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SIDE A

... Persons whose mission is to undermine the security of the citizens, by giving them guns and other weapons. They foment trouble within the population in order to trigger a civil war. The *Inkotanyi* would be held responsible for this civil war because they were at the root of it all. You will recall that when the *Inkotanyi* attacked on 1st October, they came massacring the civilians. Throughout those years of war, people were living in peace and harmony and were sharing everything. But because of the *Inkotanyi* who resumed hostilities, violated the Arusha Accords, launched attacks and assassinated the Head of State, several people were killed. They misled them into causing trouble in the country; they gave them false promise that their living conditions would be better if the President of the Republic died. They did not enjoy better living conditions but rather their suffering increased because of the wrong actions taken by the *Inkotanyi*. Fellow Rwandans, in this broadcast, we have reviewed the life of the President of the Republic, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, from his birth to his assassination by the enemies of the country on 6 April 1994. We should jealously keep everything he bequeathed us and make the best of it. He showed courage, both within the army and among the

Rwandan citizenry at large. May God reward him accordingly. When the enemies killed President Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, he was with other personalities like the President of Burundi, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira, Burundian Ministers and the Rwandan Chief of Staff Major General Déogratias Nsabimana. Major General Déogratias Nsabimana was a well-known personality especially on account of his actions. The national army and even the population knew very well that he never abandoned them when he was at the front. Before he was murdered by those criminals, he had always stood his ground and stopped Mutara region being invaded by the enemy. He set a good example for the Armed Forces. May the Good Lord who alone can really acknowledge those who were devoted to fellow men reward all these persons who fought for peace and security in the country.

We would like to recall that after the Arusha Peace Accords were signed, the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* never stopped their acts of violence. You will remember the people who died in the hands of the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* at the buffer zone. And people were saying it was the handiwork of criminals and that was all ... Intellectuals were killed and political parties mutually blamed one another for those acts, whereas the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* were trying to mislead them. The RPF *Inkotanyi* created ethnic wrangling. You will recall all the difficulties raised by the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* to stop the application of the Arusha Accords whose purpose was to restore peace to Rwanda. Even foreign countries representatives in Rwanda noticed that. All these criminal acts show that the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* were never in favour of a negotiated solution, but would rather prefer to fight. You will recall that they were granted everything through the Arusha Accords but they

resumed hostilities in spite of everything. Since the RPF has resumed hostilities and made fighting their priority, the citizens of Rwanda must stand firm and uphold the sovereignty of the Republic as they have committed themselves to do. Fighting for the sovereignty of the Republic means fighting for peace and fighting against trouble within the population and promoting tolerance. It means working together to build the nation. It means putting an end to the suffering of the people, making sure everything is shared and eschewing the policy of "everyone to himself". Cooperation is Rwanda's weapon for victory.

We will end this broadcast by saying that Uganda, which has not stopped backing the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*, continues to send their soldiers to fight alongside the *Inkotanyi*, giving them supplies on the battlefield. Uganda's involvement in this war is obvious.

In this war, the *Inkotanyi* have taken the infrastructures as a special target; they shell and destroy them. And anywhere *Inkotanyi* reach, they start savagely massacring the civilians.

In Ruhengeri area, *Inkotanyi* attacks are regularly repelled by the ever-vigilant Rwandan Armed Forces. And in Kigali Ville area, the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi* who were housed in the CND have fanned out. Meanwhile, the Armed Forces, with the assistance of the population, are trying to track down these *Inyenzi*. The population is urged to redouble efforts in helping the Armed Forces restore peace. They must avoid killing one another

and fomenting trouble. No one should wrong his neighbour. Those who do so must be denounced by everyone.

The broadcast we have prepared for you is coming to an end. You have been listening to Félicien Kanimba. Continue to stand firm and fight against the enemy attacking our country.

The news in Kinyarwanda:

... on a visit to France. In a telephone conversation with Mr. Martin Ukobizaba, Rwanda's *Chargé d'Affaires* in France, our colleague Ephrem Rugiriza, will review this visit with you in detail:

Ephrem Rugiriza: Before you speak about the visit by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to France, I would like you to introduce yourself to the listeners of Radio Rwanda.

Martin Ukobizaba: My name is Martin Ukobizaba and I am the *Chargé d'Affaires* of our Embassy in Paris, France.

E.R: Thank you. What is the status of the mission of the Foreign Affairs Minister Jérôme Bicamumpaka there in France?

U.M: Honourable Minister Jérôme Bicamumpaka tried to meet with all the top personalities in France. He was able to meet with, among others, personalities in the Elysée, i.e. Office of the President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and many other ministers whom I do not need to name here. He gave them a message with clarifications on the Rwandan problems and current situation. In view of the good working relations we have with France, he asked them for assistance to restore peace to the country by convincing the RPF *Inkotanyi* that acquiring power by force was not the best way out, that the best thing would be to sit around a table with the Rwandans and negotiate peace so as to free our country from the suffering of war. Then, he had to advise foreign countries giving assistance to the *Inkotanyi*, thereby pushing them to continue fighting and not suing for peace ... that these states should also stop giving any form of assistance to the RPF. Special mention was made of Uganda, some of whose soldiers, it was obvious, were fighting alongside the RPF and which sent huge logistics like planes, battle tanks, armoured vehicles... He then asked them to use their influence to make those people understand that the road to peace was imperative.

E.R: Was he given any promises?

U.M: They told him also, when they hear what is happening in our country and since Rwanda is a country with whom they have been maintaining good working relations for a long time, as a matter of fact, since our accession to independence ... they said they would do all in their power to convince our adversaries that fighting is not the best way for us to democracy.

E.R: With regard to role played by Uganda in this war, did France take the initiative to ask Uganda to stop?

U.M: Yes, France took that decision, but Minister Jérôme Bicomumpaka did not stop at the French authorities. Yesterday, he gave a press briefing, attended by French journalists from the television, radio and the print media. To them he also gave the same message, asking them to spread it so that the whole world would know the exact nature of our current problem and to know that the new government which was put in place in these difficult times has decided to restore peace to this country and revamp the country's economy. We hope these journalists will go on propagating this message.

E.R: What is the French media's opinion about the Rwandan problems?

U.M: Their opinion? They see them as thorny issues, a painful war that particularly dates back to 1990 and has made us suffer a lot since then. They too wish the war will end and we stop losing human lives in the process.

E.R: I am just wondering because some French radio stations that we get here in Rwanda seem to be playing the *Inkotanyi* game. Are all the radio stations like that? Would it be the same for the print media?

U.M: There are several ways to fight a war. A war may be fought militarily but also through the media. It is not all the media but since it is RPF that triggered the war, and

had therefore carefully prepared for it, it had certainly rallied a few journalists and even some of the people working there in Rwanda to its cause. For instance, one realizes that people working in most of the NGOs give completely false information. But since they make those statements from there in Kigali, people tend to believe them. However, that is changing little by little because most of the things they say did not really happen. For instance, they once said that Kigali had been taken and they were going to show pictures on television channels... People waited for days, then weeks, and now it has been months since. They then realize it was a lie. Little by little, they are seeing the true face of this war but it is understandable they have people whom they rallied to their cause... But that too is going to change. And for there to be a change, Rwanda needs to make public statements. For instance, the Minister's mission will enable the people to know the truth.

E.R: Let us come back a bit to the press briefing. Do you notice if it brought any change in the media's attitude?

U.M: Yes. Some press organs published the truth but there were other fanatics of the *Inkotanyi* cause... But in my opinion, people have started to understand the situation. It was not only the French media, a few Belgian media representatives had come out of curiosity to find out the truth about these issues. They asked about relations with Belgium. We told them that though there were a few minor problems... that was what the Minister told them, that even there were a few minor problems, if the Belgian authorities deemed it necessary to resume good working relations with Rwanda, they

could come together to resolve those problems. But Belgium is a country with which we have had good working relations over a long period of time and it was therefore unthinkable that those relations be broken.

E.R: You said Minister Jérôme Bicomumpaka urged the French authorities to do their best to advise the RPF that negotiation was the only way to resolve the current problems in our country. Do you know if RPF dignitaries have had interviews with some French authorities?

U.M: They did not discuss that with us. And even such a meeting took place, they would listen to what they had to say, would also take our message into account and it would be up to them to find out the truth. They too can establish the truth. They cannot take all they are told without evidence.

E.R: After the mission to France, will the Minister return to Rwanda or will he continue his tour to another country?

U.M: I think he will go to other powerful and friendly European countries and also explain to them so they will understand the true nature of our problems.

E.R: There is a question I forgot to ask and I should perhaps have started with that. How did the Rwandans living in France and the French citizens receive the tragic news of President Habyarimana's assassination?

U.M: It saddened everybody. All Rwandans here were shaken by the news especially as we were going through difficult times, with no government... And the assassination of our President, the President of Burundi and the Chief of Staff shows that whoever did that wanted to create a political vacuum... In other words, there was no authority in the country and so they could take advantage of the vacuum to usurp power. So, people were really shaken especially as President Habyarimana was coming from a summit whose purpose was quest for peace.

E.M: You were talking about Rwandans, how did the French receive the news?

U.M: They were all saddened by the news because it is commonplace to see two Presidents killed by criminals under such circumstances. It is not commonplace. That scared the whole world. People were asking: "If people can no longer solve their problems peacefully, preferring to use terrorism and assassination... how far would we go if the world resorted to such means?" Everyone - Rwandans, French and even the international community - disapproves of that. We cannot solve the problems peacefully when some people prefer to use terrorism.

E.R: Two days ago, I had a phone conversation with a Rwandan living in Germany, who told me there are some Rwandans residing in Germany, *Inkotanyi* supporters, who came out on the streets to rejoice immediately President Habyarimana died. Did that happen there too?

U.M: Yes, it really did. And even from information at my disposal, it happened not only in France, but also in Italy and Belgium; they rejoiced, saying they had achieved something extraordinary. But I do not know if they are still dancing now since the war broke out immediately, realizing that by assassinating him, they had plunged our country into a gruesome war.

E.R: So what kind of relationship do you have with those persons there abroad?

U.M: You cannot have any relationship with someone unless it is feasible. How can you have any relationship with someone whose opinion differs from yours? Especially someone who rejoices in a tragic death like that of President Habyarimana?

E.R: But in your opinion, not as *Chargé d'Affaires*, what would be the solution to the problems currently facing our country?

U.M: Since we are in a war, the solution would be to look for peace. However, if our adversaries refused peace, we would not lay down our weapons and fold our arms. I believe everyone should use all his power to fight for his motherland until the enemy is defeated.

E.R: There are many people who currently believe that the *Inkotanyi* can take over the country. Of course, those are their supporters. Personally, do you think that is possible?

U.M: That is not possible because for that kind of soldiers to take over the country, they need the support of the people. But the people do not want... The Rwandan people rejected dictatorship long time ago, they have said so since the 1959 revolution... I do not see now, after thirty years of awareness, they would agree to be subjugated through arms. I think they will never win as long as there is one single Rwandan who says no to this repressive regime.

E.R: To end this interview, I would like you to tell us what message you would like to convey to the Rwandans living here in Rwanda facing these *Inkotanyi*, and even to the *Inkotanyi* who do not want to stop fighting?

U.M: To the Rwandans, I would ask them to stand firm. They are not alone, many people are thinking of them. They must not lose hope, they must use all their strength. We will win this war. To the *Inkotanyi*, I would say that peace and negotiation are preferable, fighting will not lead Rwandans anywhere.

E.R: I thank you.

from the military command, we announce that Uganda keeps giving assistance to the RPF *Inkotanyi* to the knowledge of whole world. Several Ugandan soldiers have been seen on the front, fighting alongside the RPF *Inkotanyi* taking innocent civilians as targets, in collaboration with these same *Inkotanyi*. On the front, as we have announced, we saw a

Ugandan government plane on several occasions supplying the *Inkotanyi* with cartridges, guns, and evacuating wounded persons among the *Inkotanyi*.

In Kigali area, peace is slowly returning as activities pick up, especially in the pharmacies. In some commercial areas, some stores have also re-opened to enable people buy medicine.

In the military operations sector in Ruhengeri, our armed forces are standing firm. The enemy is trying to infiltrate but in vain. The population is urged to redouble efforts and join hands with the armed forces, as they have already demonstrated, in order to maintain the security of the country.

Prime Minister Jean Kambanda continues to brief the population on the current war triggered by the RPF *Inkotanyi* and do all within his power in favour of a ceasefire. The Prime Minister stated the Rwandan government supports having a ceasefire being put in place but certain conditions must be met. A decision must be taken by the representatives of the Rwandan government and the RPF *Inkotanyi* on such a ceasefire. The government does not share UNAMIR's view about the death of the President of the Republic, His Excellency Major General Juvénal Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart, Cyprien Ntaryamira. According to UNAMIR, they died in a plane crash under yet unclear circumstances whereas for the Rwandan government, the President's plane was brought down by criminals. The Government is asking for the following conditions for a ceasefire to be put in place:

1. Return of the warring parties to their respective positions prior to the resumption of hostilities by the RPF on 7 April 1994.
2. Putting an end to the massacre of civilians in RPF-controlled areas.
3. Rehabilitation of displaced persons.
4. Return of the RPF battalion housed in CND to Mulindi since the authorities they were supposed to be guarding are no longer in Kigali.
5. The Rwandan government believes that UNAMIR could no longer carry out its mandate and therefore requests that, under the protocol agreement on the ceasefire, provision be made for the reinforcement of UNAMIR at the earliest possible time.

In a bid to assist refugees in neighbouring countries since the resumption of hostilities by RPF *Inkotanyi*, a European humanitarian organisation has allocated a sum of \$1.5 million to Rwandans in Tanzania. This money will be used to purchase medicine and essential commodities for the refugees. The first installment of the aid, \$680,000, is a grant from a humanitarian organization of European doctors and will be used to purchase medicine for the refugees. The second installment of \$450,000 from another humanitarian organization, OXFAM United Kingdom, will be used to purchase drinking water for the refugees.

The news in French:

... should be fulfilled by both warring parties; that is the thrust of Prime Minister Jean Kambanda's message to the nation.

According to the spokesperson for the Rwandan Army Chief of Staff, what Uganda did to Rwanda was an invasion, no more no less. Meanwhile, the Tanzanian President said he is ready to organize fresh peace talks between the Rwandan government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

The first multiracial elections...

The Rwandan government strongly supports a ceasefire but requires some conditions. In Prime Minister Jean Kambanda's message to the nation, which we will broadcast shortly, the issues at stake are that the two warring parties should return to their positions prior to the resumption of hostilities on 7 April 1994; persons recently displaced by war should be rehabilitated; the RPF battalion that had been sent to Kigali to protect its dignitaries should return to Mulindi since those RPF dignitaries are no longer in Kigali.

The full message of the Rwandan Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda:

Rwandan government's remarks on the draft ceasefire agreement between the representatives of the Rwandan Armed Forces and the Rwandan Patriotic Front:

First, the Rwandan government has no objection to a ceasefire agreement between the two warring parties. However, since the ceasefire agreement protocol has to be signed by the accredited representatives of the Rwandan government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front, the title of the agreement should be amended to read only the Rwandan government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Second, the Rwandan government does not share UNAMIR's view about the events that took place in the night of 6-7 April 1994, that the Head of State died in an accident under unclear circumstances. On the contrary, the Rwandan government is still convinced that the President's plane was downed by criminals.

Third, the draft merely recommends an immediate ceasefire preceded by a truce without mentioning the conditions for the ceasefire. The Rwandan government believes that a number of conditions have to be laid down by the two parties and set forth in the agreement to be signed. In this regard, the Rwandan government is asking for the following conditions:

1. Return of the warring parties to their respective positions prior to the resumption of hostilities by the RPF on 7 April 1994.
2. Putting an end to the massacre of civilians in RPF-controlled areas.
3. Rehabilitation of displaced persons.
4. Return of the RPF battalion housed in CND to Mulindi since the authorities they were supposed to be guarding are no longer in Kigali.

Fourth, the Rwandan government believes that UNAMIR, in its current size, could not effectively monitor compliance with the ceasefire by the two warring parties. It recommends that the ceasefire agreement include the reinforcement of UNAMIR within the shortest time possible. The Rwandan government has no objection to the setting up of an international commission of inquiry into the killings and massacres before and after the assassination of the President of the Republic and the circumstances of the assassination, referred to in item 7. However, the Rwandan government insists on the composition of the commission, that organizations that have already taken a stand on the unfortunate events that took place in Rwanda should not be members of the commission.

The RPF-triggered war has assumed the dimension of an inter-state conflict. From military sources in Kigali, we learnt that Kampala is not only involved in the conflict, Uganda has indeed launched an attack on Rwanda. The Kampala government has mobilized huge human, material and logistic resources, using RPF soldiers only as vanguard troops. But the Rwandan people and its forces would not give in to the Ugandan invaders. Thus, the enemy force shelled the Kimihurura Camp in Kigali yesterday in vain. The same enemy continues to shell remote Nkumba *commune*, in Ruhengeri military operations sector. And true to its sinister nature, the enemy goes on massacring hapless civilians.

Meanwhile, Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi is going to try and organize fresh peace talks between the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Rwandan government. A spokesperson at the Office of the President of the Republic of Tanzania told *Agence de*

Presse (News Agency) on Friday that the Rwandan Minister of Transport and Communication, André Ntagerura, on a visit to Tanzania, had requested President Mwinyi to organize fresh talks with the Rwandan Patriotic Front. The spokesperson for the Office of the President in Tanzania however said that no date had yet been set for the talks. Discussions were supposed to start last Saturday in Arusha but the RPF delegate, the one and only Rudasingwa had preferred to stay at home, saying he could not negotiate with the Rwandan government.

Hassan Ngeze interviewed by Etienne Karekezi:

E.K: Mr. Hassan Ngeze, Editor-in-Chief of Kangura newspaper, welcome to Radio Rwanda. Since the beginning of the war, several people have often said that you wrote things ... things as you wrote them ... We expected some of them to happen and they did. I would even say there were many of them. So first of all, I would like you to tell us your opinion about this war since it started and up till now.

N.H: Thank you, Mr. Etienne, for giving me the floor. In fact, as you said, we have often spoken about this war. Like many Rwandans who read Kangura articles... In our newspaper, since its inception I think about four years ago, we have been speaking about this war imposed on us by the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*. We can say that in the print media in Rwanda, we are the ones with the highest military data. You know there are newspapers that speak mainly about *Inkotanyi* matters, writing things that favour the *Inkotanyi*. We are the only ones who could say that we talk about real issues, about people who are for

the sovereignty of the Republic, Rwandans who would not let the enemy run over the country. That does not mean that those who are writing for the enemy do not know the truth. They may know the truth and know that what they are saying came from the enemy and that they are aware of the real situation but choose to side with the enemy. Well, I will give our opinion on this war, how we have seen it in the past few days and what shape we think it will take in the next few days. To start with, you said we said many things about this war and many of them materialized. In this regard, Kangura journalists did not use any special skills; any journalist worth his salt... Before you take your pen and write, you first have to consult experienced people who will tell you about past events. You know that the *Inyenzi* war did not start in 1990, it started in 1959, 1960. So you can consult people... and there are old people who lived through those times, who saw how the *Inyenzi* war was waged, how they attacked and the warning signals. After you have had the advice of these old people, you will try to see the country leaders, those who you think are honest. They too will give you their opinion. Then you will make what we call an impartial "analysis" and try to project into the future what the situation will be. In that case, you ... (inaudible)... in such a way that... it is not a prophecy. For instance, we may be sitting together here and I can tell you: "In two months ..."

End of Side A

SIDE B

N.H: ... honest, doing their job as they are supposed to. They will tell you their opinion and what the obstacles are. And you, in a journalistic analysis... Whatever happens, you will see how things are moving.

E.K: Without wanting to interrupt, you wrote a few things that really materialized. So, some people are wondering: "Was this man privy to these things? Was he one of those who prepared them?" What would you say to that?

N.H: You see that some people... I would say that several Rwandans were not yet used to journalism. You know that in the past ... the local media... before the emergence of locally published newspapers... You know that in *JEUNE AFRIQUE*, there was a man called Béchir Ben Yahmed. When a president came to power, he would say what would become of the President in five years, for instance. You know that it would happen. You know he was the first person to say that Thomas Sankara was going to die, that he was going to come to power but not for more than three years. So he too had this kind of skills I am talking about. In order to understand the issue of Kangura, we need to start from the period prior to the war. You know that in 1988, that was... we, we wrote in Kanguka. We wrote in Kanguka... You know people think differently today from the way they did then. We saw how people were thinking before the war. Shortly before the war, that was when those I would call the "enemy", *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*. Those people, the Rwigaras, Kajeguhakwas realized that the independent newspaper in Rwanda... if one

looks... the journalists who were independent.. we founded... it was Vincent Rwabukwisi and I, Hassan Ngeze who founded an independent newspaper. You see for instance, Kinyamateka is a newspaper for priests... Kinyameteka and Imvaho, which is for the government and Dialogue... We and a newspaper called Rafiki, we were the first to take the pen in 1986, you see, we have been in the private press for eight years now. You can see it is a profession in which we have some experience, we know its pros and cons. And so the enemy wanted to use this independent newspaper to intoxicate the people, to propagate what they wanted to do through the newspaper. After exposing them, I realized I could not betray the country, I could not help the people with whom I was working to betray the country by helping them publish their ideas. And that was when the newspaper called Kangura was born. So, Kanguka and Kangura were separated. People did not understand that easily because we opted out. You will recall that in our maiden issue, we said that Rwanda was about to be attacked. "Where did we get that from?" Is that not your question? We looked into the preparations made by the Tutsis and saw how the authorities have been sleeping. Some authorities here have been sleeping. Why? They have been lured by money... For instance, Rwigara could take an official like, excuse me, I am not going to mention any name, and say: "In order to blind an official to what we will do, let us associate him in such company we want to set up." And they would tell him: "Your salary will not get you anywhere. We want to set up a company, we are going to loan you 20 million which will buy you shares in the company." And by so doing, they must have blinded the official in such a way that he would see only the interest of "his stomach" and not that of his country. You now understand what the situation looks like. So these things, we... I met Kajeguhakwa on

several occasions there in his house in Kicukiro and I listened to his ideas. We also met other Hutus, those who Bikindi called “pot-bellied” Hutus and listened to their ideas. We have also looked into the preparations they were making, particularly within the country. We have considered how the Tutsis here in Rwanda had been sending children to the *Inyenzi* outside the country. We realized that authorities in the country were aware of that. We have not said anything the authorities did not know. They were aware of everything going on in the country, but because of the trap set for them by the enemy, making them see only the interest of their stomach, they did not care about the country, about the lessons and legacy of the 1959 revolution. So we decided not to fall in the trap set by those people working for the interest of their stomach. So I tried to contact... it was not I, Ngeze, alone... I tried to contact people who were on the same wavelength with me, various people who also believed they should defend the sovereignty of their country... I told them my opinion, and they too told me how they saw things. Then we made some analysis and realized that a war was imminent in Rwanda. You understood me on this point. It was then we wrote that a war was going to break out in Rwanda, triggered by the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*. That was the first time...

E.K: Did you know them?

N.H: Yes, we knew them. We had just known them very well, how they were going to attack and who was going to back them. Where did the difficulties arise? The problem is that the Rwandan government did not want us to say that the Tutsis inside the country would support these *Inyenzi*. The Rwandan government did not want us to talk about

influential Tutsis. You know that Kangura came out talking about Rwigara and Kajeguhakwa. You know their position in this country. That issue came out talking about war. Many Rwandans were not expecting it. Even lower-ranking soldiers were surprised to hear that a newspaper had written that there was going to be a war in Rwanda that they were not aware of. You know that was when we published the second and third issues and we were imprisoned. These things had not yet happened then, Kangura's truth had not yet come true. It was revealed later... We were arrested and taken to court. I was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. Then war broke out. When the President of the Republic returned to the country from abroad, there was a press conference attended even by foreign journalists. Journalists asked... I remember a journalist working for ORINFOR here who asked the President of the Republic: "Some journalists have been sentenced to prison terms for saying that war was going to break out. Is it not possible to grant them amnesty and set them free? Sequel to that press conference, the President of the Republic asked the then Minister of Justice to grant me amnesty. So I was given a special amnesty. I was granted an individual amnesty and released from prison. You have seen that the first thing Kangura said has just come to pass. There was no prophecy and that does not mean we are working together with the enemy, it was rather... I told you that a journalist worth his salt would knock at every door to know what to publish. Now, we need to know what is happening in Mulindi, the *Inyenzi*'s whereabouts and what is happening to them. A journalist should work and live up to the expectation of the masses. After we were released, that was what we did. That was the second phase. After our release, we managed to expose the accomplices working together with the enemy. You know there was what is called "pointing finger". We tried to finger many

officials working together with the enemy. You will remember that ... Until the power-that-be also agreed that Kangura was saying the truth. You know that we wrote about many officials, that does not mean that Kangura is the Bible. We may write for instance ten things, some of which may be true. For instance, seven or eight may be true, using the process I told you about at the beginning of this interview. We spoke about outrageous accomplices. We spoke about accomplices, giving evidence. We spoke about the various stages of the war... You know that most of the people we spoke about have been arrested. When the government scrutinized them, it found out that we were saying the truth. It is true we were mistaken about some of them. You may not have enough data and time and may therefore be mistaken about someone who may be wrongly arrested and imprisoned. We continued to write about the accomplices, even the officials. You know there were many officials whom we talked about and who have been dismissed. That does not mean we were responsible for their dismissal. The relevant authorities knew about it but felt it was high time the people knew about it too. So the authorities felt those officials could not go on serving with all the glaring evidence, like the one they had in their offices. That does not mean Kangura was instigating the authorities, Kangura only managed to know how these officials had been working. And so the self-respecting authorities felt those officials should not represent the people. So they were sacked. That was the second thing that came to pass. Things have happened during the war; you know multiparty politics has emerged, parties were born. They were born before the emergence of the newspapers. Other newspapers emerged after Kangura. We had the opportunity to watch the newspapers closely when they were born because they were born under our nose. We knew how MDR was born and what the people

expected from it. You know we were the first to say that within the MDR, Twagiramungu was an *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*. We were very vocal about it and we were even imprisoned for it. We even gave evidence, but as the Rwandans say: "The ears containing death do not hear" (Literal translation of a Rwandan proverb, meaning a person in serious danger does not heed and advice). What we said was understood later. What we said about the MDR was understood recently. I would say that also is another warning signal of what Kangura wrote. Etienne, you read Kangura articles a great deal and you know that we said the *Inyenzi* were hiding inside the Parti Libéral, that it was an *Inyenzi* party. That was even before it was born, nearly a week before. We managed to know that the RPF was attempting to infiltrate the emerging party. Mugenzi and Mbonampeka had founded a party but while founding the party, they did not know that the *Inyenzi* would take advantage of it. They did not know because of the prevailing situation then. So they kept on believing they were in the opposition, championing liberalism and freedom, two notions at the heart of the opposition. Therefore, the Tutsis joined the party in large numbers. Now you see, a party is like a supermarket, it needs membership. So Mugenzi and his friends wanted their party to have many members to vote for them during elections. That is their thinking. But we saw two factions within their party: the faction they desired and another faction belonging to the *Inyenzi* who wanted to have a breeding ground for youths they would send to the *Inyenzi Inkotanyi*. You know we said that a long time ago. We talked and even shouted about it and went on to show RPF's role within the *Parti Libéral*. At that time, we did not have the same opinion as Mugenzi and his friends. But in recent time, you have seen that what we were saying about the *Parti Libéral* has materialized. You know we had always said that

whatever happens, Mugenzi and Mbonampeka would both end up seeing where the truth is and would come to work together with us in the struggle for the sovereignty of the Republic. That has come to pass. That also is another Kangura's warning signal that was revealed. So, the way we saw the parties and how we predicted the parties' future, that was how it happened.

E.K: You said you did an analysis and saw how the war was going to break out and how it was going to worsen... Did you also analyze why the war has continued in Rwanda up till now?

N.H: We have thoroughly analyzed this issue and I could even say it is one of those issues we understand better than the others. When the war started, we were in a phase where we shared the same ideas. I can give you an example. You will remember when Rwigema died. All Rwandans from all over the Rwanda, Hutus, Twas and Tutsis alike, rose up together and showed the enemy he could never take Rwanda as long as they remained united. But the so-called opposition parties with their leaders, having taken sides with the *Inkotanyi*... I am referring in particular to those agreements signed in Brussels between the MDR, PL, PSD and RPF. They are the ones who brought us into these problems that we are still battling with. So, realizing that they could not run us over as long as we remained united, the *Inkotanyi* went through the Twagiramungu, using the Brussels agreements for total collaboration. I told you that... Excuse me, I am not going to mention names because the Rwandans know those who betrayed them well enough. So I am not going to repeat names and say so and so betrayed, for some may have betrayed and then repented. So you cannot condemn someone who betrayed but

later repented. So there is no need at all to mention names. Let us see how it all happened and what it will look like in the future. So, when that happened, the RPF felt it had just acquired a position of strength. A great deal of power was credited to the RPF. Having realized that the so-called opposition parties... which are important and you know that the MDR is an important party... parties which had just agreed to cooperate with the RPF in all areas. This was seen as a position of strength by foreigners... The international community was saying: "The RPF is all the same an entity we should support. If parties inside the country agree to work together with it, that means they realize that the RPF is fighting for a right cause." We have had a lot of problems because of that. And I would also like to say that our leaders here are not up to it because they did not rise up and tell the international community about the betrayal by these parties. So, the reason why these parties were going to collaborate with the enemy. You know that was never done but we have kept on shouting in the press. So, that was when Byumba and Ruhengeri were taken over. You know we spent almost a year and a half fighting at the border. Even though the RPF was using the NRA soldiers, the unity of the Rwandans inside the country, the unity we were using... you saw that the war was being waged there at the border. That was also what led to the so-called Arusha Accords. The Accords were put in place and after that, they started... Then, there was what was the Presidential movement, I would say it was the power base of the President of the Republic... He was the one who realized that the country was under siege. Even the members of these parties, MDR, PSD, I am talking about the Hutus, the Hutu majority, they too realized that. They realized that country was under siege, but they were not in a position to express themselves since their leaders whom they had elected themselves had

betrayed them by going to sign with the *Inyenzi*. You remember when they told us the *Inyenzi* were our brothers, by force, without first asking for our opinion. You see, we are in the Radio Rwanda studio. You remember the broadcast Radio Rwanda made, going round the whole country, looking for ideas to send to Arusha. You know those party leaders never let the ideas given by the population go anywhere. They remained at your radio station as no one was speaking for the people at that time. Things continued... As things worsened, we were looking. I would say we had a data bank. So we kept tab of all the errors committed, which caused us all these problems you were asking me about. This was how things were going and we started with the Arusha Accords. When we started with the Arusha Accords, the enemy had 5/10 and his accomplice had 4/10. You see that makes 9. The enemy already had 9 during the negotiations. That means the enemy was asking the questions and giving the answers. He was asking himself some things and was subsequently giving himself those things. It was so in Arusha. Well, so... But you know there is 1 remaining. We would not say only the enemy was there because if it was only the enemy, the RPF would have gone to Arusha, written and signed a paper. There was however 1 representing us through whom we expressed our disagreement. You know that inside the country, we have always been against the Arusha Accords. We said: "You RPF, you came and attacked the country." You know the Gbadolite Accords... Besides, saying that the RPF had 40%, 60% in Arusha... it was the big-bellied Hutus inside the country who offered them that... I am not talking about the government because when you talk about power, it is not everyone in power. For instance, you may find a minister who is *Inkotanyi* accomplice whereas all his colleagues know where the problem is. If we had negotiated with the RPF, being the movement of

the Republic of Rwanda with the RPF, I am telling you that the RPF would not have refused even it was given 5% because the international community knew also the RPF's strength and where it drew that strength from. We continued to protest that. The President of the Republic explained that and the attendant difficulties. You will recall, at the Ruhengeri rally, the President of the Republic said: "If the agreements are not studied thoroughly, they will be like paper." If they are not studied thoroughly. What did he mean by that? You know, Presidents are high-level people, like someone on the top of a mountain looking down on the plain. The President of the Republic see things we do not see. Because of the huge data they have, you will realize they see things we do not see. The President of the Republic has sat down and come to realize that these agreements would bring further misfortune. He saw it and often said so. The reason he said it was none other than what I told you: the enemy went to Arusha with people he had bought over. He took them to Arusha to negotiate. We have protested enough the Arusha Accords, we have demonstrated against them, we have done all that is allowed by democracy in contending that the accords had not been thoroughly studied. A tangible example: you remember the man called Ngurinziza, the spokesman. The President of the Republic called and asked him how the accords were prepared in Arusha. You remember how insolently Ngurinziza said: "If the President of the Republic needs these agreements, he should come and see me in Arusha." Even an illiterate farmer was shocked by that. Hearing the Head of State who we knew was representing us, who was representing us... He represented us in all international institutions, he was even the one who got us the weapons we used to fight! You know he is the one who declares and stops war. He did all of that for us. When Ngurinziza said that, I felt that was when everyone thought there

were serious ploys in those accords. You know all of that, how things went... So, the reason... You asked me why the war has lasted this far even though we were strong at the beginning. Why the war has lasted this far is because the enemy has had enough time to acquire strength that he could show off to the international community. But our army has continued to display courage. I would say that our army did not collaborate with this government because it has continued to defend our country. For the duty of the soldiers, normally, is to fight and defend the country. The war has worsened because of our leaders who continued to collaborate with those attacking us.

E.K: You wrote some things, I am repeating it again... For instance, I saw a Kangura issue whose number I do not remember, but you wrote: "Habyarimana will die in March this year." So people were wondering: "Did this boy prophesize that? Where did he get that from?" While we are at it here in the studio, I would like you to tell us why you wrote that.

N.H: Well, this issue is... It is true, many Rwandans and even foreigners... For instance, a white man called Philippe Reyjens phoned us recently and asked us to analyze something for him because he had heard that the analyses we made are coming true. You know this is not the first time. Most of the things we wrote have materialized. We look into the tricks of the trade... It is true we have a gift. Within Kangura, we have a gift. You know some newspapers talk about past events. Others talk about current events. There is also a newspaper that talks mainly about things that will happen. I told you the method we use in talking about things that will happen. We used experienced people,

persons who know some things better than we do and then our analysis. By so doing, what we say often comes true. We can draw some satisfaction from this, though... It is true that you do not sing your own praise, you let others praise you but we can draw satisfaction from the fact that we say things that come to pass. Trouble is, those whom we talk to come to understand too late. If people did not understand what we say too late... you see, we would have been happier if all we said and wrote had been taken seriously. You do not rejoice in being a prophet of doom. Yes, you cannot deny it because you are one. But all the same, when you talk and what you say is understood and taken seriously, you are happier. Now, let us take this point, if it is a point that requires analysis.

In December, we looked at the RPF's ploys and we said: "RPF has triggered fighting, saying it wants to bring democracy to Rwanda." But it has found democracy already in place. When you talk about democracy, you are talking about press freedom, freedom to form political parties, individual rights. Habyarimana gave us all of that. The Arusha Accords were prepared and people were saying Habyarimana would not sign them, but he went to sign them. You remember he signed the accords. They talked about putting transitional institutions in place. You know it was said that the existing parties at the time of the signature of the transitional arrangements would form the government or parliament. It was signed and that was responsible for all of that. The RPF... Because the RPF... For me, I know that the RPF is a group of Tutsis wanting to take power by force. Everyone is entitled to see them in any manner they want. A politician has his own way of defining the RPF. A journalist like you has his way of defining them. But for me, the way I see them, the way I know them because I have analyzed them further... Now, you know how people were called for the swearing-in ceremony... The President

of the Republic was going there but they were not. He was going there but they were not. Everything was ready but they did not take the oath. We realized there were a lot of things behind that. We looked at the complicity between Prime Minister Agathe and Kavaruganda who had been turned into an idol. You remember that at that time, they said that if the President of the Republic was not there or was unable to attend, Kavaruganda, the President of the Constitutional Court would perform the swearing-in. You too followed that. So, we tried to find out what trap they wanted to set and we realized they wanted to set it for the President of the Republic. But setting a trap for the President of the Republic... It is not him the RPF wanted. Even if the parties inside the country wanted the President of the Republic, the RPF did not want him. The RPF believed that Habyarimana was the king and shield of the Hutus and that if he died, no other Hutu would rise up and raise his voice. That was the RPF's thinking. But the RPF even hid that from the parties inside. It told them: "Just help us fight Habyarimana, he is the obstacle." And the parties thought they were going to fight Habyarimana and take power from him. Attacking Habyarimana meant taking power from him. But the RPF said: "We must wrest power from him, but we must not let him live because taking power from a man like Habyarimana and letting him live would serve no purpose because the power would still be there." The presence of one person may disturb the whole surrounding. So we started... Having seen the swearing-in ceremony aborted thrice, we started analyzing what was behind it. At one point, everything was calm inside the country, the opposition said nothing and the Presidential circle did not say anything. No one said anything, and you did not know who was ruling the country. When we did an analysis, we found out that a plan had been hatched. We first created accomplices at

UNAMIR and then sent our accomplices to give us a situation report. We saw the preparations being made by the Belgians and how they were at loggerheads with Dallaire because their activities were incompatible with their mandate. We saw how the RPF was getting ready. You know we said that the RPF was sending some *Inyenzi* everyday. They were going to Mulindi to fetch firewood and were coming back with *Inyenzi* and so they have many *Inyenzi* here. We realized that no authorities talked about it. The President of the Republic was planning a visit to Côte d'Ivoire for the funeral of the old President. We felt that we, small fries, could not tell the President of the Republic not to go to Côte d'Ivoire. So we wrote an article that was aired on the RTL, giving a copy to Radio Rwanda. We also gave a copy to the President of the Republic. I remember that he received it at his residence. We told him he should not undertake the journey to Côte d'Ivoire and should mandate someone else in the interest of the country, in the interest of the majority of the citizenry. What were the plans made in the course of the visit? If the President of the Republic had left Rwanda for Côte d'Ivoire, the group led by Twagiramungu would have met at the UNAMIR building and, before Kavaruganda, they would have sworn in their parliamentarians and put the transitional institutions in place. So, those of us fighting for the sovereignty of the country would have taken as serious insolence and would have risen up to go and fight the team to be installed. After fighting them, war would break out and UNAMIR would support those institutions that I said it would have helped put in place. As the war started, the President of the Republic would return to the country. Upon return, they would be able to open fire on him... they would be able to open fire on him at the airport because that is the only place he come in through. That was the way we saw things. So we would have lost him. If he did not

return and stayed abroad, they would say he had fled. They would have fabricated so many things about him and said he had fled his country. The uprising in his country would have also been attributed to him. After we had written this article, we sent it to various quarters, to the bishops and priests, telling them: "Please, tell the President of the Republic that such was the situation." We were lucky, the President of the Republic... I would not say he obeyed us, perhaps he too was thinking along the same line... So, he did not go to Côte d'Ivoire; he sent, I think, the Speaker of the Assembly, current President of the Republic, to represent him at the funeral. We said: "In Kangura, we are really happy that for once we said foresaw a bad omen, averted it and so peace has reigned in Rwanda." That continued and we observed a period of calm, political calm which I told you about... We did some analyses and concluded that the RPF would never agree to take the oath because if they did... You see, at the signing of the Arusha Accords, the political parties were always surrounded by the enemy. I would mention the MDR, PSD and PL. They were always surrounded by the enemy. When they returned from Arusha, splits emerged within the parties. A faction supported the *Inkotanyi* while another backed the Republic. And so the *Inkotanyi* said: "We fought for nothing. We no longer have the power we had in Arusha. That means we are not going to pass any law in the government or in the *Conseil National pour le Développement* (National Development Council)." So they said: "We could not do otherwise, we could not be party to a government in which we do not have any influence." You know the *Inkotanyi* were thinking: "If we wield influence within the National Development Council, we will vote a law to imprison all those troubling us, a law to pay back all the debts we incurred from abroad in order to attack Rwanda, every law that will favour us." Then they

realized they would not achieve all of that. That was when I... I said some white countries were involved in that and took sides with the RPF. Some Whites sold weapons to the RPF on credit. They said: "If the RPF acquires influence in the National Development Council, they will pay us back, but if they lose that influence, we will lose because we will not go back and ask them to pay us back the money because that was not part of the Arusha Accords." "Because in the Arusha Accords, it is not mentioned anywhere that the two warring parties will pay back the money used during the war with such or such funds." There is no provision for that anywhere. The RPF thought they would pay back this money and, through a law they would pass in the National Development Council, give a present to Museveni, who has helped them. When the RPF realized that was impossible, they started playing tricks by refusing to take the oath. While refusing to take the oath, the RPF was doing everything possible to kill the President of the Republic. We discovered that beforehand, made our analysis and found out no one else's death mattered to the RPF. Bucyana has died, that is the people's party... The people were scared and thought hell was going to break loose in the country. The party leaders... You know I too am a member of the CDR executive committee... We met and decided to ask our members to watch out for RPF's trap. What trap? All this upheaval. The RPF want to plunge us into mayhem, they wanted fighting to resume as they had planned when the President of the Republic was going to travel to Côte d'Ivoire. We said it enough, on the radio and television, that our people should be calm. The people have really obeyed us and have remained calm. You know that Gatabazi has just died. So, the RPF are saying: "Since Bucyana died and there was not uprising, since Gatabazi died and there was no uprising, we are going to kill

Habyarimana, then the authorities in place would convene a meeting and we would install the government we want.” That was RPF’s reckoning. Mr. Etienne, I told there were three points: the RPF was surprised by the war. They were surprised by the war because they did not expect the war was going to turn out like this. The RPF thought they were going to kill Habyarimana and the transitional institutions were going to be put in place right away. And they would have asked the MRND: “We can do without Habyarimana, give us another member as President of the Republic.” You know that would be powerless President of the Republic, deprived of every bit of power. That was the way the RPF was seeing things. Their other accomplices also thought that way. They thought that after the death of the President of the Republic, there would be no more obstacles, that we small people would keep quiet, and they would put the transitional institutions in place. So we saw all of that and wrote that the President of the Republic might die in late March or early April. Why did we choose that period? We studied the sequence of events. You know that some delegations came from abroad, there were some Whites...

End of Tape.