

ICTR-99-52-T
PROS. EXH. P115/6B
4.6.03

P115/6/B

K0153360

J. H. Gitera
B.P. 99
Butare

7 May 1976

Subject: Protocol on National Reconciliation among Rwandans.

*"Ubu turashaka kunga bundi bushya Abatura-Rwanda ubwabo...
Turemeza rwose ko tutagera ku majyambere n'ubukungu
bw'igihugu mu myiryane n'inzangano mu Banyarwanda".*

(MRND manifesto, page 7).

To His Excellency
Major-General Juvénal HABYARIMANA
President of the Republic of Rwanda
Chairman-Founder of the MRND

Mr. President,

I have the honour to take your gesture of hailing me as you were leaving the University Guest House after your visit to Butare, saying, "Mr. GITERA, draw up a Protocol for the National reconciliation of Rwandan for me." This was an invitation as well as a paternal order from the Father of the Nation, to enlist my contribution in seeking a solution to this grave national problem. I am pleased, Sir, to commune with you on the MRND Manifesto, the veracity and viability of which repose on the national reconciliation among Rwandans, so that they can progress hand in hand. As a matter of fact, which co-ordinated movement can be effected in this tussle of hatred, insults and centuries of racial or ethnic contempt?

Furthermore, Mr. President, following my question about

*"Kunga Abaturarwanda". You asked me this question:
"Abatutsi n'Abahutu bapfuye iki, barapfaiki?"
My answer was, "Twapfuye kandi turapfa Ubutegetsu",
the Rwandan National Power.*

To grasp the difficulty, or even the near impossibility of reconciling them over this issue, herewith some historical details:

Founding of the old Tutsi kingdom, as described in the oral and written Rwandan ancestral culture.

This is the enigma of a glaring, revolting truth: the core of the whole Tutsi royal administrative system which expresses, word for word:

1. The plan envisaged by the Tutsi and successful too,
2. The means used,
3. The results achieved:

*"Dore umugani,
N'uzava ikamugani,
azasange ubukombe bw'umugani,
buziritse ku muganda w'inzu.
Ubusa bwaritse ku manga,
Agaca karacuranga,
Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga.
Harabaye ntihakabe,
hapfuye imbwa n'imbeba,
hasigara inka n'ingoma."*

In these enigmatic sentences, Your Excellency, please follow and grasp the horrible domination of the Tutsi over the Hutus and Twas, the substantial and decisive resources put in place to ensure their age-old domination.

K0153362

1. The envisaged and successful plan:

"Ubusa bwaritse ku manga".

This Ubusa, by a Tutsi minority, was imposed and established by force, on the Hutu masses and the small people, more precisely, over the heaps of corpses of Hutu Princes called the Abahinza.

2. Means used:

"Agaca gacuranga"

Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga"

The Tutsis dealt with the Hutu masses like a hawk, among defenceless chicks, while the Tutsi women, *Nyiramusambi*, surpassed themselves in alluring charm, corrupting and captivating the Hutu males to their own perdition, but to the advantage of the Tutsis.

3. Results achieved:

"Harabaye ntihakabe,

Hapfuye imbwa n'imbaba,

Hasigara inka n'ingoma".

Thus ended several Bami Hutus (Abahinza).

Finished and never to be spoken about again.

Those Hutu dogs and rats died. Only the "Bene inka et bene ingoma" - meaning , leaving only Tutsis!!! [in the country].

Your Excellency, here try to fathom and understand the depth of wickedness in the subtle, mild tactics resorted to by the Tutsis of the past and the present against the Hutus:

"Agaca gacuranga" - unfettered killings; while *Nyiramusambi asabagirira inanga* meaning the Tutsi woman is there, well placed for *"Guceza"*.

In my humble opinion, it is an unforgivable act of stupidity on the part of Hutu.

II. The tottering and collapse of Tutsi national power.

In 1958, under Mwami Mutara III Rudahigwa, a Hutu delegation made up of pioneers of the Hutu Social Movement [which I had the honour to lead] presented itself before the Mwami and his Supreme Council of the Country, all of whom were Tutsis, but for two. All professing to the Common Kinyarwanda Father, the Rudahigwa, Revolutionary, Democratic Mwami whose Motto was, *"Imbaga y'Inyabutatu ijya imbere"*, meaning our proportional share of the National Wealth, as well as National Reconciliation between the Tutsi and the Hutu.

As a Protocol for Reconciliation, we demand that: the venerable mortal remains of our ancestors, that are hanging from the Kalinga as a sign of the ignominy of servitude and as immortal trophies, be brought down and be given befitting official burial.

Rudahigwa and his aides, who were astonished were dumbfounded and furious, declared, "There is no Tutsi-Hutu problem in Rwanda; as there is no brotherhood

between Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda, they have nothing in common, except "Domination and servitude". Mwami Rudahigwa thus confirmed ancient history:

*"Harabaye ntihakabe,
Hapfuye imbwa n'imbaba,
Hasigara inka n'ingoma".*

Upon the death of Rudahigwa, Kigali V and his entourage wanted to put an end to that intricate problem, impossible to resolve: Reconcile "SAKABAKA na RUSAKE".

They unleashed the Movement Unitariste [the 1959 Unitarian Movement] that is, the bloody 1959 to 1960 Revolution.

III. Seizure of power by the Hutu.

The Hutu, vigilant and united, did not allow himself to be trampled on; he fought valiantly. His vigilance, unity and strength led to a resounding victory: The Proclamation of the Republic of Rwanda on 28 January 1961, her present stability, under the leadership of His Excellency Major-General Juvénal HABYARIMANA.

Here, sir, are two major, serious cases of power conflict: Tutsi against Hutu for four centuries now; and Hutu against Tutsi for 15 years now.

And we must reconcile them!!!

IV. Reconciliation

Reconciliation goes hand in hand with Restoration, with a thousand apologies and mutual forgiveness, brotherly feasts and pacts for everlasting loyalty.

The Tutsi Mutara III Rudahigwa, Kigeli V Ndahindurwa and consorts were unable to reconcile Tutsis with the Hutus, as they could not divest the Tutsis of what they had taken from the Hutus, and hand it back to the Hutus.

President of our Republic of Rwanda, a Rwandan Hutu, please state whether, in return for reconciliation, you could return to the Hutus the National Power that they [Hutus] won through free and fair democratic elections.

Sir, here the difficulty makes it well nigh impossible.

V. Protocol for National Reconciliation and Reconciliation among Rwandans.**1. Who to effect Reconciliation**

You, Mr. President of the Republic of Rwanda, the Chairman and Founder of the MRND, are better placed than Mutara III Rudahigwa and his Council of the Country in their crass ignorance of the problem.

Better than Kigeli V and his entourage with their solution through a bloodbath. Better than KAYIBANDA in the short-term view adopted by the racist, regionalist Parmehutu. solution.

Better than all of those, the opportunity and imperious duty falls squarely on you, to secure national reconciliation, without which the MRND, its Manifesto and Statutes will look like mere vain words.

2. How can we succeed in this intricate, extremely urgent operation?

"Sagamba! Sagamba! Sagamba!"

The young Rwandan songster who sang "*Sagamba*", a song we love to listen to on Radio Rwanda, summed it up in this passage:

*Sagamba, urandura ibisigisi by'amatiku
n'amatiriganya mu Rwanda,
Sagamba, ushyigikiwe n'urugamba,
uwica umugambi si umunyarwanda".*

The young singer gives a satisfactory formula for the protocol for the National Reconciliation of Rwandans.

Let us now turn to this old Rwandan singer, who touches our hearts, when he talks of His Excellency the Major General, President of the Republic, Chairman and Founder of the MRND party, with compelling eloquence:

*"Sugira, Sagamba,
Hunda ubugeri,
Umugome ari ku muguzi.
Umugomoke ari mu ngoma!"
"Zirimo Nyamukurura,
Mukuru w'Ingoma
Kurura wishyira,
Senya amarumba,
Wange Amadumbu".*

Your Excellency, allow me to borrow those lines from the popular poem by the old Rwandan singer, titled "Sugira Sagamba", as they are pregnant with meaning. I have the honour to present those lines to you and your closest aides and speak straight to your heart and soul, as eager as you are for peace, unity, equality and fraternity among Rwandans. I am taking the liberty of proposing the above to you as a Protocol for National Reconciliation in Rwanda.

Yes, Excellency, "*Sugira, Sagamba, Hunda ubugeri*".

Sugira, "Be Isugi, Musumba bose".

Be unique and be the First of all the sons of Rwanda, to give Rwandans peace, unity and fraternity. Be the first ever, through national reconciliation, to give a common impetus towards Progress.

"Bashokane isibo mu Majyambere."

Oui, Sugira, "sois isugi Mubyara Rwanda".

Be the unique and first father of the purified, fortified, united Rwandan nation: The renovated Rwanda:

"Pfukama ubyare umunyarwanda mushya, Excellence!

Yes, Sugira: "Be pure and unadulterated!".

2. *Sagamba. Sois icyamamare cy'ubukombe:* That giant, that strongman with extended powers, whose deeds and fame go beyond limits.

"Sagamba, Sagamba, Mr. President.

3. *Hunda ubugeri* =

May your personality personify and identify the beautiful Rwanda to which your creative action will give the appearance of a beautiful, vast field laden with abundance and ripeness: "*Uhunze Ubugeri*" = a lone variety = *Umunyarwanda Mushya*: full of whiteness and savour.

V. How? And by what means?

*Umugome ari ku mugozi,
Umugomoke ari ku ngoma!*

There is no other means.

Yes, Sir, Abagome and Abagomoke, on the same battlefield, same equipment and same armament, who won the victory?

Or still, after a victory won at a very high cost, with the victor and the vanquished in disguise are invited to the banquet and sit at the best places, what will be the good of winning a victory? = the victory of Hannibal the African.

Yes, your Excellency, you and the Rwanda you personify, you cannot

*"Gusugira, Gusagamba, Guhunda ubugeri,
Umugome atari ku mugozi,
Umugomoke atari mu ngoma"; it is impossible!*

K0153369

1. *What is Umugome?*
2. *What is Umugomoke?*
3. *How umugome ku mugozi?*
4. *How umugomoke mu ngoma?*

1. What is Umugome?

He is that pretentious Tutsi who, with his Hutu slave and his jester of a Twa and hound, exiled themselves from Rwanda because of their misdeeds and are scheming evil against Rwanda and the Rwandans.

He is yet that vindictive Tutsi, who with his Hutu courtier and his Twa, who by his orders, are rearing their heads (Bazine mayora) like serpents, ready to devour the unconscious Rwanda and the Rwandans: both are in constant communication, and in close collaboration, to wreak their revenge on the Republic of Rwanda, its founders and occupants, for the affront and contempt for the monarch: "*Banze umwami*".

It is this wicked two-headed dragon, the one in Rwanda and the other abroad. That's: umugome. Is his existence imaginary??? Certainly not!

1. *What is Umugomoke?*

He is this Rwandan who has gladly made his definitive choice. He is 100% Republican. He is an MRND member with all his heart and soul. He is umunyarwanda mushya, whose spirit is purified against any feudal complex. He impatiently awaits the final crafting of the Constitution for the Second Republic, to create a New Rwanda.

That is Umugomoke.

2. *How umugome ku mugenzi?*

He will be dirty, savage and unworthy of the magnanimity of our Republic of Rwanda and its President and his aides, all of who cherish peace and unity. He would seek to restore the Tutsi iniquity: to kill, mutilate and hang up the remains of those *Abagomes* as trophies mounted on a standard.

In my humble opinion, the *umugome*, once really identified, will be sufficiently bound by a constitutional law governing banishment and de-naturalization.

From abroad or within the country, or wherever he may be, may he never see the Republic of Rwanda and its subjects again. And may he never be Rwandan again, as he nurses murderous hatred against them.

His property shall revert to the nation.

3. *How umugomoke mu ngoma?*

To this blessed New Rwandan we say Peace, Unity, Fraternity and Equality. He is no longer the pretentious Tutsi resorting to iniquitous crimes: killings, corruption, wiles and deceit.

He is no longer the Twa: the hunting dog, killer subjected to the will of his Tutsi master, as well as his jester.

He is no longer the Hutu, miserable servant, house rat, who lives only on the *Imiranga* of his Tutsi master.

Henceforth, they are all New Rwandans, Republicans and MRND militants. They are the eternal architects of the New Rwanda.

To this *Umugomoke*, Rwanda with all her graces, charms and beauty are his to enjoy in peace, unity and progress.

It is for the Constitution of the second Republic to decide definitively on the criteria, rights and obligations, and the honours to be awarded by the New Rwanda and for ever banish, that is to say, "seize" "*Kurandura*" and "Erase". "*Kuzimanganya ibisigisigi by'amatiku n'amatiriganya mu Rwanda, bishingiye ku moko*".

Therefore, in my opinion, purely and simply, *the "munyarwanda mushya* would have no other *ubwoko* than to be Rwandan".

Furthermore, Mr. President, Rwandan songster and prophet of old continues to talk to you, insistently:

*"Zirimo Nyamukurura
Mukuru w'Ingoma
Kurura wishyira
Senya amarumbu
Wange amadumbu"*

Yes, Your Excellency, this word of wisdom is addressed to you; the wisdom of that Rwandan poet is addressing you; as the Rwandan Hutu you are, you are more than that, by virtue of your destiny and determination "*mu gihe mwiyeje gufata ubuyobozi bw'igihugu*". Since then "*Nyamukurura, Mukuru w'Ingoma*": What honour, but also awesome responsibility!

K0153372

Your inalienable duty is therefore:

- a) *Gukurura wishyira* = Unify all around you.
- b) *Gusenya amarumba* = Dismantle factions, hostile groups, sabotage teams, those *amarumba y'impysi!*"
- c) *Kwanga amadumbu* = Those who ruffle waters, so that they can fish in peace in the troubled waters.