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PETITION FROM THE "UNION NATIONALE RUANDAISE (UNAR)"
CONCERNING RUANDA-URUNDI

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of procedure of the Trusteeship Council)

UMUTUE W'ABASHYIRAHAMWE B'URWANDA
Union Nationale Ruandaise - UNAR
P.O. Box 94, Kigali, Ruanda

20 October 1960

Subject: Visit of the Minister for African
Affairs to Ruanda.

Copies are hereby transmitted for information to:

- The Secretary-General of the United Nations, New York, respectfully requesting him to submit the present letter for consideration by the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly Trusteeship Committee.
- The Prime Minister of the Government of Belgium, Brussels.
- The President of the Belgian Senate, Brussels.
- The President of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, Brussels, with our respectful compliments.

For the Interim National Committee
The Chairman, J.N. RUTSINDINTWARANE.

(Signed) illegible

To the Minister for African Affairs, Brussels.

Sir,

Bearing in mind the conversations we had with you at Kigali, Astrida and Usumbura, on 9, 12 and 16 October 1960 respectively, and further to our notes of

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12 and 14 October 1960, your broadcast speech of 17 October 1960 and the legislative ordinance issued by the Resident General on 18 October 1960 concerning the establishment of the provisional Legislative Assembly, we have the honour to inform you of our views and reflections on the arrangements for the institutions mentioned in your speech.

It clearly emerged from our conversation of 12 October 1960 at Astrida that you intended to institute a provisional Executive (Government) and a provisional Assembly (Legislative) - without specifying their functions - and that you wished to base the representation in those institutions on the numerical strength of the racial groups. In this connexion, indeed, you mentioned certain proportions to us: in the Assembly of forty-four members, twelve would be Batutsi and thirty-two Bahutu; for the Government two distributions were suggested: (i) seven Bahutu, four Batutsi and two Europeans, and (ii) four Bahutu, two Batutsi and one European.

During that conversation you asked us to agree in principle on the necessity for ensuring to the Bahutu - representing 80 per cent of the population - a large majority in the Assembly and in the Government. In that connexion it was understood that, when the nominations of members for the aforesaid institutions were made, the Administration responsible for the nominations would necessarily take into account the important fact that "Bahutu" did not by any means signify "Parmehutu", but that you and we intended to ensure this majority to all the Bahutu, however they were distributed among the political ideologies existing in Ruanda.

We gave you our agreement on that principle during the Astrida conversation and confirmed it on the occasion of the Usumbura conversation. We specified to you unequivocally that that agreement remained a compromise, a concession, valid only for the present provisional institutions and until the Ruandese people chose its rulers through legislative elections.

On the other hand, during the Astrida conversation you stated categorically that when the Assembly and the Government were constituted, "no account will be taken of the communal elections the sole purpose of which was the appointment of administrateurs de communes".

Lastly, we are informed that you not only asked other political parties their opinion on the principle of ensuring a large majority to the Bahutu, but also requested them to propose to you candidates for the new institutions and the means

of selecting them, even outside the membership of their parties. We are astonished that similar statements were not made to us.

In our notes of 12 and 14 October 1960, we asked you to settle certain vital questions regarding balanced participation. For you can no longer be unaware that the emergency regime was directed against our party, and that numerous incidents and innumerable crimes were committed against our members. It was necessary, and you acknowledged it to us, to put an end to those incidents, those crimes and that régime so as to enable us to participate on an equal footing with the other political parties.

In this connexion, you asked us to settle our participation in the "code of good political conduct" which was to be drawn up immediately, and you promised us to find a solution for the pacification and refugee problems and to guarantee us the free exercise of our fundamental rights and freedoms.

It was in the same spirit that we assured you, and now do so again, of our willingness to participate in the study of the pacification and refugee problems in the elaboration of the code of good political conduct and in any other study aimed at finding a just solution for the questions referred to in our note of 12 October 1960. We are willing to collaborate in giving effect to the provisions resulting from those studies.

Contrary to the principles accepted during our conversations and in breach of the promises made, you declared in your broadcast speech of 17 October 1960 that you wished to base the membership of the Assembly and of the Government on the results of the recent communal elections.

It was doubtless also on your instructions that those institutions have been set up before any study of your statement could be made, and by so doing you have made it impossible for our party to discuss possible participation in the government of the state, and are thus systematically keeping our party out of political life.

Lastly, with regard to the setting up of the Assembly you expressly state that its composition must be determined by the results obtained by each party in the communal elections. Without wishing to plead the cause of certain political parties, it seems to us arbitrary for the Administration to have granted Aprosuma less than half the seats allocated to Rader, to have reserved a seat for Aredetwa,

which did not even take part in the elections, and to have purely and simply excluded other political parties.

We must enter a strong protest against:

(a) The prejudice which you have shown against our party in refusing to give it the explanations and details which were given to the other political parties. It was up to you to judge each party on its merits and not to make an a priori judgement such as your local administration has always done with regard to our party.

(b) Your abandonment of your position although you had said you would maintain it resolutely. It was really astonishing for those who listened to you at Astrida to hear your speech in which you said that you would base the membership of the new provisional institutions on the results of the recent communal elections, of which you yourself had said at Astrida "that they constituted a fait accompli, that in spite of their defects there was no need to conduct them again, but that you could not base on them any institution which was national in scope". It is also contradictory for us to have imposed on us an Assembly and, in the near future, a Government, before we have even had an opportunity of expressing our opinions and reflections on your speech and before the procedure which was agreed upon in this connexion has been arranged.

We believe that this manoeuvre instigated by the local administration was aimed exclusively at removing our party from the political scene by refusing it all opportunity of participating in the government of the state.

We are also sure that we have a duty to inform you of our apprehensions regarding the unsatisfactory distribution of seats in the Assembly. In fact, neither equity based on the results of the communal elections nor the ethnic balance proclaimed at Astrida has been observed. This will give rise to disputes between political parties, and such conduct is not likely to facilitate the rapprochement between ethnic groups which you said you ardently wished on your own behalf and on behalf of the Belgian Government.

In protesting vehemently against this biased distribution of seats in the Assembly, consolidating the one-sided position of the local administration, which is trying to have it accepted that "all the Bahutu are united in the Parmehutu

party", we have no intention of making any claims, but we are merely trying to safeguard the higher interests of the Ruandese nation, which is threatened by this biased distribution.

In a large number of letters, our party has constantly been calling for a round-table conference in which we, the Banyarwanda and the Barundi, with representatives of the Belgian people and in the presence of United Nations observers, would discuss in complete freedom the means of giving Ruanda and Burundi both provisional and definitive institutions which would be regarded as acceptable by the representatives of all opinions in our two states.

This idea of a round-table conference, which was proposed by the four main political parties of Ruanda unanimously accepted by all the others, strongly recommended by the United Nations Visiting Mission, and accepted by Belgium, has been systematically sabotaged by the local administration, which has always found the most absurd pretexts for putting off its convening.

We have continually been repeating our warning to the Belgian Government and the United Nations against the aim which was being sought in postponing the holding of that conference, which aim was none other than an attempt to impose on the Ruandese people a dictatorial and racist régime, which we now see being set up.

Without in any way prejudging your intentions or those of your local administration, we feel that it is our duty to inform you of the essential reservations which we make with regard to your speech of 18 October 1960.

You ask that an end be put to the arson, looting and expulsions and that all those who committed these foul crimes should be sought out and severely punished. We share your opinion entirely; it was indeed point No. 1 in our note of 12 October 1960.

We also feel that this appeal is addressed neither to the criminals nor to their victims but to your Administration in Ruanda-Urundi, which alone, we repeat, has available all the means of putting an end to that situation. Yet, since March 1960 until today, arson, looting, expulsions and other crimes have been ceaselessly committed against the members of our party, the placing under supervision of residence orders and the arbitrary imprisoning of members of our party by decision of the Administration are continuing and, paradoxically, very few criminals have been arrested and not a single sentence commensurate with the crime committed has been pronounced against the few criminals who have been arrested.

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The arson, looting and expulsions which the members of our party have undergone are by no means the result of chance, nor the action of a few people whose feelings were running high, but the result of deliberate plots, of which those responsible are known and do not even hide themselves.

These acts are committed in broad daylight and spread systematically from one commune to another, from one chiefdom to another and from one district to another, to the point where nine out of the ten districts of Ruanda have experienced their destructive effects. We have frequently seen officials of the Administration or of both indigenous and European authorities advising, encouraging and backing up the criminals and even forcing them to carry out their misdeeds under the threat of being subjected to them themselves.

The letter from Mr. B. Eggermont, A.T.A., which is annexed to our note of 12 October 1960, is merely one example among others. Finally, you should know better than we do that the judiciary and the Bar are complaining about the pressure and obstruction carried out by the Administration to the detriment of the satisfactory administration of justice.

The one important question for which an immediate solution ought to be found above everything else is undoubtedly the human problem of the refugees.

It would have been more advantageous for you to have visited the refugee camps at Nyamata and Kibungu; it would have been a most humane gesture on your part and you would thus have helped to raise the spirits of these poor wretches; you would have become acquainted with the material conditions in which these thousands of people are living, instead of allowing yourself to be driven to Ruhengeli and Gitarama, where one-sided demonstrations had been prepared for your benefit.

In that brief contact with the refugees, you would certainly have been able to see that this problem, which is human in its consequences because more than 100,000 human beings are suffering cruelly and unjustly through it, is in its origin and in its purpose an instrument of oppression and a means of political domination which barely hides its racist tendencies.

For anyone who knows Ruanda a little it is very easy to realize that the unjustified expulsions and the arson and looting are by no means the result of an explosion of "race hatred" but the effect of a carefully prepared plot with the sole aim of eliminating completely, on the political and economic level, the

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influence of a particular political ideology. Indeed, if it was a case of an explosion of race hatred, one would not see the fire-raisers of the day before helping their victims to rebuild their houses, or the looters giving back the looted property or warning their future victims of the dangers threatening them.

Furthermore, the selections made by the people's courts - a creation of the Trusteeship Administration - before the expulsions would be impossible in a case of race hatred. These expulsions can only be explained on the basis of political influence, for, where the selection was authorized, the expulsions only affected our leaders and militant members.

It is of course obvious that those chiefly responsible for such actions, the principal leaders of this movement, cannot hide their racist sentiments at all and openly gear their whole policy to the economic and political domination of one race by another.

You said in your speech that the emergency régime would be lifted and, that, so that peace, order and tranquillity might be maintained (yet they have been ceaselessly disturbed for almost a year) you had decided that another régime should be set up granting increased powers to the local authorities. You were subsequently careful not to define the powers which would be granted to the above-mentioned authorities to replace those held under the emergency regime.

Finally, you carefully avoided setting up any supervising body or allowing any opportunity for a joint study of the powers which were to be given to the aforementioned authorities.

Consequently we note that, by your statement, you left the way clear to ill-considered and dictatorial powers. In fact you replaced one régime by another one, identical as to means and ends - extraordinary and unrestricted powers - but simply differing in name.

We can no longer be misled and we are obliged to note, to our deep regret, that your statement is by no means a solution for the situation which you yourself acknowledged to exist, but still remains a confirmation pure and simple of the emergency régime, its methods and its consequences.

It was absolutely indispensable that you, having the power to do so, should take practical decisions which would be capable of solving the problem of the refugees, of pacification and of the emergency régime. But we note, to our great

disappointment, that with regard to these vital questions you remained content with expressing mere wishes, the implementation of which is unlikely.

We repeat that we do not wish to prejudge the issue, but we remain sceptical regarding the acceptable implementation of the wishes which you expressed in your speech.

But, despite everything, we pledge you our willingness to assist, in so far as we are given the opportunity of doing so, in carrying out the wishes contained in your speech.

We cannot end this long letter without touching on the question of the monarchical institution and of the Mwami, which is a question of capital importance for the Ruandese nation.

It emerges clearly from your arguments and attitudes that you are certain that the Ruandese people is not unanimous about the Mwami Kigeli V of Ruanda. We do not wish to dispute your elementary freedom of opinion. Moreover, we will not doubt a priori your monarchist feelings, which you have expressed to us in your capacity as a citizen and Minister of the Kingdom of Belgium.

Consequently, we are convinced that a minimum of justice and impartiality on your part would have led to the organization of a popular consultation so as to ascertain, with no possibility of future uncertainty, the intentions of the Ruandese people regarding their monarch.

You would thus have been responding to a wish which was expressed in March 1960 by the four main political parties and approved by the Mwami Kigeli himself.

You would thus have enabled the Ruandese people to choose its fundamental institutions freely and have put an end to the subversive propaganda of your Administration in Ruanda, which seeks by all possible means to impose a republican system of government on the Ruandese people.

We consider completely arbitrary and unjustified the decision under which you are keeping the Mwami Kigeli V out of his kingdom, thus riding roughshod over the feelings of loyalty and gratitude which the Ruandese people always had towards him, and yielding to the dishonest intentions of your local administration and to the Machiavellian manoeuvres of some political leaders eager for power and indifferent to the higher interests of the nation in whose name they claim to speak.

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At the proper time we proposed solutions for this important question (see the records of the Special Interim Council for 23 March 1960, and our letter of 28 March 1960). In order to reinforce its republican propaganda, the Administration has systematically refused to take any notice of these proposals and has made a special effort to frustrate the authority of the Mwami and the prestige of the monarchy, by, among other things, preventing the Mwami from leaving Usumbura to go back to Ruanda, or from going to Belgium, despite promises made by the Minister for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and by placing two princes under supervision-of-residence orders after they had been acquitted by the courts, etc....

It is now indisputable that the local Administration, by its actions and its attitude, has rendered itself completely incapable of giving this national problem an equitable solution which would be acceptable for everyone.

Lastly, since the solution capable of settling this question is a consultation of the Ruandese people, it is absolutely essential that:

- (a) it should be organized and supervised exclusively by the United Nations, as the only body providing the requisite guarantees for a free consultation,
- (b) it should be carried out before the legislative elections, so that the ultimate institutions should not be based on uncertainty. The example of the conflict between unitarianism and federalism in the Congo is most instructive.
- (c) it should not be carried out in the Mwami's absence, so that this enforced absence cannot be exploited in any way.
- (d) all the adult men and women of Ruanda should be consulted so as to dispose of the question once for all and with no possibility of dispute in the future.

Therefore we will not recognize this arbitrary and unjust measure, and we hold you responsible before the Ruandese people, Belgium and the United Nations for the consequences which will result from this grave decision.

Lastly, we note without surprise that you have done nothing to guarantee for the officials and technicians of the Administration who share our political

ideology the same chances as those guaranteed to their colleagues regarding promotion to the higher grades when the personnel is africanized.

Nevertheless you were in possession of a document showing the discriminatory intentions of your Administration in Ruanda.

I have the honour to be, etc.

For the Interim National Committee,

J.N. Rutsindintwaraze

Chairman

NOTE DELIVERED TO THE MINISTER FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS
DURING HIS STAY IN RUANDA, ON 12 OCTOBER 1960

Sir,

Your visit was announced to us so late that it is impossible for us to present to you a memorandum setting forth the principal problems confronting this state.

All the problems confronting the state have been mentioned in the correspondence that we have addressed to the local Administration, a large part of which has always been sent to your predecessors.

In spite of the voluminous correspondence, regularly followed by reminders in which moderate and reasonable solutions were proposed, the Administration has been unwilling either to act upon or to reply to these proposals.

A few infrequent, evasive replies have reached us but they bring no solution to the questions facing us.

We must regret also the lack of intervention on the part of the Ministry of African Affairs, although it was kept regularly informed of the development of the problems confronting Ruanda.

It is impossible for us to give you here a synthesis of each of these problems and we therefore request you to note the proposals, solutions and views of our party in the documentation attached to this note.

But certain problems require a more detailed presentation and call for a solution in the immediate future. We are of the opinion, Sir, that your personal intervention even before you leave Ruanda-Urundi is absolutely essential on the following points:

1. Pacification - Reconciliation

We are convinced that the Administration, custodian of law, justice and power, is perfectly capable of putting an end to the disorders, public disturbances and scandalous crimes that occur daily in Ruanda.

So long as the Administration is unwilling to take this preliminary step, we believe that it will be useless to ask the Banyaruanda to put an end to the tension - desired and exploited by certain political leaders - and to bring their positions more closely into harmony.

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This preliminary step is indispensable for total pacification and complete reconciliation.

2. So-called emergency military occupation regime

To avoid repetition of what we have already said and written in numerous letters, we ask you, Sir, to refer particularly to the note addressed to the Resident-General, on 26 August, to the reply of 29 August, and our communication of 6 September 1960.

The establishment of this regime is actually a dictatorship of one man: the Special Resident, who holds ill-considered powers allowing him to suspend or suppress all fundamental rights.

In spite of flagrant and undeniable abuses and crimes committed with the consent or under the protection of this regime, the Resident-General, in his note of 29 August 1960, underestimates the seriousness of these abuses and crimes and will not hear of abolishing this regime.

We urge strongly upon your high authority, Sir, to end this regime which protects and promotes all kinds of injustices and illegalities, and has become an instrument of political oppression from which all Ruanda is now suffering.

3. Public and fundamental freedoms

In any self-respecting democracy worthy of the name, the free exercise of all rights and freedoms must be safeguarded for all persons, and even more so for all political parties.

As a political party we call for the freedoms of movement, assembly and opinion to be safeguarded in the immediate future.

We deem these freedoms to be absolutely indispensable to ensure the normal life of a political party.

We consider it completely arbitrary for the Administration to refuse us the right to visit and to assemble with the members of our party, while, on the other hand, this same Administration authorizes and facilitates the meetings of some specific political parties and thus prevents all possibility of carrying on an ideological struggle under democratic conditions.

4. Problem of homeless persons and refugees

The refugee problem has been referred to in several letters, particularly in the resolutions of our Congress, of April 1960. The Administration has been unwilling to take any action on these proposals.

Meanwhile, the number of homeless persons has risen from 30,000 to close on 90,000 persons, at least one-third of whom are outside of Ruanda.

More than 45,000 homeless persons are crowded together in the refugee reception centres, or are wandering about Ruanda, while only 25,000 have been able to return to their homes.

The cases of arson and looting, protected and encouraged by the emergency regime under which we have been and still are living, only increase the number of refugees daily.

Expulsions of individuals, justified only by their importance in the political field, and decreed by political leaders supported by the Administration, who seek only to consolidate their personal political prestige by these expulsions, are at the present time wreaking havoc throughout all Ruanda and are imposed on Bahutu, Batwa and Batutsi, simply because they adhere to an opposing political ideology.

We consider it absolutely impossible to solve the foregoing problem through either resettlement or reintegration, so long as the Administration does not attack its cause: arson, looting and expulsions.

Only when the arson, looting and expulsions have come to an end can we deal with this serious problem and find an adequate solution for it.

But meanwhile, Sir, human beings like you and us, torn from their homes, are compelled to live in the utmost wretchedness and to undergo the most diverse privations: malnutrition, the impossibility of receiving adequate medical care, unsanitary housing, etc.

Furthermore, nothing is more barbarous than to expel refugees from the places where they have been taken in by charitable families, and to compel them to join the unfortunate persons living in the refugee reception centres.

We indignantly denounce the Administration's attitude, in openly encouraging the population to commit these crimes by refusing to have the guilty persons prosecuted and punished and leaving in the aggressors' hands the fate of their victims.

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Indeed, after the burnings, the aggressors, transformed into a people's court, classify their victims to determine which ones shall be reintegrated and which shall not.

We await from you, Sir, an immediate, personal decision which will, we are convinced, wipe out these crimes, of which Ruanda is at present the scene, and restore peace and tranquillity for all.

5. Amnesty - Release of persons placed under supervision-of-residence orders

We believe that an amnesty for all persons who were convicted by the War Council in connexion with the incidents of November 1959, would relax tension among the Banyaruanda and facilitate reconciliation.

Furthermore, we should like to make it clear to you, Sir, that this measure of royal clemency would concern all the Banyaruanda, of whom only one-third share our political ideology.

It is therefore not in the interest of our members only that we ask it, but in the interest of all.

An Administrative measure whose only purpose is to eliminate our leaders and militant workers from the political scene by arbitrarily placing them under detention, going under the name of supervised or enforced residence.

Being purely administrative, the measure requires no justification, hence its arbitrary and uncontrollable character, the usual result of a dictatorial regime under which we have been living under the label of emergency regime. For it is completely inadmissible, Sir, that only the members of UNAR should be subjected to supervision of residence or arbitrarily put in prison, whereas they are only the victims of the arson, looting and expulsions, which are the work of other persons.

We reiterate our desire to see these people freed immediately and to see this institution abolished.

6. Authority of the Mwami

It is beyond question that the Ruandese people are profoundly monarchist and remain particularly attached to the person of the Mwami Kigeli V.

UNAR reaffirms that it remains convinced, and with it the Ruandese people, that the Administration, through having failed to recognize the important role of the institution of the monarchy and the fact that the lawful Mwami is the only source of authority, has aggravated, if not created, the disorders which are now afflicting the state, and the present confusion in men's minds.

It is clearly apparent to us that the Administration, in order to satisfy the interests of a few subversive political leaders who have turned republican to satisfy personal, monopolistic and dictatorial ambitions, wishes to impose a republican system of government on the Ruandese people, whom it knows to be profoundly monarchist.

The Administration has sought by every means to frustrate the Mwami's authority and lower the prestige of the monarchy. One has only to review the series of letters on that subject to be convinced of it.

We reaffirm our wish to see the Administration cease its subversive propaganda immediately and accord the Mwami the respect due to the Head of the state.

7. Africanization of the civil service

To Africanize the civil service means nothing more than accustoming the Banyaruanda to assume the heavy responsibilities of their state's administration. All the Banyaruanda, without exception or discrimination, have the duty and the right to participate in the government of their country, the sole criterion to be their personal capacities.

It is high time that the Banyaruanda assumed responsibility for the administration of the state and it is therefore the duty of the Administering Authority to accomplish this major objective without delay.

We believe it unnecessary to repeat that a failure to achieve total and rapid Africanization of the upper levels of the state's administration - as would result from the proposal of Mr. Makuza, leader of the Parmehutu, a counsellor very influential with the Administration, who fears that Africanization may bring about the departure of the European - is a veritable catastrophe for the future of Ruanda and a grave dereliction of its most sacred duty by the Administering Authority.

The Administration has often contended that Ruanda, through lack of technicians, could not rapidly become self-governing. We believe that the Administration has

realized its mistake, and we demand, first of all, that this Administration make judicious use of the qualified and experienced personnel at present available.

The Administration must acquaint these staff members with the duties and responsibilities awaiting them instead of assigning them to subordinate duties and considering them unimportant underlings.

Such is the case:

- of Mr. Mpambata A., district officer, whom the Administrator of the District of Kigali ordered to make, exclusively and personally, a count of all the banana trees in a commune (cf. attached travel order).
- of Mr. Sindane Innocent, district officer, with five years' seniority in rank, who was placed under the orders of his European colleague, Mr. Van Ransbeeck, who has one year's seniority and was engaged temporarily without further qualification. We are witnessing a veritable state of apartheid in the Administration.
- of the majority of the assistant agricultural officers, veterinary technicians, and district officers; they are generally subordinate to their European colleagues of the same rank, who have no more experience or qualifications than they.

In the process of Africanization, the Administration should in no case and for no reason take into consideration the ideological beliefs or racial origins of the applicants for posts in the Administration.

The only acceptable criterion is the applicant's personal qualifications.

The small number of technicians available in the state have been trained at the cost of numerous financial sacrifices and difficulties; it is inconceivable that these technicians should be kept out of the Administration for reasons of caprice or political expediency.

We cannot oppose the accelerated, practical training of Ruandese technicians, but we wish to draw the Minister's attention to the fact that those inexperienced officials, whose training is still quite rudimentary, should not be advanced ahead of their colleagues who have many years of sound training and practical experience behind them.

We believe that the latter ought to be given accelerated training for higher posts instead of being purely and simply pushed out.

consider those proposals. It has continued unceasingly to pursue by all possible means its policy of political oppression, of extermination of a particular political group - the Nationalist group - and of a particular ethnic group - the Tutsi tribe.

The Minister of African Affairs, although kept regularly informed of the situation, has never reacted. There can be no doubt remaining, therefore, that the Ministry of African Affairs completely approves of its local Administration.

We are determined never to agree again to any further discussion with the Administration so long as it persists in its hostile attitude toward our party.

We expect, and will only be convinced by, positive and sincere action.

I have the honour to be, etc.

For the UNION NATIONALE RUANDAISE,

RUTSINDINTWARANE, J.N.,

Chairman

KAREMA, E.,

Representatives of the Party in the
Special Interim Council

NCOGOZABAHIZI, K.

14 October 1960

Subject: Conversation of 12 October 1960

To the Minister for African Affairs at Usumbura.

Sir,

Further to our conversation of 12 October 1960, relating to the enlargement of the Special Interim Council, to the establishment of an Executive and to the preparation of legislative elections, we wish to inform you of our position as stated below:

In accordance with our note to you delivered on 12 October 1960, outlining the essential questions to be resolved before any further discussion, study or exchange of views;

Referring to the copious documentation annexed to that note, documentation containing proposals for solving the numerous problems that Ruanda had, and still has, to solve, proposals which were handed to the local Administration at the proper time;

Taking into consideration the fact that the Administration has always refused to consider or discuss these proposals, and that it has thereby aggravated the situation and complicated certain problems that could easily have been solved at the proper time;

Taking into consideration the persecution with which the Administration unceasingly harries our party, aimed at completely eliminating our members from the political scene and social life, and at bringing about their economic ruin:

- eliminating it from the political scene by the suppression of all our fundamental freedoms and rights,
- eliminating it from social life by encouraging and promoting systematic and large-scale expulsions of our members, the dismissals of numerous technicians because of "UNAR tendencies", dismissals and restrictions on the admission of students because they are the children of known members of our party, etc.,

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- ruining the members of our party economically by toleration of looting, fire-raising, and slaughtering of livestock, incidents during which a great many of our members lost their lives;

In consequence and in consideration of the foregoing, the Union Nationale Ruandaise deems it advisable to issue no proposal other than those set forth in its note of 12 October 1960.

Since, Sir, it would be utopian to ask our members to participate in the institutions of a state in which our party has no recognized status and in which none of our members' rights or liberties is safeguarded.

However, Sir, being aware of the necessity, urgency, and importance of realizing the aims expressed in our note of 12 October 1960, the Union Nationale Ruandaise is prepared to participate in their study and implementation.

We have the honour to be, etc.

For the Interim National Committee of the
Union Nationale Ruandaise

The Chairman,
RUTSINDINTWARANE, J.N.
(Signed: Illegible)

The Treasurer,
PILIKANYI, TH.
(Signed: Illegible)
