

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI

2717 Connecticut Ave, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20008

THE WHITE PAPER  
ON  
THE REAL CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES  
OF THE  
ATTEMPTED GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI ETHNY  
IN BURUNDI

Washington, D.C. June 26, 1972.

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THE TRUTH ON THE RECENT EVENTS  
THAT OCCURED IN BURUNDI

INTRODUCTION

Peace has been restored throughout the Republic; the enemy has been impeded from doing further harm. It is therefore possible for us to fulfill a pleasant duty towards our friends, both local and foreign : the duty of truth.

What happened in our country ? We are going to unfold the details to our friends and African brothers who immediately offered help. To President Mobutu Sese Seko and to the great people of Zaire who gave us military assistance and material and important logistic support - To President Julius Nyerre and to the great people of Tanzania who furnished us with arms which were highly appreciated - To the Vice President of the Republic of Somalia and to the Secretary General of OUA who gave us assurances of their active solidarity - To all the Heads of State, and to the African Movement who sent to the President of the Republic, Colonel Michel Micombero and to the Burundese people messages of sympathy and support.

We feel obliged to explain this truth also to the countries with whom we have friendly relations of cooperation, who stepped forth to help us.

WE ALSO OWE THE TRUTH TO ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL AND FAITH, WHEREVER THEY BE, SO THAT THEY ARE NOT POISONED BY THE CAMPAIGN OF LIES, DIFFAMATION AND SLANDER THAT CERTAIN FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS, IN FINANCIAL TROUBLE OR LABOURING FOR SENSATIONAL NEWS, DELIGHTED IN, AND SCORED THUS TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF OUR COUNTRY.

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This same press, we know it for a fact, is in the service of those who cannot to see BURUNDI UNITED, STRONG, AND AMONG THE PROGRESSIVE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA. It is in the service of evil forces who desire to see Africa and Burundi humiliated, divided and on its knees. We are <sup>sure</sup> aware that they will close their eyes and ears, afraid of hearing the truth and seeing the light. But truth is stubborn and in the end will prevail.

THE WAVE OF EVENTS

It was the 29th of April. (between 7 and 8.30 p.m.) gangs of about 10,000 national and foreign, armed with poisoned machetes, bludgeons automatic weapons and MOLOTOV cocktails simultaneously broke out upon Burundi in the South (NYANZA-LAC-RUMONGE) in the West (BUJUMBURA the capital) in the centre (KIITEGA) and in the East (CANKUZA).

IN BUJUMBURA ABOUT 8.30 P.M., MANY REBEL GROUPS INTERCEPTED THE ANTENNAS OF THE VOICE OF THE REVOLUTION NEAR CAMP MUHA. TWO OFFICERS, CAPTAIN KINYOMVYI AND LIEUTENANT NDAYIKEZA, LEAVING THE OFFICERS MESS TO INQUIRE ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING, WERE SAVAGELY MUTILATED BY MACHETE BLOWS. DISCIPLINARY FORCES INTERVENED. A FEW CRIMINALS SUCCEED IN FLEEING TOWARDS THE CITY. THEY KILL BOTH SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS GOING TO CAMP MUHA AND TO THE SUBURBS OF MUSAGA. ABOUT TEN AUTOMOBILES ARE REDUCED TO CINDERS.

But the groups which attack Bujumbura are only a fragment of a contingent of 4,600 persons still engaged in massacring the populations of the regions Nyanza-Lac and Rumonge, those found on the main route Bujumbura-Nyanza-Lac.

Besides, more than 3,000 rebels from the South-East invade Burundi. It is in this region that they establish a true retrenchment camp and

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raise their flag green-red-green. The posts of VYANDA, MAKAMBA and MABANDA are beleaguered. During the same time, that is between 7 and 8:30 p.m., the post of CANKUZO to the East of the country is assaulted by about a hundred of these criminals, but they are quickly hewed by the security forces of the CANKUZO Brigade. The city of Kitega is similarly beset. During the attack on this town, the Ex-King NTARE V is killed.

IN ALL THE INVADED REGIONS, CIVIL AUTO-DEFENSE GROUPS COMPOSED OF HUTU AND TUTSI ARE APPOINTED UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE PARTY AND ITS INTEGRATE MOVEMENTS, AND THEY SECOND THE DISCIPLINARY FORCES WHO HAVE DISPLAYED THEIR REMARKABLE COURAGE. AFTER NINE DAYS, THE CHIEF OF STATE, COLONEL MICHEL MICOMBERO WAS ABLE TO BROADCAST ON THE RADIO, THE DEATH OF THE MAJORITY OF THESE CRIMINALS AND THE OVERTHROW OF THE REMAINING DEBRIS OF THE REBELLION. All these gangs attack and massacre in the same manner. They intoxicate themselves with a drug which reddens their eyes and puts them in a state of acute excitement. They are convinced that their bodies have become unpenetratable to the bullets, which according to them, turn into water, hence their slogan : MAYI, MAYI. It means the bullets are nothing but water. Their bodies are completely tatoed and scarred, and supposed to protect them also against the bullets. They are not satisfied only with killing their victims; first mutilate children, regardless of age, and in front of their parents slaughter them, then they attack women who are made to undergo undescrivable atrocities ; they are disenbowled if found pregnant, and finally it is the lot of men and the elderly, who are savagely assassinated. Houses are burnt after being plundered.

IT BECAME APPARENT VERY QUICKLY THAT THESE CRIMINALS MASSACRED IN A DEFINITE PATTERN : IN ALL POSTS AND AREAS ASSAULTED BY THEM, THESE

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BRUTES WERE GUIDED BY INDICATIONS TO VICTIMIZE PEOPLE BELONGING TO THE SAME ETHNIC GROUP. BUT IT IS COMFORTING TO NOTE THAT MANY WHO DID NOT BELONG TO THE ETHNIC GROUP FACING EXTERMINATION PREFERRED DEATH, RATHER THAN ASSASSINATE THEIR BROTHERS. OTHERS CHOSE TO ABSCOND. THE CENSUS TAKEN BY THE BEAM OF VOLUNTEERS IN CHARGE OF BURYING THE BODIES OF THE VICTIMS IS ESTIMATED AT 50,000 DEAD, WITHOUT COUNTING THE DISAPPEARED AND THE REFUGEES IN TANZANIA AND ZAIRE. ←

ORGANIZATION OF THE GENOCIDE AND THE COUP D'ETAT

THE IMPRESSIVE NUMBER OF VICTIMS (ABOUT 50,000), THE AMPLITUDE OF MEANS ADOPTED, THE PLANS, MAPS AND OTHER SEIZED DOCUMENTS, MORE THAN PROVE THE FACT THAT THE AGGRESSORS WERE NOT ONLY DESIROUS OF OVERTHROWING THE INSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC, BUT HAD A MINUTELY DRAWN UP PLAN OF SYSTEMATICALLY EXTERMINATING A COMPLETE ETHNY -TUTSI.

HERE IS AN EXAMPLE OF ONE OF THE MANY PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED IN THE REGION OF RUMONGE :

"1. ARISE, LIKE ONE MAN : ARM YOURSELF WITH SPEARS, KNIVES, MACHETES, ARROWS AND BLUDGEONS AND KILL ALL TUTSI WHEREVER HE BE.

2. PARTISANS UNITE AND KILL TO THE LAST TUTSI, REGARDLESS OF WHOM HE IS, SOLDIER OR LEADER.

3. ATTACK THE MINISTERS, GOVERNORS, COMMISSIONERS, ADMINISTRATORS, COUNSELLORS, THE FRAME OF THE TUTSI PARTI, MASSACRE THEM WITH THEIR WIVES, CHILDREN, DO NOT HESITATE TO DISEMBOUL PREGNANT WOMEN.

4. OUTDO ONE ANOTHER BY YOUR COURAGE, DISCIPLINE AND AGILITY TO EXTERMINATE EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD OF THE TUTSI ETHNY, SO THAT HISTORY IS NEVER OBLIGED TO MENTION THEM AGAIN.

5. NO EMPRISONNMENT, NO JUDGEMENT FOR THE TUTSI : ALL, WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO THE TOMB !"

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THUS WAS IT WRITTEN AND EXECUTED. ALL THE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES OF  
BURURI : COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT, COMMUNAL ADMINISTRATORS, <sup>ATTORNEYS GENERAL</sup> PROCURORS  
OF THE REPUBLIC, SUBSTITUTES, DOCTORS, ACCOUNTANTS, IN ALL 40 PERSONS  
WERE KILLED, WITHOUT COUNTING THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN, AFTER HAVING BEEN  
IGNOMINIOUSLY MUTILATED.

BESIDES, A MAP SEIZED FROM THE HOUSE OF A REBEL CHIEF, EX-MINISTER  
OF COMMUNICATION, MR. BUBIRIZA PASCAL, IS UNEQUIVOCAL. ALL PREDOMINANTLY  
TUTSI AREAS WERE MACHURED. HE HIMSELF ADMITTED IN THE PRESENCE OF THE  
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR THAT IT WAS IN THESE AREAS THAT THE MASSACRES WERE TO  
TAKE PLACE.

ABOUT 25,000 PERSONS BOTH LOCAL AND FOREIGN, MAINLY MUBELISTS, WERE  
TRAINED, OUTSIDE BURUNDI, IN THE ART OF USING WEAPONS AND SABOTAGE. THE  
PARTICIPANTS WERE UNITED BY OATH NEVER TO BETRAY ONE ANOTHER, IN ANY  
CIRCUMSTANCE.

CONTACTS WERE MADE WITH OTHER CRIMINALS RESIDING IN BURUNDI.  
CORRESPONDANTS COLLECTED FUNDS FOR SUPPORT EVERY TWO WEEKS. IT WAS IN  
THEIR HOMES THAT CRATES OF DRUGS (OPIUM), AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, AND MACHETES  
WERE FOUND. IMPORTANT AMOUNTS (NEARLY 50 MILLION BURUNDESE FRANCS) WERE  
SEIZED FROM THE HOUSE OF BARUNDI, THE LEADER OF THE MOVEMENT, AS WERE  
BLACK LISTS OF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITIES TO BE KILLED.

The UPRONA party and its integrate movement was to be dissolved  
and a new party created to replace it.

ON THE DAY OF THE ATTACK, SOCIAL EVENINGS HAD BEEN ORGANIZED  
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE SMALLEST POST AT THE INITIATIVE  
OF THE CHIEFS OF THE MOVEMENT, WITH A VIEW TO EASILY KILL ALL TUTSI.

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THIS IS THE UNVEILED AND PAINFUL TRUTH. BUT DESPITE THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT IN ATROCIOUS CONDITIONS, THE JURIDIC POWER DID NOT RETALIATE. OUR COUNTRY, WITH ITS SECULAR AND HUMAN CULTURE, IS AWARE THAT EVERY MAN IS RESPONSIBLE ONLY FOR HIMSELF. ONLY THE GUILTY WERE PUNISHED.

REACTIONS IN THE FOREIGN PRESS

DESPITE THE MULTIPLE FAILURES OF OUR ENEMIES, THEY WERE NOT DISCOURAGED. THUS IN THEIR MORBID IMAGINATION, THEY HAVE JUST FOUND YET ANOTHER DIABOLIC THREAD ENABLING THEM TO INDULGE IN CAMPAIGNS OF DENIGRATION AND LIES IN CERTAIN FOREIGN NEWSPAPERS AND, IN PARTICULAR, IN BELGIAN ONES.

Without overlooking the liberty of expression of a newspaper, one should also bear in mind that a reputed paper should be objective. Therefore, since the beginning of the tragic events in Burundi, certain leading newspapers, especially "Le Soir" and the "Cité" cheat objectivity and reproduce incorrect information.

IT IS LEGITIMATE FOR US TO BELIEVE THAT THESE NEWSPAPERS PURSUE A SUBVERSIVE GOAL BY INTOXICATING INTERNATIONAL OPINION, EXCITING THEMSELVES, BODY AND SOUL, TO SOU CONFUSION IN MINDS, PROPAGATING LIES, DISTORTED NEWS AND ALARMING RUMOURS.

TO WHAT PURPOSE IS THIS PROPAGANDA ? WHO ARE THE PRINCIPAL INSPIRERS OF THESE CALUMNIOUS AND TENDENTIAL ARTICLES ?

WE ARE AWARE THAT A MASSIVE CLANDESTINE CONSPIRACY WAS ORGANIZED BY THE ENEMIES OF UNITY OF OUR FATHERLAND ; ITS TACTICS AND STRATEGY CANNOT ESCAPE THE NOTICE OF ANYONE. NOBODY IS IGNORANT OF THE ACTIVE

PARTICIPATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN CIRCLES IN ALL THE CONSPIRACIES THAT PLUNGED OUR COUNTRY INTO MOURNING IN 1965 and 1969. NOBODY IS DECEIVED, BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT THESE SAME CIRCLES WHO TRY TO EXECUTE THEIR DIABOLIC PLANS, CONFECTIONNED SINCE 1959 TO MAKE OF BURUNDI A GAME PRESERVE, A STRONGHOLD OF NEOCOLONIALISM AND WOLVERINE IMPERIALISM. THESE HOSTILE CIRCLES ARE THE SWORDS OF DAMOCLES THAT MENACE AND MORTGAGE THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. HOPEFULLY, THESE NEWSPAPERS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE INTERNATIONAL OPINION, SO-MUCH-SO THAT INTEL-LIGENTIA TOO SYMPATHIZES WITH THESE TROUBLE-MAKERS.

THE BURUNDESE PEOPLE CONSIDER THESE NEWSPAPERS AS ACCOMPLICES AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE CAMPAIGNS OF INTOXICATION AND LIES. THEY ACCUSE THEM OF BEING MICROBIAN CENTRES WHICH FINANCE AND ENCOURAGE SUBVERSION IN OUR COUNTRY, AND TRY, AFTER THEIR PRESENT ATTEMPTS HAVE FAILED, TO CONCEAL THEIR GOALS BY RESORTING TO THE USE OF NEWSPAPERS TO DECEIVE WORLD OPINION.

WE REALIZE THAT THIS ENTIRE ROWDY CAMPAIGN IS LED BY FOREIGN ENEMIES, WHO DO NOT WISH TO SHOULDER THIS RESPONSIBILITY. THEY ARE THEREFORE TRYING TO DO AWAY WITH IT BY MEANS OF THE PRESS WHICH SERVES AS A SCREEN AND A DOCILE INSTRUMENT. IN ORDER THAT THE IMPERIALISTS BEAR THE FOLLOWING IN MIND, WE HEREBY EXPOSTULATE OUR WILL AND DETERMINATION TO OVERCOME THE FORCES OF EVIL.

They convinced and placed their weapons at the disposition of possible traitors of the Nation. Their cause is lost and their defeat is inevitable because they defend a meaningless goal.

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We do not at all intend to start a journalistic controversy, but it is our firm belief that we must officially contradict certain gratuitous assertions and false information reported in these newspapers.

GENOCIDE AGAINST TUTSI.

THE NEWSPAPERS "LE SOIR" AND "LA CITE" SPEAK OF THE GENOCIDE OF HUTU IN BURUNDI.

CERTAINLY A PLAN OF GENOCIDE WAS ESTABLISHED BY CERTAIN TRAITORS OF THE NATION, A GENOCIDE OF TUTSI. ALL TUTSI, MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN WHO CROSSED THE PATH OF THE REBELS WERE MASSACRED.

FOR MORE INFORMATION WE HAVE REPRODUCED AN EXTRACT FROM A MANIFEST OF THEIR PARTY, FOUND IN THE POCKETS OF MANY REBELS ARRESTED. IT CLEARLY SPECIFIES THEIR CRIMINAL INTENTIONS. THAT THESE NEWSPAPERS HAVE NOT COMMENTED UPON THE TRUE GENOCIDE, COMMITTED TO RUMONGE, NYANZA-LAC, MABANDA AND MAKAMBA IS INDEED DISILLUSIONNING. NO MENTION WAS MADE OF CHILDREN, WOMEN AND MEN, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND FARMERS WHO WERE MASSACRED AND MUTILATED BECAUSE THEY WERE TUTSI.

THE NEWSPAPERS ALLUDE TO THE REPRESSION BY THE ARMED FORCES OF BURUNDI AND THE CIVIL DEFENSE COMPOSED OF TUTSI AND OF HUTU. THESE FORCES ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR PARTI, BASED ON NATIONAL UNITY, AND HAVE THEREFORE BEEN ABLE TO STRANGLE THE FORCE OF EVIL.

The rebels have been justly punished for crimes committed against our people. Some were killed in actions for which they alone can be held responsible, and others met their fate for not having hindered the arrests.

WE ARE NOT CENSURING ALL HUTU AS THESE NEWSPAPERS ASSERT BUT ONLY THE GUILTY.

LET US REMEMBER THAT MANY AMONG THEM WERE CRIMINALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN ALL THE AFORESAID. TO TERMINATE THIS FRATRICIDE TRANSGRESSIONS AND APPALLING WAR, THE BURUNDESE AUTHORITY WAS OBLIGATED TO DEAL SEVERELY WITH THE GUILTY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS GENOCIDE.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF A SPONTANEOUS UPRISING OF FARMERS AS THE NEWSPAPER AFFIRMS, BUT OF A PLAN MINUTECOUSLY STUDIED AND PERFECTED AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE IMPERIALIST PLOT DESIGNED AGAINST ALL THE AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRIES. IT WAS A MATTER OF A SIMPLE COUP D'ETAT AND NOT OF THE DECIMATION OF THE TUTSI ETHNY : WHY SHOULD INNOCENT BELONGING TO THE TUTSI ETHNY HAVE BEEN MASSACRED, WHY INNOCENT CHILDREN WERE BUTCHERED, WHY PREGNANT WOMEN WERE DISEMBOWLED, AND WHY SO MANY NAMELESS HORRORS AIMED AT TUTSI WERE PLANNED AND EXECUTED IN MANY CORNERS OF BURUNDI.

PICARD DOES LITTLE ELSE BUT FUMINATE INEXACTITUDES, INCOHERENCES, AND INSANITY ; WE SHOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO ASK HIM IF HE WAS IN RUMONGE, NYAZA-LAC, MABANDA, MAKAMBA, MUTUMBA AND ELSEWHERE IN ORDER TO BETTER REPRODUCE THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THESE OUT-LANS, AND MEASURE THE RESPONSABILITY OF THE LATTER IN THIS NATIONAL DRAMA THAT WE HAVE JUST LIVED THROUGH. WE SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW IF THIS NEWSMONGER WAS ABLE TO INQUIRE ABOUT THE DISPOSITION OF THE CONDEMNED BEFORE JUDGING THEIR CULPABILITY OR THEIR INNOCENCE.

~~For~~ We comprehend Picard. In his peregrination, he bewailed the plight of the authors or accomplices of the recent strife. Our forces of security possess definite information about the subversive activities

of this ignoble person and of his participation in the events. Hence he made the effort of leaving our country before he was denounced and chastised. We cannot publicly repute the affirmations of "Le Soir" of 19th May, 1972, which speaks of the deaths of the parents of the President of the Republic, and of Commandant SHIBURA during the struggle, and of the President's family departing for BUKAVU.

We can only express indignation at a rank falsehood and at erroneous knowledge on the part of a newspaper, which should publish and verify its information.

The father of the President and Commandant SHIBURA are alive and were on the battle front to safeguard our betrayed fatherland.

THE FAMILY OF THE PRESIDENT IS IN BUJUMBURA, AND THE WIVES OF DIPLOMATS ACCREDITED TO BURUNDI BEAR WITNESS TO THIS.

With respect to the Powers who financed and supported the rebellion, we require these newspapers not to hurl unwarranted suspicions, because the truth is inveterate.

We are acquainted with the fact that journalists like to dissipate confusion ; enlighten yourselves, Sirs, the Burundese people are mature.

You prosecute us in front of the tribunal of the universal conscience, but we should like to retaliate because we are sure of our innocence.

DO NOT FORGET THAT GENOCIDE IS UNKNOWN TO OUR HISTORY AND CULTURE, AND EVEN THE WORD IS INEXISTANT IN OUR LANGUAGE. HOW CAN IT BE DIFFERENTLY ? TRIBALISM WAS UNKNOWN BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF WHITES. BEFORE COLONIALISATION, OUR SOCIETY HAD REACHED A DEGREE OF COHESION AND NATIONAL UNITY THAT MANY EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LACKED. IF YOU HAVE ANY DOUBTS , QUESTION YOUR ETHNOLOGISTS AND HISTORIANS.

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In the circumstances, it seems improper to speak of tribes in a nation where, since centuries, all the inhabitants speak the same language and worship the same God (Imana), and are subject to the same laws and authorities.

If tribalism is to be mentioned, think of the one you dissipated into our society. You craftily took advantage of the naivety or the cupidity of certain of our citizens. In a few years you destroyed the secular product of our ancestors. You distinguished between the Burundese citizens libelling them as Hutu and Tutsi. You did not stop there. You convinced Hutu of the necessity of massacring Tutsi.

ALL THIS WITH THE BEST INTERESTS IN MIND, IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY !  
OH ! DEMOCRACY, HOW MANY CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED IN YOUR NAME : BUT PROVIDENCE IS NOT DEMOCRATIC, NOR IS THE MASSACRE OF THE TUTSI MINORITY BY THE HUTU MAJORITY, WHICH FAILED IN 1960-1961, IN 1965 AND 1969, AND FINALLY AGAIN IN 1972.

WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS SMARTS AND HURTS YOUR PRIDE. WE COMPREHEND FURTHER THAT THIS INSTIGATES AN ACUTE SENSE OF CULPABILITY THAT YOU TRANSLATE INTO AGGRESSIVENESS.

You disparage us for committing genocide. If only you had the courage to come to the location instead of contenting yourself with "stories of travellers". You could obtain abundant testimony, not from the authorities, but from your compatriots, representatives of technical firms and missionaries, who witness for themselves the atrocities committed in MUTUMBA, MINAGO, BURURI, MARTYAZO, among others. They would tell you of the authors of this genocide, who indulged in these barbarous acts, crucifixions, mutilations, impalement etc.

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TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT REPRESSION TANTAMOUNTS TO GENOCIDE, THERE IS AN ABYSS BETWEEN THE TWO. WE DO NOT SPEAK OF REPRESSION BUT OF LIGITIMATE DEFENSE BECAUSE OUR COUNTRY WAS AT WAR.

AT ALL EVENTS, THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN BURUNDI AS IN ANY ANOTHER COUNTRY OF THE WORLD HAVE THE RIGHT AND THE DUTY TO PUNISH THE GUILTY. ADHERENCE TO AN ETHNIC GROUP IS NOT REASON ENOUGH FOR PENAL IMMUNITY ANY MORE THAN IT CONSTITUTES AND OFFENCE.

The law dealt firmly with all culprits regardless of the rank of those who desired to take advantage of the suffering which the Fatherland endured in order to fulfill their wanton needs and to slaughter the innocent, in full settlement of previous debts. Once again, if you are in doubt, question your compatriots.