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SIDE A

[The italicized passage that follows appears in the original text in French]

...of Belgium, but what I can say is that... Belgium was actually seen when the hostilities resumed, and even subsequently. It was seen on the side of ...the RPF and it participated actively in... in the fighting. Euh... we informed the United Nations, in a bid to stop Belgium from interfering in Rwanda's internal affairs, and especially from supporting the RPF. Euh... we think that the problem could be resolved at the level of... of the Security Council or the United Nations Organization. But, if Belgium wants us to withdraw our complaint, the government will have to consider whether it is appropriate to withdraw it or to ask for the intervention of the United Nations.

- Unidentified speaker, Radio Rwanda journalist:

As concerns the assassination of the Head of State, Juvenal Habyarimana, do you have any evidence of the involvement of the Belgian blue helmets?

- *For the time being we have no... evidence as such. But UNAMIR will also have to provide explanations because it was guarding the airport and was therefore responsible for security at the airport.*

I can also inform the public that we found missile launchers which were used in the assassination of the Head of State and the missile launchers were Russian-made; so it would be necessary to trace the network right through to the perpetrators of ... of the crimes.

Now it is ... up to the government and the government is... has already decided to set up an international commission which could investigate and study all available evidence in order to determine the scope of responsibility of those who committed the crime. So, for the moment, we cannot... we cannot accuse Belgium since it will be up to... the investigators will be the ones to clarify the situation.

- *Mr. Minister, you are accusing Brussels of having in one way or another taken up the cause of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. What if Brussels campaigned for a military embargo to be imposed on you?*

Euh... I think this is not the time to be talking about a military embargo, which would prevent Rwanda from obtaining arms supplies; rather, the idea should be to help us end the hostilities, discuss and restore calm in this country. If, therefore, Belgium were to intervene, it should do so on the side of RPF, so that the Front can accept the on-going negotiations, in order for a cease-fire to be effective. And, as it has done in the past, Belgium could intervene in the negotiations, so that the two parties can agree on the mechanisms for restoring peace in this country. Such intervention would be beneficial to the country, instead of first thinking of a military embargo.

(Musical interlude)

- **Unidentified speaker:**

...let them come to the rescue of the present government, the government of "abatabazi".

- **Speaker: Eliezer Niyitigeka, Minister of Information in the government of Abatabazi:**

(Thank you) Mr. Prefet for giving me the opportunity to speak. Distinguished representatives of religious denominations, Representatives of political parties at the prefectoral and communal level, Sous-prefets, Bourgmestres and Conseillers, Heads of Services, all of you "abatabazi", I greet you once more and wish you peace and security in your homes, in your prefecture and in our country (Applause).

I greet you and wish peace because that is what we have been lacking lately. I wish you security because, if you look at it more closely, the prevailing atmosphere is one of quasi insecurity. I am calling you "*abatabazi*" because we would like all of you to help us. The government needs your support. The current government led by Prime Minister Jean Kambanda, self-proclaimed itself the "government of *abatabazi*". The government therefore needs liberators; it is calling out for help. This is because the government was formed during a critical period, as my colleague who spoke on behalf of political parties just said. There is no need to dwell further on the circumstances leading to the formation of the present government but I would still like to say something. Foreign media, in particular radio stations, are giving the impression that this government is composed of killers and those who listen to such stations are propagating the information without crosschecking. They can say all what they want but that description will never be permanently attached to our government. Let me tell you why. It is settled that the former Heads of State of Rwanda and Burundi and members of their delegations were murdered on 6 April and that the present government was set up on 9 April. What role did this government play in the killing for it to be described as government of killers? Were those personalities not killed? Instead of focussing attention on the murderers of the personalities and prosecuting them, the government set up on 9 after the killing is being held responsible and described as government of killers.

After those personalities died, things took a turn for the worse from that very night right to the next day, the 7th. The first wave of refugees might perhaps have arrived in your locality here on the 8th. It was on the 9th that members of the present government were sworn into office. But then, were there no deaths recorded on the 7th and the 8th? Were people not killed? How therefore could this government be described as "government of killers" whereas it had not been set up at the time? Why not talk about those who killed those personalities instead of talking about a "government of killers"? As far as I am concerned, I was doing rounds when I was contacted. At the time, I did not know that I was going to become a minister. I was doing rounds to ensure my own security because the enemy had attacked the country. The Inkotanyi who were at the CND had come out and there were other Inkotanyi everywhere in Kigali. When they attacked, the army intervened to defend the country and we were asked to do rounds. It was necessary, given the gravity of the situation. Why then was I taking part in the rounds? Was I doing so while waiting for a post within the government of killers? Other members of the government were called upon while there were carrying out other duties. Rwandans, your Excellences, dear brothers and sisters, we are begging you to help us fight against this language. We are asking you to join us so that, together, we can fight against the enemy, who is propagating such stories with the intention of exonerating himself, whereas he has blood on his hands.

The government was set up on 9 April. Two days later, on 11 April, the government left Kigali and set up elsewhere, following the bombings directed towards the town. If the government were carrying out the killings, why would it run away? Do you understand

that? Tell me, I am asking you, what caused the government to escape? What? How can a government that is being hunted down be said to be killing? Why are people not asking themselves whom the government was escaping from? Have we escaped from the Rwandan army, our own soldiers? Your Lordship, Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, we need your support. Our government is a government of liberators and we are crying out for help, come to our rescue. You have just listened to the Prime Minister's message. It is a complete message. I urge you to criticize it. Criticize it and say what points you do not agree with. Say which points in the message appear difficult for you to apply and make your criticisms to the government through us; we will convey them. People dare to say "I will take over control of Kigali in forty-eight hours". But Kigali has a population of over 300 thousand people; 600 or even 1000 people cannot take over its control without having exterminated its population. The country has an army and a contingent of over 3000, 4000 or 5000 soldiers is deployed in Kigali. How can one take over control of Kigali without having first eliminated those soldiers? And you should be aware that they are not going to let themselves be pushed around since they too are armed and are capable of defending the town. Now I am asking you, who is the killer? Is the killer the person who states that "in forty-eight hours, I will have exterminated all of you, or is he the person who does not know how to manage on his own?

Let me repeat, our government is a government of abatabazi, we are calling out for help, come to our aid. You listened to the message even though all of you could not take note of, or write down all the important points. We are living in modern times and, even if the government has enemies who are fighting against it by destroying its achievements, I am convinced that there must be at least one small photocopying machine in this Butare. It could be used to produce copies of the government message that was sent to you by the Prime Minister. In that way, each person who attended this meeting can have a copy of the message. Bishops should transmit this message to their faithfuls during church service, so that they may know that the government is seeking for peace. Bourgmestres should transmit the message to those under their authority. We thought it wise to invite conseillers de secteur to this meeting since it is natural that the bourgmestre cannot be in all secteurs at the same time. Dear conseillers in attendance, while waiting for the bourgmestre to get to your secteur, gather the people and tell them, "we have received a message from the government of abatabazi calling on everybody to come to its aid." You, President of the Court of First Instance, you say you are not involved in politics. You are not being asked to play politics. All you are being asked to do is to receive this message and post it on the notice board of the Court. That will make it possible for the public to read it and be aware of its contents before the beginning of court sessions. The Prosecutor should do the same. Amongst those attending this meeting, there are heads of educational establishments and directors of health centres; I urge you to put up this message wherever possible. I call on you to either lend us a hand or punish us. I ask military authorities to post this message wherever there are soldiers and gendarmes so that they can read it. Let us stick together and bar the enemy's way. Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, our most ardent wish is to see peace and security restored in our country. That is the government's wish. I am happy that, generally-speaking, to deliver a message to those who live in Butare is like preaching to the converted; it is like repeating

something they already know to them. As I speak to you, just think of the good fortune of Butare Prefecture: it is lucky enough to have among its natives the current President of the Republic and the Prime Minister of the government I am talking about. And were there to be no security in the native region of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, in your native region, would it be said that you wanted to preserve your good fortune or not? Besides the native region of the President and the Prime Minister, the other regions also have people who are aware that there should be peace in their region. Most of those attending this meeting are Christians and the same is true for almost all Rwandans. If we really believe in God, does one of God's commandments not read "Thou shall not kill"? Monseigneur, are those not the words? (Laughter) Are the words of that God's commandment not "Thou shall not kill"? And, if we are Christians, and we agree with the bishop, the pastor and the priest when they tell us not to steal or kill, is there anything we can do but obey this commandment? We have to obey it while safeguarding our security.

That is my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture and Stockbreeding, who has just arrived. We are bearing the same message. Your Lordship, Dear Bourgmestres, you all here present, we have to work together to ensure that observance of this commandment takes root. Who will forbid us from stealing or killing? Will the judicial authorities or the Prosecutor forbid us? The bishop, the pastor and the administrative authorities forbid us. Does anyone authorize us to do so? The government is asking us in its message to safeguard peace in our homes and throughout the country. If nobody intends to kill his neighbour or destroy anybody else's property, peace and security will reign. If we avoid committing these two offences, what will disturb our peace and security? Clearly therefore, almost all the measures we would have liked to discuss are contained in this letter. In addition, there are other measures in the letter that was sent to you by the Prefet and read out to you. Many measures have been taken to restore security and all that remains is to concretely apply them. Your Lordship, I hope that tomorrow you will be saying mass. You will, won't you? Why will you not read it? Are there no more Christians? Invite them to attend mass. If they are not informed, send out an announcement calling on all the Christians of the Butare diocese, be they Adventists, Catholics or Protestants, to return to church and attend mass. Give me the announcement, I will forward it to the competent service. People should repent for the sins they committed, as long as security is restored. Dear Bourgmestres, there are markets in your respective communes. Why do people not come there to buy or sell goods? You may answer that it is because of insecurity. But why is there insecurity? Why are people tearing each other to pieces? I told you what was at the origin of this state of affairs and NDUNGUTSE also talked to you. It is Habyarimana's assassin who sparked things off. As for us, we are innocent, because we did not know where the keg was. If those who killed him were quick to launch attacks, it is because they had a whole agenda. They hoped to take over control of Kigali within forty-eight hours and take over power. By the time the government was formed, the forty-eight hours had elapsed and they could have been in power, as they had envisaged. The first victims had fallen. We continued trying to restore security by preventing people from carrying out atrocities against each other. Don't you ever listen to the radio? What does Radio Rwanda say?

We asked for the message to be aired. But we thought it necessary to dispatch members of government and representatives of political parties to the prefectures to ask you to help us. The government is there for you and you promised us your support. We are asking you to safeguard peace and security for all those living in Rwanda, for all the people under your authority. The harm has been done, some people died and others lost their relatives. But for how long will those of us who survived continue to tear one another to pieces? We are sincerely asking you to make peace. We are asking you to safeguard peace and security. The Prefet told me some good news a while ago: banks are open and people can now withdraw money to cater for their various needs. That is a good thing. Now, why do you not want your neighbour to go and buy provisions like you? People should go to the market, let the markets be busy! We now know the enemy and we know where the battlefield is. We know that the enemy is present here in the country, we know that there are accomplices even here in Butare. However, do not assume that your neighbour is an accomplice. He could look like an accomplice but not be one. And, if you happened to eliminate him, would it not be unjust? It is said that God forgives but I wonder whether He will forgive even somebody who decided to kill a human being or commit atrocities against another person, without asking himself if the person were not innocent. If you see an accomplice or someone who resembles an accomplice, or if you suspect that someone is an accomplice, tell the authorities. They will determine whether he is an accomplice by asking him if he is one or not. This will be done without getting anybody to suffer injustice. Due account should be taken of all the characteristics of the enemy since they are known, we have already discovered them. If you discover that somebody is innocent, why attack the person? Is it simply because the person is Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa? Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, please, help us to ensure that nobody is targeted on the grounds of his ethnic or regional origin, his wealth or poverty, in short, nobody should be attacked unjustly. Innocent people should not be attacked. However, I repeat, the enemy's agents are everywhere, collaborators of the enemy exist. So do not be distracted for, although we say that we want peace, there should be no respite for an enemy that you have already identified. . But then, be careful not to be mistaken about the enemy. The enemy's collaborators are easy to identify, since we have already discovered their characteristics. Be prudent and do all in your power to ensure that everybody can live in peace again, that peace and security are restored in the country. That said, some fearful people might say that, in spite of the message from the government, they could be attacked unjustly. Reassure them. Administrative authorities, ladies and gentlemen, reassure members of the population so that they should not be afraid. That is why I am asking you to reopen the markets so that people can buy and sell. The hospitals should open; so should the schools, where there are still teachers. How would you know that a school no longer has teachers if you do not reopen it? Reopen the schools to pupils. I am referring in particular to primary schools. Allow the pupils to come to school and you will know whether a teacher is missing in one school or another. And then you will be able to inform the competent authorities so that a replacement can be found. The schools inspectorate cannot record the absence of a teacher from a school, if the school is not open. Health centres and hospitals must reopen; or else, it will not be possible to record the absence of doctors and nurses. Places of worship should reopen so that we can ascertain the absence or presence of pastors or priests and so that religious authorities can replace those who are absent. However, those

who are present must live in peace. I am asking you to lend us a hand; we are appealing for your support. Together, let us fight against the enemy.

You see, you could decide to attack someone. But let us suppose that the person you are attacking is the younger brother of a soldier in the battlefield. If the soldier learns of the death of his younger brother while he is in the heat of action, he will lose his momentum. "What am I hearing? Such and such a person is dead?" he will ask himself. His momentum will definitely be lost because he is a human being. Are you aware that some people steal not because they are fated to do so but out of necessity? For Goodness' sake, come to our aid, we are asking for your support. Come to the aid of the government of *abatabazi* and you all should be *abatabazi* (liberators). Spread this message out on your hills and in the establishments where you work. Know that we are all *abatabazi*; that we already know who the enemy is. He is called Inkotanyi. Inkotanyi are not found only in Kigali and Butare... or rather, they are not found only in Ruhengeri and Byumba but also in Butare. Be vigilant, identify them and do not look out only for them. Do not attack a person because of his ethnic origin, because he is handsome or ugly, tall or short, or rich or poor. Every person has a right to life, except the enemy, for the simple reason that he is the enemy. In short, as I told you at the beginning of my speech, I was only repeating what you have already been told. So I hope you are going to help us as I have just asked. I hope that, considering the content of the message that the Prime Minister has delivered to you on behalf of the government, each of you will make sure you have a copy of the message. I am not saying that the prefecture has enough money to produce paper since I believe I know its budget. What I am asking for is that you should help each other. You could contribute so that each of you can have a copy of this message that I believe is only four pages long. Heads of establishments can post this message, these pages where everyone can read it. Bougmestres can put it up at the communal offices and the conseillers at the secteur offices. In this way, the message will be received everywhere and life will return to normal in Rwanda, peace will be restored in the country. But, if this is not done, if you do not help us, do not hold the government responsible for this state of affairs because we all will have our own share of responsibility. We are saying it out loud; we have just transmitted the message. We are assigning you to pass on the message, let us pool our forces. We will no longer tolerate people talking about a government of killers, if you fold your arms even when we have told you how to help us combat crime. We have a shared responsibility. If we are found guilty of mass killing, we will say that we are not the only killers. In fact, NIYITIGEKA has not killed anybody; neither has HABINEZA. Similarly, no minister has killed. That said, to say that this is a government of killers is (incomplete sentence). I would not like to utter insults, like those who say that. Whatever the case, Your Lordship, if we were ever to be prosecuted, you would also be prosecuted because you would have failed to help restore security, although I requested you to do so. The bourgmestres and conseillers share my responsibility because I will say, "In Butare, I asked them to act. Why did they not act? Go and ask them to confirm or deny what I am saying." And when you will be asked, will you say I told you nothing? It will not be possible for you to do so because my speech is being recorded. This therefore is the message. I am begging you to lend us a hand. If the spilled blood were to fertilize our soil, then the soil would be fertile. But,

instead of fertilizing the soil, I think it will rather make the soil barren. Please, help us to restore peace in this country and security in your home.

End of Side A

SIDE B

- Unidentified speaker, Radio Rwanda journalist:

As part of consultations with members of the population and especially with prefectural authorities on the progress of the government's programme to restore security, the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, accompanied by the Prefet of Gikongoro, Laurent Bucyibaruta, visited Gikongoro prefecture yesterday. He held a meeting with service

heads and representatives of religious denominations and political parties in Gikongoro. Our colleague, Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka reports on the meeting.

- Speaker: Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka, Radio Rwanda journalist:

During the meeting that lasted over four hours, the participants exchanged ideas on the causes of the ongoing war and the disturbances subsequent to the assassination of President Habyarimana. The president died when the enemy shot down the plane that was bringing him back from Dar-es-Salaam where he had gone to negotiate peace for Rwanda. They also examined together the consequences of disturbances that occurred following the shooting. On the whole, the participants expressed satisfaction with the gradual restoration of security in Gikongoro following the stoppage of massacres.

Prefet Laurent Bucyibaruta took the floor and introduced the guests; namely, the Prime Minister, Daniel Mbangura, Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Prosper Mugiraneza, Minister of Public Service, Emmanuel Ndindabahizi, Minister of Finance, as well as Barrister Karemera and Doctor Donat Murego, representing the MRND and the MDR respectively. He went on to state that there was security in Gikongoro as a result of the measures which had been taken, including the organization of meetings in all the communes. However, nobody is perfect. In fact, he said that the inhabitants of Gikongoro were worried about the consequences of war that were beginning to be discernible in Gikongoro. Among such consequences, he mentioned certain diseases that could no longer be cured since all health centres had been closed. He also talked of the increasingly raging famine because goods were no longer bought and sold, and people were tearing one another to pieces as a result of the latent conflict.

After the problems the prefecture of Gikongoro in particular was facing had been presented, Prime Minister Jean Kambanda said he was proud of Gikongoro Prefecture, since it had implemented the programme of the government. The programme consisted mainly in governing and administering the country with rigour but especially to restore security. He asked the people of Gikongoro to continue to support the national army in its fight against the enemy; namely, the RPF-Inkotanyi and not to attack innocent people by confusing between the enemy and the neighbour. He continued his speech in the following terms:

- Speaker: Jean Kambanda, Prime Minister of the government of Abatabazi:

The enemy who has attacked Rwanda is known; it is the RPF-Inkotanyi. I am therefore asking you to explain to members of the population that they should avoid anything which can lead them to tear one another to pieces on the basis of ethnic, regional,

religious, political or other differences. In fact, unrest amongst the population provides an opening to the enemy. Let me repeat what I have just said to make sure that I am well understood. Do not confuse the enemy with your neighbour, with a Tutsi or with somebody against whom you are bearing a grudge. We know the enemy who has attacked our country; it is the RPF-Inkotanyi. That is our enemy, the one we are fighting against. As we have already explained, the RPF has deployed brigades throughout the country but the national army has done its best to neutralize it. Therefore, do not confuse between the RPF-Inkotanyi and your neighbour or a member of any ethnic group. The RPF has specific objectives and an army and it is that army that we are fighting against on the battlefield.

- Speaker: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:

In his speech to the people of Gikongoro, the Prime Minister dealt with another point, namely the Rwandan government's reaction to the RPF's cease-fire proposal. He stated as follows:

- Speaker: Jean Kambanda:

As concerns the negotiations on the cease-fire, our position is as follows: for the hostilities to cease, the RPF must first of all retreat to the positions it held before it violated the cease-fire agreements. You know that there was an RPF-controlled zone and a demilitarized zone. We are therefore requesting the RPF to order its elements to go back to the zone it was occupying before December, before its battalion was deployed in Kigali. That is one of the prerequisite conditions for us to accept to stop the hostilities, to put an end to the war and begin negotiations.

Besides, you know that, recently, the RPF committed massacres in the zone under its control. That has been covered adequately by the media. People who follow the news on foreign radios cannot know that because foreign radios do not mention it. But then, from information reaching us, the RPF is said to have already massacred 30,000 people in the following regions: Ruhengeri region: Nkumba, Cyeru, Nyamugari and Butaro communes, in the Byumba region, in the Kibungo region, where its elements are already present, as well as in the Kigali region. The RPF kills wherever it passes. That is why we are asking it to put an end to its massacres so that the war can cease. The RPF must stop committing massacres where it passes. We have tangible evidence that the RPF continues to massacre innocent Rwandan citizens as it passes. We are requesting the RPF to ask the 600 soldiers it deployed in Kigali to return to their positions. The RPF must get the soldiers back to the zone under its control because we think that they have nothing to do in Kigali. The soldiers were supposed to provide protection for Inkotanyi leaders who had to take part in the projected institutions. Since, from all indications, the

time for the institutions to be set up has not come yet, the RPF should withdraw its soldiers from Kigali and deploy them in its own positions, while waiting for the institutions to be set up.

- Speaker: Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:

The people attending the meeting asked the Prime Minister many questions. Their questions were centred mainly on the following points: possibility of distributing weapons to the population to defend itself against the enemy, exchange of goods between the various regions, and the situation on the military front.

As concerns the situation on the military front, the Prime Minister declared that, although victory was certain, it was necessary to negotiate. He asked the people of Rwanda not to lend any credence to rumours propagated by the Inkotanyi that they were already occupying a major part of the national territory. He said it in the following words "That is a strategy used by the maquis to instil fear among Rwandans. We have all the necessary equipment, the Inyenzi do not have more soldiers than we do and Rwandans are more united than ever before." Nevertheless, he concluded his speech by saying that violence must cease throughout the country and that citizens must be careful with anything that can divide them. He added that the people should rather start working and that productive activities should resume wherever possible as from Monday.

- Unidentified speaker: Radio Rwanda journalist:

...They should immediately stop the fighting and begin negotiations. In his speech broadcast on the Voice of America, President Bill Clinton declared that the resumption of hostilities in Rwanda had frightened the international community. He added that his country supported the mediators who were trying to find a solution to the Rwandan problem. He said that the United States were prepared to contribute to restore peace in Rwanda.

[Musical interlude]

[The following italicized text appears in the original in French]

- Speaker: Gilbert Rwamatwara, Radio Rwanda journalist:

The pacification campaign is going on. Government delegations are scouring the country to meet with local authorities and find ways and means of restoring calm throughout the country--the calm jeopardized by the assassination of the Head of State, His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana and the resumption of hostilities on the initiative of the RPF. The campaign took the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, to Gikongoro yesterday. Following is a report from Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka:

- Speaker: Hyacinthe Bicomumpka, Radio Rwanda journalist:

The meeting dealt mainly with security and measures taken to restore peace and security in Gikongoro Prefecture. It should be noted, as Prefet Laurent Bucyibaruta stated, that an end has been put to the massacres and that reconciliation is no longer a dream. What the people of Gikongoro are rather worried about is the repercussions of the recent violence. You would recall that the violence resulted from the downing of the presidential plane that cost the life of President Habyarimana and his close collaborators last April 6. The most dreaded consequences include notably the inexorable famine which has become endemic in this prefecture, especially recently when trade problems between the various regions became worse.

The Prime Minister took the floor and informed the public of measures taken by the government to halt the massacres and restore a viable climate amongst Rwandans. The measures included getting the authorities to visit members of the population to sensitize them on the justification for reconciliation and the resumption of public services, so that the justice system can punish offenders and recalcitrants. This would curb the crime rate.

The Prime Minister revisited the conditions imposed by the RPF for a cease-fire, prior to negotiations between the two belligerent parties. He recalled that the Rwandan government was not opposed to a cease-fire; but that the RPF had to put an end to the massacres committed in the zone under its control. The parties in conflict should go back to the positions they occupied before the war and the ... the battalion which had to provide security for the officials of the RPF no longer lodged at the CND palace should return to Mulindi.

The questions asked by those in attendance included, among others, civil defence, revival of the economy and the military situation of the time.

To reassure the population, the Prime Minister stated that our armed forces were maintaining their positions and that victory was certain. He however concluded that disturbances had to stop for negotiations with the RPF to resume.

- **Speaker: Gilbert Rwamatwara:**

Bill Clinton yesterday called on the two belligerent parties in Rwanda to immediately observe a cease-fire and return to the negotiating table. He reasserted that the United States were ready to take part in a new negotiation process to bring lasting peace to the country. There we are, it is...

- **Speaker: Aimable Sibomana, Radio Rwanda journalist:**

...are exhibiting bravery in the safeguard of national territorial integrity. In the Kibungo region, the Inkotanyi have started to kill members of the population and prevent them from fleeing. Such acts violate the rights of persons.

[...]

Yesterday, while in Gikongoro, Prime Minister Jean Kambanda talked about the fact that the RPF-Inkotanyi should not be confused with people of one ethnic group or another.

The President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, asked for an immediate halt to hostilities and resumption of negotiations for peace.

On 1 May, the whole world celebrates Labour Day. Rwanda is commemorating that day today while in a war situation and while productive activities have stagnated throughout the country because of insecurity. In this newscast, we are broadcasting the speech of the Acting Secretary-General of CESTRAR (Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda), Mr. Aloys RUKEBESHA.

[Musical interlude]

On the military front, Kigali is relatively calm and the national armed forces continue to carry out mopping-up operations in order to drive out the Inkotanyi.

The Inkotanyi have also been carrying out sporadic and random bombing of Kigali and there are innocent civilians amongst the victims of the attacks.

The Rwandan army is still fighting with the forces of the RPF-Inkotanyi in Ruhengeri, particularly in Nkumba commune and Kirambo sous-prefecture.

On the Rulindo front, the Rwandan army continues to show bravery by repulsing the Inkotanyi.

At Kibungo, the Inkotanyi have started killing people and preventing them from fleeing. Those who escaped the massacres perpetrated by the Inkotanyi, especially in the Kibungo

region, crossed the border to seek refuge in Tanzania. Many people have already gone on exile. In a press conference held yesterday, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Augustin BIZIMANA, on the basis of statistics available the day before yesterday, stated that the number of refugees was about 300,000. The UNHCR, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, estimates that about 500,000 Rwandans sought refuge in Tanzania in the last three days.

In addition, the High Commission for Refugees affirms that the refugees are mostly Hutus fleeing from the Inkotanyi. The UNHCR also stated that it was the first time in its history that it was observing such a large influx of refugees in so short a time. The Commission added that preventing people from fleeing when they are threatened by death, as the RPF is doing, is a violation of human rights and international conventions which accord individuals the right to seek refuge in a place where they feel their security will be guaranteed.

Let us now listen to the speech of the interim Secretary-General of CESTRAR (Confederation of Workers' unions in Rwanda), on the occasion of this year's Labour Day.

- **Speaker: Aloys Rukebeshu, Acting Secretary-General, CESTRAR:**

Dear members of the Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda, (CESTRAR), fellow unionists, national authorities, dear employers, every 1st May, we have developed the habit of coming together at a given place, in the commune or prefecture where we exercise our professions, to celebrate the value of the worker and of labour. This year, at a time when we are commemorating Labour Day, we are in a critical situation, following the resumption of war by the RPF on 7 April. Not only has the war caused all the activities of production in the country to grind to a halt; it has also caused extensive damage to the infrastructure where most services operate.

The war resumed a few hours after criminals assassinated the Head of State, His Excellency Major General Juvenal Habyarimana. Let us all pray for his soul to rest with the Lord.

Dear members of CESTRAR, it is true that, because of the war, we can no longer perform our various duties. However, the task we are concerned with at the moment is to restore security in our country. While we are struggling to safeguard the sovereignty of the Republic of Rwanda, our already thorny problems have worsened. But let us not be discouraged; rather, let us continue to join our efforts with those of other citizens at all levels, as well as to those of the organs of power, to put our country back on the rails as

soon as possible. The problem of the halt of productive activities is amongst those that require an urgent solution. We would like that the activities should gradually resume wherever possible and that the various services should resume normal interaction because no service is self-sufficient.

Secondly, we should join the authorities and benefactors to assist people whom the war has displaced all over the country to recover their property as soon as possible, as the government wishes.

Thirdly, the problem of shortage of essential goods, coupled with the closure of markets, continues to be a serious problem to the population and, all the more so, to workers who need their salaries to survive. That is why I am calling on leaders of CESTRAR wherever they may be, to work in concert with the local authorities and in collaboration with members of the population, to find a solution to these urgent problems.

Dear members of CESTRAR, fellow colleagues, today, the whole world is celebrating the 75th anniversary of the International Labour Organization. ILO is affiliated to the United Nations Organization, of which our country is a member. It was created in 1919 after the First World War had just ravaged the whole world and paralyzed all activities of production. This organization was set up on the initiative of workers of the world to serve as a forum for officials, employers and employees. A tripartite structure is set up in each country as a counterpart of the organization. As far as we are concerned, we have been struggling for a long time for the creation of such a structure in Rwanda. We continue to clamour for the setting up of that structure, so that it may serve as a forum where our problems can be discussed and resolved, before they become more complicated. Furthermore, we are asking the International Labour Organization to help us revive production in our country. In fact, that is one of its duties.

Dear members of CESTRAR, dear colleagues and brothers, let me reiterate my request for you to support the government in power that is trying to restore peace in the country. Let us support our government, let us lend it a hand in its quest for solutions to our problems, especially the war which has resumed. We must especially encourage the Rwandan government and the RPF to return to the negotiating table and embark on frank negotiations, to definitively solve this problem which is an obstacle to us and to the development of our country.

Fellow workers, I will not deliver a long speech today because, if all goes well, we will have the opportunity to provide you with information based on your requests and suggestions. Nevertheless, I would like to ask you once more to join forces with the other members of the population to restore peace in our country. That will enable us to rebuild our country in truth, love and tolerance.

- **Speaker: Aimable Sibomana:**

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That was Mr. Aloys RUKEBESHA, Acting Secretary-General of CESTRAR, Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda, speaking on the occasion of this year's Labour Day. The day is being celebrated today while our country is living through difficult times because of the war.

[The following italicized text appears in French in the original]

[Signature tune of the news in French]

- **Speaker: Gilbert Rwamatwara:**

Good afternoon and welcome to the newscast. First the headlines. The pacification campaign is on, government delegations... there is a real genocide in the Southeast of the country, with selective massacres against the Hutus. Even the border with Tanzania was closed to prevent the people from fleeing, so that they should be killed.

Labour... fortunately, it was not celebrated in Rwanda: you will listen to a statement from the Secretary-General of the Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda. And then in South Africa, votes are being counted, one-seventh of all the ballot papers have been counted and the ANC is way ahead. Those were the headlines.

(Musical Interlude)

Kigali: relative calm is still prevailing, the Rwandan Armed Forces are still carrying out mopping-up operations. The Inkotanyi continue to pound the capital and anywhere else and their shells are landing even on innocent civilians.

In Ruhengeri, the Rwandan Armed Forces are also fighting against the enemy, especially in Nkumba Commune and Kirambo sous-prefecture. The enemy is trying to make headway but to no avail.

As for Rulindo, the Rwandan Armed Forces are valiantly repulsing the enemy, who will soon be sent packing shamefully. But, in Kibungo, there is grief; the RPF is spreading panic amongst the population. They are killing everybody in sight, from babies to the elderly. That is why, for the past few days, there has been massive displacement of people towards Tanzania. It is precisely the genocide of the RPF that the population is fleeing from, especially selective genocide, because only the Hutus, for the most part, are targeted. UNHCR estimates that 500,000 or so refugees have crossed into Tanzania in the past three days. According to the Commission, this is the first time it is witnessing such a huge number of refugees within such a time span.

UNHCR has denounced the acts of violence of the RPF, which is preventing the people from fleeing and killing them in cold blood. The Commission adds that such an attitude violates human rights and the international convention on the right of persons to seek refuge where their life is safe.

The RPF, which is posing as a liberator, should carry out a proper assessment of the hostile feelings generated against it by this unprecedented exodus of civilians, which is intensifying as the RPF progresses. Had the RPF not distinguished itself by systematically eliminating civilians, the movement of the population would not have attained such alarming proportions, thus forcing the international community to mobilize itself to help people who until recently could support their needs.

It should be noted that, in its initiative to resume hostilities, RPF is clearly supported by foreign countries, especially Uganda and Belgium.

On 1 May and every year on that date, the international community celebrates Labour Day. But, unfortunately, workers in Rwanda cannot celebrate, because of the country's present situation. The RPF has ruined everything. Nevertheless, following is a statement by the acting Secretary-General of the Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda, Mr. Aloys Rukebeshu, relating to Labour Day.

(Music)

- Speaker: Aloys Rukebeshu:

... Members of the CESTRAR, fellow workers, national authorities, dear employers,

Today, 1 May, is Labour Day, a day we normally celebrate every year in our various communes, in our various undertakings. We always celebrated 1 May and will always

celebrate it to remind us of the value of labour and of the worker. But this year, 1 May comes at a time when our country is facing enormous difficulties resulting from the resumption of armed hostilities launched by the RPF last April 7. Since the hostilities resumed, work has ground to a halt almost everywhere in our country. And the great danger we are facing presently has come at an even more critical period, since the hostilities are resuming when we have just lost our Head of State, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, assassinated by individuals who are still at large. May the Good Lord receive the soul of the Head of State who was assassinated shamefully by troublemakers.

Dear friends and members of CESTRAR, although work has stopped in our country because of armed hostilities, it is nevertheless our national duty to help the country restore peace, by counselling one another and exchanging ideas throughout the country, so that people can continue to work for peace to be restored.

As we celebrate Labour Day, we are also commemorating the 73rd anniversary of the International Labour Organization. That is why, on behalf of the Confederation of Workers' Unions in Rwanda (CESTRAR), it is my duty to once more call on all our members to support the government's efforts for peace in a country that has been bereaved by the resumption of the hostilities we just mentioned.

In times of difficulty, the road to peace has been barred by intolerance. We are calling on the government of Rwanda and the Rwandan Patriotic Front to resume frank negotiations for peace in the nation.

We are also launching an appeal to the international community, in particular the International Labour Organization and the entire United Nations system, as well as to friendly countries, to bring pressure to bear on the RPF, so that it can accept negotiations with the Rwandan government. In that way, peace can be restored and... we can embark resolutely on the democratization of our country.

Dear friends and members of CESTRAR, I am asking you again to help your comrades wherever you are in the country so that our country can continue its quest for peace, the only guarantee for development and progress.

I thank you and see you next time.

- Unidentified speaker:

... (inaudible)... First of all, I would like to thank you for having come out in your numbers to attend this meeting. In fact, the message we have to convey to you today can be summarized in two almost identical points, since they both relate to restoring peace in this country.

The first point concerns the circular letter that we sent to all prefets and which contains instructions to be applied under the present circumstances so that peace can be restored in the country and productive activities can resume. We congratulate you, you citizens of Gikongoro prefecture, because, instead of waiting for instructions to be given to you, you yourselves took certain measures to restore peace in your prefecture.

The second point relates to the message we addressed to RPF-Inkotanyi yesterday. In that message, we asked it to emulate our example by stopping hostilities, turning its back to war and embracing peace. I will also summarize that message for you.

The message we sent to the prefets includes instructions relating to the restoration of peace in the country. I read that message on the radio but I will also read it to you so that you can ask us for clarifications or make suggestions concerning it. And then we shall attempt to answer your questions or follow your suggestions. Let me inform you that, in accordance with the decision of the Cabinet, this pacification message is being delivered by a delegation comprising members of the government and the leaders of political parties who set up this government. Accordingly, one of the leaders of the political parties will convey the message of pacification. I will not speak on his behalf, since he is here.

As the prefet said, and as we have said repeatedly on the airwaves, you would recall that, on 6 April 1994, the plane transporting our Head of State, His Excellency Major General Juvenal HABYARIMANA and the President of Burundi, His Excellency Cyprien NTARYAMIRA, as well as members of their delegations, was shot down by criminals. At the time, they were returning from Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania where they had gone to take part in a summit with a view to restoring peace in the subregion. In violation of the Arusha peace accords, the RPF-Inkotanyi resumed hostilities by attacking Rwandan Armed Forces positions. Simultaneously, elements of the RPF responsible for the protection of Inkotanyi dignitaries left the CND, where they were stationed, spread out in Kigali and started killing and attempting to take over control of Rwandan Armed Forces camps.

The macabre news of the assassination of the President of the Republic and resumption of hostilities by the RPF quickly spread throughout the country. Disturbances immediately erupted everywhere, causing human and material casualties and forcing some citizens to abandon their property. After that unfortunate event, the Rwandan Armed Forces went up to the enemy and did all in their power to ensure the security of goods and persons.

After realizing that the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister had been killed during the disturbances, the political parties represented in the government, namely MRND, MDR, PL, PSD and PDC quickly met to see how they could together get the country out of the impasse caused by the death of these top-level authorities. In accordance with Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 10 June 1991, the Chairman of the National Development Council immediately started acting as President of the Republic. Accordingly, it was Doctor Theodore SINDIKUBWABO who became President of the Republic. He subsequently appointed a Prime Minister, in the person of Jean Kambanda. Mr. Kambanda transmitted to the President of the Republic the list of members of his Cabinet, after consultation...[interruption]

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