

## SIDE A

00 min.01sec.

**Speaker:** Noel Hitimana, RTLM journalist

.....written in French, but it is for the purpose of ensuring that things go smoothly over this weekend. I shall first read it to those who understand French, then I will see how to go about having it in Kinyarwanda.

**Original text in French (pp. 4 to 6)**

Kigali, 14 January 1994

The Prime Minister  
Kigali.

Madam Prime Minister,

Subject : Meeting of the Cabinet

We have observed that for some time now you have not been convening Cabinet meetings, under various pretences. In that respect, we wish to remind you that the *Directeur de cabinet* [Principal Private Secretary] at the Office of the President of the Republic conveyed to us, in his letter No. 005/01.13 dated 6 January 1994, a message from the President of the Republic requesting you to convene a meeting of the Cabinet to assess progress with regard to the establishment of the transitional institutions and to examine..... examine the hindrances to the said process as well as action to be taken by the Government to that end.

In your reply by letter No. 0011/02.3.1 dated 7 January 1994, you claimed that there was no legal framework for holding such meetings. The same argument was again advanced in your statement broadcast on national radio on 13 January 1994.

Madam Prime Minister, we are under obligation to call your attention to the fact that a legal framework for convening the Cabinet does indeed exist. The said framework is defend in Article 8 of the Arusha Accords which stipulates that the current Government shall remain in power until the Broad-based Transitional Government is established. You

will recall that in your letter No. 1029/02.3.1 of 29 January 1994, addressed to the President of the Republic, you yourself made reference to that same Article to justify the part to be played by Government in establishing the transitional institutions.

**02 min. 05 sec.**

Furthermore, in what capacity do you address..... do you address, in what capacity do you address the Nation if you are the head of a Government that no longer exists?

You have to admit, Madam Prime Minister, that the attitude adopted by you is nothing more than a desire to appropriate the prerogatives incumbent upon the Cabinet. In this way, you are able to take unilateral and partisan measures in disregard of this body which is the ..... is the Cabinet.

While pursuing this attitude, you delight in passing onto the President of the Republic issues which should normally be discussed by the Cabinet. These issues relate in particular to the economic crisis and to security.

In fact, the measures to be taken to confront the economic crisis and the famine, and consideration of the budget can only be adopted by the Cabinet. As for security, remember ..... hm, that as Prime Minister, you are the Chairman of the National Security Council and, furthermore, the Intelligence Services are under your authority. Therefore, nothing allows you to shirk your duties in the area of security. Your recent untimely statements calling in particular on ..... your responsibilities as Prime Minister.

Madam Prime Minister, in view of the foregoing, and given the difficult situation the country is going through, we urge you to keep out of the fray, and to focus on the higher interests of the Nation by ensuring that the Government functions until the Broad-based Transitional Government. is established.

**04 min.07 sec.**

Accept, Madam Prime Minister, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Signed by :

- Minister of the Interior and Communal Development, Faustin Munyazesa
- Minister for Planning, Augustin Ngirabatware
- Minister for Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture, Daniel e...Mbangura
- Minister for Trade, Industry and Handicrafts, Justin Mugenzi
- Minister for the Civil Service, Prosper Mugiraneza
- Minister of Health, Casimir Bizimungu
- Minister of Justice, Agnès Ntamabyaliro
- Minister for Youth and Cooperatives, Callixte Nzabonimana
- Minister of Defence, Augustin Bizimana
- Minister of Transport and Communications, André Ntagerura
- Minister for the Family and Women's Welfare, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko
- Minister for the Environment and Tourism, Gaspard Nyiramasuhuko

Copied to:

His Excellency the President of the Republic

All Ministers

Chairmen of all political parties:

**05 min.09 sec.**

m...MRND (coughing) .... MRND

MDR

PSD

PL, and

PDC.

Heads of diplomatic missions and consulates accredited to Kigali.

Dear listeners to RTLM Radio, I told you that our broadcasts were going to be extended by a few minutes to enable us to give you the content of this communiqué during this weekend. This is so that you will be aware of the situation. All the Ministers have signed a document addressed to the Prime Minister, informing her that they are still in

office, and that it is incumbent upon her to give them work, so that they can take decisions on the economy, on national sovereignty and on security. The Cabinet has to take many decisions. What is more, it is she, the Prime Minister, if such is the case, who has the prerogative to convene a meeting of the Cabinet so they can serve the country. They blame her for working alone as if they are no longer in office and ask her who gave her information to that effect.

However, if she is convinced, as they say, that they are no longer Ministers, she is at liberty to announce the dissolution of the Government and her resignation, and to end matters there, hm. Let her have the courage to declare her incompetence and to leave the field open. If she declares herself to be incompetent, (laughter) it will be so, where is the problem? When you become incompetent, you resign. If she has resigned, let her be realistic and announce it so we know. Otherwise, the Ministers claim that they no longer work because of Madam, their boss. So, let her exercise her authority on them! Have they perchance become insubordinate?

I cannot tell you anything else. This evening we shall continue reading other communiqué in our possession. A good day to all of you. This is Ntezima (inaudible).

..... first free Radio in Rwanda, sympathetic Radio, your Radio, a Radio that gives you news on all your favourite topics. In fact, at RTL, our priority is to assist all Rwandans and everybody by giving them their favourite news (laughter). We also have the source of ..... and music. In short, our priority is to bring you the news and good music. This is a commercial radio; it is not Radio Rwanda, it is not the official radio station. We broadcast official news for the simple reason that we are in this country to enable Rwandans to know the Government line and what the Government wants them to understand, but freedom of speech is the norm at RTL.

**08 min. 01 sec**

Hey! This morning I was listening to a radio station (still laughing), and at one point it was announced that there had been a breakdown, ha, ha, ha (still laughing). I therefore responded by saying that he should be muzzled! Eh....., Mugenzi has of

course been muzzled, yes, he has been muzzled. I said that he had just been muzzled. Well, it's been done, hm!

It's like Petters, this old Belgian priest of Kicukiro. We made our comments here at RTLM with respect to the stand he took at Remera on the country's politics, and asked him not to get involved in politics when he preaches the Word of God in church. The politics of Rwanda is known and we know its current status. We are at a very dangerous turning point. He should prevent this change from sweeping away those who are perhaps heading towards the end *of the tunnel*. We are in a dangerous tunnel, hm!

Regarding the statements he made yesterday, denouncing RTLM, is the latter the source of the massacres and mutual conflicts? When was RTLM founded? It was founded well after the start of the war, after three years of war. Hm! Did RTLM trigger the war? Or is RTLM endeavouring to tell the truth as it is? Let's speak the truth and describe the situation.

Must we fool people, eh.... . hm deceive them and stop them from realizing the truth? They are not found in Kicukiro alone, because there is also a priest at Nyamirambo, in Nyamirambo parish, hm! I will have him listen to the recording of his statements. As soon as he has listened to it, ha, ha, ha (still laughing). It is disturbing to listen to his tape. You realize that you are ridiculous and that is where the problem lies, it can even be used against you in court and you cannot deny it.

They should stop pitching us against each other, especially as they are white people. And moreover, what did Mathieu Ndirumpatse say yesterday? Did he not say that in 1960 and 1961 some white people, hm, triggered off the referendum? The United Nations (UN) came back under a new formula; why are they envisaging its departure? Yes, it will depart after resolving this conflict, but the Whites will not be the architects of such a resolution, especially as they are old. If they have grown old with their old ideas, they should get rid of those ideas and leave us alone.

**10 min 07 sec**

..... the road is long, yes, and then the days follow each other but they are not the same. However, what do you say about a priest who declares that the RTLM employees, Noel Hatimana, Kantano and others, are like dogs which walk by the fence of someone's home and urinates on it, and that they should be left to bark. These were statements made in church, to Christians, that Noel Hatimnana is like a dog which walks by the fence of someone's home and urinates on it. Statements made in church!

Dear friends, did the congregation in question appreciate the provocation by this priest? The priest should consider whether they appreciated him or whether they are going to continue attending his masses. He has to examine his conscience. No, it is not good. In this country, there are several ways to fight a war. However, a war should not be fought in front of a large congregation of believers, who have come to you in joy, and turn prayer into a question of dogs urinating against someone's fence. The priest Petters is an old man. He lives in Kicukiro; he should examine his conscience and understand that what he had heard ..... he has visited many schools, but that there is no link between what he has heard and his words. Moreover, we request him to excuse us, this is a free Radio, in the same way, perhaps, that he is also free in his church. However, I know that the Canon Law exists and that this priest is governed by some regulation, hm! And hm! Okay, I stop here!

..... Your RTLM Radio, you heard yesterday that .... to tell you the truth, MRND had booked your Radio, Radio RTLM for the whole day. MRND told us this: "There is nothing to do, there is no discussion, do what we tell you to do, because the money is available. In short, broadcast our transmissions on the airwaves of your Radio RTLM in the way we want it done."

I am telling you this so that the other democratic, republican parties which wish to broadcast on the airwaves for as many hours can contact us, and we shall make arrangements to broadcast their ideologies, opinions, in short, their wishes, hm! The same goes for complaints for whatever reason. We are fully at their service, on condition that they recognize and fight for the Republic and for democracy. RTLM will

broadcast their messages for fear that anyone accuses this Radio of being exclusively for MRND.

13 min. 04 sec.

No, this Radio belongs to all Rwandans, to all foreign shareholders..... In short the Radio belongs to all the shareholders, it is a company. It is a limited company. However, our objective, which is statutory by the way, is to fight for the Republic and for democracy. We shall come to agreement with whoever is fighting for the Republic and for democracy and who will request one, two, three, or five hours to make a broadcast. The way that ....

..... four..... it is nine o'clock in Kigali. At RTL, your Radio, we are conversing, we compromise and we negotiate, we play good music for you and we broadcast your communiqués. But there is also an exchange of views, for instance, by listening to the communiqué of the spokesperson of the Presidency of the Republic and the *Directeur de cabinet* at the Office of the President of the Republic, Enoch Ruhigira. This communiqué refutes that of Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, regarding the delay in establishing the transitional institutions.

This communiqué was broadcast in Kigali on 14 January 1994 and it states as follows: "In view of the statements made to the people of Rwanda on the airwaves of Radio Rwanda by Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Prime Minister, the spokesperson of the Presidency of the Republic, deems it necessary to communicate the following to Rwandans and to the international community:

- Firstly, in her message, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Prime Minister, lays the blame on the President of the Republic for all the problems that have hindered the establishment of the transitional institutions;
- Secondly, it is unfortunate to observe that certain senior authorities of our country and even certain political party leaders, continue to neglect the problems faced by the people and pursue their own interests. They sing the same old song, namely

that President Habyarimana is responsible for everything that is going wrong, whereas the responsibility lies with them;

15 min. 06 sec.

- Thirdly, by resorting to such tactics, the Prime Minister seems to deliberately forget the correspondence and the discussions she had with the President of the Republic, as well as the events that occurred on the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month (coughing);
- Fourthly, the MDR and PL parties have, above all, been marked by divisions for a long time following misunderstandings among their leaders. Some of them say that these differences have delayed the establishment of the transitional institutions; which is what the parties say themselves. This is why the religious leaders have tried to reconcile them by giving them advice;
- Fifthly, Article 60 of the Arusha Peace Agreement on power sharing provides that the Deputies shall be appointed by their own political forces whereas Article 52 provides that the transitional Prime Minister shall, in consultation with each political force called upon to participate in Government, select the candidates for the portfolios distributed among the various political forces;
- Sixthly, due to the prevailing divisions among the MDR and PL parties, their leaders do not agree on the lists of their candidates for ministers and deputies;
- In the seventh place, the Arusha Peace Agreement, is not clear on the procedure to be followed in the presentation of the list of candidates for deputies. The Agreement does not specify who receives the list, who examines it, hm! On the contrary, it provides that the President of the Republic shall swear in the deputies and shall chair their first session during which they shall elect the bureau of the Assembly;



- In the eighth place, given their legal prerogatives to select their deputies, and given that the President of the Republic chairs the first session, some political forces chose to write to him, forwarding the names of their deputies [members of Parliament] while the others wrote to the Prime Minister in response to the letter that she wrote to me (to Enoch Ruhigira);

**18 min. 02 sec.**

- In the ninth place, in her letter dated 24 February, the Prime Minister communicated in writing to the President of the Republic a list of deputies in her possession and informed him that the PL party had drawn up two lists, one prepared by Justin Mugenzi, the Chairman of the Party, and the other by Charles Kayiranga and his group. What is surprising is that the Prime Minister subsequently transmitted to the President of the Constitutional Court a list of deputies which she described as "final" without ever mentioning that she had received two lists from the PL party. Strangely enough, she chose the list not submitted by the recognized Chairman of the Party. The decision of the Constitutional Court made no comment on that list, except that its President had personally transmitted the said list in writing to the Prime Minister, as it had been sent to him, taking care to indicate that those were the Minister that would be sworn in. It is not stated anywhere in the Arusha Peace Agreement that this magistrate or that Court shall have jurisdiction to examine the "lists" of deputies;
- In the tenth place, because of all these problems, in his letter of 31 December 1993, the President of the Republic requested the Prime Minister to convene the Cabinet to consider and resolve those problems. At first, the Prime Minister refused to do so, but subsequently agreed, without conviction, to convene a meeting of the Cabinet, hm! She did not even allow Radio Rwanda to announce the holding of the Cabinet meeting. All these moves show that the Prime Minister wanted to dispense with the Cabinet to have the list of PL deputies that she wanted approved, hm, in violation of the laws and to promote her personal political interests;

- In the eleventh place, this is the reason why she unilaterally set the date of 1 January 1994 for ceremonies for the swearing in of the President of the Republic and the establishment of transitional institutions without consulting the Head of State and without knowing his agenda;
- In the twelfth place, in accordance with the law, the President of the Republic preferred to inform the Prime Minister that he was ready to swear his oath and to have the deputies sworn in on 5 January 1994. He also informed her about lists of deputies which had been submitted by the officials of the political forces as provided for by the Constitution, the Statutes and the Organic Law on political parties. Only the swearing in of the President of the Republic took place. What is unfortunate is that the swearing in of the deputies was postponed on the grounds that the RPF and PL deputies had not been present in the morning, and that in the afternoon, the RPF and PSD deputies, as well as the President of the Constitutional Court had not been present;

**21 min. 07 sec.**

In the meantime, at about noon on the same day, the Prime Minister preferred to hastily write to the President of the Court to prevent him from proceeding with the ceremony for the swearing in of the deputies. Strangely enough, she had held discussions with the President of the Republic the day before and had agreed that the ceremonies should proceed, only to renege on the agreement and to draw up another programme;

- In the thirteenth place, the Prime Minister again wrote to the President of the Republic on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month, requesting that the ceremonies take place on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The President of the Republic immediately granted her audience to provide him with proof that no party would prevent its candidate deputies from attending the swearing in ceremonies, as had been the case on 5 January 1994. The Prime Minister informed the President of the Republic that she did not have such evidence. The President of the Republic also requested her to do her best, with

assistance from the Government, to jointly find a solution to the impediments to the establishment of the transitional institutions (coughing);

- In the fourteenth place, the Prime Minister preferred to say that the mandate of her Government had ended on 29 December the previous year, and that it was no longer functional. She even stated this in her letter of 7 January 1994. As she herself says that she is no longer working, it would be better for her to leave those who want to work to do so, without impeding them. What could speed up the process further would be for those who feel prejudiced by their political party leaders to refer the matter to the courts in accordance with the relevant legal provisions, so as to permanently resolve the disputes;
- In the fifteenth place, regarding the other excuses given by Mrs. Uwilingiyimana, they only serve to distract people, because as far as the unpaid salaries of teachers are concerned, it is not because there is no budget for 1994, because the salaries concerned are those for December last year.

**24 min.03 sec.**

#### Other problems

- Famine
- War-displaced persons
- The economy
- Insecurity

It is true, instead of taking advantage of the situation to accuse the President of the Republic, she should rather come to agreement with the President of her party and solve the problems within her party. Let her stop meddling in the affairs of other parties in a bid to find forces to assist her in the to accomplish her political plan and she will see that the situation will be resolved.

Dear friends, listeners to your Radio, Radio RTLM, you have been listening to the communiqué issued by Enoch Ruhigira, spokesperson for the Presidency of the Tribunal

and *Directeur de cabinet* at the Office of the President. He hid nothing from you. In fact, I will tell you in a few minutes, in four minutes (he laughs) what another Radio Station did not want to broadcast. The President of PL will tell you how "they will see". Ha, ha! He will tell you how they will see!

So, in a short while, in ... minutes .....

..... yesterday during the MRND meeting held at the stadium, we were able to observe the prevailing situation in the country. You were able to see how the *Interahamwe* themselves fully ensured security here in the capital. I mean throughout the capital, in all neighbourhoods, there was total security thanks to the *Interahamwe*. The question that we asked ourselves was whether someone had prevented the Army from assuming its responsibilities. I saw helicopters flying overhead, I even saw the UNAMIR plane landing at the site, only that it took off again immediately without any reaction from the people. We did not know what they wanted. I also told you that I saw four UNAMIR officers at the stadium. Are we going to end up preventing our soldiers from working? If this UNAMIR is competent, let it prove its competence and intervene everywhere. Otherwise, since we have the habit of saying that it was in Arusha and Kinyira that things were planned, I have pointed out that there should be Kigali Accords.

**26 min.05sec.**

They cannot prevent our soldiers from intervening. Should that happen, the population will be forced into becoming soldiers, whether those who will say that all Rwandans have become soldiers like it or not! Come what may. And what will happen if we agree to become soldiers? Hm! Ha, ha! No!

What will happen if ever the situation that I observed yesterday recurs throughout these year, these twenty-two months, nearly two years? No, the situation leaves much to be desired. What will happen is that each individual....., it has been decreed that no one in Kigali will again carry....., eh..... as I was going to be apprehended at CND on the ground that my driver was carrying a small knife which he was going to use to kill the Chairman. Ha, ha! Rwandans are peculiar. They have their own upbringing and

their own approach to issues. The Rwandan knows how to defend himself and to make his plans. When we get to the point of executing our plans, UNAMIR will get a shock. Even these *Inkotanyi* ..... know it, they are Rwandans. If they do not take care themselves, they will not understand what will happen. Let us listen to Mugenzi who is going to disclose to us those who will be struck with misfortune.

**Speaker: Justin Mugenzi, Chairman of PL**

.... especially on radio, by claiming that it was PL which impeded the establishment of the transitional institutions. If this is the case, then there is a reason, and PL will be congratulated on the day this reason is made known. And if ever there was no reason, PL would be the victim of injustice because it is unimaginable that they could make such a mistake. PL could not deliberately and without reason make the mistake of impeding the institutions. PL is not Rwanda's enemy. All actions taken by PL (applause) are constructive. You perceive from my message which, in any way, will be brief that PL has not stopped and will not stop to help our country to progress on the path of peace, unity and development that the militants have embarked upon.

I will, therefore, talk about the accusation that the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, often levels at us, with the support of Faustin Twagiramungu, Prime Minister designate of the Broad-based Transitional Government. She says that PL has impeded the establishment of those institutions by presenting two "lists" of deputies. I would like to tell you that it is Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana and Faustin Twagiramungu who have impeded the establishment of the institutions. Moreover, all that is said about PL, on the President of the Republic, and that is not all, is nothing but pure lies. You ask me why? (inaudible: applause) ...

**29min.09sec.**

**END OF SIDE A**

## SIDE B

01 min.05 sec.

**Speaker : Justin Mugenzi, Chairman of PL**

.... recently wrote a letter to me and to the other political forces, asking us to send him the list of our deputies. I sent it to her. When she wrote to the President of the Republic to forward the list to him, she added another list; I do not know where he got it from (applause). She forwarded two lists of candidate deputies to the President of the Republic, saying that she was having difficulties with the candidates of PL for whom she had received two lists, thus seemingly inviting him to make a choice himself.

The next day, on 27 December, a meeting of the political parties was held under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. At that meeting, it was decided that the recognized authorities of the party were the only ones entitled to represent it and to present the list. Consequently, Mrs. Uwilingiyamana found herself caught in the trap she had set for the President (applause). She changed her strategy and thought of submitting the list to one Kavaruganda, a sworn enemy of Habyarimana, in the hope that the former would help her.

This time, she transmitted only one list, different from the one I had sent her in my capacity as Chairman of the party. She requested Kavaruganda to certify the forwarding letter and the list. As soon as that was done, Kavaruganda returned her documents to her. Mrs. Uwilingiyimana congratulated herself for having received the support of the President of the Constitutional Court.

This was a pure lie (applause). Kavaruganda (applause) handed over to the Prime Minister, without comment, the list which she had forwarded to him through improper channels. Moreover, the Prime Minister was not so kind as to forward the two lists to him as she had done with the President of the Republic, which would have allowed her to claim that Kavaruganda had selected one of the two lists. And to say in the end that the President of the Supreme Court had accepted the list. This is the lie, and worse still, told by an authority in broad daylight! (applause).

04 min.03 sec.

For our part, we did not want any quarrels. Some legal provisions of this country were not amended at Arusha and are, therefore, still in force.

- Article 28 of the Law on Political Parties authorizes any party member, any interested person or the Public Prosecutor to seize the Court of First Instance to object to the decision made by the leadership of every political party. It is not stipulated anywhere that the Prime Minister may contradict the political party official who made the decision. With respect to decisions taken by the authorities of a political party, Article 56 of our Statutes provide that anything done on behalf of the party has value only if it bears the signature of the Chairman of the party (applause).

The Prime Minister has all these laws at her disposal. She has advisers who, I suppose, are trained in the legal field. These advisers should have explained to her that she is not entitled to change a decision taken by the party official in the name of the party. This is not permitted at all.

For my part, I told her to contact the Attorney General and to request him to enforce Article 28 by requesting the *Cour de cassation* to reject the list of deputies selected by the PL party, and to ask the said Court to validate the list of deputies proposed by Twagiramungu.

Twagiramungu is not a member of PL; he does not have the authority to select our deputies (applause)... You have seen or heard about a document written by Twagiramungu, Nzamurambaho and Nayinzira, and which was read to you by the First Vice-Chairman of this party. The said document states that these person are, in fact, interested in achieving "a balance of the political forces". This balance was forged in Arusha (applause). I was not there (applause). I never participated in the Arusha negotiations (applause). This balance is an invention of Nayinzira, Ngurinzira (applause), Nsengiyaremye, Ndasingwa (applause) and Bizimungu. I do not know this document on balance, I have never discussed it and I did not sign it. It is this balance that

is thwarting the entire process in the country and PL is blamed for it. How can PL impede the whole process when it has not signed any agreement with these individuals? (Applause).

**07min.07sec.**

I would also like to recall that Ndasingwa went to Arusha as a Government Minister and not as a PL delegate (applause); therefore anyone who would say that Ndasingwa was in Arusha and that he signed the Agreement on behalf of PL would be wrong. People should understand these issues. If Ndasingwa, Nayinzira, Ngurinzira and Bizimungu signed this document on a balance, that in no way commits PL to it.

This is why within PL, freedom of the party and preoccupation with its interests is our political guiding principle. If a balance of the political parties means that a small group of political parties must have 15 ministers to be sure to have a majority during decision making, PL will never agree to such an adventure.

If the balance of the political forces means that the individuals in the *Inkotanyi* movement must have 45 deputies so that the day they would want to amend the Arusha Accords they would have 42 deputies, the number of votes required to pass an amendment, PL will not append its signature to such a document (applause).

PL is, therefore, concerned about the sovereignty of the democratic power born out of the 1959 revolution. Let it be understood one more time; it is written in the bible "Woe to them, woe to them, woe to them"; to those who do what? (Applause). Woe to those who neglect the interests of the people, the interests for which Rwandans have fought so hard, reducing them to nothing to please the *Inkotanyi*. Woe to them (applause).

We often hear that PL, that Justin Mugenzi went to Brussels at the head of a delegation of political parties to have discussions with the *Inkotanyi*. This is in fact so. Yes, I led members of the delegation (applause). I led them but where was I taking them? You should understand very well where I was taking them and, in any way, I achieved my objective (applause). I led them to Brussels to have discussions with the *Inkotanyi*, to



request them to cease the hostilities and to fight a political fight, to invite them to sit around a table for us to jointly find a way to stop the fighting. We achieved these objectives, and I think that later, when the history of this country is written, it will be recorded that PL saved Rwanda from war (applause).

**12 min.06sec.**

On the contrary, we did not go to Brussels to balance out the political parties in such a way as to usurp the authority and to put the *Inkotanyi* and those who support them back into power. PL will not support any political force that would wish to take over power without going through the democratic process, through popular elections (applause).

Similarly, as mentioned in the letter that was read, I would also like to say a few words with regard to the rumours that have been circulating these past few days to the effect that Mugenzi has refused to negotiate with his adversaries who have attempted on several occasions to approach him. This is also a lie. They had wanted the negotiations to take place among my adversaries. How could one expect Ndasingwa, Nzamurambahe or Nayinzira, my adversaries, to mediate in the negotiations? (applause)

My firm position on the matter allowed us recently to get neutral mediators, namely:

- The representative of the United Nations Secretary-General;
- The representative of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity;
- The representative of the Ambassador of Tanzania to Rwanda.

Are not these important personalities? (applause). These personalities have asked us to tell them the source of our misunderstanding and why two lists of deputies were submitted. I once again explained the situation by providing evidence attesting to the credibility of the list that I sent. When I took the floor, Ndasingwa stood up to say that he had not come for that (many people started talking all at once). That he did not come to listen to evidence that did not prove he was right. He was asked to sit down, to listen to my explanations on the source of our discord and to reply when I finished talking. Ndasingwa refused to follow that procedure; he banged the door and left (applause).

Someone then told me that I had scored a point (applause). If the United Nations is unable to find a solution to the problems within PL which had impeded the establishment of institutions, as claimed by the Prime Minister, then who will resolve such issues? (Laughter). Who will resolve the issues that have been submitted to the OAU and for which solutions have not been found? Where would we find another mediator to resolve the issues that necessitated the very hasty arrival of the President of Tanzania, the mediator, who made us sign the Arusha Accords? I believe that is the cause of the politicking going on among the parties and which could hurl Rwanda down the abyss.

Let them agree to come, I support the speech made by the President of the Republic (applause) yesterday, inviting the leaders of the political forces recognized by law to send in their lists of deputies and ministers. So, the dissidents from these parties will have the opportunity to go and pay their fees to the clerk of court and institute proceedings at Nyamirambo court (applause). Thank you (applause).

**Speaker: Noël Hitimana, RTLM journalist**

... twenty-five, it's nearly twenty seconds to the hour. Yes, here in Kigali in your radio studios, Radio RTLM, you have just heard Justin Mugenzi. Hm. I told you this morning that he was getting ready to deliver his message on the airwaves of a certain radio station (clicking his tongue); I do not know what happened and we were told there was a technical fault. Eh! I burst out laughing because it was not true, and then for me, the fact that one speaks frankly to me can in no way change our friendship.

**17 min.05 sec.**

However, as you have heard, he has just told you that he was the one who led those people, the Nangos and Twagiramungu to Brussels to conduct negotiations with the *Inkotanyis*. Gafaranga was among them. It was since that day that the *Inkotanyi* agreed to enter into negotiations to stop the hostilities. It was Mugenzi who did it. He said he was the one who led them to Brussels.

It is therefore not normal for him to turn against this man subsequently and say that they no longer collaborate with him whereas he is the one who led them to the negotiating

table. You understand that that is another kind of trick. Let them play the game, if they wish; some of them have declared that they will play the game from the inside, while others are playing it from the outside. But he, he resolved to play the game from the inside. Why?

Mugenzi continues by saying that at a certain point, the problems were submitted to the United Nations which had a representation in Kigali. We invited the United Nations to reconcile us, to make us understand that we should seek to explain things to each other within the party regarding the issues that divide us. United Nations invited us to the same table as Lando to help us come to agreement and to explain our differences. But Lando banged the door and left! The person who was sitting next to me pinched me lightly and said: "You have scored a major point." So, I continued by saying: "Since I have just scored a major point, do they think that I must not continue?" I learned yesterday (the journalist) that he scored another point.

Let them explain themselves, let them know where the mistakes were made. But, in politics, let them not say that they made mistakes by organizing this meeting, something which has been rejected even by the notary. "We agree that we made mistakes", said he. How can you a politician convene the inhabitants of the entire country to a meeting to elect their representatives and claim thereafter that the money used had been wasted and that you made a mistake? This is the biggest mistake that Lando made and he should repent of his mistake. If this mistake backfires on him, it would be his own fault for making statements on the radio.

I suppose that the old priest Petters of Kicukiro has listened to the RTLM radio broadcasts or that other listeners would have given him the information. We ask him to continue listening to this Radio. Eh, .... He called us dogs. He said that we are like dogs who piss against the fence of a member of the population.

However, what answer would priest Petters give if he were asked whether he knows Mobutu? And how would he answer if he were asked where he went when he fled Zaire?

What would he say? Hm. What could happen if we conducted an investigation on him? He, he preaches to a limited number of people, but we address the whole country. He fled from Zaire, but where would he flee to if we were to open investigations on him? Would he flee from Rwanda ..... to go back to Belgium? Or he would flee to another country, perhaps to Uganda. Let him beware of Radio RTLM; we are researchers. We can talk about him and inform the entire population even of his deepest secrets. Let Priest Petters beware.

Some people who attended his mass have just left our studio. Well, we are giving you true information. The people told us a nickname that he has been given in Kicukiro, but I will not say it for fear that he takes ill just before his lunch. He knows this nickname himself, ha (laughter), and if I were to reveal it he will be taken ill before his lunch. He would not be able to eat. However, he should know and find out about the history of this country. Some priests celebrate mass and the congregation go out saying that since it is so and so leading the mass, we are going to attend the next one, hm, ha, ha, ha, (still laughing), or we shall come back again. But God is watchful.

..... Bikino, a young man who attended this mass at Kicukiro and who has just left our studios told me that they decided to visit us because they had been greatly saddened. Similarly, a lady just phoned me to say that the inhabitants of Kicukiro would like us to take care of this priest of Kicukiro. He indicated that peace and democracy reign in Rwanda, and that this priest has the liberty to go and celebrate his masses at CND. It was added that this priest should go and preach to the *Inkotanyis* that he likes. This priest claims that he bases his sermons on the Bible! Is MRND in the Bible? Does the name CDR appear in the Bible? (Laughter) The Bible contains the Word of God and not political parties. Moreover, the priest has the liberty to discuss his views on party politics with RPF of which he is a sympathizer, to celebrate mass for its members and to be their chaplain, that poses no problem. Hm! To date, I still do not know the name of the RPF chaplain; would it perhaps be this priest? If this is so, he is perfectly at liberty to celebrate mass for them and to leave RTLM alone.

22 min.01 sec.

The same goes for this Dr. Muvunyi ..... A sympathizer of the *Inkotanyi* who lives in Biryogo. At the hospital, he has to remember that on the day he graduated from the university, he swore an oath to care for all sick people without distinction, whether they are *Interahamwe* or members of CDR, *Inkuba*, *Abakombozi*, *Tutsi* or *Hutu*. He should remember that the image that people have of a doctor of medicine is that of someone who does not discriminate on the basis of ethnic background, physical features or skin colour. He must take people on an equal footing and treat them accordingly. God sees him and He is the giver of life. A doctor may treat a patient who dies subsequently, without the doctor taking responsibility for the death. However if, at the point of death, a patient puts blame on the doctor, the doctor must know that he will be responsible before God for the death of the patient. He must know that we are aware of the treatment that he administered to patients yesterday, on the pretext that they are *Interahamwe*. Let him also know that all the meetings that he holds with the *Inkotanyi* at Biryogo are known. These meetings are known. If any individual exposes himself, we shall reveal his secrets and he will be found out. If he is unwise, it is his problem.

.... RTLM, I am going to hand the microphone over to Niyonambaza to entertain us with a poem.

**Speaker: Assouman Niyonambaza, poet**

What is bred in the bone .....

You give birth and I carry your baby on the back,  
 You fall sick and I send you to the doctor,  
 You fall down and I rush to your rescue,  
 I commit myself and you withdraw.  
 Were I to enumerate everything without being exhaustive,  
 You will see how powerless and weak you are,  
 You ask me to step forward and to take the initiative, I who am strong,  
 And you will follow me and tell me what to do.  
 I understand all your messages,  
 I answer without any hesitation.

I do not converse with anyone,  
Even the one who greets me,  
I ask him to go away.  
And he goes away with all those present,  
And me, I contemplate everything in silence,  
And I remain steadfast in the face of trials.

24 min.00 sec.

Very exhausted and my energy spent, as you yourself can see,  
I beg you to slacken off so I can breathe,  
And you refuse my request.  
And yet your big brother is sympathetic,  
And that is understandable,  
He is innately forgiving,  
As one Rwandan so aptly put it: "Like father, like son".

Listen to what he said: "For a long time, you have been mistreating this unfortunate man"  
Who, I know, never disobeys you,  
I request you to be more lenient because you live in Rwanda",  
You refused this proposal, proclaiming colonization and slavery.

I am going to give you an incomparable advice:  
Leave this person alone,  
Treat him humanely because he is not an animal.  
When you fall sick he carries you on his back,  
He finds people to take you to the hospital to be cared for,  
He sees to it that the cows are grazed so they do not die of hunger,  
He waters them so they do not die of thirst.  
He is not afraid to go and look for firewood,  
He is even not afraid to be soaked by the torrential rain,  
While you cover up yourself with cotton,  
And when you wake when you wish,

You find food already prepared on firewood,  
 However, you never cease to grumble, you dishonest fellow,  
 Saying that they have delayed in laying the table.  
 You know that people are inclined to hate,  
 And that jealousy can nestle everywhere.  
 Remember that when *Ntibimenya* (he who ignores who he is) was attacked,  
 Sustained cries of pain rang through his house,  
 They resounded from all corners of the enclosure,  
 Did *Katabiora* (he who does not care) and *Simbikangwa* (he who fears nothing)  
 rush to his rescue?  
 Did not *Magorwa* (the unfortunate fellow) and *Musaraba* (the Cross) ran to him before  
 the others?  
 And see that you treat a human being like a dog!  
 At least this little dog is rewarded with a cow leg,  
 Which the master buys for it during his walk.  
 And when he is attacked by thieves,  
 The faithful, little dog intervenes before he wakes up.

Therefore, let me give you advice,  
 For we are brothers and you know that very well,  
 Relax your harshness that frightens those who do not hate you,  
 Contain your conceit,  
 Be reasonable instead of crafty,  
 Consider the human being as a man,  
 Who is made in the image of the Divine,  
 You will be called *Bineza* (the benevolent) instead of *Binenwa* (the disgusting).  
 If you do not heed my advice,  
 What you call cries of joy will become cries of misfortune,  
 What you call peace will engender conflict,  
 Your luck will run out and you will become a killer,  
 You will be cursed and ruined,

Your concession will become a ruin,

And outsiders will appropriate it.

And if you manage to survive, you would have left a poor inheritance to your folks.

26 min. 01 sec.

**Speaker: Noël Hitimana, RTLM journalist**

Eh.... and you soldiers, do you believe that the war is far away? The poem that we have just listened to exhaustively describes our times. I have listened carefully to and analyzed this poem, and I have understood where it is leading. Do you believe that this person who is speaking will give us peace and allow us to work? Or what advice would you give him now if not to speak to him in poems. What advice would you give him so that he calms down, so that he sees reason and allows us to work?

**Speaker: Assouman Niyonambaza, poet**

Eh ... thank you Noël. In fact, I am not addressing any particular individual. And even if I were addressing an individual, it would be an individual representing several others, but not very many. Eh ... we are undergoing difficult times which demand clear-sightedness and not haste. We should not rush in these times. Therefore, if this person has not understood, and I believe I am not the only one to have addressed him, because all the others have spoken to him at one point or the other. Eh ... A Rwandan proverb says that: "He who refuses to obey his father and mother, obeys the cricket!" I appeal to this individual, because I know he can understand. And if he can understand its import, that means he is intelligent. No intelligent man can refuse advice and prefer to obey the cricket.

**Speaker: Kantano Hitimana, RTLM journalist**

You have understood that this is a piece of advice: "He who refuses to obey his father and mother obeys the cricket!" Whether this individual is called *Magorwa*, *Magorane*, I do not know; I am definitely speaking to an inflexible person in this country and he is known. I will no longer mention his name, because I have spoken for a long time..... (still laughing), must I say that the national conference .....?



**Speaker: Unidentified****28 min.00 sec.**

..... when you say that you are taking leave of them, they sigh in despair and indicate that they will no longer be alive when you return. Welcome, you matchless one. When you, RTLTM, you bring your news to strengthen our unity, you speak to us of Rukeba, and we redefine our position. You are a source that everyone wants to listen to. Broadcast everywhere because the regions to which you are not yet reaching thirst for you. Extend your broadcasts everywhere because you were founded at the right time. Outrun even the one who has run like the wind because I want to overtake him before he escapes. Welcome, you matchless one.

RTLTM, protect us and we shall give you herds of cattle in return; and the jealous ones who live in foreign countries will be discouraged. The goal that you have set yourself cannot be hidden. When we listen to your broadcasts on our portable radios, we all turn around to see where he has passed. Faces become radiant then. Does your zeal come from your youth? You have very active young intellectuals; they refuse to bury, they disinter. I am not the one who sent them, God did.

Kantano, Noël, Mbilizi and Gahigi, declaim the facts, build the Noah's ark; woe to the one who ignores the flood. Welcome, you are matchless. RTLTM, you are like a second child since you are going to inherit young people. Broadcast everywhere and for everyone. Fight the enemy, you have taken up the hatchet. Instead of standing up to you, they flee. Their rear is filled with darkness; you have uncovered their tricks. And the journalist adds: Even though I have expressed myself, I have not said everything for fear of losing my position, I do not want to be a victim of my witty eloquence.

Welcome, you are incomparable (slight cough)

RTLTM you were born at the right time

You are satisfied with the reward that we are giving you

Let the jealous one go away  
He who plays deaf runs to his peril  
We will draw close to you so that you drive us on  
(incomprehensible)  
While the majority struggle hard to achieve victory  
Your opponents are running out of steam

We were going to sink into obscurity  
You have shown us the light  
You have circumvented the obstacles  
You have brought us peace  
We have defied the prohibitions  
And we have woken up  
And to say to you: "Here am I, *Murengezi* (Protector)  
I would defend your interests  
Welcome, you are incomparable

Radio Rwanda cried out:  
"You, you are still young, be quiet"  
I no longer raise the alarm to calm people  
I have been stifled by mediocre people  
And I have missed a good number of my objectives  
I have been weakened, like a traveller  
My coverage is no longer far  
At first I was alone, peaceful, but I did not fulfil my mission  
I was like a lamb unfit for the rites.  
You know their origin and their language  
I became (incomplete sentence)  
My broadcasts were genuine  
Now, I am confused  
Who will listen to my broadcasts?

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I have potential that they have not been able to exploit

I was muzzled and I was unable to express myself

RTLm, be valiant

Let your army be victorious

Welcome, you are incomparable.

RTLm, the youth are blaming me, the adults are making the first move by rushing to go abroad; they are going away instead of pleading my cause. Instead of encouraging me, I am subjected to after criticisms which do not tend to promote my development. Instead of preserving this precious good that the Father of the Nation has entrusted to us, they.....

**END OF SIDE B**