

SIDE A**Radio/television news bulletin in French**

Speaker: Radio Rwanda presenter

[*inaudible*]... motion of support for the Government of Rwanda:

– following the double assassination of both the President and the Prime Minister, the MDR, MRND, PSD, PDC, PL political parties formed a government and tasked it with continuing negotiations with the RPF with a view to put in place the broad-based transitional institutions pardon [sic]. For its part, the RPF is taking advantage of the institutional vacuum to shell and take a foothold, fire canons, and kill thousands of victims among the civilian population.

In view of the precarious situation prevailing in Rwanda, the Club of MDR Intellectuals [*Cercle d'Intellectuels du MDR*] living in Butare condemns the ...the attack which took the lives of the Presidents of the Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi, as well as members of their entourage, and offer their most sincere condolences to all the victims' families.

It condemns the...the indiscriminate massacres which followed the assassinations; these massacres took the lives of Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and those many other innocent people.

Thirdly, it strongly commends the Rwandan Armed Forces for stepping in very quickly and helping the political parties participating in the government fill the political vacuum by forming the government headed by Mr. Jean Kambanda.

Fourthly, the Club condemns the RPF for resuming hostilities following the death of both the President and the Prime Minister. The Club of MDR Intellectuals living in Butare voices its support to the government headed by Mr. Jean Kambanda and wishes it success in its mission of restoring peace in the country and re-establishing the broad-based transitional institutions.

The Club reiterates its heartfelt appreciation to the United Nations Security Council for everything it did to send an Assistance Mission to help Rwanda establish the broad-based transitional institutions.

*Text in italics was in French in the original Kinyarwanda document.

The Club, nonetheless, deplores the fact that a segment of the Mission has behaved in a manner that may be viewed as partisan. The Club urges the Government of Rwanda to demand an explanation as to why the tragedy occurred at the airport whereas it was being guarded by the Belgian UNAMIR contingent.

The Club requests the United Nations Security Council to reorganize UNAMIR by replacing the partisan elements thereof, and to continue assisting Rwanda as it embarks on democratization, until the outcome of the elections.

The Club of MDR Intellectuals residing in Butare invites Rwanda's friends to convince the RPF that in Rwanda, as elsewhere, negotiations are the only road to peace and stability. Too much blood had been shed in Rwanda, a country that was reputed for being peaceful.

The Club of MDR Intellectuals residing in Buta... Butare adds its voice to that of the Government of Rwanda in urging the resumption of the Arusha peace process, which was jeopardised by the resumption of hostilities.

Done at Butare, on 16/04/1994.

For the *Club of MDR Intellectuals residing in Butare*:

Dr. François Xavier Ayobangira, President,

Dr. Sosthène Munyemana, Vice-President,

Dr. Balthasar Ntawumarayino and, Mr. Benoît Turabumukiza, Treasurer.

Speaker: Presenter in (Kinyarwanda) (4.0)

A few moments ago, our colleagues reported that the enemy shelled buildings at the *Ecole Supérieur Militaire* (ESM) here in Kigali; they reported that after hearing the explosions in the area, which is not far from Radio Rwanda. We enquired whether the report was true and found out that the shells were fired from the Kacyiru and Kimihurura areas, but none actually hit the ESM. We will thus continue to follow this story to find out exactly where the projectiles landed, and whether they caused any damage.

Radio Rwanda...

Radio/television news bulletin in French (4.8)

The situation was calm in Kigali last night and most of today, Monday. People were moving about in the neighbourhoods, some went to the market, where food items were in short supply, but available. In fact, there was even some meat available there.

However, this period of relative calm ended in the afternoon when shots were fired from Rebero hill, south of Kigali, where the Rwandan Armed Forces were engaged with the enemy, which had taken position there.

In the late afternoon, the enemy fired back, targeting the central plateau. The enemy used multiple rocket launchers, as it had done yesterday against ... RTLM facilities.

Elsewhere in the country, the situation remains under control...the Rwandan Armed Forces are defending their positions on all fronts: in the north, the north-east and the east. In Kibungo, it is reported that an estimated 800 young men went to the ...command post, in the Kibungo operations sector. These young people want to serve under the flag in order to defend their country against the RPF. The same level of interest was reported last week at the Ruhengeri sector command post.

That said, it is reported that the Belgian contingent of UNAMIR, United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, are due to leave soon. In theory, the contingent consisting of nearly 430 men is expected to set off for Tanzania by road via the Rusumo border post.

Still with regard to UNAMIR, a high-profile UN official is expected in Kigali soon, the official is UN Under-Secretary General for Emergency Relief, Mr. Peter Hansen, to assess the food needs as a result from the new war which has been raging in Rwanda for over one week.

Speakers: Presenter (Bamwanga) and the *bourgmestre* of Runda *commune*, Sixbert Ndayambaje. (6.9)

Hello, dear listeners of Radio Rwanda. We are continuing with our broadcasts on the war. Here in the studio, we have someone who has gathered a great deal of news about the war. Let me start by asking him to introduce himself before we begin our conversation.

My name is Sixbert Ndayambaje; I am the *bourgmestre* of Runda *commune*.

We also have with us our colleague Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, and with him, Sixbert Ndayambaje, we are going to discuss the war. The first question we have for the *bourgmestre* of Runda *commune*, one of the *communes* of Gitarama *préfecture*, is as follows: it is reported that schemes are used in the war, especially by the RPF-*Inkotanyi*, to recruit members, and er, in fact, they are said to resort to what is known as *infiltration*. What can you tell us about the situation in Runda *commune* as concerns the war?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* of Runda *commune* (Ndayambaje) (8.1)

Er! With regard to the war, as you know, the administrative authorities urge members of the public to ensure security in collaboration with the authorities. Following the

announcement of the death of the head of State, His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, in the attack on his airplane, we took measures aimed at maintaining security. However, ethnic clashes broke out between the Hutus and the Tutsis. A young Tutsi man who was there is said to have made fun of his Hutu companions, saying: "Now that your general is dead, what will happen to you, Hutus?"

This angered the Hutus so much that by the time the authorities arrived, the individual was already dead. From that moment, the killings continued.

Presenter Hyacinthe.

What's the person's name?

Speaker: Ndayambaje, *bourgmestre* of Runda *commune*.

The person killed was a young man named Munyabuhoro, he lived in Kigese *secteur*, Ruramvu *cellule*. We are asking the higher authorities in the country, the Ministry of Defence, the Rwandan Armed Forces to urge members of the public to show solidarity with one another, and avoid ethnic clashes. The communal authorities are also doing their duty with regard to maintaining security. Nonetheless, the problem grows bigger over time, as a matter of fact, a group of persons carrying firearms was apprehended on a hill. Members of the *cellule* committees reported the matter to me that they were shot at by some individuals.

Speaker: Bamwanga, Radio Rwanda presenter

Were they soldiers or civilians?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* of Runda *commune* (Ndayambaje)

In order to identify them, I sent public security officials, namely communal policemen and members of the Rwandan Armed Forces who were stationed near the communal office. When they reached hill called Tambwe, at Ruyenzi, they found... - - and this surprised us a great deal - - it surprised us that the people they apprehended included communal employees. There was an *inspecteur de police judiciaire* (IPJ) named Célestin Mutabazi; he was caught with a firearm. He fired at these people for quite some time before he was apprehended. Both my deputies were also there.

Bamwanga:

You mean deputy *bourgmestres*?

Yes, the deputy *bourgmestres*. Two deputy *bourgmestres*. One is named Célestin Ngarambe and the other Bonaventure Makambaza. They were both captured at that

location. One Oxile Muyombayire was with them; he is the uncle of the Deputy *Bourgmestre* Mukambaza [sic]. We went to his house and found a large quantity of munitions. As for the IPJ, he had a Kalashnikov, and documents showing that he knew a great deal about the war, the documents contained lists of names [and] information about the cells they had formed. It was clear that it was that [sic] who played a major role in recruiting these people.

Speaker: Hyacinthe, Radio Rwanda presenter. (11.6)

In other words, this was something they had done in order to identify the partisans of the RPF. Since you have the list, Mr. *Bourgmestre*, can you tell us the number of people on it, and their names?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* of Runda *commune* (Ndayambaje) (11.8)

Currently, more than 20 names appear on the list in our possession.

Speaker: Bamwanga, Radio Rwanda presenter. (11.9)

Can you tell us their names, where they hail from, their villages, for the benefit of the people, the listeners of Radio Rwanda.

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* (Ndayambaje)

On the lists, the people who hail from Runda *commune* include the deputy *bourgmestre*, his cell is believed to be *Abarihamwe*.

Speaker: Bamwanga, Radio Rwanda presenter

Did the names of the cells already exist or were they coined, because...?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* (Ndayambaje)

As you'd expect, a name like "those who are united" sounds like a typical name for an association. As for the cell in question, I could come back to that, but clearly its members lived in *secteurs*. It is believed that the cell is based at Ruyenzi, Runda, where the communal office is currently located. Deputy *Bourgmestre* Célestin Ngarambe is also also known as Rukara, and lives in Ruyenzi. Marie Mukagatare, who is also known as Rukara [sic] Bihozaho, also lives in Ruyenzi. Sylvain Ntaganda aka Karihonubu also lives in Ruyenzi. Diane Nyandekwe aka Igihozo also lives in Ruyenzi; Frida Nyandekwe, Diane Nyandekwe's sister, also lives in Ruyenzi; as for her alias... (Bamwanga) I cannot read it. As for Frida Nyandekwe, her alias is Shema. Cartas Bakayitesi aka Rugamba also lives in Ruyenzi. Immaculée Mukankusi aka Vuganeza lives in Ruyenzi. I know all these people, they were regular employees, including teachers at the school in

Ruyenzi; it may very well be that there are others from other *secteurs*, or that they recruited some from other *communes*.

Speaker: Hyacinte, Radio Rwanda presenter. (14.2)

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, in the light of the situation you have just described, I note that the cell includes teachers, students and people from other walks of life. But, in reality, who are these people on the hill, are they members of the various ethnic groups or just one?....

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje (14.5)

To tell you the truth, we also found that surprising. As you know, during the era of multiparty politics, leaders were urged to be neutral and not treat people unfairly. As for me, as *bourgmestre* of Runda *commune*, when multiparty politics was introduced, I was already *bourgmestre* but I did not hinder the activities of any political party. However, the persons I have mentioned are former colleagues of mine: they include two deputy *bourgmestres*, one criminal investigations police officer, in performing their duties, they interfaced harmoniously with everyone. However the problem was that they associated with people based on their being members of the Tutsi ethnic group.

Speaker: Bamwanga, Radio Rwanda presenter. (15.4)

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, I see that you have some other documents, I have seen notebooks that may have been used for note taking. I have even seen a pamphlet on the RPF *Inkotanyi* programme. If you have had the opportunity to read these documents, what can you tell us about their content that will bear out the idea that some people knew the whys and wherefores of the war we are currently engaged in?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje (16.1)

Yes, indeed, I do have such documents. More than five notebooks were seized at the home of Célestin Mutabazi, the criminal investigations police officer, which proves that he had learned a great deal. Honestly, this is not a topic I can cover thoroughly, all I can say is that somewhere, there is mention of the history of the RPF-*Inkotanyi*, notably a reference to preparations, formation and expansion of the cells all the way up to the armed struggle phase. With regard to the armed struggle, which they describe in French as *option Z*, one notes that in 1989, twenty-eight young people took up arms and came to the national park. That must have provoked a general outcry; and people must have pleaded with them, so in the end, they returned where they came from. However, this soured relations between Rwanda and Uganda and as such, the war started earlier than expected, on 1 October 1990. As you know, this war is still with us up to this day.

Yes [says Bamwanga]. It is believed that the RPF expected to win the phase of the war between its launching and December 1990, that they described it as a conventional war that they were capable of winning, but they realised that they were losing. Yes [says

Bamwanga]. From December 1990 to July 1991 followed what was known as the itinerant war, which, according to them, dealt the enemy a heavy blow. You do get an idea of how serious the situation was. In July 1991, the RPF reorganised, devised a new programme and took over a segment of Rwanda's territory when they captured Kaborogota and Muvumba. They captured a tiny portion, a mere three kilometres from the border. In November 1991, those they refer to as the enemy, meaning the Rwandan Armed Forces – as they are the ones who are fighting against them – stopped attacking them with heavy weapons, notably 120 mm mortar, Katiousha, as well as AAC 37 and AAC14. They say that the enemy was demoralised because whenever it shelled them, they were safely in their underground shelters. That, of course, is how the *Inkotanyi* speak, [meaning typical *Inkotanyi* discourse, adds the presenter, Bamwanga]. They say that whenever they were shelled, they would respond with heavy bombardments to the extent that the enemy accepted to give up part of its territory, although it was claiming to have blocked their advance. Those statements show that they were well informed about the war. From July to September 1991, the war took an entirely different turn; in fact, in June 1992 the shelling of Byumba caused panic among the politicians, including the late head of State, Habyarimana. [Yes, says the presenter, Bamwanga] But, for the RPF, this was a brilliant publicity stunt.

Speaker: Hyacinthe, Radio Rwanda presenter. (19.9)

But the problem was that they pursued their teachings by talking about the “role of violence”, meaning the significance of the killings, crime and terror (says Bamwanga). And terror (says Hyacinthe). Can you tell us how things unfolded, because I note that many other subjects are mentioned in the notebook? This is for the benefit of the public, to help them realise that these people were prepared for the war, knew a great deal about it and were educating others inside the country about it.

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje. (20.3)

When one takes a closer look at the content of these notebooks, one finds a great deal of information, because they contain many references to acts of violence. That aside, one of the young men who was my deputy said that the first person he intended to kill was the *bourgmestre*, and you must not forget that firearms and munitions were seized in their homes. It is [sic], therefore, that I was the target. What's more, they had lists of other persons with whom they were due to start as part of the extermination they were planning. As you can see, that was their intention and we were living with them without suspecting anything. However, their plan is now out in the open.

Speaker: Bamwanga, Radio Rwanda presenter. (21.3)

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, I realise that these notebooks contain a great deal of information, which we cannot cover at this time. The important thing to remember is that the notebooks contain people's names and their level of education. For example, they contain entries such as 1st year, A, B; 2nd and 3rd year. That leads me to think that the

sensitisation campaign started quite long ago. So until you found these notebooks, didn't it ever strike you that there were people out there who were preparing for war or that there was something fishy about the people that have since been identified?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje (21.8)

No, as far as suspicion goes, obviously, you can suspect people without any proof. However, after discovering these notebooks at Célestin Mutabazi's home, I remembered that towards the end of 1993, he was away, purportedly on leave. When I wrote to him asking for an explanation, he told me that his mother was still unwell, but the others told me that he had gone to Kinihira. His actions show that some people were well prepared for the situation. However, as administrators, we were suspicious of employees who claimed to work beyond the normal office hours, but had no proof. Especially considering that a peace agreement was subsequently signed between the Government of Rwanda and the RPF. At the time, we thought that all the problems were going to be resolved, but they had other plans in mind.

Speaker: Bicomumpaka (presenter)

Here I see several documents, some of which actually show that they used to make contributions. For example, the list shows the ordinary contributions made for the month of December 1993. You have surnames, contributions promised, unpaid contributions; I note that everyone paid their contributions on time. At this number, I see the names: Rukara, Bihozaho, Karihonubu, Bihozo, Ishema, Rugamba, Vuganeza. The aforementioned contributed: 1,500 RWF, 1,300 RWF, 1,200 RWF, 1,000 RWF and 1,000 RWF, respectively. It is safe to say that it took a while for the people to collect all the funds needed by the combatants. Could that mean that these were the only people who made contributions, that no one else did?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje

That is a question that is on everyone's lips; nonetheless, one cannot help thinking that other people, whose names do not appear on this list, made contributions. It is possible, and should not come as a surprise to anyone. Indeed, at some point, we noticed that the day-to-day relations [among the population] that some people formed groups, sought one another out, and so on. I cannot help but think that there were others. Perhaps with a little luck, other documents will appear that will enable us to shed light on this matter.

Speaker: Bicomumpaka

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, after discovering all this in *secteurs* of your *commune*, when the local population realized that, and found out that those people even had firearms, what was their reaction?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje

What I can tell you is that on an individual level, this issue enabled us to deal with security for members of the public at our level, because some were already starting to turn against one another on ethnic grounds. I called a meeting of the political party leaders and some local religious leaders to discuss ways to put an end to the massacres. However, when the news spread that a group of people were hiding on a hill with firearms, that was too much! This is still a problem, in fact, some people have been killed and others have fled to other *communes*. It is a problem, but for the moment, we are trying to maintain security. When members of the public saw those things, they became angry and demanded that those people be tracked down so that ... because of the brutality they had manifested, especially considering that their neighbours did not know them to be that way.

Speaker: Bamwanga (Radio Rwanda presenter)

By and large, it can be said that many people betrayed the country by joining the RPF at the front and killing people. As you have noticed recently, the RPF has come in with lists of people to be systematically killed in Kigali; some people were supposed to be killed in the *secteurs* the day the RPF was due to arrive in Kigali. It was even reported on Radio Rwanda that during that period, weapons and the outfits the RPF were due to wear once in Kigali were discovered in some locations. Didn't some people in *secteurs* of your *commune* go and fight within the RPF?

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje

Yes. We discussed that issue as part of the security plan. In a *secteur* called Kigese some youths were reported missing, and, as a matter of fact, employees and qualified teachers deserted their jobs. Their names are well known, in fact people can tell you that so and so disappeared and went to join the *Inkotanyi*. We are aware of all that. For example we went to a location recently, and the people there told us that someone was suspected, they went to his home and found a photo of a young [female] teacher seated with the *Inkotanyi* firearm in hand. There is evidence that some people left earlier, but in the intervening period, they tried to infiltrate back into the *communes* and *secteurs*. In other words, they might try and extend the plan to the rest of the country.

Speaker: Yacinthe [sic] Bicamumpaka

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, I am of the view that such things did not only happen in your *commune*. In fact, Bamwanga has papers which prove that the RPF managed to send infiltrators. Bamwanga, which papers are these?

Speaker: Bamwanga (presenter)

I see...I asked for the meaning of the term IMPRICAF at the bottom of these papers, and I was told that it is a well-known printing shop, which is owned by François Karekezi. That is further proof that measures aimed at collecting funds to purchase arms for the war

effort were undertaken a long time ago. Coming back briefly to Runda, I would like to ask the *bourgmestre* whether...here I see notebooks with notes on politics, the war...In relation to what we were saying about the role of violence, I read a point where it says that no one should, that war requires everyone to be on their guard at all times [*interruption*]... you must at all times...not be afraid to do or say anything.

Speaker: Bicamumpaka (presenter)

With regard to the rationale for the war, I want to ask the *bourgmestre* whether there is proof that some people underwent training in Runda *commune* or whether they were trained in other locations far away from the *commune*.

Speaker: *Bourgmestre* Ndayambaje

As regards the location where they underwent training, these notebooks...it was possible for all the people we have mentioned, who were suspected -- for example employees on leave - - to be away. You cannot force a person to report to work while they are on leave, but, sometimes, you may need to see them urgently, and not be able to find them. People could tell you that so and so went to visit his family; but some people said that they went to Kinihira. Even within a *commune*, a person may visit another person and meet three or four other people there. That could not stop them from preparing their plan; as you know, you cannot focus on the fact that such and such employee went to the home of the IPJ [*inspecteur de police judiciaire*] you must understand that you cannot require people to reveal the identity of their visitors. However, I note that the suspicions turned out to be reality.

Speaker: Bicamumpaka (presenter)

Er! Mr. *Bourgmestre*, I'd also like us to talk about the RPF's programme. The lists we have just seen contain both people's names and the tasks they were assigned by the RPF in the *secteurs*, *cellules* and *commune*. For example on the sheet I'm holding, you have the names Boni Twagiramungu, Marie Mukakalisa, Grâce Mukamukumukobwa, Kuramukobwa. Eh! Grâce Kuramukobwa, Ser... Rutagengwa

SIDE B

Speaker: Presenter.

The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces informs us that the Rwandan Armed Forces are continuing to defend the country's territorial integrity with courage. Yesterday, the Honourable Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, and members of the cabinet government held a meeting with heads of religious faiths in Rwanda, political party leaders, all the *bourgmestres* in Gitarama *préfecture* and the heads of departments in the *préfecture*. The meeting was held in Gitarama, according to the ORINFOR correspondent in the area, Gaspard Rwakana.

The United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative to Rwanda, Dr. Jacques Roger Bobo [sic], stated yesterday that the United Nations will never abandon Rwanda, he urged the warring parties to cease the fighting.

Last night, the Belgian military authorities stated that an estimated 400 Belgian troops, who were sent to Rwanda for the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, are to leave Rwanda for Tanzania by road. These troops are due to leave Rwanda today.

Speaker: Presenter (Gaspard Rwakana)

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss how the authorities as a whole can work together in order to ensure security throughout the country in general, and in Gitarama *préfecture* in particular, as, currently, many of the people fleeing Kigali City pass through Gitarama *préfecture*.

The Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, began by briefing the participants about the situation in our country since the death of the head of State, on the 6th.

The Prime Minister described the measures the government had taken since its formation to restore security in the country. Such measures include the government's message to people of all categories who are charged with restoring security. The message was addressed to political party leaders, authorities, foreign nationals living in Rwanda, and the RPF, because the latter are the root cause of the insecurity.

The participants were briefed about the decisions taken with regard to security. Such decisions include the appointment of the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Armed Forces, and that of *préfets* for *préfectures* without incumbents, as well as the replacement of some *préfets*. Prime Minister Jean Kambanda remarked that since the government was formed, the security situation has improved noticeably despite the reports of unrest in some *préfectures*. The difficulties encountered by the government and other security organs in the country stem from the RPF, who still refuse to cease hostilities whereas they are well aware that a war cannot be won with bullets.

The Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, briefed the participants about the situation on the battlefield. On the whole, the Rwandan Armed Forces are defeating the enemy, he said. In Ruhengeri *préfecture*, all the *communes* are under the control of our armed forces, with the sole exception of Butaro *commune*, where *Inkotanyi* presence is reported.

The *Inkotanyi* are massed in the Mutara region, Byumba, and have a great deal of reinforcements there, but our armed forces continue to trounce them.

In Kigali City, fighting is continuing in the areas under the control of the *Inkotanyi*.

The participants asked how to assist those who are fleeing the fighting in Kigali and maintain security. Prime Minister Kambanda remarked that it was not possible to effectively maintain security and reassure those who are fleeing the fighting as long as the RPF carried on with hostilities. Whatever the case, the government is doing everything possible to maintain security. It does so through its messages to members of the public, assisting the needy who flee the fighting and appealing for assistance to be provided to them.

It was suggested at the meeting to send Rwandan Government emissaries, including leaders of religious faiths, to seek assistance for the large number of people in dire straits.

Finally, everyone was urged to contribute to the restoration of security and to take their work seriously so as to save the country from total decline during this period.

Following the meeting, the cabinet members who were with Prime Minister Jean Kambanda held another meeting with the *bourgmestres* of the *communes* of Gitarama *préfecture*, in the presence of the *préfet* of the *préfecture*, Fidèle Uwizeye. At the meeting, the *bourgmestres* spoke about the problems they encountered with regard to security. The problems were virtually the same in all the *communes*, that is, insufficient police personnel, inadequate facilities, vehicles in poor condition, and lack of fuel.

Problems relating to the unrest were reported in parts of certain *communes*. The *bourgmestres* were promised government assistance, but were urged to use their skills to involve members of the public in maintaining security in their respective *communes*. *Communes* and *secteurs* were urged to avoid launching attacks against one another. Report by Gaspard Rwakana, in Gitarama.

Speaker: Presenter

This is Radio Rwanda, broadcasting from Kigali. The time is 6.07 a.m.; we continue our news bulletin with domestic news. According to the military authorities, the Rwandan Armed Forces at the front are still defending the country's territorial integrity with courage. In the Ruhengeri area, the Rwandan Armed Forces are putting up stiff resistance in the *communes* of Nkumba and Kidaho [*interruption*].

The United Nations Under-Secretary General for Emergency Relief, Peter Hansen, is due to visit our country in order to assess the country's food needs in view of the disastrous situation it is faced with at this time.

The United Nations Secretary-General Special Representative in Rwanda, Dr. Jacques Roger Boh Boh [sic], stated yesterday that the United Nations will never abandon Rwanda, he urged all warring parties to cease the fighting.

Dr. Jacques Roger Boh Boh [sic] stated that he has made Rwanda's case before the United Nations Secretary General and urged the warring parties to manifest the willingness to cease hostilities. The United Nations Secretary-General Special Representative in Rwanda recalled that UNAMIR continues to act as a mediator in promoting understanding between the protagonists. According to Dr. Jacques Roger Boh Boh, [sic] communications [services] should be re-established, journalists should once again exercise the right to gather news, relief workers should work in a safe environment and UNAMIR should guard the airport.

Yesterday, the ministers of foreign affairs of Western Europe pledged food aid for Rwanda. A contingent of 400 Belgian troops, sent to Rwanda by the United Nations for the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement, is preparing to leave Rwanda for Tanzania by road; this was confirmed by the Belgian authorities yesterday evening.

The contingent is due to leave Rwanda today. According to a report by *Agence France Presse* (AFP), the repatriation is conditional on the situation on the ground. Belgium hopes to repatriate its troops by air, via Nairobi, Kenya. The Belgian contingent is currently stationed at Grégoire Kayibanda International Airport, pending their replacement by the Ghanaian contingent. Yesterday, 200 Belgian troops, who assisted in the repatriation of foreign nationals, arrived in Brussels, Belgium. Many of them manifested their anger about the killing of their comrades, due the resumption of hostilities by the enemy. Some of the soldiers immediately burned their UN berets, and swore not to participate in future UN missions.

Speaker: *presenter*

(9.7)

Meeting of the Prime Minister with the various Gitarama préfecture officials, in order to discuss the pacification campaign. The UN will not abandon Rwanda, according to the United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative in Rwanda, Jacques Roger Boh Boh [sic]. Also, the European is prepared to provide Rwanda with humanitarian assistance. Those are the main headlines.

Restoring security throughout Rwanda is still the Rwandan government's main preoccupation. To that end, Prime Minister Jean Kambanda held a meeting with all préfecture officials in a bid to find ways to pursue the pacification campaign. This was reported by Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka.

Speaker: Presenter (Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka) (10.4)

Yesterday, the Honourable Prime Minister, Mr. Jean Kambanda, met in Gitarama with religious leaders, leaders of all the political parties in the country, the bourgmestres of the communes of Gitarama préfecture and all the préfecture's heads of department.

The meeting, which came at a crucial time, was held within a consultation framework, to discuss ways and means to pursue the pacification campaign, already launched by the Government. Before addressing the issue of ... the Prime Minister recalled the root cause of the strife which followed Président Habyarimana's tragic death.

He stressed the government's efforts upon its institution to restore peace and dissuade [sic] the population to cease vindictive acts and settling accounts. To this end, the government urges the country to devote body and soul to the successful restoration of peace. The same message was addressed to the political party leaders, politicians of all ranks, foreign nationals, and the RPF, who must bear the bulk of the responsibility for restoring peace, as they are the ones who broke it by resuming hostilities on 6/4.

The Prime Minister urged the donors to provide assistance to the displaced persons. He then briefed the participants about the measures taken by government with regard to maintaining security. He cited, notably, the appointment of the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan Army, Major General Augustin Bizimungu; that of the préfets for préfectures that were without incumbents, and the replacement of préfets that had manifestly failed to discharge their duties in recent times.

As regards the general situation, peace is returning gradually, although there are still reports of isolated, sporadic incidents in some préfectures, but such incidents are dealt with immediately, stressed the Prime Minister.

The participants were unanimous in observing that only the RPF pose an obstacle to the restoration of peace, due to their adamant refusal of dialogue.

The Prime Minister seized the opportunity to give an update on the military operations against the RPF. The participants commended our Armed Forces for their bravery in warding off attacks, inflicting heavy losses on the RPF.

In Ruhengeri, for example, all the communes are now under the control of our soldiers, with the exception of Butaro commune where...where fierce fighting is reported between our Armed Forces and the RPF.

In Byumba, notably the Umutara region, where the RPF had concentrated most of their logistics and personnel, the Rwandan Army is making spectacular gains. As regards the situation in Kigali City, progress is being made.

Indeed, our Armed Forces control all the strategic positions in Kigali, apart from the few areas where shooting is reported.

Following this first meeting, the bourgmestres of the communes of Gitarama met exclusively with the Prime Minister in the presence of some members of the cabinet and Préfet Fidèle Uwizeye. At the meeting, Prime Minister Jean Kambanda urged the bourgmestres to do all in their power to root out criminal activity.

For his part, the Prime Minister promised to do everything [inaudible] national unity and reconciliation for all the people of Rwanda.

Speaker: Presenter

(13.7)

We might add, Hyacinthe, with regard to the military situation, yesterday afternoon, Kigali was calm... Kigali was calm... Today, the 400-strong contingent is expected to set off for Tanzania by road via the Rusumo border post.

For his part, the United Nations Secretary General's Special Representative, Jacques Roger Boh Boh [sic], is of the view that UNAMIR's abrupt departure would amount to denying assistance to persons in danger. According to AFP, Agence France Presse, Boh Boh stated yesterday that the UN will not abandon Rwanda, but, he emphasised, the top brass on both sides in the conflict must show a willingness to put an end to hostilities.

The Special Representative said that... said that he made Rwanda's case before the UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, on the condition that the leaders in Rwanda agree on a cease-fire and put a stop to the massacres. The UN Secretary General's Special Representative also recalled that UNAMIR is continuing to act as mediator in promoting understanding between the two parties due to submit conditions and proposals on how to end the hostilities [...]

He also finds realistic and practicable the idea of joint patrols, restoring communication services, freedom of movement for journalists and relief teams, as well as UNAMIR's control over Kigali airport.

Still with regard to domestic news, the European Union is in favour of providing adequate humanitarian assistance to Rwanda and has pledged its participation. That was stated yesterday by the foreign ministers of the twelve [European Union] countries at their meeting in Luxembourg. In its statement, the European Union reiterated its appeal to protect the lives of the Rwandan people and urged the warring parties to immediately stop the violence and resume negotiations based on the principles set forth under the Arusha Peace Agreement.

Speaker: Presenter

.... Pacification message aimed at the regions affected by the unrest; the administrative authorities at all levels are to hold numerous meetings aimed at restoring good relations among the population and, where possible, arrange for the persons displaced by war to return to their homes. That was the message conveyed on Monday by the President, His Excellency Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, everywhere he went, notably in Gikongoro, Maraba *commune*, in Butare *préfecture*, or Nyakizu *commune*, also located in Butare *préfecture*.

In Gikongoro, the head of State met with the prefectural security council, headed by the *préfet*, Laurent Bucyibaruta. In Maraba, he met the *bourgmestre* and conveyed the same message to the local population and the people of Nyakizu *commune* and urged them to pass on the message to their fellow citizens. In Gikongoro, the President asked why the people were not taking charge of security despite numerous calls to that effect through his radio messages.

In response, the *préfet* of Gikongoro gave three reasons:

First of all, some members of the public are still angry about President Habyarimana's assassination; also, because of the war launched by the RPF, members of the public say that if the RPF came to their area, they would not spare them; lastly, another reason is the use of petty theft and food shortage as a pretext to fish in troubled waters;

The President said that no one shall harass innocent people for acts carried out by others over whom they have no power. Everyone must look out for their neighbour's safety.

Speaker: President Théodore Sindikubwabo. (17.4)

We have therefore asked that, from the *cellule* all the way to the *préfecture*, everyone must take charge of their responsibilities. A few moments ago, you asked the government to increase the number of *gendarmes*. Yes, I understand your request, but I don't agree with the way it is formulated. [I think] I will be clearer in French: "*Je ne suis pas d'accord avec le contenu de votre demande.*" [I do not agree with the content of your request] By that I mean that I agree with the idea but not with its realisation, *indeed*, because it goes against my message to you yesterday. In my message, I said that every member of the public must look out for their neighbour's security. That they must not do unto their neighbour what they don't want their neighbour to do unto them. Each one must be the other's keeper. However, this does not mean giving the answer Cain gave to God, you remember the story in the Old Testament; when God asked Cain where his younger brother Abel was, Cain answered that he was not his brother's keeper. You know what ensued. Therefore, during this period, we should be our brothers' keeper.

The *gendarmes* are the government force that normally intervenes when necessary in cases where the public is unable to deal with a given situation; the military is also the government force created to defend the country's territorial integrity, intervene in crises that cannot be dealt with by the population. However, during these difficult times, we

would like this force to be backed up by the nation's resources, all of us. No one should say that it is none of their business; no one should say that it does not concern them, no one should say: "That does not concern me." In fact, we must identify the people who say that it does not concern them and ask them why they act in that manner; they must say why, unlike the others, they believe that it does not concern them.

In other words, security is not a matter for *gendarmes* only, but it is primarily a matter for the population; *gendarmes* are prepared to assist us in situations that we cannot handle. We urge you, Mr. *Préfet* and your collaborators, to make sure that this point is well understood.

The "I-know-it-all" types, the "that-does-not-concern-me" types must be identified; they must explain their behaviour before the administrative authorities and the cells charged with punishing criminals, and say what makes them believe that this matter does not concern them. Let me take this opportunity to ask a question, or rather, make a proposal; I don't want you to discuss it here, because time is limited, I must travel to other places. My proposal is in relation to the suggestion I just made earlier: while waiting for the government to have sufficient *gendarmes* to assist you, we currently have a *programme* whereby each one is expected to look out for the other's security.

Such is the task I leave to you, examine it closely and come up with an adequate solution. The enemy which attacked Rwanda attacked all of us, the people of Rwanda. Those of you who have been following the events since the launching of the war in October 1990 -- most of these events are documented -- know that the weapons -- more terrifying than the bullets the enemy has used in the past and is still using, although some people do not realize it -- is to create division among the people of Rwanda. He can say, for example, "Bucyibaruta, be careful, Sigist hates you, so and so hates you; he wants to cause you harm ... be careful, and so on and so forth"

The enemy wants us to spend our time asking left and right why so and so hates us, and so on. We could thus spend our time consulting witchdoctors, asking them to ward off the evil so and so wants to cast upon us. The enemy will thus achieve its aims without even firing a single shot.

This has been explained on many occasions. Some people have understood it, but we urge those who have not yet understood to do so before it's too late.

Speaker: Presenter (22.7)

The President also said that displaced persons should return to their homes, where possible.

Speaker: The President, Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo (22.7)

Talking about displaced persons, I am of the view that we are not in agreement as to the usage of the term; we don't want to hear anyone talk of displaced persons. You say that parishes, schools and other places are used as shelter for displaced persons; we want you to close down those camps and urge people to return to their homes, if they accept the idea that everyone must be their neighbour's keeper. If people accept this idea, these camps must be closed down.

You say that it's difficult. You say: "Mr. Sindikubwabo, the things you tell us are not feasible." They are feasible. Granted it's difficult, but feasible. If we only did what's easy and avoided whatever is difficult, we wouldn't do anything. We would be in paradise; we must begin with the difficult tasks and then go on to the easier ones.

.... educate the people about the idea that everyone must be their neighbour's keeper; everyone must have the heart to forgive, everyone must overcome their anger, control their temper and focus on the country's greater interest, because in the meantime, the situation is deteriorating, people are dying, people are destroying others' houses, destroying our property amounts to assisting those who are destroying it. In all that, each citizen, with the help of the administrative authorities – the latter are more alert – is urged to overcome his feelings of anger and vengeance.

Yes, what you have told me, the things you have experienced and the difficulties you have encountered with regard to the people whose houses have been destroyed and who have had all their belongings looted; we will not ask them to go home, but where do you expect them to go? This problem must be looked into, and a decision should be reached as to who can return to their homes; as for those who cannot, the administrative authorities will deal with their cases. They will establish figures and identify such persons. As promised, you will make a report which we, in turn, will submit to the government; the Minister charged with this issue is currently pulling together the necessary aid.

Speaker: A presenter

(25.7)

The President also conveyed a pacification message to the people of Nyakizu. The people at the communal office also expressed their concerns as regards the presence of displaced persons at Cyahinda parish. Some of them were armed with rifles and grenades; in fact, last Thursday, they killed two *gendarmes* and wounded the *commune's bourgmestre*.

The local population also said that four other members of the *commune* staff are reported missing. They believe they were also killed. The President urged all members of the population to avoid violence and attacking innocent people. Patrols and roadblocks that are not authorized by the authorities must be done away with. He ended by urging them to pass on the message to their fellow citizens, inviting them to all become messengers of peace.

Cyprien Musabirema, ORINFOR – Butare.

Dr. Théodore Sinidikubwabo toured the width and breadth of Gikongoro and Butare préfectures. He was carrying a pacification message, which he conveyed to the administrative officials, and through them, to the entire population, in a bid to put an end to the ethnic unrest recently reported in certain communes and in both préfectures.

In Gikongoro, the President of the Republic met with the members of the prefectural security council headed by Préfet Laurent Bucyibaruta. In Maraba commune, he spoke to the bourgmestre of the commune and a group of peasants who were near the communal office. In Nyakizu commune, the President spoke to peasants who came running to welcome him. The message was the same everywhere: peace, making peace with one's neighbour, ensuring one's own safety and that of one's neighbour, and being one's own gendarme.

The President asked why the various radio messages urging the population to remain calm have not yet been heeded. In Giko.... in Gikongoro, Préfet Laurent Bucyibaruta gave three reasons; first, some people are still angry about President Habyarimana's assassination. Secondly, with the resumption of hostilities by the RPF, the population reaction's is due to fear that the RPF would massacre them if somehow they managed to seize power. And thirdly, everywhere, there those who fish in troubled waters, and use the unrest as a pretext to loot their neighbours' property.

The President reiterated his wish to see peace restored in the communes where unrest is reported. He urged those who fled to return to their homes, where possible. That would end, notably, the tension between centres where refugees are housed and the local population, as either side is afraid of being attacked by the other.

Such is the case in Nyakizu commune, where, on Thursday, displaced persons staying at Cyahinda parish killed two gendarmes and wounded the commune's bourgmestre. Some of them have firearms and shoot at the local population; thus creating a great deal of tension between the accommodation facility and the population.

Still with regard to the President's pacification message, the President instructed the administrative authorities, from cellule committees all the way up to the Préfet, to organize many meetings in order to raise the people's awareness.

Lastly, he recalled that one of the weapons used by the enemy which has been attacking us since 1 October 1990 is creating divisions among the population in a bid to seize power.

Cyprien Musabirema, ORINFOR – Butare. (29.4)

Speaker: Presenter Aimable Sibomana (29.5)

... They repeated that. Accordingly, the President, Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, traveled, yesterday, Monday, to the communes of Maraba, Nyakizu, and to Gikongoro. The

President said that no one shall harass their fellow citizens, in order to take revenge for acts committed by other individuals against whom they are not empowered to act. President Sindikubwabo went on to say that each one is to look out for his neighbour's security and refrain from doing unto others what they do not want them to do unto them; as stipulated in the Bible. Our colleague, Cyprien Musabirema, speaks to us about the visit the President, Dr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, made yesterday, to the *préfectures* of Butare and Gikongoro.

Jean Kambanda began by updating the participants about the situation since the 6th, the day the President died. The Prime Minister outlined the activities undertaken by the government since it took office, in view of restoring security in the country. It is within this framework that the government sent a message to all those who are in a position to contribute to the restoration of security. The message was aimed at political party leaders, the authorities, foreign nationals living in Rwanda and the RPF, who are the root cause of the insecurity.

The participants were also briefed about the government's measures to reinforce security. Those measures include the appointment of the Chief of Staff of the national army, that of *préfets* for *préfectures* without incumbents, and the replacement of certain *préfets*. Prime Minister Jean Kambanda observed that since the government took office, security has been returning gradually, although in some *préfectures* ...

END
