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PETITION FROM THE "MOUVEMENT POUR L'UNION RUANDAISE (MUR)"
CONCERNING RUANDA-URUNDI

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Bukavu, 1 August 1960

MOUVEMENT POUR UNION RUANDAISE
"M.U.R."

NOTE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE, temporarily at
BUKAVU

Sir,

We take the liberty, with profound respect, of informing you of our astonishment at the acts of sabotage with which the Usumbura Government allows the monarchist parties to be threatened, while the Administration tolerates the continued existence of a large number of eccentric politicians: The Kigali Interim Council.

The appointments of Messrs. Anastse MAKUZA, an influential leader of the "PARMEHUTU" party, as principal assistant district officer at Kigali (Vice-Special Resident), and Dominique MBONYUMUTWA, as the chief of an Interim Chiefdom, as also Aloys MUNYANGAJU, the editor of "Temps Nouveaux", lead us to believe that the Resident-General and the Special Resident chose them because they had set themselves violently against the continued existence of UNAR and the lives of the Batutsi.

These persons are working in the Special "Interim" Council for the interests of their own party and for their private interests, and in order to intimidate the inhabitants into voting for their party, instead of working for the good of the State and the security of lives and property. They are fulfilling three or four incompatible functions simultaneously.

We therefore affirm the incompatibility of the duties accumulated by the said persons and the injustice of their usurpation of the powers belonging to others by a pure and complex dictatorship.

For a long time now, these persons have been working to divide the country; we believe that the purpose of their appointment was to further division in Ruanda, or rather to further the destruction of lives and property in order that independence should fall into the hands of poor wretches.

Besides, we all know that the Statute forbade officials of the Administration to engage in politics.

With regard to the representatives of the three parties (Aprosoma, Parmehutu, and Rader) which call themselves: "three large national parties", adding a fourth: Unar (which is not well thought of), these three parties are making efforts to obstruct the representation of the other parties (MUR - MONOR - UMAR - UAARU) on the pretext that these parties are satellites of Unar. The fact is that Aprosoma, Parmehutu and Rader are not merely satellites of each other, they are a single party. -

We consider that the catastrophe brought about by certain members of these parties, in obedience to colonial officialdom, was a deliberately provoked public calamity, liable to involve very unpleasant consequences, not only for the Batutsi and for Unar and the Monarchists of all races who are threatened with immediate peril, but also for all Ruanda and therefore for Africa as a whole.

The promoters and organizers of these catastrophes and of the said calamity enjoy complete impunity and, while the country is being ruined by their activities, the Administration appoints them interim chiefs and sub-chiefs, principal district officers and even members of the Kigali Special "Interim" Council, and now they are all due to replace the district administrators and to usurp the powers of the Mwami and of the High Council of the State.

We are not ignorant that the aim of these murderous measures is to prevent Ruanda, or the members of Unar and all true nationals and nationalists, from attaining independence in the near future in conditions of peace, tranquillity and national economic prosperity; and if independence does come, it will only be after the extermination of the Tutsi race and particularly of the members of Unar, the protagonists of immediate Ruandese independence within Africa, and of all the other monarchist parties (MUR - MOMOR - UAARU - UMAR) who would not take part in the communal elections.

Having regard to the incompatibility of functions already mentioned, and the communist practices employed by the parties represented on the provisional Interim Council, aided by and in aid of the Belgian colonialists, we vigorously denounce the participation of these provisional Interim Councillors in all councils and discussions, as well as the enforced and faked communal elections.

Parmehutu and Aprosoma

At Kigali, the Administration had a barrier erected by young men, members of Parmehutu and Aprosoma, who tortured all Unar supporters (or independent) passing by and forced them to accept Parmehutu or Aprosoma membership cards.

There is a Ruandese saying: "He who wants the lion's share calls himself the greatest". - That is how the arsonists operate, pretending to be under instructions from the District Administrators.

There is a French proverb: "So many men, so many minds". Why then fear these small parties? It is a fact that a large number of the present representatives have been instigating disturbances and even participated in the bloody events in Ruanda during November 1959, and from that time to this have been leaders of the arsonists.

Brutalities

From 2 November 1960 onwards, the Administrators, Assistant District Administrators and Interim Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs have continued to persecute the Batutsi, to have them driven out of their homes, to burn down their houses,

to maltreat their women and their children, and even to incite savages to burn down the houses of Ruandese widows and those of all members of political parties faithful to the Ruandese dynasty. -

By way of example, Chief RWIYAMIRIRA was removed from office, and the Administrator replaced him by an interim chief, Augustin Kamoso; the latter, to strengthen his precarious authority, plotted against ex-chief RWIYAMIRIRA, who had been removed because he was a Mututsi and a member of Unar, and the Administrator placed the ex-chief in an assigned residence, as a result of which he could not defend himself for several months; Administrator KIRSCH of Shangugu even went as far as to prevent RWIYAMIRIRA's wife from visiting her husband, except under the supervision of a spy.

For months, his wife and children were left abandoned.

Sub-Chief BAGIRISHYA was turned out of his home by Administrator KIRSCH, as the result of a plot by one Boniface KANUMA, a member of the opposing party (Aprosoma), and was obliged to abandon his family. He was placed in an assigned residence without having committed any wrong. He is not being provided with food or even with bedding.

Sub-Chief BIKAMBA was also turned out of his home as a result of the vexatious measures ordered by Mr. KIRSCH.

The families of these victims, in particular their wives and their daughters, are at the mercy of the members of the opposing parties (Parmehutu, Aprosoma and Rader) and at the free disposal of the Belgian soldiers (para-commandos), and consequently many of the women were raped by ten or a score of Belgian soldiers and them by large numbers of the Parmehutu Party at the instigation of the soldiers, under the authority and supervision of Belgian officers or non-commissioned officers. Some of these female persons were taken to hospitals and others were not attended to.

The Lavigerie Missionary Newspaper "Temps Nouveaux" of Usumbura has never said a word on their behalf. But they intervene on behalf of the Belgians, imagining that their women are not the same, and they forget the scandalous example set by the Belgian soldiers. The members of Parmehutu and Aprosoma are the tools of colonialist propoganda and agents in the extermination of Ruandese families.

Vested with ever-growing powers of oppression, some officials of the Administration, the members of Aprosoma, Parmahutu and Rader, the interim chiefs and sub-chiefs, who are members of the said parties, as well as some of the settlers and the missionaries of the Association des Missions Catholiques who see their material and personal interests at stake, provoke the murder, torture, and maltreatment of a whole section of the population and destroy the country without any care for the future or for the plight of the Ruandese people. They only have to say a word to their flock, their assistants or propagandists.

This results in irreparable losses in lives and property and the corruption of morals. It is a deliberately provoked public calamity.

So far as the five nationalists are concerned, the protection and pacification of the Banyarwanda presents simple problems; but dismissed officials and disguised avengers turn them into problems on a world scale. The solving of these problems cannot be left to the Resident-General or the "Special" (military) Resident whose impartiality is necessarily suspect and whose particular private interests will not permit him to take effective and fair measures for the protection of all races. The evidence is indisputable: we emphasize the fact that from November 1959 up to the present time the murders have increased as fast as Parmehutu has conquered new territory, without any categorical opposition from the Administration.

The shameful sentence under which a father is turned out of his home and his family left at the mercy of its enemies (as was the case with ex-chief Tharcice ZIMURINDA of Astrida, ex-sub-chief BAGIRISHYA and many others) is a typical measure leading to calamity and extermination.

It is universally recognized that in civilized countries citizens may live where they wish, and vote or abstain from voting as they wish, without being subject to physical coercion, torture and intimidation, and that, in short, they are free to dispose of their property and of their wives. Clearly, therefore, our wives cannot continue to be handed over to the Belgian paracommandos, and to those members of Parmehutu who imitate their acts of terrorism, without destroying the very raison d'etre of Belgian trusteeship in Ruanda, a trusteeship which has become murderous despite the recommendations of the United Nations Visiting Mission which was here from 2 to 31 March 1960.

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What do you think, Sir, of the flat refusal to allow husbands to enjoy the company of their wives and take care of their children - to feed them, educate them and to live with them? In order to disguise their activities the colonialists send out arsonists, finance their political party, arrange their transport and plan extermination programmes for them.

Yet Belgium complains that the Congolese soldiers, who were trained by Belgium itself, have been raping their women, that is, Belgian women and girls, while in the Territory of Ruanda under their grim trusteeship, Parmehutu para-commandos, instructed by and imitating the Belgian para-commandos rape indigenous women and girls and kill their husbands and their fathers at the same time. And in order to leave the way clear for torture and rape, several fathers of families are shot or removed or driven from the family home, or disappear mysteriously.

The shops of Unar or neutral traders of Mutusi origin or even Bahutu Unar members have been plundered and then destroyed, while the Administration encourages the gang leaders and stands by and applauds everything. The Belgian Government and Administration turn a deaf ear and, as it were, pass by on the other side.

We also protest vigorously against the placing of the Chairman of Unar, Mr. RUTSINDINTWARANE, under restraint, and the Administration's prohibition of all access to his dwelling. His Majesty King KIGELI V has been prevented from visiting Ruanda during the elections; so that he also is barred from legitimate action in his own country. Prince SUBIKA has been put in prison. He was groundlessly accused of sabotaging the artificial communal elections. If these elections had not been clearly directed against the national life of the State, no one would have abstained in the elections or sabotaged them.

We urgently and solemnly appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Security Council and to yourself, to bring an immediate end to the massacres, arson, rape, pillage and devastation which have ravaged this country, and still continue, under military protection, despite the presence of the Belgian Trusteeship authority and its para-commandos, to ravage the country through the agency of malefactors and by means of the appointment of their interim chiefs and sub-chiefs, members and supporters of the political parties (Parmehutu and Aprosoma) to administrative positions.

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The following is the enthusiastic comment which they published in Rudipresse No. 166, page 9; these disturbances stemmed directly from "the refusal of certain Tutsi of the Mvejuru chiefdom to assist like the Hutu in carrying barrels of DDT intended for the spraying of huts. Orders regarding this transportation had been given by the sub-chief."

Indeed the Mututsi is not, with certain exceptions, accustomed to carrying burdens on his head. It is like asking a white man who has never carried burdens on his head to perform such a duty.

Does Belgium intend to grant independence to Ruanda only when it has lost all its inhabitants and its property and when its economy is ruined?

The most valuable resources of the State (men, women, children, domestic animals, houses, coffee and banana plantations) are being destroyed. We make particular mention of the property of Unar members or Independents, which has been destroyed by members of Parmehutu while the Belgian soldiers and the Belgian district administrators for Ruanda look on mockingly at these catastrophic events.

The survivors are condemned and tortured, without defence, deported, removed to other districts and expropriated, without compensation or social protection for persons and property, and without shame.

The Belgian soldiers, instead of bringing peace and order to Ruanda, bring terror and vengeance. It must not be forgotten that the women who have been raped are still in misery in hospitals, ignorant of where their husbands have been removed to.

There can be no doubt that posterity will judge these heinous crimes severely.

What is the good of putting on an angelic air before the sovereign nations while conniving at what is going on in Ruanda?

All this time, the state of emergency (to facilitate shootings) is putting Ruanda in peril, thanks to the policy of dismissals secretly favouring Parmehutu (the party of the destructions and calamities, the authors of the catastrophies), and the fact that the malefactors do not hesitate to pursue their criminal designs (murders, arson, theft, rape with the aid of armed violence, etc.) in the presence of the Belgian colonial administration. The persecution of black nationalists and in particular of the nationals of Ruanda is thus continued in a disguised form.

We venture to ask the exact date of the trial of the para-commandos who recently shot the innocent persons named below, who were at Gikongolo in Bufundu, Astrida district:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) MUNYANDEKWE of Remera | (14) MUGWENDERI |
| (2) NYIRAHENE " | (15) MUNYAKAZI |
| (3) SEFARA | (16) GAPYISI |
| (4) RWANDEKWE | (17) SEKABGA |
| (5) MUHUNDE | (18) NAHAYO |
| (6) MUJYAMBERE | (19) RUBERANDINDA |
| (7) KANYABUJIJI | (20) RWAMBONERA |
| (8) SABUHORO | (21) GAHURANYI |
| (9) NGEGERA | (22) SEBISAHO |
| (10) KAGURUBE | (23) MUNYANTWARI |
| (11) MUNYANDINDA | (24) NYIRATNTWARI |
| (12) KABERA | (25) RWBARINDA |
| (13) GASEKURUME | (26) MUGUNGA and (27) MUKANTWARI. |

Also, the attack which took place in November 1959 was provoked by members of Aprosuma and Parmehutu and was undoubtedly illegal. The first Mututsi (the son of NAHO) to be killed at Gitarama had taken refuge at the local hotel, which was managed by a Belgian, and had been turned out by a district administrator, whereupon his assassins attacked him and put him to death. Later, his father was summarily sentenced to ten years penal servitude. Such then is Belgian justice, based on colonialism.

We protest once and for all against the shooting at Astrida and Gitarama of persons who had never committed any crime (including women and young girls), and who were neither armed nor adopting a threatening or dangerous attitude, during the visit of the United Nations Mission, as well as against the licenced arson and rape, in particular at Gisenyi and Shangugu (Cyesha) and throughout the Territory of Ruanda, and against the attacks and crimes perpetrated against nationals and their property and honour by the terrorists after the visit of the said United Nations Mission and before its arrival.

Recently, in June 1960, the para-commandos again shot down Banyarwanda at several places in the Territory. At Gikongoho alone, more than 50 persons were killed and others removed to an unknown destination.

Warlike communal elections

We would point out in this connexion that the inhabitants placed under surveillance or in assigned residence would have been elected in the communal elections but for the fact that the District Administrator took oppressive measures in order to put them out of the way; that is, he made it impossible for them to campaign or to seek election by removing them from their homes without trial.

It is amazing that through the measures taken by its territorial administrators, the Administration is wilfully turning a large number of Ruandese inhabitants into vagabonds and outlaws.

Immediately before the enforced and fraudulent elections, Chief BIDERI was finally convicted for having gone to see KING KIGERI V and on the gratuitous charge of having held meetings, although they were authorized last June. These acts on the part of the Belgian colonialist Administration contravene the United Nations Charter.

The imprisoning of those who did not wish to participate in the elections, or wished to express their views freely with regard to the warlike elections, the process of pacification which preceded them, and the acts of sabotage perpetrated by those parties which the district administrators secretly work to favour, is a measure contravening the rights to freedom of expression and of opinion. It is reasonable that no one would want to take part in an election the day before or the day after the deliberate burning of his house and the extermination of his fellows and of his family.

The publication of a patriotic newspaper was prohibited and its editor prosecuted.

Several vehicles belonging to Ruandese who were members of Unar were stopped and permanently prevented from moving in order to ensure that their owners would be unable to engage in any electioneering. It was also on the eve of the elections that sub-chiefs BAGIRISHYA and BIKAMBA were placed under surveillance.

We protest against the action of Mr. KIRSCH and other District Administrators in Ruanda, in allowing Unar members to be put to death and those who would not vote to be tortured with impunity.

Mr. MAKABUZA of Kirambo, although he had voted, was tortured and his house pillaged and destroyed. His ribs were broken and he is now near death in hospital. -- Mr. KIRSCH has made no comment on this.

Refugees

The inhabitants of Ruanda (Banyarwanda) who were members of Unar were removed to a concentration camp infected with sleeping-sickness, although the Administration denied its infectious character and the danger and existence of sleeping sickness in the newspapers while the cows which it sent there had received a prior injection of Prosolt antrycide.

In view of the incidents of November 1959, the irreparable losses suffered and the irresistible impulse to defend oneself, we maintain that any homicide which may have been committed by Banyarwanda, and the defence measures taken as a result of the burning down of the homes of Bahutu and Batutsi members of Unar were dictated by urgent necessity and lawful self-defence, and the need to defend others against immediate and overwhelming personal perils, and indeed perils to the whole country. Moreover, these burnings were perpetrated deliberately in order to provoke Unar. Proof of this is furnished by the following extract from "Temps Nouveaux", No. 39, of Sunday, 27 September 1959:

"We feel that there is reason to utter a great sigh of relief for all who seek light, but have only found intrigue, confusion, misunderstanding, all wrapped up in a great conspiracy of silence."

And further on Mr. MUNYANGAJU continues (speaking of Mr. F. RUKÉBA) "it would be unfortunate for a speaker to be no more than a robot set up to shout to the crowd 'Forward to glory', when in reality someone behind the scenes is leading him to the slaughter-house."

If we look closely at this article by Mr. Aloys MUNYANGAJU and at other articles which preceded and followed it, we realize that the bloody events which occurred in Ruanda in November 1959 were deliberately provoked; this statement by the leaders of Aprosoma and Parmehutu bears out the fact.

Again, the Resident-General told the United Nations Visiting Mission that if Chiefs RWANGOMEGA, KAYIHURA, MUNGARURIRE and others had accepted their disciplinary transfer to other chiefdoms, we would not have suffered this catastrophe.

The fact is that it would have been wrong for them (the November refugees and those who were condemned) not to have made proper use of their mental faculties and to have ignored the natural sanctions resulting from the absence of protection for life and property. Nobody can be expected to look on passively when their material or moral welfare is in jeopardy.

Conclusions

We urgently request the immediate intervention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the Security Council, and of the free world, to wipe out the banditry and ignominious communism practised both by Parmehutu and by the Administration. Alternatively, we regret that the United Nations should have placed us under the tutelage of sowers of dissension and disruption, and beseech it kindly to abolish this inoperative Trusteeship.

One effective remedy would be to arrest, convict and reduce to impotence those who, in addition to being deputies of the colonialists, are the instigators and organizers of the catastrophes and public calamities suffered by Ruanda.

The failure to arrest these conspirators, and the implicit encouragement given these dividers of the people, indicate connivance on the part of the local Administration at these political activities which have developed into criminal operations; for silence means consent.

With profound respect, we take the liberty of beseeching the United Nations to bring about the immediate release of the political prisoners who committed homicide in self-defence, or in defending their families and the national life of Ruanda against the ring-leaders and instigators of the pillage, devastation and arson, and rape and extortion committed with the aid of violence, all aimed at the massacre of persons and the destruction of property.

The accusations brought against Unar by Mr. MUNYANGJU and his friends are contrary to the truth. The criminals are the members of Parmehutu and Aprosoma, of which he is a member. These accusations are attempts to exculpate himself.

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We appeal to your benevolence and to that of the United Nations for the replacement of the Belgian forces by a United Nations force, in order to afford due protection to human life. Is it not amazing that, whereas Belgium provides for the protection of animals in the National Parks, it no longer accords such protection to human beings on the grounds that they are Batutsi, on the threshold of an independence which they requested, that request being considered as a crime (lèse-majesté towards Belgium) by the higher officials of the Ruanda Administration; and that all the monarchist parties should be tortured, persecuted, killed or left in insalubrious and lethal places like NYAMATA to die of sleeping-sickness, starvation, typhoid, and so forth?

Accept, Sir, this expression of our highest consideration.

(Signed: illegible) (Signed: illegible)

Secretary

Chairman

For the Mouvement d'Union Ruandaise,

"MUR".
