamira

6.7 mins

as well as to the families of their entourage who perished in the plane shot down by the enemies of the nation. The Kibuye Youth Community also expresses its condolences to the families of the President and Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana as well as all families that lost relatives in the fighting that followed the assassination of the Rwandan Head of State.

The Community expresses its unswerving support for the new President of the Republic, His Excellency, Doctor Théodore Sindikubwabo as well as to the government of national salvation headed by His Excellency, Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. The Kibuye Youth Community congratulates this government on:

- (1) Having brought the country without delay out of the impasse in which the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi recently plunged it in the night of 6 to 7 April 1994;
- (2) Efforts already made to restore law and order to the country through various pacification measures; and

- (3) Its diplomatic offensive abroad to enlighten the international community on the real causes of the fratricidal war in Rwanda.

The Kibuye Youth Community staunchly supports the Rwandan Armed Forces in its fight to defend the integrity of the territory and sovereignty of Rwanda. It urges all the youth to continue to support the Rwandan Armed Forces in order to liberate the country from the unfair RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi attack.

The Kibuye Youth Community vehemently condemns the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi for:

- (1) Resuming hostilities at the time when the President of the Republic has just been assassinated;
- (2) Refusing to give dialogue a chance by adopting the course of war in order to seize power; and
- (3) Establishing armed brigades of Tutsi extremists throughout the country and charging them to exterminate the Hutus.

8.5 mins

The Community condemns the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi for the sadistic acts perpetrated on the innocent civilian population and the systematic massacre of the Hutu ethnic group. It

also vehemently condemns the cynical RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi plan to destroy all developmental infrastructures, which cost the Rwandan nation and friendly countries so dearly. The Kibuye Youth Community vehemently condemns the President of Uganda, Kaguta Yoweri Museveni as well as his associates, for his diabolic designs to conquer, through the force of arms, the Great Lakes region and to cause therein unprecedented and, moreover, unnecessary disturbances, for he will never succeed in his machiavellian plan. The Kibuye Youth Community cannot but extend hearty congratulations to the RTLM for the high sense of patriotism, devotedness and courage it showed at these difficult times in the history of Rwanda. In fact, the enemy has been considerably demoralized and the people encouraged. Recommendations:

Considering the scale of the war imposed on us by the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotani and the form it has taken, the Kibuye Youth Community calls for:

- Speedy implementation of civil defence measures;
- Compulsory military service;
- Upholding the complaints lodged against Uganda and its President, Yoweri Museveni, a country which clearly supported the war against Rwanda;

- Rapid streamlining of the administration taking into account patriotism, capability, moral and intellectual qualities, irrespective of the political party;
- Filling the vacuum and making up for the weaknesses;
- Strengthening the methods of informing the international option (sic) correctly.

10.4 mins

Considering that the Arusha Peace Accords failed to take into account the ethnic problem, which is indeed the real cause of the Rwandan conflict, the Kibuye Youth Community recommends that during the next negotiations, this issue be raised and discussed.

Concerning the sending of a new UN force to Rwanda, the Community recommends that, for practical and logical reasons, such a force be composed of French-speaking elements. Considering that Major General Romeo Dallaire has only betrayed the people of Rwanda, the Kibuye Youth Community recommends that he should no longer be included in the new UN force planned for Rwanda.

Considering that Uganda provides military support to the RPF, the Kibuye Youth Community manifestly recommends that the UN declare an arms embargo against Uganda.

The Kibuye Youth Community recommends that the government should try in absentia all persons who betrayed the nation or committed crimes in Rwanda wherever they have sought refuge. The Community supports the idea advanced by intellectuals of the National University of Rwanda (NUR) proposing the holding of the Higher Judicial Council and that of the CND calling for a decision on the country's future after the three-months expiry period provided for in the Constitution of 10 June. The Community shares the view that no Rwandan should go into exile at the very time when Rwanda, the country and the international community are seeking a lasting solution to the Rwandan refugee problems, which moreover have been used as a pretext to attack Rwanda. The Kibuye Youth Community concludes its recommendations by urging the population to remain united in order to fight the enemy of the nation, the RPF Inyenzi-Inkotanyi.

For the Kibuye Youth Community

Nkubiri Jean Claude, Secretary

Safari Thomas, Chairman

12.8 mins

Journalist (?): The time is seventeen minutes to seven in Kigali. Those were the wishes of the Kibuye Youth Community read by our colleague Yacinthe Bicamumpaka.

Similarly, a group of Rwandans living in Belgium has sent a message designed to restore peace to Rwanda ... sent to Rwanda it plans to increase its humanitarian aid to the thousands of refugees. In a community (sic) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the French Foreign Office states that the French government wishes that the strength of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) be increased as rapidly as possible. "We are prepared to consider our contribution towards the equipment of African contingents assigned to participate in a reinforced UNAMIR", the release added.

France, which for several weeks has called for the presence of a United Nations force in Rwanda, likes to see the international community assume its responsibilities, the release further stated. The Ministry adds that France, which has already committed 20 million French francs to humanitarian action in Rwanda, plans to steadily increase it. Within this context, food aid equivalent to 4,000 tonnes of wheat will be sent to Rwanda. An exceptional contribution of eight million French francs has been made to international organizations and three million French francs will be devoted to aid, resettlement of Burundians repatriated from Rwanda. Similarly, a SAMU Mondial team, which will take

charge of refugees needing urgent surgical operations, will be sent to the Rwandan border.

14.3 mins

France also plans to send humanitarian aid to the refugees in Tanzania. The Ministry (sic) of State for Public Health, Philippe Douce De Blasie, will visit the region in the coming days.

The Butare Prefecture Security Council met on Monday. Our colleague, Mamélique Mukabanana, reports from Butare.

Mukabanana Mamélique: During the Council meeting, the participants discussed the current security situation, prospects of restoring total peace to the Butare Prefecture. At the moment, the situation is more or less calm. Markets, shops, are opening; banks are operating; civil servants have resumed their duties; pedestrians like vehicles are moving about normally. Considering the war situation in the country, the Préfet of the Butare Prefecture, Mr. Sylvain Nsabimana, reminded the participants that vehicles moving from one commune to another must obtain permission from the Bourgmestre under whose jurisdiction the said commune falls. Those moving from one Prefecture to another must obtain permission from the Préfet. In town, the movement of motorcycles and vehicles without number plates or documents is banned. In the communes, the Bourgmestres must determine whether such motorcycles, indeed whether owners of roadworthy motorcycles should obtain permission to move about. Participants in the Security

Council meeting deplored the insufficient roadblocks and recommended that they be increased and strengthened, particularly, in the border communes. Roadblocks located at the entrance to the town must follow the example of the Nyabisindu roadblock by recording the entry and departure of vehicles. The meeting participants recalled that the curfew started at six o'clock in the evening and ended at six o'clock in the morning. They recommended that Butare town inhabitants should, within Umuganda, clear the forests and strengthen civil defence in order to win this war.

Mukabanana Mamélique, ORINFOR/BUTARE

(Signature tune)

16.9 mins

blue (sic) be sent rapidly to Rwanda. The release from the same Ministry is pleased that the United Nations is honouring its commitments.

1.6 mins

France has granted Rwanda 20 million French francs in humanitarian aid, that is, more than 600 million Rwandan francs and it is prepared to increase that aid. 4,000 tonnes of cargo will soon be brought to Rwanda to aid those in distress. Eight million French francs, that is, about 240 million Rwandan francs, will be made available to international organizations to aid persons in distress. And three million French francs, almost 100 million Rwandan francs, will be used to aid Burundians who have returned to their homes from Rwanda.

(Radio news signature tune)

(This is Radio Rwanda broadcasting from Kigali; the time now is 18 minutes past six.

Under foreign news, there is talk of a cabinet reshuffle in Chad ...

Anastase Nzabirinda.

(French transcripts – pages 3 to 10)

Speaker: (?) (B): Were they on the Inkotanyi payroll? Those people, after assassinating the father of the Nation, have resumed hostilities and begun to kill members of the population, who are right to get angry and do the unimaginable because they have been provoked.

Firstly, they assassinated our leader; then, they resumed hostilities whereas a cease-fire had been declared. During those hostilities, they killed people and so the people got angry. The 1959 disturbances were not on such a scale. Those disturbances did not last long; people fought so that Rwandans can have a share in the country's national wealth. Therefore (*in French in the text*) after seizing power and acceding to positions from which the Tutsis had barred us, our objective was attained and there were no more disturbances. The disturbances were few as they are in any revolution but their magnitude cannot be compared to that of 1959. You have now understood the first reason: It was anger and fury following the assassination of the Father of Nation by those criminals. The second reason was their criminal plan, which we have discovered because before assassinating the President of the Republic, it had been rumoured that the President was going to be assassinated and even Ngeze reported it in *Kangura*; and the people said that after killing the President, the Tutsis would exterminate the Hutus. Hence, after the assassination, the Hutus felt that time had come for the Tutsis to execute their plan. So they acted up front. Therefore, (*In French in the text*) the first reason is that they killed the President of the Republic, the second is that they launched attacks and the third is that they planned, in particular, to exterminate the Hutus to such an extent that there would have been no survivals at the moment. Here, there would be Ugandans and others according to their wish.

19.6 mins

Journalist (?): Can you provide us with some proofs to show that the Inkotanyi had infiltrated the Cyangugu communes, that they had collaborators on the spot and that that was why the population got furious and took their revenge following the death of the Head of State?

Speaker (?): All well and good, proofs exist but then some of them are not very visible. It's not everyone who can see them but many people have seen them. Firstly, it is the graves that had been dug under the pretext of research, whereas it was a trick; those were graves in which they intended to bury the Hutus. For instance, there is a grave at a location called Sarabuye, which can contain a hundred or so bodies, or even three hundred. There are several other locations. The plot of each Tutsi who lived here had a septic tank of at least 15 –20 metres. All this was meant for burying the bodies. Secondly, many letters seized here and there, which I don't have but the others have, mention their plan. Some people said that they must kill us, exterminate us on the 5th, others said that they were going to establish their rule on the 3th, while still others affirmed that they were going to destroy the houses of certain authorities to make them flee (those who could do so), in order that on their return, they, at least those who had the luck to escape, find no more houses. Hence, all well and good proofs exist and, there are many without forgetting statements made by Tutsis. On the day the President died or rather the following morning, there was a poor Tutsi here, a poor wretch who even seemed illiterate, exclaimed when the death of President Habyarimana was announced: "Is it really true that Habyarimana is dead? Well then, our contributions have been of some use!".

22.3 mins

These statements also provide ample proof that their plan dated from a long time. Another thing is their unusual arrogance. The Tutsi always spoke to you with arrogance. Their lifestyle and behaviour made one guess that there was something cooking. And what can be said about their daily meetings? There were locations where they met, for instance, in Bigutu in the Karengera Commune, Nyamuhunga Secteur, where they went frequently; we had wondered what they could have been doing there but it was only later that we discovered it. We are talking about that now but ... on the eve of their escape, they continued to hold small meetings; it was only when the Hutus got angry that the Tutsis dispersed, if not the meetings held normally. Well then! It cannot be said that proofs are lacking. And after their escape, the Hutus remarked that every Tutsi had bananas or banana wine in their houses. The Tutsi who had no one- or two-day old banana wine, had bananas and, *at any case*, they were preparing for something (*in French in the text*), for several homes had such wines and goats meant for the feasts they had to organize after our extermination.

Speaker: Journalist

In order that those of us who are still young can understand the war situation in which we live, experienced people like you should begin to expose to Rwandans, or even to the international community, the Inkotanyi plan, based an ideology by Tutsi conservatives,

which some of you want to perpetuate, indeed, an outdated ideology which consists of looking down on other ethnic groups. I would request you to let us know your views on these issues, which continue to aggravate the situation in our country.

Speaker (?): (B): Thank you, Mr. André. This Tutsi scorn for the other ethnic groups (Hutus and Twas) did not start today. The youth learn it in school and, I myself have lived it.

25.3 mins

Here is a case that I experienced: two children, Hutu and Tutsi, attended the same school; let's say the Hutu child took the first position and the Tutsi child the 11th position but at the end of their studies, well, in their professional life, the Tutsi was appointed to a high position while the other, yet more intelligent, was appointed to the lowest position. The youth of today learn that there are Tutsis and there are Hutus, rather that there is a Hutu reign and there is a Tutsi reign. The youth learn it but then I, who experienced it, when I recall it, I become really sad. To tell the truth, the Tutsis have ruled over us for more than 400 years, but before it was the Hutus who governed. The Hutu reign faded on the day that the Tutsis began to exterminate the Hutus, circa 1500, particularly, under the reign of the enemy Ruganzu. During those times, the Tutsi, wherever he was and whatever his status, considered himself as the only human being. The Tutu or the Kwa was nothing in his eyes. But our youth make me laugh. Recently, during a meeting on intense propaganda for ourselves and our political parties, we came across a young Hutu

and asked him what he was up to in wanting to help the Inkotanyi! He replied: Me, you know, I want to plead the Tutsi case because he is a living being, indeed, a human being like any other person. And he added brazenly that he was an intrepid Inkotanyi. This is said not only by the youth. Mature men have also been misled in like manner by Twagiramungu. Besides, they are more numerous than you think. Twagiramungu could affirm to you that he was an intrepid Inkotanyi, that the Hutu reign brought nothing to the population and that if the Tutsis could return to power, all would be well. May I tell this youth that they are greatly mistaken. They are making a great mistake. A Tutsi can be of no use to a Hutu, absolutely no use, for the Tutsis exercise extreme nepotism, without forgetting their penchant for killing. Did you know that they only dream of killing?

29.2 mins

They killed each other. Ruganzu came and exterminated the Hutus. When the Rwabugiri acceded to power, they exterminated the Hutus; no king has ever acceded to power without first exterminating the Hutus. That is why those who know nothing of Tutsi arrogance but only learn it from history books, should approach the elderly in order to understand better. The elderly people will tell you how wicked the Tutsis are. Take for instance, fellows like Twagiramungu who support the Tutsis, moreover I talked about that during an RTL M broadcast, let's suppose that in a few days they succeed in bringing the Tutsis to power, the very same Tutsis will turn against them and they will not know which way to turn. There is no Tutsi who wishes to live with a Hutu in order to share power. This is an open secret and this applies at all levels. This established fact is seen

even in the religious domain. And even before it has been so. There was a certain Janvier Murenzi, a notorious Inyenzi, the Ruterandongozi were notorious Inyenzi; they were all priests, religious people. Today, it is clear that the RPF collaborators included many priests. And even during negotiations, they perverted discussions under the pretext that the PL of Lando must have Members of Parliament; but in reality, they wanted the RPF to absorb the PL. Today, we witness the same scenario with the Hutus; in fact, who can assert that there are great divergences among the Hutus, particularly, as they are more informed! Now, we the Hutus have a sense of solidarity ever since we realized that we were fooled. You cannot attack an MDR member in the presence of an MRND member or a CDR supporter in the presence of a PSD supporter and go away scot-free. This is impossible. **Therefore (in French in the text)**, Tutsi arrogance must be known and besides, given the means, this would be described in newspapers so that the children can learn it and know the reason because the Tutsis teach their children how wicked the Hutus are; and to prove, these Inkotanyi were called Inyenzi during their exile; most were born in exile and parents repeatedly told them that the Hutus were wicked; that and that's why once of age, they now return to fight the Hutus who detested them. This is to tell you that the Tutsi scorn for the Hutus did not start today. It goes far back to the past.

33.8 mins

Journalist: According to you, how can the problems encountered by Rwandans be resolved so that lasting peace returns to our country?

Speaker: O (B). First, for lasting peace to return to Rwanda, it is necessary that the RPF accept to negotiate directly with the current government, without snares as was the case in the Arusha Peace Accords. Both parties should discuss real issues. Power must be shared democratically. It is really sad to allot five posts in the government to the RPF and five to the MRND. This is putting the MRND and the RPF on an equal footing. If you make a comparison, you will see that this will not be possible because the “majority” must even so always have something more than the minority. The essential thing is that they should respect each other and according to a French saying ‘**the majority takes precedence over the law**’ (in French in the text). Hence, real peace will only come when...

SIDE B

0.0 mins

Speaker: (B)... Should this process fail, it will be necessary to fight right to the end, the vanquished will be ruled and the victor will rule. In other words, if this uncertain situation were to last, then Rwanda may remain *ad infinitum* in a distress situation, and will never have peace like Chad, Mozambique, Angola or Somalia. Real peace can only result from direct talks and the RPF must recognize the government, for it has no right not to recognize it. The RPF came in quest for power, seeking to usurp it. It has recognized no government. In fact, it did not recognize the previous government. It had always wanted to topple it. Therefore, peace talks should lead to agreements or the fight should continue until there is a vanquished. The RPF is boasting about continuing the war! Well, let it continue! And who is arming it? They are foreign countries. It begs for weapons. Talking about begging, does it think we lack people from whom to ask? It begs whereas it has nothing! We, we have our Rwanda, we have our country which belongs to us, for as of yesterday the country still belonged to us. We are governing and we will continue to govern. And if we had mortgaged part of the territory, then what would the RPF say! But we are not going that far, since our unity makes us sufficiently strong. Previously, the war lasted because Twagiramungu had divided Rwandans into two camps. It's him who divided the army into two. It's still Rwagiramungu that helped

the Inkotanyi and surrendered Byumba, Ruhengeri to them. If not, our victory is assured, for we will have assistance. If Twagi...If the Inkotanyi receive external assistance, it is because they tell lies to foreign countries in order to have weapons ...

3.3 mins

We, we have a country and we can propose projects. Which country would reject such an offer? And in return, it would supply us with weapons! We can even mortgage our country but the RPF must not drive us out of it. All of us, Rwandans, are so united that we are going to fight the RPF and end this war. I told somebody and I proposed to him that in order to stop RPF attacks perpetrated on us since 1962, our children as from the secondary school, must undergo military training. The Inkotanyi studied abroad and perhaps while there they learnt how to operate weapons. Every child should undergo military training and learn the military code of conduct, in addition to doing subjects on the conventional syllabus. In this way, every Rwandan would become a soldier so as to be able to defend us against the enemy. Rwanda is a small country but densely populated. I affirm that the war is going to end soon because the Hutus are now united. We now know that the Tutsis are fighting the Hutus. You, Hutu, and there is no doubt about that, regardless of your whereabouts, what you are is immaterial, poor or rich, short or tall, literate or illiterate, you must know that any blunder will enable the Tutsi to seize power from you and reduce you to slavery and you will once again be subjected to chains, forced labour. Ha... You asked me what I would tell the youth concerning the Tutsi contempt? I told you that I knew something about it from experience. You know,

in the past, we attended mass on Sundays. A man, his wife and children could decide to attend mass. A Tutsi who was a Chief or Sub-Chief had to be carried to mass. On Saturdays, word was sent to the Hutus subjects that the wife of the Sub-Chief would attend the first mass ... while the Sub-Chief – who had to first attend to daily business – would attend the main mass. Hence, the Hutus came very early in the morning to carry the wife of the Sub-Chief to mass. She was carried along with her baby. After mass, she called on her family members ... she moved around everywhere while the Hutus were waiting. After that, she was carried back to the house. And then came the turn of her husband, the carriers were there, present. He was carried and he attended mass; the Hutus stayed outside or if there was a Christian among them, he could enter the church and hear mass. After mass, the Sub-Chief went to the Chief's house or to another Sub-Chief's house and the Hutus waited there without receiving anything, even a bottle of beer. After his calls, he was again carried up to his house, drunk and on a full stomach, while the Hutus were starving. This is what the present youth must know. They should know that the Tutsis want to bring back the chain and the sedan-chair forced labour. The Hutus should again be subjected to the sedan-chair forced labour! And that's not all: for instance, if a Tutsi wished to go to Nyanza to visit his family, there were Hutus to carry him since there were no vehicles yet. I witnessed it. Tutsis were carried from here up to Nyanza, up to Kigali, up to Zaza. There was a certain Tutsi here called Segikwiye who was always carried to Zaza. At first, he was Sub-Chief and was later promoted to Chief of Buganza. **Well!** (in French in the text), now, these children must know it: the Tutsis only want to subject them to this forced labour from which the Hutus had already liberated themselves.

7.9 mins

Therefore, the solution lies in uniting and joining our forces, for united we stand, divided we fall, and indeed we are many. It would be outright cowardice to allow the Tutsi the latitude to look down on us even to the point of defeating us.

Journalist: President Habyarimana's death united the Hutu masses. What advice can you give them so that that unity is no longer undermined by such things as political parties or other issues?

Speaker (?) (B): That's a very good question. I also thought of it. The current Hutu situation reminds me of the 1959s. In 1959, we adopted multi-party politics: we had APROSOMA and other parties but the most influential Hutu parties were APROSOMA and MDR PARMEHUTU. At the beginning, they tore each other to pieces but then they said to themselves that it was necessary to join forces against the Tutsis for fear of a Hutu defeat. So we consulted each other and "joined forces" [*un front commun*] (in French in the text). We devised a common strategy, pooled ideas and came together. Similarly, today I can assert that the Hutus have "joined forces". In order not to be divided again, first, it is necessary for the Hutus to agree on power-sharing. No one should want to grab all under threats that he belongs to MDR PARMEHUTU, MRND, rather MDR or PSD. We, the Hutus, must choose the most appropriate way of ruling our country. We are not sharing Rwanda with anyone else. We are going to defeat the Inkotanyi and, besides,

they are defeated. What remains is our egoism, which we must combat ... there should be no more egoistic Hutus. Let's share Rwanda "equitably" [*équitablement*] (in French in the text) without some wanting to subjugate the others

10.3 mins

It is only at that price that we will achieve strong unity that would enable us to rule this country for years and years. I am worried when I recall how the MDR and the MRND – two parties that were most influential in Rwanda – tore each other to pieces. But now, we have peace, for no one mentions political parties. There are two leaders: His Excellency the President of the Republic, Théodore Sindikubwabo, and the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda. Others include Donat Murego. They must bring their supporters together and advise them. There is also Mr. Mathieu Ndirumpatse who is among erstwhile militants with known competence. They must consult each other and figure out how they are going to rule us; they must let us know that it serves no purpose for us to tear each other to pieces, that it would take us to nowhere and that, on the contrary, the enemy will benefit. In order to safeguard our unity, the first thing to do will be to combat greed and the third (sic) is mutual respect. Ordinary Rwandans and the leaders must learn to respect each other. Twagiramungu has taught us to disobey the authorities. That was civil disobedience. The authorities were no longer listened to. Every peasant farmer knows that the authorities are of no use, including the President of the Republic; Twagiramunga had taught us to disobey the authorities; his objective was to sabotage the government and spread disturbances throughout the country. The above-

mentioned authorities, the Mathieus, Muregos, the "President" of the Republic, the Prime Minister, must come together and begin to teach the people to respect the authorities like the soldiers do. An ordinary soldier obeys the corporal; the corporal obeys the "Sergeant"; the Sergeant obeys the Staff Sergeant and so and so forth, up to the top brass [*officiers supérieurs*] (in French in the text). If we the other Hutus could behave in like manner towards the authorities, then it would help tremendously to safeguard our unity.

13.0 mins

That could help us safeguard this homogeneity [*"homogénéité"*] (in French in the text) that we recently initiated. We are now visibly united but I fear that we may continue to support ... our leaders should know that this unity must be sustained for fear that, should the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi come back and discover our secret, then they may defeat us. I no longer believe in an Inyenzi victory; it's all over, we have won and even where they are at the moment, they should lose courage. When they want to save face, they attack and declare that they are going to win, that Kagame is going to fall, that they have taken such-and-such a locality, but that is lie, they just want to impress. They want to boost their morale; even in the past, when a man wanted to fight an enemy, he began by terrorizing him by exalting his heroic deeds and ordering him to get lost. But in reality, he wanted his enemy to run away so that he can kill him with a spear. But if the enemy did not panic and resisted by attacking and also exalting his heroic deeds, then they confront each other and the stronger could come out the winner after a duel. On the other hand, if the protagonists fled, then the other automatically became the victor. That's why Inkotanyi

lies must not bother us or inordinately frighten us. Besides, their collaborators have already been pushed aside; actually, they have been defeated, now the only thing that remains is to complete this victory. Once again, I request that this unity be sustained without dwelling so much on political parties even though they are not abolished; first, it is necessary to seek what is useful to the population without anyone thinking of drawing the population into a fratricidal war or undermining the efforts of others. Hence, everybody will work for the interest of the nation and the well-being of Rwandans, his fellow countrymen.

15.9 mins

Greedy and egoism, which had become a culture, should be banished once and for all; power, from the Minister to the Préfet, should be equitably shared. The Minister should know that the ministry he heads is not the preserve of his political party, for that could also be the beginning of unrest. I am sure that we will go to the polls and we will carry the day but the penchant for grabbing all ... claiming that your ministry must only employ such-and-such a person, that odd habit should disappear because it is one of the causes, which can lead Rwandans, particularly the Hutus, to tear each other to pieces.

Journalist: What can you add to all the thoughts you have just expressed on Radio Rwanda today?