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Content

SIDE A

- Kantano HABIMANA, RTLM journalist calls on all Rwandans to use all their strength to fight against the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* in order to liberate Rwanda. He condemns the looting and killings perpetrated by the population and the army and reminds them that they have to direct all their energies towards the fight against the RPF-*Inkotanyi*.

SIDE B

- Jean KAMBANDA, Prime Minister in his message to the nation, explains the procedure for setting up a government after the death of President HABYARIMANA and cites his three aims.
- He requests the displaced population especially in Kigali to return to their property and promises that the government will look for arms for them to protect themselves and their property.
- He informs the population of the instructions that all the security institutions must comply with.
- The Prime Minister condemns the acts of looting and rather calls on the population to combat the RPF-*Inkotanyi*.

SIDE A

K0162858

(Song: Tuzakurwanirira Rwanda: We shall fight for you Rwanda).

Speaker: Kantano HABIMANA, journalist in Radio Rwanda.

The RTL, the free radio broadcasting from Kigali on 106 and 94 meter bands. Rise all of you listening to us. Let us fight for ... This Rwanda. Rwanda is nowhere else in the world. Rwanda is here in Central Africa, where God located it. Rwanda is found nowhere else in the world. We are Rwandans, we are Rwandans. Nobody will understand that we can flee from Rwanda, that Ugandans can chase us out of Rwanda. So we should fight for this Rwanda. Children, starting with children who can walk and speak, up to the elderly who are still capable of seeing of moving around with sticks... That old person can say: "I saw an *Inyenzi* passing there", or he can advise his children: "Pass by this way my children" or "Hide in this manner." All the women, young girls, the men, the youths, all of us, we should fight for Rwanda, because it has been attacked.

In truth we do not know anyone among the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*, apart from few individuals we know who recently left at the beginning of the war in 1990. They are solely the children of the Tutsis who left as you must have released on certain hills. We know nobody among the *Inkotanyi*, as they are people who say: "So" or "Habari Gani". I confirm that even if they claim to be Rwandans born of Rwandan parents, there is no proof to convince us that they are Rwandans.

When they attack our country, we cannot abandon it to them and run away in embarrassment. We should instead take up clubs, cudgels, and axes and confront them head on, in order to prevent them from continuing to destroy our country. With a lot of courage the courage that characterises Rwandans, the Rwandan. A courageous person wins respect, he is feared because of his courage. I have never seen anybody love a coward. Nobody who loves a coward. Every time that you cross a coward, you throw stones at him, you pinch his cheek... take the case of a foolish child you only look at him, you never send him on an errand, you do not give him beer, because it is evident that he will never be useful... neither to himself neither to his country. So do not be cowards, let us fight for this Rwanda; do not say: "I am running away". You will run up to where? What are you running from? Those you are fleeing from are as strong as you, you are even stronger than they are. Learn to be sly. You can dig a pit for them to fall into, you can lay a trap for them, you can lay whatever snare for them, anything to slow them down, but you have to really fight against those people. Let them see that you are fighting, otherwise, they will only chase us out... they will take us far out! Why should they take us so far away?

5 min:07

Courage... all those of you in Ngara, Tanzania. Youths, strong men do not keep to yourselves, do exercises, jog in the morning, in the evening, warm up, because in a few days time... soon you will receive the necessary material for going to liberate your country, Rwanda. There is no other choice as the Ugandans and others from Burundi and elsewhere...can not come and say they are returning to Rwanda and instead of coming in peace... we can not allow them to seize our country and destroy it under our own very eyes. That is impossible, it is impossible (coughs), wherever we go we shall be considered cowards. We shall be despised and nobody will even offer us a beer.

Therefore, let us rise and fight for this Rwanda, there is no saying this or that... Let us rise and fight for this Rwanda with ardour. Other business, like marriages, dances, we shall take care of after the liberation of our Rwanda, when no foreigner will move around the country, will no longer do what he pleases, will no longer stroll in Rwanda. They are strong, and so are we...

No *Inkotanyi* weighs more than 60 kilogrammes. None. I have never seen any. They are just tall... They tower very high. But in any event those people are good for nothing, they should not be allowed to destroy our country. We said to them: "Come like brothers", and that nearly happened, but they refused. Therefore, it is their business, ... If you say to somebody that he is your brother and he refuses, saying: "I am an enemy", You then have to consider him as an enemy, treat him as such. The people who attacked our country are enemies, whether they go by the name of Tutsis, Ugandans..., we do not want these arrogant enemies of the nation who claim that they are going to be victorious, that it is only they who can beget children, that they are the only ones with friends...

7 min: 09

We are going to make our own friends, we shall ask all francophone countries to provide aid in the form of grenades and old rifles forgotten in their depots. Let them give even those that were used during the World War... the important point is for them to explode. The *Inkotanyi* are using explosives that they manufacture themselves, adding iron rods, pieces of scrap iron and frighten us... Give us that material and we shall continue to fight relentlessly against those people. We shall fight relentlessly against those bandits who have eaten all our cassava, they have now taken all the cassava... Uh-huh, these people should have planted their own cassava or asked us for some, or worked in exchange for that cassava... This is incomprehensible. This is incomprehensible, we are going to beat them and we shall undoubtedly emerge victorious. That is evident, it is certainty. And I have noticed that they will all be decimated if they are not careful.

People without parentage... but the *Inkotanyi* do not understand Kinyarwanda, it is their mentors, those fake wise men... they are intransigent and stubborn...

In Kinyarwanda it is said that somebody without parentage shoots moving towards a bush and when he can no longer hold out, he uses it as a shield. Meaning: he takes cover behind the bush. I think that this proverb is clear. Somebody without parentage shoots moving towards a bush and when he can no longer hold out, he uses it as a shield. Meaning: he takes cover behind the bush. And who are these persons without parentage in Rwanda? They are the *Inkotanyi*. As a matter of fact, it is a group from the Tutsi minority. The Tutsis are very few. Even if they are estimated at 10%, in any event this war has reduced them by about 2%. They are 2% less, so there are only 8% left. How will these people not disappear if they continue to commit suicide and fight against people who are more numerous than themselves.

I think that among... these *Inkotanyi*, there necessarily should be "a young bull that will decimate the cows that begot it". I do not know whether it is KAGAME, alias KAGOME. I do not know whether it is RUTAREMARA or Patrick MAZIMPAKA, but among the *Inkotanyi*, there is ... I do not know whether it is KANYARENGWE, this KANYAMURENGWE, but among them there is surely someone who is decided to get them exterminated and get their names fade into oblivion. To cause the Tutsis to disappear from the surface of the Earth. Nobody knows who this individual is; let him continue, but I think he himself will bear the consequences of his acts and it will be too late. It will be too late... and, at that stage, there is nothing he could do.

10 min:06

I shall leave the *Inkotanyi* for now, as I will come back to them later... I am announcing good news; I announce good news to Mr. Jacques NDAGIYINTWALI. Mr. Jacques NDAGIYINTWALI is the manager of a television shop called "International Partners", Uh-huh. Yesterday I announced some bad news to Mr. Jacques NGARUKIYINTWALI [sic]! I told him that over five million francs worth of goods had been looted from his business premises. Hah! Yesterday the goods were found, ... some people entered the building from behind using a ladder and those who were observing from the front of the building said: "All is well, nothing has been broken", whereas people had infiltrated at the back of the house and taken away everything in the building amounting to approximately five million francs...the goods were about to vanish into thin air. Yesterday, some soldiers were caught in possession of those goods...just imagine that the culprits were two soldiers who had acted in connivance

with SERUSHAGO's son. The goods amounting to five million francs were found where they had been deposited ...

Those people had remained unperturbed. Now the goods have been recovered, the investigations have started, the soldiers are in prison, the young man too was interrogated yesterday to explain how he could sleep in a room with stolen goods worth five million francs which he did not buy. All is now in order.

Meanwhile, we thank Second-Lieutenant MPORENDAME. It is Second Lieutenant Tharcisse MPORENDAME who is in-charge of the anti looting unit. He is part of the military police. As we speak, Second Lieutenant Tharcisse MPORENDAME must be on his way to Gisenyi to see his parents. In any event, we are telling him that the RTLM is congratulating him because RTLM is a Radio that neither supports thieves nor killers. It is a radio that supports only persons who are fighting in this war in order to win and for our country not to be conquered through the barrel of the gun. It is only such persons that RTLM supports. Anybody who thinks that radio RTLM is supporting him because he is a killer or because he is manning a roadblock or because he is an *Interahamwe* or whatever of that nature... he is quite mistaken. The RTLM does not support killers and thieves.

As a matter of fact, the people who are presently indulging in killings and discouraging the others instead of doing what they were called upon to do... a soldier who steals, who loots television sets and just acts anyhow when the others are at the front busy chasing the *Inkotanyi* here and there! Where will he install those television sets when the *Inkotanyi* will have become the masters of Rwanda, where will he set them up? Can he even carry them away when fleeing? Hah!

13 min:03

Ha! Even flight is difficult, fleeing from this town... it would appear that at Ruyenzi, there are people who are decided to steal from those in flight. Uh-huh, when you are passing with your clothes, when you are wearing a pair of trousers and a jacket, they take the jacket from you, or even the trousers, saying that they also need it, that they did not leave their own property behind of their own free will. So it is as if they sent you to go and look for those things for them! "Ah"! It is really incredible, they even steal children's clothes; they undress your child and he goes away stark naked and then they go and put on those clothes, they have become really discontented.

Therefore, where will you go with your television set? What can you carry with you? If you flee and the Ugandans install themselves in this country for which you have not fought, what would you have left? They

will kill you and take everything from you. So we do not condone looting and this is why the five soldiers who stole from a man residing in Matimba were caught thanks to RTLM. They had stolen eighty thousand francs from a man named HITIMANA. Listen, they went to his house early in the morning instead of going to the front to deal with *Inkotanyi*; they came hastily and stole eighty thousand francs from him. He was able to recover seventy-one thousand six hundred francs. The rest they had given to a man on their way (*coughs*), saying that they were going to share it, but it is obvious that he spent the money immediately; but this is not serious...at least the money did not go for nothing.

Somebody called me and asked: "have they executed those soldiers who were caught in possession of stolen goods?" (*he laughs*). Ah!, my friend, they did not kill them, of course they were not killed, especially as they had given back the product of the theft: Uhuh! They are merely in prison and are serving their sentence. Those concerned are busy with their case file as is the case with other thieves, ... usually stealing in broad day light does not incur the death penalty.

Therefore, the members of the family of these soldiers are not worried, they are not going to die, but they will be condemned to go and capture KAGAME alive, Uh-huh!. How many of them are there? They are seven. They are going to organise themselves as a commando, capture KAGAME and bring him here to Kigali. I think this is quite a heavy sentence. If they execute this voyage, capture KAGAME and bring him back, it is then obvious that they will be pardoned. If they are skillful thieves, then they ought to catch that man who is also a hardcore criminal. So that is the situation. That is good news.

16 min

We congratulate this Second-Lieutenant Tharcisse MPORENDAME who is in-charge of anti looting. In these lootings, *préfectural* policemen, soldiers, gendarmes and street children have lost their lives...In a nutshell, several persons met their death during the looting over this period. If we counted them, they would be nearly one hundred. Uh-huh! And they are still dying. If by chance the war stopped and we see a street child driving in an IT car or a Hyundai, ... one would wonder how he could have bought a Hyundai within the space of two months; he will be killed with an old hoc. Uh-huh! It is very serious with the products of thefts; when the problem is about stolen goods, the situation becomes complicated.

We have said that we do not support killers. We do not support thieves or people who racketeer at the roadblocks. There is a roadblock which functions in a deplorable manner and which should actually be dismantled. All the roadblocks we are criticizing in this way, should be removed

because they serve no purpose. The population has no confidence in them. We are talking about a roadblock situated precisely at Gakinjiro below the Pentecostal church as you descend to the market. This roadblock situated precisely at Gakinjiro below the Pentecostal church engages in activities which are hardly recommendable. The young man wearing overalls, who likes wearing overalls and who is manning that roadblock shoots everything he sees... This little man wears overalls, who likes wearing overalls, uses his bullets as he thinks fits. He is the type you describe as intoxicated for blood. That individual... should leave that roadblock at all costs, as he jeopardizes the safety of the inhabitants. This roadblock is situated at Gakinjiro, ...in front of the handicraft stall below the Pentecostal Church. He must leave that place urgently because he is overdoing things, he is mad. That person should leave the place as soon as possible and those who gave him the rifle should take it back because he only uses it to threaten the inhabitants, provoke them and even kill them. It would appear that he killed some people yesterday. It is really serious. It is serious, unbelievable...we denounce this situation; we denounce it.

18 min:05

We heard that those people were given money to sabotage the political system in the country and tarnish our reputation. Many journalists have arrived in the country. We told those corrupt individuals: "Let the people live, those who are dead are dead", but they would not heed us. We learnt that they were corrupted. They are accomplices, individuals of doubtful morality, who must be deemed *Inkotanyi* because they sabotage the country, the country's politics, its leaders, ... All those persons violating human rights, who are bent on continuing with the killings, sabotaging the country. We heard that they got money from the accomplices, they must therefore be arrested and appropriate punishment meted out to them.

That roadblock below the market in Gikanjiro functions in quite a deplorable manner. Whoever gave a rifle to that little man in overalls must take it back from him. He should take it back even if the *Inkotanyi* pass through, but we should not allow that individual to continue causing confusion and undertaking sabotage.

Ah! I was speaking about theft a while ago,...an employee of BRALIRWA made the following comment: "Please Kantano, since the *Inkontanyi* left the BRALIRWA in Kicukiro, - you know that BRALIRWA was procuring Fanta for us..., some people managed to get in there..." and added: " If they drank the Heineken and the drinks they found there, but did not damage the equipment, we would be able to resume production whenever the situation returned to normal.", uh-hum, "otherwise it would be disastrous".

I therefore hope that those who are busy looting and stealing..., moreover that should not even be the case, the plant must be left intact so that at least it must be in working order when we reopen it. I therefore hope that those responsible for guarding our factories will prevent them from being looted. We hope they keep watch over the factories to ensure that the machines are neither stolen nor destroyed.

Then..., we get to the hospital, ... I salute the patients. I salute all the patients, lying in the hospital, I wish them courage, courage; being ill does not mean that you will die; you will recover. The only concern is this war. Some of you are worried, you are hoping for an end to the war and do say: "if only this war would end". But it is evident that those who started the war have an aim; they wish to snatch power in order to oppress us, but we should not tolerate that, we should allow them have their way. That is why we have to fight, ... maybe the war will end and that there will be no other wounded persons, or maybe it will not end, but all of you who are in the hospital should be courageous; ill is not necessarily death. But we must congratulate the doctors. The doctors are overwhelmed with work during this period. They are overworked but they are doing their best. They are doing the impossible. They are doing their best. We have our esteem. On the contrary there are some doctors who should be criticized; like in the case of a doctor who fled from Kigali and who is now... sitting in his home busy drinking banana liquor pretending to be unimportant person. Well, maybe he is now saying: "If I fled to Burundi, I could exercise my profession, if I go to Zaire, I could find a job". But this is not decent. Come and treat the Rwandan victims of this war, come and participate in the war effort like everybody else; do not remain at home and just come back when the war would have ended. That is not right.

We also congratulate the nurses who devote their time day and night to care for patients. Some of them no longer see their husband and friends; those nurses are doing their best. Furthermore, they treat patients irrespective of their ethnic group, religion, political leanings. All those generous persons are to be commended, those working for the Red Cross, be it the Rwandan Red Cross or the International Red Cross. They have done excellent work: I do not know what reward they deserve. But I think they deserve a bonus the amount of which I can not estimate especially if we consider the work they are doing... when you have occasion to go to the hospital and see how people are suffering and how the nurses are caring for them, putting in their best in time and health... Although they are overworked, they exercise patience. I really think they are worthy of praise. So when you meet a nurse or a doctor, treat them with respect, give them your place in the bus, offer them a little beer in the pubs because they are doing a fantastic job.

23 min:04

K0162865

Right now there is a problem for batteries for torch light or rather for radio sets. The factories are no longer functioning and I do not even know if there are batteries around. So people can not listen to the radio, and this is not good. Those importing batteries should import batteries from Burundu, or Zaire, in order that people may have batteries for their radios. If the *Inkotanyi* do succeed in preventing people from listening to the radio because of shortage of batteries, it would be a pity.

Meanwhile, I would advise you not to cast away your used batteries. You can dry them in the sun. When a radio is functioning with six new batteries for instance: "You can also use eight or nine used batteries and tie them together...., and the radio will work as if you had put in six batteries as usual. Try that, that is how we get along, that is how war is waged, provided your radio can work. Let those importers take batteries to the regions where there is no war, for the population to follow developments.

You are still listening to the RTLM free radio, broadcasting from Kigali. In a moment, I shall read some announcements. Do not continue to panic because of explosives as the *Inkotanyi* are busy bluffing trying to deceive you, to deceive the white people by making them believe that since there are explosions, the war is raging. But the explosions only hit one or two rats or a dog. It is just appearances, we know that nothing extraordinary is happening, it is just intimidation.

Continue to listen to RTLM the free radio broadcasting from Kigali.
[brief silence]

"A song by Electrogaz Shock Group: " *Ninde Watubasha*" (Who can defeat us") (*brief silence*) Music

30 min:08

End of Side A

SIDE B:

Speaker: Jean KAMBANDA, Prime Minister.

01 min: 01

K0162866

...He immediately replaced the President of the Republic provisionally and His Excellency Théodore SINDIKUBWABO thus became President of the Republic. Some people and especially the *Inkotanyi* claimed that the government is not recognized. You must have heard that too. They pretend that it was not formed in accordance with the law, that it should have respected the Arusha Accords. We are affirming that the RPF and its armed wing did not read the Accords properly; as a matter of fact, the accords did not foresee the assassination of the President by the RPF. The *Inkotanyi* had envisaged killing him after the putting in place of the institutions. The procedure for succeeding the President of the Republic had to become applicable after the putting in place of the institutions borne of the Arusha Accords. So they carried out their plan earlier and killed him before the putting in place of the institutions. His succession was not provided for by the Arusha Accords; moreover, they had not yet been implemented because their entry into force ought to coincide with the putting in place of the transitional government. Know very well that such a government never came into being. That is why the five political parties participating in the government felt that the country should not remain in such a deadlock and that it was advisable to apply the Constitution governing the country since 1991. According to Article 42 of that Constitution, where the President of the Republic is prevented from ruling, he shall be replaced by the President of the National Development Council. The RPF is pretending not to know this as an excuse not to recognize that government. But we do not see how it could recognize this government. We do not want the RPF to recognize our government. It is not necessary. We affirm that it is not necessary for the RPF to recognize our government because it is this government that will negotiate with it. When they will have come to an agreement, then the government that the RPF will recognize shall be put in place. What is more, it will be part of that government. So we should not be surprised when it declares that it does not recognize the present government, especially as history teaches us that in 1961, on 28 January 1961, a similar government was put in place and that the *Inyenzi* of the time declared that they did not recognize it. A referendum was organized and the population expressed support for that government. In our opinion, if the RPF also refuses to recognize the present government, it should ask the United Nations, which is still in existence, to organize a referendum to ask the citizens whether or not they do recognize this government. As a matter of fact, this will be a source of concern to us if it recognized the government because that will mean that

it has started getting supporters, representatives within the government as was the case in preceding governments.

4 min

K0162867

We affirm one thing, and we also say so the RPF for it to be aware, that they will have no representatives in the government as long as it refuses to participate in exercising power. We shall no longer accept anybody as an RPF representative in government. The RPF is a signatory to the Arusha Accords with the Rwandan government, the people of Rwanda. Therefore, it is when the Arusha Accords are being implemented that it will have representatives because it will then be participating in the national institutions. It cannot have representatives before it participates in the institutions. I want this to be understood. It must participate in all the institutions and not only in the government. This means that those who became RPF accomplices, the representatives of the RPF within the power structure and other services, must choose and go to Mulindi or abroad and wait for the RPF to be in Rwanda before they can aspire to participate in government. We would want to put an end to this issue of RPF representation in government. The RPF must understand this and know that we shall no longer accept persons within the country to become its spokesmen. The procedure for such persons has already been established; they have to apply for authorization and an escort. They will have to apply to the UNAMIR, which will in turn provide the RPF with the requested facilities. From there, they can express their support for the RPF. Let them go to express their views on Radio Muhabura. The RPF can no longer express their views on Radio Rwanda as long as it does not participate in power. This should be understood in this way, as we believe that whatsoever enemy will attempt to behave otherwise. We now know who is the enemy, I shall talk to you about it in a minute, but we know who the enemy is. Such individuals will thus be deemed enemies to the nation. It should be understood that there should be no longer be a climate of suspicion; people should no longer say...we recently heard the RPF say that it deplored the fact that we had dismissed the pro-RPF *Préfets* who favoured them. This is in no way surprising and whoever is pro-RPF, wherever he may be, whatever administrative position he may occupy, will be dismissed. Such an individual should wait until the RPF participates in power, until there is a compromise on the putting in place of a broad-based government to aspire to represent the RPF. Otherwise he should make his choice, either to go to Mulindi or abroad to express himself on behalf of the RPF.

I would take this opportunity to denounce publicly certain politicians or so-called politicians. I am astonished by the behaviour of certain persons who in the past had proclaimed themselves representatives of the people and who have presently become invisible. We do know where they are at

this moment; they are hiding under their beds while we at the war front. The Head of State was assassinated, the country was attacked, a new government has been put in place, and several other events have occurred in the last few days. Where are those so-called politicians now? Who are they working for? We say that it is high time we made our choices. Let them make their choice, let them confirm that they are against the people Rwandan, so that we know and consider them as enemies. On the contrary, let them choose and confirm that they are supporting the nation. They should declare publicly on the radio; let them speak out. We want to know where they are speaking from and where they are.

I congratulate, even if I hardly appreciate them, the brave who have chosen their camp, who revealed what side they are on, and who tiptoed to Radio Muhabura to announce what side they are on and what side they are working for. At least those have shown their true colours. But for those who are hiding, please help me to denounce them and ask them to show their faces and reveal where they are, and whom they are working. This is a new dimension and should be considered as such.

The government which has been put in place and comprising six political parties, is pursuing three objectives:

First Objective:

The stable, adequate administration of the country, and especially the speedy consolidation of security for the people of Rwanda and their property. This is the primary objective of the government and it has started working towards that goal as we shall see instantly.

Second Objective:

Pursuance of negotiations with the RPF, with a view to putting in place the transitional institutions within a period of six weeks, as required of the Rwandan government by the United Nations Security Council. This calls for some explanations. We are aware that war cannot resolve the political problem of the country. The political problem of this country is "power sharing" between the different ethnic groups in the country. This problem has been concealed, hidden, in an attempt to drown the fish, and that is how we found ourselves in this war. We want things to be clear; the problem concerns the sharing of power by the various ethnic groups in Rwanda...

Thus, the Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa will know their rights to power without any further confusion... without anybody trying to confuse the others by telling them that they are no longer any ethnic divisions in Rwanda, whereas we all know that ethnic groups exist. They can further cause confusion by telling others that they do not want power to belong to

such and such ethnic group, whereas we know that, that is their goal. That should be clear and understood that we know that the RPF is composed of Tutsis and their supporters and therefore must get positions proportionate to their number. We should know that the other parties are made up of Hutus and that they should also get positions proportionate to their number. And that the Twa should also hold positions in proportion to their number. The RPF is deceiving itself by thinking that it can conquer power through the barrel of the gun, because we would never allow them to do so. If the Tutsis who represent 10% of the population even though I am not sure that all of them are Tutsis, if the RPF, the descendents of the *Inyenzi* of the 1960s who went into exile procured arms, attacked the country and led us into this such a stalemate..., I affirm that the inhabitants of this country Rwanda, who represent over 85% of the population can also procure arms and are as strong enough to fight and come out victorious. However, we are of the opinion that war *per se* will not resolve the problem.

10 min: 04

But the RPF should not imagine that what they have always hidden by saying: "If you say a word, the RPF will attack and fight"... Ah! By saying: "Please do not speak evil of the RPF otherwise, it could resume hostilities". Thanks to it we no longer have any fear. What other battle can it wage other than the present battle? Let it continue to fight now that it has decided to fight and win, let it fight and win, that is what we shall see. But we know that we cannot allow them to win. People are in fact mobilized.

Your Excellency the *Préfet*, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate the *préfecture* of Kigali town and its inhabitants publicly for being exemplary in the fight. It is a tangible example even for the other *préfectures*, to such an extent that we want to inform them in a message that will be sent to them that following your example, the enemy will no longer have any opening.

If the RPF so wishes, it can continue to wage war, the people are with us, we have the government, the soldiers and the arms. If it is really decided to fight, then fight we must. This is not our primary objective but if it is theirs, let them know that we too are ready to fight them. If they want to negotiate, we also want to. But we do not want negotiations characterized by confusions, maneuvers, trickery. People should tell the truth. We must send delegates who speak the truth. The liars can side with the RPF, they can go with them, they can treat with them but in the RPF-controlled territory. Those who are for the Rwandan side should remain in the part controlled by Rwanda. There should be one distinction - that no one speaks on behalf of the RPF within the Rwandan government. That

anybody who wants to speak on behalf of the RPF should do so within the RPF, within the territory held by the RPF. And then we can really understand each other without confusion, as has been the case hitherto.

12 min: 04

I hope that the RPF will receive this message, that the Rwandans do not have anywhere else to go and that they will no longer run. We are fed up with carrying our mats on the back, we have had enough.

That is why I am asking people to go back to their property here in Kigali and the government is looking for arms to be supplied to them to defend themselves and their property. Let them defend themselves and their properties here in Kigali. Let the displaced persons from Kibungo and Byumba be given military training and returned to their property in Byumba and Kibungo, and once there, take up their hoes and till the land. And when they hear gunshots, let them take up their rifles, open fire and go back to tilling their land after the assailants leave. We must get accustomed to war. Seven million Rwandan citizens (applause), we do not think that seven million Rwandan citizens will continue to roam the highways with their mats, bags; we can not continue to tolerate that. Mobilize yourselves and have no fear. Let them know that those who have to die in the war, will die, but that those who will survive will mobilize themselves and fight until the total liberation of the country, South and North. Let them not say any longer that Mulindi and Butaro belong to the *Inkotanyi*. The population must occupy the whole country, they must be given arms for occupying the whole country. Everybody should return to his field, to continue farming, herding the cattle and performing other tasks while fighting. People should continue with their work after defeating the enemy. The people should fight at the approach of the enemy. That is guerrilla warfare; we would also want the population to learn guerrilla warfare.

We can not agree with those deceiving us by advising "to disarm the population" and that this would "restore peace". We shall never disarm the population as long as the RPF continue to shoot at them. They should first disarm the RPF, and then we too could disarm the population. But as long as the RPF continues to fight, the population must be armed. If necessary, all the economic resources of the country will be used for arming the population, to defend themselves to farm and enjoy the fruits of their labour. Exports will stop coming in, but our present priority remains request for arms.

We have said that this government is a salvation government therefore, it must understand that its task is to help the population, break the deadlock, and see that the population does not continue to wander about on the on

the hills. That is our objective and we shall attain it. That is the programme we must pursue. It must be known by the RPF that the population, government and soldiers will all mobilize themselves against it, that we shall fight them and that we shall return to our property by force. It should know that when it attacks, when it mounts its raids..., during which 15 people throw a whole *commune* into utter disarray, and twenty people succeed in surrounding a military camp...and then say that the camp has been taken by five persons, all that will end. When members of the population hear gunshots, let them go and see where the shots are coming from instead of fleeing. When they hear a shot, instead of running away, they should surround the enemy, chase them from their position and, if necessary, resort to their army, but after having tried to do something themselves. That must be understood. We support the negotiations, we shall participate in them. Besides, we have already participated in them as I am going to announce, but they declare that they do not want to negotiate but rather want "to fight". They should know that we too are preparing for battle.

15 min: 07

Third Objective:

...the solution to the Rwandan problem affecting the majority of the population especially the war displaced persons. You know it, I have just said, they have many war displaced persons in the last few days, and there are others in the farming affected areas. This problem is part of the issues the government is bent on resolving. I would not say we have already found a solution, but during recent meetings with international organizations, we learnt that many of them had decided to disregard the rumours propagated by the RPF-*Inkotanyi* and that they are determined to help us resolve the problems confronting us. You too have the opportunity of hearing it on the radio: certain organizations have agreed to help us.

Referring to the messages of His Excellency the President of the Republic to the people of Rwanda, especially on 8th, 15th, 14th and 17th April 1994, the messages that I personally addressed to the people of Rwanda in the last few days, the decisions by the Cabinet, which has continued to debate the issue of security and addressed messages designed for maintaining national security, and most particularly the decisions of the Cabinet meeting held on 11th April 1994 and sent to the *Préfets*, as well as the decisions of Cabinet meetings held on 23rd and 27th April 1994;

On behalf of the government of Rwanda, I am pleased to inform you about the three directives given to all the authorities responsible for public security to restore peace and security in all the corners of the country where peace and security have been breached.

Firstly:

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As several *préfectures* have started doing, you too are urged to organize frequent security meetings in the *préfectures* under you. Concrete measures must be taken during such meetings and must be immediately implemented depending on the nature of security problems in the *préfecture*. Each security meeting in the *préfecture* must envisage control mechanisms for implementing those measures, in order to follow up closely the restoration of security. There is reason to commend the adoption of such an approach in the Kigali town *préfecture*, and we believe that such meetings should be held a little more often. Our hope is to see those meetings continue in this way.

Secondly:

Considering that consolidation of security is everybody's business, all the organs responsible for security issues should seek the assistance of any institutions likely to help. We especially have representatives of political parties, religious authorities, the central administration, justice and the national army. I am not claiming that you have not been seeking such help, but the point is that not all those organs are represented in the security meetings. We hope that in future meetings, you appeal to all the bodies cited above. Try to invite them to those meetings. We know very well that there are many problems confronting this town due to the fact that people left their property or that they are no longer here. But... try to invite all those who are available to help implement the kind of measures you put in place or attend such meetings.

19 min: 03

Thirdly:

The enemy attacking Rwanda is known. It is the RPF-*Inkotanyi*. I would like to explain myself for it to be well understood, so that people no longer think these are rumours. Let the RPF no longer think that they can be considered as brothers as long as they continue to do battle. The RPF will be enemy of Rwanda and the Rwandans, as long as they continue to attack us, to fight us. An enemy who attacks you, who brings you war, you ought to consider as such and you too must defend yourself. The RPF will be an enemy as long as they continue to fight. That is no secret and the RPF should understand that as long as the fighting does not stop, as long as the RPF does not participate in government, as soon as we do not come into understanding with them, we shall always consider them as enemies. I am saying that the RPF is the enemy, to distinguish them from the others that certain people want to consider as enemies whereas this may not be the case.

We are therefore requesting you... to explain to the population that they must refrain from any thing that may provoke inter-ethnic conflicts. Some people feel that anybody belonging to a different ethnic group is an enemy. For a person to be considered an enemy, he should be of the RPF. The RPF has its members, they are now known, it is no longer a secret. We have in fact discovered documents in Butare and Gitarama showing us where the RPF members are found in each *commune* those are our enemies. A Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa who is not a member of the RPF is not our enemy. Therefore, we can not base ourselves solely on ethnic origin and say that somebody is an enemy because he is of a different ethnic group or region. Many people particularly of the RPF want to use this excuse to pit the people against one another and facilitate infiltration into the country.

As I said yesterday in Kibuye that I recently met somebody in Gitarama who said to me: "The *Interahamwe* originating from the North of the country invaded Gitarama and Kibuye to devastate them". " We sent about a million *Interahamwe* there". I asked him how many lorries he had met on the way going to Butare. I said to him: "In calculating the number, if a hundred persons were in each lorry we would require at least ten lorries full of *Interahamwe* militiamen from the north of the country going to attack the south. Did you see any?". And then I said: "Let us say a full bus can transport about two hundred persons, before crying for help, did you see a convoy of five buses full of *Interahamwe*?" "If they were transported in minibuses, did you see a convoy of twenty buses transporting those persons, before saying that you saw them and that they were going to attack the Butare *préfecture*?", "I have just met people from the Kibayi *commune* and they told me that the RPF army had started to attack the population. Are those *Interahamwe* militiamen who would have arrived in that region?"

22 min: 03

I want the people to be well informed in order that they may turn away from those who are seeking to frighten them by lies by telling them: "Those who die and those who are killed are from such and such a region". The RPF men who are attacking came from all corners.... Besides, it can be said that they came in through the north of the country. Why then did they arrive through the north? Did they not provoke unrest throughout the country? Is there any part of the country where they did not have their members?

We should avoid any problems between regions because that is one of the most important weapons that the RPF want to use during this period. They realized that all the tricks they tried to use failed, and now they are

doing their best to induce inter-regional or inter-religious conflict. We do not want any religious unrest. We heard that... this has not yet happened in Kigali. But we learnt that in other *préfectures*, some people have been setting Catholic Churches ablaze for their own religions to win members by saying: "Since we have burnt the church, they can no longer get together and we shall win some members". We should therefore avoid this because it is the enemy's weapon.

People should know that political parties should not be a source of conflict. We know that political parties exist, we know the political parties participating in government. We know the parties supporting the population and those supporting the *Inkotanyi*. People should therefore know that presently, being against somebody just because he is a member of a different party is tantamount to playing into the hands of the enemy. Let us remain members of our respective parties, but let us win the war first. First and foremost, we must be aware that if, thanks to this war, the RPF conquers the country it will not consider your membership in such and such party, but will exterminate you as it has started doing. The RPF will not say, "We are sparing you because you are a member of such and such party".

24 min: 23

...I would also like to announce to you who the RPF considers as its enemy. We knew this through documents discovered in Butare and Gitarama. The RPF says it has four enemies. The first is the MRND, the second is the CDR, the third is any "Power", be it PL Power, the PSD Power, the MDR Power, and fourthly, the Burundian refugees. Those who are neither blind nor deaf understand who is the RPF's enemy. When the RPF says so, everybody ought to recognize those whom the RPF considers as the enemy because that is what they preach. We possess notebooks with the lessons they imparted to their members. They preach that anybody in the four categories I have just mentioned is an enemy. Our own enemies are those who joined the RPF. You treat somebody in the same manner he treats you. If the RPF says its enemies are the MRND, CDR, all those who go by the name "Power" and the Burundian refugees, we too consider the RPF and all its supporters as our enemies. The RPF must understand this.

Let us refrain from tearing ourselves apart because of personal hatred. If you are fighting with someone, bear in mind that this is not the time for hurting him. Upon arrival, the RPF would not have known who your enemy is; they would tie you up together. All you have to do is instead approach that person and reconcile yourselves, in order to fight the main enemy threatening you, i.e. the RPF. I am saying this to advise the

population on how to defend themselves and fish out the enemy where he really is, instead of looking for him where he is not.

We affirm that those who loot, those who engage in criminal acts are our enemies too, because they are not working towards peace. They have never understood where the real enemy is. They do not realize that they are busy helping the enemy. Those who indulge in killings and who instead of fighting the enemy are fighting their neighbours, looting their neighbours property instead of protecting them at these difficult times, we must consider as our enemies, as the enemies of the nation. In fact they are busy helping the enemy, lending them a hand.

I gave an illustration yesterday on this matter. The example relates to something that many people have not understood; it is about people who steal money and who are satisfied of having stolen one million francs. If in the case of a soldier, he says to himself: "Now that I am rich I will no longer fight". In the case of a civilian, he stops going on patrols in order to guard the money he has just stolen. He then becomes negligent. But they should know that if the State ceased to exist, if the government was no longer there, if the national army ceased to exist, the money in their possession would be like paper, whatever the amount. I do not whether they know that when you leave the country to go abroad, the money you have in your possession becomes paper. If you left today for Gabon with a million Rwanda francs, without a country, without a government, that money will only be paper. You could even throw it on the street because no one would have need for it.

Let them remember how countries that have experienced war people were going to buy bread with a bag full of money, because there was no government, no authority, no State. Let them know that if this country were taken from us, the goods they have looted will have no value. Those who are in the course of fleeing, those to whom the *Préfet* said: "Come back and recover your goods, did those people not have storey buildings? Did they not have lorries, wealth, radio equipment, vehicles and other property? Nevertheless, they abandoned all that and fled without knowing where they were going. And you who are looting, hoarding property, those of you who are watching over your looted goods, whereas you are told that the RPF is quite near, that they are fighting in Rebero, where do you think you are going to take that property? When? How? Make your choice. Take your pick. Fight; fight first for your country. You can always acquire wealth that you can not acquire the country. If you are chased from your country do not think that you can take the fridge that you looted because there is nowhere to take it". When you would have been chased out as it is happening to others under your very eyes. You will leave behind this refrigerator and run away. Learn from what happened to other people. Did they leave with storey buildings? Are their

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lorries not still here? Did they not have money? Were there no bottles of champagne in their refrigerators? Know that only the country really counts. Fight for the country, and when you have the country, when there is a stable government, you can run after riches like other people have done. Those who spend their time watching over their looted property and who think that it is the source of satisfaction have not yet pondered over the matter also they have not yet found out where the truth lies. Those who think that they will become rich because they have one million francs and therefore no longer needed to fight in order not to risk their lives without adding to their wealth are very mistaken. As a matter of fact, even as we speak the government can decide to withdraw the present currency from circulation and introduce another currency.

29 min: 06

(Two seconds silence)

(Song: " *Ingabo ni izirurwanirira*: The army is that one that fights for Rwanda).

END OF SIDE B