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SIDE A

Unidentified Journalist:

... SCHIDAST BRAZY DUMANT hurled, I quote: "I am not sensitive to the crocodile tears shed these past days when we see the weakness with which this problem is treated". (In French in the text)

(Signature tune for Kinyarwanda news) [In French in the text]

Unidentified Journalist:

In our country, fighting is continuing on all fronts. In Kigali, the Inkotanyi continue to pound the town, victimizing the innocent civilians. The same situation is the same in Ruhengeri, particularly in the Nkumba Commune.

Furthermore, the Pakistani, Ikbal Rizza, United Nations envoy, began discussions with the authorities of our country and the RPF-Inkotanyi within the context of preparations for the arrival of the 5,500 peacekeepers that the UN intends to deploy in Rwanda. Yesterday, Monday, Ikbar Rizza met in Mulindi (Byumba), with a military delegation from the RPF-Inkotanyi including the Front President, Alexis Kanyarengwe.

Today, the UN envoy arrived in Kigali where he held discussions with the high command of the Rwandan Armed Forces. Later, he held discussions with the Rwandan Government authorities.

According to *Agence France Presse*, during his discussions with the RPF delegation, they both could not agree on the number of peacekeepers to be sent to Rwanda. The RPF continues to oppose their arrival on grounds that the number is very high.

At the United Nations Headquarters in New York, negotiations are continuing to determine the member States required to contribute to the military forces that the UN is preparing to deploy in Rwanda.

Senegal states that it is ready to begin its quota with 600 soldiers. The Senegalese President, Abdou Diouf, currently visiting the United States of America, held discussions yesterday with the American President, Bill Clinton, on the Rwandan issue.

Abdou Diouf stated that Senegal was prepared to join other countries and international organisations to help Rwanda find solutions to problems caused by the war.

Still on the Rwandan issue, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is doing everything possible to set up new camps for Rwandan refugees in Tanzania. This will make it possible to decongest the Benaco refugee camp which shelters 272,000 refugees, more than its reception facilities. In a statement made in Geneva, the UNHCR spokesman, Silvana FOA, indicated that those other camps would be set up in Lumase and in Katose. In addition, she stated that the camps would be ready within a week. She further stated that the refugees were living in good conditions, that they were not threatened by diseases and that they were provided water and food.

The Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Dr. André Rwamakuba, stated that, human rights and, particularly, the rights of the child must be respected by all people in the world. He

made this statement in reaction to criticisms levelled by the international community at the Government of Rwanda. In fact, this government is accused of violating human rights whereas the same criticisms are not levelled at the RPF-Inyenzi-Inkotanyi who kill women and children in an atrocious manner and the shift the responsibility to the Government of Rwanda. At the end of this newscast, we are going to broadcast the entire interview accorded by Minister André Rwamakuba, in our studios, to our colleague of the English desk, Etienne Karekezi.

In world news, the former South African Army Chief of Staff, under President Frederik De Klerk... (Interruption)

Etienne Karekezi, Radio Rwanda journalist:

Eh! Mr. Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, the war, which has resumed on the initiative of the RPF-Inkotanyi, has just lasted for almost two months. We would like that you send a message to the people of Rwanda and all those listening to Radio Rwanda, taking into account the fact that school activities have resumed in certain regions of the country but have not in others, particularly, in those where there is fighting and those that are already occupied by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi who are killing members of the population. What message do you have for the people of Rwanda at this moment?

André Rwamakuba, Minister of Primary and Secondary Education:

In fact, we are currently experiencing hard times. Eh... the people of Rwanda are worried about the resumption of hostilities at a time when they were hoping to have peace. You know that

Rwandans are so used to living in peace. That is why the war has taken them completely unawares. We request them to put up with this situation and continue to defend their fatherland. However, I would like to address the consequences of this war on children. In fact, these children are disturbed by daily detonations or explosions. Our young people who, normally, should be in school have been deprived of their rights. Their rights should be respected as well as all the other human rights that we have continued to address.

I think that those who often write about human rights should be worried today about the situation of the rights of the child in Rwanda. The Rwandan child is experiencing an extremely disturbing situation in the midst of gunfire, shell explosions and other destabilizing factors. Yet, he also has the right to live in peace like children of other nations. Eh... this explains why the Government of Rwanda has opted for negotiations, even though our attackers are indifferent. Taking such indifference into account (*clears his throat*) {in French in the original text}, I wonder what they are doing about human rights and how we are going to find common ground. In my opinion the resumption of hostilities is in itself a violation of human rights. In other words, the war that they have imposed on us is in itself a violation of human rights. Therefore, they should stop hostilities and lay down their weapons so that we can agree before it is too late.

Killing children, old men and women and young people is not a prerequisite for us to agree. Rather, it would be better to stop these actions so that we can reach an agreement. If we have a conflict amongst us, we can negotiate and reach a peace accord. Regarding the use of force and duress, the people of Rwanda (are opposed to it, for they) only support democracy and the Republic. We support nothing other than democracy and the Republic. Since we support

democracy and the Republic, we should agree with those who went into exile and who are returning now. We must examine together how our country can be developed instead of destroying it. Thus, any person who undertakes a sort of punitive expedition by destroying property violates human rights.

- Well. As you are aware, many relations have been killed. Children have also been killed and those remaining are orphans. How do you envisage the re-opening of schools in future or, better still, in the near future, particularly when we know that the school year is drawing to a close? What is your ministry doing to organize the possible re-opening of schools and to guarantee the smooth functioning of schools, if necessary?
- Considering that human rights include respect for the rights of the child and parents, eh...I would like to tell you that respect for human rights, constitutes a major concern of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. Consequently, pupils outside the combat areas should not be denied their right to attend school and acquire sound education. They are fortunate to be far away from gunfire and I would request that they continue to go to school. I think that as I am talking to you, children in Gisenyi, Kibuye, Cyangugu, Gikongoro, Butare (one part), Gitarama (one part) and Ruhengeri (one part) have already returned to school.

The fact that schools have opened in these regions shows that our youth can withstand adversity and pursue education imparted by parents and teachers. Regarding the situation in the combat regions, the children are worried; they live in camps, on top of one another and are soaked by rain. Parents and their children live in makeshift shelters in such a way that when we look

closely, we wonder for whom the belligerents are fighting. We wonder whether they are fighting for the interests of the people or they are only seeking their egoistic interests. Therefore, we wonder (laughing) about the objective of their struggle. As for us in Government, we are defending the population. We are defending the population to such a point that we must ensure that members of the population find peace again. We must foster understanding amongst members of the population, be they from Nduga or Rukiga, Tutsi, Hutu or Twa, for Rwanda belongs to all of us. With regard to those who take up arms to return to the country, I believe that Rwanda does not deserve to be transformed into a battlefield. I think that it would be proper to pity the children. They should pity these children who are in distress, who have lost family members and are thus orphaned. This social group also has rights that must be respected. That is why I take this opportunity to appeal to organizations like UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNESCO which defend human rights. I don't know if their speeches are translated into action.

If their speeches are not translated into action, one may wonder about their justification for this state of affairs. For our part, we have always thought that their speeches are translated into action and that is why we are of the opinion that they should offer assistance to the children in distress. They should thus ask those firing to stop the fire, to stop firing on children, parents, and old men and women. They should stop (firing) to make it possible for children and parents to live in peace and for everybody to agree with everyone in order that Rwanda should again become the land of Kanyarwanda. Each and everyone should have his place in Rwanda, Hutus, Tutsis or Twas, instead of being subjugated by weapons. Nobody can accept to be subjugated by weapons.

- Have you taken measures to inform international organizations, particularly, UNICEF, UNESCO and, I believe, the International Committee of the Red Cross, about the nature of this problem? In fact, sometimes a problem is known only to those that it affects directly whereas those very ones who should help us find a concrete solution to it are, perhaps, unaware. What have you done in this respect?
- Eh...what we have done as the Government is to ask them to stay in the country but they have refused. Those who had the resources to help us overcome these difficulties would have been by our side in this war calamity. They would have helped us by remaining with us. As far as the International Committee of the Red Cross or other organizations are concerned, I have the feeling that they are only watching what is happening. Therefore, they are watching what is happening. However, some are helping us even though, apparently, others are only watching the situation develop without doing anything. In the final analysis, it is noted that the means they provide are not proportional to the magnitude of the problem. Our problem is complicated. Therefore, if we are to be helped, then we should be helped in concrete terms. There are numerous persons displaced by the war. Goma, Bujumbura and even Uganda are, among others, the places through which they can send supplies to us. We can even show them other channels through which they can send assistance to us. It is a pity that they are dragging their feet as if they were leaving us to our fate. The impression is that human rights are respected only by one side. I have a feeling that their position on this issue is rather lukewarm. I would have preferred that those helping us should try to understand our situation. They should understand that war is not our priority but that our children rather

need peace, that we in the Government want peace and that it is this peace that we have always sought in order to be able eh... to agree with our attackers.

As to insistence on the way things should be done ...we have tried, as much as possible, to stop the killings that were occurring in the area under Government control. We have *therefore tried* to protect members of the population. We have made a tour of all the Prefectures to encourage members of the population to be understanding and what have you. On the contrary, the killings are continuing in the area controlled by the Inkotanyi. The killings are continuing and this means that people are dying. That is why we are wondering why only one party to the conflict should respect human rights while the other is lukewarm? It would be better for everyone to feel concerned and act in a concerted manner to end all the warlike activities, irrespective of their origin. Whether it is in the area under RPF control or in the other area, we should act to end violence on the population.

- At this stage of the war, there is one established fact: life is the most precious thing that is. For instance, children who were in school no longer think about going back to school but mainly about their survival. As Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, what message do you have for the Rwandan child, at this moment?
- Eh... I would ask the Rwandan child to stand firm, eh... to learn from the trying moments they are now going through in order to better face the future which, undoubtedly, will be bright. I would want to say that the current situation constitutes a test for the children and adults in that it enables them to realize that to defend themselves they should prepare beforehand. Therefore, one must prepare to defend their life in concrete terms, not in theory

or solely by singing. One must know how to look for food as well as know how to protect themselves against danger. That is it; I would want our children to imbibe and nurture patriotism. Patriotism is not ... means... the struggle against any person who may come from outside the country to breach the peace of the citizens. The children must learn to welcome those who come towards them from outside the country with peace. They must also learn to live with the others without coming to blows. As the children have followed the development of this war which worries them and deprives them of their rights, I would urge them to stand firm. However, they should learn the following lesson from the present situation: Rwanda will no longer be what it is today. It will no longer be a matter of being a passive observer of the situation. Rather, it is the necessary to be trained so as to be able to defend themselves and their neighbours. Of course, the objective will be to defend oneself while protecting their property.

- Very well. In addition to the message you have just sent to the Rwandan child, wherever he may be, do you have a message for those who violate the rights of the child, to be specific, for the RPF-Inkotanyi? Now, what do you have to tell them to make them understand that their acts constitute a violation of human rights and, more particularly, a violation of the Geneva international convention on the rights of the child, which dates back to several years?
- Eh... I would ask the RPF to stop firing on children, parents, old men and women. They should stop firing because the problems besetting Rwanda cannot be resolved by a rifle butt. History, through the Rucunshu battle experience, shows us that war has never solved problems. In other words, Rwanda will not develop through cyclical wars. It would be better for them to renounce warlike activities and enter into negotiations by recognizing that

Rwandans within the country have the same right to life as they. We must acknowledge that we are equal before the law and that no person has the right to physically eliminate his neighbour.

(Musical interlude)

(Pages 10 to 16 of the text in French)

It is important to indicate and even emphasize that the Rwandan Patriotic Front is making life difficult for the UN emissary, particularly, as it is requesting that UNAMIR strength should be reduced by a half as if these bush inhabitants, the RPF, are more powerful than the United Nations Security Council which voted the resolution.

The Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Dr. André Rwamakuba states that human rights, in general, and the rights of the child, in particular, must be guaranteed by each and everyone. This statement follows the condemnation of the Government of Rwanda by the international community, according to which the Government of Rwanda reportedly organized ethnic genocide.

This international community does not, however, condemn the Rwandan Patriotic Front which practises selective massacres against the Hutu everywhere it passes without even sparing the children. At the end of this newscast, we shall listen to an interview accorded by Minister Rwamakuba to our English news colleague, Etienne Karekezi. See you later after the news.

Still on Rwanda, according to the HCR spokesman, the UN is preparing two new camps in Tanzania for Rwandan refugees, not far from the Benaco camp which is overcrowded with 272,000 refugees. These camps situated in Lumase and Katose should be ready within a week. UNICEF, the UN Children's Fund and HCR are first and foremost supplying potable water.

South African President, Nelson Mandela, affirmed this Tuesday that his government intended to build in South Africa a society founded on individual freedoms and designed to restore the dignity of each South African.

We must build a man-based society which guarantees political freedoms and human rights for all citizens, Mr. Mandela stated at the inaugural session of the new South African Parliament in the Cape. This session elected Mr. Cyril Ramafosa ANC Secretary-General within the South African constituent Assembly.

...the interview followed charges by the international community that the Government of Rwanda allegedly carried out ethnic cleansing. Listen instead to Minister André Rwamakuba. He is interviewed, as we said earlier, by our English news colleague, Etienne Karekezi.

Etienne Karekezi:

Honourable Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, it will soon be two months eh...that the war which the RPF...de...us...declared against us has been on. Primary and secondary schools have not been able to re-open, of course, because of this war, and this is so throughout

the entire Rwandan territory. Now, do you have, since the war is dragging on, do you a statement to make to the people of Rwanda?

André Rwamakuba, Minister of Primary and Secondary Education:

Eh...thank you. Eh...the Government of Rwanda is concerned about the ...the children who are facing difficulties because of this war that has been imposed on us by the RPF-Inkotanyi, and I believe that children's rights require action by humanitarian organizations, and countries that have helped Rwanda are called upon to help the Rwandan child.

Here, the Government has done its level best to pacify the regions controlled by government forces. That is why we have urged the primary school children to return to school and as regards the secondary school, we are facing difficulties relating...eh...to the grants-in-aid that the government is expected to give to schools. We cannot reopen them right away.

However, we deplore eh... the passiveness eh...of human ...and...organizations, whose duties include the protection of children. Eh...UNICEF and UNESCO are here and we are thus calling upon them to help us exert pressure on the RPF to stop firing on the children, mothers, eh...old people, indeed, anyone so as to protect the rights of the child. And here, I believe the Rwandan child needs peace and I believe that the Government of Rwanda is currently preoccupied with this peace. Eh... the Government of Rwanda has offered its hand to the RPF which does not seem to accept it, but I think that reason is going to prevail over the din of cannons and...the Rwandan child appeals to the international community, which seems not be concerned at all

about this child who roams here and there, eh...who is displaced, who is orphaned, eh...who is...eh...idle and who has no other support than to roam streets and the countryside searching for his mother or father who is no longer there.

Human rights, in general, and the rights of the child, in particular, have been flouted in our country, specifically in the eastern regions and, particularly, in the Byumba and Kibungo Prefectures where the RPF has killed the civilian population. I ask you whether you have called upon these international organizations, in particular, UNICEF as you were saying, or UNESCO or Amnesty International to come and see the situation faced by the...the children, particularly, those orphaned by...this war or even the others who cannot go to school, which is their right.

Therefore, regarding the eh...eh...the concern...of organizations eh...international organizations concerned with eh...eh...ensuring good life for children in areas under RPF control, here I believe that eh...the RPF...eh...frightens the population. If the people successfully fled to Tanzania, it's because there are...eh...actions to be condemned, that is, massacres are occurring in this area. I think even the BBC has taken up the...eh...testimonies by eh...the HCR official and I believe that for eh...acts committed by the RPF are horrible. They are to be condemned and I believe it is necessary eh...to act to stop these massacres which are continuing, which are persisting eh...since I, myself, eh...I had a relation who has been killed by the RPF, and I believe I am looking eh...for another relation who has fled to I don't know where and I have brought this eh...I have brought this matter to...eh to the ICRC through eh...an official, at least a eh...a friend, but let me tell you therefore that the concern here is very great concern. We would like that human rights be respected by all and sundry and that they become a song to be

sung everywhere but not by certain people who have the right to kill other people who should be protected. Therefore, we...we must that it should...everybody has...has the right to life, be it in the RPF-controlled area or in the government-controlled area eh...the...the government area.

That is why we call upon governments which eh..., which claim to be friends of Rwanda, if one is a friend of Rwanda when there is peace and that they become lukewarm eh during difficult times and when there are deaths eh...in the country, whereas there are ways of...of stopping, stopping that and stopping this war machine which has been eh...put in motion from Uganda, by Museveni and I believe that eh...by tying the Government of Rwanda with eh...eh...an embargo, an embargo, I believe that eh...eh...the choice, hence this choice is not a choice eh...which has...which is designed to protect human rights and I believe that...human rights require the guns be silenced in Uganda and at...at any point.

- In your capacity as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, you would agree with me that currently a good number of children have somehow...suffered physical and moral degeneration particularly in areas where the RPF has...massacred the people, in particular, the...children and their parents. Has your ministry designed any strategies so that if ever the ... if schools reopen soon, the children can go to school with eh...new ideals, I would say after having forgotten the tragic acts that they have witnessed?

- Eh...thank you. I think that here eh...we must talk about eh...the Rwandan child who suffers in ...areas...in the RPF-controlled area. Children have been abandoned by parents fleeing massacres perpetrated in this area. Children are abandoned to nature. They do not know the

whereabouts of their parents, the ...the others have been orphaned, and now malnutrition is rife in their midst since they do not know where to get food, and I think in this area school attendance is low; there is also mental retardation, malnutrition as I said and I believe that this retardation will worsen as long as the war persists.

Thus, that is why we call upon eh...international humanitarian organizations which can listen to the cry eh...of these children and I think that it is on behalf of these children that I send out this distress call for the guns to stop and appeal to all those involved in this problem to listen to reason.

As regards the area eh...under Government control, I think we are witnessing a massive influx of children and families eh...who have fled the area eh...under RPF control and the influx of people who have abandoned their property. They cannot eh...feed the children and these children are starving, and the starvation...the starvation is in...and the starvation is therefore going to cause mental retardation. Therefore, that is why the right of this...of this...the Rwandan child is in jeopardy and I...that is why for this area also, which currently is yet to receive foodstuffs, therefore there are people who have not yet, who have not yet received foodstuffs and it should be said, and who do not have...who do not have anything to eat whereas eh...the...Rwanda's crops were relatively good. The only...the only way to...to...to help this child is to silence the guns and help parents and children regain their property.

I think that is all we can demand of all those who can listen to the Rwandan child and I believe that ...that the Rwandan child either in the RPF-control area or in the...the Rwandan child who

is in the area under government forces, the Rwandan child has only one cry: silence the guns, stop the noise of cannons. Help us. Help the children to regain their rights and I think I am going...therefore I here call upon humanitarian organizations: UNICEF, UNESCO, to exert pressure on all these people who are mobilized to...eh to...all these peo...to exert pressure on all these people who are mobilized to eh...to fire guns whereas the child needs eh...needs calm, peace in order to “bloom” in formal and informal education.

- Precisely, Mr. Minister, for this child who suffers physical and moral degeneration, this child who has managed to survive...this war tragedy, do you have a message or let's say a watchword to...to give him so that precisely he feels, in one way or another, that he is...at least that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education is concerned about his fate?

Eh...to the Rwandan child who is...who is going through a very difficult time caused by the war eh...I think the message I can give him is a message of moral support. Moral support is that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education is concerned with this child. The Ministry will do its level best so that this child in areas where government forces...eh...areas controlled by government forces, can receive eh...education eh...likely to help him overcome the difficulties.

To the child found in area under RPF control I think that here eh...I have a message to give him. The message is to take it with serenity, to be able in a position therefore to eh...to be calm in these times and hope, hope that this ordeal does not persist, for the government is striving that peace return and this peace is a message of peace that I can send out again to the children of the whole...the whole of Rwanda, be it in the area controlled either by the RPF or the Government

of Rwanda. This message of peace goes out, above all, to our attackers; they must silence the guns so that this message can really get to the child.

H'm. Thank you, Mr. Minister. (Musical interlude)

Unidentified journalist:

... (Further to the war [?])...that the FPR-Inkotanyi has imposed on us, we have decided to form the association R.A., *Rayon d'Amour* [Love Ray], whose objective is to awaken members of the population to patriotism. We seize this opportunity to address the following statement to the people of Rwanda, FPR and the international community:

« We, members of the association *Rayon d'Amour*, deplore the assassination of the Head of State, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, his colleague Cyprien Ntaryamira, President of Burundi and all the members of their retinues. Both died in the plane that was shot down on 6 April by the enemies, at the Kanombe airport. We extend our sympathies to their respective families.

We condemn the resumption of hostilities by the RPF. This resumption of hostilities is linked to the assassination of President Habyarimana and the other previous assassinations, particularly, the assassination of Emmanuel Gapyisi, Fidèle Rwambuka, Félicien Gatabazi, Martin Bucyana, Katumba who was *Impuzamugambi* member and many other innocent Hutus that the Inkotanyi continue to kill.

We support the Head of State, Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo, and the *abatabazi* government led by His Excellency, the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda.

We hail the bravery of the Rwandan Armed Forces eh... we congratulate the national Armed Forces on the bravery that they continue to display by gaining the upper hand in the war. We pledge to support to them in their fight against the enemy. We urge them to continue to be brave!

We request the religious to condemn some of their members who hide behind their religious functions to help the enemy destroy the country.

We are of the opinion that it is proper to negotiate but then the issue of power-sharing must be considered in terms of the representativeness of each ethnic group, without trickery or guile».

Members of *Rayon d'Amour* further state as follows: «We request the RPF stop lying to the international community and deluding itself that it still has supporters among the Rwandan population inside the country».

Members of this association state still further: «We express our gratitude to friendly countries which continue to contribute to the search for peace for our country. Furthermore, we condemn the countries which continue their treacherous actions by continuing to kill our fellow countrymen and destroy our country. These countries are, in particular, Uganda and Belgium».

In conclusion, members of the association state: «We thank the *abatabazi* government which is pursuing its action in a concrete manner. We urge it to proceed with the distribution of weapons in all regions of the country so as to enable members of the population to continue to ensure their

self-defence. Regarding members of the population, we urge them to continue their struggle against the RPF whose hidden agenda is to bring back the whip and forced labour».

That was the press statement released by members of *Rayon d'Amour* residing in the Mbogo Commune. It was signed by 11 people, particularly, the Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairmen, the Secretary and Advisers of the association. Therefore, that is the opinion of members of *Rayon d'Amour*.

You are still tuned to Radio Rwanda broadcasting from Kigali. The time now is 37 minutes 50 seconds past eight in our studios.

... (Interruption)... 1994.

Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga, journalist of Radio Rwanda:

In national news, the Minister of Health, Dr. Casimir Bizimungu, returned to Kigali today at the end of a mission to various foreign countries.

We are giving the floor to the Minister of Health who is going to talk to us briefly about his mission and its outcome.

Dr. Casimir Bizimungu, Minister of Health:

My recent mission abroad consisted of visiting certain countries. In fact, I visited Zaïre and later Switzerland. I was tasked to accomplish a special mission on behalf of the nation. First, the mission consisted of explaining the current situation in Rwanda to my interlocutors so as to

enable them to know the truth. In fact, this was necessary since it has turned out most television networks and broadcasting houses are spreading false information.

Second, my mission also consisted of participation in an international conference on health, commonly known in French as the *assemblée mondiale de la santé* [World Health Assembly] (in French in the text) which takes place annually.

Rwanda's participation in this conference was vital since it brought together health Ministers from all countries of the world to adopt the health policy and the leading principles of the Organisation's health action for the next year.

I would tell you that it would have been surprising that Rwanda, which became independent in 1962, is absent from this conference and that would have been her very first absence. If that had been the case, those that claim that Rwanda has no government and that there is total absence of power would have had their opinion reinforced and would have indeed bragged about it.

Those were the two main objectives of my mission that I tried, as much as I could, to attain. I also took advantage of that mission to meet with members of the Rwandan Diaspora and foreign ambassadors, particularly, those based in Berne in Switzerland. I met with Rwandans students in Geneva and Berne and I held discussions with them. First, I described to them the situation prevailing in Rwanda; I talked to them about the development of the war, the conditions in which members of the population are living and the difficulties they are facing. In particular, I explained to them that the national army and members of the population were standing firm and determined to defend their fatherland.

- Mr. Minister, you said that abroad, particularly in Europe, television networks distort the truth. Broadcasting houses also spread false information so much so that in certain circles, only the version of facts given by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi is heard. We would like to know if you were able to meet with journalists to give them the correct version of facts and ... if necessary, give us the concrete results of your effort to explain the nature of the war in our country?
- Eh... in Zaïre, I had the opportunity to ... (*clears his throat*)... to join other Rwandan Ministers who passed through there while on mission and we held a conference/discussion with a host of journalists. Those journalists asked us many questions on Rwanda and the causes of this war and we answered them. They asked us if members of the population supported the armed forces and we told them it was an established fact. In fact, they had information from other sources, such as certain Belgian, French, American and other television networks.

Eh, as I told you, my mission also took me to Switzerland where I stayed for a long while and where I was able to meet many people. While I was there, something happened: it occurred that during my stay a lot of false information was being spread. For instance, it was reported that 30 pupils had been assassinated in a given locality and 80 in a Gikongoro parish. Personally, I recalled that pupils were on holiday. So I said to myself that it was a bit surprising, for the pupils had managed to take refuge in a given place. The facts were categorically refuted, even though the pupils were on holiday. However, I, personally, and certain colleagues who were on mission encountered a serious difficulty: we had no news from the country refuting or confirming what our detractors said. That was the major difficulty that we faced.

Eh, as you are aware, from the beginning of the war, the enemy destroyed our communication installations. As a result of that destruction, the telephone network does not function as before. It would have enabled us to know rapidly if the information being spread had merit or not.

Secondly, eh, the fax, which is an electronic system for sending a document graphically by fax to an addressee who may be in America or Switzerland, is not functioning well at the moment, as you know. Sometimes, this has put us in difficulties when we want to refute or confirm certain pieces of information contained in the questions put to us. Nevertheless, I would like to bring the following points which I consider essential to the attention of those listening to me now:

First, I visited the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (*voice interference*) which operates in Rwanda and assists people in distress. ICRC is currently headed by Philippe Gaillard, a very active man that many people, I hope, appreciate. I therefore went to the ICRC headquarters where I met with the Vice-President since the President had gone on mission. We explained the situation prevailing in Rwanda to the Vice-President.

It was important to inform the Vice-President and those that were with him that the war in Rwanda began on 1 October 1990. We explained its root causes to them, eh, we told them that when the Inkotanyi attacked, the problem of Rwandan refugees was about to be solved. Eh, we thus proved to them that affliction and division within the population were to be blamed mainly on the Inyenzi who declared the war in October 1990.

During our conversation, we asked them the following question: In the area controlled by the Rwandan Armed Forces, namely the area where the government is, members of the population are present. In addition, the people are fleeing the area controlled by the Inkotanyi to that controlled by the Government of Rwanda and its army, which is the Rwandan Armed Forces.

Given that you go all over, can you tell us if you were able to see members of the population in

that area? Officials of the ICRC stated that they did not know if there were members of the population there, since they never saw any.

- Are you making allusion to the area controlled by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi ?
- Absolutely. They informed us that there are no people in the area controlled by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, eh, and they wondered whether the majority of these people have withdrawn to our area, eh, to the area where we are. I told them that I could not answer their question and I requested them to conduct their own investigation. However, I provided them with the following information: Members of the population come to the area under government control, namely the area occupied by the Rwandan Armed Forces because they find people therein who offer them assistance and listen to them.

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On the other hand, the Rwandan masses will never be seen taking refuge in regions occupied by the Inkotanyi. It is an established fact that members of the population are fleeing, but then why are they fleeing that area? I told them that in their discussions with members of the international community and other organizations...

END OF SIDE A

SIDE B

Casimir Bizumungu:

(They) could obtain information from representatives of other bodies and update us. Nevertheless, according to recent information reaching us, it would appear that a good number of people were atrociously massacred by the Inkotanyi in regions under their control. Now as I am speaking to you, we have no trace of these people. This should be brought to the attention of the international community all the more so as the Inkotanyi claim to welcome with open arms all those who come to them. They allege that they are treating them well by giving them water to quench their thirst and food to eat. Today, we know what they mean by giving these people water to quench their thirst and food to eat, and it is important for the international community to know what really happened.

- I think that this is true as attested by survivors who are so many today. While you were on mission, survivors spoke and gave overwhelming testimonies. Among other testimonies, they told us that children were pounded in mortars and their flesh given as food to people. This is very alarming. Having said this, I would like to ask you a question, since you met with leaders of ICRC, the international organization catering for people in distress: When the refugees are approached, it is noted that they are truly in distress. Throughout their ordeal, their way to exile, it is noted that they are in distress. They include the injured and the sick and this is very disturbing. Did these officials promise to do something to offer assistance to these people in distress?
- Eh, the International Community of the Red Cross promised to do something, as far as possible, since it is always by us. In fact, if I am not mistaken, ICRC is one of the rare organizations that did not leave Rwanda despite the deterioration of the situation. They told

me that they would never leave Rwanda and that their workers would continue their activities by collaborating with the authorities on all sides. Their mission is to save human lives by distributing foodstuffs and providing medical care to the people. You know that during these hard times, Kigali Hospital was destroyed eh...by Inkotanyi bombardments (*clears his throat*) which continue to pound it. Eh, ICRC has promised to help us to rapidly build shelters in the form of tents in order to offer assistance to the people, whether they are those injured by shells or those suffering from other diseases. The first stage will consist of offering medical care to those people.

Eh, furthermore, ICRC is already assisting us, for it is present in Kabgayi, in Butare and everywhere else. I have no doubt that it covers other regions of Rwanda and that it continues to collaborate with other benefactors. Together, they are assisting distressed, homeless and raw-boned people.

During my stay in Geneva, I discussed at length with the administrative authorities of the World Health Organization and they promised to assist with drugs. They requested me to send them as rapidly as possible a list of emergency equipment that we need to save lives. It should be emphasized that since the war began and since communication with the outside world stopped to function, eh, we face serious difficulties in bringing medicines and other imported products into Rwanda.

The World Health Organization (WHO) therefore undertook to supply us drugs. However, this organization requires us to first draw up an exhaustive list of our needs in drugs according to the number of patients and the number of war-displaced persons who are wandering in all corners of Rwanda. We estimate this number at about 3, 000,000 and we are ready to produce this list tomorrow. In fact, WHO has undertaken to airfreight medicines to us as soon as possible in a

cargo plane which would land at a place nearby. The drugs would then be transported to Rwanda from that place.

- Eh, Mr. Minister, you have just talked about health problems. However, you are a Minister within the Government of Rwanda and, in addition, one of those who have served the longest in the Government. There is a problem, or rather this inescapable truth is known to all of us, Rwandans: We know that, eh, all this, all our problems result from the war that the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi have imposed on us. Furthermore, we know that the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi are supported by Uganda, with the full knowledge of everyone. We also know that Belgium supports them with the full knowledge of everyone. Public opinion in Rwanda holds that Rwanda also has friends. We would like to know whether we should hope that Rwanda's friends will offer us assistance during these crucial times.
- Well, I think that I cannot answer this question on the air, as it is asked. However, I believe that Rwanda has friends in the world and such friends would not abandon her during the misfortune. Contacts are underway for quite sometime now eh, and my mission also included this aspect. Eh... I can tell you that some of our friends are committed to sustain their cooperation with us. Eh... nevertheless, I would not be able to give you details of how they will help us and the nature of their assistance. Eh... you would understand that we are still at war and I cannot answer you fully. Just simply know that Rwanda still has friends and those friends could offer her assistance.
- I hope that those listening to us who have been asking the same question as I, will be satisfied with this little secret divulged to us by the Minister of Health. As for me, I would

not ask him to say more eh... and... I believe, as it has been said, that the friends of Rwanda will not abandon us at a time when we are going through difficult times.

The Minister of Health, Dr. Casimir Bizimungu returns to the country today eh... he is returning eh... from certain ...certain European countries. So for now, the Minister of Health is going to update us on the outcome eh...of his mission eh... which took him to Zaïre and Switzerland.

Dr. Casimir Bizimungu, Minister of Health

Eh... in fact, I am returning from a mission, which took me successively to Zaïre and...and to Switzerland. Eh... the mission was designed to ... first of all to explain eh... the situation prevailing in our country, and eh... to explain the mechanisms that prevailed when eh...of (in French in the text)

(Continuation in French: from pages 25 to 29)

the new Government structures were put in place eh...since we are aware that eh...certain...certain circles, beginning with the RPF circles, have propagated false information that the Government formed is an illegitimate. But then, we must recall that the Government, in accordance with constitutional provisions eh...has resolved eh...or rather it happened that, first of all, the interim President of the Republic became *ipso facto* the interim President of the Republic, for the simple reason that he was the Speaker of the National Assembly, the National Assembly eh...is...eh...is still in existence until when, pursuant to the Arusha Accords, a new eh...the transitional National Assembly is put in place. Therefore, legi...as far as legitimacy is concerned, there is no...there can be no...I believe, doubts or other discussions and thus the

President of the Republic, of course, had to form a new Government eh...led by a Prime Minister ; I think he did the wisest thing since the method which was ...eh...the method which was used was to make that the five political parties eh...the...eh...M...MDR, MRND, PL, PSD and PDC which were in the previous Government, eh well, these very political parties chose the ministers to be appointed to the new Government in such a way that there was no political vacuum, that there was no constitutional vacuum and it was necessary to explain this because it was not certain that it was understood in this way.

Secondly, it was necessary to explain eh...the situation eh...prevailing, from the point of view of respect for human rights. Eh...you know that eh...a lot has been said regarding accusations against the Rwandan Armed Forces, against the Government of Rwanda, but we recall that what happened in Rwanda is that after the assassination, an assassination whose perpetrators eh ...can only be the RPF and their eh...cohorts. Eh well, after assassinating the President, there was a ...the masses were furious, the population flew into a fury eh...which made that, what I personally did not wish and I would not witness the sort of carnage that we saw, but the fury of the masses was such that eh...there have been certainly eh...massacres, but eh...but once the Government was formed, it rapidly moved to stop the massacres.

We are well aware that the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and Government Ministers have gone down to the level of Prefectures, Communes, to stop the massacres. But...what did you see on the other side? In the regions eh...where the RPF is, we know that blind massacres have occurred to such an extent that, according to information reaching me, bulldozers have been dispatched from Uganda to come and rapidly bury, rapidly bury people

who were often still alive. This was done by the RPF, and it is very astonishing, of course, that the world or let's say circles which had...which were expected eh...to tell or preach the truth have silenced this sad eh...this bitter truth.

I would also like to tell you that during my mission eh...all I did was to explain these political aspects eh...which are, first, very, very important, which should be admitted; but I attended the World Health Assembly where I presented the situation prevailing in Rwanda and where I appealed to the international community to offer humanitarian assistance to Rwanda. And I did it eh...I did it and I took advantage of my presence in Geneva to meet with certain diplomats, to meet with certain high authorities eh...working for the United Nations, and I even had a fairly long discussion with the pi...the Vice-President of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

- Mr. Minister, regarding eh...regarding that aspect of...respect for human rights, massacres, were the...the people able to understand the reality prevailing in our country? Were they able to understand eh...the other sad side of the coin, that is, eh...the horrible massacres committed by the RPF?

- Well, I cannot...I cannot say that eh...the...the...the vast majority of ...hence the vast majority of European public opinion has not yet, I believe, understood what is happening exactly. This is...I believe, this is work that must be done in an increasingly intensive manner. Eh...it happens that eh...the patriotic Front and the countries...the countries supporting it have run an all-out campaign, a completely unfavourable campaign comprising facts...eh...truncated and distorted facts of...absolutely and therefore there...there was no more truth and more truth in what was conveyed as a message. But unfortunately, this is the message that eh...was known to the European and American public opinion knows; but as long as, besides the Rwandan

Government emissaries, as long as certain NGOs have begun to speak out, to say exactly what the RPF has done, people are now beginning to say to themselves: "Well! We thought that they were eh...messiahs come to establish a new order in Rwanda, but we are now realizing that these...these people are the epitome of assassins, are purely and simply eh...a group...a group of men thirsting for power and who want to seize power"

This opinion is beginning to percolate through, it is beginning to go through and I am happy. But the efforts should continue. We must explain within and outside the country, explain but also request that verifications be conducted, because when you are outside the country and that you explain, your statements may be construed as propaganda. So, it would be necessary and it is necessary to increase, I think, actions calling on, inviting the international press, inviting NGOs, inviting men of good will to come and see what is happening on the field.

All the same, it is quite shocking to...to...it is rather revealing that when one is in an area occupied by the Rwandan Armed Forces and the Government, people are there, they are happy to live there and it is there that they want to concentrate. But then on the other side, there are no...there are no souls living! If indeed there are people, then truly they are rare people who can be found there and who may be on the other side! But these are rare people who can be found there. The truth is that there is almost no soul living simply because a good number of people were systematically eh...massacred eh...with hoes and pruning knives.

- As you were able to meet with representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, were there any humanitarian promises made considering the current distress of the population?

The ICRC Vice-President has, after having, of course, exchanged views on what has happened in Rwanda told me, once again, eh...that the ICRC could not at all withdraw from Rwanda despite the present difficulties, despite the serious fighting. Eh...moreover, I take this opportunity to officially thank ICRC for its courage and resolve to continue to help us despite the present uncertainties and difficulties.

Eh...we have noted, with a lot of satisfaction, the performance of Philippe Gaillard eh...who is leading a whole team in the country and eh...according eh...to statements of the ICRC Vice-President, medical and generally humanitarian activities are going to continue, which also include making food aid available as much as possible. Therefore, ICRC action is going to continue and it was not my visit that was going to awaken them; my visit has purely and simply made it possible eh...eh...to tell them what our concerns were and what the situation was.

But ICRC has also indicated that it was very concerned about the fact that almost no people were found in areas where the RPF lives. Eh...we the...I requested them to repeat their verification and investigate, since according to reliable information at our disposal, the RPF must have committed absolute destruction, unprecedented massacre in the areas where it ...in the area or areas where it is found and the international community should be informed of the intensity and seriousness eh...of the genocide committed by the RPF in the area where it is found.

- Mr. Minister, thank you.

Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga:

Friends and listeners of Radio Rwanda, the national news continues. We are here in our studios with the Minister of Planning, Dr. Augustin Ndirabatware who has just returned from a mission to certain African countries and other countries in the world. First of all, we would like him to tell us the objectives of his mission and its outcome. Minister Ndirabatware, the floor is yours.

Augustin Ndirabatware, Minister of Planning:

Thank you, Mr. Bamwanga. Yes, I have just returned from a mission which took me to several countries. My mission comprised two parts: First, I was the bearer of a message from His Excellency the President of the Republic to his peers of certain countries. Second, I attended a ministerial council meeting of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and the European Economic Community (EEC).

My activities during my various trips took me to Gabon, Togo, Senegal and Swaziland. On my way back, I stopped in Zambia.

As I have already told you, I was the bearer of a message from His Excellency the President of the Republic to his peers that I have mentioned. This message sought above all to explain to his peers the circumstances in which His Excellency President Juvénal Habyarimana was assassinated by criminals. Then, I had to request those Heads of State, pursuant to the letter of the message of which I was bearer, to help us restore peace to our country.

After my official welcome by the national authorities of each country, I handed them the message and then explained to them the situation prevailing in our country. I talked to them about the Government's objectives and the way it functions and, finally, I gave a press conference. Of course, you understand that in all the countries that I visited, I met with Rwandan nationals residing there so as to calm them and inform them of the situation in our country. This approach was necessary taking into account the fact that before our mission, the only information circulating abroad was propagated by the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi and it was generally false.

- Mr. Minister, two questions are always asked by journalists when they interview someone who, like you, who goes on mission coming from Rwanda, particularly, when it is an important mission like yours. I believe you have been asked these questions. The first question deals with the event that you have just mentioned, specifically, the death of His Excellency the President of the Republic, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana. There is one question asked by many people when one attempts to clarify such a matter: Were you able to obtain information on the President's assassins or do you have any evidence relating thereto? Even if the international investigation has not yet begun, do you have any tangible proves on this subject? That is my first question.

Secondly, foreigners often talk about what they are wont to call «massacres». In other words, these are killings that followed the death of His Excellency the President of the Republic. People were dead. This is compounded by another problem that is not often talked about, namely the resumption of hostilities by the RPF-Inkotanyi. The question is also asked as to whether or not the present government is legal? We shall return to the meeting you attended which, I believe, was an important meeting between EEC and ACP countries, that is, between countries grouped

under agreements between the European Economic Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Before that, I would like to ask you to comment, for the intention of our listeners, on these questions that foreigners often asked. It should be noted that when we listen to programmes of foreign radio stations, we realize that these questions come up quite often.

- I am going to begin with the first question relating to the assassination of the President of the Republic, His Excellence Major General Juvénal Habyarimana. Eh... truly, all the people I met and talked to asked me this question, either during informal discussions or press conferences. You are aware that the RPF and its supporters have spread information abroad according to which His Excellency President Habyarimana was allegedly assassinated by the Hutu «who did not want to share power with the Tutsi ». That is the information they are spreading abroad and, indeed, I was asked this question on several occasions.

For my part, I told them that it was not true to say that it was the Hutu who did not want to share power with the Tutsi. I told them that it was a lie, emphasizing that the RPF had mastered the art of lying. On the other hand, I informed them that there were serious indicia which prove... which will make it possible to unmask his real assassins.

Therefore, on this point, I told them that so far the Government of Rwanda was accusing nobody. In fact, some people thought that the Government of Rwanda had accused the Belgian Government «of having assassinated President Habyarimana». I would like to repeat, and that is what I told all my interlocutors, that the Government of Rwanda has lodged no official complaint against the Belgians... but rather against the Belgian Government, accusing it of having assassinated President Habyarimana. We were simply saying that an investigation would be conducted and that it was possible to discover evidence implicating some elements of the Belgian contingent. However, we are not yet in a position to make a definite statement on this

issue. That was the explanation that I gave them since eh... because of the strange and unjustifiable attitude adopted by the Belgian State, many people had indeed been asking this particular question. I therefore explained to them that though indicia existed, we cannot confirm anything so long as the investigation had not yet been conducted.

Eh...let me say that my hosts in all the countries that I visited were deeply saddened by President Habyarimana's assassination. The Heads of State of the countries I visited were the most saddened (by his death) since they had good relations with him. They know that he had done a lot for our country since 1973, particularly, at the economic level where his contribution is indisputable. Furthermore, they know that he had always advocated African unity.

Thus, most of those personalities told me that they were deeply saddened by what had happened and that they had even expressed their deep sorrow on the air on 6 and 7 April, that is, immediately after the macabre news was announced.

Eh... as to acts that you describe as «massacres», personally, I have never said that those were massacres. However, these acts can be termed massacres particularly in regard to the area under RPF control. Eh... for my part, it so happened that, and I believe this corresponds to your version of the facts, eh... after the assassination of the President of the Republic, eh... the people were deeply saddened and very downcast. Eh... the government had not yet been formed to rapidly restore security. Eh... even when we began to function, we encountered huge difficulties. Eh... on this point, I explained to them that it was as a result of the assassination of the President of the Republic that there were confrontations among the members of the population. Those confrontations were among the ethnic groups for, even if this has never been said openly, the war we are experiencing, which began in 1990, is a war among the ethnic

groups, specifically, between the Hutu and the Tutsi. This reality is currently well-known even abroad where the print media is not afraid to bring it out into the open. Moreover, and I shall return to that, during the meeting of ACP/EEC countries, speakers made statements on this problem.

Furthermore, let me tell you one thing that has deeply saddened me: I can never accept that a Hutu kill a Tutsi or that a Tutsi kill a Hutu. The RPF is therefore running a sustained propaganda abroad. Failure to acknowledge this fact would amount to being ignorant of our weakness. The RPF has what I may call a formidable «propaganda machine». It (RPF) has managed to convince the entire world that as far as it is concerned, it does not kill, that it is irreproachable, but that on the other hand, it is in the part under Government control that killings are being perpetrated. I have never stated that there have been no deaths in the part controlled by our national army; rather, I have said that people are dead but that since the Government took control on 10 April, confrontations amongst members of the population have reduced in intensity so much that at the moment they have completely stopped.

On the other hand, I told them that in the part administered by the RPF, people, particularly, the Hutu, have been massacred. Hitherto, this reality was not well-known. Now, people know it. However, I believe people were not surprised to learn that since they already know that the RPF is composed of NRA soldiers whose reputation in 1985 and 1986 is well-known.

- Mr. Minister, we shall speak, in a little while, about the meeting you attended, a very important meeting in the area of But before that, let's talk about this power that the

RPF-Inkotanyi has to spread rumours and other information, telling people that it is innocent and irreproachable. At the time it alleges that in the part under Government control «extraordinary things» happened, information made available to us by survivors from area under its control confirms that the RPF-Inkotanyi is guilty of acts of cruelty, numerous acts. According to you, why is the RPF-Inkotanyi able to run such propaganda abroad? That is the first question. The second question is as follows: What can the Government of Rwanda do in order to dissipate these rumours spread by the RPF-Inkotanyi so that people who come to see what is happening can, at least, speak objectively about the reality on the field, or, failing that, make a statement in favour of the Government of Rwanda. What must be done for the time being?

- Eh... you have just asked me two questions, but I admit that it will not be easy for me to answer the first. Eh... you want to know why the RPF has this power of propaganda which makes its lies acceptable to a certain international opinion. Eh well, I would tell you that despite such power (of propaganda), many people are beginning to discover its lies. One thing though is certain: many people are aware of these lies. Nevertheless, it (RPF) truly has that power and this depends on its structure as a movement. I believe that is the reason, besides their usual frame of mind, since that is how they have been trained. Eh they must understand that their children learn to lie from tender age. As for us, we did not receive such education. That is the explanation that I can give you on this subject (laughing) *if not* I cannot explain to you why the RPF has this power of propaganda.

However, as you are aware, we must not lose sight of the fact that the RPF is predominantly composed eh... of Tutsis who fled Rwanda in 1959 and have lived abroad for a long time.

Furthermore, they...

Bamwanga and Augustin:

They are scattered everywhere ...

Augustin Ngirabatware:

They are so scattered everywhere that it is easy for them to do this ...

Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga:

... to invent this lie.

Augustin Ngirabatware:

... (To run) such propaganda, however, the lie shall eventually be discovered. I mean that people will finally discover this big lie.

- Mr. Minister, what then can the Government of Rwanda do in order to dissipate this lie from the minds of people, more particularly, members of the international community. In fact, the people who are in Rwanda already know the truth, but then the lie becomes more insidious when it is spread abroad, very far away, among your friends. What then can the government do, for the time being, to convince the international community of the truth?
- Eh... as to what the government should do as a matter of urgency, I would like, first of all, to say that the government must tell the truth. In fact, eh... it is not good to lie, to make up stories or make speculative statements. I would therefore say that the government must, first of all, tell the truth.

In concrete terms, the government should ensure that Rwandan ambassadors abroad strive to tell the truth. On this point, for ambassadors to successfully accomplish this mission, information must be made available to them. Eh... on the other hand, it is not wrong to say that it has been difficult to send to Rwandan ambassadors abroad...

Augustin and Jean-Baptiste:

accurate information...

Augustin Ngirabatware:

Eh... whatever the case, we must not be discouraged, we must make an effort. That is the first aspect, which we will find useful. Eh the second aspect concerns the journalists. These journalists must, at all level, do everything in their power to inform the international community of the conduct of the war and the political situation prevailing in our country eh...

Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga:

... the nature of the Rwandan problem.

- The journalists (must make known) the nature of the Rwandan problem, for they too eh... are capable of making analyses and people do listen to them; hence they must play a definite role.

Eh... regarding the third aspect, eh I think that when we talk of journalists or embassies, the authorities of Rwanda must be included. These authorities must seize every opportunity they have to give the true version of the facts.

The third aspect I wanted to address concerns other Rwandans of the Diaspora. In fact, these Rwandans of the Diaspora eh...

- ... They are also ambassadors, as it were.
- ... They too are ... They represent us; they must also do their level best to give the true version of the facts abroad.

You asked me a question on the resumption of hostilities. On this point, you are aware that the RPF has come to state that it is not the RPF that has resumed the hostilities. I do not know if they have always said so [sic], but at least that is what certain RPF leaders have said. Eh... we have had the opportunity to refute that before our interlocutors. In fact, this is a plan that they had prepared very well beforehand in collaboration with their supporters. The plan consisted of resuming hostilities immediately after the assassination of the President of the Republic.

- Particularly, at the time when there was no longer any person at the helm of the country.
- Eh in order to seize power without difficulty, by means of arms, in short, in an undemocratic manner.

Concerning the resumption of hostilities by the RPF eh... I believe that the RPF has finally acknowledged it since it has refused to negotiate. Of course, those who know the RPF cannot, in my opinion, be mistaken about it. It is known very well that, at all times, it (RPF) has never favoured negotiations.

- Now, let's return to the meeting that you attended and which, in my opinion, was a very important meeting. It was an international meeting of countries grouped together under agreements between Europe and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. You attended this meeting in your capacity as Rwanda's representative, at the time when certain circles alleged that there was no government or authority in Rwanda. Tell us then how you were received at the meeting and, if necessary, the message that you conveyed to the other participants in the meeting which, it seems to me, was at a high profile or international meeting?
- Yes, regarding our reception at that meeting, we were well received. Personally, I was perhaps fortunate since in 1991, I was Chairman of the ministerial council of ACP/EEC countries... so much that most participants in that meeting knew me. Then regarding our reception, normally the procedure for country representation has no mystery surrounding it. This is a well-known procedure and no person has asked the question as to whether or not the government was legal. In fact, when you represent the President of the Republic and the government, a third party that is not in the government cannot say that you are not representing the Government. In conclusion, I would tell you that we did not encounter any difficulty, particularly, as we had already gained experience in that area when we visited Zaïre and many other countries. Regulations governing the acceptance of a country within such a forum are indeed known. In addition, I would like to inform you that, in all the countries I visited eh in Africa, nobody ever wondered whether the government we represented was legal or illegal, eh... since nobody called our legality into question. Eh... furthermore, I do understand when the RPF challenges the legality of the government, since when one has an enemy, and that enemy is the Government of Rwanda, everything is done to ...

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- ... everything is done to say that ...
- ... To challenge its legality or rather... From that point of view, when the RPF says that it challenges our legality, there is no...
- This poses no problem.
- ... I see no problem to that. Moreover, even members of the international community find it strange that the RPF is challenging our legality.

This meeting thus brought together some 10 countries of the 12 member countries of the European Economic Community and 70 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Finally, there was eh...

- ... 82 countries. There were therefore 82 countries eh... and we have had the opportunity to speak on behalf of Rwanda. We mentioned the circumstances in which the President of the Republic was assassinated, the circumstances in which the government was formed and I talked about the government's objectives. Moreover, I requested the entire international community to do everything to come to the assistance of the war-displaced people and the refugees. Furthermore, I requested particularly that a neutral international military force be established to intervene between the belligerents, for that would compel the two parties to the conflict to negotiate.

On this point, all the speakers supported my request. Subsequently, I expressed the idea that for peace to prevail in Rwanda, all her sons and daughters, whether they belong to the RPF, MRND, MDR, PSD, PL ...

- ... and those that have no party!
- ... and those that have no party must reach an agreement. I stated that the Inkotanyi, the Inyenzi-Inkotanyi, can never rule Rwanda alone. They would not be able, for there would be no population. Concurrently, I stated that, on our side, we had no interest in keeping the RPF outside the country and refusing to share power with it. I believe everyone, without exception, accepted this stance.

As to the fact that they refuse to negotiate, I have heard no person approve this attitude, and I am only too pleased.

Eh... at the end of this conference which began with a tribute in memory of His Excellence the President of the Republic, Juvénal Habyarimana and the President of Burundi, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira, the Chairman of our Council signed a resolution on Rwanda. The resolution stated that we condemned the assassination of the two Presidents as well as the massacre of innocent people among members of the population. We also condemned the resumption of hostilities and the conditions in which people displaced by the war are living. Finally, we urged the two parties to the conflict to negotiate for normal life to resume as rapidly as possible. Subsequently, we requested the Chairman of our Council to transmit this resolution of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to the European Economic Community, the European Commission, the O.A.U. and the United Nations Secretary-General to inform them of the resolution adopted by the Mbabane Conference.

- Eh... Mr. Minister of Planning, before concluding our discussion, I would like to ask you one question that many Rwandans must, in my opinion, be asking themselves: On a close examination of things, it is noted that the European Economic Community, perhaps as a result of information at its disposal, tends to listen more to the RPF than to the Government of Rwanda. I base my assertion on the decision to impose an embargo which was taken at a certain moment. By «embargo » we mean the fact that one part to the conflict is allowed to purchase weapons while the supplies of the other party (in weapons) are blocked. This reminds me of an anecdote narrated by one old man from our country who talked about the embargo in these terms: «it's like someone who, while intervening between two opponents, ties the arms of the one behind his back and gives the other a stick to strike his opponent at will».

There is another sad thing, concerning (the position of) these countries: It is noted that when they talk about Rwanda, as you have already said, they talk of «atrocities allegedly committed in the area under governmental control». On the other hand, no allusion is made to the well-known atrocities that the RPF commits in the area under its control as well as during operations that it executes within the context of its tactics to make people believe that, like a whirlwind, it may strike as and when it wants. It is surprising to see how ... (clicks his tongue against his upper gums)... they talked of «refugees at the *Mille Collines*». What is more, petitions have been written and distributed everywhere mentioning «those who are at the *Mille Collines* » and «who are suffering». Indeed, when it is considered that about 2.5 million Rwandans are, for the most part, experiencing a veritable ordeal (needless to emphasize that the majority of them are Hutus, even though there are Tutsis among them), one begins to wonder. Consequently, I would like to ask you if Rwandans can hope that these European countries will change their perception of the Rwandan reality.

- Eh... in my opinion, these European Economic Community member countries are showing no weakness vis-à-vis the RPF, for they are capable of making a detail analysis of the situation. Eh... making a detail analysis of the situation means that if someone seeks to restore peace amongst Rwandans, he cannot make a judgement confirming the merits by deciding who is good or bad, or by designating the guilty and requesting them to mend their ways.

Eh... I have been able to read the resolution you are talking about. Since I did not participate in the conference of these European Economic Community member countries, I made a personal analysis of the said resolution and I have understood that they are not showing weakness vis-à-

vis the RPF. In fact, the embargo that they adopted concerns Rwanda. And when they talk of an embargo against Rwanda; I understand that the embargo is against all those who are in Rwanda, including the RPF. It follows that the border between Uganda and Rwanda is also affected by this embargo. In other words, whoever would prohibit only the Rwandan Armed Forces from purchasing weapons and allow the RPF to continue to acquire weapons, would not be a friend to Rwanda but rather an enemy. I presume that these European Economic Community member countries do not hate Rwanda. And if ever they are mistaken (in their appraisal), they shall eventually correct themselves. However, I think that they are not mistaken for, what they request is that the Government of Rwanda and the RPF should enter into negotiations in order to end the war.

Nevertheless, we should not delude ourselves for, as we have already stated, the RPF «propaganda machine» is very powerful and is at work within the European Economic Community. Eh... that is why eh... we have heard some people say that people were getting themselves killed, that there were no massacres in the part under RPF control. I can tell you that I held a discussion with a minister from the European Economic Community who explained to me that two facts have convinced him. Moreover, I wonder why concrete actions have not been taken in this direction. The two facts which he says have convinced him are: The RPF is killing many people in the country, in the part under its control. Furthermore, he told me that President Museveni is involved in this war and that without his intervention, no solution would be found. He should pledge before everyone and in concrete terms never to attack Rwanda again.

Jean-Baptiste Bamwanga:

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Still under national news, the Minister of Planning, Dr. NGIRABATWARE returns to the country today

(The following text is in French) {Page 42}

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