

SIDE A**Dismas Nkezabera, *Radio Rwanda* journalist:**

The killings have exceeded acceptable limits. We must conduct investigations in order to identify and punish the culprits. Even before, civilians were killed. I can give the example of Minister Gatabazi, who was chairman of the CDR, and many people in Kirambo and elsewhere. UNAMIR was in Rwanda by then, but General Dallaire kept saying that his people were investigating. What's your opinion about UNAMIR's investigations?

Unidentified:

As regards the investigations, you are well aware that before UNAMIR came to Rwanda, we *already* had doubts about its mandate because it was supposed to come just after the death of a *democratically* elected of Burundi. Moreover, the UN had just decided that the Belgian peace-keepers were to take charge of security in Kigali. As I recall, many Rwandans, particularly members of the MRND and the CDR parties, wrote to the United Nations Secretary General, saying: "Melchior Ndadaye, the President of Burundi, has just been killed. And as you are well aware, when we were attacked, in October 1990, we had asked Belgium to supply us with arms and ammunitions, which we had purchased well before the outbreak of the war, and which they had set aside for us. However, Belgium refused to deliver them. You have now chosen the Belgians, who refused to give us of the means to defend ourselves, to watch over security in our city, is the capital of Rwanda to boot. If they were to kill our president, as they did the president of Burundi, who would be held responsible?"

The UN kept quiet; instead, it continued to support for the idea of dispatching the Belgians to Kigali.

A few days thereafter, on 6 April 1994, they assassinated our President. There is no doubt in anyone's mind. Already last year, Dallaire, who was already in Rwanda by then, was asked to investigate the death of people in Ruhengeri, in Mutura, and the recent violations by the authorities in Cyohoha of the rights of some people in that area. Dallaire was supposed to monitor the situation in Rwanda, but he produced no report regarding the investigations. Worse still, the international organisations never asked Dallaire why he failed to provide the reports, as requested. We find this confusing and fail to understand how UNAMIR operates. Up to now, we are uncertain what it is doing for us. We are also surprised to learn that it is planning to send these international organisations to investigate Tutsis who attack Hutus. We know that the result of their investigations is not meant to serve our cause.

Dismas Nkezabera:

The international community has said time and again that in Rwanda killings are still being perpetrated in the zone occupied by the Rwandan Armed Forces. However, when you look at Byumba and Kibungo, which have a large number of *Inkotanyi*—although as our troops engage and rout them—you notice that very few people fled from there. Now what happened to those people?

Unidentified:

As the [French] saying goes, there is no point creating difficulties where there are none. So, that's that. In fact, the white people and the UN are aware of that. When people say that they have been attacked, they are telling the truth. It is also a fact that killings were perpetrated, if not, what happened to the people who have disappeared? I recently heard that about 30 bodies were identified, including teachers, communal authorities, inspectors, and so on. Now, in your opinion, what happened to those people? People have been disappearing since 1990; this has gone on up until quite recently when they resumed hostilities resumed after killing our head of state. However, despite the negotiations and UNAMIR's presence, they have not thought of returning those people to us, and perhaps claim that they were keeping and feeding them in Uganda. They have not returned those people to us, for them to return to their homes. Who are these people? The RPF are a bunch of blood-thirsty people. Dismas, being a journalist, can't you see that they are the killers? Didn't they start killing in 1990 whereas our President was then a peace-maker? Didn't they start killing at a time when our President had just united us, and were just Rwandans, and no reference was made to the ethnic groups I mentioned earlier? We had just become aware that Rwandans were just simply Rwandans full stop! Aren't they the ones who started thinking in terms of killings, whereas that notion was alien to us; aren't they the ones who influenced us!

Dismas Nkezabera:

Sebahinzi's children continue to perish at the hands of the Tutsi *extremists*. But when you take closer look at the opinion of the international community, you realize that it is biased. The international community thinks that the Hutus are the killers, whereas, in my opinion, they are the victims. In fact, you do realise that many people have died in the areas traversed by the *Inyenzi*. What do you think of the support of the international community continues to give to the *Inyenzi*?

Unidentified:

Mr Nkezabera, as to whether international community is biased, the answer is yes. However, the international community is right to be biased, because in my view, those who represent the majority people abroad do not seem to explain the situation properly. We say that we are the majority, 90% of population, and we are accused of killing the Tutsis. Do you think there would be anyone left if we killed the minority, the 10% [of the population]? How would they escape? You do the math: out a population of more than seven millions, how many would be left if you took away 90%? The remainder is 10%. How would they survive? According to you, if the 90% mobilized to kill the 10%, would anyone survive? As you can see, the people representing us in the white man's countries to explain the situation in our country and the way we operate have their work cut out for them. They ought to explain the situation to the white people and help them understand it! You would agree that there would be no survivors out of the 10% if 90% mobilized to kill them! It would be impossible for them to survive.

Dismas Nkezabera:

Hum mmm! Still with regard to the killings, how can the RPF claim that they do not kill anyone, whereas members of the public flee instead of going to the *zone* they [the RPF] occupy, instead they head to the *zone* occupied by the Rwandan Armed Forces. How do you explain that to foreigners?

Unidentified:

It's very simple. The blood-thirsty RPF thugs have their positions at Mulindi, but they enjoy the support of the enemy, Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda. In fact, I am uncertain whether our authorities—I am referring to the Rwandan Government—have already lodged a complaint against him. We must lodge a complaint against him, as we did in the case of Belgium. How can one seek refuge in the home of a blood-thirsty individual? I invite you to go take a look at Runda, Taba and Gitarama town; you will see many refugees from Kibungo and Byumba. But the question is, why are they fleeing? Is it not because of the blood-thirsty thugs? If these were really people of goodwill, the people would be flocking to their zone. But instead they are leaving the zones they have captured and taking refuge in the interior of the country, closer to our soldiers, because these are blood-thirsty, mean individuals. Their aim is to kill people, not to save lives.

Dismas Nkezabera:

Before we end the programme, I have another question for you. We are now fortunate to have the *Abatabazi* Government. The government has sent emissaries abroad to explain the situation in Rwanda to the white people. In fact, the *Abatabazi* Government has gone to great lengths to restore peace in Rwanda, especially as the people were infuriated by the assassination of the Father of the Nation, guardian of peace, by the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi*. Do you think the *Abatabazi* Government has achieved its goal of restoring peace in the country?

Unidentified:

In my opinion, based on what I have observed, our *Abatabazi* Government—which would have saved lives had it been put in place much earlier—has already achieved its goal. As far as I am concerned, although everything is not perfect, the Government had already achieved its goal. As you know, our President of the Republic, a peace-maker, of whom we were very fond, was assassinated in broad daylight by people who were well known, and his death provoked the kind of turmoil we have witnessed! As you know, he was killed on the 6th, the 4th [sic] and those bloodthirsty criminals, who were billeted at the CND, the National Assembly building, immediately launched attacks all across Kigali and [*Incomprehensible segment*] as you yourself can see. The government was installed on the 9th, on a Saturday, and decided, among other things, to restore peace throughout the country. As you know, the people of Rwanda shed lots of tears following the death of their President, who was peace-maker. It is true that the public is still hurting due to the death of the Father of the Nation, someone they will never forget; but, all the same, the fact that it is now possible to travel from Kigali to Ruhengeri, from Kigali to Butare, is due to the efforts of the *Abatabazi* Government, which helped the situation return to normal in many instances. What I am trying to say is that had this government not been

put in place, the *Inyenzi*, the *Inyangarwanda* (enemies of Rwanda) would have exterminated the people of Rwanda *already* and there would be no one left [*Inaudible*].

I should add that the *Abatabazi* Government gave us a hint: “that it is impossible for 10% of the population to continue bullying the other 90%. We who make up the 90% should make contributions, with each person contributing 10 francs. That would enable us to collect at least seven million Rwandan francs. That way, each person could purchase something for his defence, a spear, for instance, because these people are invincible.

Mr Nkezabera, as you are journalist, I want you to transmit the message of the *Abatabazi* Government, for everyone to receive us so that we can ensure our security and defend ourselves... [*Incompréhensible segment*].

Dismas Nkezabera :

Hum mmm! You remained in Kigali whereas the *Inyenzi* tried to exterminate all the Hutus living there. What do you have to say to those who fled to other *préfectures* and did not witness the fighting in Kigali?

Unidentified:

In my view, women, children and old women were right to flee Kigali. The events which took place in Kigali as of the 6th, when they killed our President of the Republic, are due to the violence, and meanness of the Tutsis, the band of Tutsis. The *Inyenzi* have their backs against the wall, they shell Kigali from locations that unknown to us in order to destroy development infrastructure; I commend the people of Kigali for defending themselves in collaboration with the soldiers. They have protected the city of Kigali; if no soldiers are available, civilians are capable of holding their own with spears or clubs. So for the moment, they are defending the city, and *Inyenzi* cannot infiltrate it. I defy them to prove me wrong. I am talking about Kigali. I defy them to infiltrate Kigali.

I have noticed of late that they launch shells anywhere in Kigali. In fact, I wonder if they have specific targets. I think they launch them without targeting anything in particular. *Préfet* Tharcisse Renzaho taught us how to dig trenches where we to take cover whenever they launch shells. In this war, we are toe to toe with the enemy with either side shooting at the other with firearms. I don't know where they launch those shells from. I don't know whether they launch them from Uganda. To tell you the truth, I realise that in the end, our people will also launch them, and will overcome those people at whatever cost.

I therefore urge those who fled, especially the men, to return to their homes, as the *Abatabazi* Government has promised to provide us with what we need to defend ourselves. These people must return, and we must be provided what we need to defend ourselves. They must come and help those who remained behind, because nothing has happened to those who have returned! We are in Kigali at this time. These people must come and help us, and show the *Inyenzi*, the band of Tutsis, that we are strong, and that they cannot stand up to us. This band cannot defeat us, because we are united.

Dismas Nkezabera:

Dear listeners, you were listening to a programme on the cohabitation of ethnic groups in Rwanda. The band of blood-thirsty *Inyenzi* is still trying to seize power by force, but the children of *Sebahinzi* in collaboration with *Inzirabwoba* are determined to track down the enemy wherever it is and crush it once for all.

[*Music*]

It is in this framework that François Nzabahimana, former Minister of Commerce and Industry, who is currently in Belgium, in collaboration with other Rwandans residing there for a variety of reasons, issued a communiqué intended for the people of Rwanda, the Rwandan Government, the *RPF-Inkotanyi* and the international community.

In the communiqué, the Rwandan community in Belgium urges the countries and international organisations to assist the people of Rwanda in dire straits to once again lead normal lives.

In addition the aforementioned communiqué in French, our colleague Etienne Karekezi of the Radio Rwanda English service, interviewed François Nzabahimana, current manager of the *Union des Banques Populaires du Rwanda*. Let us listen to what they had to say.

Etienne Karekezi, Radio Rwanda journalist:

Apart from the communiqué you issued, I want to ask you have done to help the people Rwanda understand the nature and cause of the problem Rwanda is facing currently. We are under the impression that some foreigners do not understand the situation, and are prepared to gobble up whatever the RPF says, or to interpret it however they feel. What have you done about that?

François Nzabahimana, Banques populaires manager:

In general, many people here say that the RPF must come to Kigali and seize power, and that they will support it. But others say that that is impossible, that dictatorship is a thing of the past, that the RPF must cease hostilities and return to the negotiating table so that people may stop dying, because dictatorship, seizing power by force, is no longer acceptable. Many people do understand this, and support us. As a matter of fact, we would like to meet the Rwandan communities in Belgium, France, Switzerland and other countries, to seek their assistance in persuading the RPF, the Rwandan Armed Forces and the Rwandan government to return to the negotiating table and put an end to the ongoing war and killings.

Many people understand when we explain this. Clearly, the RPF has infiltrated many circles, but most of those who know Rwanda, including priests and a large number of Belgians who have lived in Rwanda for 30 years, those who grew up here, those who have worked here, the nuns and the people working in firms, are prepared to assist us. They know what is going on, and say that the RPF cannot seize power by force and rule the people of Rwanda against their will. Seizing power by force is now a thing of the

past. So that is what we are doing, we tell them that seizing power by force is a thing of the past; we seek their assistance in the negotiations.

Etienne Karekezi:

We think that it would be easier to resolve the Rwandan conflict if it were properly understood. We want you to know that the foreigners who come to Rwanda to visit refugees and displaced persons only focus on those who are in towns, notably hotels such as the Mille Collines, the Méridien and other comfortable places, such as the aforementioned hotels where they are protected from rain, and are fed. They purposely ignore the other innocents who left Byumba, Ruhengeri, and have spent about four years in make-shift dwellings, in the jungle, in the rain, with no food or clothing. What do you plan to do to make sure that the rights of such people are respected?

François Nzabahimana:

We, the people of Rwanda, are responsible for this situation. Some in Canada wonder what they can do to help people in the interior of the country. However, in order for them to come to the interior of the country, they must be sure that their personal safety and property are protected. Some people say that they want to send medicine, food, basic supplies. At a meeting, they asked that at least [Incomprehensible segment]...the corridors through Tanzania or Burundi, for goods bound for Rwanda to transit through there. So many people support us.

They do not understand how those living at the Mille Collines hotel or those having spent a month and a half in a hideout would not be entitled to flee or to come out of hiding. That means that those living at the Mille Collines enjoy the support of many people, just like those living in rural areas upcountry. We thus cannot say that all white people think alike. Many white people are making contributions in order to be of assistance. However, some priests say that they want to go home [to Rwanda]. Yesterday, priests who used to live in Gitarama said at a meeting that they wanted to return there to assist the people, to assist those living in *camps*. But they say that they don't want to be cut to pieces if and when they return. They are wondering how their return would be perceived, and are asking the government to examine this issue.

But some French people say that they are French, that they are not concerned and that they do not want to come back. Some Swiss nationals want to return [to Rwanda], some Canadians want to send equipment to Rwanda, upcountry, but they are uncertain via which route to send the items, considering that all their countrymen have left the country and that the Red Cross, which is prepared to assist them, has told them that the situation in Kigali is complex. It is therefore necessary for the government or even members of the public in the country to think of ways and means to welcome the people returning to Rwanda to help us and find ways how those who are hiding in houses, banana groves, at the Mille Collines and elsewhere are entitled to leave their hideouts and go out in the open or to the countryside.

On this point, those of us outside the country respect human rights. Many white people who attend such meetings say that they support these people and say that those who are

staying at the Mille Collines, in the stadium, in the zones occupied by the *Inkotanyi*, should be allowed to leave. They are asking the *Inkotanyi* to allow the people in their zone to leave and that those living upcountry be allowed to leave. They also say that they also want to assist the people in Gitarama, in Cyangugu stadium and elsewhere, as well the people living in make-shift dwellings. So many white people support us. However, we must be flexible and allow those who want to go abroad to do so and see how the people staying at the Mille Collines can leave easily. That way, the white people and other people of goodwill wanting to give us assistance will be able to easily distribute it in the interior of the country.

Moreover, they understand the situation. They say that there are needy people in Kibungo, Byumba and elsewhere, who have been living in makeshift dwellings for quite sometime, that they provide them assistance because they are all human. They are also determined to assist them; in fact, many have already made contributions with the intention of returning to assist such persons. Others say that there are people in hiding in Kigali and that they must assist such people. So many people who are not politicians but work for NGOs, charitable organisations and members of the clergy, say that members of the public have the same rights as those staying at the Mille Collines, in Byumba, Kibungo or those in the so-called FPR zone. They want to assist them all.

You must also raise public awareness to enable us to treat one another with tolerance and for the RPF to realise that. That way, the people of goodwill will condemn the RPF and be in a position to assist the members of the public living in the zone occupied by the RPF.

Etienne Karekezi:

We think that this will be feasible, as security in the country is now improving, especially in the areas controlled by the Rwandan Armed Forces. Now, I was wondering whether you have any message for the people of Rwanda to encourage them to take on the enemy with renewed vigour.

François Nzabanimana:

I want the people of Rwanda to know that many here in Europe, notably in Switzerland, France, Germany, Belgium, and in Canada, support the people of Rwanda. Many people who have worked in Rwanda are fond of Rwanda and want to return as soon as the situation returns to normal. But it is up to the people of Rwanda to make sure that this happens. They should do all the can to make sure that the international community and the other actors explain to the RPF that they must negotiate with both the Rwandan army and government, that RPF or any other type of dictatorship is a thing of the past, that only the people—Hutu and Tutsi, the Nduga and the Rukiga—can decide the outcome of the upcoming elections, as to who will lead the country. So dictatorship is a thing of the past; we must now reassure the international community. The people must also [*Incomprehensible segment*] ... Rwanda belongs to us all. Each one, Tutsi or Hutu, must feel comfortable. All Rwandans, regardless of their ethnic origin, must realise that Rwanda is theirs, and thus restore unity and put an end to the killings and the war. I have nothing further to say; I just wish to reassure them.

Dismas Nkezabera:

Your are listening to Radio Rwanda broadcasting from Kigali; it is now 7.31 a.m., we will now continue our broadcast with news from Rwanda.

The United Nations Human Rights Commission will hold a special meeting on 24 and 25 this month [Inaudible segment]

...three of them have come down with meningitis. *Doctors Without Borders* announces that vaccination for refugees in refugee camps at Mubuga and Mureke, in Ngozi Province, and the refugee camps at Kivumo and Gahondo, in Kayanza Province is due to begin today.

The *Parti démocrate Chrétien* (PDC) committee for Gisenyi...

[Musical interlude]

[Jingle for French news bulletin]

Presenter

... a message regarding restoring peace in Rwanda. The pacification message is aimed at the people of Rwanda as well as the international community, in particular NGOs and charitable organisations to assist the people of Rwanda who are currently in dire straits. This message is read to us from Brussels by Mr François Nzabahimana, former Minister of Commerce and Handicrafts, who is currently in Belgium. Let us listen to what he has to say.

François NZABAHIMANA

I am sending you the message which was prepared at the first meeting held in Brussels on 12 May 1994 by a group of Rwandans urging for the restoration of peace in Rwanda. This is a first attempt to bring together Rwandans of various allegiances in the quest for negotiated solution to the Rwandan conflict and to re-establish... and discuss the best achieve way to achieve sustained peace. Here is the message:

My fellow Rwandans, do not listen to incitement ... to commit massacres, stop the massacres, protect the victims. As for you the Rwandan Armed Forces and the Rwandan Patriotic Front, you must stop the massacres, stop the war, do not incite people to commit massacres, you must arrange to meet, and engage in a dialogue with the civil society. The international community must not should abandon Rwanda, stop the arms deliveries, declare an arms embargo for all the countries in the region, put in place an international force to protect the people under threat, finance international ai - - international humanitarian aid, send observers to monitor human rights throughout the country, condemn the war and the massacres, support the revival of the civil society.

Done at Brussels, on 12 May 1994

Presenter

This is Radio Rwanda, it is now 8.10 a.m. After this message, our colleague Etienne Karekezi telephoned Mr François Nzabahimana and asked him a number of questions. Let us listen to the interview. First Etienne Karekezi's question.

Etienne KAREKEZI

Here in Rwanda we have a problem with communicating with the international community. We would like to know what you over there in the West to raise the awareness of the international community about Rwanda.

François NZABAHIMANA

That means that the Rwandan conflict is not properly explained in Europe. We note that all that is happening in Europe and what is happening, especially in the RPF zone. We - - we regret to note for example what is happening in other parts of the - - of the country is not reported in the media in Europe; that's unfortunate. Also, here in Europe, many think that the RPR is capable of restoring peace; this is obviously false. So we are in the process... we are now in the process of... explaining and - - er - - explaining to people, communicating with people to enable them to help us reach a negotiated settlement to the Rwandan conflict and to re-establish the truth about the ordeal the people of Rwanda are experiencing .

Etienne KAREKEZI

We are under the impression that when representatives of the international community come to Rwanda to observe the situation, especially the plight facing the displaced persons, they feel particularly sorry for the persons staying in hotels, like the Mille Collines, the Méridien or other places where they are provided with accommodation and are relatively well fed and completely ignore those who are living in make-shift camps known as "blindes", where they are exposed to the elements. What is the reason for the double standards? Are you also planning to ask the international community to come and see the people who seem to be ignored to the benefit of a tiny well-protected minority?

François NZABAHIMANA

Yes, it is important to realise that people are aware of the Rwandan tragedy. Some people are prepared to help, some people are prepared to come, but they fear for their safety. For example, the Red Cross, NGOs, - - organisations which wish to return to Rwanda, they have even written to the government requesting to come to Rwanda, but the question is whether their safety is guaranteed. This is what they are unsure about. Today, the government says no. So, everyone wants to return; you even have Belgians, - - priests who used to work in rural areas, Belgian NGOs, Swiss or French organisation wanting to return and assist the people in the rural areas, in the communes, the people displaced, and the people displaced in the communes not only those staying in hotels, but unfortunately, they fear for their - - their safety. It is clear that that from a human rights standpoint, people are ent - - are entitled to - - to - - to flee, to leave if they feel threatened. Some leave and head for the - - the hills, some go to - - neighbouring countries or abroad, and they are entitled to do so. So it is human rights which take precedence - - er - - be it at the Milles Collines at... the Hôtel des Milles Collines or

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other places, be it in the hills, everyone is sensible of that. So it is not right to argue that Europeans are much of a muchness - - that they do not like such and such segment of the population. Some people are committed to Rwanda and are prepared to help those staying at the Milles Collines and those who are - - er - -. holed up in - - in houses - - with neighbours or houses in Kigali but also in the hills, in banana groves and elsewhere. Also, they are prepared to return, and get involved. So, one must look at the big picture, save the people who - - er - - who feel threatened, and the people in the hills, help the people in Gitarama, Kabgayi, - - Butare and other places, in camps at Kibungo or Tanzania. Some people want to help, but it is necessary to ensure their safety, and that requires put and end - - stop the massacres and refrain from inciting massacres, ensure that their safety is guaranteed as a minimum..

Presenter:

That was the former Rwandan minister, Mr François NZABAHIMANA; he lives in Belgium. He was speaking to our colleague Etienne KAREKEZI.

[Musical interlude]

The rest of the news in brief..

END OF SIDE A

SIDE B**Unidentified:**

[*Inaudible segment*] does belong to me, but some people want to grab it. [Incomprehensible segment]....This is what I wanted to ask of you. We must also quickly implement the government's decision on civil defence. In view of the current situation, the guerilla attacks must be repelled by members of the public in collaboration with the armed forces. If people flee whenever they hear two or three *Inkotanyi* shooting when they arrive in the area, it would not be easy to assign soldiers to all the *cellules* and *secteurs*. It is therefore important for members of the public to learn to provide their own security, defend themselves in order to deal with the enemy when attacked. I think the government directives must be applied as soon as possible, because the enemy devises new tricks by the day.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic, in a few words, on behalf of the people of Kibuye here present, on behalf of the *Conseil National de Développement*, I thank you for your message to us, we support you and will continue to work with you in your mission and that of the government, in leading the country. Thank you. [*Applause*]

Théodore Sindikubwabo:

As is the practice at meetings, it is not good for one person to monopolise the floor. It is necessary to have an exchange of views by the participants. As time is of the essence, we shall have time for three questions or three recommendations, before we end the meeting. Go ahead. You are asked to make your recommendations before the meeting comes to a close.

Bourgmestre Kabasha:

Thank you, Your Excellency the President of the Republic. As you have stated, I am not going to ask questions, but rather make recommendations as to how the government can assist.

First of all, Your Excellency the President of the Republic, when the UN adopts a resolution aimed at helping us restore peace in our country, the English-speaking countries are usually quick to show that they are prepared to send troops. Your Excellency the President of the Republic, I would like to suggest that the Rwandan government carefully screen the countries wishing to send troops to assist us, so as to ensure that the security is not further compromised, as has happened in the past. The reason I say that is because, recently, we heard reports that certain countries are prepared to come and help us restore peace in the country. Now, I think Senegal is the only French-speaking country that has made such a commitment. We, members of the public, wonder whether such countries are not asked to commit before others. We are even inclined to doubt their impartiality, given that our aggressors, the *Inkotanyi*, especially those who support them, speak the same language.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic, I also wish to revisit the issue raised by the *Secrétaire Député*; indeed, the Prime Minister also mentioned it when he

came to visit us. It is the question of civil defence. We realise that the war is expanding, as it has now touched the entire country. We therefore think that money is the issue. Here in Kibuye, the *Inkotanyi* radio has been broadcasting a message that the *Inkotanyi* will punish Kibuye, Gikongoro and Cyangugu; however, so far we have done nothing about that. This also seems to be the case in Bugesera, in the *communes* of Mugina, Ntongwe, Kigoma, Muyira and Ntyazo. We are thus afraid that what has happened elsewhere may happen in our area. May I also ask you, Your Excellency the President of the Republic, to help members of the public to defend themselves when attacked, as the Rwandan government promised. We also ask that you treat this as a matter of priority so as to prevent the *Inkotanyi* from taking over our entire country.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic, allow me to make another recommendation. In a country like this one, which is plagued with so many problems, the higher authorities have mechanisms allowing them to address such problems. I therefore wish to ask you to look into ways for the higher authorities to collaborate with the local authorities. Such collaboration must not only manifest itself at meetings like this one, because there are so many problems. What's more, the transmission of documents to the intended parties is also a problem in this country. At the *commune* and *préfecture* levels, many Rwandans have their own opinion on the war on how to deal with the war and other political issues facing our country. I wish to ask you, Your Excellency the President of the Republic, to look into ways how to put in place a *structure* aimed at facilitating a democratic debate on the various issues facing our country, as this would facilitate the exchange of ideas between the higher and local authorities.

Thank you, Your Excellency the President of the Republic. [*Applause*]

Théodore Sindikubwabo:

Let me briefly respond to the recommendations made by *Bourgmestre* Kabasha, focusing on the last one, namely the exchange of ideas between the higher authorities and local authorities. I will start with the last recommendation.

I am pleased to note that *Bourgmestre* Kabasha's recommendations come from someone who has *experience* in the country's administration. He has *experience* with regard to the country's organisational and political structure, because I know him, and what he believes in.

In response to his recommendation, I wish to turn to the young children, our youths, those that have not yet reached political maturity, as well as other people who are not sufficiently informed about the administrative matters or what the French call *administration and administrative hierarchy*.

Earlier in this meeting, I said that in collaboration with my delegation, I embarked on a programme to visit Kibuye in order to support the administration in the performance of its duties. As stated in the Constitution I read to you, the administration in Kibuye is represented by the *préfet* of the *préfecture*; the *préfet* also represents the President of the Republic in Kibuye.

The *préfet* of the *préfecture* has other organs instituted by law to help him administer the people of this *préfecture* and perform the duties assigned to him by the State. There are many such organs. You, *commune bourgmestres*, who are in charge of the *central administration* in the *communes*, constitute the first organ. You have other departments, including justice, the judicial branch, education and agriculture. As an administrative entity, the *préfecture* comprises several *administrative* units. This includes *conseillers* and members of *cellule* committees. Where this *hierarchy* is well respected and properly understood, transmission of the concerns of the people to the higher echelons is easier, as the law requires the *préfet* to seek solutions to the problems addressed to him by members of the public in his administrative area. Where necessary, he may seek the assistance of the government he represents in dealing with such problems.

Why am explaining this question in detail? *Bourgmestre* Kabasha, like you, I am one of those with experience about the country. I have often seen people who are in a hurry, or who may be ignorant, people who had the bad habit of taking shortcuts. Some say that they want to go directly to the President of the Republic, or write to the minister. This is one of those bad habits we want to eradicate. Taking shortcuts means that if a child has a problem, he brings it to the attention of his paternal uncles instead of one of his parents. The proper way is to bring the problem to the attention of your father first; the paternal uncle may get involved at a later stage, to give advice.

I thus think that we should stop the bad habit of taking shortcuts, because we have seen its negative consequences. This is what causes lies, bad-mouthing, words that may sow the seeds of discord or what the French call *intrigues*. We shall not tolerate such things. If you respect the *administrative hierarchy*, as stipulated in the Constitution, you will have no problem.

Your second recommendation concerns *civil defence*. When the government made this decision, it meant business. It was taken after careful consideration. We are doing the necessary. I am personally monitoring the situation, as currently, we are working in close collaboration with one another. Each one knows what the other is doing and we share information. In fact, that is how it should be. Your recommendation will soon be put into practice. As you know, state resources are not available instantly, but the government is doing everything it can to ensure that the recommendation put into effect as soon as possible. We are well aware that it is not good to delay its implementation. Instead of delaying it or failing to implement it, it would have been better not to evoke it. So we know what we are doing, we are well aware of our commitments. We are doing all we can to ensure that the programme succeeds.

Your third recommendation concerns the English-speaking countries which are quick to provide assistance. Let me reassure you. You must trust us and bear in mind that our government is aware of this problem. Earlier in this meeting, I stated that we are aware of some of the RPF's weapons, but others escape us. This may be one of those weapons we are aware of. We must thus be observant, analyse the situation carefully and

avoid acting rashly. We must observe, spy, have others spy for us, and if we consider it compromising, we are entitled to refuse the offer. But we have neither had them properly spied nor examined the situation carefully, we can let them come so as to observe them, while reserving the right to tell them to return where they came from if we think that they do not serve our interests. But our *principle*, as stated in the letter by an American, the *international community* must come to Rwanda and see for itself the tricks and brutality of the FPR, which, indeed, have been exposed.

I believe I have briefly responded to your recommendations. I have asked *Minister* Agnès to make a note of that, so that in case anything is not clear, we can explain it at a later stage. She can raise the matter at the *Conseil des ministres* and a detailed answer would be communicated promptly. But I wanted to focus on how ideas circulate between the higher and lower echelons. As you can see, we are committed to coming to assist the prefectural administration as well as the people of Kibuye the administration represents, to let you know that we are on the same wave length, that we have the same aspirations and we all want peace. We could send out a message to various *conseillers de secteur* and *bourgmestres*, but that would not be the best way for the government to collaborate with the citizens. The approach set forth in the Constitution is the best. If you comply by that, all the problems will be solved.

Clément Kayishema, préfet of Kibuye préfecture:

Your Excellency the President of the Republic, Honourable Minister of Justice, *Secrétaire Député*, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to once again express my sincere thanks to the President of the Republic for taken some of his precious time to meet with us, give us his support, commend us and advise us on how to proceed with activities aimed at restoring peace, as well as other activities we have undertaken. I invite you to thank him once again. *[Applause]*.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic, we have received all the directives you have personally issued and the ones you have channelled through the Prime Minister and other ministers. It cannot be said that we have refused to execute those directives, or that we delayed their execution. It is also worth noting that some of the directives reached after we had made other decisions. Fortunately, the decisions we made do not contradict your directives. On behalf of everyone here, I wish to reiterate our support to you, the Prime Minister and the government. Our support is reflected in our activities and the fact that we have carried out all the directives you issued.

We once again thank you for endeavouring to find solutions to the problems we have brought to your attention. Although these problems persist, we realise that you have done your level best to resolve them.

As regards the issue Mr Kabasha raised concerning civil defence, I had the opportunity to talk to both the *Minister* of Defence and the Gendarmerie Chief of Staff who happened to be here last Saturday. I am well aware that in some—if not all—*communes*, *recruitment* is underway and that *training* has already started in some places. We wish to ask the experts, namely the *army* and or the *gendarmerie*, to assess these

activities and tell us if they meet the expectations [the government's] so that when the weapons become available, we can distribute them in the hope that the recipients will put it to proper use.

It is no use distributing the weapons and not to use them or to lose them to the enemy owing to failure to put them to proper use.

So I once again wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic, and all the people here present. I urge you to remain united and respectful [of one another], let bygones be bygones, refrain from making defamatory statements and work towards peace and development in the country. Thank you, and bon voyage. Please come back, whenever time permits, once peace is established. On that occasion, we shall bring other issues to your attention with regard to the social wellbeing of the people. Thank you. [Applause]

Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka, Radio Rwanda journalist:

To all friends of Radio Rwanda, you are listening to a programme on security, which was prepared by the journalists of Radio Rwanda.

As you have heard, security is being restored gradually. In the *préfectures*, several areas are now secure. But, as stated by President of the Republic, everyone, the people of Rwanda as a whole, must refrain from engaging in criminal acts [*Music in the background*]. Everyone is also urged to mobilise and remain vigilant so as to prevent the kind of enemy infiltration that has been occurring of late.

You must remain firm at the roadblocks and check all passers-by, including military personnel, vehicles and civilians, as the enemy infiltrates insidiously. No one knows the full extent of the enemy's tricks. Whatever the case, you must mobilise and, if necessary, fight, as there will be no alternative should the negotiations end in failure. We refuse to die like flies.

We thank you for tuning in. Good night.

[*Music*]

[*Jingle for Kinyarwanda news bulletin*]

Dismas Nkezabera:

...visit the *préfectures* in order to transmit the pacification message. After Kibuye *préfecture*, which he visited the day before yesterday, on Monday, the head of State visited Cyangugu *préfecture*.

President Sindikubwabo also met with the Cyangugu *préfecture* authorities, political party representatives and representatives of [*Interruption*]. The meeting was also attended by higher authorities, including the *Minister* of Commerce, Industry and [*Interruption*] Mr Justin Mugenzi, the *Minister* of *Transport* and Communications, Mr André Ntagerura, and Dr Murego, representing the political parties participating in the

government. The speech of the head of state focused on security and reconciliation of the Rwandan people after the turbulence the country has experienced and the pacification message by the President of the Republic and the government to the people of Rwanda.

In his speech, the President of the Republic thanked the Cyangugu *préfecture* authorities for executing the directives aimed at restoring peace, because the unrest provoked by the assassination of President Habyarimana and the resumption of hostilities the RPF were correlated.

As regards the objectives of the Rwandan government, the president told the participants that despite RPF's stumbling blocks, which are aimed at perpetuating the war, the government of Rwanda has consistently honoured its commitments to restore security in the country and to work towards an end to hostilities. The government of Rwanda is still prepared to negotiate with our aggressors, so as to facilitate the putting in place of the broad-based transitional government, including the RPF, within six weeks, in accordance with the wish of the United Nations.

With respect to the security of the citizens, the President of the Republic, His Excellency *Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo*, strongly urged the *international community* to come to the assistance of the people who are in dire straits or are displaced due to the resumption of hostilities by the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. The people in dire straits are susceptible to hunger and disease.

In his speech, the *préfet* of Cyangugu *préfecture*, Emmanuel Bagambiki, outlined the adverse consequences of the unrest that followed the assassination of President Juvénal Habyarimana resumption of hostilities by the *RPF-Inkotanyi*. *Préfet* Bagambiki said that he was pleased to note that calm had returned to Cyangugu *préfecture*.

The President of the Republic, His Excellency *Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo*, said that he was pleased about the progress made after the pacification message put out by the authorities our country.

The President of the Republic commended the Cyangugu *préfecture* authorities for restoring peace, but he lashed out at the acts perpetrated by some in the *communes*, which acts are contrary to the orders and directives issued by the Rwandan government.

The President of the Republic asked the *préfets* of all the *préfectures* in Rwanda to submit to him reports about security in their respective *préfectures*. The president said that whoever broke the law would be punished by the courts. President Sindikubwabo reminded the participants that the RPF *FPR-Inkotanyi* was Rwanda's enemy. We would also like to report that in Cyangugu, President of the Republic met with the governor of Sud Kivu, but nothing transpired about what they discussed.

At the front, according to information obtained from the Ministry of Defence, there is fierce fighting in Kigali the day before yesterday, especially in the eastern part of the city. The RPF also continued to shell Gikondo-MAGERWA and the Kanombe area.

There was fighting in Rulindo. In the Ruhengeri area, the *Inkotanyi* continued to shell Nkumba *commune*. However, no large-scale attacks were launched by either side.

During the fighting two days ago, the *Inkotanyi* lost a large number of soldiers at the front in Ruhengeri. Our armed forces weapons from the *Inkotanyi*, including guns and ammunitions. The Ministry of Defence also says that the RPF is continuing to kill innocent civilians wherever it passes.

The Minister of Defence, Augustin Bizimungu, urges everyone to be on the alert and continue to collaborate in order to uncover the enemy's tricks. Let us listen to the communiqué of the Minister of Defence, to the people of Rwanda. It is read to you by our colleague Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka.

Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:

Men and women of Rwanda

I would like to once again commend you for the bravery and enthusiasm you continue to show by supporting your armed forces in the struggle against the enemy, as it continues to exterminate Rwandans and to destroy infrastructure that we acquired after so much effort.

Realising that it had failed to infiltrate you, the enemy has now elected to deceive the international community. It has already cooked up schemes to disguise itself and take you by surprise. They sometimes pose as *Interahamwe*, sometimes they wear military uniform similar to the ones worn by our armed forces in order to go unnoticed. In fact, they sometimes pose as Zairians coming to Rwanda to fight the enemy.

People of Rwanda, do you realise that the enemy will continue to use such gimmicks in order to exterminate you, as it is now doing in all combat zones it traverses. You must therefore be vigilant, in order to better defend yourselves. At roadblocks and during night patrols, you are urged to be vigilant and to check all passers-by. Even people in military uniform must be asked to show identification papers and laissez-passers.

We now have vehicles moving without documents. I strongly urge those who man the roadblocks to beef up the inspections. No vehicle without a licence plate is to be allowed on the road. Such a vehicle must be seized.

Augustin Bizimana,
Minister of Defence

Dismas Nkezabera:

Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka will now tell you about the tricks used by the *Inyenzi* to infiltrate the country.

Hyacinthe Bicamumpaka:

The *Inkotanyi* use all manner of clever tricks in order to infiltrate the country under disguise:

First: The cross roadblocks dressed as *Interahamwe*, gendarmes, CDR members, communal policeman or Rwandan soldiers. When not dressed as such, in order to disguise themselves, the *Inkotanyi* mingle with civilians who are fleeing the fighting. When the *Inkotanyi* cannot disguise themselves as such or when carrying anything that may give them away, such as firearms, documents or when fleeing the Rwandan Armed Forces, they go through marshes or between two hills, routes that regular people use.

Secondly: The *Inkotanyi* use many tricks to disguise whatever they are carrying. They hide documents small-calibre weapons, such as grenades, in ditches, which they cover with soil land place flower pots on top. As for large-calibre weapons, they hide them in cemeteries and on the crosses, they write the names of *Inkotanyi* they know. In fact, documents seized from captured *Inkotanyi* show that each *Nkotanyi* or *Nkotanyi* accomplice has a code name given by the Front.

Thirdly: When moving weapons from one area to another, the *Inkotanyi* have been known to use vehicles transporting everyday items, such as firewood, food or beverages. Moreover, the *Inkotanyi* mingle with people who are fleeing from combat zones and hide their weapons in bags, mattresses and the like. Citizens, my fellow Rwandans, I urge you to be vigilant.

Dismas Nkezabera:

You are listening to Radio Rwanda broadcasting from Kigali, it is now 6.12 a.m. The rest of news is about Rwanda.

The security council for Butare *préfecture* met yesterday, Monday, in the the Butare *préfecture* multi-purpose room. It discussed the security in Butare and how to improve it. Details with Mamérique Mukabanana.

Mamérique Mukabanana, ORINFOR, Butare:

The meeting took on greater significance due to the presence of the Minister of Family and Women's Affairs, Ms Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, the *Directeur de cabinet* of the Ministry of the Interior and Communal Development, Mr Callixte Kalimanzira; also present were members of the security council, *bourgmestres* and all in Butare communal *conseillers*, representatives of religious faiths, and political parties in Butare *préfecture*. The items on the agenda included security in Butare, current problems and how to resolve them.

As to what has been done to improve the image of Butare *préfecture*, security was improving steadily, some services have resumed, including markets, banks [and] shops. Government workers have returned to work, despite a few problems.

Any vehicle moving from one *commune* to another must carry a laissez-passer issued by the *bourgmestre* of the *commune* it originates from. People moving from one

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préfecture to another must carry a laissez-passer issued by the *préfet*. No vehicle without a licence plate is allowed on the roads. No motorcycles are allowed in town. Should a *bourgmestre* determine that there is a need for motorcycle to be on the road, they can issue a laissez-passer.

The participants in the meeting asked for the reinforcement of the roadblocks in Butare. Due to the large number of refugees flocking in from the combat zones, the people manning the roadblocks are to expect the following:

The people fleeing must stop at least 10 to 20 metres away from the roadblock. The people doing the checking are to call five to ten persons forward, check their IDs and search the items they are carrying with them. They must not have qualms about searching the clothes they have on, because this is where the criminals hide ammunition and weapons. The good example of the roadblock at Nyabisindu [*Interruption*]

END OF SIDE B
