

**SIDE A****0.0 Min.*****Préfet François Karera:***

... I also went about three times to Giticyinoni, where our border with the city is located. I have soldiers posted in that location and they were performing their duties well. I noticed they were working well with those from town and stuck together. There were a few problems near the bend in the direction of Nyabarongo, but the soldiers intervened, and I know that, currently, there are no more problems because I went there myself at least two or three times, and each time I spoke with those manning the roadblocks. It is the people manning the roadblocks rather who ask those using the road to be polite, especially those wearing distinctive party insignia, even though this is no longer allowed. This targets mainly those wearing military uniform. For example, an officer who is polite and states his identity gets through without any difficulties. Those who claim to be military personnel are asked to be polite when they reach the roadblock and to spontaneously present their identity cards, so they can immediately continue on their way. At that road, I also asked them to facilitate the passage of vehicles collecting supplies for the town. These vehicles must always have a pass proving they are really transporting supplies.

**1.3 Min**

The passes I issue bear the name of the vehicle owner. Authenticity of the pink card must be verified, as well as the provenance of the vehicle. Most of the time, I specify the vehicles are travelling to Gitarama, Ruhengeri and even Rushashi because that is where we purchase supplies. The pass is thus mandatory and I ask the drivers of the vehicles to present them spontaneously. Each vehicle should only transport the supplies mentioned on the pass. We have also asked vehicle owners to refrain from transporting persons not mentioned on the pass on their way back. Indeed, these passengers slow them down at the roadblocks because they must get out of the vehicle to present their identity card. Vehicle owners must also present their identity card. As the road is a very busy one and leads to town, we have asked them moreover to refrain from loitering. We have also

asked military personnel taken on board the vehicles to present their identity cards spontaneously.

## **2.6 Min**

I have also told them that attending a funeral is the only valid form of leave; people cannot just say they are leaving one battalion to rejoin another one. If military personnel are rejoining another battalion under different command in another region, for example if someone is going to Rulindo military operations area from OPS PVK, he must have written authorization. This is how we monitor the situation. Once again I call upon the people of Butamwa, where there are few roadblocks, to follow these instructions.

## **Jean Marie Vianney Kabengeru:**

The *Inyenzi* have many tricks. One of them is to disguise themselves: they use military uniforms, as they already have some in their possession. They do not have military identification, so they pass themselves off as *Interahamwe* by showing a MRND card. I do not know from where they obtain them. I have noticed that people, especially those who man the roadblocks, complain of the situation because the *Inyenzi* can go through them undetected. Of course some young people own military uniforms, military jackets and even a full uniform. If they own any [military attire], they can wear it during this time of war but they should be advised to only wear it when manning an official roadblock where they are known. However, they should not wear it to travel from Kigali to Gitarama without any identification under the pretext they have a party card.

## **3.7 Min**

During this period, many people pass themselves off as members of the MRND party. Yet, I know quite well that the *Interahamwe*, the MRND 's youth wing, are not the only ones to lead this war, all of Rwanda's youth are in it. Indeed all Rwanda's youth are currently united to fight the common enemy, i.e. the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*. After the victory, no one will prevent them from rejoining their respective parties. But I do not think it is a good idea to blame the *Interahamwe* for everything that is happening. Indeed, the *Inyenzi* could take advantage of the situation to do as they please or to infiltrate people under cover of military uniform or the card of a party. What do you think?

**Préfet François Karera:**

We have discussed this. MRND party leaders and other parties have held meetings and issued enough *communiqués* stating it wasn't good to carry party documents. We told them these documents are not proper identification. When we ask for identification, we only mean the identity card.

**4.9 Min**

With respect to identity cards, I reminded them that those identity cards that are currently being issued are not recognized. They should watch out for identity cards issued after the Head of State was murdered on the 6th, regardless of whether a *préfecture* issued it to allow people to go through town, or whether it was issued here in the city of Kigali where fighting is taking place; identity cards are no longer being issued. However, we have discovered some whose bearers have imitated the signatures of imaginary *Bourgmestres*. I even saw one that was issued in Kicukiro. Once again I call on those manning the roadblocks to verify the date of issue. If the card was issued after the 6th, they should ask the bearer who issued it, as well as the name of the *bourgmestre*, the *conseiller*, and the *cellule* in which he or she resides. If the person can answer all those questions, he or she should be allowed through. I have also asked them not to be too strict with refugees. During this period, many people have fled and when people flee they do not flee with their identity cards. When people see an attack, they flee without preparing themselves. Generally speaking, they don't have identity cards. I have explained how to question those travelling without documents. They must mainly ask young people why they are fleeing.

**6.3 Min.**

You must ask them the names of their *bourgmestres*, and their *conseillers*, where they are coming from and where they are going. We have started to proceed in this manner. However, some were able to find their *bourgmestres*. The latter issued attestations in their place of refuge, but you must be careful with these attestations. An attestation should bear the signature of the *bourgmestre* and the communal stamp. A *bourgmestre* who does not have the stamp of his *commune* uses that of Kigali *préfecture* and I am the one who stamps it on the attestation. However, the said attestations should bear the signatures of the *bourgmestre* because they are the ones who know the people they

administer. I will say this one more time: only the attestations issued by the administration are valid. I suggest to young people they should not carry those issued by political parties. If an *Inyenzi* finds you with an attestation showing you are an *Interahamwe*, he will kill you. If he finds out you are an *Impuzamugambi* you will suffer the same fate. If he finds out you are a member of the MDR, he is going to accuse you of being a *Parmehutu* and will kill you. Therefore, this is not allowed. As to the military uniform, this is an issue still under review. We have told you that if someone owns a weapon or a rifle, without necessarily being a soldier, he should only carry it in his region. If he goes through a roadblock with the rifle and he isn't a soldier and the others confiscate it, the rifle should remain in the region because rifles are not distributed to individuals. If you received it as a private citizen you must have a license to carry a weapon issued by the Ministry of Defence. If that is the case then you can carry it anywhere. The rifles were distributed to protect localities. So if someone leaves with a rifle, this causes prejudice to his fellow-citizens he is abandoning when in fact he should have protected them. This was our conclusion and we have spread it. I ask those who own rifles, especially those who leave town, because they all come through Kigali *préfecture*, to leave those rifles at the roadblocks because those rifles are meant to defend the regions as the *Préfet* of the city keeps repeating.

#### **8.8 Min.**

If the roadblock is attacked and you have gone to Butare or Gitarama with the rifle, how can you justify yourself when you had a weapon to defend the people at the roadblock? If we sometimes seize these rifles, we are going to keep them to protect the capital as we are in the surrounding areas. As to those who wear uniforms, for now we cannot take them away from them. We have asked the General Staff to study the matter and to introduce different insignia in order to distinguish them from military personnel. Therefore, I call upon military personnel to spontaneously present their military cards wherever they go. Because all young people know those cards and can read the inscriptions that appear therein.

If someone is a civilian, he should spontaneously state he wears military uniform as a disguise and present his identity card. This is what I mean by the politeness that should

characterize those manning the roadblocks. As to the military uniform, a decision was taken on the national level and made public over the radio airwaves. We have a rapid communication system. We will communicate with those who wear military uniforms the insignia they should wear to distinguish them from the *Inkotanyi*! People say the *Inyenzi* are disguising themselves, our *préfecture* must play an important role especially at the roadblocks. We must control those wearing *Interahamwe* uniform, as well as military personnel because they enter the city from our *préfecture*. If in our *préfecture*, we prevent people from continuing on their way, the city of Kigali will be well protected.  
**10 Min.**

**Jean Marie Vianney Kabengeru:**

It is true that most people entering the city of Kigali are coming from Kigali-rural *préfecture*. However, the *Inyenzi* claim to control the whole *préfecture*. You will understand that they are the ones who enter Kigali-ville. What exactly is happening?

**Préfet François Karera:**

On this point, I would like to reassure all radio listeners about *Inyenzi* control of all of Kigali *préfecture*. As I said earlier, there has been no fighting in the whole Rushashi region, but people are ready to counter their skirmishes. When we speak of Buriza region in Murambi *sous-préfecture*, people mention the fighting taking place here in Rutongo, but in Mbogo *commune* and everywhere else people are ready to counter the attacks from Byumba.

The *Inyenzi* did go through Buganza region, through Bicumbi and elsewhere. Think about it, if the *Inyenzi* occupy a *commune* like Bicumbi for example, which has over 80,000 inhabitants, how can they monitor each household and claim to control the whole *commune*?

**11.1 Min.**

You have heard of fighting in the Bugesera region, but the Rwandan Armed Forces are there. Young people are at their sides to reinforce them. The *Inyenzi* do not occupy the whole region. Take the example of the *communes* surrounding the capital: you have

heard of Gahanga, that's in Kanombe, of the people who live in the vicinity of the military camp, that's in Kanombe; you hear people sending communiqués here in Butamwa, in Giticyinyoni, that is Butamwa in our *préfecture*; you also hear people talking about the people in Kimisagara. We are collaborating with everyone everywhere. The *Inyenzi* are basically trying to frighten everyone. For this reason, I ask all those who hear the sound of bullets, mortars or other explosive weapons, not to flee immediately. Because when they flee the *Inkotanyi* take advantage of the situation to occupy their property. As the Prime Minister constantly says, when the *Inkotanyi* occupy abandoned property, one of them shoots into the air and everyone runs away. But I trust you. Those who live in the areas surrounding the city are used to this and as you will have noticed they don't run away from just anything.

#### 12.4 Min.

A mortar kills someone; others continue to fight. People have understood that they cannot flee and abandon their property. Children, women, and elderly men and women without any strength can flee, but if everyone fled who would we distribute those weapons to? We have machetes, spears and you have often heard that the *Inyenzi* were killed in several places in our *Préfecture*. I would therefore like to inform mainly the people of Kigali that when they hear shells exploding in the periphery of the capital, i.e. in Kigali *préfecture*, it's the Rwandan Armed Forces in collaboration with the people who are fighting the *Inyenzi*.

#### Jean Marie Vianney Kabengera:

I would like to go back to the issuing of identity cards. Fighting is taking place in certain regions or in certain *communes*, but as you have said, fighting is not taking place in all the *communes* of Kigali rural *préfecture*. People manning the roadblocks, especially those listening to our interview, might believe that anyone carrying a new identity card is a criminal. For example, you often issue attestations to people who have lost their identity cards so that they can go home and obtain another one. So if someone obtains one and returns to his or her activities, when the people see it they might think that what the *préfet* said is happening and think the person is an *Inyenzi* and decide his or her fate.

We must clearly explain to the people that not all those who have new identity cards are enemies.

**13.7 Min.**

**Préfet François Karera:**

Indeed you need enough equipment for the areas in Kigali *préfecture* I mentioned. The *Inyenzi* have reached the offices of the *communes* running. I should even mention the names of the *communes* so that everyone will know which ones I am referring to: Gikomero, Gikoro, Bicumbi, Rubungo, and Rutongo. In other *communes* identity cards are issued without any problem.

**15.1 Min.**

**Vénuste Nshimiyimana:**

I believe this is not the first time you live through a situation like this. Maybe it is harsher than the previous ones, but you have, in the past, lived through *Inyenzi* attacks. You know they are liars, destroyers and criminals. Before closing this program, what advice can you give our listeners on the behaviour they should adopt during these times when we have to face the *Inyenzi*, who this time around are calling themselves the *Inkotanyi*.

**Préfet François Karera:**

Some of our listeners are young and have never had to bear the spitefulness of the *Inyenzi*. Those who went to school have heard about it in their history classes it but have not had to experience it. In fact, in Rwanda, the attacks originated in the thirst for power of a group of Tutsis. Take the example of the events of Rucunshu, they killed each other, their servants, and their close collaborators perished; they wanted to make Musinga, an undeserving child, king. Thus, those who launched the attacks did it under the influence of others.

In Byimana in 59, they provoked and struck Mbonyumutwa, because he was *sous-chef*. He then understood that they wanted to remain in power. This was in 1959, which is when they started killing people.

**16.8 Min.**

You learn in history class about the victims of these events. Here in town, there are streets bearing the names of members of parliament, victims of these events. They would thus kill anyone who was important. You know their tricks: how they would gain the friendship of any intellectual who might have had a happy future, and give him their daughter in marriage so she could exterminate her in-laws. We have spoken of this at length but people do not want to understand that even now conspiracies are being planned in a similar manner. You know how they have misled the people during the first attacks. They have a honeyed tongue. They pretend to be the smartest, but all of us who have studied, we know they weren't at the head of the class. Their honeyed tongue is only full of flattery and lies. They behave gently like lambs when actually they are wolves. Remember in 1990 when they attacked, they misled the people when they said they were bringing democracy; those who spoke to them were killed. Remember, during the attack of the 8th in 93, I knew some people very well who stated they were collaborators of the *Inyenzi*; but as soon as they arrived, these *Inyenzi* asked them which political party they belonged to. Once they answered the MDR, and wished them welcome, they were killed. The *Inyenzi* blamed them [saying] the MDR PARMEHUTU had also killed their [families]. It is thus obvious they are against all the Hutu.

**18.6 Min.**

As you have heard, currently the *Inkotanyi* claim to occupy the whole country. You have noticed that they have accomplices in the capital, in all the *communes*. In fact most of their accomplices were Hutu and Tutsi. We were warned but we didn't take it seriously, while in certain places we saw small groups gathering. When they met you at a drinking place, they would make fun of you saying Hutus never understand. That's true, greedy Hutus never understood.

The situation, as it begun, resembles what I have described earlier. I have told you about the chiefs and the little Hutu kings they killed. Didn't they attack our leaders at the



beginning? Gatabazi, Gapyisi, Bucyana are they not dead? Wasn't the message the killers were giving us clear? Hutus have a good hearts but make enormous mistakes. A collaborating Hutu who believes that the *Inyenzi* would be grateful once they reach power is mistaken. Anyone who reasons in this manner must remember what they did to the Byumba authorities and the *Préfet* of Ruhengeri whom they killed with his family when they found them in Remera. Any authority that is here and is their accomplice, do they really believe they will be grateful once they reach power?

**20.5 Min.**

You must know that wherever they go if they see the photograph of an intellectual or a soldier they will eliminate the whole family. I also know that within the army there are accomplices. However, you should know that when they do seize power they will kill all soldiers without any exception. For this reason, I advise you, and ask you, to fight the enemy all together, following the good example set by the government. In the *communes*, we must work together and avoid anything that might divide us. Secondly, I advise soldiers to go the front and we will support them. They should avoid going here and there without permission. If a soldier can no longer use his rifle, then he should give it to someone else so that they can defend the Republic. Indeed the word *Interahamwe* now applies to everyone. In my opinion, now it does not just apply to members of the MRND, but rather to those who defend the Republic. That soldier should give his rifle to someone else so that he can defend himself instead of allowing us to be denigrated! I will ask looters to loot no more because they have no place to put the looted goods. It's a problem. Some have looted refrigerators, objects they cannot carry by themselves, beds and mattresses. Where are you going to use them?

**22.5 Min**

We thought the looting would only last a few days, thus they must cease. People must ask themselves where they will put the looted goods. They must know that their fellow countrymen are dying, that a dead soldier may have been killed because of another who abandoned his post, that an *Inyenzi* may have been able to go through a region because they did not control the roadblock properly, because they were in a drinking place. Thus, they should follow my advice, if everyone works together and if we follow government directives, no one will be able to defeat us. No one has ever been able to govern people

who do not want to be governed by that person. How can you claim to have any authority when you need a ten or fifty soldier-escort to visit the people? I would step down if I felt I needed a military escort to visit people in a *commune*. The *Inkotanyi* should use this as a lesson. They should remember the first attacks in which they killed each other and they should remember that a long time ago they had sought refuge in Ndorwa (incomprehensible) they need to understand that they didn't gain anything from it even though most of the time they were collaborating with the people.

**24.1 Min.**

Government stability depends on the support of the people. The people are docile. If they lay down their weapons, we shall immediately receive them amongst us, as was the case on several occasions. Some refugees who returned were reintegrated in the central administration, they were involved in trade, and they owned many companies. No one disturbed them

Even today, if they were to stop fighting and were to ask you to live with them, the people would welcome them with open arms - they are Rwandan just like us - but if they continue to fight, the people will do the same. They must know that even the Americans were defeated in countries they attacked without having the support of the people. They must remember the proverb they mentioned themselves: "Rwanda attacks but is never attacked."

**Jean Marie Vianney Kabengeru:**

Before we end our program, I would like to reiterate we are living through difficult times. We must show prudence and far-sightedness. Many people spend the day at the roadblocks trying to catch *Inyenzi*. However, they forget the enemy has many tricks,

**26.0 Min.**

and these *Inyenzi* have many accomplices in all categories of the population. I call upon honest people to condemn and treat like *Inyenzi* those who work openly for the latter. As an example, anyone at a roadblock who starts attacking passers-by, looting their property, instead of checking their identity papers should be treated as an enemy because this person is helping the enemy.

What are the intentions of those who attack the families of those at the front? Are they not seeking to assist the enemy? There are many people on the battlefield but the most important, those whose families must be protected are for example: a serious soldier, a journalist participating in a media war, a physician sacrificing himself for those injured at war, an Electrogaz employee who leaves his house to ensure our water and electricity supply are not interrupted, a zealous person who spends the day at roadblocks, as well as all the others in charge of fighting the enemy. The families of all these persons must be protected.

Anyone unjustly attacking a journalist thus stopping radio broadcasts, knowing the current role of the radio is no different from an *Inyenzi* who wants to shell the radio. Anyone looting a vehicle loaded with supplies for the city of Kigali, knowing perfectly well its inhabitants are at the front, is no different from an *Inyenzi* who wants to destroy the town.

**27.6 Min.**

Dear brave patriots, you know these criminals, they have infiltrated you[r ranks], follow them closely so that they can be punished accordingly. Dear listeners, our program is coming to an end. Good night. My name is Jean Marie Vianney Kabengeru.

**Journalist:**

... *préfecture* to also designate someone who will take care of them. For example, I left one of the surviving *conseillers* there, i.e. Joseph Ngaboyamahina, *conseiller* of Mununu *secteur*. He will identify their problems and inform me of them upon my return and thus we will be able to plead their case. There is also a small number, approximately 100 persons, who are at Gitarama stadium. We plan to visit them once again, tomorrow or day after tomorrow to discuss (incomprehensible)... I believe they will be willing to go and rejoin the others (incomprehensible)...

**29.1 Min**

**Journalist:**

I am also going to put this question to the *bourgmestre* of Bicumbi because those refugees have the same problems. But we can return to the issue of safeguarding the integrity of the Republic and the safety of each and every person: the people have done their best to counter the *Inyenzi* infiltration: now the Prime Minister is saying that there should be a civilian defence, that people should have weapons to defend themselves and even to undertake guerrilla war-fare and return home to try and liberate their property and protect their loved ones who might have survived, you must include all this in your program.

**Journalist:**

I don't think these ideas are new because we have discussed them in meetings before the war. In fact, we could see the preparations of the *Inkotanyi*. I can say something about this. Our *commune* was highly envied by the *Inkotanyi*.

**31.7 Min.**

As to civilian defence, the government has attached a great deal of importance to it over these last few days, and the people are clamouring for answers, I was saying we had suggested this during the meetings. Someone had suggested arming at least 500 able-bodied persons per *commune*. Each *commune* would have thus had 500-armed persons that had received military training. This was not possible, not because of the incompetence of the authorities, but rather because of a lack of means. Otherwise leaders had this project in mind. Without dwelling on the matter, these authorities that had thought on it targeted current authorities and a small number of those who were part of the fallen government of Agathe Uwilingiyimana (incomprehensible)... But generally speaking the whole government has resumed its activities. You know quite well our former leaders were the ones who sought to impede our progress.

**Journalist:**

Maybe we can reason differently by saying that at that point, people were hoping that peace would return.

**33.1 Min.**

After the Arusha accords, everyone neglected the situation and was only waiting for peace.

**Journalist:**

Perhaps there was negligence, but you cannot say everyone was negligent. As we were saying, the government did not resolve the problems many high-ranked Hutu were raising - ministers and political party representatives amongst others. In this regard, we Rwandans stated on several occasions that the government at the time, led by Agathe Uwilingiyimana, was made up of accomplices. Be it her, be it the person who was meant to be the Prime Minister or a small number of Ministers who helped them, they would go and discuss this with the governing *Inkotanyi*. The *Inkotanyi* would reject them they would do the same, thus putting the others in the impossibility of doing anything. Personally, I do not believe the Hutu were neglectful, perhaps they were not sufficiently prepared, even though they saw everything the *Inkotanyi* were doing, but they were counting on our bravery and our numeric superiority to counter those *Inkotanyi*. But currently, I believe it isn't too late because they were saying they would seize the city of Kigali in the next few hours, and the rest of the country in the days that followed, and yet they haven't even seized a fourth.

## SIDE B

**0.0 Min.**

**1.0 Min.**

***Bourgmestre of Gikoro:***

... everyone has fled Byumba and it is understandable. In Kigali, our *communes* of Gikoro and Bicumbi have been taken; the *Inkotanyi* are already there. Fighting is raging now in Bugesera. I don't know of any other places they have taken in Kigali. They have failed in their attempts to take the capital. It is now clear it is not too late. In my opinion, the *Inkotanyi* should be careful and stop fighting, otherwise, as the RTLM journalist says so well, they are going to pay for it dearly. I think the *Bourgmestre* of Bicumbi is waiting for me to ask him about we have agreed to discuss. But I cannot move on (inaudible) without mentioning the behaviour people should adopt following the events that have taken place. You know quite well when the government concluded the agreements to share power with the RPF, the latter subsequently prepared for war (incomprehensible)...

**2.3 min-2.7 min: (inaudible)...**

We thought when UNAMIR arrived it would be a neutral interposition force. However, I am not afraid to say it because it was obvious (incomprehensible)...

I am speaking of the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*, but you know what they did when the Belgians joined UNAMIR. I do not want to list their acts because the radio has already mentioned them and the people were listening. And yet we had refused the Belgians be a part of that UN mission. All Rwandans had protested. After they arrived, UNAMIR brought in surreptitiously the *Inkotanyi* who were not mentioned in the agreements. This is a personal opinion and one shared by many other persons I contacted. You know they had announced only 600 men were going to come and protect the *Inkotanyi* leaders but this was not the case. We believed there were only 600 in the parliament building, but lately, when the war broke out, all Rwandans noticed there were over 2,000 men. You know they went and rented a house in Rebero to use as an office. In reality, they wanted to slip in *Inkotanyi* so they could set themselves up there on what I would call the highest summit in Kigali.

**3.7 Min.**

You know Rebero is very high, in order for them to take the city of Kigali. In other neighbourhoods of Kigali, UNAMIR and its leader General Dallaire would bring them in. Thus I believe we have drawn a lesson from the recently elapsed period. We must be careful especially as foreign radios even currently Radio Rwanda, do not cease informing Rwandans, everywhere talks are taking place between our representatives and foreigners. According to certain sources, the United Nations has just accepted to send approximately 5,500 additional soldiers to our country. People then started to express their opinion about these soldiers, which is why I was saying we need to be careful. If ever these soldiers come and behave in the same manner as the first group, wouldn't our situation worsen? People say UNAMIR Force Commander, General Dallaire, is carefully placing his men here and there and positioning *Inyenzi* in places where they are normally denied access. He is acting in this manner to help them seize power so he can remain UNAMIR commander. So if he continues to lead the mission, won't the situation be chaotic with the arrival of these additional soldiers? In my opinion, we Rwandans should be very careful. The *Inkotanyi* attacked us believing they were stronger than us they have now realised the opposite is true. Indeed, the deadline they had set themselves has already expired. As we monitor the situation on a daily basis, I believe we must accept to negotiate with them. As we can see, it's the only way to put an end to the war. We must also accept the assistance of the international community so that we can find a solution, but our government must give its opinion. We are fortunate the current government gets along, as the situation was different with the previous government I was speaking of earlier. The government must state its position because if someone comes to help you, he or she must do it in a manner that is to your advantage. If their assistance might compromise you, you must refuse. In my opinion, we should adopt such a position.

**Hyacinthe Bicomumpka:**

I would now like to return to the question I had put earlier to *Bourgmestre* Rugambarara.

**5.5 Min.**

How are the people of Bicumbi who were able to flee? Is there a way to get reorganised and release some of the development projects of the people of Bicumbi, especially as this

*commune* was the *Inkotanyi*'s main target who insulted its *Bourgmestre* and its inhabitants?

**Bourgmestre Rugambarara:**

That's a very good question because it reflects our intentions. It is not right that the *Inkotanyi* who do not even represent 20% of the population should evince the remaining 80 %. We are thus planning on doing it because our people in the camps are against fleeing massively while they have a cause to defend. These people must renounce this enterprise. They must know they will be kicked out of the property they are illegally occupying very soon. Our people have worked hard to earn this property. They had cultivated [their fields] and the harvest was upon us. Thus it isn't right for them to be starving of hunger because the *Inkotanyi* believe they should receive favourable treatment. We know their tricks and their spitefulness as already mentioned. We are ready and I take advantage of this opportunity to announce to the people of Bicumbi, wherever they may be, they must prepare themselves so they can soon return home very soon. We will do this at any cost.

Thus we are going to force the *Inkotanyi* to renounce their enterprise because they cannot continue frightening people as they please. We are now used to their spitefulness. Thus, I believe they must renounce their enterprise. If they really love peace, they must be reasonable and get along with the people, otherwise we will show them we can solve the problem ourselves.

**Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka:**

Mr. *Bourgmestre*, people are asking the following question: the Rwandan problem has now been identified as an ethnic problem. There was ethnic violence following the murder of the Head of State and triggered by the RPF war. People say there must be two factions even within the RPF: the Tutsi and minority Hutu. However, there is another faction composed of Tutsi who fled recently and oppose the RPF. As we said on the radio they are blaming the RPF for having stirred the people up against them. Thus we



can ask ourselves when will there be as they say in French the "*rapprochement*" of these factions.

**8.1 Min.**

Can we say the future of Rwanda will be better, in view of the current problems and lessons we have drawn from them?

***Bourgmestre Rugambarara:***

Yes, this problem exists but if we are careful we can solve it. Indeed, when you defend the same interests – especially those of the majority people – it shouldn't be a problem. Even if there was betrayal, you can always talk to reach reconciliation. As to what happened, it is obvious one of the ethnic groups played an important role with excessive spitefulness. We can say this without any risk of being mistaken. If these people are realists, they should join the majority people so peace can return. We cannot hope ethnic division will persist because it would not bring us anything.

***Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka:***

Thank you. In the little time remaining we are going to discuss the killings that have taken place in Rwanda, and how Rwanda can have a better future thanks to the talks taking place between the RPF and Rwanda. But at the present time the RPF has not yet recognised that the Rwandan government is the only one habilitated to negotiate with it. Thus we can wonder what will happen if they continue to refuse. How can an interposition force be deployed if there can be no negotiations between the two belligerents? What is the reaction of the people? When leaders speak to the people they administer what do they think their reaction will be? Is this not total confusion? When you discuss matters amongst Bourgmestres what do you say about this?

***Bourgmestre Rugambarara:***

The matter is clear to me because no one can accomplish the impossible. You cannot succeed by forcing the majority people to do what they do not want to do. Thus I hope the people who will come to plead our case, and help us maintain the security of our people, will be reasonable enough and will understand that in any case they must defend

the interests of the majority people, otherwise problems will worsen and there will be many casualties. I think there would be no point in those people adopting such a program. Thus we would like them to gather information and take into consideration the reality of the country the reality of Rwandans.

**J.M.V. Kabengeru:**

On this note, I invite the *Bourgmestres* of Gikoro and Bicumbi to address a message to the people of their respective *communes*, to the *Inkotanyi*, and to Rwandans in general. I will begin with the *Bourgmestre* of Gikoro.

***Bourgmestre* of Gikoro:**

Thank you Hyacinthe. I said at the beginning of my intervention that the *Inkotanyi* have already killed most of the people. However, all those who remain - very few of them are present here - are people and I am confident they will keep the courage that has always characterized them. Thus I would like to tell the people of Gikoro *commune* to remain courageous wherever they are. I also wish to invite them to be patient. They must know that our government will soon come to our assistance with the civil defence weapons we have been speaking of.

**12.1 Min.**

Thus each healthy person will receive a weapon allowing him to help the armed forces. They are going to mobilise themselves at the same time as the others and we will go and fight the enemy because those who saw them noticed it is very tricky. But we, we have also noticed its tricks and we are looking into how we can counter it and we shall. Once we will have the means, the rest of the people, regardless of their numbers, because indeed they are very few, can testify to this, all who go through our region or at least who used to go through; but they are going to join the survivors of Bicumbi or at least Muhazi *communes* and also to reinforce the armed forces. Our goal is to fight and defeat these persons.

**Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka:**

I also invite the *Bourgmestre* of Bicumbi *commune* to send a message to his people and to all Rwandans.

***Bourgmestre Rugambarara:***

First of all, I would like to ask the people of Bicumbi *commune* and all Rwandans to be patient in these times of concern, famine and sadness. However, while remaining patient we must not forget we must do everything we can to return home.

For this reason, I would like once again to ask the people of Bicumbi, despite their patience, not to remain with their arms crossed thinking they will continue to flee. This would be pointless. I invite them to consult one another wherever they are, because for example a modern weapons handling program will soon begin. Yet we must not forget traditional weapons. We must continue to train with them once again. Therefore, it is quite obvious that even if we can manage to obtain rifles there will not be enough for all the people of Bicumbi or for all Rwandans. But we have spent a lot of time doing nothing, forgetting we used to fight with bows; there were tactics to protect yourself with your shield. We absolutely need this. I am asking them wherever they are, despite their sadness to try and use traditional weapons. I believe amongst them there are those who can train people to use traditional weapons to help our armed forces and those who carry modern weapons. Thus we shall be able to return to our properties in a few days. We will not tolerate being run out of our property and remaining without shelter while those who did not toil to earn them enjoy them.

Moreover, I can assure Rwandans our government is working. And as it is determined to work for Rwandans, it will not abandon them, be it in situations that sadden them or in their usual problems they generally know. I will therefore ask you to be patient, to unite and renew your efforts. Indeed, we have confidence that very soon we shall return to our *commune*. Thus the *Inkotanyi* who occupy it will have to renounce their spitefulness. They should not be mistaken but rather should understand that nothing can be done if it does not receive the support of the majority people, who cannot accept that people occupy property they did not work for, does not support it. That is impossible.

**Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:**

Friends, Listeners of Radio Rwanda, seize the objectives *communes* of Gikoro and Bicumbi but also all of Rwanda. You have recently heard the message of Prime Minister Jean Kambanda who was speaking to Rwandans asking them until when and in what direction will they continue to flee.

**16.9 Min.**

Will they go into Kivu? And then you have heard the *Inkotanyi* are everywhere. Therefore, you are asked to arm yourself and to conduct guerrilla warfare like those people who, as you know, have sought refuge in few numbers. And you the seven million, I exhort you to react.

Thank you for your attention. You were in the company of Eustache Nkundimama on the technical board and Hyacinthe on the mike.

**Journalist: (Jingle for the Kinyarwanda news)**

The Council of Ministers met yesterday on the evening of Friday 20 May under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. On the agenda were the appointment of *bourgmestres* to those *communes* that did not have one and the appointment of the director of airport receipts, the management of State vehicles, the functioning of judicial organs and civil defence. Rwandan Armed Forces are showing great courage, in collaboration with the people to push the *Inyenzi* far away. Those *Inkotanyi* who claim to institute democracy continue to shell innocent people. At the Rwandan Embassy in Zaire, Etienne Sengegera denounces international newspapers based in Zaire collaborating with the *Inyenzi* by publishing false news and rumours in the sole hope of tarnishing the image of Rwanda.

South Yemen, under the direction of its Vice President Ali Salem Al Bayid, proclaimed its independence last night... after the Minister of Defence of our country... (?) The *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* continue their acts of cruelty shelling innocent people. This news tells us the fighting continues in Ruhengeri, Rulindo, Byumba and in Bugesera. The *Inyenzi*-

*Inkotanyi* continue to shell the regions of Rulindo and Tumba, and the hills of Kabuye. In God's words he who kills by the sword shall die by the sword.

The CEDACR church strongly condemns Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who caused the war in Rwanda, a peaceful country, spilling blood and causing tremendous pain.

We ask President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni to cease his criminal activities, to cease his attacks against Rwanda under cover of the RPF *Inkotanyi* and this in the hope of conquering it. If he doesn't renounce this and repents, God will punish him with the blood of innocent he spilled in Rwanda.

We ask international organisations, i.e. the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, and others to take sanctions against Uganda and its President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

#### **19.8 Min.**

The CEDACR church asks the Rwandan government to urgently take the Ugandan State, and its President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who pushed our country into war, before the International Court. The latter was the one who caused the death of all these persons and all the damages to Rwanda. He and his government must be held responsible just as those who call themselves the RPF- *Inkotanyi*. The CEDACR Church strongly condemns the Belgians who support the RPF-*Inkotanyi*. It openly supports the complaint the Rwandan Government filed against Belgium with the international community. It is asking the proceedings brought by Rwanda be continued so Belgians will be sentenced to pay compensation for what they have damaged and this will put an end to their arrogance. It is not fair to tempt us with dirty money; they should keep it but allow us to have peace.

The CEDACR Church firmly supports the Rwandan Armed Forces for their heavy burden in defending the borders and integrity of Rwanda. The Church believes talks are the only way to restore peace to Rwanda. That is why the RPF and the Rwandan Government should lay down their weapons and begin negotiations. However, the

Church does not accept talks that might lead Rwanda and Rwandans into danger. This is why it considers the Arusha talks to be worthless, as they have only served to plunge Rwanda into an abyss.

Thus the decisions taken during those talks are worthless. Moreover, the RPF did not respect them and resumed the war. The CEDACR church asks all Christians, as well as all those who honour God to pray for Rwanda. Reverend Esron Twagiramungu, national representative of the Church, signed this communiqué. Another news item on the front page abroad is the proclamation by South Yemen, in the night of...

**Journalist: (Jingle of the French news)**

We shall return to the fighting on the ground, we shall go to Malawi for the swearing in ceremony of the new President...

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Wherever you are, at your roadblocks, you are working for public good. You are working for public good to the extent you are with the Abatabazi government.

In the framework of explanations about the difficult period our country is going through, we are always on the lookout for ways and means for our programs about the war the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* have dragged us into to reach you. We are in our studio with a guest we shall speak with, but before we begin, I will ask him to introduce himself to our listeners.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

I am MP Pierre Mugabo. I am the only ethnic Twa MP in the country. Our mandate at the CND has not yet expired to give up our seats to the others. Therefore, I have come to speak with you Bamwanga, journalist.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

You will understand dear listeners we have a guest in our studio - I shall not say he is special because MP Mugabo has spoken on several occasions on radio and television about the events in our country before the resumption of war by the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* - but in truth he is a special guest because the Hutu have expressed their opinions in these difficult times. The Tutsi have done the same by showing their anger. So we have found an expert of the third ethnic component of Rwanda, which we constantly praise. As he has already stated, MP Pierre Mugabo is a member of the Twa ethnic group.

**24.8 Min.**

MP Mugabo, our first question deals with your impressions about the difficult period our country is going through.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Yes it's true we are living in difficult times because as you know we are at war, which has been resumed by the RPF- *Inkotanyi*. When they attacked, they claimed they wanted to institute democracy in the countries; now you understand this was not the case. They only hunger for power. If I say we are living through difficult times it is because for example because the RPF-*Inkotanyi* murdered President Juvenal Habyarimana, whom many Rwandans loved. You know how we the Twa loved him. On one occasion he stated the Twa should also become developed and he provided them with instruction. He brought development to many Twa by giving them corrugated iron sheets to cover their roofs and they are still grateful.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

They are still grateful. Thus, you will understand when the RPF attacked Rwandans and recently resumed the fighting, not only did they attack the Hutu and the Tutsi but also the Twa.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

This is understandable.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Yes, as the RPF has attacked us we must fight them with the other Rwandans.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes you are dealing with a question I was planning on asking. Immediately after the Abatabazi government was formed, many people said the RPF wanted the country to be in distress especially as they had just killed the President of the Republic, thus decapitating the country, and subsequently troubles followed. How can you explain these troubles?

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

An explanation to all these troubles can easily be found. Basically the people were angry and were suffering. How would you react Bamwanga, if yesterday the people had killed your father? The President of the Republic, Habyarimana, was the father of the nation. He was the head of the nation, he was the Chief of General Staff, he was the president of... everything, and they killed him.

Thus you will understand the people's anger was inevitable following the death of a Head of State the people, the soldiers, the policemen, women, men, young people, and even the different ethnic groups in the country loved so much. The people were obviously angry. All these troubles throughout the country or in the city of Kigali were caused by the RPF who had just killed the President.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes. And on top of the death of the President, documents have been discovered here and there, and through books it transpired the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* had infiltrated all the sectors and all the *cellules* in the country to the point they had rifles, cartridges and grenades in several places. How do you feel about the confusion the RPF is sowing? I mean while we were speaking of peace and looking for ways for the Arusha Accords to be



implemented, the RPF-*Inkotanyi* were preparing straightforwardly for the war that has been qualified as being decisive. We shall come back to this point. But how do you view the RPF's preparations during the peace talks?

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

You have just mentioned the weapons uncovered here and there at the houses of accomplices. Actually the RPF has come preaching for the instauration of democracy. You know they started to make difficulties demanding this post or that post. They are hanging on to a party (incomprehensible)...

Thus, it was an intransigent strategy favouring a resumption of hostilities. They resumed the fighting because they were counting on their accomplices scattered here and there and who had weapons they had distributed to them. You will understand these weapons were meant to be used here and there, as soon as the first strike had been launched as agreed. They were counting on disorder reigning everywhere to seize power. Basically, you understand they wanted to use those weapons to seize power; that was their goal. Discovering these armed persons was an exceptional opportunity. Isn't there a Rwandan proverb that says Imana (God) spends his days elsewhere and returns to Rwanda in the evening. God did things well so these persons would be discovered. I wanted to tell the Twa if one of us has gone over to the cause of the *Inkotanyi* then his fellow- men must denounce him and force him to join the *Inkotanyi*. Thus he will no longer be considered an ethnic Twa. Even though it has been said the war opposes two ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi, who in fact are fighting for power; however we also want power even though we do not have any intellectuals.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

We want power. The RPF should not claim to come and monopolise it. We must agree on one thing: when the majority wins the elections, we must accept the results of the ballot box.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

You must accept it.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Yes, I do not understand how the RPF can claim to want to come and hoard all the posts like for example the Ministries of Justice, Interior and Health, even the *gendarmerie*, and I am not mentioning them all. Let us agree, in this country the Hutu are in the majority.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Yes they are in the majority. I have already stated on television that power sharing should be based on balance.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Well, I have given the example that in view of their numbers, the Tutsi and the Twa should respectively receive two and one ministerial portfolio.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

As long as they accept those posts. It is not fair that one child should eat the food of five children when the latter are more numerous.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

That would be cheating.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

You will thus understand they cannot accept this. This why I am asking the Twa to collaborate with the Hutu. After all we suffered together in times past at the royal court.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

While the Hutu were being whipped, the Twa were considered idiots and danced at the King's court in order to survive.

**36.9 Min.**

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

You must understand they were all victims of slavery. Therefore we must now collaborate. I am telling the truth, Munyankuge founded a party to free the Twa from slavery, disdain and exclusion by the Tutsi. Basically they were treated as pariahs.

**J. Baptiste Bamwanga:**

Yes.

**MP Pierre Mugabo:**

Yes, Munyankuge thus created a party to fight against this state of affairs just like the Hutu. The latter were also fighting exclusion, disdain and...