

**Lettre de S.E. Mzee Museveni à la lettre de S.E. Nkurunziza Pierre, Président du Burundi**

Samedi 8 décembre 2018



THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Your Excellency,

I have received your letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, 2018 and I thank you so much for it, especially for its candor in expressing the real sentiments of Your Excellency and your Party, the CNDI. I have not yet, of course, consulted the other EAC members in responding to your letter. That will be done on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, 2018, when we have our Ordinary Session, if the Summit agrees. However, in the interim, I will, with equal candor, give Your Excellency my tentative responses to some of the pillar points you have raised in your letter in only 2 capacities: the President of Uganda and Chairperson for the Inter-Burundi dialogue ever since it started with Mwalimu Nyerere on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, 1998, in Mwanza.

First and foremost, your letter does not bring out the fact that, after a very long period of suffering, starting with the assassination of Rwagasore on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, 1961, the basis for resolving the chronic Burundi problem was laid by the Arusha Accord signed on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, 2000. This Accord was guaranteed by the EAC. In fact, it is the EAC, against the obstructions of the Western Powers in particular, that was part of the decisive pressure that forced the Buyoya Government to accept the Agreement. Yes, your Party, the CNDI, was engaged in an armed struggle which, no doubt, was part of the pressure on the Buyoya Tutsi Government. Nevertheless, the CNDI did not capture Bujumbura by arms. It, along with other exiles, came to Bujumbura by negotiations led by the EAC. Therefore, the EAC intervened in the internal affairs of Burundi to bring about "Democracy and security for all" in the place of the Tutsi monopoly of power in the interests of "group security" as Mwalimu summarized the issues at Mwanza. Of course, this distortion of the Tutsi quest for monopoly of power had, to some extent, been provoked by the earlier criminal massacres of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1959 organized by the Belgians together with the reactionary Hutus, like Gregory Kayibanda.





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I totally agree that the tension between Rwanda and Burundi should be discussed. This is the logic of the Common Market. The Common Market means the free flow of goods and services and the free movement of persons. How will this happen sustainably if there is tension and suspicion among member States. The present African leaders need to remind themselves of two targets: "the prosperity of our people and the strategic security of the African people". How can the families, the businesses, the companies of Africa be "prosperous"? They can only be prosperous, if they sell, on a large scale, goods and services. That is how they will get money to get rid of poverty, create jobs, access technology and expand the tax-base. Failing to realize this and generating tensions, is to let down the African people. The real danger to the strategic security of the African people is imperialism (foreign imperialism). Failing to realize this and engaging in secondary fights is a mistake.

Your Excellency, the happy news that Burundi is totally peaceful, is a very pleasant phenomenon. It does not, however, answer the issue of principle. The principles are that the chronic problem of Burundi was ended by the inter-Burundian Arusha Agreement guaranteed by the region. It is a matter of elementary courtesy and wise strategy for the principal internal actor to interact with the guarantors and some skeptical elements within Burundi to be sure that events are on course. It may not be principled to simply say: "This is my home. You neighbours you have no right to comment". Even in the past, Burundi was the home of the Burundi, not of Museveni or anybody like that. However, for some historical reasons, we had to come in, promote a formula and guarantee it. What, then, did we guarantee?

Finally, although it was not part of your letter, I must bring it to your attention that accountability is not only for the people in government. Even Liberation Movements must be held accountable. A revolutionary Movement is distinguished from a terrorist organization, not only by the cause it pursues which must be a just one, but also by the methods it uses.



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This may not be good for Africa at all. As far as the internal actors are concerned, it may also amount to manipulation – use the region when it suits you and discard it when it does not.

The other pillar issue in your letter is the issue of accountability and peace building – punishing the mistake makers and not tolerating impunity. You even ask me whether I would sit down with the coup-makers and terrorists, etc. The answer is, actually, “yes”. Uganda would never have been saved if the revolutionary forces led by myself for the last 53 years (Student Movements, Fronasa, NRM, etc.) had not both fought against and negotiated with the coup-makers, terrorists, etc. The first coup was in 1966, led by Obote; the second was in 1971, led by Amin; the 3<sup>rd</sup> was the rigged elections of 1980; etc. The actors in most of these events or their followers are now part of our government. That is how Uganda was stabilized. It is actually part of the revolutionary strategy: fight when necessary and negotiate when necessary. However, in the case of Burundi, the facilitator did not insist on the coup-makers sitting in the negotiations. What, then, is the problem? I negotiated with Kony who had killed thousands, cut off people's ears so that they do not hear his atrocities, cut off their lips so that they have no mouths with which to report his activities, etc. It is him that, in the end, refused to sign. That is when we went after him in Congo and CAR.

Why doesn't President Kagame negotiate with the Interahamwe? Well, obviously, I am not a spokesman for President Kagame. However, on quick reflection, there may be a difference between coup-makers and genocidaires. Coup-makers want power by undemocratic means. Genocidaires want to exterminate a people, part of the African people. Between 1966 and 1986, about 800,000 Ugandans were killed extrajudicially. We have, however, never used the word genocide to describe what Obote, Amin and Okello were doing in Uganda at that time. They did not aim at exterminating Baganda or Banyankore, etc. They were killing our supporters to get rid of opponents and to intimidate the rest into sub-mission.



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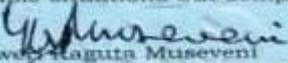
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A group that uses violence indiscriminately (killing women, children, non-combatants, etc.), its just cause notwithstanding, is ipso facto a terrorist organization. I have not been following, in the last twenty years, the detailed goings on in Burundi.

In 1972, however, I directly witnessed the criminal irresponsibility of the Hutu rebels, working with the bankrupt Mulellists of Congo, cutting children, women and non-combatants with machetes and calling themselves freedom fighters. I had actually advised Selus Mpasha, Bunaame and Biyolelo not to start a sectarian effort and not to start fighting until they had created a disciplined and ideologically clear core. The use of violence in a Revolution is like the use of the knife in surgery. If you misuse the knife, you can become a butcher instead of being a surgeon. Given the convoluted history of our countries (Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, South Sudan, etc.), the more the reason for, sometimes, using flexibility in handling these simple situations but complicated by mismanagement.

  
Yoweri Kaguta Museveni  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA/  
CHAIRPERSON REGIONAL INTER-BURUNDI DIALOGUE**

PO/11

8<sup>th</sup> December, 2018

His Excellency Pierre Nkurunziza  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI**

Copy to: His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA**  
His Excellency Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli  
**PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA**  
His Excellency Paul Kagame  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA**  
His Excellency Salva Kiir Mayardit  
**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN**

Votre Excellence,

J'ai reçu votre lettre et je vous en remercie beaucoup, en particulier pour la franchise avec laquelle vous exprimez les vrais sentiments de votre Excellence et de votre parti, le CNDI.



Bien entendu, je n'ai pas encore consulté les autres membres du CAE pour répondre à votre lettre.

Cela se fera le 27 décembre 2018, lors de notre session ordinaire, si le sommet est d'accord.

Cependant, dans l'intervalle, je donnerai, en équivalence, à Votre Excellence ma réponse provisoire à certains des points essentiels que vous avez soulevés dans votre lettre, et ce, à deux titres seulement: en tant que président de l'Ouganda et le président du Dialogue inter-Burundi, comme tout au début avec Mwalimu Nyerere le 19 juin 1998 à Mwanza.

D'abord et avant tout, votre lettre ne fait pas apparaître le fait qu'après une très longue période de souffrance, à commencer par l'assassinat de Rwagasore le 13 octobre 1961, la base du règlement du problème chronique du Burundi a été posée par l'accord d'Arusha, signé le 28 août 2000.

L'accord était garanti par la CAE. En fait, c'est la CAE, en particulier contre les obstacles des puissances occidentales, qui faisait partie de la pression décisive qui a forcé le gouvernement Buyoya à accepter l'Accord.

Oui, votre parti, le CNDI, était engagé dans une lutte armée qui, sans aucun doute, faisait partie des pressions exercées par le gouvernement tutsi de Buyoya.

Néanmoins, le CNDI n'a pas capturé Bujumbura par les armes. Avec d'autres exilés, il s'est rendu à Bujumbura au terme de négociations menées par la CAE.

Par conséquent, la CAE est intervenue dans les affaires intérieures du Burundi pour amener « la démocratie et la sécurité pour tous » à la place du monopole du pouvoir tutsi dans l'intérêt de la « sécurité du groupe » alors que Mwalimu synthétisait les problèmes à Mwanza.

*Limite de durée de mandat*

Le Burundi a connu la paix jusqu'en octobre 2015, lorsque des arguments concernant la limitation de la durée du mandat, etc. ont commencé.

C'est à ce moment-là que le CAE a de nouveau tenté de savoir ce qui se passait.

Par conséquent, votre affirmation selon laquelle la CAE se soulèverait de la souveraineté du peuple burundais en voulant connaître les dernières évolutions de la situation politique au Burundi pourrait ne pas être correcte.

Il y a le traité historique d'Arusha garanti par la région. Que signifie « garantie » ? Cela signifie que vous prenez intérêt à être sûr que ce qui a été convenu est sur la bonne voie.

Le respect des accords interétatiques, même lorsqu'ils affectent des situations internes, peut ne pas être une ingérence.

*C'est seulement ce qui a été convenu. Cependant, le fait de déclarer la fin de l'interaction unilatéralement par une partie peut ne pas être correct.*

*Cela pourrait également nuire à la crédibilité des acteurs internes et régionaux. Qui prendra alors au sérieux les garanties de la région à l'avenir dans d'autres situations?*

*L'autre pilier de votre lettre est la question de la responsabilité et de la rapidité - punir les fauteurs d'erreur et ne pas tolérer l'impunité.*

*Vous m'avez même demandé si je pouvais m'asseoir avec les putschistes et les terroristes, etc. La réponse est en fait « oui ».*

*L'Ouganda n'aurait jamais été sauvé si les forces révolutionnaires dirigées par moi-même au cours des 53 dernières années (mouvements étudiants, Fronasa, NRM, etc.) n'avaient pas combattu et négocié à la fois avec ceux qui font les coups, les terroristes, etc. en 1966, dirigé par Obote; la seconde était en 1971, dirigée par Amin; le troisième était les élections truquées de 1980; etc.*

*Les acteurs de la plupart de ces événements ou leurs suiveurs font maintenant partie de notre gouvernement.*

*C'est ainsi que l'Ouganda s'est stabilisé. Cependant, dans le cas du Burundi, le facilitateur n'a pas insisté pour que ceux qui tentent de faire des coups participent aux négociations.*

*Quel est alors le problème? J'ai négocié avec Kony qui avait tué des milliers de personnes, coupé les oreilles des gens pour qu'ils n'entendent pas ses atrocités, leur couper la bouche afin qu'ils n'aient pas la bouche pour rendre compte de ses activités, etc. C'est finalement lui qui a refusé de signer.*

*C'est à ce moment-là que nous l'avons poursuivi au Congo et en RCA.*

*Je suis tout à fait d'accord pour parler de la tension entre le Rwanda et le Burundi. C'est la logique du marché commun.*

*Le marché commun signifie que la libre circulation des biens et des services et la circulation des personnes. Comment cela se produira-t-il durablement s'il y a des tensions et des suspicions parmi les États membres?*

*Question de principe*

*Votre Excellence, la bonne nouvelle que le Burundi est totalement pacifique est un phénomène très agréable.*

*Cela ne répond toutefois pas à la question de principe. Les principes sont que le problème chronique du Burundi a été résolu par l'accord inter-burundais d'Arusha garanti par la région.*

*Il est une question de courtoisie élémentaire et de stratégie judicieuse pour le principal acteur interne d'interagir avec les garants et certains éléments sceptiques au Burundi pour s'assurer que les événements suivent leur cours.*

*Enfin, même si cela ne faisait pas partie de votre lettre, je dois attirer votre attention sur le fait que la responsabilité ne concerne pas uniquement les membres du gouvernement.*

*Même les mouvements de libération doivent être tenus pour responsables. Un mouvement révolutionnaire se distingue d'une organisation terroriste, non seulement par l'objectif qu'il poursuit, qui doit être juste, mais aussi par les méthodes qu'il utilise.*

*- Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*

*Président de la République d'Ouganda / Président du Dialogue régional inter-Burundi*