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Contents:**SIDE A:**

**Stanislas Simbizi, of CDR is suggesting that if the RPF does not wish to join the transitional institutions, it should come out and make its stand known so that the other parties may share the seats that had been allocated to it.*

He is answering Valerie Bemeliki's question who wanted to know what the CDR expected from the Transitional Government

**Froduct Karamira, of MDR is explaining what they expect from the Transitional Government and is reminding people that this Government is for all Rwandans and not for any given political party.*

He is denying information from the RPF claiming that Rwandans have fled, that Kigali City is almost empty, that soldiers are deserting.

**Kantano Habimana, journalist with RTLM is talking about two Inkotanyi, armed with grenades seen in Kimisagara and is calling upon the population in the area to flush them out.*

He is talking about the RPF's resumption of hostilities despite the signing of the Arusha Peace Accord and is accusing some members of political parties, like Twagiramungu, of being RPF's accomplices.

He is saying that a Government delegation had been dispatched abroad to explain the Government's objectives and is also saying that UNAMIR' troops have been reduced and that Dallaire has been appointed commander of the troops that remain in the country.

SIDE B :

**Kantano Habimana states that even if the RPF is refusing to recognise Kambanda's Government and is determined to fight it, Rwandans are ready to defend themselves.*

**RTL M Editor-in-Chief, Gaspard Gahigi's soul-searching theme about the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana.*

He is giving information about the delegation the Rwandan Government has dispatched abroad to explain its objectives and which must also discuss the RPF's resumption of hostilities.

He is also saying that a Rwandan delegation must go to Arusha to negotiate with the RPF-Inkotanyi.

SIDE A :**Speaker: Stanislas Simbizi, CDR party :**

...They...will be given to others. So if the RPF does not deem it necessary to take part in the Transitional Institutions, it should say so; then other parties will share out those seats, thus all Rwandans will prepare together elections that will lead us to true democracy.

Speaker: Valerie Bemeliki, journalist with RTL

There is another question that I would like...wish to put to Mr. Simbizi...particularly because we know well that the CDR is not among the five parties that set up the Transitional Government, hm...the one that was formed the other day. I would therefore wish to ask you what you, CDR party members, expect from it. How do you think that Government should operate in order to meet the challenges...our country is facing now? Maybe the MDR, as one of ...the parties that formed that Government, has its own objectives that are in line with the goals they set for the Government, which they formed...fully knowing that...hm.. what its objectives are for them, since as we know, the Prime Minister is from MDR. You in the CDR, a party that is not in that Government...what does your party expect from that Government? What will it achieve for Rwanda? How will it function? How does your party wish the Government to go about it?

Speaker: Stanislas Simbizi

Hm...for us in CDR we have always wanted to have hm..a Government that would defend the people's interests, that would defend the interests of the popular masses rather than defending the interests of such or such small groups. What we therefore expect from that Government is to be reasonable and not to join the RPF in creating obstacles hm...just like the ...one that has been replaced was doing, to such an extent that the former

Government was not different from the RPF hm..they were conspiring to oppress Rwandans.

We therefore expect this Government not to work against the population but rather to defend their interests and help them get out of the crisis, then they would...enjoy true democracy and regain their say in public affairs.

Speaker: Kantano Habimana, journalist with RTLM

I would also like to know Mr. Karamira's opinion about this, especially because...I observed that the MDR party hm...appointed hm...ministers that Twagiramungu had rejected.

Speaker: Froduald Karamira, MDR party

My opinion about this actually hm...is that what we expect from this Government is what we expect from all citizens as well, which is that all must be aware that once a government has been formed it is for the whole country. It is not for the interests of political parties; parties set it up to defend the country's interests, to promote the people's interests. Therefore if there have been some governments, especially the last one, that had included people who had been expelled from the MDR; it disowned them because it realised they were not working in the interests of the country and I think even others saw what they were doing. The MDR had made it known. Even if you are weak, you cannot say you are weak because of a party, Government must be one, catering for the interests of the whole population and, in the interest of the country, all ministers must trust each other even if they are from different parties. That is what we wanted.

We therefore now hope that the Government has the opportunity to operate properly as one entity without anyone saying it is the MDR party doing this or the MRND party doing that or any such or such party doing this; but rather it is a government for all Rwandans that is going to fulfil those two responsibilities that we assigned to it, namely:

- restoring peace among Rwandans,
- restoring security among Rwandans and pursuing negotiations in line with the Arusha Peace Accord, if possible.

It is not therefore an MDR government as someone may wish to put it; it is a government for all Rwandans. Once a government has been formed it is for all the citizens. That is what we have wanted all along: that a government should know that it is in charge of national issues rather than towing such or such party line, because once it is divided, it is no longer a government; and that is what happened. What I would like to add however is that the MDR was not represented in the former Government and we said so. There were some people, former MDR members, who had been expelled from the party who were in the Government; we are not happy with what they did but we have to bear with that and try and restore trust among the people, the army and confidence at the war front so we can win the war, win the war for all Rwandans.

Kantano Habimana, RTLM Journalist

-We thank you for having come to hm... contribute constructive ideas and I believe that our audience has also gained something from this conversation.

Speaker: Stanislas Simbizi

Hm...Kantano, before concluding our conversation there is something I would like to tell Rwandans hm...especially those who are still frightened by RPF's rumours claiming "Rwandans have fled", "Kigali is almost a ghost town", "soldiers are running away "; I would like to inform Rwandans who are not in Kigali that this is false information and also reassure those in Kigali: you should not be afraid if you live in such or such area, do

not heed rumours saying that in such other area people have fled, these rumours should not make you feel like fleeing yourself. So I am calling upon all Rwandans, particularly you living in Kigali, you on patrols, you manning road-blocks, be firm, stay put, you should not be frightened by any rumours, stay calm and be firm so that those who initiated these rumours ...are disappointed and fail utterly. Thank you.

(Bikindi's song: I hate Hutus)

..every step you make, say " a Hutu " my dear peers!

Yes indeed.

If I hate them, so much the better!

Fortunately for us we have only a few of them, my dear peers.(bis)

Speaker: Kantano Habimana, RTLM journalist

...in Kigali in a make-shift studio, we wish you all our listeners a good day. We are facing hard times, hard times, times of war, imposed on us...imposed on us by the RPF-Inkotanyi, Inkotanyi that are big-headed because of being arrogant and haughty. Whatever the case they have now realised that they have wanted to impose their haughtiness but we have shown them that before looking down upon someone in his home you must first think and consider that he does not depend on you for his food.

I therefore believe that the Inkotanyi have themselves become aware that in any case all Rwandans are united and fighting them together. Thus, they should not come, boasting, making noise that they will capture Kigali, that if all their conditions have to be met, that they have to obtain all political positions, and that those who have been living in the country should step aside for them, for those coming from Uganda, Tanzania and everywhere else, people who have never worked for this country, who have never suffered for the country, apart from just taking up arms, old kalachnikov guns, just to come and shoot us! Imagine a young man aged twenty-...three who has never set his foot in Rwanda, then he just comes armed with a gun with the objective of just taking over

what Rwandans achieved during that period! Imagine a person who has spent forty years outside the country who comes running hoping to take over what Rwandans have achieved. Rwandans have rejected this saying " that is not acceptable whatever the case, we have refused, we will defend our property, our lives, our people, we cannot accept ". In many parts of the country therefore, most people have resolved to fight the Inkotanyi because they are angered...by the Inkotanyi's ever present arrogance.

Er...in Kigali we did not hear any fighting really today apart from three bombs that have just been launched to go and crush any Inkotanyi that might be hiding in hills near Kigali, those are the only signs of fighting we have heard, otherwise the situation is normal. For the Inkotanyi however, you can imagine for someone who has been promised residential house in town or this or that, such a person will keep fighting. And that is the reason why you must be vigilant because as their name suggests the Inkotanyi will go on fighting, they do not get tired, you should therefore behave likewise; when you are fighting Inkotanyi you do not tire, you have to keep on.

Er...so they have er...they have a lot of tricks, just now... I have just learnt that there are four Inkotanyi who must be on their way to Kimisagara, they are going to Kimisagara ...it is said that two have gone to APACE School and two others are going to Nyakabanda. We got this information from Bernard Sinshoboye's houseboy. So two young men wearing stone-washed jeans, as normally worn by the Inkotanyi, with grenades in the pocket came to Bernard Sinshoboye's houseboy and asked him to take them where people had been killed the day before. So the young man took them around showing them but when we asked him if anyone they had met could have recognised those Inkotanyi in stone-washed jeans, he answered that they took him through small short-cut paths. So you understand that Inkotanyi can even use such short-cut paths. So people near Sinshobo...Bernard Sinshoboye's houseboy should keep asking him, and try to know where he left those Inkotanyi, then people living in Kimisagara should seek them out in APACE, Kabusunzu, (he coughs) and you in Nyakabanda should...also be vigilant. Hmm! Be vigilant and search in those paths and see if no Inkotanyi ...have passed there and then

follow their tracks and find where they might be hiding. You people manning road-blocks should also double your efforts, be alert and observe the situation to make sure they do not trick you...and slip through. So stay firm, remain vigilant; when you are fighting Inkotanyi you must always be alert, you do not drop your guard. You have to remain vigilant all the time, you have no time to drink water because the Inkotanyi are always observing you for the slightest opening so that they can pass through immediately.

We are therefore greeting you our audience, listening to RTLM, the independent radio broadcasting from Kigali in our make-shift studio, we salute you and we are with you. Today is Friday er... the 22/04/1994, as you can notice, time is moving fast and we are saying to ourselves " ...our situation is desperate, we did not get our January salary and this month is also about to end; how shall we be paid without having worked ? " One had to clock in his presence at his place of work and so on and so forth...as you can observe we have so many problems right now but first and foremost we have to tighten our belts and win this war because then we will be able to eat well, we will be able to drink...we will have whatever we wish to have but of course after winning the war, when we will be able to say er...fine now, we have pushed back Inkotanyi and we must now agree that we will share power, we will not feel their pressure anymore, no more noise from them; all that would be left behind us and the situation made clear. You should therefore be patient, indeed the situation may be put right and we hope so, ...it will not be long.

In a few minutes we will examine the Arusha Peace Agreement, look at the current Government and the United Nations and its mission here, UNAMIR, and analyse Faustin Twagiramungu's empty words and then again examine what kind of people the Inkotanyi are.

Faustin Twagiramungu, aka Rukokoma, who is the source of all this trouble because of his being strong-headed and his habit of opposing others saying that "there is no alternative", that " there is no...", this morning, he was heard to say : "the notorious independent Radio, RTLM." I do not know where he was when he said these words but he must have been in hiding, hm...he is no longer...he can no longer walk upright as he

said he would always do, wherever he might be leaning he must be bending and not straight, we will also talk about this again. Once again we are greeting you and stay tuned to your Radio, the RTLTM.

(Musical interlude)

Speaker: Kantano Habimana

...(inaudible) the fifth, it is now fifteen days since we started fighting the Inyenzi/Inkotanyi who attacked us and resumed hostilities while we thought we had signed the Arusha...Arusha Peace Agreement with them. So once again they...as is usual of them, they...they did this behind our back, but this time they did not take us by surprise and now...they are engaged by the Rwandan Forces everywhere, you can hear gunshots everywhere here in Kigali, you can hear bullets falling on the upper area of SGP, every where in...Remera area...those bullets are intended to flush Inkotanyi out of the houses where they are hiding, houses where they have surrounded and massacred people, and mistreated them so badly that people have requested the Red Cross, the humanitarian organisation that helps war victims, to try and help them bury their dead relatives but the Red Cross has refused saying " we cannot dare because the RPF may kill us ". Such conduct should actually be denounced because once you have killed someone...the person has the right to be given the corpse and then bury it.

Clearly then, the Red Cross should try its best and have those people who have been taken hostage freed, they have been taken hostage by the Inkotanyi who are using them as a human shield. Imagine a person hiding behind an old woman so that she may shield him from being shot at, so that the Rwandan Forces fear shooting back. Er...so they barricade themselves in houses and even accept to die there because they do not have anything to eat, and act like bandits, they are actually bandits, and so they remain inside those houses with the people that they find there, thus one person causes the death of many others. Hmm! I have been told that a man called Thadée, I have heard ...as well as others...the people they find in houses whoever is Hutu is butchered and, burnt, er...the fate of any

Interahamwe or CDR member they would find is clear, in short it is said that anyone they found who was not a member of Lando PL, PSD, er...Rukokoma MDR, Nzamurambaho PSD, such a person was...indeed killed.

I hear that in Remera some people manage to flee from those killers; those are clearly in real trouble, they are now being killed in atrocious ways, they are having the same fate as Inkotanyi. But can you imagine these suicide attackers who came, found people in their homes and property and took them hostage there and are now starving them! This is tragic and clearly shows what the Inkotanyi really want...their true motives: acquiring property and power, they do not...(he coughs) care about the people.

A while ago you were listening to a song called "I hate Hutus". Actually these troubles that have befallen Rwanda, include a man called Faustin Twagiramungu, aka Rukokoma, a man called Kanyarengwe, a man called Pasteur Bizimungu who have breeched the Arusha Agreement...(inaudible), and thinks that Rwandans will accept whatever he says in Arusha...once he gets here. Those people and other accomplices are the cause for the country's troubles, they are the ones who have sunk it in such deep trouble..(interruption).

As you can see, our country had the misfortune of producing a person called Kanyarengwe, of producing a person called Faustin Twagiramungu, of producing...accomplices, of producing...others like Pasteur Bizimungu. Now you see how deep our troubles are; these Hutus joined a group of Tutsi extremists who call themselves Inkotanyi but who are really Inyenzi. These are the people who have brought all these troubles to our country, but we can be happy about the fact that people have now united; they have understood that the democracy (short silence) of thieves whose objective is to steal power as well as robbing people of what they have achieved in a period of thirty years...(inaudible) and that is why you find that...(inaudible) all-out, we must defend our property, we must defend our people...(inaudible)

(short silence)

...(inaudible).

Let us now talk about corporals, wherever you may flee to, the Inkotanyi will search you out and ask you "er...so you were in the other army? Hmm! The other army that killed thousands of people"! And they will arrest you too. Where then will you hide from them? Do not desert therefore, stay put and fight. Tighten your belt. Hmm! Tighten your belt and be an Inkotanyi. I am not saying that you should be...Rwigema's Inkotanyi! You should be an Inkotanyi fighting for Rwanda, your mother land, fighting for your interests, for your life, fighting for Rwanda,. That is the situation; otherwise they bleed, so do we, they have heads, so do we. Indeed as Kambanda, the Prime Minister, said: " if they came up with something we will come up with something else. If they use a trick, we will discover it and apply a different one ". The Inkotanyi have now adopted tricks of sending a group of not more than fifty persons to attack a *commune* Office, they appoint and present a *bourgmestre* and policemen, then Radio Muhabura spreads rumours saying "the Inkotanyi have attacked such or such an area, "causing people to flee. And then they claim to have liberated that area. Then they move on to another area, and repeat this everywhere, they started in Muhura, then moved on to Murambi and used the same trick. And then they claim ' we have captured this area' ".

Therefore when the Inkotanyi now refer to the Arusha Peace Agreement (he coughs) they just want to go and say "each side should keep its current positions ". What does this mean? Just like what happened for the buffer zone, wherever the Inkotanyi had set foot, shot in the air and people fled, they claimed that they had captured that area and that it should therefore be declared a buffer zone ".

What happened in reality is that they scared inhabitants as well as administrators away from these areas but they cannot say they have captured the areas. Do the Inkotanyi have enough troops to capture so many *communes*, to capture the whole of Umutara, to capture Byumba, could you tell me the number of troops the Inkotanyi have in order to capture all those areas? Does this mean that the number of Government troops er, has... decreased?

This time round we were fortunate in that they attacked before their trick of demobilising our soldiers had been implemented. The Rwandan Army is however monitoring them closely; for every Inkotanyi soldier there are at least two Rwandan Army soldiers.

Therefore, telling lies that they have captured areas like Kayonza, that they have captured this or that these are just tricks so that when they go abroad they may claim that they are all over the country. ...for instance, you may now hear that two Inkotanyi soldiers have reached Kanzenze and shot in the air, causing the *bourgmestre* to flee and then people conclude that the situation is very serious. Then two others may shoot in the air in Runda, then another three may shoot in er...Muyaga then they claim that everything is over, that they have taken over the whole country. All that is nothing but tricks so that when the Inkotanyi go for negotiations they may say that their people are everywhere. They will claim that an area, such as a *commune* office manned by a one-eyed disabled Inkotanyi is under their control. Those tricks therefore...so those tricks that they used in Kinyihira area and elsewhere will not succeed again. They should not be used again.

As for Faustin Twagiramungu, alias Rukokoma, today he had an interview from an unknown location on a European radio; he cannot however now talk about being upright as he used to say...(inaudible) his voice, hmm, he said he would resign and walk upright when he had no where to lean! Forget about his claiming to walk upright! He was huddling in his make-shift hideout just like all of us. To the extent that, hmm,... my oh my, and then he said " the notorious independent radio from...the...the notorious independent radio from the country of a thousand hills ". The notorious. Hmm! Consider him saying...that the " notorious " that it " is causing..." that it " adds fuel to the fire ", you Faustin Twagiramungu, alias Rukokoma, didn't RTLM always plead with you not be so strong-headed, not to behave like an unbending giant, and ask you to humble yourself? Hmm, did RTLM not always tell Faustin Twagiramungu to hand back over what did not belong to him, to return party property to where it belonged? And many times we played the song entitled "I hate arrogance". Either Twagiramungu or his colleagues heard all this, but what was his reaction? Did he think that song was composed by RTLM ? And yet that

song was sung by people from Gitarama, his father-in-law's area! Did we not advise him about this? Did we not always say "Twagiramungu you should not use someone's wife er...which is like an offence actually, do not take her around, do not make her say things she did not prepare, do not make her carry out programmes that she did not agree on with the President, even if she was the Prime Minister! Hmm! After all those things that he made her do, are they together where she is? It is these acts of playing tricks and cheating, selfishness, arrogance, and what not that have plunged this country into all these troubles. I therefore think that blaming RTLM is...exaggerating, it is a baseless lie and no single person er...supports it. He was asked: "Twagiramungu, who do you think shot down the Presidential plane? " Then he answered: " First of all it is not Belgians, secondly it is not Inkotanyi. The Presidential plane was shot down by some extremist soldiers who wanted to resume hostilities ". Can you imagine such answers from a Rwandan supposed to be speaking on behalf of Rwanda!

On the other hand, we were happy with a man called Alphonse Nkubito who gave the following advice to Inkotanyi: "In any case, fighting is not a solution; even if you captured Kigali, the population would turn against you; ruling Rwanda will require consensus, with assurances that the interests of the majority will prevail. Alphonse Nkubito, the bearded Prosecutor...said it. Hmm! He used to sermon us all the time to Court on various charges, following our comments on him over the radio, about this or that. He managed to run away. [Although not on our side] he has given advice, good advice to Inkotanyi when he said: "rushing to capture Kigali is useless. It is pointless because people have changed; they have been following what is going on".

So, if Faustin Twagiramungu eh... is unhappy because the Arusha Peace Agreement is not working out as he expected, he should have paid heed to what people used to tell him, saying "This [planned] government of yours will not materialise. It will not take off because you are opposed to CDR. CDR membership is made up of Hutus who are groomed to defend Hutu interests. It will not work out because you are opposed to your

fellow party members, your former partners, to the extent that when they win Court cases you tell them : "Go on appealing while I rule".

Such acts of excluding others while claiming you are playing high politics flying high like a kite, it is such acts...it is all such acts that are the source of our country's troubles...Wherever Twagiramungu may be hiding, he should sit and think about this if...if there is still some bit of sense in his bald head, he should ponder, repent, repent, ask for forgiveness, because he is betraying our country Rwanda.

As for...the United Nations, which has reduced its soldiers to two hundred and seventy only, (some non-verbal noise expressing disappointment), it is sad, clearly it is a sad situation. However, soldiers from Bangladesh, Ghana and elsewhere, who had come here just to earn money have left cursing Inkotanyi who are depriving them of that chance. They had individual projects. Some were planning two-year savings in dollars to construct a small house. All these left Rwanda cursing Inkotanyi; in no way can they...blame this on Rwandans, because the latter had done everything to live in harmony with them as brothers and sisters, making them aware of Rwandans' predicament. Let these brothers and sisters leave in peace without blaming Rwandans who lived in harmony, with them. No Bangladeshi soldier was ever injured, no Ghanaian soldier was ever injured, hmm, no...Senegalese soldier was ever injured, no harm to a soldier from any country. In short, we lived in harmony with these Africans. Maybe that is the reason why Afric...Bangladeshi are not Africans of course none of the African soldiers from Congo, Senegal ...Ghana, was injured; nothing ever happened to any of them because we felt there was full cooperation between us. I believe that is why this time, the OAU is looking for ways of sending troops from its member countries, so that each country would provide five, ten or twenty troops according to its capacity, this time under... the OAU mandate.

The Rwandan Ambassador in...America did everything to make sure that the UN troops remain in Rwanda; he did everything in his powers. For instance, yesterday night he

asked, "Why do you send thirty thousand soldiers to Bosnia/ Herzegovina, a tiny country, eh...with...a population smaller than that of Rwanda and yet, when we in Rwanda request that you at least keep the two thousand troops already there, you refuse and reduce them to two hundred and seventy?"

Americans and their Tutsi allies, along with eh...their Belgian allies, immediately made a lot of noise, saying, "We will take our dollars elsewhere, since you do not want the Tutsis to rule; we will make things hard for you and wait for the consequences." So let the Tutsis go, let them have a good trip, and then we will...find solutions to ...It is actually nationals who normally find solutions to their country's problems. Solutions are not provided by foreigners. White people have abandoned us, as expected! Are they our relatives? Hmm! If you rely on them eh...you end up eating garbage. Counting on white people for help, ..on their lies about this or that help...They only care about their interests. So they saw that they had nothing to gain here and decided to go and cool off somewhere else, planning to come back later, slowly, on the quiet, through the back door. Let them go; we will remain with these two hundred and seventy troops only.

Rwanda is very unfortunate...We hear these troops have been put under the command of a man called Dallaire. Ha! He is still sad, mourning his sister, Mrs Lando, who died, whatever. Yet, initially, he presented himself as a good person. How is he going to lead these troops? How is he going to lead them? Hmm ! We, however, are still with a man called Roger Booh Booh. Nobody can blame that son of Cameroon for anything; he had even understood the CDR issue. He had also understood the problems of PL, but the Tutsis let him down by demanding the Ministry of Justice. Yet, the Bishops had established an equitable way of sharing positions. The white people had done everything to settle the issue. But then, Faustin Twagiramungu, Landouald Ndasingwa and the Inkotanyi said: "We must have the Ministry of Justice, otherwise the deadlock remains; in any case we have won; so it is better we fight and take even the little share [of portfolios] we had left you".

Roger Booh Booh understood this and told them: "You people should be careful". But they did not heed his advice and resumed fighting. What powers now does he have left? (Some non-verbal noise expressing disappointment) It is really astounding, but we will continue making the best of a bad situation; Rwanda's God is never far, is never far; I have a feeling He will continue helping us in this crisis, the terrible crisis we are in, which has never been witnessed anywhere in world history: imagine a minority...a small group mobilising here and there some people, including bandits and all, and coming to take over power from leaders representing the people who make up the majority of the population. This has never happened anywhere and I believe it will not succeed in Rwanda; Rwanda's God will ensure victory against it.

You are still tuned to RTL, the independent radio broadcasting from its hiding place in Kigali. Let our listeners stay firm in these troubled times we are inwe are in. Maybe God will...will help us overcome the crisis. There will be negotiations in Arusha tomorrow. I have just learnt that some ministers eh...members of the Government headed by...Honourable Jean Kambanda eh...about ten ministers left...Kigali today. Others started the journey from where they were [outside the country] heading for different countries eh...all...over the world. Eh...those who left include Mr. Mathieu Ndirumapfse, the President of the MRND Party. So they are travelling, some going to Arusha, others to France, others to America, others spreading their mission everywhere, wherever the Inkotanyi have been with their smear campaign against us. You know their smooth talking, which they...use optimally. So, tomorrow there will be negotiations in Arusha. In a...while, you will hear on your radio the Rwandan Army Chief of Staff (interruption).

SIDE B

Speaker: Kantano Habimana, journalist with RTLM

...(inaudible) apart from Théodore Sindikubwabo; we know no other Prime Minister heading the recognised Government with "pawa" [power], apart from Jean Kambanda. The rest shows complications from ... the RPF, which is trying to fly like a kite, under the illusion that times have not [changed] ...times are what they used to be. Kambanda said: " Even if the RPF came to Kigali, capturing the Capital City would be useless, it would be pointless. It may mean celebration for one day, although it is like falling into a lion's den; it is committing suicide. So, let the Inkotanyi come and commit suicide; they will all perish and none will survive to tell the story. Let them come. Whatever the case, Rwandans are waiting for them with their machetes and other weapons they were able to get hold of, which, though small, are sufficient. In the meantime, young men and young women everywhere are enrolling [in the army], getting dressed [in military uniform], signing in and saying, "We are coming to fight the Inkotanyi for as long as it will take, to ensure their repulsion and their end. "

So you can see there is some hope; we are still with UN...UN officials who are still observing, hmm, supervising and reporting back to their colleagues on the situation. In any case, I have a feeling they tell them the truth. We now have..., we have a strong Government; tomorrow, it may have negotiations with Inkotanyi in Arusha. The Inkotanyi have accepted to go there; they are used to the place; they may have arrived there by now with the intention of talking nonsense, bringing along beautiful women of loose morals to use in their game of lies, whatever, with smiles full of hypocrisy and wickedness, (a non verbal noise of disappointment). This is really astounding.

RTLM listeners stay steady. We are indeed with you, we are with you... Continue listening to songs in support of our Armed Forces, and in your support as well. Humm! Some people have told me...I greet you people in Kimisagara. I went somewhere on a

visit and people there said to me: " After hearing, after seeing that RTLM was bombed, and destroyed (with a tone of helplessness), many people decided to flee immediately, the source of the truth has been destroyed; the Inkotanyi are poised to capture the country! It is indeed true that the Inkotanyi bombed our studio. We have now moved. Imagine they shelled our studio with twelve bombs!

I told you that one bomb costs two million francs. That means that the twelve bombs cost twenty four million francs. I think they wanted to silence your voice, so that you may not know where they have reached; so that you may not know the truth about them; so that they may continue looting....swaggering and bragging, telling lies in foreign countries, telling you lies as well. However, by the grace of God, the enemy's plot came to nothing. We have resurrected and we are alive; we were wounded but not killed. Our colleague Noel should be strong. He fell while fighting. We will go on with the work. Even if we die others will continue with the same work and we know that the truth is on our side. Nowhere in the world has a minority ruled over the majority; it used to happen a long time ago, a long time ago, but that era is gone. Let us listen to some music.

(Some music)

-Speaker: Emmanuel Rucogoza, journalist with RTLM

...about...the tricks of Inyenzi-Inkotanyi and their puppet Faustin Twagiramungu, who made a statement on this...through one of the international media, the RFI (Radio France).

We are now going to continue with the story, eh...which I was telling you about a while ago. It is not the first time that the RPF Tutsi-Inyenzi clique, that this clique wants to take and monopolise power, just to oppress the Hutus and thus do away with democracy.

The Tutsi superiority complex goes a long way back. Schools were established, among them the famous '*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* ' in Butare. In 1900....1907, "*Ishuri*

ry'*Indatwa*'", the School for the Elite had been set up at Nyanza, in Nyabisindu, not for everyone, still much less for the Hutus, who had been subjugated for centuries. The only people who had access...to that school were those who, according to the feudo-colonial myth, were born to rule. That is, the Tutsi children who were considered as the most intelligent.

It is especially that superiority complex that characterizes these Tutsi fellow citizens, because, even today, many of them are still convinced that they are intellectually superior to the rest of Rwandans.

Belgian troops occupied Rwanda in 1916 with British support. After the war, the League of Nations confirmed Belgium's colonisation plans, with a Belgian mandate to rule over Rwanda.

In order to carry out its colonial policy, Belgium found a ready trump card in collaborating with ... with catholic missionaries.

Because of their [religious] monopoly, catholic missionaries used their influence to force German protestant missionaries to leave the country along with German troops.

The new colonial masters kept the German colonial system without any major reforms, maintaining for instance, the use of the whip (*ikiboko*) which was a creation of the past Tutsi-German alliance.

School reforms, undertaken later by catholic missionaries, gave school access to all, regardless of ethnic belonging. That was how Hutus went to school. It is thesethese educated Hutu pioneers led by Gregoire Kayibanda, Joseph Habyarimana Gitera, Balthazar Bicamumpaka...and many others, who, more conscious than ever of the Hutu phenomenon, ah, not the...Hutu phenomenon, but rather the Hutu predicament under feudal-monarchist Tutsi subjugation, began organising themselves in groups and rising

against their feudal masters. This happened during the reign of the last but one Rwandan King Mutara Rudahigwa, considered progressive by the Tutsis.

However, Mr. Jean-Paul Harroy, who, as former Deputy Governor-General of Rwanda-Burundi, is supposed to have known Mutara Rudahigwa quite well, a man whose testimony is hard to doubt, eh...whose words are hard to doubt, said this, and I quote: "One day he was open with me and without beating about the bush, citing one of...one of his advisors, Father Janvier Murenzi, told me that we had all been mistaken, himself as well as ourselves, to believe for one moment in the possibility of what I referred to above.....as the squaring of the circle. In other words, reconciling a monolithic feudal regime with reforms aimed at democratisation.

"I can, in this regard, still hear him repeat that to me, using imagery: "a girl cannot be a bit...a little bit pregnant" as he put it, adding: "gone are the days of our concessions; from now on, I will defend with my Chiefs the status quo which is perfectly apt, under the philosophy of three people in one, to satisfy the Hutu peasants if, if you, administration officials and priests do not go around intoxicating their heads with illusionary hope for freedom. End of quotation.

Can a person be progressive and fight against freedom? That is the question. This royal speech is in no way different from the statement made by...feudal notables, reproduced by ...reproduced in "Rwanda Politique" by Fidèle Nkundabagenzi.

That statement was published on 17 May 1958 in Nyanza, the former Royal Capital, and signed by twelve...eh...by twelve royal servants, in which the signatories did not...clearly did not recognise their ancestral bonds with Hutus, as they said categorically, I quote: "Relations between us Tutsis and them Hutus have been throughout history, to this day, based on serfdom and, therefore,.... between them and us, there is no no basis for brotherhood whatsoever."

Indeed, what relationship is there among Tutsis, Hutus and Twas?

The...Hutus claim that the Tutsis, Hutus and Twas are sons of Kanyarwanda, their common ancestor. Can they say with whom Kayi...Kanyarwanda brought them forth? What is their mother's name and from which family was she? In the same tone and with the same arrogance in the said document they [Tutsis] explain that they acceded to power in Rwanda through killings.

According to history, [King] Ruganzu killed a lot of Bahinza. [quasi-royal rulers]. So, Ruganzu killed a lot of Bahinza. These were lesser kings who were Hutu. Him and our other kings killed the Bahinza and thus conquered the ...lands that were being ruled by those Bahinza. Details of this are found in *Inganji Kalinga*.

Therefore, since our kings conquered Hutu...Hutu principalities by killing the lesser royal rulers and thus brought Hutus under subjugation, how can Hutus pretend to be our brothers? This is another question.

It is exactly 4 o'clock, that is 16 hours in the studios of RTLM, the Free Radio and Television of a Thousand Hills. We will have a music interlude.

(A short silence.)

....RTLM, it is...three minutes past 4 p.m. in our studios. The Editor-in-Chief eh... Mr. Gaspard Gahigi, has prepared for you a very important thought-provoking talk that you are going to follow immediately.

Speaker: Gaspard Gahigi, RTLM Editor-in-Chief

...(inaudible) taken that accusation. This accusation that will help explain how our President, His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana, was killed when criminals shot down his plane, on his return from a meeting in Dar Es Salaam.

Another important news item is that the Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, will be receiving Mr. Jacques Roger Booh Booh, the UN Representative...Representative of the UN Secretary-General here in Rwanda, whose mission is to monitor what is happening here in our country.

Again, another important item in our news bulletin is that Rwandan emissaries have started leaving Kigali; more will be leaving tomorrow, depending on flight availability. These emissaries will be...(inaudible) to explain in detail what is happening in Rwanda.

These emissaries will be heading for Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Gabon, and Togo, in Africa, while for Europe and America, they will be going to France, Belgium, Germany and the United States of America. Other emissaries will be going to the Organisation of African Unity, (OAU) and the United Nations Organization, (UNO).

Apart from the above missions scheduled for today and tomorrow, there are other Rwandan emissaries that have just come back from Zaire, Burundi, Tanzania, South Africa and Switzerland, in a bid to explain in detail what is happening in Rwanda.

What will be the message of these emissaries?

Their mission to these friendly countries and international organisations will be to explain the current situation in Rwanda.

They will be explaining.....what happened after the death of the President, His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana, who was killed by criminals on 6 April this year, subsequent to the downing by those criminals of his plane, while he was returning from a meeting in Dar -es -Salaam, Tanzania.

These emissaries will explain how the RPF-Inkotanyi, assisted by foreigners, killed the President. His assassination was followed by turmoil, which was fuelled by Inkotanyi's resumption of hostilities on 7 April, aimed...at taking over power by force, knowing they

had just deprived the regime of its head. This...act of resuming...hostilities by the Inkotanyi instantly nullified the Peace Accord we had signed with the RPF-Inkotanyi in Arusha.

The RPF thus resumed fighting at all its positions in the country, including in Kigali, where the six hundred-strong Inkotanyi troops stationed here in the Capital immediately started attacking the Presidential Guard Barracks, with assistance from other...RPF infiltrators hiding in Kigali City. Fighting therefore continued, but the Government Forces have pushed them back from many positions here in Kigali and elsewhere. But these emissaries will also have to explain how RPF Inkotanyi troops are killing innocent people wherever they pass, especially in the demilitarised zone, called " buffer zone ", where there should be no fighting.

The Rwanda Government emissaries will also be explaining...the current Government's responsibilities, and how the RPF has nullified the Arusha Peace Agreement, following which the Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Théodore Sindikubwabo, became the President of Rwanda, in accordance with the Constitution adopted on 10 June 1991.

They will explain how the five parties that made up this Government that was deprived of its head met again and decided to form another Government headed by Prime Minister Jean Kambanda. These emissaries will also explain the Government's and [Prime] Minister's responsibilities.

Rwanda's emissaries will...be going to many parts of the world; their mission will take them to African and European countries as well as the USA to explain how the RPF-Inkotanyi resumed hostilities all over the country, rejecting the peace process that had been agreed on in Arusha. They...will explain how the RPF-Inkotanyi resumed fighting in all areas and then request the international community to do...everything possible so that the RPF-Inkotanyi troops may stop "turning a deaf ear" and realise that the only way to achieve peace for Rwanda is to abandon war.

These Rwanda Government emissaries to...those foreign countries and friendly international organisations...will therefore...request that everything possible be done so that the RPF should...(he coughs) stop...fighting and instead resume the negotiation process. They will also request friendly countries and international organisations...to assist people displaced ...by the war so that these may get emergency aid. They will seek support for the Government, headed by Jean Kambanda, to help it fulfil its responsibilities, especially with regard to restoring peace.

I should remind you that these emissaries will be going to the following African countries: Togo, Senegal, Morocco and Egypt; they will also go to the United Nations...the USA, and then proceed to the Headquarters of the...Organisation of African Unity (OAU), in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

In Europe and North America, they will go to eh...Belgium, Germany and the United States of America where their visit will include, eh....the World Bank and IMF.

There are... people and institutions these emissaries have planned to hold talks with, in order to explain what is currently going on in Rwanda. We therefore wish them success in their mission. They should know that they are representing all Rwandans this time (he coughs); they...must indeed represent the country's interests and...sufficiently explain their mission. (He coughs)

Another thing...other envoys leaving Rwanda tomorrow will be going to Arusha, Tanzania, to meet the RPF-Inkotanyi. That delegation will be led by Minister André Ntagerura and will also include Minister Agnès Ntamabyaliro. We...also know that it will include senior officers of...the National Army.

The point to make about the mission to Arusha is that the delegation must explain that it is the RPF that attacked the country in October 1990; further, after we had reached an agreement in Arusha for a ceasefire with even a power-sharing protocol, the RPF-

Inkotanyi, unilaterally resumed fighting on 8 February 1993, surprising everyone since no one could understand the reason for renewed fighting, although keen observers believe that the RPF has indeed the intention to take over power by force of arms.

This trend has been followed persistently. Then the other day, following the death of the President on 6 April, once again the RPF resumed fighting, thereby nullifying the Arusha Peace Accord. The added fact that the RPF does not recognise the current Government that was set up in accordance with the Constitution of 6 October 1991, means the Arusha Agreement has to be redesigned at a new date.

We, therefore, request the Rwandan emissaries to explain well the RPF's conduct to the international community and the Mediator so that the so-called negotiations should come after we have heard what the RPF itself has to say about its resumption of hostilities.

It is our opinion, therefore, that it is not yet time for negotiations. These will start only after the RPF has explained to Rwanda and its citizens why it has persistently attempted to seize power by force of arms, while hiding behind the pretext of democratisation.

For us we think that the RPF-Inkotanyi should take these Arusha negotiations as the opportunity to seek forgiveness from Rwanda and its inhabitants and promise that it will never renew fighting in this country again, especially now that it has signed the Arusha Peace Accord, which, among other things, stipulates that no one should seek to take over power in this country by force of arms, by means of war.

In our opinion, therefore, the situation calls for the RPF-Inkotanyi to seek forgiveness from Rwandans, to kneel before them and say, "We will never do it again". Like a christian who has sinned coming to the confessional, it should pledge that it will never renew fighting again. That would be a good starting point. But proposing to build on the Arusha Accord that....used to be called the Peace Accord, which helped the RPF to

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prepare the war, to us, this amounts to engaging in insincere games ...(inaudible) giving
sufficient explanations and then...(inaudible). (Music)

(Short blank space)

End of Side B