



REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE NATION

« MORENA »

I. What is MORENA?

MORENA was born in December 2015 from a decision of some Burundian patriots of different origins residing inside and outside Burundi, whose common goal is to propose to the people of Burundi the best solution to end the constant genocides and political crimes characterizing the country since 1960 up to now.

MORENA is a gathering of all Burundians of different ethnic groups, religions and regions, and has the special ambition to be a political organization people-oriented and not guided by the sharing power between the political leaders as it is arranged through the legal arrangements and the legal structure of Arusha Agreement.

II. Core values of MORENA

The core values of MORENA are: Justice, Peace and Progress.

III. The vision of MORENA

The vision of MORENA is “the construction of a country politically stabilized and judicially secured, the promotion of an economy based on internal production and exportation, as well as the promotion of a leadership characterized by integrity and justice”.

IV. Ideology of MORENA

The headlines of the ideology of MORENA are as follows:

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- The promotion of a new society based on values of integrity, justice and the respect of the human being;
- The demystification and eradication of the phenomenon of dividing conflicts;
- The attachment to the principle of “relying on our own forces”;
- Trusting in the productive work, the competence and the principle of excellency;
- Encouragement and development of the free market and good governance;
- Transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs;
- Safeguarding the best relationship with Burundian neighbors, a regional and international cooperation based on mutual advantages.

V. What are the propositions of MORENA?

a. The prevailing political situation

From 1960 up to now, except the period 1976-1987, our country never succeeded to stay stable and peaceful for a continuous period of more than four years, always confronted to civil wars, political crimes and repeated genocides between the two tribes Bahutu and Tutsi. It means that since its independence, Burundi has never got any peaceful period long enough to initiate and perform any sustainable plan of development, reason why our population is always in full poverty.

In the view of MORENA, the following phenomenons are constantly and mainly the real causes of the situation:

1°. Burundi is a country with two tribes deeply divided and where hatred has been strongly cultivated as an ideology;

2°. The phenomenon of genocide has been carefully and ideologically introduced and entertained by the colonialist power as the right solution for the tribe to end definitely its conflict with the other;

3°. Then after, the multipartism has been introduced by force by the same colonialist power to be sure that in such a country divided on ethnical basis, the



vote will be forever on tribal solidarity and not on ideological basis, and so, the majority tribe will be guaranteed for ever to dominate politically when the minority tribe will be forever dominated, in the name of multipartite democracy;

4°. The direct universal suffrage as the system of election: again, such a system of election, in a country of two divided tribes, results absolutely into a competition between a majority tribe with an automatic majority votes and a minority tribe with an automatic minority votes.

The up-described situation has constantly provoked social tension, political crimes, hatred, extra-judiciary executions and genocides, every time when Burundi organized elections through multipartism : Examples: 1961, 1965, 1993, 2005, 2010 and 2015. Many genocides have been perpetrated throughout our political history from 1961 until now, which are precisely in the following years: 1965, 1972, 1988, 1993-2003, 2015-2016. No single country in all over the world has ever done such a terrible score in a continuous sad experience. This situation has urgently to change for the good of the whole people of Burundi. All tribes need to live peacefully and in security. All that situation has been all time the consequence of political and ideological manipulations, conducted by a small group of Hutu or Tutsi intellectuals fighting to get or to keep a monopole of political power.

b. The Arusha Peace Agreement

Whatever the Arusha Peace Agreement may appear to be, as a strong solution brought to the lasting tribal conflict in Burundi, MORENA finds that instead of solving the problem, it rather worsened it, especially towards the minority tribe Tutsi.

Officially announced and presented as an agreement between the Hutu and the Tutsi tribes, the Arusha agreement was rather a political negotiation between political parties led by Bahutu and those led by Batutsi at that time. The main preoccupation of these negotiators was actually, to agree on how to share the power once back in Burundi. While the spirit of the Arusha Agreement was the best way to share power between the two tribes so that none be no more a threat



of genocide against the other, it was strangely avoided to discuss and agree on how the two tribes should alternate on the position of President of the Republic, when that is precisely the most important and top decisive area of the exercise of power. That is how the Arusha Peace Agreement came to be an unbalanced instrument, reason why the minority tribe is completely exposed to an unavoidable genocide, without no real force to resist, neither politically, nor militarily.

For these reasons, MORENA is strongly pleading for a deep re-negotiation of the Arusha Peace Agreement on a new basis to avoid any more genocide to be repeated in Burundi, and to ensure a long lasting peaceful and secure period resulting into allowing Burundi to concentrate on its economic development.

c. The overview of MORENA on the forthcoming Peace Negotiation in Arusha

1°. Introduction

If we refer to the spirit of the Arusha Peace Agreement of August 2000, the principle of sharing political power between the two tribes in Burundi had been clearly admitted and convened. The principle was based on the need and the necessity to stop for good any possible repetition of genocide in Burundi.

According to the Arusha agreement, no tribal group should be again in a so dominant position that would put the other tribe in a risk or threat of possible genocide.

Unfortunately, the way the legal and political provisions have been arranged in the Arusha Peace Agreement, as well as in the Constitution and laws derived from it, has absolutely nothing to do with that spirit or philosophy; reason why, again, Mr Nkurunziza and his ruling party CNDD-FDD are killing massively citizens from Tutsi tribe since April 2015 up to now, in spite of the presence of 50% of Tutsi in the Army and Police, and without any concrete intervention of the Regional or International forces to stop the ongoing Tutsi genocide in Burundi.



2°. The MORENA's view on the forthcoming negotiations

We are of the strong opinion that most of the opposition parties which are invited are mainly interested to get from Nkurunziza some comfortable positions in the different structures and institutions of the state. They will be likely negotiating for their own interests, as usual in the past, and not fight really for justice, security and progress people-oriented.

We are also convinced that, as it was observed during the previous negotiations inside Burundi in 1994 and outside in Arusha in 2000, these forthcoming negotiations are going to be, again, a pure and simple meeting of the biggest responsables of the prevailing crisis in Burundi, to bargain about the respective crimes they perpetrated in the recent past: those who are accountable of the assassination of late President NDADAYE, on one side, and those who are accountable of the Tutsi genocide of 1993 and that of 2015-2016, on the other side.

These criminals, some of them from the Tutsi tribe and the others from the Hutu tribe, have come over the years to constitute a strong cartel which manipulates all mediators and partners in the Burundi conflict, with the constant, full committed and hidden support of secret pressure groups from some western Europe countries or churches.

We seriously fear that, these negotiations, so organized on the same model as those of 2000 in Arusha, are probably condemned to the same result: to continue and accelerate the civil war, to comfort injustice and impunity in the country ; in a nutshell, to continue the same political system currently in force.

As far as MORENA is concerned, and considering the common background of the big fishes likely to participate in these negotiations, we have to draw the attention of the Mediator, on the big risk of a frustrating agreement which will have no other consequence than provoking the birth



of new armed rebellions to overcome definitely the political nightmare and the insecurity in which our country and people are plunged and constrained to stay since so many years, due to a team of criminal gangs always disguised into the best references when it is time to look for solutions to any Burundian crisis.

These peoples, who are notoriously known to be the real causes of the crisis in Burundi, have become, since 1993, the same to be consulted when the international or regional community is to find solution. Such a situation is becoming a public insult to the whole Burundian people and cannot prosper for longer. If these negotiations are again to be dominated by delegates from these guilty parties and political leaders, the Mediation team should be well advised to cancel or suspend them and reorganize them otherwise.

Since 1961 up to now, the permanent focal issue in the political field of Burundi is the conflict between two tribes, Bahutu and Tutsi, on whether one ethnic group should get a monopole of power, be it through democratic ways or otherwise, or both should share power. The lack of good agreement on that crucial issue has always resulted into hatred, crimes and genocides between the two groups all time manipulated by their respective groups of intellectuals. The Arusha Peace Agreement signed in August 2000 was supposed to find a solution, but it failed because of the bad moral quality of the main negotiators: those who dominated the negotiations, the biggest decision-makers in that time, were fully involved either in the coup d'Etat which assassinated late President Ndadaye or in the Tutsi genocide of 1993 which followed the death of Ndadaye. These negotiators were mainly concerned by protecting each other against prosecutions for their respective crimes, reason why they agreed to frame and arrange accordingly the political and legal provisions of the Arusha Agreement.



Now that we are heading to the new negotiations, we have to avoid to bring on board the same persons who jeopardized the Arusha Peace negotiations.

Who are to negotiate now? About what are they going to negotiate? The ongoing crisis in Burundi contains two issues: the 3rd mandate and the Tutsi genocide. Those opposing Nkurunziza on the 3rd mandate issue want him to quit or organize new elections through which they hope to win and replace him. Those are mainly hutu politicians (90%) who want to replace Nkurunziza, another hutu politician. And most of these opponents are either from CNDD-FDD or from FRODEBU party and other close or affiliated parties.

On the issue of Tutsi genocide and other crimes, we find mainly the Tutsi minority where Nkurunziza is killing whoever is from that tribe, from April 2015 up to now, and who have massively fled away in neighboring countries or forced into exile. For this group of opponents, the main preoccupation is to stop Nkurunziza from killing citizens and from perpetrating Tutsi genocide, and then, put in place, through negotiations or otherwise, a new and clear Agreement between the two tribes on which a political arrangement should prevent Burundians against any repetition of genocide.

In fact, Burundi is the only country in all over the world where co-exist two tribes deeply divided on political basis, and where an ideological hatred has caused over the years many perpetrations of genocides: 1965, 1972, 1988, 1993-2005, 2015-2016. If we put aside the only period of eleven continuous years during late President BAGAZA's leadership (1976 – 1987), that makes 17 genocides in a period of 39 years, meaning an average number of one genocide every 3 years!!! That is unbelievable !!! We have to think and find urgently an appropriate solution to end that scandalous situation. For MORENA, after a deep and large observation, the following should be the best solutions.

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d. The propositions of MORENA to end the crisis in Burundi

Without prejudice to any details to be specified and discussed at a due course, MORENA proposes the following principles to be adopted and clearly framed in the future constitution:

- 1°. Alternation of the two tribes on the seat of President of the Republic;
- 2°. A presidential short term of only one mandate non renewable;
- 3°. The designation of all candidates to represent their tribes in different political positions by their tribe of origin;
- 4°. The electoral system to be the indirect universal suffrage instead of the current direct suffrage;
- 5°. Democracy to be exercised inside each tribe, directly in the lowest levels and indirectly at all the other levels;
- 6°. When the President of the Republic is from one tribe, the Prime Minister will be always from the opposite tribe;
- 7°. The candidatures to the President's office should be selected by the MP's of the tribe of their origin and presented to the full National Assembly for the election of the future President; the same procedure should apply for the candidatures to the Prime Minister's office;
- 8°. Equality of quotas (50/50) in all institutions between the two tribes, instead of the 60/40 quotas fixed by the Arusha Agreement presently in force.

The above proposals are based on the fact that actually, the so-called ethnical conflict in Burundi is opposing, not the two tribes as such, but the Hutu intellectuals and the Tutsi intellectuals or politicians, who are competing to control or dominate the political power, by pretending to represent their tribes of origin.

Moreover, these proposals present several advantages:

- Selecting the best leaders from the local until the national level;



- Avoiding hatred, crimes and genocides usually met during the political parties campaigns;
- Avoiding ethnic votes;
- Selecting representatives really accountable before the population and not before the person of the President of the Republic or before their political party's leadership;
- Ending the risks of electing leaders involved in big crimes and genocides, resulting into impunity;
- An electoral system not expensive and saving very much the national budget;
- These proposals present even some major similarities with the genuine way the CCM Party in Tanzania has been managing over years the political issue of the Main Land and ZANZIBAR to stabilize the Union in Tanzania;
- These proposals should put in place for the first time persons and institutions rather people-oriented than serving first the personal benefits of the leaders of political parties. In fact, while the latters are mainly interested in getting financial and materiel comfort, the population is expecting nothing else from any leadership than peace, justice and security;
- That electoral system, in a country where the colonialist have injected the division virus between the two tribes and continue to entertain it through the channel of political parties in competition on tribal basis, which results all time into genocides after each election, should prevent our country against the permanent attempts by foreign neo-colonialists forces to destabilize through the incontrollable political parties propagandas.

Done at Bujumbura, the 12th of May, 2016

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