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NDI

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Final Report

Burundi: Supporting Democratic Institutions After Elections

USAID Grant No. 623-0133-G-00-4035-00

Project No. 695-0133

April 18, 1994 to August 31, 1996

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Final Report
Burundi: Supporting Democratic Institutions After Elections
USAID Grant No. 623-0133-G-00-4035-00
Project No. 695-0133
April 18, 1994 to August 31, 1996

I. SUMMARY

II. BACKGROUND
- A. 1988 - 1993 Transition
- B. The Ndadaye Government -- July to October 1993

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
- A. Program Development/ Pre-Start-Up Periods
  1. January 1994 Assessment
  2. June 1994 Assessment
- B. Support for Civic Organizations -- Program Design
  1. Support to the Foundation for Unity, Peace and Democracy
  2. Democracy Education Program
- C. Support for the Burundian National Assembly
  1. Central Africa Regional Parliamentary Conference
  2. Parliamentary Assessment
  3. Parliamentary Members Visit Washington
  4. Parliamentary Consultations
  5. Support for UN-sponsored "Parliament Week"
  6. Program Suspension/Final Activities
- D. Support for Institutional Reform

IV. RESULTS /ACCOMPLISHMENTS

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

IV. ASSESSMENT

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APPENDICES

1. July 11, 1994 Memorandum: *South Africa Trip Report*
2. November 14, 1994 Memorandum: *Final Assessment Report and Proposed Workplan*
3. List of Invitees
4. Regional Reconciliation Conference Draft Agenda, March 1995
5. NDI booklet publication: *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?"*
6. Report on the Day of Reflection, February 19, 1996
7. Letter of Agreement for Eugène Nindorera, April 14, 1996
8. *Bilan de la distribution des feuillets et tee-shirts pendant la periode: avril - juin*, April - June, 1996
9. Burundi Report, 16-23 July 1996: Consultant's Visit
10. *Compte rendu de la session de réflexion sur l'éducation à la démocratie tenue du 19 au 20 juillet 1996*
11. February 23, 1995 Memorandum: Field Report
12. April 21, 1995 Memorandum: Proposed agenda for the parliamentary week (15-19 May 1995) and background information
13. "Burundi: An Assessment", by Howard Wolpe, July 10, 1995
14. Letter to NDI President Kenneth Wollack from US Ambassador Robert Krueger, August 31, 1995

FINAL REPORT
BURUNDI: SUPPORTING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AFTER ELECTIONS
FINAL PROGRAM REPORT

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I. SUMMARY

In April 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) received an 18-month $1.06 million grant from USAID-Burundi to help strengthen civil society and provide assistance to the Burundian National Assembly. This program was designed in the months following a failed October 1993 coup attempt, during which Burundi's first democratically elected president, Melchior Ndadaye, was murdered along with several key officials of the new National Assembly. Ethnic based violence that immediately followed the coup attempt threatened to completely tear apart a fragile coalition of multiethnic pro-democracy civic groups that were formed during the 1988-93 democratic transition. These groups played a fundamental role in demanding a return to constitutional rule during the 1993 coup and, with the National Assembly, were some of the most viable institutions remaining from the transition. Support for civic organizations and the Assembly was, therefore, deemed essential if Burundi's democratic transition were to survive the aftermath of the 1993 coup and the anti-democratic forces unleashed by it.

In January 1994, NDI sent a three-person assessment team to Burundi to determine how best to formulate programming that would address the needs of Burundi's democratic institutions, as well as to determine the appropriate timing to begin such programs. The assessment recommended a program with three primary objectives:

- to provide financial resources and technical support to pro-democracy civic organizations as they carried out activities designed to further the public's understanding of basic democratic principles;

- to provide technical expertise and advice to Burundian parliamentarians on a range of issues including replacing the parliamentary leadership, overcoming a lack of experience, drafting and reviewing legislation, establishing a well-functioning committee system, overseeing government functions, and defining the role of political parties in the Assembly, as well as dealing with issues of urgent concern including national reconciliation, refugee repatriation, economic, institutional and military reform; and

- to make available to Burundian leaders through a series of seminars and consultations information on constitutional and military reform models from other countries that could help

Burundian leaders institutionalize reforms to address Burundi's most deep-rooted and divisive problems.

As NDI's proposed program was undergoing final review by USAID, violence on an unprecedented scale broke out in neighboring Rwanda and threatened to spill over into Burundi. The shooting down over Kigali of the airplane carrying Rwanda's president, widely cited as the trigger for the Rwandan violence, also cost the life of Ndadaye's successor. Political instability in Burundi related to the nomination of a new president and to the aftermath of the violence in Rwanda prompted NDI to delay the program's initial in-country activities from April until September 1994, when a new Burundian president was finally appointed. The decision to delay the program was taken by NDI after a second assessment mission, in June 1994, and in close consultation with USAID-Burundi and the US Embassy in Bujumbura.

The restoration of Burundi's democratic institutions in February 1994 and again in September 1994 unfortunately did not offer a longterm solution to the country's political instability. Conditions in Burundi gradually worsened during the life of the project and were occasionally marked by outbursts of considerable violence in Bujumbura and throughout the countryside, as well as frequent general strikes in the capital city that brought commerce and travel to a standstill. Political extremists on both sides of the ethnic divide increasingly determined the country's political direction.

This context seriously impeded the ability of NDI's two-person field office in Burundi to carry out programming and meet objectives as initially proposed. Program activities were often carried out at a much slower pace than initially envisioned, repeatedly delayed or canceled. In close consultation with its field staff, USAID-Burundi and the US Embassy, the Institute undertook repeated reassessments of the feasibility of maintaining a presence in Burundi. NDI's parliamentary assistance program was suspended in September 1995 following violence that forced a large number of Assembly members to flee the country. NDI's field representative for parliamentary programs was also withdrawn at this time. Further violence prompted the Institute to withdraw its remaining expatriate staff in April 1996.

Despite these difficult circumstances, the Institute was able to attain a number of its objectives, especially in the area of working with Burundian civic groups to help increase the public's familiarity with and understanding of basic democratic principles. In October 1995, NDI was granted a one-year extension to the life of the project, until October 17, 1996. This extension permitted the Institute to complete production of a civic education booklet, entitled *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?"*. The booklet, edited in French and Kirundi, was developed by NDI-Bujumbura staff following a series of multiethnic group discussions as the first textbook on democracy ever produced in Burundi. Approximately 25,000 copies of the booklet and 8,800 related publicity t-shirts were distributed to the public.

As the political situation in Burundi become even more fragile in late 1995/early 1996, NDI decided to scale back in-country programming. A Burundian field director was hired to replace the withdrawn expatriate staff member and to complete remaining activities related to distribution and

production of the democracy booklet. On July 31, a coup d'état that overthrew the last vestiges of Burundi's democratically elected government forced the Institute to suspend all program activities. NDI's program in Burundi was permanently ended on August 31, 1996 in accordance with recommendations from USAID-Burundi.

II. BACKGROUND

A. 1988 - 1993 Transition

Presidential and legislative elections held in June 1993 marked the culmination of Burundi's five-year transition to multiparty democracy and resulted in the first democratic transfer of power since independence in 1962. Despite concerns about manipulation or intimidation, the elections took place in a peaceful, open and transparent manner. More than 90 percent of the population participated. While the leadership of the former ruling party and the military peacefully accepted the opposition's victory, some elements of Burundian society were reluctant to accept the new government. The October 21, 1993 coup attempt and ensuing political and ethnic polarization demonstrated the tenuous nature of democratic culture in a country accustomed to authoritarian rule by a minority of elites.

Burundi's democratic transition was initiated by President Pierre Buyoya in 1988 in response to renewed ethnic violence in August of that year. Buyoya established a National Commission of Inquiry and National Unity, comprised equally of Hutu and Tutsi members, in October 1988 to investigate inter-ethnic violence, address the issue of ethnic inequality and make recommendations for national reconciliation in Burundi. The Commission's work resulted in the Charter of National Unity, which called for national reconciliation and guaranteed equal rights for all citizens. The Charter was approved by 89 percent of voters in a national referendum in February 1991.

Also in 1988, Buyoya established a new government and restored the post of prime minister, appointing a Hutu, Adrien Sibomana. Buyoya also moved toward equal representation of Hutu and Tutsi on the Council of Ministers. A multi-ethnic constitutional commission was appointed in March 1991 to study the issue of democratization in Burundi, to promote consensus on the issue and to draft a new constitution. The constitution was approved by referendum in March 1992 by more than 90 percent of the Burundian electorate. The first new political parties were accredited the following June. The Burundian Democratic Front (FRODEBU) emerged from an underground movement to become the principal political opposition.

The June 1993 presidential and legislative elections were held under the administration of an independent national election commission established in March 1993. Despite concerns from opposition parties that the UPRONA-dominated administration would unduly influence the elections, the voting took place for both elections without incident. National and international observers were unanimous in their praise for the process. After the proclamation of the

convincing victory of FRODEBU presidential candidate Melchior Ndadaye, government and military leaders quickly announced their acceptance of the results and their willingness to work with the new president.

B. The Ndadaye Government -- July to October 1993

The success of presidential and legislative elections provided a solid foundation for Burundi's new government. President Ndadaye, a Hutu, followed his predecessor in appointing a prime minister who came from an ethnic group other than his own. Tutsis were additionally appointed to other ministerial posts. Ndadaye also took steps to allay fears in the military that radical restructuring would take place.

The new government was immediately faced with a host of vexing and politically sensitive issues ranging from refugee repatriation and reform of the armed forces to personnel changes in the civil service, media censorship and economic restructuring. Inexperience in dealing with these problems -- as well as the manner in which the government finally addressed them -- fostered suspicion among Burundian Tutsis that the Hutu-dominated government was intent on institutionalizing an "ethnic revolution."

The Ndadaye government confronted these issues against a backdrop of political pressure from its own constituency, which recalled campaign promises to rectify longstanding ethnic-based inequalities and discrimination. Sweeping changes were made in civil administration personnel, with FRODEBU activists being appointed to positions throughout the government hierarchy, from government ministers to local school directors. While taking care to foster collaborative relations with the military, Ndadaye moved ahead with plans to redress ethnic imbalances in the Tutsi-dominated army. Disgruntled elements of the military began to threaten a military coup as early as July, and rumors of a coup were persistent until October 21.

Refugee repatriation also was a source of controversy, with Hutu refugees from previous ethnic conflicts returning to Burundi to reclaim lands subsequently occupied by Tutsis. Elsewhere, opposition forces complained that the new government was preventing access to state-controlled media. This assertion was supported by an EEC sponsored team of international journalists that visited Burundi in August and concluded that "serious concerns" existed concerning media access under the FRODEBU government. Finally, government efforts to redistribute economic resources on a more equitable basis engendered resentment among powerful Tutsi business interests.

The exact chronology and nature of events on and following October 21 remain unclear and await the findings of international commissions of inquiry. Nevertheless, the coup attempt left Burundi without a president or president of the National Assembly. Ensuing ethnic massacres cost tens of thousands of lives and burdened Burundi with an enormous refugee problem. As the remnants of the Burundian government moved in early 1994 to re-establish the country's presidency, NDI carried out a three-member assessment mission to Burundi to determine if the

Institute could play a role in helping the country's fragilized democratic institutions. Shortly thereafter, Burundi's newly-appointed president was killed in the plane crash that also cost the life of Rwanda's president and plunged that country into months of unprecedented violence marked by the genocide of countless Rwandan Tutsis and moderate Hutus. In June, NDI organized a second assessment trip to Burundi to gauge how the Rwandan violence and the death of Burundi's president had affected the Institute's program plans.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. Final Program Development/Pre-Start-Up Periods

In developing this program, NDI benefitted from experience in working in Burundi almost continuously from February 1992 until June 1993. As a result, the Institute was able to take advantage of a broad network of contacts in Burundi's government, National Assembly, civil society and political parties, as well as the international donor community in Burundi, as it set out to design this program's activities.

1. January 1994 Assessment

In late January 1994, NDI's Regional Director for East and Central Africa, Ned McMahon, traveled to Bujumbura with Jean Lavoie, NDI's Burundi field representatives for parliamentary programming and Tim McCoy, NDI Program Officer for East and Central Africa, to carry out an assessment of the country's political landscape following the October 1993 coup attempt. The mission met with a wide range of high-level Burundian political leaders, representatives of Burundian non-governmental organizations, and others to solicit their feedback on the proposed project. From January 19 to 21, the team also attended an international seminar on governance and democracy organized by the United Nations and USAID. This seminar allowed NDI to directly gauge the prevailing attitudes of Burundian leaders on political developments in their country, while also providing the Institute with an opportunity to explore coordinating future program activities with other NGOs and donor countries represented at the seminar.

2. June 1994 Assessment

Events in Rwanda from April to June 1994 delayed the start-up of program activities and prompted the Institute to send a second assessment team to Burundi from June 12 to 20 to determine the feasibility and timing of establishing a field office and beginning program activities. The team consisted of Lavoie, McCoy and François Héon, who was subsequently hired as NDI's Burundi field representative for civic organizations. The NDI team again met with a wide range of Burundian leaders, including then-Acting President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, and received overwhelming support for its planned activities. However, continued instability in Burundi related to the naming of a new president and fallout from the Rwandan genocide prompted USAID and the US Embassy in Burundi to recommend that the Institute delay implementation of program activities.

Between June and September 1994, Héon remained in Africa awaiting clearance to return to Burundi and begin programming. During this period, he traveled to Benin, Ethiopia, Kenya and South Africa to observe firsthand the operation of NDI programs in those countries and to explore a variety of approaches to addressing some of the same challenges to democratic development encountered in Burundi (See Appendix I., July 11, 1994 memo, *South Africa Trip Report*). NDI also sponsored the participation of two representatives of the *Association pour la Protection et la Liberté d'Expression* (APPLE), a Burundian nonpartisan civic organization, in NDI's summit of African NGO leaders held in Cotonou, Benin in August 1994. This summit permitted the Burundian participants to take part in a comprehensive review and exchange of experiences regarding civic education materials developed in transitioning countries throughout Africa.

Renewed political violence in Burundi in July and August 1994 prompted NDI to request that Héon return to Washington in late August for consultations with NDI-Washington staff. Following these consultations, the Institute decided that Héon would return to Burundi in September to conduct a four-week assessment aimed at determining if program activities envisioned in the original proposal could be carried out in a manner that would remain faithful to NDI's mandate of strengthening democratic institutions. Program activities, if initiated, would be conducted on a low-profile basis to ensure the safety of NDI personnel in Burundi. Weekly field reports and regular consultations with the field staff and USAID/US Embassy would help comprise continual reassessments of program activities in light of conditions in the country.

Héon's return to Burundi in early September coincided with a new agreement -- known as The September 1994 Convention -- between the country's major political antagonists, which permitted the full restoration of Burundi's presidency. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, acting president since April 1994, was sworn in as president in a coalition government shaped by the September Convention. The four-week assessment carried out by Héon concluded that programmatic possibilities existed that were sufficient to justify the Institute's in-country presence. The assessment noted that, while the political climate in Burundi remained tense even after the September Convention, NDI's programmatic history and profile in the country meant that the Institute was well-placed to make a contribution to a range of Burundian civic organizations.

The assessment also recommended that NDI move ahead with plans to support the National Assembly, clearing the way for the subsequent arrival of a second field representative for parliamentary programs (For complete details on Héon's assessment, see Appendix II., October 3, 1994 memo, *Burundi Report*). The assessment's findings were confirmed by Patricia Keefer, NDI Senior Associate for Political and Civic Organizations, and Kevin Johnson, former NDI Burundi field representative, who traveled separately to Burundi in early October 1994. NDI subsequently moved to establish a field office in Bujumbura and begin low-profile program activities, including a series of consultations with Burundian civic groups.

B. Support for Civic Organizations -- Program Design

NDI's initial program activities in Burundi to support civic organization consisted of a series of intensive consultations with a broad range of these groups to determine:

- those activities currently being planned by civic groups and
- how those organizations could benefit from the Institute's support.

These consultations permitted the Institute and its in-country staff to obtain a clearer understanding of the organizations' capabilities and the roles they played in Burundian society. In light of information received during the earlier assessments, NDI focused on those groups intending to conduct programs of civic education. The Institute also determined that decisions made as a result of the consultations would have to take into consideration the Institute's desire to maintain a low profile in-country and the need to avoid perceptions of favoring one group.

Following these consultations, NDI's field representative concluded that programming should be divided into two categories. First, the Institute could provide direct assistance to civic organizations to carry out specific program activities. The Foundation for Unity, Peace and Democracy, a non-governmental pro-democracy organization established by former President Buyoya, was identified as one such organization. The Foundation was planning to organize an international conference in Burundi on national reconciliation and institutional reform that would take place in December 1994 and include a wide range of Burundian political and civic leaders. If successful, the conference would help the Institute achieve programmatic goals of assisting Burundian civic organizations and encouraging reform of major Burundian institutions, including the military.

The second category of civic organization programming would consist of a democracy education program that would be carried out with several other Burundian civic groups, including the Boy Scouts Association, which was already planning to conduct civic education activities for scouts at the Association's planned two-week work camps and ITEKA (the Burundian Human Rights League), with which NDI had worked prior to the June 1993 elections. ITEKA was planning to conduct a survey of citizens' views on the country's political transition in conjunction with APPLE and the UN Human Rights Center. The Institute's field staff also recommended coordinating NDI civic education activities with those of the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative in Burundi.

In identifying these groups, the Institute decided to support activities that would help Burundian citizens understand some of the basic principles of democracy and give citizens the opportunity to express their opinions on these principles. This conclusion was based on the widespread perception in Burundi that most citizens had not fully understood concepts associated with the democratic transition, such as respect for one's ability to express freely his/her opinion on a political issue or the right to participate in the political process. Some Burundians said that these concepts seemed to have been "parachuted into Burundi" from established democracies in the West. The lack of understanding of these principles, often referred to as a lack of "democratic culture", was

described by Burundian civic and political leaders as one of the deep-rooted causes of the country's political problems.

To carry out the democracy education programming, NDI envisioned supporting the research, design and implementation of program activities. NDI would train selected civic group members to conduct the research and, later, carry out specific program activities. This approach would support Burundian civic groups as they gained experience in conducting social research and interacting with other civic groups; encourage pro-democracy groups in Burundi to combine resources and information gathered in designing the program as a way of maximizing the groups' impact; and help these groups serve as a model of multiethnic organizations cooperating in an ethnically polarized society. The research phase of the program would also allow civic groups to help bridge the gap between rural-based populations to be interviewed and urban-based decision makers, thereby providing a vehicle for rural dwellers to participate in their country's decision-making process. In addition to the development of written civic education materials, radio broadcasts were envisioned as a primary means of communicating the project's activities and reporting on its results.

1. Support to the Foundation for Unity, Peace and Democracy

Following consultations with former President Buyoya in Washington and in Bujumbura in October and November 1994, NDI decided to provide the Foundation the following assistance in planning an international conference on national reconciliation and institutional reform. First, NDI would identify and fund travel for foreign experts who could address issues related to constitutional and military reform and provide Burundian participants with concrete examples of reform measures. Secondly, NDI would provide technical advice and expertise on designing the conference, which would be given by the NDI civic organization field representative. The Institute also agreed to share costs associated with purchase of conference materials.

In November 1994, the Institute's field representative in Bujumbura began to work closely with the Foundation in designing the conference's agenda. The agenda was designed to allow Burundian and international participants to address several of the most urgent issues that underpinned Burundi's ethno-political problems, including national reconciliation, protections for ethnic minorities, refugee repatriation and the role of the international community in fostering reconciliation.

NDI staff in Bujumbura, Washington and South Africa coordinated efforts to identify, invite and arrange travel for approximately 20 selected international experts who were scheduled to address these topics and discuss with their Burundian counterparts possible solutions to Burundi's ethno-political problems. Selected participants included former Malian President Amadou Toumani Touré, former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Kenyan mediator Washington Okuno and former United States Congressman Howard Wolpe (See Appendix III., *List of Invitees*). Field staff in Burundi participated in a Foundation planning committee and advised the organization on a wide range of issues, from inclusion of other Burundian organizations in the conference to ensuring that the conference included adequate representation of both the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups. As planning

for the conference progressed, NDI also worked closely with the United Nations mission in Burundi, which had agreed to partially fund the conference along with USAID-Burundi.

Renewed political controversy in Burundi in November-December 1994 related to the election of the President of the National Assembly that threatened to unleash new violence resulted in the postponement of the conference from December 1994 to March 27 to 31, 1995. In February 1995, ethno-political turmoil in Bujumbura again brought the country to a near standstill and further impeded conference preparations. Additionally, increased political polarization in the country complicated efforts to confirm the participation of high-profile Hutus, including the widow of President Ndadaye as well as Fidélie Nsibana, who established the *Fondation Melchior Ndadaye* following Ndadaye's assassination. Nevertheless, NDI continued its support for the conference in light of the inclusion of Burundian human rights groups ITEKA and SONERA, both of which were then-characterized as comprising Hutu **and** Tutsi membership. The conference agenda was finalized in early March (See Appendix IV., *Draft Agenda*) and invitations were issued to approximately 100 Burundian civic and political leaders, as well as to the international participants.

On March 25, violence erupted in two Bujumbura neighborhoods near the proposed conference site. Concerns about the safety of conference participants prompted the Foundation to indefinitely postpone the conference. NDI-supported attempts to assist the Foundation in re-scheduling the conference for June 1995 included covering travel costs for former President Buyoya to travel to South Africa to solicit the conference participation of key South African leaders, notably Archbishop Desmond Tutu and former President F.W. de Klerk. These and subsequent efforts in late 1995 and early 1996 to re-launch the conference also proved unsuccessful due to political instability in Burundi. Project funds expended by NDI to cover travel costs of conference participants were subsequently reimbursed to the Institute by the airlines.

2. Democracy Education Program

Design of Democracy Education Materials

While carrying out its plans to support the Foundation's international conference, NDI also began implementing the democracy education program proposed and designed by field staff. The initial, research-oriented phase of this program lasted from late 1994 until mid-1995 and consisted of organizing approximately 10 small discussion groups of 10 to 15 individuals, including elementary, high school and university students, as well as professionals and Burundians from rural areas. During the discussions, Burundians would voice their opinions on topics related to the basic principles of democracy and on their perceptions of the democratic transition and ensuing political problems of the country.

Initial plans to hold discussion groups outside the capital city were canceled due to the deteriorating security situation in the country. However, as conditions permitted, these groups comprised both Hutus and Tutsis in an effort to reduce the mounting levels of distrust between the two ethnic groups. Four Burundians were hired on renewable five-month contracts and trained by the Institute to work closely with its field staff to carry out this research. NDI also solicited the

assistance of the Burundi field representative of Search for Common Ground, a US-based organization promoting national reconciliation in Burundi, to broadcast excerpts of these discussions on national radio to reach the broadest possible audience. NDI envisioned the discussion groups and radio broadcasts as a possible catalyst for a nationwide discussion among Burundians about democratic principles and how to adapt them to the Burundian context.

Information gathered from these groups was used by NDI staff in Bujumbura to draft a document that would incorporate the major themes raised during the discussions. Approximately 50 Burundian civic organizers and political leaders were consulted as the draft was re-worked and refined. The draft booklet was also presented to the original discussion groups for their reactions and input. Based on these consultations, the draft underwent substantial changes and NDI field staff decided to extend the timeframe for completion of the document. The 40 original quotes and concepts were reduced to 26 short sentences that synthesized fundamental democratic themes. These sentences were to comprise a democracy education booklet, entitled *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?"* and printed in both French and Kirundi, that would be distributed to the public and in schools, where it would be used as the first-ever democracy textbook produced in Burundi (See Appendix V., *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?"*).

Booklet Distribution

As work on the booklet progressed, plans were made to publish approximately 100,000 copies for wide distribution. Additional discussion groups were also planned to further refine the pamphlet and a nationwide drawing contest was envisioned to produce a calendar that would focus on 12 of the pamphlet's themes. In coordination with Search for Common Ground, comments from four discussion groups were taped for later broadcast on national radio. Plans were also made for a series of 10 additional discussion groups that would be broadcast during 30-minute radio programs.

By June 1995, the worsening political climate in Burundi forced NDI field staff to scale back work on the booklet. NDI's expatriate field staff were recalled to Washington in late July for consultations on the feasibility of maintaining a field presence following an escalation in violence that claimed the life of one of the Institute's Burundian employees. Although plans for the booklet's publishing and distribution remained firm, they were delayed until late 1995/early 1996 due to power shortages in the capital that impacted the printing process. The additional group discussions and related radio broadcasts were canceled. Nevertheless, NDI staff continued meeting with individual Burundians to solicit their feedback on the project. Meetings were also held with the Burundian Minister of Education, during which NDI expressed its hope that the booklet would be incorporated into curricula in both elementary and secondary schools. By November 1995, the Minister had tentatively requested 80,000 copies of the booklet. He additionally asked that NDI participate in a working commission to revise school curricula and incorporate the textbook. The Minister also made plans to introduce the textbook to students through peace clubs planned for secondary schools.

In January 1996, the worsening Burundian political situation prompted NDI senior management to instruct the remaining expatriate field staff in Burundi to complete as soon as possible activities related to the publishing and distribution of the booklet and prepare to depart the country.

Tentative plans were also made to increase the involvement of local civic groups in the booklet's distribution and to hire a Burundian who could oversee project activities following the departure of the expatriate staff member. Following final editing of the draft, 5000 copies of the booklet were ordered, as well as 6000 t-shirts that were designed to help promote the booklet. On November 27, 1995, NDI formally requested from USAID-Burundi that unused funds initially intended for cooperative agreements with local civic groups be used to cover printing costs.

Reactions to Booklet/February 1996 Workshop on Booklet

Reaction to the initial printing of the booklet was overwhelmingly positive. Requests for the materials often outpaced the Institute's ability to produce the materials. For example, by March NDI had received requests for the booklet from: the Ministry of the Interior -- 4000 copies, which were to be distributed to provincial governors; the Bureau of Rural Education -- 4000 copies; FRODEBU -- 5000 copies to be used in educating party activists; the National Literacy Service -- 1500 copies; the Scouts -- 600 copies; and the Peace Clubs -- 300 copies. Such requests prompted the Institute to order 50,000 additional copies and 12,000 additional t-shirts. Uncertainties over the Ministry of Education's earlier plans to use 80,000 copies of the booklet, as well as printing difficulties caused by violence-initiated power outages in Bujumbura, prompted the Institute to scaleback the total number of booklets (55,000) eventually ordered.

In the first of a series of activities to evaluate the booklet's impact, on February 17, 1996 NDI organized a one-day workshop in Bujumbura for approximately 40 civic organization leaders who had already utilized the book in their programming and to encourage them to continue using the materials. Search for Common Ground personnel taped the workshop's proceedings for later broadcast on French- and Kirundi-language private radio stations that were promoting peace and reconciliation. Based on these leaders' feedback, NDI produced a second edition of the booklet and redesigned the booklet's cover (See Appendix VI., *"Report on Day of Reflection"* for full details on the workshop findings). At the conclusion of the workshop, NDI decided to hold a similar workshop in July to gauge reactions to the second edition and to conduct follow-up on use of the booklet. A questionnaire on the booklet was developed and distributed to potential participants in the second workshop.

Final Activities Related to Booklet

As earlier envisioned by NDI program managers, on April 8 the Institute hired a Burundian civic leader, Eugène Nindorera, to assume management responsibility for this project (See Appendix VII., *"Letter of Agreement")*. Shortly thereafter, NDI's remaining expatriate field staff departed Burundi. Program activities related to the distribution and evaluation of second edition of *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?"* continued, although printing of the booklet was continually slowed by the country's political climate. Plans were also developed for joint NDI-UNICEF funding of an illustrated edition of the booklet.

As booklets and t-shirts were distributed to various organizations, NDI staff were often requested by these organizations to attend meetings that would permit the Institute to explain how the booklet was produced and to discuss the themes covered in the booklet. During the months of

May and June, 1996, NDI staff held such meetings with the Youth Center of Kamenge, a community center for Burundian youth located in one of Bujumbura's most troubled neighborhoods; a grouping of religious denominations; the Catholic Action Movement; a grouping of various youth associations; students of Kinama High School; and a women's center established by Search for Common Ground. A meeting that was organized for political party representatives failed to take place. By June, more than 26,250 booklets and 8,870 t-shirts had been distributed to a wide range of Burundian organizations, as well as international organizations involved in promoting peace and reconciliation (See Appendix VIII., *"Bilan de la Distribution.... Avril-Juin"*).

NDI's order for the remaining copies of the booklet was filled in June. Distribution of the booklet and t-shirts continued even as the political situation brought the country's governing apparatus to a standstill. Planning for a second evaluative workshop, to be held July 19 to 20, also continued, partially based on returned questionnaires to be examined during the workshop. NDI-Washington decided to sponsor travel for one Washington-based staff member to attend the workshop and conduct an assessment of the field operation since the departure of expatriate staff. This staff member was joined by an experienced Malagasy civic activist who provided a comparative perspective on development of democracy education materials.

The workshop revealed that a wide range of Burundian and international organizations were pleased that follow-up from the February workshop had resulted in a second edition of the booklet that reflected these organizations' earlier feedback. The 46 workshop participants, representing approximately 40 different organizations, reported that they had sometimes adapted the booklet to a wider theme, such as religious education. Although most participants offered favorable feedback on the booklet's content and design, an overwhelming majority of participants recommended that the booklet be supplemented with additional materials that could reach Burundi's large illiterate population. (See Appendix IX., *"Consultant's Visit"* and Appendix X., *"Compte Rendu de la Session de Réflexion....."*).

Shortly after the workshop, a military-led coup in Burundi ousted the remaining vestiges of the democratic transition. NDI's project manager in Burundi resigned his affiliation with the Institute after accepting a ministerial position within the new government. Remaining staff continued to distribute the booklet and t-shirts until mid-August. Upon instruction from USAID-Burundi and NDI-Washington, field staff then proceeded to undertake activities related to final closure of the field office. Undistributed booklets, t-shirts and other office materials belonging to NDI were transferred to USAID-Burundi premises for safekeeping. Project activities in Burundi officially ceased on August 31, 1996.

C. Support for the Burundian National Assembly

The terms of reference for NDI field representative François Héon's September 1994 assessment of the political climate in Burundi and its potential impact on NDI programming also included an analysis of the National Assembly. At the conclusion of his assessment, Héon recommended that NDI move ahead with plans to support the National Assembly and identified basic

training on parliamentary functions, including member-constituent communications, as areas where NDI should concentrate its efforts. NDI responded to this recommendation by requesting that its field representative for parliamentary programs in Burundi, Jean Lavoie, travel to Burundi to prepare a detailed workplan for NDI's program activities.

1. Central Africa Regional Parliamentary Conference

Prior to Lavoie's assessment, Héon provided logistical support in Burundi for six Assembly members who were sponsored by NDI to travel to Bangui, Central African Republic (CAR) from October 10 to 13, 1994 to participate in a regional parliamentary training program organized by NDI and funded by USAID. The Bangui program, which was also attended by approximately 100 Assembly members from CAR, Congo, Gabon and Madagascar, featured interactive role-playing exercises and larger plenary sessions that focused participants on several themes, including the role of an Assembly member within the context of the democratization process in Africa; the principle of the separation of powers; legislative oversight of the Executive and Judiciary branches of government; internal functioning of a legislature and the role of the opposition; and regular communications between an Assembly member and his/her constituents.

2. Parliamentary Assessment

Lavoie arrived in Burundi in November and immediately sought information on the Assembly that would permit the Institute to develop a parliamentary assistance program that was realistic and took into account intervening political developments in the country since NDI first proposed parliamentary support activities. Lavoie outlined two objectives for the assessment: 1) to obtain a better understanding of the September 1994 Convention and how terms of that agreement affect the country's governing institutions, notably the National Assembly; and 2) to develop a parliamentary assistance program consistent with the role of the Parliament in the wake of the September Convention. To meet these objectives, Lavoie organized meetings with a wide range of Burundian political leaders, including President Ntibantunganya and Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko, former President Buyoya and former Prime Ministers Sylvie Kinigi and Adrien Sibomana, the ministers of institutional reform, justice, communications and defense, the parliamentary leadership, leaders of parliamentary caucuses, political party leaders and civic organizations leaders.

As Lavoie was beginning his assessment, controversy arose in Burundi over the nomination of Jean Minani as president of the National Assembly. Minani, a leader of FRODEBU, was accused by some UPRONA members of having encouraged ethnic-based massacres following the October 1993 coup attempt. UPRONA's leadership advised its party members in government to resign and more extreme factions of the party threatened a general strike in Bujumbura. As a result of these political problems, Lavoie's assessment was delayed until the beginning of 1995.

In early 1995, Lavoie completed his assessment of the National Assembly in the face of continuing political controversy that impeded his ability to conduct the assessment as originally

planned. In his assessment report, Lavoie noted the high degree to which political polarization in the country had adversely impacted the Assembly's ability to function:

> *"MPs seem to deny responsibility for everything that happens. Many suffer from a major lack of initiative, motivation or creativity. Unless they are told what to do, they do not think on their own about setting up activities..... UPRONA members seem to believe that any NDI training program would particularly help those poor FRODEBU illiterates to better understand why they were elected and what their role should be. FRODEBU members believe that UPRONA never respected the results of the elections and that it is time for them to understand what democracy means: a zero-sum game with some limited space for compromise and consensus."* ***(Field Report, February 23, 1995)***

Nevertheless, Lavoie was favorably impressed by the "vision and openness" of the Assembly leadership, which expressed support for NDI's parliamentary initiatives and indicated that they would require MPs to attend activities organized by the Institute. Based on his assessment, Lavoie prepared a workplan that emphasized small workshops to discuss topics related to the role of a legislature in a democracy. These topics included: the role of majority and minority parties; separation of powers; drafting legislation; member-constituent relations; parliamentary rules of procedure; the role of the Assembly leadership; the committee system; relations with the government; and the role of the media in covering parliamentary activities. In his workplan, Lavoie left open the possibility that these discussions would lead to other topics not originally envisioned and that the then-prevailing political climate might require that UPRONA and FRODEBU members be divided into separate groups to encourage more open dialogue. Workshops were planned to complement activities taking place in the parliamentary sessions scheduled to begin in April 1995.

3. Parliament Members Visit Washington

Shortly following the completion of Lavoie's assessment, NDI coordinated with AMEX, a US-based non-governmental organization, to arrange travel to the United States, Benin and South Africa for 12 members of the National Assembly. The purpose of the trip was to allow the multiparty, multiethnic delegation to observe firsthand the functioning of national legislatures in the three countries and study how these countries address problems through the legislative mechanism. NDI field staff met with the MPs before their departure from Burundi to brief them on upcoming activities and to solicit delegation members' feedback on the program. Although the bulk of program activities was conceived and carried out by AMEX, on March 27 NDI staff organized a half-day program in Washington during which the delegation was divided into two teams for a visit to Capitol Hill. While on the Hill, delegation members informally met with members of Congress, including Congressman James Oberstar (D-Minnesota), and subsequently observed an ongoing floor debate, witnessed a committee hearing and met with various Congressional staff persons, including the ranking minority staff member on the House Judiciary Committee. Following these activities, the

delegation visited NDI headquarters and received a comprehensive overview of the Institute's programs in Burundi and elsewhere.

4. Parliamentary Consultations

Shortly following the completion of the parliamentary assessment, violence in Bujumbura further intensified the political polarization between Hutus and Tutsis. By the end of March 1995, Lavoie had concluded that it would no longer be advisable to attempt to organize formal training workshops for Assembly members, many of whom had been forced to flee the country. Instead, Lavoie recommended working with small groups of MPs to discuss those topics identified during the assessment (see above). He additionally envisioned the possibility of organizing multiparty discussion groups once the program had successfully completed the initial single-party meetings.

Beginning in April 1995, Lavoie began to hold a series of consultations with small groups of Assembly members and with parliamentary committees, during which NDI offered technical advice and answered practical questions on procedural issues confronting the parliament. Additionally, the parliamentary consultations provided parliamentarians with an opportunity to openly voice to an objective audience their perspectives on the country's political situation and discuss possible solutions to the country's problems. Lavoie noted that both FRODEBU and UPRONA members, while meeting separately, shared concerns related to the need for tolerance, compromise and consensus, relations between the two parties, governmental oversight and harmonization of national, regional and local party interests.

Following the delayed opening of parliament in early May 1995, NDI organized meetings with parliamentary committees to discuss a wide range of topics related to committee operations, including effective structuring of a parliamentary committee; development of expertise on specific issues to be examined by a committee through research or other means; and the role of public hearings in guiding committee work. These meetings revealed that neither parliamentary committees nor the Assembly leadership had established official mechanisms for communicating with government ministers. As a result, NDI offered its assistance in setting up channels of communication between the various branches of Burundi's government and met with the government minister responsible for relations with the parliament. During the meeting, NDI received assurances that the government would conduct follow-up activities on meetings organized by MPs in the country's interior, during which Assembly members promoted peace and reconciliation. On two separate occasions, Lavoie had accompanied members of the Assembly leadership as they visited their home districts in the context of this pacification program. Additionally, NDI also worked with a group of MPs who sought to begin direct consultations with the leadership of the army and the police force.

5. Support for UN-sponsored "Parliament Week"

At the request of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative in Burundi, Ambassador Amedou Ould Abdallah, in April NDI joined five other international organizations in providing support to a week-long series of UN-sponsored activities scheduled for May 16 to 20,

1995, known as "parliamentary week". The week, which was ultimately postponed until June 6 to 10, was planned by the UN in Burundi to focus Burundian and international attention on the developing crisis in Burundi and the role that parliament could play in attenuating the causes of the conflict. Field representative Jean Lavoie played a lead role in developing the conference agenda, preparing a background paper and briefing for approximately 30 international participants and drafted remarks to be delivered by the Burundian President, Assembly leadership, the government minister responsible for relations with the parliament and Ambassador Abdallah (See Appendix XI., April 21, 1995 memo *"Proposed Agenda.....and Background Information"*). Prior to the conference, Lavoie also briefed Assembly ministers and political leaders on the content and objectives of the conference.

NDI sponsored the conference participation of the following eight high-ranking parliamentarians: Jacques Veilleux (former MP and government minister -- Canada), Djim-Arem Maitart (Deputy Assembly President -- Central African Republic), Léon Opimbat (MP and former minister -- Congo), Victorine Dakouo (MP -- Mali), Alan Ganoo (former MP and current government minister -- Mauritius), Adamou Djermakoye (former Assembly president -- Niger), Joao de Menezes Ferreira (MP -- Portugal) and Omar Diouf (MP -- Senegal). These and other international participants shared with Burundian Assembly members their expertise on a variety of issues, including the role of an Assembly member; the role of a committee; the administrative structure of a parliament; and the establishment of mechanisms to enhance contacts between Burundian MPs and their international colleagues. At the end of the conference, international participants traveled to neighborhoods in Bujumbura, where they met with Burundian citizens, political leaders and military representatives to have additional perspectives on the problems confronting the country. NDI was later chosen by Ambassador Abdallah to prepare and present a summary of conference recommendations to the Burundian prime minister and members of the diplomatic community.

6. Program Suspension/Final Activities

Soon after the conclusion of parliament week, increased violence in Bujumbura and elsewhere, which resulted in the death of one of NDI's Burundian employees, prompted the Burundian president to declare a state of emergency and unsuccessfully request that parliament cede its powers to the executive for a period of three months. These events led NDI-Washington to request that expatriate field staff return to Washington in August 1995 for a week-long series of consultations with NDI senior management, as well as US State Department and USAID officials. These consultations focused on the status of NDI's programming in Burundi and the ability to continue carrying out such programming given the increasingly difficult security situation in the country.

Following these consultations, NDI concluded that any further assistance to the parliament would need to be reconfigured to remain effective. This conclusion was reached in light of a steady erosion of parliamentary power that had taken place since Lavoie's arrival in Burundi and was highlighted by the early July request by President Ntibantunganya for parliament to abdicate its law-making authority. Although parliament refused this request, NDI field staff observed that parliamentary effectiveness was hamstrung by the absence of a significant number of members who had been forced to flee the country.

NDI decided to reduce by 50 percent the presence of its in-country parliamentary program field representative. Lavoie returned to Burundi in early September 1995 for a series of consultations with Assembly members, which revealed that parliamentary effectiveness remained little changed since July. NDI then moved to suspend its in-country parliamentary programs and focused parliamentary assistance activities on identifying Assembly members who could benefit from participation in NDI activities outside Burundi. In July 1996, NDI joined with US-based organizations Search for Common Ground, Refugees International and the Council on Foreign Relations in sponsoring three high-profile Burundian Assembly members representing both major political parties -- Anatole Kanyenkiko, Adrien Sibomana and Emmanuel Mfayokurera -- to visit the United States and meet with US government officials, conflict resolution organizations and members of the US Congress.

D. Support for Institutional Reform

As originally envisioned in the project proposal, NDI activities to strengthen democratic institutions was intended to focus on possible constitutional and military reforms that would help address some of the identified underlying causes of the political conflict in Burundi. Political events in Burundi during the life of the project required that these plans be significantly altered from the original proposal. Plans to organize seminars to foster dialogue between civilian political leaders and the Burundian military were canceled. Instead, the Institute focused its efforts on a series of ongoing consultations that took place on an almost daily basis between field staff and key Burundian leaders, as well as members of the diplomatic community working to support peace and reconciliation in the country. During these consultations, NDI field staff provided their Burundian interlocutors with an in-country resource willing to offer advice and practical examples on how other countries have approached military reform.

Through its support for the activities of the Foundation for Unity, Peace and Democracy, as well as the UN-sponsored parliamentary week, NDI actively participated in an international effort to bring international personalities to Burundi, such as former Malian President Touré, who could address the sensitive subjects of institutional reform and national reconciliation. From June 27 to July 1, 1995, NDI sponsored the visit of former US Congressman Howard Wolpe to Burundi to help demonstrate the international community's support for Burundian democratic institutions and provide the Institute with an independent assessment of its programming in-country. Mr. Wolpe also offered advice to numerous Burundian leaders and the diplomatic community on possible measures that could be taken to improve the Burundian political situation (See Appendix XII., *"Burundi: An Assessment"*, July 10, 1995). The Institute also took part in a series of Burundi Policy Forum meetings held bi-weekly in Washington beginning in early 1995, during which US-based non-governmental organizations, representatives of the US government and others exchanged information on developments in Burundi, sought possible solutions to the country's crises that could be proposed to Burundian leaders and coordinated their respective activities in Burundi.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

To differing degrees, NDI accomplished the three program objectives outlined in the original proposal, despite a political climate that required the Institute to constantly re-evaluate its presence in Burundi. The accomplishments of this program are a testament to the countless Burundians who took considerable risks, sometimes paying with their lives, to promote democratic principles in the face of ever-increasing hostility and political polarization, and are in large part due to the dedication of NDI's field staff.

The Institute had three primary objectives to accomplish through the activities originally envisioned for this program. Those objectives were to:

- support Burundian civic organizations;
- help strengthen the National Assembly; and
- provide information to Burundian leaders seeking to strengthen democratic insititutions through constitutional and military reform.

NDI provided valuable support to the Foundation for Unity, Peace and Democracy, as it sought to focus international attention on the Burundian situation through the organization of an international conference on institutional reform and reconciliation. Although these commendable efforts were ultimately frustrated by the political climate in Burundi, knowledge obtained by the Foundation and other organizations involved in preparing the conference enhance the capacity of these organizations to plan similar events in the future.

The Institute's work with a wide range of Burundian and international organizations to produce and distribute *"How to Live in Democracy in Burundi"* and related publicity t-shirts helped bring valuable civic education lessons and skills to the grassroots level. During the life of the project, NDI helped countless Burundians to remain focused on democratic concepts and ideals by organizing multi-ethnic discussion group activities, some of which were later broadcast nationwide on radio. The approximately 25,000 democracy booklets distributed to the public by NDI remain as the only such text ever produced in Burundi and are well positioned to be used repeatedly by Burundians as they seek to resolve their country's complex political problems.

Through continuous consultations and small-group sessions, NDI supported members of the National Assembly as they sought to overcome myriad political and organizational difficulties. NDI's role in encouraging Assembly members to initiate dialogue with their constituents and with government leaders provided, if only temporarily, avenues to overcome the influence of political extremists who advocated violence. NDI's support for the UN-sponsored international parliamentary

week, as well as the Institute's hosting of Burundian MPs in Washington, again helped focus high-level international attention on Burundi, while providing Burundian Assembly members with firsthand information on how legislative bodies function in other countries.

Throughout the program, NDI sought to evaluate and re-evaluate its programming in Burundi. These assessments, including the independent assessment carried out by former Congressman Howard Wolpe, ensured that NDI's programs in Burundi were more suitably structured to help address the country's democratic development problems.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

In the original proposal, NDI stated that the evaluation process for this project would be done in accordance with established self-evaluation procedures. The Institute also stated that field staff would consult regularly with program participants. Additionally, NDI planned to seek out third-party analysis of its programs from credible sources, including journalists, members of the diplomatic community and an independent evaluation team that would visit Burundi one year following program start-up. NDI also listed a number of questions that would be answered through these evaluations, including (but not limited to): 1) In what ways did [civic] organizations make use of information provided by NDI about the role played by similar organizations in other new democracies?; 2) How many citizens attended civic education activities and/or were reached by these activities?; 3) In what ways did NDI's long-term presence in Burundi help resolve procedural problems before the Assembly?; 4) In what ways did NDI help individual members define and develop their roles?; and 5) In what ways did NDI contribute to improving dialogue between government/parliamentary officials and military leaders?

In addition to the almost-continuous series of in-house re-evaluations of NDI's programmatic presence in Burundi, the Institute conducted activities inside Burundi that were aimed at providing evaluative feedback on programming. These activities, such as the February and July 1996 evaluative workshops on the democracy booklet, helped answer some of the above questions, while revealing that intervening political events in Burundi had rendered other questions and evaluation techniques irrelevant. For example, initial plans to evaluate the effectiveness of programming carried out by organizations through cooperative funds received from NDI were no longer appropriate. Additionally, given the overwhelming high degree of political polarization between civilian political authorities and leaders of the military, evaluating the effectiveness of NDI efforts to improve dialogue between these two often-opposed camps proved difficult. Nevertheless, the Institute often received constructive feedback on its Burundi programs, which assisted program managers and implementers to evaluate the overall effectiveness of the program (See Appendix XIII., *Letter to NDI President Kenneth Wollack from US Ambassador Robert Krueger*, August 31, 1995).

In July 1995, NDI requested that former Congressman Howard Wolpe travel to Burundi to conduct an independent assessment of the Institute's presence and offer advice on possible future programming. Wolpe concluded: "It will be important to review the practicality of such programs

on a day-to-day basis, but all parties affirm the importance both of the work with parliamentarians and of the effort to strengthen Burundian civil society." He also encouraged NDI to maintain its in-country presence to help strengthen and encourage moderate political leaders (See earlier-referenced Appendix XII., *"Burundi: An Assessment"*, July 10, 1995).

Support for political moderates in Burundi formed one of the foundations for the Institute's initial decisions to proceed with program activities, despite analyses that predicted a continual downward spiral of the Burundian political dynamic. In deciding to proceed, NDI had concluded that sufficient political space still existed in the country in mid-1994 to carry out programs that might help support the fragile democratic institutions remaining in the wake of the October 1993 coup attempt. Unfortunately, this space, instead of broadening, steadily narrowed during the life of the project. As predicted, extremists on both sides of the ethnic divide increasingly determined the nature of political developments in the country. Political extremism was fanned not only by events inside Burundi but also by regional events, such as the Rwandan genocide and ensuing massive refugee outflows, from which Burundi was not immune. Such realities dashed hopes that political stability would return to Burundi and permit renewed progress toward a long-term democratic resolution of the country's underlying socio-political problems.

Ultimately, this program, as well as many others carried out by countless other organizations based inside and outside Burundi, was not sufficient to help moderate Burundians reverse the trends that led to the July 1996 coup d'état. Nevertheless, many Burundians have, through their receptivity to this and other democratic development programs, demonstrated they recognize that a truly democratic process, incorporating guarantees and safeguards for both majority and minority ethnic groups, offers the best hope for a long-term solution to the region's problems. Burundi has previously overcome violence and political oppression rivaling or surpassing that which currently grips the country. NDI joins with the international community in eagerly awaiting the day when Burundians will be able to awake from the nightmare that has descended on their country. Through this program, NDI has provided modest yet enduring tools to help Burundians move ahead towards building a democratic society when that day comes.

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM

TO: NDI Staff
FROM: Tim M.
DATE: July 11, 1994
RE: François Héon Field Report

NDI's Burundi field representative, François Héon, returned last week to Nairobi from a week-long stay in South Africa, where he met with a number of NGOs. Attached is a copy of his trip report - he and I would very much appreciate some feedback on François' observations and suggestions.

The purpose of François' South African trip was two-fold. First, at the conclusion of the June 12-25 assessment, NDI agreed with USAID and the US Embassy in Bujumbura that we should delay by approximately one month the debut of our program in Burundi. Therefore, we proceeded to identify projects in the field that François could observe firsthand, thereby better preparing him for his mission. Secondly, we believed that François could obtain some very useful examples in South Africa that could later be applied to the Burundian context. I believe that his report demonstrates that this latter goal was accomplished.

François is now in Nairobi awaiting the "yes-you-can-now-return" green light from the US missions in Bujumbura. We anticipate this to happen shortly, as the negotiations to name a new president appear to be moving ahead. François expects to get some details tomorrow from Marty Schulman, the USAID democracy project officer in Bujumbura. Schulman has indicated that he intends to raise the NDI issue during a meeting with the ambassador.

Again, I believe it would mean alot to François to get some feedback on this, his first bonafide field report. Thanks and stay tuned.

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MEMORANDUM

To:Tim McCoy Fax#: (202) 939-3166
From: Francois Heon (254-2) 339-462
Date: July 11, 1994
Re: South Africa trip report

The trip to Johannesburg has highlighted the following three points which will serve as background to the possible areas of intervention I will present later:

First are the similarities of the political dynamics in both South Africa and Burundi. Although the comparisons are limited, it did not take long for the South Africans I met to relate with the experience of the Burundians. Most of their recommendations were based on their own experience and were highly consistent with what we had heard from Burundians. The history of minority dominance, the democratic election of representatives from the traditionally dominated majority, a culture of violence and radical militancy particularly in the youth, and the difficult civil-military relations have fostered the creation of South African NGOs which answer to many issues we had identified in Burundi.

Secondly, compared with the nascent civil society in Burundi South Africa offers a highly developed and sophisticated community of NGOs. So much so that many of their leaders are now being recruited in the government.

Whereas South Africa has an important NGO community to play its role in a new-found democracy the same is not true for Burundi. It appears even clearer in contrast to South Africa that Burundi does not have the civil society to sustain a democratic culture. Apart from a few NGOs, I think most Barundi feel powerless and without a clear sense of how they can play a role in the new democratic system.

For most Burundians, democracy appears as foreign and the source of much chaos and conflict. This is particularly exemplified by the overwhelming dominance of the extremist discourse (in and out of government) which sees as the only alternative the extermination of "the other". It thus appears that Burundians will have to learn about democracy in ways that they can make it their own. Only then will we see the burgeoning of a Burundian civic culture that supports a democratic system.

And thirdly, I have been reminded that the growth of the civil society in South Africa is in great part due to the support from the international NGO community. The degree of international attention on South Africa has brought with it much financial and technical assistance. We have thus been strongly encouraged as representatives of the international NGO community to pursue our

24

objective of supporting the development of a civil society in Burundi.

This last show of support was also consistent with the reactions we had in Burundi. When Jean Lavoie asked former president Pierre Buyoya how he welcomed our presence in Burundi. Buyoya was most welcoming. He went on to ask NDI and the international community for that matter, for a profound commitment (engagement profond). Buyoya's call was consistent with most if not all of our meetings.

Furthermore, we have actually been told on a few occasions that NDI had appeared reluctant to get involved and capitalize on its influence on the governing process. And that further involvement on NDI's part was particularly needed as democracy was new and unknown territory for most.

Following are some areas which have been highlighted by South Africans and which reaffirm those we identified back in Burundi. Three themes bound these areas: transparency, dialogue and training.

1. Transparency: Civic education and the media

Before leaving Burundi, I met with Louis-Marie Nindorera who seems to be a likely partner in terms of our mandate to strengthen civic organizations. Louis-Marie is directing a program to strengthen civic organizations (funded by CECI--a Canadian aid program) and is president of APPLE (Association pour la protection et la liberte d'expression) a human rights organization focused on promoting freedom of expression.

Louis-Marie is also involved in organizing a set of three conferences on the civil society with the first one planned for August. I expect to meet with him when I get back and see whether NDI could collaborate in organizing these conferences.

Before taking on these responsibilities, Louis-Marie was the general director of the national radio in Burundi. He was fired when choosing not to follow government prescriptions in terms of news coverage. One of Louis-Marie's dream is to set up a radio that would serve as an independent news source as well as serve civic education needs.

In Burundi like in most African countries, radio is the public medium "par excellence". This was confirmed by other South African NGOs which I met with Anna Wang (Matla Trust, the South African Council of Churches and The Independent Forum for Electoral Education). These organizations had only praise for the use of radio as a medium for civic education. Through radio, they had reached thousands of people at once and allowed for creative ways of educating (e.g. soap opera) as well as give direct voice to people's views (e.g. phone-in shows). The radio as they saw it, could be a mirror in which people identified themselves and could learn about themselves. In Burundi's case, a professional radio could also counteract the destructive rumor mill which is so rampant and so easily manipulated in that society.

I am very encouraged by the set of three conferences on the civil society. This grassroots initiative seems to be an excellent step in developing the country's NGO community. In

25

terms of the radio idea, I think it is something worth thinking about.

? Do you know of any attempts to integrate a civic education agenda with radio in french African countries? or at trying to actually set up a community radio?

2. Dialogue: Civil-civil, civil-governmental, civil-military.

I also met with "The independent board of Inquiry" and "The center for violence and reconciliation" which have extensive experience at investigating law enforcement activities and facilitating dialogue between various groups (e.g. youths, police and community).

In a context of fear and mistrust where "the other" is too often seen as "the enemy", dialogue is a most efficient way to discover "the other" differently. Any discrimination is based on rigid generalizations which can only be shattered by meeting the other as he/she is. The Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation shared with us some powerful examples of training programs they did with youths of various backgrounds. In one discussion group, a Zulu man and a White woman came to the common realization that they both experienced violence as a way to get a sense of control and power. Their realization created the space to learn alternative ways to seek empowerment while discovering common ground.

Aside from Buyoya's expected Fall conference on peace and reconciliation, we have not heard of any organized effort to facilitate dialogue between conflicting groups. In light of the profound distrust of Hutus and Tutsis for each other, it would seem warranted to facilitate dialogue work in complement with more investigative work. To facilitate the civil society's growth will require civilians to discover common ground. Such efforts would seem a natural precursor to civil-governmental and civil-military dialogue.

In South Africa like in Burundi, the youth have been brought up in a culture of violence and radical militancy. It is common knowledge in Burundi for example, that young Tutsis have been recruited by the RPF and applauded by their families for going off to war with their Rwandan cousins.

Although we have not yet identified any group or effort that targets the youth it is still an avenue I intend to explore. If civic education is to have a long term effect, the youth need to learn. As we have been told in South Africa, the youth are often the ones going back home to educate their parents with their new found knowledge.

3. Training: Organizational development and be on the lookout for progressive church leaders

While in South Africa the other important assistance need that was expressed to us was basic managerial/organizational assistance. In Burundi's context, it would seem that NGO development should go hand in hand with NGO community

development. Strengthening the NGO community where Tutsis and Hutus can meet and work (and argue) towards common goals is foundational to developing a civic culture. A strengthened NGO community can be better able at engaging the government and the military and by that very fact further strengthen its role.

What was also recommended by South Africans was to work with progressive church leaders. Although there does not seem to be a Burundi equivalent to Bishop Tutu, this remains to be further explored. Not only does the church have the infrastructure to reach all Burundians it is deeply embedded in Burundian life and culture.

Following are steps I plan to take once I return to Burundi in light of these additional South African learnings.

1. get back to where we left off in terms of assessing the Burundian society and identify the most appropriate leverage points for us to focus upon.

2. set up home and office

3. meet with Louis-Marie Nindorera and see whether NDI can collaborate in organizing the three conferences on the civil society. As well further discuss the idea of a radio/civic education program

4. further explore what is being done in terms of the youth and women. In particular efforts that could engage individuals in dialogue or support groups that bring them in interaction with "the other" group.

5. meet with church leaders and church organizations and seek the inspired ones.

6. meet with the Minister of Elementary and Adult education who had proposed the idea of setting up meeting places in the communes where civic education could take place. I have also read about such efforts in some communes which I would like to check out.

7. meet with ITEKA and try to see how best I can help them. They have talked about setting up satellites in the interior. ITEKA seems to also be undergoing some leadership problems which may require specific assistance.

8. seek french African NGOs which have successfully dealt with some of the previously mentioned issues and which could share their experience with Burundians?

In conclusion, the trip to South Africa has been inspiring as it has re-affirmed the need for our presence in Burundi and offered a glimpse of the untapped potential of the Burundian civil society.

APPENDIX II

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MEMORANDUM

To: Ken, Jean, Ned, Jean L. Tim, Kevin, Pat K., EWA. and Marty Schulman (USAID)
From: François Héon
Date: November 14, 1994
Subject: Final assessment report and proposed workplan

"Wherever democracy has fallen, it was too exclusively political in nature. It had not become part of the bone and blood of people in daily conduct. Unless democratic habits of thought and action are part of the fiber of a people, political democracy is insecure."
-John Dewey

Background:

Introduction:

The re-establishment of political institutions and popular acceptance reopens the door for NDI to pursue its assistance to Burundi's civil society and National Assembly. Seminars and activities on peace and democracy are becoming weekly events, politicians of opposite camps have increasingly been able to meet and discuss in ways that would have been impossible even before the elections, extremists have been marginalized of the political scene, and civic groups and politicians are increasingly finding the space for conciliatory discourses and actions.

However, Burundi's problems are far from over. The scars are very deep. And Democracy has a long way to go in re-establishing itself as the people's choice. The political transition has accentuated the divisions among Tutsis and Hutus, civilians and politicians lack understanding and identification with democratic principles, and violence and retaliation are still symptoms of a weak State of law.

Burundi's painful transition towards Democracy makes NDI's proposed assistance even more warranted today. Particularly warranted in assisting the strengthening of nascent democratic institutions which have little understanding of Democracy and which have not been prepared to play their role in it. NDI's recognition as a leading participant in Burundi's transition to democracy makes it well suited to pursue its assistance.

The transition towards Democracy and the need for re-education.

A significant difference between the democratic transitions of Burundi and South Africa is the degree to which the previous leadership was conscious of the inevitability for a change in power and prepared for it. South Africa engaged in extensive preparations for civilian participation and prepared for the handing over of power from the white minority to the black majority. In Burundi however, most Tutsis including former President Buyoya were convinced of leading the first democratic government. And thus had not prepared themselves nor their militants to the eventuality of a Frodebu victory.

Since the elections, Tutsi groups have tried to regain power militarily or at least try to calm their fears by regaining power through political means. Conversely, the Hutu/Frodebu leadership had not prepared itself and its constituents to lead and govern Burundi's governing class (in particular the Tutsi dominated army). This lead to many abuses of power that further discredited the inexperienced Hutu leadership.

The recent power sharing agreement is an example of the Tutsi's unwillingness to be lead by a Hutu majority and its strong need to be reassured in terms of its security. The agreement gave back Tutsis a prominent place in the government and created such institutions as the Security Council to pay particular attention to the security of Burundi's minorities (especially Tutsis). In that matter, the power sharing agreement can be seen as a significant readjustment which may have been necessary for the political transition to take place, and thus better reflect the political reality of the country.

Education and Training as catalysts for a Democratic culture

As many have suggested, it is time to go back to basics. To focus on education and help civilians and politicians along this cultural transition. The word "cultural" should be emphasized here. The democratic system has been hardly sustained because of the lack of a democratic culture. Civil society has not been able to take on its responsibilities as it has been historically forbidden to do so. And politicians have also failed to understand their call for service and leadership.

Efforts are thus needed to help Burundians: 1. make sense of this new political system so they can make it their own, 2. learn how democracy gives them rights they did not have before as well as duties, 3. discover how the public realm can be transformed and improved by their participation, 4. And realize how democratic institutions need to be supported by "democratic habits of thought and action" to survive.

Civilians like politicians look to NDI for assistance on this matter. As a child who has stumbled at its first steps, Burundians are asking NDI to continue its assistance. NDI's privileged status in Burundi and its participation in the political transition makes it well suited to pursue its work. The question is no longer whether there are program possibilities; there are more possibilities than we can handle. Instead, the question for us is how to focus our energies appropriately and contribute the most

from our presence here.

Yet what is the best way to educate people about democracy when they have difficulty accepting the other as an equal participant in the political and social reality of their country? As Burundians learn about this new system which they have adopted, they will also have to learn and accept that they are irremediably called to co-exist with their neighbor in order to make this system work. And that Democracy offers a much more constructive way to find common ground and manage their differences.

The following program activities will highlight how NDI can assist in strengthening civil society and the parliament in the present context. The proposed interventions will attempt to help Burundians move away from a tradition of State-dependency to become effective participants in <u>their</u> democratic system.

<u>Proposed programs:</u>

Civic organizations assistance:

1. Assist former President Buyoya's Fondation pour l'Unité, la Paix et la Démocratie in organizing a conference entitled "CONFERENCE REGIONALE SUR LE PROCESSUS DE RECONCILIATION EN AFRIQUE: CAS DU BURUNDI".

After meetings with Mr. Buyoya here in Burundi and with KEN, Ned and Tim in Washington, it has been agreed to assist him in organizing the conference. The original parameters of our assistance were defined as follows: 1. fund part of the conference by assisting in selecting and inviting foreign participants/speakers, and 2. sit on an adjunct committee to assist in designing the conference. It has been emphasized that the conference clearly be the Fondation's own.

Supporting Buyoya's conference represents an opportunity to show support for a predominantly Tutsi organization committed to Democracy. Such support can show to Tutsis that our allegiance is not exclusive to Hutus (as some believe because of our role in the elections) but that NDI supports groups irrespective of ethnicity as they contribute to the democratic process.

However the question raised by Ken as to the need for this effort to be more broad based is still unanswered and particularly important in this divided context. Even though the intentions may be right, it is very easy, especially in Burundi, to have this effort of education and reconciliation be labeled as "the Buyoya conference" and thus exclude the possibility of having the effort reunite differing groups. Which I think explains some organizations' hesitance to fund the event (e.g.UN Special Representative's office).

I have thus tried to find an appropriate Hutu counterpart that could co-organize/sponsor the conference and was recommended the name of Mme Ndadaye, the former president's wife. Mme Ndadaye's participation could transform this conference into a national symbol and actual process of reconciliation. In other words the conference would not only talk about the process of reconciliation and democratization in Burundi, it would be doing it.

I met with Mme Ndadaye this weekend. She was interested in participating in such an event as long as it would be organized by a neutral group such as NDI. Mme Ndadaye's view is that the scars are too fresh for any local organizations to be a convener on the subject of reconciliation and democracy. Having an independent organization lead the event would be less compromising for anyone who wished to participate. The UN special representative's assistant supported the idea and offered to assist financially and technically.

I would strongly suggest we follow the latter alternative and propose taking leadership of the conference. This would maximize the participation, the funding, and its receptivity. It would allow Mr. Buyoya to be a central actor in the event as well as reassure others that it is not his alone. This is an important step that will need to be well thought out and acted upon promptly. It may actually be a natural evolution as donors seem to be few for a Buyoya-lead event without mentioning support from the government.

2. Democracy education program

As proposed NDI would engage in a three phase program of public education about democracy through 1. initial research, 2. design of civic education program and 3. implementation of program.

A. Initial research:

The research phase would consist in coordinating a research team of civic organization members who are themselves involved in the domain of civic education such as: ITEKA, a humans rights league, APPLE, committed to promoting freedom of expression which could be particularly helpful with reporting and broadcasting the information, and OJF, a youth group which could meet with the youth. The cross-organizational design: 1. will offer social research training and experience to different organizations, 2.will gather information and report it together which will have more influence than having it done by a single organization, 3. will offer the possibility for different organizations to collaborate and discover common information available to many, and 4. be a sign that Hutus and Tutsis are working together towards peace and democracy.

The research process would also give voice to the rural population of Burundi (i.e. 90% of the nation's population). This fact is particularly important as all Bujumbura-based civic groups admit they do not know where the rural population stands after the year-long crisis. This effort would thus: 1. reflect back to civic organizations and politicians in the capital unheard voices of the majority of the population, 2. allow Bujumbura-based civic groups to bridge the urban-rural gap by meeting and discussing with them, 3. create the opportunity for the rural population to feel involved and listened to which is the first step in encouraging their desire to get involved at the associative level. 4. And help NDI better discern how to program its civic education activities.

To maximize the impact of the information gathered, we would broadcast weekly reports in which excerpts and commentaries could offer people the chance to learn about what is discovered and have

it be a context for immediate civic education to take place. These broadcasts could offer the nation a view of itself.

The success of such research rests primarily on the researchers' ability to create a climate of trust in which people can open up and share constructively. Training of those researchers will thus be important as well as the design of the actual visits to localities.

The level of research skills warrants that NDI play a leadership role at this phase and subsequently collaborate with NGO initiatives that emerge from this process. More on this project as it becomes more conceptualized with the different collaborators.

Additional civic organization assistance:

In addition to the two previous programs, NDI would continue consulting with such organizations as the Scouts who intend to organize civic education work camps in the new year (see previous memo).

In addition, Marty Schulman (USAID) and I agree on the need to make small sums of money available for specific events. Such funding is not planned in our proposal and would allow us more flexibility to adapt to the reality of Burundian civil society. Nascent groups that have excellent ideas but do not have the organizational structure nor the resources to comply with the usual requirements for funding could benefit immensely from small donations. As well, established organizations would also benefit from punctual assistance of such events as the upcoming anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The administrative staff will help accomplish some of this work.

<u>Strengthening the National Assembly:</u>

Burundi's National Assembly is young and very weak. Particularly weak these days as Frodebu has been unable to convince the opposition to accept Mr. Minani as the new president of the National Assembly. As I discussed earlier, parliamentarians like their constituents need to learn about Democracy and their role in it. Part of their lack of legitimacy is their ignorance and lack of experience. It is thus important that these representatives be trained to better serve their electorate in the National Assembly and back in their constituency.

Programs could focus on basic democracy education as well as more specific parliamentary training. Hopefully such training could better prepare these representatives to return to their own constituency to educate their constituents. Future citizen-representative forums would seem particularly appropriate for such education and would help citizens and representatives learn about their new roles and relationship to each other.

Jean will be in a better position to specifically address this question when he comes next week.

Conclusion:

NDI is very respected here for its assistance in the democratization process, and is strongly encouraged to continue its assistance despite the early failures. NDI's very good relationships with USAID, the American embassy and the UN's special representative's office for example, offer a context in which it could be most effective in contributing to the strengthening of democratic institutions.

The challenges and the opportunities are equally great. Without minimizing the challenges it appears timely for NDI to pursue its planned activities. NDI staff will be able to work safely and continue contributing to the political development of Burundi.

Workplan:

-a priority is to confirm the housing arrangement which had been set up for the assessment mission. In addition, find office space and equipment as well as hire a receptionist. I strongly suggest that we bring in, as proposed, and a soon as possible a third NDI staff to take care of administrative questions. Both civic organizations and parliamentary work will require such assistance.

-pursue the preparatory work for the conference organized (or co-organized) by former president Buyoya's organization.

-begin designing the democracy education research program

-continue consulting work with such organizations as the Scouts.

-Have Jean Lavoie come in December complete his own assessment of how he sees assisting the parliament

1995
January-February-March:

-complete assistance and participate in conference

-complete preparatory work for research program

-continue individual consulting and possible assistance of such groups as the Scouts.

-Jean begins reacquainting himself with the political environment and prepare programming

April-May-June

-implement research program, report gathered information on radio, and identify subsequent program collaborations

-parliamentary work to be defined (parliament is in session April and May)

August-September-October-November-December

-implementation of democracy education programs in rural areas and Bujumbura including international seminars and possibly citizen-representative forums

-parliamentary program to be defined. (Parliament is in session October and November)

1996
January-February-March-April

-complete civic organization and parliamentary programming and assess NDI's future assistance to Burundi.

APPENDIX III

LISTE DES INVITES

X- JACOB ZUMA

X- Le Président Julius NYERERE, Ancien Président de Tanzanie

X- Le Général Ahmedou TOUMANI Touré, Ancien Président du Mali

X- Le Secrétaire Général de l'OUA, Dr SALIM Ahmed Salim ADDAIS ABEBA

- ~~Monseigneur l'Archevêque Desmond TUTU, Afrique du Sud~~

X- Le Cardinal Roger ETCHEGARAY, Président du Conseil Pontificale justice et paix, Rome

X- L'Ambassadeur Herman COHEN, Ancien sous-Secrétaire d'Etat Chargé de l'Afrique (U.S.A.)

confirmed - Monsieur Peter GASTROW,

X- Le Père Mark RAPER, Président de la Jésuite Refugee Service (Australie) ROME

- Madame Betty BIGOMBE, Ministre Délégué auprès du Premier Ministre Chargé de la pacification de la région du Nord de l'Ouganda.

confirmed X- Monsieur CIELLIERS, Directeur Exécutif de Institute for Defense policy (Afrique du Sud) Joburg

- Mark HELLER, Analyste à l'Institut des Etudes Stratégiques de Tel à viv (Israël)

X- Jean Paul TAUX, Directeur du département Afrique au C.I.C.R.

- Monseigneur Monsengo, Président du Haut Conseil de la République (HCR) lors des négociations entre partis politiques du Zaïre.

- Monseigneur Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo, Archevêque de Bukavu

- Honorable Pius MSEKWA, Président du parlement tanzanien.

- Monsieur Patrick MAZIMPAKA, Ministre de la Jeunesse et du Mouvement Coopératif (Rwanda)

- Monsieur Alphonse-Marie NKUBITO, Ministre de la Justice et Garde des Sceaux (Rwanda)
- Monsieur l'Abbé André SIBOMANA, Ancien Directeur du Journal Kinyamateka, actuellement responsable du diocèse de Kabwayi
- Monsieur KAMANDA WA KAMANDA, Vice-Premier Ministre Chargé des Réformes Institutionnelles, Ministre de la Justice et Garde des Sceaux. (Zaïre)
- Monsieur Mukulumanya Wa NGATE NZENDA, Ancien Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (Zaïre)
- Madame Gertrude NJURA, Directrice du NRM (Ouganda)
- Honorable Abeduyi MUKWAYA, Membre du parlement (Ouganda)
- X Madame Anisia ACHING, Sudan Women for peace
- confirmed X Madame Patience PASHE, Directrice Women mouvement for peace (Afrique du Sud)
- X Washington OKUNO, Professeur des sciences politiques à Londres
- Monsieur Tchitendero Mose, Ancien Chef du département politique du Bureau des Nations Unies pour la Namibie ;
- Docteur Katele Kalumba, Vice-Ministre de la Santé (Zambie)
- Elija MUDENDA, Ancien Premier Ministre (Zambie)
- confirmed X Ambassadeur Stephane HESSEL (France) Paris Pre-pay ticket to Brussels
- Le Président Kanan BANAMA, Ancien Président du Zimbabwe, facilitateur dans le conflit Liberien.
- X Le Colonel KINANA, Ministre de la Défense de Tanzanie.
- R. Marshal TUNGAMARAI, Officier Zimbabwéen en retraite
- X Dr Generali ULIMWENGU, Membre du parlement (Dar es Salaam)
- MRS Grace OKELO, Member of constituent Assembly (Kampala)
- M. BALOI, Ministre de la Coopération (Mozambique)
- Honorable DOMINGOS, Deputy member for RENAMO (Mozambique)
- S.E. Monsieur le Ministre Pitre NETO (Angola)
- M. Abel SHILECOVAKLY, membre de l'UNITA (Angola)
- X Mr J.A EKSTEEN, South African Consul - General, Spécialiste des questions de protection des minorités.
- X Mark Heller, (Israël)
- X Faisal Husseini (Palestinian)
- Mohammad Sahnoun (famous Algerian diplomat to chair

APPENDIX IV

GENERAL PROGRAM FOR THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION IN AFRICA

(1) Monday, March 27 1995

- Arrival of participants
- Hotel accommodation

(2) Tuesday, March 28 1995

8:15 a.m.: Welcome and registration of participants

9:00 a.m.: - Opening ceremonies:
Address from the President of La Fondation pour l'Unité, la Paix et la Démocratie;
- Addresses by invited personalities;

11:00 a.m.: Presentation of theme 1: "National Reconciliation and Democracy"

Sub-theme: Managing majority-minority rapport

2:00 - 4:00 p.m.: Small group discussions on first theme

4:30 - 5:00 p.m.: break

5:00 - 6:00 p.m.: Small group discussions on first theme

(3) Wednesday, March 29 1995

8:15 a.m. : Welcome and registration of participants

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.: Plenary session
Synthesis of first theme

10:30 - 11:00 a.m.: break - coffee.

11:00 - 12:30 p.m.: Presentation of second theme "National Reconciliation and security for all".

4:00 - 4:30 p.m.: break

4:30 - 6:00 p.m.: continuation of small group discussions on second theme

(4) Thursday, March 30 1995

8:15 p.m. : Welcome and registration of participants

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.: plenary session
synthesis of second theme

10:30 - 11:30 a.m.: break - coffee

11:00 - 12:30 p.m.: Presentation of third theme
"National Reconciliation and the re-integration of repatriated and displaced persons

2:00 - 4:00 p.m. : Small group discussions on third theme

4:00 - 4:30 p.m. : break

4:30 - 6:00 p.m. : continuation of small group discussions on third theme.
synthesis of third theme.

(5) Friday, March 31 1995

8:15 : Welcome and registration of participants

9:00 - 10:30 a.m. : Round-table on the "Role of the international community in the process of reconciliation"

10:30 - 11:00 a.m.: break - coffee

11:00 - 12:00 p.m.: Plenary session
Synthesis on round-table

12:00 - 1:00 p.m. : Closing ceremonies of the conference
Reading of resolutions and recommendations of participants
Closing address by the president of La Fondation pour l'Unité, la Paix et la Démocratie.

CONFERENCE THEMES

Theme 1. National Reconciliation and democracy

On this central theme, we expect presenters to discuss based on their own experience how democratic governance can be adapted to a society which opts for reconciliation. For example: how to manage national institutions such as the government after democratic elections?

Sub-theme: Managing majority-minority rapport

The functioning of a viable democratic system implies mechanisms which protect minorities. These minorities can be various; ethnic, political, religious, cultural etc. Well informed presenters will share their views on successful efforts at protecting minorities in divided or non-divided societies.

Theme 2. National reconciliation and security for all

Here again, based on personal experience, presenters will address the question of how security can be ensured for all citizens in a divided society on its way towards reconciliation (management of local administrations, police, armed forces).

Theme 3. National reconciliation and the re-integration of repatriated and displaced persons

The phenomena of division in Africa and in the world has often been the source of displacement of populations outside as well as inside one country fleeing all sorts of dangers. Everywhere reconciliation involves the return of populations to their homes. There exists in Africa and elsewhere in the world successful examples of efforts of re-integration. Our wish is that presenters offer the most significant testimonies.

Theme 4. Reconciliation and the role of the international community

As with the other themes, this round-table will be an opportunity to learn from various experiences on the role of the international community in assisting processes of reconciliation and development.

Themes for presentations and discussions (Draft)

- Managing national institutions and national reconciliation

- Managing labor and national reconciliation

- Power sharing and national reconciliation

- Managing security forces and national reconciliation

- Managing local administrations and national reconciliation

- How to resolve the problem posed by the re-integration of repatriated and displaced persons

    - Problems of security
    - Problems of land
    - Problems of work

- Institutional mechanisms which protect minorities

- Participation of minorities in the political and economic management of the State.

APPENDIX V

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TIFN'AMATEGEKO 1.ETAT DE DROIT 2.INZEGO NSHINGWANTWARO 2.POUVOIR EXECUTIF

22.SOLIDARITE 23.IMBONEZA 23.LEADERSHIP 24.IMICO KAMA 24.CULTURE
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Aka gatabu kateguwe n'ubuyobozi bwá / Ce feuillet a été préparé sous la direction du

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Bujumbura, Burundi
tel/fax: 257-21-54-97

Ibifashijwe n'intererano ya / Grâce au financement de

USAID

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COMMENT VIVRE EN DEMOCRATIE AU BURUNDI ?

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NATIONALE 14.IBIKORWA 14.TRAVAIL 15.AMAJAMBERE 15.PROGRES 16.UKWUBAHANATIONALE 14.IBIKORWA 14.TRAVAIL 15.AMAJAMBERE 15.PROGRES 16.UKWUBAHA
UBUZIMA BWA KIREMWA MUNT 16.RESPECT DE LA VIE HUMAINE 17.INZIRA Y'UBWITON:'UBUZIMA BWA KIREMWA MUNT 16.RESPECT DE LA VIE HUMAINE 17.INZIRA Y'UBWITONZI

TWOBAHO GUTE MU NTWARO RUSANGI I BURUNDI?

COMMENT VIVRE EN DEMOCRATIE AU BURUNDI?

IBIRI MURI AKA GATABU BITEGUWE MU KIRUNDI NO MU GIFARANSA.

LE CONTENU DE CE FEUILLET EST PRESENTE EN FRANCAIS ET EN KIRUNDI.

	Page
Introduction	6
Note aux lecteurs et lectrices	8
THEMES	
1. Etat de Droit	10
2. Pouvoir Exécutif	12
a. Le Président de la République	
b. Le Gouvernement	
3. Pouvoir Législatif	14
4. Pouvoir Judiciaire	16
5. Société Civile et Partis Politiques	18
6. Forces de l'Ordre	20
7. Médias	22
8. Elections	24
9. Transparence	26
10. Education	28
11. Egalité	30
12. Liberté	32
13. Unité Nationale	34
14. Travail	36
15. Progrès	38
16. Respect de la Vie Humaine	40
17. Non-Violence	42
18. Paix Sociale	44
19. Confessions Religieuses	46
20. Participation	48
21. Tolérance	50
22. Solidarité	52
23. Leadership	54
24. Culture	56
25. Justice Sociale	58
26. Citoyenneté Responsable	60
Réponses	
Du thème 1 au thème 6	62
Du thème 7 au thème 12	64
Du thème 13 au thème 19	66
Du thème 20 au thème 26	68

IBIRIMWO

	Ku rupapuro
Intangamarara	7
Ico abasomyi botegera	9
IVYIYUMVIRO	
1. Igihugu Kirangwa n'Amategeko	11
2. Inzego Nshingwantwaro	13
a. Umukuru w'Igihugu	
b. Urwego Nshikiranganji	
3. Urwego Nshingamateka	15
4. Urwego rw'Amasentare	17
5. Ibisata Bitegamiye Leta be n'Imigambwe	19
6. Abajejwe Gucungera Umutekano	21
7. Ibimenyeshamakuru	23
8. Amatora	25
9. Ukuvugana Ukuri ku Mugaragaro	27
10. Indero n'Ubumenyi	29
11. Ukungana	31
12. Ukwishira n'Ukwizana	33
13. Ubumwe bw'Abarundi	35
14. Ibikorwa	37
15. Amajambere	39
16. Ukwubaha Ubuzima bwa Kiremwa Muntu	41
17. Inzira y'Ubwitonzi	43
18. Amahoro mu Bantu	45
19. Amadini	47
20. Ugufashanya mu Gutunganya ivy'Igihugu	49
21. Ukwihanganiranira	51
22. Ugushirahamwe	53
23. Imboneza	55
24. Imico Kama	57
25. Ubutungane mu Banyagihugu	59
26. Ubuntu Ndangagihugu Nyakuri	61
Inyishu	
Kuva ku ciyumviro ca 1 gushika ku ca 6	63
Kuva ku ciyumviro ca 7 gushika ku ca 12	65
Kuva ku ciyumviro ca 13 gushika ku ca 19	67
Kuva ku ciyumviro ca 20 gushika ku ca 26	69

Introduction

"Le Burundi est une République unitaire, indépendante et souveraine, laïque et démocratique.
Son principe est le gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple."
(Art. 1 (1-2) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

C'est justement dans un esprit démocratique que le présent feuillet à été développé. Son contenu reflète les idées issues de près d'une centaine de rencontres avec des Burundaises et Burundais de tout milieu, à qui l'on a demandé comment ils percevaient un Burundi démocratique, et comment ils désiraient voir cette réalité s'incarner dans leur pays.

De ces nombreuses rencontres, 26 thèmes ont été identifiés comme fondamentaux. Chacun de ces thèmes vous est présenté sous forme d'énoncés qui synthétisent l'essentiel des commentaires recueillis. Aussi avons-nous ajouté des questions et sujets de discussion pour mieux approfondir chaque thème dans le contexte Burundais. Nous tenons donc à remercier très sincèrement tous ceux qui ont contribué au développement de ce feuillet et qui de ce fait même en sont devenus co-auteurs.

Ce feuillet étant donc le reflet de valeurs et principes auxquels s'associent les Burundaises et Burundais, nous espérons qu'il sera source d'inspiration pour tous. Le Burundi avait suivi l'exemple de plusieurs nations en optant d'intégrer ces valeurs fondamentales au sein de ses institutions. Malheureusement, l'histoire récente a démontré comment il peut être difficile d'incarner ces valeurs et facile de les bafouer. La voie du retour à la paix ne pourra prendre racine que si ces idéaux démocratiques rejaillissent avec conviction, comme point de ralliement de la majorité de la population, désireuse d'un Burundi de paix pour tous.

Intangamarara

"Uburundi ni Repubulika imwe rudende, yigenga vy'ukuri, itegamiye idini na rimwe kandi ishingiye ku ntwaro rusangi.
Intwaro Uburundi bushimikiyeko ikomoka ku banyagihugu, ni bo bayishinga kandi ni bo iharanira."
(Ingingo ya 1(1-2) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

Twateguye aka gatabu mu mugambi wo gutsimbataza intwaro rusangi. Ibirimwo biserura ivyiyumviro vy'Abarundi n'Abarundikazi bababa hafi y'igitigiri c'ijana bamuka mu mice yose y'ubuzima bw'igihugu. Twarababajije ingene babona intwaro rusangi mu Burundi n'ingene bipfuza ko yoshinga imizi mu gihugu cabo.

Muri iyo mibonano itari mike twagize, ivyiyumviro mirongo ibiri na bitandatu vyaribonekeje. Kimwe kimwe muri ivyo vyiyumviro carashikirijwe nk'icegeranyo c'ivyavuzwe vyose. Kandi twarongereje utubazo be n'ivyiyumviro vyo guharirako kugira ngo mubonereho akaryo ko kubinonosora. Tuboneyeho gushimira bimwe bivuye ku umutima abantu bose batanze intererano y'ivyiyumviro bigize aka gatabu mbere kubera ico, ni bo na twebwe, banditsi bako.

Kubera ko aka gatabu ari icegeranyo c'ingingo n'inyifato ngenderwako ku barundi n'abarundikazi bose, twizeye ko kobera bose isoko y'ubwenge burangwa n'umutima. Uburundi bwari bwakurikiye akarorero k'ibihugu vyinshi vyo kw'isi mu gushira mu ngiro ingingo n'inyifato ngenderwako mu nzego nshingiro zabwo. Ariko si ivy'imbeshere ibiheruka kuba vyarerekanye ko izo ngingo n'inyifato zigoye gushira mu ngiro bikoroha kuzisambura. Inzira yo kugarukana amahoro ntishobora kunoga ivyo vyiyumviro bishingiye ku ntwaro rusangi, bitemewe neza na neza ko ari vyo huriro rya benshi mu banyagihugu bama bipfuza na ntaryo kwubaka Uburundi bw'amahoro kuri bose.

Note aux lecteurs et lectrices:

Le feuillet *Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi?* peut se lire de plusieurs façons. On peut le lire thème par thème ou en choisir un ou quelques-uns qui nous intéressent davantage.

Il est également possible d'approfondir certains thèmes à deux ou à plusieurs en discutant autour des questions et sujets qui suivent les énoncés.

Les élèves peuvent aussi dessiner des images pour représenter les énoncés ou improviser des sketches pour incarner les idées dans une scène de la vie quotidienne.

Bonne lecture!

Ico abasomyi botegera:

Agatabu *Twobaho gute mu Ntwaro Rusangi i Burundi?* gashobora gusomwa mu buryo bwinshi. Mushobora gusoma iciyumviro kimwe kimwe, mushobora nogutora kimwe canke bimwe bibashitse ku umutima akaba arivyo munonosora.

Mushobora kubinonosora muri ba'biri canke mu murwi wa benshi, mugaharira no ku utubazo tujanye n'ivyo vyiyumviro.

Abanyeshure bashobora kandi gushushanya ibicapo bisigura ivyo vyiyumviro canke bagategura n'ivyivugo bijanye n'ibiba mu buzima bwa misi yose.

Some ntimurambirwe!

1. *ETAT DE DROIT*

1. Dans un Etat de Droit, on remplace la loi du plus fort par la loi du peuple. Cette loi du peuple s'applique de la même façon au plus fort comme au plus faible dans l'intérêt de tous.

2. Un Etat de droit reconnaît la suprématie de la loi comme la volonté générale du peuple et crée des institutions pour la concevoir (Pouvoir Législatif), l'administrer (Pouvoir Exécutif) et la faire respecter (Pouvoir Judiciaire).

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. Comment s'appelle l'ensemble des lois fondamentales définissant la forme de gouvernement du Burundi?

2. Comment s'appelle l'accord conclu entre les partis politiques agréés en vue de la mise en place d'institutions de "consensus" en septembre 1994, et expirant le 9 juin 1998?

Sujet de discussion :
Distinguez ce qu'on peut faire de ce qu'on ne peut pas faire si l'on désapprouve une loi.

1. *IGIHUGU KIRANGWA N'AMATEGEKO*

1. Mu Gihugu kirangwa n'Amategeko, ibwirizwa ry'igikenye risubirirwa n'ibwirizwa ry'abanyagihugu. Iryo bwirizwa ry'abanyagihugu rikurikizwa co kimwe ku muto no ku mukuru ku neza ya bose.

2. Igihugu kirangwa n'amategeko cemera ko abanyagihugu aribo bashinga ko itegeko riruta vyose, kigatunganya inzego ziryemeza(Urwego Nshingamateka), zikazikurikiza (Inzego Nshingwantwaro), zikongera zikaryubahiriza (Urwego rw'Amasentare).

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. Icegeranyo c'amategeko ngenderwako gisigura ingene igihugu gitunganijwe citwa ngw'iki?

2. Yitwa ngw'iki amasezerano imigambwe yemewe n'amategeko yagiriraniye kugira bashireho inzego nshingwantwaro yumvikanyeko muri nyakanga 1994 mu kiringo kizorangira igenekerezo rya 9 ruheshi 1998?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tandukanye icogirwa n'ikitogirwa iyo mudashimye itegeko.

2. *POUVOIR EXECUTIF*

a. Le Président de la République

1. "Comme chef de l'Etat, le Président de la République s'engage à défendre les intérêts supérieurs de la nation, à assurer l'unité nationale, la paix sociale, la justice sociale et le développement du pays, à promouvoir et à défendre les droits de l'homme et à sauvegarder l'intégrité et l'indépendance de la République."
(Art. 68 (1) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

b. Le Gouvernement

2. Le Gouvernement comprend le Premier Ministre, les ministres et le cas échéant, des Secrétaires d'Etat. Il est composé dans un esprit d'unité nationale et gère la politique de la nation dans le cadre des décisions prises en conseil des Ministres.
(cf. Art.86-87 Constitution de la République du Burundi)

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. Quelle est la durée du mandat du Président de la République et combien de mandats peut-il exercer?

2. Qui dirige l'action du gouvernement dans le cadre des décisions prises en conseil des Ministres?

Sujet de discussion :
Comparez la façon dont le chef démocratique et le chef traditionnel gèrent le pouvoir.

2. *INZEGO NSHINGWANTWARO*

a. Umukuru w'Igihugu

1. "Umukuru w'igihugu yatowe n'abanyagihugu, ararahira ko atazotirigana ku masezerano y'Ubumwe bw'Abarundi, kw'Ibwirizwa Nshingiro n'ayandi mabwirizwa, ko azoharanira ineza y'Uburundi n'abarundi, kwubahiriza ubumwe bw'abarundi, amahoro mu gihugu, ubutungane kuri bose, iterambere ry'igihugu n'agateka ka zina muntu; vyongeye, akubahiriza imbibe n'ukwikukira kwa Repubulika y'Uburundi."
(Ingingo ya 68 (1) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

b. Urwego Nshikiranganji

2. Urwego Nshikiranganji rugizwe n'Umushikiranganji wa mbere, abashikiranganji, n'abanyamabanga ba Leta iyo bikenewe. Abagize Urwego Nshikiranganji bagenwa hisunzwe na ntaryo ubumwe bw'abarundi bakongera bagatunganya iringanizwa ryarwo rukurikije ivyemejwe n'Inama Nshikiranganji.
(cf Ingingo ya 86 Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. Ikiringo c'umukuru w'igihugu kimara igihe kingana iki kandi ashobora kuzotorwa kurongora igihugu kangahe?

2. Ni nde arongora ibikorwa n'urwego nshikiranganji mu vyerekeye ingingo zifatwa n'Inama Nshikiranganji?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Gereranye uburyo umutware w'intwaro rusangi atwara n'uburyo umutware wa kera yatwara.

3. *POUVOIR LEGISLATIF*

1. L'Assemblée Nationale, démocratiquement élue, constitue le reflet de diversités économiques, sociales et régionales d'un peuple.

2. Les représentants du peuple travaillent à l'adoption des lois en servant à la fois les intérêts de leurs électeurs, de leur parti et de la Nation dans son ensemble.

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. Comment se nomment les membres de l'Assemblée Nationale?

2. Comment appelle-t-on celui qui dirige l'Assemblée Nationale?

Sujet de discussion :
Si les députés votent des lois, comment vous assurer que votre député représente vos intérêts?

3. *URWEGO NSHINGAMATEKA*

1. Mu ntwaro rusangi, inama nshingamateka ibwirizwa guserukira abavukagihugu bose mu budasa bwabo bufatiye mu butunzi, mu mibano no mu ntara bavamwo.

2. Abashingamateka nibo bajejwe kwemeza amateka n'amategeko ashize imbere ineza y'ababatoye, y'umugambwe wabo be n'igihugu cose.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. Abagize Inama Nshingamateka bitwa ngw'iki?

2. Uwurongoye Inama Nshingamateka bamwita ngw'iki?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Iyo abashingamateka bashinze amategeko, mwomenya g̃ute ko umushingamateka wanyu aserukira ineza yanyu?

4. *POUVOIR JUDICIAIRE*

1. "Le pouvoir judiciaire, gardien des droits et des libertés publiques, assure le respect de ces droits dans les conditions prévues par la loi."
(Art.39 Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. Parce que tous les êtres sont égaux devant la loi, un juge doit l'appliquer à tous de la même façon, sans discrimination et sans préférence aucune.

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Qui peut influencer les décisions des juges?
a) Le Président de la République
b) Le Gouvernement
c) L'Assemblée Nationale
d) Les juges doivent décider en toute indépendance selon la loi

2. Quelles sont les personnes qui sont au-dessus de la loi?

Sujet de discussion :
Comment le pouvoir judiciaire actuel peut-il s'inspirer de l'institution d'Ubushingantahe du Burundi traditionnel?

4. *URWEGO RW'AMASENTARE*

1. "Sentare ni zo nkinzo ziharanira agateka ka zina muntu, zikakubahiriza, hakurikijwe amabwirizwa."
(Ingingo ya 39 Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Kubera abantu bose bangana imbere y'amategeko, umucamanza ategerezwa kuyakurikiza co kimwe kuri bose, atawukumiriwe canke ngo barabe nkunzi.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ni nde ashobora guhengamika ingingo z'abacamanza?
a) Umukuru w'Igihugu
b) Urwego Nshikiranganji
c) Inama Nshingamateka
d) Abacamanza bategerezwa gushinga ingingo mu bwigenge kandi bakurikije amategeko

2. Abantu bari hejuru y'amategeko ni bande?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mwibaza ko urwego rw'amasentare y'ubu hari icirwa ngirakamaro rwokura ku ntahe yo kumugina y'abashingantahe b'aho hambere mu Burundi?

5. *SOCIETE CIVILE ET PARTIS POLITIQUES*

1. La société civile, fondation d'une société démocratique, aide les citoyens à exprimer leurs idées et à travailler ensemble pour le bien-être de leur communauté.

2. Un parti politique est un regroupement de personnes qui partagent la même vision d'un projet de société démocratique pour le bien-être de tous les citoyens.

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Font partie de la société civile les entités ci-après :
a) Les commerçants
b) L'ensemble des organisations sociales, culturelles et commerciales
c) Le gouvernement
d) Les syndicats
e) Les ligues des droits de l'homme

2. Quels sont les partis politiques signataires de la Convention de Gouvernement du Burundi (septembre 1994)?

Sujet de discussion :
Si vous voulez améliorer quelque chose dans votre quartier, comment pouvez-vous faire appel à la société civile et/ou aux partis politiques? Donnez un exemple.

5. *IBISATA BITEGAMIYE LETA BE N'IMIGAMBWE*

1. Ibisata bitegamiye leta, nkingi y'intwaro rusangi, birafasha abanyagihugu guserura ivyiyumviro vyabo no gukorera hamwe ku neza ya bose.

2. Umugambwe ni ihwaniro ry'abantu benshi bahurikiye kumugambi umwe kugira bateze imbere igihugu n'abanyagihugu.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Iyi mirwi iri mu batagira aho begamiye :
a) Abadandaza
b) Urunani rw'amashirahamwe y'imibano, imico kama n'abudandaji
c) Urwego Nshikiranganji
d) Amasendika
e) Amashirahamwe aharanira agateka ka zina muntu

2. Ni iyihe migambwe yashize igikumu ku masezerano y'intwaro y'Uburundi (nyakanga 1994)

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mushaka guteza imbere ikintu mu gacimbiri kanyu imigambwe canke amashirahamwe yigenga mwoyasaba iki? Tange akarorero.

6. *FORCES DE L'ORDRE*

1. Les forces de l'ordre soutiennent l'Etat en faisant respecter les lois sous le commandement du Pouvoir Exécutif.

2. Les forces de l'ordre manifestent leur professionnalisme en maintenant l'ordre public, tout en assurant l'intégrité physique des citoyens.

Questions/Réponses (page 62)

1. Nommez les différents corps constituant les forces de l'ordre attachées au Ministère de la Défense Nationale.

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Au Burundi les armes à feu sont :
a) Réservées aux forces de l'ordre
b) A distribuer aux jeunes et aux femmes
c) Achetées par celui qui le peut

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez des exemples concrets où les forces de l'ordre font respecter la loi.

6. *ABAJEJWE GUCUNGERA UMUTEKANO*

1. Abajejwe gucungera umutekano barafasha Leta mu kwubahiriza amategeko no mu gucungera umutekano w'abanyagihugu bitegetswe n'Inzego Nshingwantwaro.

2. Abajejwe gucungera umutekano berekana ico bamaze mu gucungera umutekano no mu kwubahiriza ubuzima bw'abanyagihugu bose.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 63)

1. Ni mudondagure imigwi y'abashinzwe gucungera umutekano ikukira ubushikiranganji bw'ukwivuna abansi.

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nzinza.*
Mu Burundi ibigwanisho bicira umuriro :
a) Birekuriwe abajejwe gucungera umutekano
b) Ni ivyo guha urwaruka n'abakenyezi
c) Bigurwa n'uwubishoboye

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange uturorero tw'aho abashinzwe gucungera umutekano bubahiriza amategeko.

7. MEDIAS

1. Un journaliste objectif est un journaliste qui dépasse ses préjugés et tendances pour présenter honnêtement à son public tous les aspects contradictoires d'un sujet d'information ou d'un thème débattu.

2. En présentant de l'information juste, les médias aident les citoyens à distinguer la vérité des rumeurs destructrices.

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. Quel est le médium de communication le plus utilisé au Burundi?

2. *Choisissez la ou les bonnes réponses.*
L'Agence Burundaise de Presse est :
a) Une presse privée
b) Une presse publique
c) Une agence publique qui distribue des informations aux autres agences tant nationales qu'internationales, privées ou publiques

Sujet de Discussion :
Comment se distingue le journalisme professionnel de celui qui ne l'est pas?

7. IBIMENYESHAMAKURU

1. Umumenyeshamakuru w'ukuri ni umumenyeshamakuru arengera ivyo abantu bishize mu mitwe canke ibindi bintu asanzwe yegamiye agashikiriza abanyagihugu inkuru y'ukuri ku ngingo iyariyo yose.

2. Mu kumenyesha inkuru z'ukuri, ibimenyeshamakuru bifasha abanyagihugu gutandukanya ukuri n'ibihuha bidusambuza.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. Uburyo bwo kumenyesha amakuru bukoreshwa kuruta ubundi mu Burundi ni ubuhe?

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Itororokanirizo ry'amakuru ryo mu Burundi ni :
a) Iyandikiro ry'amakuru ryigenga
b) Iyandikiro ry'amakuru rya Leta
c) Itororokanirizo rya Leta ritanga amakuru ku yandi matororokanirizo mu burundi canke mu makungu, yaba y'amaleta canke ayigenga

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mbega ukumenyesha amakuru kwisunga amategeko y'uwo mwuga gutandukaniye he n'ukumenyesha amakuru kutayisunga?

8. *ELECTIONS*

1. L'élection n'est pas une lutte pour la vie, mais une compétition d'idées ou de visions dont l'enjeu est l'opportunité de représenter et de servir la collectivité suivant le choix de la population.

2. Dans un Etat démocratique, l'accession au pouvoir se distingue par la transparence et le respect du processus électoral, sans tricherie.

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. A quelle date ont eu lieu les premières élections Présidentielle et Législative démocratiques au Burundi?

2. Les propositions suivantes sont-elles vraies ou fausses?
   a) Participer aux élections est un devoir civique
   b) Les élections offrent l'occasion de choisir ses dirigeants
   c) Le processus électoral est la seule caractéristique d'un État démocratique
   d) Les élections reflètent la volonté du peuple

Sujet de discussion :
Expliquez comment les élections caractérisent un Etat démocratique.

8. *AMATORA*

1. Itora si ukurondera ubuzima, ahubwo ni uguhiganisha ivyiyumviro n'imigambi mu ntumbero yo guserukira no gukorera abanyagihugu mu gushaka kwabo.

2. Mu ntwaro rusangi ugushikira ubutegetsi guca mu ugukurikiza itegeko rigenga amatora atunganijwe ku mugaragaro ata busuma burimwo.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. Amatora ya mbere y'umukuru w'igihugu ni ay'abamashingamateka yabaye ku magenekerezo ayahe?

2. Amungane akurikira yoba ariyo canke siyo?
   a) Kwitaba amatora ni ibanga ku munyagihugu
   b) Amatora atanga akaryo ko kwitorera abategetsi
   c) Ingendo ishikana ku matora ni yo yonyene iranga igihugu kiri mu ntwaro rusangi
   d) Amatora niyo yerekana ico abanyagihugu bagona

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Sigure ingene amatora ari ngombwa mu kwubaka igihugu c'intwaro rusangi.

9. TRANSPARENCE

1. Un état démocratique se gère de façon transparente, en suivant la loi, sans parti pris à cacher.

2. La transparence consiste à prévoir les mécanismes de fonctionnement des institutions et à les porter à la connaissance de tous les membres de la société, afin que ces derniers puissent s'y référer pour prévaloir ce qui est de leur droit.

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. *A chacune de ces propositions répondez par oui ou non.*
En Démocratie travailler de façon transparente implique :
a) Associer les concernés à la prise des décisions
b) C'est gérer le pouvoir en respectant la loi de façon claire et à la vue de tous
c) C'est gérer le pouvoir en garantissant le droit aux citoyens et aux médias d'avoir accès à l'information légalement accessible

2. Choisissez l'exemple qui relève de la transparence.
a) Un professeur corrige et remet les copies à ses élèves pour les éventuelles réclamations suivant la grille de correction établie d'avance
b) Un autre ne donne ni les copies ni la grille de correction à ses élèves mais transcrit leurs notes sur les bulletins

Sujet de discussion :
Présentez les actes d'une autorité qui témoignent la transparence.

9. UKUVUGANA UKURI KU MUGARAGARO

1. Mu ntwaro rusangi, Igihugu gitwarwa hakurikijwe amategeko, ku mugaragaro ata ruhande ruhishijwe.

2. Ukuvugana ukuri ku mugaragaro n'ugutegekanya uburyo bw'ingene inzego zikora, ukongera ukabumenyesha abanyagihugu bose kugira ngo nabo bashobore kubwishimikiza mu gusaba ibibegukira.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. *Ishura ego canke oya ku ryungane rimwe rimwe.*
Mu ntwaro rusangi gukora mu buryo bwo kuvugana ukuri ku mugaragaro bisaba :
a) Gukorana n'abanyagihugu mu gufata ingingo
b) Gukora ukurikije amategeko ku buryo butomoye kandi bose babona
c) Gutwara wemerera abanyagihugu n'ibimenyeshamakuru ko bazoronka inkuru bishimikije amategeko

2. Tore akarorero kerekana kuvugana ukuri ku mugaragaro :
a) Umwarimu akosora akongera agasubiza impapuro abanyeshure biwe kugira ngo bagire ivyo basaba bakurikije inyishu z'ibibazo yakosoreyeko yari yarateguye imbere y'igihe
b) Uwundi adatanga impapuro canke inyishu z'ibibazo yakosoreyeko mugabo, agaca yandika amanota ku mpapuro z'amanota

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Erekane ibikorwa umutegetsi wanyu yakoze biserura ukuvugana ukuri ku mugaragaro?

10. EDUCATION

1. Pour qu'un Burundi démocratique se développe, il est essentiel que la population dans son ensemble ait accès à l'éducation.
(cf. Art. 32 (1) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. La meilleure éducation que les adultes puissent transmettre aux plus jeunes est par l'exemple de leurs actes.

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. Quel est le taux d'alphabétisme au Burundi?

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Quel était le pourcentage du budget alloué aux deux ministères de l'enseignement au Burundi en 1995?
a) 8,9%
b) 12,6%
c) 20,9%
d) 35,4%

Sujet de discussion :
Quels rôles jouent les intervenants suivants dans l'éducation : politiciens, parents, éducateurs?

10. INDERO N' UBUMENYI

1. Kugira Uburundi butere imbere mu ntwaro rusangi, birakenewe ko abarundi bose baronka inyigisho.
(cf. Ingingo ya 32 (1) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Indero nziza abakuze bashobora guha urwaruka ni akarorero keza mu vyo bakora.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. Abazi gusoma no kwandika bashikana ibice bingahe kw'ijana mu Burundi?

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ni ikihe gice muri ibi categekanijwe gukoreshwa mu bushikiranganji bubiri bw'inyigisho mu Burundi mu 1995?
a) 8,9%
b) 12,6%
c) 20,9%
d) 35,4%

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Aba bantu bafise irihe banga mu ndero : Abanyapolitike, abavyeyi n'abarezi?

11. EGALITE

1. "Tous les hommes sont égaux devant la loi et ont droit sans distinction, à une égale protection de la loi."
(Art. 15 (2) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. Les inégalités devant la loi blessent la dignité humaine et provoquent des injustices réciproques.

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Dans la Démocratie, les citoyens doivent être traités :
a) De façon inégale
b) D'une bonne façon
c) De façon égale

2. Par quel mot peut-on compléter cette phrase :
"Tous les hommes sont.....devant la loi ".

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez des exemples où l'on vous a traité ou servi comme égal aux autres, comme inférieur aux autres, et comme supérieur aux autres. Quelles ont été vos réactions aux trois situations?

11. UKUNGANA

1. "Abantu bose barangana imbere y'amabwirizwa, arabubahiriza bose co kimwe ata gucagura."
(Ingingo ya 15 (2) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Ukutangana imbere y'amategeko biracafuza kama ka muntu kandi bikwega akarenganyo mu bantu.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Mu ntwaro rusangi, abanyagihugu bafatwa gurtya :
a) Mu buryo bwo gusumbasumbana
b) Mu buryo bwiza
c) Mu buryo bwo kungana

2. Ni irihe jambo mwokwuzurisha iri ryungane :
"Abantu bose.....imbere y'amategeko"

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange uturorero tw'aho babafashe ko mungana n'abandi, muri musi y'abandi, muri hejuru y'abandi. Ivyo bihe uko ari bitatu mwavyifashemwo gute?

12. LIBERTE

1. La liberté est à la base de nos droits humains, surtout ceux de pouvoir s'exprimer, de circuler librement et de choisir son lieu de résidence dans son pays.

2. Toute personne peut être privée de sa liberté au nom de la loi; mais même dans ce cas, cette personne doit être traitée avec humanité et avec le respect de la dignité inhérente à la personne humaine.
(cf. Art. 14 (3) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

Questions/Réponses (page 64)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Quelle(s) forme(s) de liberté caractérise une société démocratique?
a) La liberté des oiseaux
b) La liberté de se faire justice soi-même
c) La liberté de se marier avec quelqu'un(e) d'une autre ethnie
d) La liberté d'expression

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
La liberté signifie :
a) Faire tout ce que l'on veut
b) Faire tout ce que l'on peut
c) La faculté de faire tout ce qui n'est pas contraire à la loi et qui ne nuit à personne

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez un exemple au sein duquel vous avez vu la liberté d'expression être utilisée de façon constructive et un autre de façon destructive? Présentez les avantages et les inconvénients de ces exemples.

12. UKWISHIRA N'UKWIZANA

1. Ukwishira n'ukwizana ni yo nkingi y'agateka ka zina muntu, cane cane mu gushikiriza ico yipfuza, mu kwidegemvya ataco yinona hamwe n'ugutora aho umuntu aba mu gihugu camwibarutse.

2. Umuntu wese arashobora kubuzwa kwishira n'ukwizana bivuye ku mategeko; mugabo naho nyene, uyo muntu ategerezwa gufatwa runtu akagumana agateka kagenga zina muntu.
(cf. Ingigo ya 14 (3) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 65)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ni ubuhe buryo bwo kwishira n'ukwizana buranga igihugu kiri mu ntwaro rusangi?
a) Ukwishira n'ukwizana kw'inyoni
b) Ukwishira n'ukwizana mu kwihanira
c) Ukwishira n'ukwizana mu kwubakana n'uwo mudasangiye ubwoko
d) Ukwishira n'ukwizana mu mvugo no mu nyandiko

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ukwishira n'ukwizana bisigura :
a) Gukora ico cose ushaka
b) Gukora ico cose ushoboye
c) Ububasha bwo gukora ico cose kidateye kubiri n'amategeko vyongeye ata n'umwe kironderera inabi

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange akarorero k'aho ukwishira n'ukwizana mu vyiyumviro vyubaka n'aho bisambura. Tange ivyiza n'ibibi kuri ubwo burorero.

62

13. UNITE NATIONALE

1. Dans une démocratie, on découvre l'Unité en appréciant les différences comme complémentaires.

2. Préserver l'Unité des Barundi, c'est préserver ses amitiés avec ceux et celles de "l'autre" groupe en évitant de se laisser faussement diviser.

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. Quels sont les deux autres mots qui complètent avec "Unité" la devise du Burundi?

2. Un seul homme ne peut pas pousser une voiture en panne mais trois hommes le peuvent; pourquoi?

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez l'exemple d'un(e) ami(e) de qui vous vous sentez séparé(e) par les divisions des groupes auxquels vous êtes identifiés.

13. UBUMWE BW'ABARUNDI

1. Mu ntwaro rusangi, ubumwe bukomezwa n'ukubona ko ubudasa bw'abantu ari magiriranire.

2. Gutsimbataza Ubumwe bw'Abarundi ni kugumana ubucuti nabo tudasangiye ubwoko no kutemera kwicamwo imirwi

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Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Ni ayahe majambo abiri yuzuza hamwe "n'ubumwe" icivugo c'Uburundi.

2. Umuntu umwe ntashobora gusunika umuduga wapfuye ariko abantu batatu bo barabishobora, kuki?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange akarorero kavuga ivyerekeye umugenzi mwatandukanye kubera amacakubiri y'imigwi mwiyitirira.

53

14. *TRAVAIL*

1. Aucun citoyen ne doit être lésé dans son travail en raison de son ethnie, de ses opinions et de ses croyances.

2. Le travail est une création sociale qui met à contribution tous les citoyens : il réduit le chômage et la délinquance, sources de banditisme et de violence.

3. C'est en impliquant davantage les travailleurs dans les prises de décisions qu'ils découvrent eux aussi une nouvelle façon de gérer le pouvoir qui est démocratique.

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. Quelle proportion de l'ensemble des échanges commerciaux du Burundi est attribuée à chacun des continents suivants :
   a) Europe (? %)
   b) Asie (? %)
   c) Afrique (? %)
   d) Amérique (? %)

2. Quels sont les quatre produits les plus exportés du Burundi?

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez un exemple concret d'un patron qui inspire sa gestion par des valeurs démocratiques. En quoi diffère-t-il d'autres patrons?

14. *IBIKORWA*

1. Nta munyagihugu n'umwe agenewe gutotezwa mu kazi kubera ubwoko bwiwe, ivyiyumviro canke idini.

2. Ibikorwa bihuza abanyagihugu bose, bigabanya ubushomeri, ubuhumbu, vyo nzanyi y'ubusuma n'ubwicanyi.

3. Abakoresha bafatikanije n'abakozi mu gushinga amabwirizwa ya kazi, abakozi baca bamenya uburyo bushasha bwogutunganya ivy'igihugu kiri mu ntwaro rusangi.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Ni ibihe bice kw'ijana bijanye n'ivyo guhanahana ibidandazwa hagati y'Uburundi n'amakungu akurikira :
   a) Uburaya (% ?)
   b) Aziya (% ?)
   c) Afrika (% ?)
   d) Amerika (% ?)

2. Ni ibihe bidandazwa bine bikuru bikuru Uburundi bushora mu mahanga?

Duharire kuri :
Tange akarorero kaboneka k'aho umukoresha akurikiza inyifato ngenderwako z'intwaro rusangi. Ataniye kuki n'abandi bakoresha?

15. PROGRES

1. Une société qui progresse est une société qui est autonome et qui se définit par elle-même.

2. Le progrès d'une société se traduit par l'épanouissement de ses membres et de ses commmunautés dans le respect des différences.

3. Le progrès d'une société se traduit aussi par un développement socio-économique durable dans l'intérêt général d'aujourd'hui et de demain.

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1 .Quels sont les deux autres mots qui complètent avec "Progrès" la devise du Burundi?

2. Les propositions suivantes sont-elles vraies ou fausses?
   a) Une société qui progresse ferme les yeux sur l'impunité et perçoit les différences comme source de division
   b) Une société qui progresse cultive le respect mutuel et améliore les conditions de vie de ses membres
   c) Un pays qui progresse démontre une plus grande capacité à résoudre ses différends sans violence

Sujet de discussion :
Décrivez comment vous voyez un Burundi qui progresse, qui se développe. Que pouvez-vous faire pour y contribuer?

15. AMAJAMBERE

1. Igihugu mu gutera imbere kirondera kwigenga, kandi kikagumana akaranga kaco.

2. Iterambere ry'igihugu ribonekera mukugene abanyagihugu n'imiryango bateye imbere mu vyiyumviro no mu kwubahiriza ubudasa bwabo.

3. Iterambere ry'igihugu ribonekera kandi ku majambere arama mu mibano n'ubutunzi, ku neza ya bose, ubu no muri kazoza.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Ni ayahe majambo abiri yuzuza hamwe "n'amajambere" icivugo c'Uburundi?

2. Aya mungane niyo canke siyo?
   a) Igihugu kiriko kiratera imbere kirihoza ukudahana ivyaha kigafata ibitandukanya abantu ko arivyo nzanyi y'amacakubiri
   b) Igihugu mu gutera imbere cigisha kwubahana kikarondera akarusho mu mibereho y'abakigize
   c) Igihugu mu gutera imbere cerekana ubushobozi bwo gutorera inyishu amatati gifise, kitabicishije mu ubugizi bwa nabi

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Vuge ingene mubona Uburundi butera imbere. Mwokora iki kugira mubufashe?

16. RESPECT DE LA VIE HUMAINE

1. "La personne humaine est sacrée et inviolable. L'Etat a l'obligation absolue de la respecter et de la protéger."
(Art. 11 Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. L'affirmation constante de la dignité humaine commence par le respect d'autrui et de ses biens.

3. "Quelle qu'en soit la raison, tout meurtre ou autre atteinte à la personne est un crime contre l'humanité."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. Qui a lutté pour la reconnaissance des noirs comme citoyens Américains au même titre que les blancs par la voie de la non-violence?

2. *Choisir parmi les pratiques ci-dessous celle qui respecte la vie humaine :*
   a) Battre sa femme
   b) Le viol
   c) Respecter la volonté d'un autre sans imposer la sienne
   d) Un patron qui bafoue les droits de ses employés

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez un exemple où vous avez vécu un acte respectueux et un autre où vous avez connu son contraire.

16 UKWUBAHA UBUZIMA BWA KIREMWA MUNTU

1. "Zina muntu wese ategerezwa gusonerwa. Inzego z'igihugu zibwirizwa na ntaryo kumwubaha no kumwubahiriza."
(Ingingo ya 11 Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Mu buzima bwacu bwa misi yose dutegerezwa kwubaha kandi tukubahiriza umuntu n'utwiwe.

3 "Urwitwazo urwarirwo rwose, ubwicanyi canke ubundi bugizi bwa nabi, ni ubwicanyi buhonya abantu."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Ni nde yarwaniye agateka k'abirabure muri Amerika ngo bafatwe co kimwe n'abazungu abicishije mu nzira y'amahoro?

2. *Tore mu nyifato zikurikira iyiha agaciro ubuzima bw'ikiremwa muntu :*
   a) Gukubita umukenyezi mwubakanye
   b) Ukwabira umuntu ku nguvu
   c) Ukwubahiriza ugushaka kw'uwundi atakumuhatira ku gushaka kwawe
   d) Umukoresha artyoza agateka k'abakozi biwe

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange akarorero kigana igikorwa mwabonye cubahiriza ubuzima bwanyu, mwongere mutange icerekana igihushane caco.

17. NON-VIOLENCE

1. Les institutions démocratiques nous invitent à résoudre nos différends par la voie du dialogue et de la concertation dans le respect de la loi.

2. "La seule façon de vraiment vaincre son ennemi est de l'aider à devenir autre qu'un ennemi."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. Qui a mené l'Inde à son indépendance par la voie de la non-violence?

2. Quelle est la stratégie contraire à la non-violence qui mène à l'autodestruction?

Sujet de discussion :
Comment peut-on amener son ennemi à devenir autre qu'un ennemi?

17. INZIRA Y'UBWITONZI

1. Inzego z'intwaro rusangi zidusaba gutora inyishu zingorane zacu tubicishije mu biganiro no mukuja inama kandi twubahirije amategeko

2. "Uburyo bwiza bwo kurwanya umwansi ni ukumufasha agahinduka uwundi atari umwansi."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Ni nde yashikanye Ubuhindi ku kwikukira biciye mu nzira y'ubwitonzi?

2. Ni iyihe ngendo ihushanye n'inzira y'ubwitonzi ishikana ku kwisamburirako?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mwokora iki kugira muhindure umwansi wanyu ntabe acitwa gurtyo?

18. PAIX SOCIALE

1. "Sans pardon il n'y a pas d'avenir pour notre propre personne. Sans réconciliation, quel avenir y a-t-il pour un peuple?"
(Frère Roger de Taizé)

2. Pardonner, ce n'est pas oublier le tort que l'autre nous a fait. C'est humblement reconnaître que nous aurions pu faire de même.

3. "Vraiment aimer, c'est aimer ceux qui vous haïssent, c'est aimer ton voisin même si tu te méfies de lui."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
La paix au Burundi s'obtient :
a) En faisant la fête
b) En se réconciliant
c) En se divisant

2. Répondez par oui ou non à chacune des affirmations suivantes :
a) Pardonner autrui, c'est contribuer à la paix sociale
b) La réconciliation ravive la haine ethnique

Sujet de discussion :
Comment voyez-vous un Burundi en paix?

18. AMAHORO MU BANTU

1. "Ata kigongwe nta kazoza ku buntu bumwe umwe wese. Mbe kazoza k'abantu kazova he tudasubiranye?"
(Umufurera Roger w'i Taizé)

2. Ukubabarira umuntu, si ukwibagira ikibi yakugiriye. Ni ukumenya vy'ukuri ko natwe twari gushobora kwigenza nka we.

3. "Gukunda vy'ukuri, [illegible] ugukunda uwukwanka, ugakunda umubanyi naho wo[illegible] umwirengagiza."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Amahoro mu Burundi azanwa :
a) Mu kugira imisi mikuru
b) Mu gusubirana
c) Mu kwicamwo imirwi

2. Ishure ego canke oya ku mungane akurikira :
a) Kurekurira abandi birafasha kuzana amahoro mu gihugu
b) Gusubirana kwongereza urwanko hagati y'amoko

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mubona gute Uburundi burangwa n'amahoro?

68

19. CONFESSIONS RELIGIEUSES

1. "Toute personne a droit à la liberté de pensée, de conscience, de religion et de culte dans le respect de l'ordre public et de la loi."
(Art. 25 (1) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. Les confessions religieuses aident les citoyens à approfondir leur relation avec Dieu et à vivre cette réalité dans leur quotidien.

Questions/Réponses (page 66)

1. Quelles sont les principales confessions religieuses au Burundi?

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Qu'entend-on par liberté de culte ?
a) Liberté d'imposer aux autres une religion
b) Choisir et pratiquer librement sa religion
c) La liberté d'aménager des lieux de culte

Sujet de discussion:
Selon vous, dans quelle mesure les confessions religieuses peuvent-elles contribuer à la paix sociale et au développement du Burundi?

19. AMADINI

1. "Umuntu wese arubahirizwa mu vyiyumviro vyiwe, agakurikiza uko umutima wiwe umubariye, akaja mw'idini ashaka, mu gihe bitonona umutekano kandi bidateye kubiri n'amabwirizwa."
(Ingingo ya 25 (1) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Amadini arafasha abanyagihugu gukomeza ubucuti hagati yabo n'Imana no kubigendera mu buzima bwabo bwa misi yose.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 67)

1. Amadini makuru makuru mu Burundi ni ayahe?

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Mwibaza iki ku kwishira n'ukwizana mu kwemera?
a) Uburenganzira bwoguhatira abandi kw'idini
b) Gutora no gusenga mw'idini yawe ata nkomanzi
c) Uburenganzira bwo kwubaka ibibanza vyo gusengeramwo

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Ku bwanyu, ni mubuhe buryo amadini ashobora gufasha mu kuremesha amahoro mu banyagihugu no mu guteza imbere Uburundi?

20. PARTICIPATION

1. "Tout Burundais a le droit de participer, soit directement, soit indirectement par des représentants, à la direction et à la gestion des affaires de l'Etat sous réserve des conditions légales, notamment d'âge et de capacité."
(Art. 29 (1) Constitution de la République du Burundi)

2. En Démocratie, la gestion de l'Etat s'accomplit par les autorités avec la participation effective de toutes les couches sociales.

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. Par quel terme appelle-t-on le fait de ne pas associer une couche sociale à la gestion de son pays?

2. Complétez cette phrase par le mot qui convient :
"Dans un Burundi démocratique tout citoyen a le droit de..... à la gestion des affaires étatiques."

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez un exemple où vous avez participé à la gestion démocratique du Burundi?

20. UGUFASHANYA MU GUTUNGANYA IVY'IGIHUGU.

1. "Umurundi wese arafise ijambo mu vyerekeye intwaro no mu gutunganya ivy'igihugu, yiserukiye wenyene canke aciye ku bamuserukira, ariko bidateye kubiri n'amabwirizwa abitegekanya, nk'ayerekeye imyaka y'amavuka n'ayashinga ububasha bw'ababikwiye."
(Ingingo ya 29 (1) Ibwirizwa Nshingiro rya Repubulika y'Uburundi)

2. Mu ntwaro rusangi, igihugu gitwarwa n'abategetsi bafadikanije n'abanyagihugu bose.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. Batazira gute uburyo bwo gukumira abantu mu vyerekeye gutunganya ivy'igihugu cabo?

2. Heraheza iri ryungane n'ijambo rikwiriye :
"Mu Burundi burangwa n'intwaro rusangi umurundi wese ashobora.....mu gutunganya ivyigihugu."

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange akarorero kerekana aho mwigeze gufasha mu gutunganya ivy'Uburundi mu nzira y'intwaro rusangi.

21. TOLERANCE

1. C'est par la tolérance que le modéré se distingue de l'extrémiste. En cas de conflit, le premier élimine la peur et la méfiance par le dialogue et la cohabitation pacifique alors que le second privilégie la diabolisation et l'exclusion de l'autre.

2. La Démocratie n'est pas simplement la loi de la majorité; c'est la loi qui émane du consensus entre la majorité et la minorité.

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Laquelle des propositions suivantes reflète la tolérance :
a) Ne pas punir les coupables
b) Récompenser les victimes
c) Ecouter et respecter l'opinion de l'autre

2. Entre la majorité et la minorité, qui doit faire plus preuve de tolérance?

Sujet de discussion :
Dans votre vie quotidienne, comment la tolérance peut-elle contribuer à la paix sociale?

21. UKWIHANGANIRANIRA

1. Ukwihanganiranira ni kwo gutandukanya umuntu atahoyegamiye n'intagondwa. Mu gihe c'amatati, umuntu atahoyegamiye atsinda ubwoba n'ukwinubana abicishije mu kiyago no mu kubana mu mahoro; ariko intagondwa yo, ishira imbere ugurtyozanya n'ugukumira uwundi.

2. Intwaro rusangi si ugutegeka kw'abatsinze amatora bonyene ni inama n'ingingo ishimikiye k'ugushira hamwe kw'abenshi n'inkehwa.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ni irihe ryungane ryerekana ukwihanganiranira muri aya mungane akurikira?
a) Ukudahana inkozi z'ibibi
b) Guha impera abaciweko n'ivyago
c) Kwumviriza no gusonera ivyiyumviro vy'abandi

2. Hagati ya benshi n'inkehwa ni bande bogira gusumba umutima wo kwihanganiranira?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Mu buzima bwa misi yose mubona gute ukuntu ukwihanganiranira gushobora gufasha mu kuremesha amahoro mu bantu?

22. SOLIDARITE

1. La Solidarité, c'est venir à l'aide de l'autre sans considération de son ethnie ni de toute autre appartenance.

2. La Solidarité, c'est aussi la détermination ferme et persévérante de travailler pour le bien de tous et de chacun parce que nous sommes tous interdépendants.

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Lequel des gestes ci-après relève de la solidarité positive :
a) Donner sa place à une vieille femme debout à bord d'un bus de transport en commun
b) Cacher dans sa maison l'auteur d'un meurtre recherché par la police
c) Aider ses amis seulement
d) Intervenir pour assister une personne en danger

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
On parle de la solidarité quand :
a) Une personne aime sa patrie
b) Beaucoup de personnes meurent pour leur patrie
c) On dépend mutuellement de chacun
d) Tous aiment une seule personne

Sujet de discussion:
Racontez une occasion dans votre vie où vous avez rendu service, ou vice versa, et avez vécu une expérience de solidarité.

22. UGUSHIRAHAMWE

1. Ugushirahamwe ni ugufasha uwo wese anyotewe kuzana amahoro utaravye ubwoko canke aho umwe umwe wese aturuka.

2. Ugushirahamwe ni ukwiyemeza nyakuri, gukora ku neza ya bose kanatsinda twese turi magiriranire.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Ni ikihe muri ibi kijanye n'ugushirahamwe vy'ukuri :
a) Kubisa umutamakazi mu kibanza warimwo, yari ahagaze mu muduga wunguruza abantu
b) Guhisha mu nzu inkozi y'ikibi ironderwa n'abacungera umutekano
c) Gufasha abagenzi bawe gusa
d) Ugutabara umuntu ageramiwe n'ivyago

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Bavuga ugushirahamwe mu gihe :
a) Umuntu akunda igihugu c'amavukiro
b) Abantu benshi bapfira igihugu c'amavukiro
c) Umuntu agirwa n'uwundi
d) Bose bakunda umuntu umwe

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Ni mwigane igihe mu buzima bwanyu mwafashije umuntu canke umuntu yabafashije mukabona ko habaye ugushirahamwe.

23. *LEADERSHIP*

1. Un représentant du peuple est un leader qui ne laisse pas sa population se diviser, mais qui lutte pour qu'elle demeure solidaire tout en l'aidant à réclamer ses droits par la voie de la non-violence.

2. "La classe éduquée ne peut justifier son existence que si elle est prête à se sacrifier pour la masse".
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Un Leader est :
a) Un champion
b) Une Star
c) Un guide au service de sa population
d) Un chef qui ne veille qu'à ses intérêts personnels

2. Nommez le leader de l'indépendance du Burundi.

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez des qualités d'un leader que vous caractériseriez de démocrate.

23. *IMBONEZA*

1. Imboneza nyakuri ni iyidashigikira amacakubiri y'abanyagihugu biwe, mugabo igakora uko ishoboye kwose kugira abanyagihugu bagume bashize hamwe ikongera ikabafasha gutunganya ubuzima bwabo bwa misi yose biciye mu nzira y'amahoro.

2. "Ubumenyi bw'abize budakoreshejwe mu kwigura no mu gutunganiriza abanyagihugu bose hamwe no mu kubahiriza ivyabo bwoba bubaye impfagusa."
(Mahatma Gandhi)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Imboneza ni :
a) Rurangiranwa
b) Umuntu w'agatangaza
c) Umurongozi akorera abanyagihugu biwe
d) Umutware yironderera inyungu ziwe

2. Vuge imboneza y'ukwikukira kw'Uburundi.

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange imico myiza y'imboneza mubona ko yisunga intwaro rusangi.

24. *CULTURE*

1. Une Démocratie qui reflète la culture et l'histoire de notre pays doit trouver racines dans nos valeurs d'entraide, de partage et d'hospitalité.

2. L'introduction d'un système démocratique qui nécessite la participation et le consensus de tous, requiert la patience et la bonne volonté puisqu'il se bâtit lentement.

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. Comment appelle-t-on le sage qui incarne la justice et la droiture dans la culture Burundaise?

2. A quelle date célèbre-t-on la fête nationale du Burundi?

Sujet de discussion :
A votre avis quelles sont les valeurs et traditions qui sont des fondements sur lesquels un Burundi démocratique peut se bâtir?

24. *IMICO KAMA*

1. Intwaro rusangi kugira yerekane imico n'imigenzo be na kahise vy'igihugu cacu itegerezwa gufatira k'ugufashanya, k'ugusabikanya be n'ukwakira neza ingenzi.

2. Ishingwa ry'intwaro rusangi rishimikiye k'ugufashanya, ku kwumvikana no ku gushaka kw'abanyagihugu bose ribwirizwa gushinga imizi buke buke.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. Umuntu w'intungane avuga ukuri kandi akagendera ingingo yitwa ngw'iki mu mico y'Uburundi?

2. Ni kurihe genekerezo bahimbaza umusi mukuru w'ukwikukira kw'Uburundi?

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Ku bwanyu, imico n'imigenzo vyoba ishimikiro ryo kwubaka Uburundi burangwa n'intwaro rusangi?

25. JUSTICE SOCIALE

1. Lorsque décline le respect du peuple à l'égard des lois et que chacun se fait justice à soi-même, l'Etat finit par sombrer dans l'abîme.

2. "Ceux qui restent silencieux face à l'injustice deviennent complices de cette injustice."
(Martin Luther King)

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. Les propositions suivantes sont-elles vraies ou fausses?
La justice sociale, c'est :
a) La justice rendue par la société toute entière
b) L'égalité des chances de tous membres de la société
c) Une palabre tranchée en public

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Pour être objectif dans le recrutement aux différents postes d'emploi dans un Etat de droit, il faut :
a) Considérer les compétences du candidat en fonction des exigences du poste
b) Sélectionner quelqu'un de sa famille
c) Retenir uniquement sa formation académique

Sujet de discussion :
Donnez des exemples de justice sociale et d'injustice sociale dans votre vie de tous les jours.

25. UBUTUNGANE MU BANYAGIHUGU

1. Iyo abanyagihugu batisunze amategeko y'igihugu, umwe wese agatangura kwihanira; aho rero umubano mu bantu be n'ubutegetsi biba biriko biranyerera.

2. "Abaguma bahoze imbere y'akarenganyo nabo nyene baba bagashigikiye."
(Martin Luther King)

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. Aya mungane niyo canke siyo?
Ubutungane mu banyagihugu ni :
a) Ubutungane bugizwe na bose
b) Iyo bose bangana imbere y'amategeko
c) Urubanza ruciriwe mu ntahe y'icese

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Kugira ngo hakoreshwe ukuri mu kwinjiza abakozi mu bibanza biriho vy'akazi mu gihugu kirangwa n'amategeko, hategerezwa :
a) Kuraba ubushobozi bw'umuntu hakurikijwe ibisabwa n'ako kazi
b) Kuraba uwo musangiye umuryango
c) Kuraba gusa ivyo yize

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Tange utururero twerekana ubutungane mu banyagihugu n'utwerekana akarenganyo mu banyagihugu muturoresheje mu buzima bwanyu bwa misi yose.

26. CITOYENNETE RESPONSABLE

1. La Démocratie n'est pas seulement la force du peuple exercée en politique, mais l'extension de la responsabilité à tous les citoyens.

2. Etre citoyen, c'est avoir des droits et aussi des responsabilités; c'est réaliser que son épanouissement vient en travaillant pour l'épanouissement des autres.

Questions/Réponses (page 68)

1. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Dans un Etat de droit un citoyen agissant de façon responsable :
a) Lutte pour ses droits en veillant à ceux d'autrui
b) Travaille pour le développement en respectant les lois et les institutions publiques
c) Engage des changements par l'entremise des lois et des institutions publiques
d) Toutes ces réponses

2. *Choisir la ou les bonnes réponses.*
Un citoyen responsable :
a) Vit pour lui-même
b) Vit pour les autres
c) Les deux ensembles

Sujet de discussion:
Comparez ce qui caractérise le citoyen responsable à ce qui s'y oppose.

26. UBUNTU NDANGAGIHUGU NYAKURI

1. Intwaro rusangi si intwaro y'abanyepolitike gusa, itegerezwa guha uburyo umuntu wese bwo gutunganya ibiraba igihugu atibagiye n'utwiwe.

2. Kwitwa umunyagihugu ni ukuronka agateka be n'akazi; ukamenya ko iterambere ryawe riva mu gukorera iterambere ry'abandi.

Utubazo/ Inyishu (ku rupapuro 69)

1. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Mu gihugu kirangwa n'amategeko, umunyagihugu akora mu buntu ndangagihugu nyakuri :
a) Agwanira uburenganzira bwiwe agaheza akitwararika n'ubw'abandi
b) Arakora mu kurondera iterambere mu gusonera amategeko n'inzego z'igihugu
c) Arashikiriza ivyohindurwa biciye mu mategeko no mu nzego z'igihugu
d) Izo nyishu zose

2. *Tore inyishu imwe canke nyinshi nziza.*
Umuntu agendera ubuntu ndangagihugu nyakuri :
a) Abaho kubwiwe gusa
b) Abaho no ku bandi
c) Ivyo bibiri vyose hamwe

Iciyumviro co guharirako :
Gereranye ikiranga n'ikitaranga umunyagihugu agendera ubuntu ndangagihugu.

REPONSES

1. ETAT DE DROIT
    1. La Constitution
    2. La Convention de Gouvernement

2. POUVOIR EXECUTIF
    1. 5 ans et maximum de deux mandats
    2. Premier Ministre

3. POUVOIR LEGISLATIF
    1. Députés
    2. Président de l'Assemblée Nationale

4. POUVOIR JUDICIAIRE
    1. d)Les juges doivent décider en toute indépendance selon la loi
    2. Aucune

5. SOCIETE CIVILE ET PARTIS POLITIQUES
    1. Toutes sauf c) Le gouvernement
    2. UPRONA, PRP, PP, FRODEBU, RPB, RADDES, PIT, ANADDE, INKINZO, PL, ABASA, PSD

6. FORCES DE L'ORDRE
    1. Les Forces Armées et la Gendarmerie
    2. a) Réservées aux forces de l'ordre

INYISHU

1. IGIHUGU KIRANGWA N'AMATEGEKO
    1. Ibwirizwa nshingiro
    2. Amasezerano ya Leta

2. INZEGO NSHINGWANTWARO
    1. Imyaka itanu kandi akisubiriza incuro zibiri
    2. Umushikiranganji wa mbere

3. URWEGO NSHINGAMATEKA
    1. Abashingamateka
    2. Umukuru w'Inama Nshingamateka

4. URWEGO RW'AMASENTARE
    1. d) Abacamanza bategerezwa gushinga ingingo mu bwigenge kandi bakurikije amategeko
    2. Nta na bamwe

5. IBISATA BITEGAMIYE LETA BE N'IMIGAMBWE
    1. Vyose kiretse c) urwego nshikiranganji
    2. UPRONA, PRP, PP, FRODEBU, RPB, RADDES, PIT, ANADDE, INKINZO, PL, ABASA, PSD

6. ABAJEJWE GUCUNGERA UMUTEKANO
    1. Intwaramiheto n'abajandarume
    2. a) Bigenewe abacungera umutekano

REPONSES (suite)

7. MEDIAS
   1. Radio
   2. c) Une agence publique qui distribue(...)

8. ELECTIONS
   1. Respectivement le 1er et le 29 Juin 1993
   2. a) Vrai b) Vrai c) Faux d) Vrai

9. TRANSPARENCE
   1. a) Oui b) Oui c) Oui
   2. a) Un professeur corrige et remet les copies...

10. EDUCATION
    1. 30% [1]
    2. c) 20,9% [2]

11. EGALITE
    1. c) De façon égale
    2. Egaux

12. LIBERTE
    1. c) Liberté de se marier avec quelqu'un(e) d'une autre ethnie
       d) La liberté d'expression
    2. c) La faculté de faire tout ce qui n'est pas contraire à la loi et qui ne nuit à personne

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[1] Ministère de l'action sociale et de la promotion féminine. Rapport final du séminaire opérationnel d'alphabétisation et de post-alphabétisation tenu à Gitega du 6 au 18 sept 1993, inédit, Bujumbura, juillet 1994- P. 16

[2] Cabinet du président, loi n° 1/001/ du 6 février 1995 portant fixation du budget général de la République du Burundi pour l'exercice 1995. Tableau B1 P. 8

INYISHU (zikurikira)

7. IBIMENYESHAMAKURU
   1. Iradiyo
   2. c) Itororokanirizo rya Leta ritanga amakuru(...)

8. AMATORA
   1. Itariki 1/6 na 29/6/1993
   2. a) Niyo b) Niyo c) Siyo d) Niyo

9. UKUVUGANA UKURI KU MUGARAGARO
   1. a) Ego b) Ego c) Ego
   2. a) Umwarimu arakosora.....

10. INDERO N' UBUMENYI
    1. 30% [1]
    2. c) 20,9% [2]

11. UKUNGANA
    1. c) Co kimwe
    2. Barangana

12. UKWISHIRA N'UKWIZANA
    1. c) Ukwishira n'ukwizana mu kwubakana n'uwo mudasangiye ubwoko
       d) Ukwishira n'ukwizana mu mvugo no munyandiko
    2. c) Gushobora gukora ico arico.....

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[1] Ministère de l'action sociale et de la promotion féminine. Rapport final du séminaire opérationnel d'alphabétisation et de post-alphabétisation tenu à Gitega du 6 au 18 sept 1993, inédit, Bujumbura, juillet 1994- P. 16

[2] Cabinet du président, loi n° 1/001/ du 6 février 1995 portant fixation du budget général de la République du Burundi pour l'exercice 1995. Tableau B1 P. 8

REPONSES (suite)

13. UNITE NATIONALE
    1. Travail et Progrès
    2. "L'union fait la force"

14. TRAVAIL
    1. Europe (50,5%), Asie (20,8%), Afrique (16,4%), Amérique (3,1%) [3]
    2. Café, Coton, Thé et Peaux[4]

15. PROGRES
    1. Unité et Travail
    2. a) Faux b) Vrai c) Vrai

16. RESPECT DE LA VIE HUMAINE
    1. Martin Luther KING
    2. c) Respecter la volonté d'un autre sans imposer la sienne

17. NON-VIOLENCE
    1. Mahatma GANDHI
    2. La violence

18. PAIX SOCIALE
    1. b) En se réconciliant
    2. a) Oui b) Non

19. CONFESSIONS RELIGIEUSES
    1. Confession Catholique, Protestantes, Musulmane
    2. b) Choisir et pratiquer librement sa religion
       c) La liberté d'aménager des lieux de culte

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[3] Banque de la République du Burundi, Rapport annuel 1994, Bujumbura, Presses Lavigerie, 10/1995 -P. 104

[4] Idem op-cit P. 101

INYISHU (zikurikira)

13. UBUMWE BW'ABARUNDI
    1. Ibikorwa n'amajambere
    2. "Ubugirigiri bugira babiri"

14. IBIKORWA
    1. Iburaya (50,5%), Aziya (20,8%), Afrika (16,4%), Amerika(3,1%) [3]
    2. Ikawa, Ipampa, Icayi n'Inshato [4]

15. AMAJAMBERE
    1. Ubumwe n'ibikorwa
    2. a) Siyo b) Niyo c) Niyo

16. UKWUBAHA UBUZIMA BWA KIREMWA MUNTU
    1. Martin Luther KING
    2. c) Ukwubahiriza ugushaka kw'uwundi atakumuhatira ku gushaka kwawe

17. INZIRA Y'UBWITONZI
    1. Mahatma GANDHI
    2. Inzira y'ubugizi bwa nabi

18. AMAHORO MU BANTU
    1. Mu gusubirana
    2. a) Ego b) Oya

19. AMADINI
    1. Katolika, Abaporoti, Abislamu
    2. b) Gutora kandi ugakurikira idini wifuza
       c) Leta itanga uburenganzira bwo kwubaka amasengero

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[3] Banque de la République du Burundi, Rapport annuel 1994, Bujumbura, Presses Lavigerie, 10/1995 -P. 104

[4] Idem op-cit P. 101

REPONSES (suite et fin)

20. PARTICIPATION
    1. L'exclusion
    2. Participer

21. TOLERANCE
    1. c) Ecouter et respecter l'opinion de l'autre
    2. Les deux

22. SOLIDARITE
    1. a) Donner sa place à une vieille femme debout à bord d'un bus de transport en commun
       d) Intervenir pour assister une personne en danger
    2. c) On dépend mutuellement de chacun

23. LEADERSHIP
    1. c) Guide au service de sa population
    2. Le Prince Louis Rwagasore

24. CULTURE
    1. Umushingantahe
    2. 1er Juillet

25. JUSTICE SOCIALE
    1. a) Faux b) Vrai c) Faux
    2. a) Considérer les compétences du candidat en fonction des exigences du poste

26. CITOYENNETE RESPONSABLE
    1. d) Toutes ces réponses
    2. c) Les deux ensembles

INYISHU (zikurikira n'izihereza)

20. UGUFASHANYA MU GUTUNGANYA IVY'IGIHUGU.
    1. Gukumirwa
    2. Gufasha

21. UKWIHANGANIRANIRA
    1. c) Kwumviriza no gusonera iciyumviro c'uwundi
    2. Bose babiri

22. UGUSHIRAHAMWE
    1. a) Guha ikibanza umutamakazi ...
       d) Ugutabara umuntu ageramiwe n'ivyago
    2. c) Umuntu agirwa n'uwundi

23. IMBONEZA
    1. c) Umuhuza akorera abanyagihugu
    2. Umuganwa Rudoviko RWAGASORE

24. IMICO KAMA
    1. Umushingantahe
    2. Ku wa 1mukakaro

25. UBUTUNGANE MU BANYAGIHUGU
    1. a) siyo b) niyo c) siyo
    2. a) Kuraba ico umukozi ashoboye uravye akazi kamurindiriye

26. UBUNTU NDANGAGIHUGU NYAKURI
    1. a) Vyose hamwe
    2. c) Vyose bibiri

Twipfuza gushimira amashirahamwe akurikira yafashije mu gikorwa co gutunganya aka gatabu. Twongeye kuyakengurukira k'ubwira yama yerekanye mw'ibanga ryayo ryo kwigisha amahoro, agateka ka zina muntu n'intwaro rusangi i Burundi :

Nous tenons à remercier les organisations suivantes pour leur assistance dans l'élaboration de ce feuillet et pour leur engagement dans le domaine de l'éducation à la Paix, aux Droits de la personne et à la Démocratie au Burundi :

Bureau d'Education des Programmes de l'Enseignement Secondaire
Maison de l'UNESCO pour la Paix au Burundi
AFRICARE
Projet Continuum(PNUD)
Bureau du Représentant Spécial du Secrétaire Général des Nations Unies
Bureau d'Education Rurale (BER)
Secteur Education Communauté Européenne
Ligue SONERA
Ligue ITEKA
UNICEF
Centre de Promotion des Droits de l'Homme
Centre Canadien d'Etude et de Coopération Internationale(CECI)
Centre des Nations Unies pour les Droits de l'Homme
Association pour la Promotion Economique des Femmes
Association des Femmes Chefs de Famille
Association pour la Promotion des Groupes Défavorisés
Association des Scouts du Burundi
Association des Guides du Burundi
Fondation pour la Promotion, l'Equité et le Développement
Défense des Enfants-International
Centre de Développement et de Solidarité
Fondation pour l'Unité, la Paix et la Démocratie
Fondation Melchior NDADAYE
Fondation des Clubs UNESCO
Mouvement XAVERI
Mouvement GEN
Collège de l'Avenir
Search for Common Ground
Centre Jeunes Kamenge
Organisation Jeunesse Future
Service National d'Alphabétisation
Bureau de l'Enseignement National Catholique
JAMAA
Ministère des Réformes Institutionnelles et des Relations avec l'Ass. Nat.
Intahe i Burundi
Association des Jeunes pour la Reconstruction de la Zone Cibitoke
Association pour la Promotion et la Protection de la Liberté d'Expression

Ibishushanyo rya Eric BAPFAKURERA,
Umunyeshure mu mwaka w'icumi kuri Collège Rohero
Agasandugu ka Posita 3304
i Bujumbura, mu Burundi

Dessins d'Eric BAPFAKURERA,
Elève en 10ème année au Collège Rohero
B.P. 3304
Bujumbura, Burundi

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Bujumbura

APPENDIX VI

COMPTE RENDU DE LA JOURNEE DE REFLEXION SUR LE FEUILLET
"COMMENT VIVRE EN DEMOCRATIE AU BURUNDI ?",
TENUE LE 17 FÉVRIER 1996.

Après avoir imprimé le feuillet "Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi?", le NDI a jugé bon d'organiser une journée de réflexion à l'intention des personnes qui travaillent dans le domaine de l'éducation à la Paix et à la Démocratie.

Il s'agit entre autres des représentants légaux d'associations, des directeurs de bureaux pédagogiques et de quelques personnalités oeuvrant dans le domaine susmentionné.

Tous les participants devaient réfléchir et se prononcer sur la forme, le contenu, l'exploitation du feuillet et autres suggestions quant à l'enseignement de la Démocratie au Burundi.

Etaient présents à la journée, les personnes dont les noms figurent sur la liste des participants ci-annexée.

I. Réactions sur la forme du feuillet

A la question de savoir à quoi fait penser le dessin de la couverture, nous avons recueilli les réactions positives et négatives.

Certains participants trouvent que le dessin de la couverture convient car il montre que la Démocratie est à bâtir par toutes les couches de la population : hommes, femmes, militaires, journalistes, paysans même les expatriés. Ces détails ressortent nettement à leurs yeux si bien que le dessin met en relief certaines valeurs fondamentales de la Démocratie comme : la solidarité, l'unité nationale, la diversité qui enrichit...

Par contre, d'autres pensent que le dessin ne reflète pas exactement la composition de la société burundaise comprenant une large part de jeunes enfants, femmes et paysans; bref, le murundi type ressort de façon timide.

De ce fait, la mention "monnaie" sur la jupe de la femme semble aussi frustrante que le blanc qui porte le progrès et le développement, affaire de tous, dans ses valises; bien que ce dernier fût plutôt présenté comme caricature.

II. Réactions sur le contenu du feuillet

La discussion a été orientée par la question : *"Est-ce que le titre reflète le contenu ?"* Pour y répondre, nous avons relevé les indicateurs ci-après :

a) L'accessibilité du texte ou niveau de langue

Tous les participants ont à l'unanimité affirmé que le langage était simple, clair et accessible à tous. Le fait que le livret soit bilingue s'adresse à tout burundais qui sait lire quel que soit son statut socio-économique : paysan, écolier, universitaire, militaire, cadre de l'Etat, leader d'opinion...

84

b) Le concept de Démocratie :

Nombre de participants estiment que le mariage du titre avec son contenu est parfait, dans la mesure où le vocable "Démocratie" est abusivement réduit au multipartisme et aux élections.

Ils ont apprécié la variété des thèmes tout en reconnaissant que le feuillet n'est pas une étude exhaustive sur la démocratie.

Certains actants disent même que la pertinence du contenu émerge dans le titre, "Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi?", qui est une question ouvrant le débat sur un futur à développer.

La réponse à cette question place les burundais et les burundaises devant leur responsabilité qui consiste à adapter les valeurs démocratiques consignées dans ce feuillet aux réalités de leur patrie.

Pour d'autres, les questions et sujets de discussion proposés dans cet outil pédagogique ne laissent pas le lecteur indifférent. Ils l'émerveillent et l'informent sur certains sujets. Exemple : Pour savoir que les peaux sont le 4ème produit le plus exporté , il faut en être informé.

Toutefois, quelques participants voient que certains points du feuillet sont à améliorer. Dans la foulée des propositions, nous avons retenu les éléments suivants :

1° - dater le feuillet car certaines réponses aux questions pourront changer avec le temps.

2° - quelques traductions sont à améliorer.
Exemples : * *la féodalité n'est pas synonyme "d'UBUGERERWA". Mais, ici, on ne nous a pas proposé l'équivalent en français.*

* *Thème 8 : ELECTIONS, 1."Etre élu n'est pas ..." ne dit pas nécessairement ce qui est à la page 23 en kirundi : 1."Gutorwa si ku ..."*

3° -insister sur l'institution "d'UBUSHINGANTAHE" en tant que source de référence en matière de responsabilité sociale de tout murundi.

4° -prévoir un chapitre des anti-valeurs de la Démocratie : impunité, injustice, violence, dictature, solidarité négative...
Sur ce dernier point, nous pensons que cela revient à écrire le contraire du feuillet.

85

III. Exploitation ou utilité du feuillet

Nous sommes partis de la question : *"Comment peut-on utiliser de façon optimale ce feuillet dans le contexte de son travail?"*
La plupart des participants ont fait remarquer que le feuillet s'adresse à tout le monde aux petits comme aux grands, aux ruraux comme aux citadins.
Mais, il consiste à l'adapter au niveau de chaque catégorie de personnes.

A titre indicatif, le thème "TRANSPARENCE" peut être enseigné à l'écolier comme on peut l'apprendre au Ministre, mais cela pourra se faire sous différentes optiques suivant les connaissances de l'audience.

Plusieurs domaines de l'éducation au sein desquels le feuillet peut être exploité ont été inventoriés :

a) Education formelle

Il peut être utilisé par les enseignants et les élèves dans les cours de civisme et de morale comme il peut l'être lors des activités extrascolaires.

A ce sujet, nous citerons le B.E.P.E.S qui l'utilise déjà dans une cinquante de clubs de la paix qui ont été créés dans les écoles secondaires. Il compte également utiliser le feuillet comme référence dans la révision des programmes de civisme.

Le B.E.R voudrait aussi disposer d'exemplaires pour les enseignants du primaire et leurs écoliers.

Les professeurs de langue (français, kirundi) peuvent s'adonner à la dissertation dont les thèmes et sujets sont dans le feuillet qui, à la lumière de cette journée, se révèle être un support pédagogique non négligeable.

b) Education non formelle et informelle

Les alphabétisés, les membres des associations de jeunesse et les personnes qui fréquentent l'enseignement "YAGA MUKAMA" (= ou Catéchuménat) peuvent lire, répondre aux questions posées et discuter sur les sujets proposés.

Le département de l'alphabétisation des adultes a aussi émis le souhait d'intégrer le feuillet dans ses activités.

c) Autres domaines d'éducation

Ici, le champ d'exploitation paraît large. Nous avons été amenés à réfléchir sur d'autres suggestions quant à l'enseignement de la démocratie dans ce pays.

Les propositions suivantes ont été émises:

1° - Organiser des séminaires, stages et conférences.

2° - dispenser la formation des formateurs en matière de la Démocratie.

3° - organiser les jeux-concours sur la Démocratie à la Radio, à la T.V même dans les journaux . On peut se servir du feuillet sur le chapitre des questions -réponses.

4° - rédiger les messages à l'égard des hommes politiques et des responsables religieux.

5° - organiser des voyages pour les hommes de la presse, les politiciens et les religieux dans d'autres pays démocratiques.

6° - éditer le feuillet exclusivement en kirundi pour la masse paysanne. Nous pensons qu' à ce sujet une mention qui signifiera que tout ce qui est en français l'est aussi en kirundi pourra remédier à cette situation.

Signalons brièvement que tout ce qui précède a été effectué lors des travaux en atelier et achevé en plénière.

IV. Résumé des évaluations

La dernière demi-heure de la journée a été consacrée à l'évaluation à l'aide d'un questionnaire préétabli. Ci-dessous, ont été repris les résultats qui en découlent. Nous avons aussi inclu certains des commentaires recueillis .

1. Quelle est votre impression générale sur la journée?

1	*2*	*(2.26)*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Excellente	*très bonne*		*bonne*	*bof*	*mauvaise*

34 des 34 réponses à la question # 1 (soit 100 %) se sont retrouvées entre 1(excellente)et 3(bonne) ; se situant en moyenne à 2.26

87

2. Avez-vous appris des choses qui vous seront profitables dans votre travail d'éducation à la Paix et/ou à la démocratie?

1	*2*	*(2.33)*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Enormément	*beaucoup*		*un peu*	*pas vraiment*	*pas du tout*

Si vous avez répondu de 1 à 3, quelles choses avez-vous apprises?
Si vous avez répondu de 4 à 5, pourquoi?

31 des 33 réponses à la question # 2 (soit 94 %) se sont situées entre 1(Enormément) et 3(un peu) ; se situant en moyenne à 2.33

Voici quelques exemples de choses qui ont été apprises:

** Le feuillet est très instructif pour tous et dans tous les milieux Burundais.*

** C'est une base pour la culture civique burundaise surtout.*

** plus grande sensibilité en ce qui concerne l'institution d'Ubushingantahe et l'insistance à l'aspect, respect de la loi.*

** Que la démocratie n'est pas seulement le multipartisme et les élections. C'est aussi un ensemble de valeurs telles que la tolérance, solidarité, culture, justice sociale; et qu'il ne faut donc pas croire que la Démocratie est du ressort des politiciens uniquement.*

** On a entrevu la possibilité de sortir de la crise. L'éducation à la Paix et/ou la démocratie est possible.*

** Qu'il y a d'autres ONGs qui s'occupent du même problème et complètent ainsi ce que je fais.*

** Importance de rédiger un travail comme celui-ci en kirundi.*

** L'utilité à faire participer (à la réflexion) des personnes d'horizons différents mais toutes intéressées à un même défi (éducation à la démocratie).*

** Ce ne sont pas de choses nouvelles, mais le fait qu'elles soient écrites d'une façon claire et concise facilite la chose à celui (celle) qui entreprend une éducation à la paix.*

Deux personnes ont répondu "4-pas vraiment" à la question #2. L'un a dit qu'il avait déjà lu le feuillet et venait discuter. L'autre a dit qu'il connaissait ces choses puisque cela fait partie de son travail.

88

3. Croyiez-vous utiliser le feuillet dans votre travail d'éducation à la paix et/ou Démocratie?

1 (1.97)	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Enormément	*beaucoup*	*un peu*	*pas vraiment*	*pas du tout*

Si vous avez répondu de 1 à 3, comment l'utiliseriez-vous?
Si vous avez répondu de 4 à 5, pourquoi?

31 des 31 réponses à la question #3 (soit 100%) se sont situées entre 1(Enormément) et 3(un peu) ; se situant en moyenne à 1.97.

Voici quelques exemples de façons dont le feuillet compte être utilisé :

** Documentation des éducateurs et des apprenants dans les cours de morale, de civisme et dans les clubs de la paix. Ce feuillet est un complément d'un document du BEPES.*

** Si des exemplaires suffisants nous sont donnés, ils pourront être utilisés dans mon association ainsi que dans les écoles(côté professionnel).*

** Procurer le feuillet, spécialement sa partie en kirundi aux animateurs de la paix et aux néoalphabètes du milieu rural.*

** Selon les besoins de la population de base, on peut prendre un thème, le développer avec elle dans la formation à la démocratie pour les adultes.*

** Par une lecture approfondie, pour maitriser les choses apprises et les faire partager avec mes concitoyens. Si les exemplaires sont disponibles, les distribuer aux membres de mon association. Il me servira de référence dans l'éducation de mes enfants.*

** Nous pensons qu'une formation ou organisation des journées de formation pour les responsables est indispensable pour que ce document puisse être bien utilisé.*

** Utilisation des thèmes dans nos Editoriaux et nos commentaires de presse. Utilisation des jeux questions-réponses dans la rubrique Culture et Sports.*

4. Autres commentaires sur la rencontre et/ou le feuillet :

** Il était nécessaire. Grâce aux rencontres comme celle d'aujourd'hui, les burundais intériorisent petit à petit les valeurs démocratiques.*

**L'initiative mérite les encouragements avec les améliorations qui s'imposent.*

** Rencontre très détendue, très "démocratique". Dispositions techniques excellentes.*

** Plus d'illustrations, si possible.*

** Il n'y avait pas assez de temps pour discuter.*

** Multiplier de telles rencontres et en faire une extension à l'intérieur du pays.*

** Donner des exemplaires suffisant aux associations ou autres groupes représentés à la journée de réflexion pour qu'ils soient utilisés là où ils oeuvrent.*

** Très bonne rencontre à refaire.*

A la fin, le Représentant Légal du NDI a vivement remercié les participants et leur a fait savoir qu'une deuxième édition est en préparation. Il a ajouté que ceux qui désiraient obtenir d'autres exemplaires du feuillet pouvaient lui adresser leur demande.

Les Participants à la Journée de Réflexion sur le Feuillet "Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi" du samedi le 17 Février 1996

1.	Antoine NTAMIKEVYO (CNUDH)	Tél : 21 4882
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33.	Nelly TONDEUR (Secteur Educ. C.E)	Tél : 21 6893
34.	Joseph NINDORERA (CECI)	Tél : 22 2747
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43.	Jeanne d'Arc SIMBAGOYE (NDI)	Tél : 21 5497
44.	François HEON (NDI)	Tél : 21 5497/221194

(translation from French)

Report on the "Day of Reflection" for the booklet,
"How To Live in Democracy in Burundi?"
February 17, 1996
Bujumbura, Burundi

After having printed the booklet, "How to Live in Democracy in Burundi?", NDI decided it would be beneficial to organize a "Day of Reflection" to discuss the booklet and suggestions for implementation and improvement.

The participants included: representatives from legal associations, school directors, teachers and others working in the fields of democracy and peace education. A list of participants is attached.

All of the participants were supposed to say what they thought about the booklet in regards to its appearance, its content, and its usefulness of this booklet in the teaching of democracy in Burundi.

I. Reactions to the appearance of the booklet

We received both positive and negative reactions regarding the cover design.

Some participants thought the cover design was appropriate because it showed that Democracy is something to be built together by people from all levels in society: men, women, military personnel, journalists, country-dwellers and even expatriates. For these participants, the details of the drawing clearly show fundamental values of Democracy: solidarity, national unity, richness in diversity, etc....

On the other hand, others thought the design did not accurately represent the composition of Burundian society, which actually includes a larger percentage of children, women and country-dwellers than represented.

In this respect, the mention of "money" on the woman's skirt (back cover) is as frustrating as that of the white man who holds both progress and development in his hands (back cover), even though these may have originally been intended as caricatures.

II. Reactions on the content of the booklet

The discussion was oriented around the question: "Does the title reflect the content?"

a) The comprehension level of the text on a language level:

All of the participants unanimously affirmed that the language was simple, clear and understandable for everyone. The bilingual aspect of the booklet was a positive for all Burundians who can read, regardless of his or her socio-economic level: country-dweller, schoolchildren,

university students, military and government personnel...

b) The concept of democracy:

Numerous participants thought that the title and the contents were perfectly matched. The word democracy was appropriately interpreted in its more global sense instead of being reduced to interpretations of multi-partyism and elections.

They appreciated the truths presented in the themes, and realized that the booklet was not meant to be an exhaustive study of democracy.

Certain participants remarked that the relevance of the contents was made clear in the title, which is in the form of an open question, "How To Live in Democracy in Burundi?". This open question reflects the purpose of the booklet -- to stimulate further discussions on democracy.

The answer to this question puts the Burundians before their responsibility to adapt the democratic values presented in this booklet to the realities of their country.

For others, the questions and subjects for discussion presented do not leave the reader indifferent. They help to stimulate the reader's thoughts, and inform him/her on certain subjects. For example, to know that animal skins are Burundi's 4th largest export, one must have previous knowledge of this fact.

However, some participants thought that improvements of the booklet could be made. Most notably:

1) date the booklet since some of the answers to the questions may change over time.
2) improve some Kirundi/French translations:
   - "feudalism" is not an equivalent term to "d'UBUGERERWA". But no other French equivalent was proposed to us
   - Theme 8: ELECTIONS, "To be elected is not..." is not necessarily the same as what is on page 23 in Kirundi: 1. "Gutorwa si ku..."
3) put more emphasis on the "d'UBUSHINGANTAHE" institution as a reference source for all Burundians' social responsibility
4) create a chapter on values that go against democracy (i.e, impunity, injustice, violence, dictatorships, negative solidarity, ...

On this final point, we think that brings us back to writing about the opposite of what this booklet represents.

III. The potential use of this booklet

We started with the question, "How could one optimally use this booklet in the context of one's own work?". Most of the participants commented that the booklet is addressed to all people, big and small, rural people, as well as urban people. But it may also be adapted to the level of each category of people.

Especially, the theme, "Transparency" may be taught to a schoolchild as well as a government Minister. But it can be taught in different manners, keeping in mind the knowledge of the audience.

Several kinds of education practices in which this booklet may be used were discussed:

a) Formal Education

It can be used by teachers and students in civics and ethics classes just as well as it can be used in extracurricular activities.

In this way, we cite the B.E.P.E.S. school which already uses the booklet in approximately 50 "peace clubs" that were created in secondary schools. They also expect to use the booklet as a reference in civics courses.

The B.E.R. school that would also like to distribute copies of the booklet to its primary school teachers and their students.

Language teachers (French, Kirundi) could apply the booklet's bi-lingual themes and subjects for discussion, a component of the booklet which was found to be of indisputable educational value.

b) Informal Education

Youth organizations and people who participate in "YAGA MUKAMA" training are able to read and respond to the questions and subject discussion in the booklet.

The adult literacy center also expressed interest in incorporating this booklet into its activities.

c) Other Manners of Education

Here, on a larger scale, the potential for the use of this booklet is enormous. The following suggestions were made regarding the teaching of democracy in Burundi.

1) organize seminars, internships and conferences
2) help in the training of the teachers of democracy
3) organize contests/games on the subject of democracy on the radio, t.v. and even in the newspapers. (The booklet's question/answer segment would be especially

useful in the implementation of this idea).

4) change the messages to be directed towards politicians and religious leaders
5) organize observation trips for politicians , religious leaders and the press to other democratic countries
6) create a Kirundi only version of the booklet for the mono-lingual rural population

IV. Summary of the Evaluations

The last half-hour of the day was dedicated to evaluation of the booklet using a pre-established questionnaire. Below are the results:

1. What is your overall impression of this "Day of Reflection"?

1	2	3	4	5
Excellent	Very Good	Good	So so	Bad

Of the 34 responses (100% of participants) the average response was **2.6**. All responses were between 1(excellent) and 3(good).

2. Have you learned things that will be applicable to your work in peace/democracy education? If your answer falls between 1 (Tremendously) and 3 (Some) what specific things have you learned? If your answer falls between 4 (Not really) and 5 (Not at all), why?

1	2	3	4	5
Tremendously	Very much	Some	Not really	Not at all

31 of the 33 responses to question #2 (94%of participants) answered between 1 (Tremendously) and 3 (Some). The average was 2.23.

Below are some of the examples of things that were learned:

- The booklet is very instructive for all Burundians, regardless of social status.
- Its a Burundi-specific base for civic culture.
- A greater sensitivity is needed regarding the respect for the law and the "Ubushingantahe" institution.
- That democracy does not only mean multi-partyism and elections. It also refers to a set of values that include: tolerance, solidarity, culture, social justice. One should not think that democracy is something only politicians deal with.
- Peace education and/or democracy education could help Burundi to get out of its current social crisis.
- There are other NGOs that deal with the same things I do, and complement my work.
- It is importance to have documents like this in the Kirundi language.
- The usefulness of reuniting people (on the "Day of Reflection") who work in different domains, yet have the same final objectives.
- These are not new ideas, but the fact that they have been written down in a clear and

concise manner helps the person who uses this type of information in peace education.

Two participants responded 4 (Not really) to question #2. One explained that he had already read and discussed the booklet. The other said he already knew these things since it is part of his work.

3. Do you think you will be using this booklet in your work in peace and democracy education? If you responded from 1 to 3, how would you use this booklet? If you responded from 4 to 5, Why?

1	2	3	4	5
Tremendously	Very much	Some	Not really	Not at all

31 of the 31 responses to question #3 (100% of the responses) were between 1 (Tremendously) and 3 (Some). The average was 1.97.

Below are some examples of the ways in which the booklet may be used:

- Resource information for educators of civics and ethics classes, and in "peace clubs". This document is a complement to a BEPES school publication.
- If a sufficient number of copies are given to us, they will be used within my association, as well as in the schools (at a professional level)
- To get this booklet, especially the segments in the Kirundi language, to peace spokespersons and to beginning-level readers in rural communities.
- According to the needs of the group, one theme could be chosen and developed to assist in democracy education for adults.
- By in-depth reading/understanding, to help master the things learned and to spread that learning to other citizens. If copies are available, I would distribute them within my association. It would serve as a reference in the education of my children.
- We think that a training session for managers is indispensable for the appropriate use of this document.
- The use of the themes in our editorials and our press commentaries. The use of the games (question and answer format) in the domain of culture and sports.

4. Other comments on the meeting (the "Day of Reflection") and/or the booklet:

- It was necessary. Thanks to meetings like the one held today, Burundians are beginning to better understand and implement, little by little democratic values.
- The initiative should be encouraged by the improvements suggested here.
- The meeting was very informal, very "democratic".
- More illustrations, if possible.
- There was not enough time for discussion.
- Have more of these meetings in Bujumbura and in the interior of the country as well.
- Give a sufficient number of copies of the booklet to the associations and other groups that were present here today for this Day of Reflection so that they may be used in these people's work.

- This was a very good meeting. More should be held.

To that end, the legal Representative of NDI hardily thanked the participants and made them aware of the fact that a second, revision edition was in the works. He added that those who wanted to obtain additional copies of the booklet should place their request with him.

Les Participants à la Journée de Réflexion sur le Feuillet "Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi" du samedi le 17 Février 1996

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APPENDIX VII

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Fifth Floor, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136 ■ FAX (202) 939-3166

LETTER OF AGREEMENT

Eugène Nindorera and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs agree to enter into a consulting agreement defined by the NDI contract for local services both parties have signed on April 8, 1996 and further defined by the following terms of reference.

NDI is engaging Eugene Nindorera as a consultant to its NDI project for the period April 8 - July 8, 1996. Mr. Nindorera's responsibilities will include the following:

a) Oversee the pamphlet and T-shirt distribution process.

b) Represent NDI in discussions with groups and organizations which are receiving the material, about how best to use it as a educational tool.

c) Direct the activities of two full-time local staff who have responsiblitity for the physical distribution of the material.

d) In consultation with NDI Washington, make logistical, administrative and substantive preparations for a training seminar in June based on NDI's civic education material.

e) As needed, assist in logistical and administrative arrangements related to NDI projects involving the sending of Burundians on study missions out of the country.

f) Inform NDI Washington of events affecting the political and security situation in Burundi.

g) Advise NDI Washington of other possible program activities, such as the sending to Burundi of experts on democratic institution reform.

h) Submit a monthly expense report/reconciliation to NDI Washington (to Mr. Tim McCoy) by the 7th of the month for the prior month's expenses. Expense report submissions must be current before additional monies can be wired from NDI Washington to Burundi.

Eugène Nindorera 15/4/96

François P. Héon
15/04/96

APPENDIX VIII

BILAN DE LA DISTRIBUTION DES FEUILLETS ET TEE-SHIRTS PENDANT LA PERIODE : AVRIL - JUIN

	Nombre de feuillets	Nombre de tee-shirts
* Quantité prévue(2ème édition)	50,000	12,000
* Quantité distribuée	26,250	8,870
QUANTITE A DISTRIBUER		
* Quantité du stock	19,900	3,130
* Livraison en attente	3,850	-
* Quantité à gérer	**23,750**	**3,130**

APPENDIX IX

"Day of Reflection #2"
Bujumbura, Burundi

Burundi Report: 16 - 23 July 1996
Consultant's Visit

I. Consultant's report and recommendations

II. Consultant's itinerary

III. Seminar agenda

IV. Participants invited to seminar

V. Statistics on material distribution

VI. Recent press clippings

SUMMARY

The following is a report covering my one-week visit to Burundi for NDI. Over the course of a week I attended meetings, briefings and an NDI-hosted seminar on democratic education. I also assessed the ongoing work involving the distribution of pedagogical materials designed by NDI-Burundi. This provided me with sufficient background to make the recommendations contained in this report. My principal recommendation is that NDI continue to maintain a low-key presence in Burundi. NDI should also continue to build relationships with the various NGOs with which it already enjoys a high degree of support. NDI-Burundi is well-placed in the local NGO community, and they see its continued presence as essential for a later role in the ongoing struggle of democratic transition.

I. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Today's **New York Times** put it this way: "Burundi at the edge." Things have been deteriorating in Burundi since December, and have climaxed in today's coup. Hutu rebel forces and extremist Tutsi military elements have been increasingly active. The president has not succeeded in controlling either the rebel forces or the extremists, and that has weakened his position substantially. Neither side supports him. Following the Arusha conference in mid-June there appeared to be a consensus regarding an intervention (or "cooperation") force to control the levels of violence. This would restore such a degree of political order as would allow political dialogue between the two ethnicites to proceed. However, it seems two motives existed supporting the intervention force.

The prime minister favored the idea to increase surveillance in the country side and control the Hutu rebel forces. The president supported the idea to help oversee and control the Tutsi-dominated military. After returning from Arusha the consensus that had developed once away from the various dichotomist tendencies at home began to break. Thousands of Tutsi young people have been protesting almost daily in Bujumbura. They are offering to register for the army and fight any foreign force or military presence that comes to the country. This has put the Tutsi prime minister in an awkward position.

The recent two attacks on Tutsis at the tea factory just outside the capital and the larger massacre at the displaced camp in Giteng province Saturday raised the stakes substantially. Undoubtedly extremist elements are killing Hutus as well but do not receive the attention of Tutsi killings. In the past week the prime minister has all but publicly renounced his early support for an intervention force, playing against the extremist elements in his party, UPRONA.

The Tutsi in Bujumbura clearly dislike the president. Even moderates have a particular distaste for him. When I mentioned the question of him making a statement on the latest massacre, they greeted it with derision: nobody would even listen to him, they said.

Tension has been mounting in the capital city region as hundreds of young people run

105

daily, calling for the removal of the president. While they have been coordinated and peaceful in nature, they have increasingly grown and become more armed as the week has passed, with machetes, sticks and spears. Few carry actual arms though.

In the latest developments, the newly deposed president is reportedly seeking asylum outside the country. The prime minister and his UPRONA colleagues have resigned from the national convention government begun in 1994. The old government has essentially collapsed and the vacuum has been filled by former President Major Pierre Buyoya, a moderate Hutu, with military support.

The international community has clearly stated it will seek to alienate any government imposed by force. However, this latest development may help secure a more stable political environment than the massively unpopular former government. Analysis in the coming days and weeks will help determine if Burundi has now reached the bottom of its descent or not.

II. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The week-long visit consisted of approximately twelve meetings with various officials and NGOs representing both national and international organizations, and attendance at a two-day seminar organized and hosted by NDI.

The terms of reference for this visit included the following five objectives: represent NDI office, obtain feedback on seminar, including Tutsi and Hutus working together, feedback on material usage, address seminar, and analyze and comment on utility of continuing program activity on this or any level.

A. Represent NDI

We accomplished the first objective in attending the various briefings and NDI's two days of reflection. I have to think that it looks good on NDI to have someone there at this critical juncture, asking questions and giving oversight to our seminar. We were able to have gotten some quite good meetings, including the US Ambassador and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative. The Ambassador was very well-briefed, after just three weeks in the country. After our first meeting, he said we should talk again and we got together again Saturday afternoon following the conference, more informally. Faguy was pressed for time when I saw him - Monday afternoon following the massacre in Giteng province - but expressed a wish that we could have had dinner to talk. That speaks to, I think, NDI's presence and prominence.

The meetings with other NGOs, service and aid organizations have also undoubtedly been helpful from the perspective of NDI's ongoing presence and our continuing interest in the current situation. I think we met the first objective, but perhaps I am not the one to discern that.

B/C. Thoughts on the seminar/feedback on material usage (objectives 2 & 3)

The seminar was well-organized, well-attended, and well-received. Participants

represented more than forty NGOs and associations, on both the Friday and Saturday portions of the conference. A huge banner flying from the side of the hotel announced the event quite prominently. Our seminar began Friday morning and ran till Saturday shortly after lunch. A list of invitees is attached, 40-odd of whom attended. One political party representative attended Friday only. The highest level government official present represented the Ministry of the Interior which wishes to use the democracy booklet.

Tutsis predominated the conference, reflecting both the absence of Hutus in the capital city and the predominant role Tutsis play in the life of the country. It is important to note that four or five Hutus were present however, and worked well in this setting. Some comments were heard denigrating Hutus and accusing them of thinking democracy meant killing Tutsis, but this was not the general tone at the seminar.

Most of the groups present are using the democracy booklet. The consensus is that the booklet is appropriate in content and design, though they raised two particular concerns. The first recommendation was that NDI supplement the booklet with more materials explaining the contents more substantively. The second observation was contradictory. Some felt the booklet was too basic for adults and better suited for work with children, while others felt it was only for adults. Most felt it was designed Appropriately and met the needs of many audiences depending on the training of the animators. Some suggested that NDI-Burundi should train members of the various NGOs who could then serve as animators in the democratic education process.

The kinds of activities undertaken with the booklet include essay writing contests in schools, workshops conducted by NDI staff, sports activities with tee-shirts as prizes, and so forth. Many groups also said they had not yet used the materials but intended to. A local school organized discussion groups on issues raised in the booklet, and then conducted an essay writing contest on the theme of tolerance. NDI conducted the awarding of the prizes Monday and we could attend a gracious ceremony attended by students, staff and some parents.

Other activities included popular theater, singing contests, and sketches. One organization also conducted a march for peace, supposedly wearing NDI's "Comment vivre en democratie au Burundi?" T-shirts. While the sporting events at first glance may appear unrelated to democratic education, they intend them to bring young people to together to socialize and get to know one another - "tournois de fraternité."

One NGO is organizing radio and tv programs, proposing questions to young people, teaching in a refugee camp in the city, training trainers, and organizing a three-day seminar bringing together twenty-five participants per day from each of the city's different zones. A Muslim association wishes to organize a seminar for its members with the support from NDI staff on, and asked for help in expressing democratic concepts in conjunction with Islamic teachings.

Yet another church organization was distributing the booklet in hospitals so patients would have something to read. They were also planning a meeting with their membership to be attended by NDI representatives. They suggested using the church to help distribute the booklet throughout the interior of the country, pointing out that it is a respected institution in most towns in the country.

A womens organization is organizing a workshop on the booklet. They said the booklet gave them a chance to get to know NDI and they much appreciated it. They also wanted to organize a childrens' festival and music concert.

Animated discussions later in the seminar centered on the definition and meaning of democracy. Delegates insisted that it was lack of respect for democracy and human rights that led to the killings - *les tueries* - and not democracy itself. This generated much discussion. They recognized that democracy was more than an institutional feature of a government, but also a cultural and value issue that required time and effort.

In small group workshops we asked that participants itemize constraints to democratic education and identify possible solutions. Constraints identified include lack of time, necessity to explain clearly difficult and complex terms, lack of adequately trained trainers, lack of access to certain areas of the city and countryside, hypocrisy, economic poverty and lack of means, lack of interest of the government.

Solutions and possible remedies to the concerns raised included more organization and planning between associations, further explanation and training on basic concepts, development of tolerance and patience, conferences and round tables bringing together "balkanized" elements/communities, increased frequency of meetings, acknowledgment of cultural barriers, training of qualified teachers, literacy programs, and further collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior for distribution purposes inside the country.

A dynamic and well-prepared presentation by Patrick Raharimanana of Madagascar's CNOE was very well received. It dealt with specific issues of communication and the challenges in getting a message across, in the context of both democratic education and working with diverse communities. Patrick was able to generate great discussion, in particular in respect of the challenges of Burundi's context. In his few days there he had assimilated difficult and sensitive issues and this came through in his presentation.

The two-day seminar concluded with a brief address from myself on the idea of democracy and the challenges facing participants. On an optimistic note, participants were encouraged to continue to dialogue and discuss the issues surrounding democratic transition, as a means to ensure openness, understanding and tolerance.

I was not aware of any press coverage, with perhaps one radio-journalist. There is no print media available. TV had been invited to attend and had planned to but was distracted by other developments. A TV interview for Monday was also canceled due to the citywide strike.

Regrettably I did note some stereotypes characterizing the ethnic majority. While discouraging, it remains important to bring together both ethnic groups, and one or two incidents are not the norm among these groups.

D. Address seminar

I spoke at the closing portion of the seminar. It was a short address, and covered three

basic points.

First, participants were encouraged to define democracy in respect of the modalities that they wished for Burundi, and not to attempt to find one, all-encompassing definition. There had been animated discussion concerning what democracy is, but it was partly semantics. As elsewhere, participants were attempting to define democracy based on its modalities rather than conceptually. I encouraged them to think of the ideal as power belonging to the people (in kirundi the word for democracy means '*sharing the power*') and then to accept that its application could and would be different everywhere, given certain basic considerations.

Second, participants were encouraged in respect of their own contributions to democracy in Burundi, in that the democracy booklet was the fruit of consultations with Burundians, and not simply an NDI invention. This showed that Burundians did have cultural affinity for democratic values and institutions, and were not in the process of adopting something foreign to their own aspirations, consciously or otherwise.

Third, I suggested that the dialogue continue, just as it had at the seminar. I stressed that like love, democracy is as much the result living together, eating together and sleeping together as it is of creating institutions and mechanisms. Just as marriage is an institution, it is a relationship that also develops from being together. As the participants debated and dialogued, they were engaging in democracy itself, whether they realized it or not. I asked that they continue to talk, debate, discuss and dialogue. This is at the heart of acceptance and tolerance.

E. Continuing program activity

Clearly NDI-Burundi operates in a difficult and challenging political, social and economic environment. These challenges led to the withdrawal of NDI's former field representatives. Nonetheless there remains work to be done, obviously (or not...) and they are accomplishing a lot already.

Seminar participants and interlocutors expressed the importance of NDI maintaining a presence in Burundi, particularly to ensure the successful dissemination of the democracy booklet. "It would be sad to have things fall away now [should NDI now withdraw]," said one participant.

While the current context is difficult, other NGOs are continuing their work in Burundi, though on a reduced scale (except UNICEF, whose budget has increased fourfold since the beginning of the current crisis in 1993). The Canadian International Development Agency recently granted CECI an extension of funds and they will maintain program activity into spring of 1997. The UN continues to work in the capital and countryside, though is limited in the latter. The UN S-G Special Representative expressed a desire to see more internationals in the city to help moderate the crisis and by their very presence, restrain extremist elements.

Maintaining low level program activity allows NDI to withdraw quickly with fewer repercussions should things deteriorate further. A continued presence keeps our foot in the door for future programing on a higher level. Staying in Burundi shows NDI's commitment to

developing democratic programs in developing countries even where the transition is a difficult and painful - even risky - process. As the UN Special Representative noted, if no problems existed in Burundi, or anywhere else, NDI would not be there.

Determining what level the problems mitigate entirely against program activity is always a challenge. This latest seminar and my observations suggest we have not yet reached the point, despite the context in which NDI-Burundi operates.

CONCLUSION/OBSERVATIONS

NDI has enjoyed a high level of support in Burundi from the 1993-era Buyoya regime as the country began its democratic opening. Since then it has maintained an active presence in the country, most recently in civic education. A booklet entitled "How to live democratically in Burundi" is widely valued and is being used by a large cross-section of NGOs and government branches. NDI's two recent seminars on democratic education have been well attended and received.

NDI is well represented in Burundi in the person of Eugene Nindorera. We do not expect that relationship to change anytime soon. NDI's booklet on democracy is being very well received. Participants in the latest seminar expressed an interest in its future promulgation, in particular concerning the formation of trainers. UNICEF has expressed a clear interest in working with NDI on a kirundi language version of the booklet, with illustrations by a local artist.

Various key interlocutors expressed a desire to see NDI remain active in Burundi. CECI's director noted that they had recently extended his own program from a proposed June 1996 ending into April of next year, despite the political conditions noted above. The UN Secretary General's Special Representative spoke of his desire to see more internationals maintain a presence in Burundi to help further moderate the situation there. Given these and other less tangible observations, I make the following recommendations.

- I recommend **that NDI maintain a low-level presence in the country**, always taking into account the evolving (or devolving) political situation. All things being equal, NDI is well-positioned again to work with the new president to help in the ongoing struggle of democratic transition. Maintaining a presence, even with minimal program activity, is a strategic plan that may allow for our continuing influence in the transition process.

If NDI were to leave Burundi, I believe it may seriously harm its credibility for future program activity. The costs are small compared with the possible benefits. Should future additional programing not develop, there is still benefit in seeing the distribution of the democracy booklet successfully completed, and in ensuring its gains are not temporary, either through adequate training of locals or handing off the project to a local NGO.

NDI is not a humanitarian organization called into difficult situations in solidarity and

fellowship. Nonetheless maintaining an ongoing presence and some level of program activity may position NDI to conduct its future programs as envisioned in whatever aspect of its mandate it deems suitable for Burundi - civic education, civil-military relations, legislative training, electoral processes, and so forth. As one international aid worker noted:

> The Great Lakes region of Central Africa still deserves the world's attention. In Burundi the international community should remain engaged with the crisis in the country and act in concert to bring about political dialogue and resolution to the country's crisis. Failure to act now risks condemning the people of Burundi to the fate of their Rwandan neighbours...
>
> Geoffrey Dennis, International Director, British Red Cross
> *Steering Committee for Humanitarian Response: An Alliance for Voluntary Action*

- I recommend that NDI begin to **develop a plan that would allow it to extend its civic education programs among the Hutu population,** in the capital city region and later into the country side, as security concerns allow. NDI's current program seems to work mostly with Tutsi, because of their majority presence in the capital and the Tutsi dominance in the country's social, economic and political life, and of course, security risks in respect of obtaining access to the countryside. Nonetheless NDI should contemplate additional "outreach" to Hutu populations, beyond the work already being conducted with College municipal de Kinama, for example.

- If NDI-Burundi is to continue to work with locals, I recommend **that a series of training seminars be prepared to train other NGO animators on the subject of democracy.** Participants at the seminar recognized their weakness in this respect, and the work to be done in disseminating the democracy booklet requires that others be able to teach the material. This workshop should bring together key NGOs prepared to devote substantial time and effort in disseminating the materials. Hutu and Tutsi representation should be evident. This would essentially be a mini-course on democracy and democratic institutions.

- I recommend **that NDI assess carefully its position and relationship vis-a-vis the reported new leader,** Major Pierre Buyoya. NDI's relationship with him may subject the organization to criticism, justified or otherwise. A response needs to be thought through perhaps. Other African leaders may be watching. I thought it worth mentioning, but I am not sure how serious this is.

In conclusion NDI-Burundi is doing valuable and important work. In some respects it is fighting upstream against a very heavy current. Nevertheless, all assessments I received in Burundi were that we should stay, we should continue to develop the use of the democracy booklet, and we should, I think, be preparing to expand our role if the latest developments improve the security level in the country. It is a long hard road, but Burundi has shown, in 1993, and even now, that it merits the effort and the risk.

NDI Burundi: July 17 - 22, 1996
Itinerary for Derek Butler

Wednesday, July 17

NDI briefing

Tour of Bujumbura

Dinner with NDI local staff

Thursday, July 18

Paul Guild, Acting Mission Director for US-AID

Brian Rich, Search for Common Ground

M. Rockfeller, AFRICARE

US Ambassador Morris Hughes

Dorcella Bazahica, UNESCO (Maison pour une culture de paix au Burundi

Medecins sans frontieres

Abdel Aziz, Assistant to UN Secretary General's Special Representative

Friday - Saturday, July 19-20

NDI Conference

Sunday, July 21

Centre Jeune de Kamenge

Monday, July 22

Jean LaPierre, Centre d'etudes canadien pour la coopération internationale (CECI)

Gervais Havyarimana, Administrator of Education programs, UNICEF

College Municipale de Kinama

Chef de Zone de Kinama

Marc Faguy, UN Secretary General's Special Representative

PROGRAMME DE LA SESSION DE REFLEXION ORGANISEE PAR LE NDI BURUNDI DU 19 AU 20 JUILLET A L'HOTEL NOVOTEL

VENDREDI 19 JUILLET

8 h 30' - 9 h00'	: Accueil et enregistrement des participants
9 h 00' - 9 h 30'	: Mot d'ouverture et présentation des participants
9 h 30' - 10 h 00'	: Réactions des participants sur le suivi des recommandations issues de la journée de réflexion tenue en février dernier
10 h 00' - 12 h 00'	: Présentation par chaque participant des activités menées et liées à l'utilisation du feuillet et contraintes éprouvées sur le terrain
12 h 00' - 13 h 45'	: Repas sur place
13 h 45' - 14 h 30'	: Présentation des résultats du questionnaire établi par le NDI + échanges.
14 h 30' - 15 h 30'	: Travaux en groupe. "*Comment remédier aux contraintes auxquelles on s'est heurté sur le terrain en vue de promouvoir l'éducation à la démocratie par le biais du feuillet et d'autres supports pédagogiques ?*"
15 h 30' - 15 h 45'	: Pause
15 h 45' -16 h 30'	: Restitution des travaux effectués en groupe. + échanges(plénière)

SAMEDI 20 JUILLET

8 h 30' - 9 h 30'	: Point de vue sur l'éducation à la démocratie par Patrick RAHARIMANANA, Coordinateur National - CNOE (Madagascar)
9 h 30' - 10 h 15'	: Présentation de 3 exemples de vulgarisation d'un support pédagogique 1°) Marketing social par le PSI (20') 2°) Emission radiodiffusée avec le concours du Studio Ijambo (20') 3°) Sketch (5')
10 h 15' - 10 h 30'	: Pause
10 h 30'- 11 h 30'	: Travaux en groupe ***"L'adéquation des méthodes de vulgarisation de la démocratie dans le contexte burundais."***
11 h 30' -12 h 15'	: Restitution + Echanges sur les travaux effectués en groupe.
12 h 15' - 12 h 45'	: Evaluation .
12 h 45' - 13 h 45'	: Clôture et Coktail

114

Les participants à la session de réflexion sur l'éducation à la démocratie prévue du 19 au 20 juillet 1996.

1. Ligue SONERA
2. Ligue ITEKA
3. Association pour la Promotion et la Protection de la Liberté d'Expression
4. Maison de l'UNESCO
5. Search for Common Ground
6. Centre Nations Unies pour les Droits de l'Homme
7. Association des Scouts du Burundi
8. Association des Guides du Burundi
9. Mouvement CIRO
10. Mouvement XAVERI (Térence MBONABUCA)
11. Mouvement J.E.C
12. Mouvement GEN
13. Mouvement Schoenstatt
14. Mouvement L. MARIA
15. Mouvement Eucharistique
16. Mme Pascasie MINANI (Fondation pour la Paix, l'Equité et le Développement)
17. Habiba NDIHOKUBWAYO (Association des Femmes du Burundi)
18. Catherine BUYOYA (Centre de Développement et de Solidarité)
19. JAMAA
20. Centre d'Etudes canadien pou la Coopération Internationale(CECI)
21. Marie BWIMANA (Association des Femmes Chefs de Famille)
22. Bedin (Centre Jeunes Kamenge)
23. Chargé de l'éducation à l'UNICEF (Gervais HAVYARIMANA)
24. Nelly TONDEUR- COOPÉRATION EUROPÉENNE
25. MAMADOU KANTE (AFRICARE)
26. Directeur du Collège Municipal de KINAMA
27. Abbé NTAHIMPERA (CARITAS)
28. Directeur du Cabinet au Ministère de l'Intérieur et la Sécurité publique
29. Emmanuel KAGABO (Association pour la Promotion des Groupes Défavorisés)
30. Jacques BITABABAJE (Association pour la Défense des Enfants Internationaux)
31. Abbé Marc BARENGAYABO (Association des Juristes Catholiques)
32. NTANDIKIYE (Association Nationale des Séropositifs et Sidéens)
33. MAKENGA Jean (Centre de Promotion pour les Droits de l'Homme)
34. Concilie NIBIGIRA (Association pour la Promotion Economique de la Femme)
35. Mme NDADAYE
36. Domitile NSENGIYUMVA (Appui aux Filles Déscolarisées)
37. Fondation pour l'Unité, la Paix et la Démocratie (BUYOYA)
38. FEDERATION DES CLUBS UNESCO (FENACU)
39. Daniel CURSOUX (Association Française des Volontaires pour la Paix)
40. Directeur de l'ENAPO
41. Représentant spécial du secrétaire général des Nations Unies pour le Burundi
42. Bureau d'Etudes et des Programmes de l'Enseignement Secondaire
43. Bureau de l'Education Rurale
44. Bureau d'Etudes de l'Enseignement Technique
45. Bureau de l'Enseignement National Catholique
46. NKWIRIKIYE Télésphore (CARITAS)
47. Mme NDUWAYO (Association pour les Sinistrés)
48. ABUBEF
49. André MIDONZI (Service d'alphabétisation et d'éducation à la Paix)
50. ATELIER - FEMMES
51. Les Projets SOS du Burundi
52. Léonidas NDIKUNKIKO (Dir. Serv. d'alphabétisation et d'éducation à la Paix)
53. Jean BISETSA (USAID)

54. Directeur du Collège de l'Avenir
55. Sandra MELONE (Search for Common Ground)
56. Laurent GAHUNGU(Coopération Italienne)
57. Augustin NDIRABIKA (Intahe i Burundi)
58. Chrysanthe SAHABO (Ass. des Scouts Burundi)
59. COMIBU(Communauté Islamique du Burundi.)
60. Conseil National des Eglises Protestantes
61. Honorable COYIREMEYE Saturnin (KARUZI)
62. Honorable NTIBAYAZI Léonidas (RUYIGI)
63. Honorable SIRABAHENDA Paul (MAKAMBA)
64. Honorable MUNYEMBARI Paul (Vice Président de l'Assemblée Nationale)

Les Animateurs

1. NINDORERA Eugène(NDI)
2. NIMBONA Alexis (NDI)
3. GIZENGA Antoine (NDI)
4. RAHARIMANANA Patrick (CNOE-Madagascar)
5. BUTLER Derek
6. P.S.I

Le(s) invité(s) d'honneur

- U.S EMBASSY

EVOLUTION DE LA DISTRIBUTION DES FEUILLETS ET TEE-SHIRTS DU 25 JUIN AU 16 JUILLET 1996

	Feuillets	T-Shirts
* Quantité à gérer	23,750	3,130
* Quantité distribuée	1,507	602
* Livraison en attente	3,850	PLUS
* Stock	18,393	2,528

Détail de la quantité distribuée

Destinataire	Nombre de feuillets	Nombre de t-shirts
1. Vice Président de l'Assemblée Nationale	100	100
2. Instituteurs en qualification(CELAB)	50	50
3. Province de Ruyigi	200	-
4. Centre de promotion pour les Droits de l'Homme	300	100
5. Province de Bujumbura rural	200	100
6. Mouvement Xavéri	500	200
7. Union des Femmes Burundaises(U.F.B.)	150	-
8. Correcteurs du concours-Collège Municipal de Kinama	_	17
9. Rencontre avec les associations des femmes	_	22
10. USA- Embassy	5	5
11. Visiteurs	2	8
	1,507	602

117

rundi Leader lees to Home U.S. Envoy

o Fears Compel utu to Take Refuge

By Stephen Buckley
Washington Post Foreign Service

BUJUMBURA, Burundi, July — earing a military coup, Presi- nt ylvestre Ntibantunganya has ught refuge in the U.S. ambassa- r's home here, plunging Burundi o litical confusion and raising e ecter of more bloodshed be- een the country's Hutu and Tutsi hnic groups.

T eets of Bujumbura, the i ained quiet tonight de- ite conicting reports concerning e future of Burundi's fragile Hutu- tsi coalition government; the fate N bantunganya, a Hutu; and the le f Burundi's Tutsi-dominated ilitary in his flight to the guarded .S. compound.

B amid the seeming calm, uncer- in over who is in charge intensi- ed concern that already inflamed hnic tensions could once again spill re nto the kind of tribal slaughter at as punctuated the history of is all central African country and at of its neighbor, Rwanda.

In the last three years, more than 50 00 Burundians have been lle in ethnic conflict, and up to ,000 are still dying each month. Bu- ndi, which won independence from el m in 1962, has the same 85 er t Hutu-14 percent Tutsi tribal ivision as Rwanda, where Hutu ex- emists massacred at least a half- ill n people, mostly Tutsis, during si week period in 1994.

Ntibantunganya's government greed this month to allow troops o Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda o vide "security assistance" to try o p halt the killing in Burundi, but

BURUNDI, A24, Col. 1

WASHINGTON POST
July 25, 1996

BURUNDI, From A1

the future of that plan, which has drawn numerous protests, looked grim today after the Tutsi-dominated Union for National Progress party announced it is abandoning the government.

Prime Minister Antoine Nduwayo, a member of the party, had not stepped down by late tonight, however, and it was unclear whether he supported his party's action.

Party leader Charles Mukasi accused the Hutu president of "crimes and acts of high treason" at a news conference, alleging, among other things, that Ntibantunganya collaborated with anti-government Hutu guerrillas. "We are renouncing the national convention" at which the government was formed in 1992, Mukasi said. "Therefore, the government is dissolved."

Burundi's majority party, the Hutu-led Front for Democracy in Burundi,

> *"There is no government. We are now hoping for an orderly transition."*
>
> — A diplomat in Bujumbura

agreed that the government had fallen. In a statement, the party said the constitution calls for the president of the National Assembly to take Ntibantunganya's place and dictates that elections be held within three months.

Several diplomats in Bujumbura also expressed belief that the government had collapsed. "There is no government," one senior diplomat said. "We are now hoping for an orderly transition."

Ntibantunganya, in a phone call to the government radio station, appealed to citizens to "ignore politicians who aim to plunge our country into chaos by seeking to overthrow our current leadership institutions."

In Washington, a White House statement said: "The United States will not support a government installed by force or intimidation and reiterates that it will work actively to isolate any such regime."

Numerous diplomats, including several Clinton administration officials, have visited Burundi in recent months, trying to ensure that ethnic violence here does not reach Rwandan proportions. But in recent weeks, tensions have risen sharply as both the Tutsi-led military and Hutu militia groups have killed hundreds of civilians.

The most savage recent violence occurred last weekend, when thousands of Hutu rebels attacked a village in central Burundi, massacring about 300 Tutsis, many of them women and children. This week, an estimated 39 Hutus were found slain in suburban Bujumbura, apparently killed Monday in another cycle of retaliation. About 20 bodies were piled by the side of a road, 17 of them charred.

In New York, the U.N. Security Council issued a statement on Burundi condemning "any attempt to overthrow the present legitimate government by force or coup d'etat." The council also repeated its frequent calls for Hutus and Tutsis to avoid violence and extremism, and it directed Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to speed "contingency planning for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or a serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation."

The term "humanitarian response" was a gingerly phrased reference to the controversial question of whether the United Nations should be prepared to send an international military force into Burundi if the fighting escalates into genocide.

Some Burundian officials insisted that all 12 political parties in parliament must agree before the government can be constitutionally dissolved, and they questioned whether the country is really leaderless.

The fate of Ntibantunganya—a Hutu who took office in April 1994 after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi died in an unexplained plane crash—remained equally murky. He and his wife entered the residence of U.S. Ambassador Morris Hughes Tuesday night, hours after hundreds of Tutsis at a mass funeral for those killed last weekend had stoned the president, sending him fleeing. He escaped in his helicopter and was not injured. On returning to Bujumbura, however, he was told of reports that Tutsi soldiers had taken over the national radio and television stations, reports that apparently were untrue.

Apparently believing a coup was under way, he called the American Embassy and arrived under escort at about 8:30 p.m. Tuesday, an embassy spokeswoman said this afternoon. "It was certainly his idea," the spokeswoman said. "He felt concerned for his safety."

Three of Burundi's leaders have been assassinated since 1962, including Melchior Ndadaye, the nation's first elected Hutu president, whose October 1993 killing catapulted the country into its latest round of violence. Ntibantunganya's life has been threatened numerous times, and he has had a prickly relationship with the army, Burundi's most powerful institution.

Over the past year, rumors of an imminent military coup have surfaced repeatedly, but several government officials insisted tonight that Ntibantunganya had no reason to fear for his life. "The presence of the president at the [U.S. ambassador's house] is not justified," said Burundi's U.N. ambassador, Terence Nsanze. "There is no one persecuting him. The army has been doing its work as usual. When he was being attacked [Tuesday], it was the army that protected him."

Ntibantunganya is not seeking political asylum in the United States, and U.S. officials said his stay at the ambassador's residence will be "very short." Unconfirmed reports said he is seeking safe passage to another country, perhaps Tanzania. In any case, it seemed clear that Ntibantunganya would not be returning to Burundi's presidential palace.

Most residents of Bujumbura, which is heavily populated by Tutsis, appeared to be either oblivious of today's events or unshaken by them. Chatting residents clogged sidewalks. Rush hour snaked along without incident. Businesses stayed open until regular closing times.

But about 2,000 Tutsi youths filled downtown streets in a solemn protest early this evening, as they have numerous times since Burundi's government agreed to seek military assistance from its neighbors. Earlier in the day, about 2,500 young people marched silently through Bujumbura, holding signs that read, "Stop the systematic genocide of the Tutsis," an apparent reference to recent Hutu rebel attacks on civilians.

Staff writer John M. Goshko at the United Nations contributed to this report.

118

WAT, EAT

DATE=7/26/96
TYPE=CORRESPONDENT REPORT
NUMBER=2-200769
TITLE=BURUNDI / FRIDAY (S & L UPDATE)
BYLINE=SCOTT STEARNS
DATELINE=BUJUMBURA
CONTENT=
VOICED AT:

/// EDS: USE OF OPTIONAL MATERIAL WILL EXPAND SHORT REPORT TO A LONG ///

INTRO: THE U-S AMBASSADOR TO BURUNDI HAS MET WITH THE COUNTRY'S NEW MILITARY-APPOINTED PRESIDENT. V-O-A CORRESPONDENT SCOTT STEARNS IN BUJUMBURA REPORTS BURUNDI'S DEPOSED CIVILIAN PRESIDENT IS STILL AT THE U-S AMBASSADOR'S HOME.

TEXT: THE U-S EMBASSY SPOKESWOMAN SAID THIS MORNING (FRIDAY) THAT U-S AMBASSADOR RUSTY HUGHES MET WITH PRESIDENT PIERRE BUYOYA THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

THE MILITARY NAMED MR. BUYOYA TO HEAD A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE DEFENSE MINISTER SAID POLITICIANS WERE NOT CAPABLE OF DEALING WITH REBEL ATTACKS IN NORTHERN BURUNDI.

THE U-S EMBASSY SPOKESWOMAN SAID AMBASSADOR HUGHES AND PRESIDENT BUYOYA DISCUSSED THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN BURUNDI. BUT SHE WOULD NOT ELABORATE ON THEIR TALKS.

THE EMBASSY HAS SAID IT WILL HOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE LATER IN THE DAY.

THE SPOKESWOMAN SAID CIVILIAN PRESIDENT SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA IS STILL AT THE HOME OF THE U-S AMBASSADOR. HE SOUGHT REFUGE THERE TUESDAY AFTER BEING ATTACKED WITH STONES AND BRICKS AT A FUNERAL FOR MORE THAN 300 TUTSI CIVILIANS.

MOURNERS BLAMED THE HUTU PRESIDENT FOR SYMPATHIZING WITH HUTU REBELS WHO THE ARMY BLAMES FOR THE DEATHS.

MR. NTIBANTUNGANYA IS AT THE U-S RESIDENCE WITH HIS WIFE AND HIS WIFE'S SISTER. THE EMBASSY SAID THEY SPENT A QUIET NIGHT WATCHING TELEVISION.

/// REST OPT ///

PRESIDENT BUYOYA WAS ON TELEVISION ABOUT MIDNIGHT, LOCAL TIME, PLEDGING TO PROTECT ALL MEMBERS OF MR. NTIBANTUNGANYA'S GOVERNMENT. HE URGED THE PUBLIC TO REMAIN CALM AS HE BEGINS A NATIONAL DEBATE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI.

HE ASKED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IS NOT ABOUT PERSONAL AMBITION BUT IS, INSTEAD, THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HAVE DENOUNCED THE COUP.

PRESIDENT BUYOYA PLEDGED TO STOP THE MASSACRES AND SAID HE SUPPORTS THE MILITARY STRATEGY AGAINST HUTU REBELS. THE TUTSI-DOMINATED ARMY HAS BEEN FIGHTING HUTU REBELS SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED HUTU PRESIDENT

119

WAT, EAT

DATE=7/26/96
TYPE=CORRESPONDENT REPORT
NUMBER=2-200764
TITLE=BURUNDI FRIDAY
BYLINE=SCOTT STEARNS
DATELINE=BUJUMBURA
CONTENT=
VOICED AT:

INTRO: BURUNDI 'S NEW MILITARY APPOINTED PRESIDENT SAYS HE WILL NAME AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO HELP RESTORE PEACE IN THE COUNTRY. V-O-A'S SCOTT STEARNS REPORTS FROM BUJUMBURA.

TEXT: TRAFFIC RETURNED TO THE STREETS OF BUJUMBURA FRIDAY MORNING AS THE NIGHTTIME CURFEW EXPIRED. BUSES CARRIED PEOPLE TO WORK AND SHOPS REOPENED ONE DAY AFTER THE COUP AGAINST BURUNDI'S CIVILIAN PRESIDENT. THE ARMY SUSPENDED THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND ALL POLITICAL PARTIES THURSDAY SAYING THE COUNTRY FACED A CATASTROPHIC SITUATION. THE DEFENSE MINISTER SAID POLITICIANS WERE INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH REBEL ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS IN THE NORTH.

BURUNDI'S TUTSI DOMINATED ARMY HAS BEEN FIGHTING HUTU REBELS SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED HUTU PRESIDENT IN 1993. THE ARMY BLAMES REBELS FOR RECENT ATTACKS ON A TEA FACTORY AND A CAMP FOR DISPLACED TUTSI CIVILIANS THAT TOGETHER CLAIMED THE LIVES OF OVER 400 PEOPLE.

THE ARMY APPOINTED FORMER MILITARY PRESIDENT PIERRE BUYOYA TO LEAD A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT AFTER THE LEADING TUTSI DOMINATED POLITICAL PARTY WITHDREW ITS SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA. MR. NTIBANTUNGANYA STILL REMAINS IN THE RESIDENCE OF THE U-S AMBASSADOR AND HAS NOT RELINQUISHED HIS CLAIM TO THE PRESIDENCY. OTHER MINISTERS ARE HOLED UP AT THE GERMAN EMBASSY.

IN A NATIONWIDE ADDRESS AT ABOUT MIDNIGHT LOCAL TIME, PRESIDENT BUYOYA SAID HE WOULD PROTECT ALL MEMBERS OF MR. NTIBANTUNGANYA'S GOVERNMENT. HE URGED THE PUBLIC TO REMAIN CALM AS HE BEGAN THE NATIONAL DEBATE ON THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN BURUNDI. HE ASKED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IS NOT ABOUT PERSONAL AMBITION BUT IS INSTEAD THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY HAVE DENOUNCED THE COUP.

PRESIDENT BUYOYA PLEDGED TO STOP THE MASSACRES AND SAID HE SUPPORTS THE MILITARY STRATEGY AGAINST HUTU REBELS. OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS TUTSI YOUTHS HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING IN BUJUMBURA ASKING TO BE ENLISTED IN THE ARMY TO HELP FIGHT THE REBELS. PRESIDENT BUYOYA SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE AMBITION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TO DEFEND THE NATION AND SAID HE WILL INDICATE HOW THEY MIGHT HELP IN THE COMING DAYS.

PRESIDENT BUYOYA WAS VOTED OUT OF OFFICE IN 1993 AFTER ORGANIZING THE COUNTRY'S FIRST DEMOCRATIC ELECTION. HE'S SEEN AS A MODERATE IN BURUNDI WHO APPEALED FOR ETHNIC RECONCILIATION ON HANDING OVER POWER TO THE HUTU PRESIDENT THREE YEARS AGO.

PRESIDENT BUYOYA OPPOSES OUTSIDE MILITARY INTERVENTION PROPOSED BY EAST AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE. THEY'VE DISCUSSED USING TROOPS FROM UGANDA, TANZANIA, AND ETHIOPIA TO PROTECT POLITICIANS AND KEY CIVIL INSTALLATIONS. BUT REGIONAL LEADERS SAY NO TROOPS WILL

120

Reuters New Media

[The New York Times]

Friday July 26 6:45 AM EDT

One Day After Coup, Fightin in Burundi

BUJUMBURA, Burundi (Reuter) - Aid workers Friday reported sporadic fighting in the central African nation of Burundi between troops and rebels as a mass recruitment drive of Tutsi youths called by the new strongman ruler got under way.

The aid workers said Hutu rebels clashed overnight with the military in the northern Gitega region and in Bururi, to the south, home of President Pierre Buyoya, who was installed in a Thursday coup.

On Friday, thousands of Tutsi youths lined up outside army recruitment points in Bujumbura in response to Buyoya's offer to provide military training to Tutsis to counter a rising Hutu guerrilla campaign.

``We offer to the youth, to all the young the opportunity to participate in the defence of our country," Buyoya said in his Thursday speech to mark his return to power.

Witnesses said the offer received swift response as red-bereted crack troops processed new recruits, signalling the new junta's resolve to deal firmly with Hutu rebels of the exiled National Council for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD).

``Our first objective is to stop immediately the massacres and all forms of criminality that have prevailed in Burundi for the last three years," Buyoya said in his address on state radio in a reference to ethnic violence sweeping the nation.

An estimated 150,000 people have been killed in three years of violence in Burundi. World leaders have pledged not to allow a repeat of the 1994 genocide in neighbouring Rwanda in which up to a million Hutus and allied Tutsis died.

The ethnic Tutsi military man held out an olive branch to former Hutu president Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, promising reconciliation and a return to democracy.

Ntibantunganya has taken refuge in the U.S. ambassador's residence in Bujumbura. Washington said on Thursday it still recognised him as the legitimate president of the central African country, riven by hatred between Tutsis, who dominate the military, and majority Hutus.

South African President Nelson Mandela and the United Nations also denounced the putsch. But the army which installed former ruler Buyoya poured scorn on international threats to isolate Africa's newest military dictatorship.

``Burundi is an independent country. We will not be colonised again," said army spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Longin Minani.

Buyoya handed power to elected civilians in 1993 but a failed army coup the same year began the slide to Thursday's coup.

African diplomats said the continent's elder statesman and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere was expected to push for an international campaign to isolate Buyoya's government and bring it to its knees.

``The South African government strongly condemns the senseless violence in Burundi and wishes to make it clear that it will under no circumstances recognise any change of government in that country brought about through force of arms," Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo said.

Burundi's army seized power on Thursday and outlawed political parties, closed the airport and land borders. It cited insecurity and government failure to rule as the reasons for its takeover.

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122

APPENDIX X

COMPTE RENDU DE LA SESSION DE RÉFLEXION SUR L'ÉDUCATION A LA DÉMOCRATIE TENUE DU 19 AU 20 JUILLET

Dans le mot d'ouverture de la session, Eugène NINDORERA, Consultant pour le National Democratic Institute-Burundi, a rappelé le contexte dans lequel cette session de réflexion a été organisée. Nous en reprenons l'essentiel ci-après :

<< *Actuellement, quand on parle de la "Démocratie", beaucoup de personnes ont tendance à y associer les grands maux dont souffrent notre pays. En réalité cette attitude est difficile à défendre dans la mesure où la démocratie est un ensemble de valeurs et d'institutions que toute société doit nécessairement adopter.*

Le feuillet "Comment vivre en Démocratie au Burundi?" a été initié par le N.D.I dans l'objectif de promouvoir l'éducation à la démocratie. La forme et le contenu de ce feuillet ont été soumis à la plupart d'entre vous en février dernier où certaines recommandations ont été retenues pour le rendre exploitable dans l'optique d'offrir une certaine efficacité de notre action éducative.

Ces recommandations ont été appliquées et les réactions de nombreux partenaires sont encourageantes. Certains disent que le feuillet est venu au bon moment d'autres affirment même qu'il serait encore mieux de le présenter avec plus de dessins afin qu'il profite à la masse paysanne. D'autres encore déplorent le fait qu'il n'ait pas précédé les élections de juin 93.

Depuis 5 mois tout au plus, des activités ont été menées autour du feuillet pour atteindre l'objectif cité plus haut. Nous pensons qu'il est maintenant nécessaire d'évaluer le pas déjà franchi. Cela nous permettra de rectifier le tir rapidement parce que le chemin à parcourir est encore très long et plein d'obstacles.

En fin de compte, ce qui importe pour nous, c'est la vulgarisation des valeurs démocratiques. Cette action ne peut se faire que par le truchement des outils pédagogiques. Le feuillet en est un qui laisse la possibilité d'être complété et adapté par son utilisateur.

Il ne saurait nullement être une fin en soi mais il offre l'avantage de présenter la démocratie comme un ensemble de valeurs qu'on ne peut réduire aux seuls partis politiques et aux seules élections. >>

Après cet avant dire, nous avons procédé à la présentation des participants dont les noms, l'adresse et les organisations qu'ils représentent figurent sur la liste en annexe.

1. LE SUIVI DES RECOMMANDATIONS ISSUES DE LA PREMIÈRE JOURNÉE DE RÉFLEXION TENUE EN FÉVRIER 1996

Tous les participants ont reconnu que les recommandations arrêtées au sortir de la rencontre de février dernier avaient été respectées par le NDI. La mise en application de ces recommandations paraît aux yeux de certains participants comme la principale source d'amélioration de la deuxième édition du feuillet. Certes quelques points sont encore à améliorer et le staff de NDI reste ouvert aux suggestions de nature à rendre efficace son action d'éducation à la démocratie.

Un bon nombre de participants a exprimé le désir de voir le feuillet contenir des procédés méthodologiques pouvant faciliter son exploitation. Mais il a été convenu que ce livret n'est pas une oeuvre immuable. Tout utilisateur peut l'adapter, le compléter à sa guise.

2. LES ACTIVITÉS LIÉES À L'ÉDUCATION À LA DÉMOCRATIE ET MENÉES AUTOUR DU FEUILLET PAR LES PARTENAIRES DU NDI

Dans la foulée des activités qui ont été exprimées par les participants, voici celles qui cadrent avec notre travail d'éducation à la paix et à la démocratie:

- 14 organisations ont tenu chacune au moins une séance participative. Parmi celles-ci, certaines ont invité le NDI c'est le cas du centre des femmes, du collège municipal de Kinama, du centre jeunes Kamenge et de l'école nationale de police. D'autres l'ont associé de près ; c'est le cas de la JEC, de MEJ, de mouvement Xavéri, de la Maison de l'Unesco, de la COMIBU, de l'ASB, de l'APGD, de collège de l'avenir, de la FENACU et de la JRCK.

- les concours et examens scolaires ont été effectués sur base du feuillet. Ici, on retient le centre jeunes Kamenge, le collège municipal de Kinama, le mouvement Xavéri, le lycée International et le Groupe Scolaire de Bujumbura.

125

_ Le Bureau d'Étude des Programmes de l'Enseignement Secondaire (BEPES) désire avant tout organiser un séminaire à l'intention des professeurs de civisme en vue de dégager les voies et moyens menant à l'intégration du contenu du feuillet dans les programmes d'éducation civique. A ce sujet, il importe de signaler que le feuillet a été bien accueilli et distribué aux encadreurs des clubs de la paix.

- La Maison de l'Unesco procède à une large diffusion des feuillets lors de ses séminaires de formation des formateurs et des descentes dans les écoles (pour les élèves et les enseignants), dans les provinces (pour les administrateurs et gouverneurs). Elle envisage descendre très prochainement à l'université du Burundi.

- L'Association des Scouts du Burundi a distribué dans toutes les régions scoutes du pays une cinquantaine de feuillets et diffusera jusqu'au mois de novembre dans son bulletin de liaison "Toujours Prêt" le concours-feuillet.

- Le Centre des Nations Unies pour les Droits de l'Homme a présenté le calendrier de ses activités.
* 3 août : séminaire de formation où les différents thèmes pourront être exploités
* vacances d'août: Camp de reconstruction pour jeunes. Pendant le jour, on effectuera les travaux manuels et les soirées seront consacrées aux échanges sur les différents thèmes du feuillet
* Émissions radiodiffusées sous forme de concours passant 3 fois par mois sont prévues pour les jeunes de 15 à 20 ans.

- Les Projets S.O.S.. ont distribués les feuillets dans ses 3 villages d'enfants (Bujumbura, Gitega et Muyinga) et entrevoit associer le NDI pour animer quelques séances participatives.

- L'école nationale de police compte insérer dans le programme du cours d'éducation civique destiné aux futurs policiers quelques thèmes du feuillet et souhaiterait aussi que les instructeurs soient associés aux prochaines séances qui seront animées par le NDI.

- Le CYHA distribue déjà les feuillets aux malades internes dans les hôpitaux de Bujumbura. Certains patients ont été victimes des clivages ethniques générés par la crise socio-politique du moment.

- La Communauté islamique du Burundi(COMIBU) a exploité pendant le fête d'Idil Hadj quelques thèmes du feuillet devant des milliers d'adeptes. Cette communauté exprime le désir de présenter le contenu du feuillet sur base des versets coraniques et souhaite

126

que le NDI puisse produire un feuillet en swahili qui est la seconde langue locale après le Kirundi.

- Le service national d'alphabétisation diffuse le feuillet dans son principal canal d'éducation informelle et nourrit des projets qui vont dans le sens de promouvoir l'éducation à la paix et à la démocratie au travers des séminaires de formation des formateurs dans tout le pays. Ce service aimerait être appuyé matériellement par le NDI.

- Le Ministre de l'Intérieur et de la sécurité publique a pu distribuer les feuillets dans toutes les provinces du pays par le biais des gouverneurs provinciaux et administrateurs communaux. Il compte assurer le suivi de cette activité dans les plus brefs délais.

- Le search for common ground épaule déjà le NDI dans la diffusion des valeurs démocratiques par la réalisation des émissions radiodiffusées comme celle entendue lors de la session.

Les organisations présentes ont exprimé le souhait d'entreprendre des activités de nature à diffuser le feuillet et à promouvoir par le même occasion l'éducation à la démocratie.

Celles qui avaient déjà entrepris quelques actions ont soulevé les contraintes qu'elles ont rencontrées sur le terrain. Ces dernières ont été recueillies grâce à un questionnaire qui a été lancé deux mois avant la tenue de cette session. Ce questionnaire nous a permis de collecter des données dont voici le résumé.

3. Les résultats du questionnaire

Population parente : tous les adhérents des associations et maisons qui travaillent dans le domaine de la paix et de la démocratie.

Échantillon: 60 personnes prises parmi nos proches partenaires. Est proche partenaire, toute personne morale ou physique qui a entrepris une ou des activités autour du feuillet.

PRÉSENTATION DES DONNÉES

Ce questionnaire a été établi en vue de se rendre réellement compte des actions qui sont menées par nos partenaires autour du feuillet, de celles qui sont envisagées dans un proche avenir et des contraintes du terrain dans le but ultime d'optimaliser le

rendement. La principale mission qui nous est confiée est celle de s'atteler à l'éducation civique en matière de démocratie. L'action éducative du NDI s'appuie principalement sur un support pédagogique qu'est le feuillet. Les participants ont une place de choix dans la réalisation de ce support dans la mesure où leurs réactions sur le fond et la forme de ce dernier ont été plus que bénéfiques.

A la question de savoir si les changements apportés à la 2ème édition ont été conformes à leurs attentes, la plupart des sujets affirment que cette version du feuillet laisse transparaître une nette amélioration.

Cependant, il y en a qui croient qu'une 3 ème édition qui serait orientée vers les personnes moins lettrées pourrait être très intéressante à plusieurs égards. 87,5% des sujets qui se sont prononcé sur la question partagent cette considération. Il est évident que cette position se justifie par le fait qu'une grande partie de la population burundaise, estimée à 70 %, demeure dans l'analphabétisme.

A ce propos, quelques conseils d'ordre technique relatifs à la confection de cette troisième édition ont été fournies. Retenons entre autres:

* produire une bande dessinée
* prendre les personnages et le décor qui reflètent la société burundaise et garder les mêmes personnages jusqu'à la fin de la BD
* Pas trop de personnages
* Faire attention aux couleurs à utiliser qui incarnent aujourd'hui certains groupes politico-ethniques.
* Faire une BD attrayante ou autre matériel audiovisuel (cassette vidéo, diapositive, affiches, revues, dépliants...)

Le reste des données recueillies tournent autour de deux aspects qui sont :

** ***exploitation du feuillet et contraintes auxquelles l'on s'est heurté lors des activités initiées.***

* Plusieurs sujets (80%) qui ont reçu le feuillet l'ont exploité soit individuellement soit collectivement lors des sessions participatives ou séances de réflexion comme celle de juillet.
* Une infime partie a organisé un concours sur les quelques thèmes du feuillet à l'issue duquel certains prix ont été offerts aux

gagnants. Au centre jeunes Kamenge, on exploite le feuillet à l'aide des projections des films dont les thèmes y sont similaires. Cette activité qui intéresse un grand nombre de jeunes est appelée le **vidéo-forum.**

D'autres ont transmis le feuillet à un autre échelon de leur organisation en vue d'une large diffusion ou d'une information à leur siège.

-- Les personnes ciblées sont généralement les élèves, les enseignants, les jeunes non scolarisés et quelques responsables politiques

-- Ceux qui n'ont pas exploité le feuillet affirment qu'ils envisagent le faire sous peu. Ils représentent 30% des sujets qui ont répondu au questionnaire.

*** Contraintes éprouvées sur le terrain**

-L'insécurité qui ne permet pas qu'on ait accès à tous les milieux
-la peur de dire tout haut ce qu'on pense tout bas
-la pensée répandue que la démocratie est une affaire de seuls politiciens constitue en quelque sorte un blocage pour amorcer ce thème. A cette pensée s'associe celle qui consiste à voir dans le terme démocratie les maux dont souffre actuellement le Burundi. D'où certains vocables qui y sont associés semblent affectivement chargés au point d'évoquer certains traumas psychologiques et physiques.
- le feuillet est très bon mais certains pensent qu'il s'adresse plus aux jeunes qu'aux adultes car ces derniers croient que le contenu du feuillet devrait pour eux être plus étoffé.
- le NDI n'est pas très connu, il doit de ce fait manifester sa présence à toutes les occasions prises.
- le manque de financement pour exécuter les activités liées au feuillet quoi que le NDI ne soit pas un bailleur de fonds
- les feuillets ne sont pas souvent disponibles
- la difficulté d'intégrer le feuillet dans le programme de l'association

***** activités envisagées pour proposer des actions efficaces en matière d'éducation à la démocratie.***

Ces activités sont de deux ordres :

1°) Celles qui se rapportent à la production et l'amélioration du matériel didactique ou supports pédagogiques

2°) Celles qui sont liées à l'exploitation de ce matériel didactique

Les activités de premier ordre qui ont été recueillies sont les suivantes :

- faire une bande dessinée à l'intention de la population rurale. Ici, 70% des sujets réaffirment cette position.
- présenter chaque thème sur un fichier distinct et y indiquer les procédés méthodologiques d'exploitation.
- étoffer les phrases qui expliquent les thèmes de sorte que les valeurs démocratiques soient présentées avec leurs différents contours.

Celles de second ordre qui ont été révélées sont les suivantes :

- multiplier les sessions participatives et les séminaires de formation des formateurs en matière de démocratie afin d'atteindre un grand nombre de personnes issues de tous les milieux
- créer une dynamique qui fera que les associations organisent les séances de travail où le NDI pourra prendre part.
- intensifier la distribution des feuillets au sein de différents organes partenaires pour une large diffusion
- intégrer les valeurs démocratiques dans l'enseignement des cours de civisme et de morale.
- initier une série d'émissions à la radio comme à la télévision et les présenter sous forme de débat ou de sketch

Par ce qui précède, tout porte à comprendre que le chemin à parcourir pour promouvoir une véritable éducation à la démocratie est fort long et pour voir visiblement le fruit de toute éducation, la patience s'impose. Il serait regrettable d'arrêter ce travail de vulgarisation des valeurs démocratiques au Burundi au moment où le peuple en a tant besoin.

4 LES TRAVAUX EFFECTUÉS EN GROUPE

Dans les 5 groupes constitués, le thème suivant a été étudié :

" *comment remédier aux contraintes auxquelles on s'est heurté sur le terrain en vue de promouvoir l'éducation à la*

130

démocratie par le biais du feuillet et d'autres supports pédagogiques ?"

A la fin de l'atelier tenu sur le précédent sujet, le rapporteur de chaque groupe a restitué de façon synthétique les recommandations qui y ont été retenues.
En plus des contraintes révélées par le questionnaire dont les résultats ont été présentés dans les lignes précédentes, d'autres ont été évoquées dans l'atelier susmentionné.

En peu de mots, ces contraintes sont :

* La pauvreté de la population en général et des associations qui travaillent dans le domaine de la paix et de la démocratie en particulier.

* Certains traits culturels comme l'hypocrisie, la fourberie, l'intrigue(...) qui s'opposent aux valeurs fondamentales de la démocratie.

* Le manque de leadership pour expliquer de façon neutre les valeurs démocratiques.

* Le manque de formateurs qualifiés en matière de démocratie.

* L'absence de la volonté politique pour asseoir réellement la véritable base de la démocratie par la consolidation de certaines institutions. La faiblesse de l'État fait que certaines antivaleurs (la méfiance, la suspicion, l'injustice, l'impunité, l'exclusion, la peur de l'autre...) priment sur les vraies valeurs.

* La difficulté d'assurer le suivi dans ce genre d'activité où l'objet est lui-même controversé.

<u>Les remèdes proposés</u>

1°) Le NDI doit disponibiliser tous les moyens pour la vulgarisation des valeurs démocratiques et saisir toutes les occasions pour se faire connaître car son travail est d'une impérieuse nécessité.

2°) La formation des formateurs en matière de démocratie par le canal des stages et séminaires au pays comme à l'étranger s'avère indispensable.

3°) L'élaboration d'un guide méthodologique de l'animateur pour le feuillet et autres supports pédagogiques que le NDI produira. Ainsi

131

varieraient les procédés méthodologiques selon le niveau des groupes cibles.

4°) L'accès aux différents milieux balkanisés doit passer par les meneurs de groupes épris de paix. Le choix de ces leaders qui peuvent mener les activités au niveau de la base est déterminant. Ils peuvent avec le concours du NDI multiplier les rencontres inter ethniques d'où jaillira l'entente par la voie de la non-violence et du dialogue. Ceci implique une meilleure identification des besoins du terrain et un excellent choix des partenaires potentiels.

5°) Les partenaires doivent inclure l'éducation à la démocratie dans leurs programmes d'activités. Ils devront également savoir que le NDI vient en appui sur le genre d'actions que ses partenaires locaux peuvent difficilement mener.

6°) Faire un recours à la culture burundaise en vue d'épouser les aspects culturels (positifs) qui se recoupent avec les principes fondamentaux de la démocratie et d'en découdre avec ceux (négatifs) qui semblent s'y opposer.

7°) Le NDI doit étroitement collaborer avec le Ministère de l'Intérieur et de la sécurité publique pour la distribution des supports pédagogiques et la sensibilisation visant à promouvoir l'éducation à la paix et à la démocratie.

8°) Le NDI a tout intérêt à utiliser les médias: la radio, la T.V. et la presse écrite officielle ou privée. Il devra aussi multiplier les supports pédagogiques dans le souci de vouloir atteindre tout le monde. A ce sujet, la production des affiches sous forme de pamphlets, des dessins animés, des bandes dessinées, des cassettes audio ou audiovisuelles paraît nécessaire.

9°) Affiner les outils et arrêter les stratégies adéquates dans le but de suivre de très près les initiatives de nature à promouvoir la culture de la démocratie

10°) Les organisations partenaires souhaitent que le NDI soit l'intermédiaire entre celles-ci et les bailleurs de fonds pour appuyer financièrement les projets qui rentrent dans le domaine de l'éducation à la paix et à la démocratie.

132

5. L'INTERVENTION DE PATRICK RAHARIMANANA

Au cours de cette intervention, les participants ont appris le rôle du COMITÉ NATIONAL D'OBSERVATION DES ÉLECTIONS, CNOE en sigle, dont Patrick RAHARIMANANA est le coordinateur national. Cette organisation malgache s'occupe entre autres de l'étude de la culture et des institutions démocratiques du pays. Elle se préoccupe essentiellement de l'éducation civique de la masse paysanne.

Les supports pédagogiques que le CNOE produit dont les modèles ont été exhibés aux participants dénote sa large expérience dans le domaine précité. Il est important de signaler que l'intervention était axée sur les techniques et méthodes de communication, les rapports qui s'établissent entre l'émetteur et le récepteur ainsi que des barrières qui bouchent parfois les canaux de communication ou qui entraînent la distorsion du message. Les principaux supports pédagogiques ont été passés en revue. Les avantages et les faiblesses de chacun ont été mis à nu.

Il est évident que l'intervention de Patrick a apporté un aspect professionnel et technique d'un excellent niveau. Aussi a-t-elle attiré l'attention de l'assemblée sur certains détails concrets qu'on observe sur le terrain lors de l'exploitation des supports pédagogiques ; par l'exemple, les difficultés qu'éprouvent les analphabètes dans la perception des images.

6. L'ÉMISSION RADIODIFFUSÉE SUR LE THEME DE LA TOLÉRANCE

Elle a été soumise à la critique des participants. Dans la foulée des propositions émises sur le fond comme sur la forme, certaines paraissent indispensables à savoir : La longueur de l'émission, le choix de meilleurs éléments, les orateurs venant de tous milieux et qui se recrutent parmi toutes les composantes de la population ainsi que l'adéquation des intermèdes musicaux.

En réalité cette émission était un essai sur la série d'émissions que le NDI compte réaliser très prochainement. Les suggestions des participants permettront d'orienter leur réalisation.

7. LE SKECTH SUR LE THEME DE LA TOLÉRANCE

Réalisé par trois jeunes gens de la ligue des droits de l'homme ITEKA, ce sketch fait en langue nationale a également bénéficié des réactions des participants. Celles-ci ont été portées aussi bien sur la forme que sur le fond. L'assemblée a exprimé le désir de voir ce genre de sketches qui se veut édifiant déboucher sur une leçon de

morale. Celle-ci ne doit pas être ambiguë. D'où la cohérence du texte doit être minutieusement réfléchie dans le souci de convaincre le public.

8. L'INTERVENTION DE DEREK

En tant que représentant de NDI Washington D.C., Derek BUTLER s'est exprimé sur le thème de la démocratie. Sa réflexion était profonde dans la mesure où il a dit que les différences existent et existeront toujours. Le plus important consiste à fixer les normes de comportement et à s'y conformer. Ainsi ces normes constituent les principes de base d'une société. Les désirs étant toujours différents, les discussions ne finiront jamais. Cependant, il faut tout le temps rechercher une solution négociée sur base des normes précitées et cette dernière ne sera jamais définitive. Donc le changement doit être perçu comme quelque chose d'inévitable.

Pour revenir au concept de démocratie, Derek a affirmé que la démocratie n'est pas certes le meilleur système politique mais parmi tant d'autres il semble le moins mauvais. Sinon doit-on privilégier l'aristrocratie (pouvoir exercer par une poignée de personnes riches), la théocratie (pouvoir exercer par Dieu) ou l'autocratie (le pouvoir absolu d'une personne)?

Les principes démocratiques laissent parfois le choix à l'individu de tomber dans l'anarchie. Par exemple un adulte peut-il accorder à l'enfant la liberté de mettre la main au feu? Un conducteur dans sa voiture peut-il rouler dans tous les sens ?

Pour clore sa brève allocution, Derek affirme : " ***il est plus difficile de créer les occasions de dialoguer que d'avoir peur*** ." Il pense que le dialogue est une voie très importante dans la recherche d'un compromis.

9. LE RÉSUMÉ DES ÉVALUATIONS

La fiche d'évaluation a été complétée par 36 participants. Les résultats sont repris ci-dessous ainsi que l'essentiel des commentaires.

1 ***L'impresion générale de la session de réflexion***

(2,19)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellente Très bonne Bonne Bof Mauvaise

134

L'impression générale est plutôt très bonne puisque la moyenne est de 2,19.

a) *les travaux*

(2,31)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellents Très bons Bons Bof Mauvais

La moyenne de 2,31 reflète également de manière générale, les commentaires des participants qui ont apprécié l'ensemble des travaux (thèmes de travail, qualité des intervenants et animateurs, taux de participation, travaux en groupes ,bonne atmosphère de travail, activités variées)

Des participants déplorent cependant le programme surchargé qui n'a d'ailleurs pas pu être respecté. Cette lacune s'explique en partie par le retard d'un bon nombre de participants. Il aurait donc fallu prévoir plus de temps, notamment pour discuter en profondeur les notions de la démocratie en général, et des problèmes liés à la démocratie au Burundi en particulier.

b) *l'organisation matérielle*

(2,37)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellente Très bonne Bonne Bof Mauvaise

L'organisation matérielle de la session a été jugée plus que bonne (2,37) par les participants. Beaucoup ont surtout apprécié la variété, l'adéquation et la disponibilité du matériel didactique.

La salle convenait parfaitement même si l'un au l'autre participant fait remarquer que les places étaient serrées ou que la climatisation n'était pas bonne.

Les critiques défavorables concernent principalement les problèmes de déplacement. Plusieurs auraient souhaité bénéficier d'un perdiem pour couvrir au moins les frais de déplacement et, dans cette logique, certains auraient préféré que les repas soient supprimés. Les autres observations sont liées à l'insuffisance du papier fourni, la non disponibilité immédiate de certains documents, une partie du matériel didactique en langue étrangère (malgache). Enfin, un participant aurait souhaité qu'à l'issue de la session un certificat leur soit délivré.

135

2. *le temps imparti aux activités*

(3,14)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Enorme Suffisant A peine Bof Insuffisant

Beaucoup de remarques ont été avancées sur le temps imparti aux activités. 28% des participants estiment que ce temps était insuffisant. La preuve en est, arguant plusieurs d'entre eux, que le programme a dû être modifié en fonction du retard enregistré.. Certains déplorent aussi la limitation des interventions dans le temps et dans la durée. D'autres regrettent que, faute de temps, la séance de travaux en groupe du samedi ait été supprimée.

3 *les travaux en plénière*

(2,29)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellents Très bons Bons Bof Mauvais

Dans l'ensemble, les séances plénières ont été appréciées des participants. D'après certains, le temps limité consacré à ces travaux n'a pas favorisé une étude approfondie des thèmes. Les participants se sont exprimés librement même si une participation plus active et plus franche a été souhaitée par l'un ou l'autre.

4. *l'appréciation sur les travaux effectués en groupe*

(2,16)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellente Très bonne Bonne Bof Mauvaise

Les travaux effectués en groupe ont été jugés presque très bons. Le climat de travail était agréable et a permis des discussions franches et constructives.
Une fois de plus, les regrets portent sur la gestion du temps considéré comme insuffisant.

136

5. *l'intervention de Patrick*

(1,57)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellente Très bonne Bonne Bof Mauvaise

a) La moyenne de 1,57 à l'intervention de Patrick RAHARIMANANA est éloquente . Sa contribution s'est avérée être un apport fort appréciable aux yeux des participants dont la moitié l'a qualifiée d'excellente. En choisissant Patrick RAHARIMANANA comme intervenant, le N.D.I- Washington a contribué à la réussite de la session de réflexion.

b) *l'émission radiodiffusée*

(2,91)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellente Très bonne Bonne Bof Mauvaise

C'est une bonne (2,91) émission sur le thème de la solidarité que les participants ont suivie avec beaucoup d'attention.
En rapport avec les personnes interrogées, certains participants suggèrent de les varier davantage en veillant aussi à toucher tous les groupes sociaux (aucune femme n'a été interrogée). En triant davantage les réponses, surtout celles qui sont semblables, l'émission aurait pu être plus brève mais plus percutante.

c) *le skecth*

(2,13)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Excellent Très bon Bon Bof Mauvais

Le sketch a plu aux participants comme l'atteste la moyenne de 2,13. Encore une fois, un participant regrette l'absence d'une fille dans le groupe des 3 acteurs. D'autres auraient souhaité que l'histoire relatée dans le sketch ne se termine pas par un dilemme ou des interrogations mais plutôt par une décision sans équivoque de l'intéressé.

6. ***Continueriez-vous à utiliser le feuillet dans votre travail d'éducation à la démocratie?***

(2,17)

1_____2_____3_____4_____5

Enormément Beaucoup Un peu Pas vraiment Pas du tout

137

Beaucoup de participants (2,17 de moyenne) ont affirmé qu'ils continueront à exploiter le feuillet dans leur travail d'éducation à la démocratie. Les voies d'utilisation du feuillet sont multiples et variées comme l'indiquent ces quelques commentaires recueillies :

- *Cela va me servir d'inspiration.*
- *Soumettre un à un les thèmes du feuillet à un débat au niveau des groupes divers.*
- *Je vais m'en inspirer dans les émissions que je vais produire.*
- *Consacrer 45 minutes par semaine à des échanges sur ces thèmes au sein de l'établissement scolaire*
- *Questionnaires - Concours - Vidéo forum - sketch...Animation - Chant*
- *Organiser des journées de réflexion*
- *Séminaires à l'intention des jeunes dans les zones de la Mairie de Bujumbura.*
- *formation des membres de l'association*
- *diffusion du feuillet un peu partout et prévoir des séances d'enseignement.*
- *envoyer beaucoup d'exemplaires dans le milieu rural.*
- *outil pour les néo-alphabètes et leur imprégner les valeurs démocratiques*

7. ***Par ordre d'importance, donnez 3 supports pédagogiques à utiliser lors de l'éducation à la démocratie dans le contexte burundais.***

Beaucoup de supports pédagogiques ont été préconisés. Même si tout support présente des avantages et des inconvénients liés entre autres au groupe cible, les supports pédagogiques les plus recommandés suivent l'ordre ci- dessous :

1. *Radio*
2. *T.V*
3. *Affiche/ Images / Bande dessinée*
4. *Sketch/ Jeux de rôle/Théâtre*
5. *Boîte à image*
6. *Texte (Livret/ Feuillet / Dépliant/ Brochure / Journaux)*

Fait à Bujumbura, le 03 août 1996

Par le NDI- BURUNDI

TÉL 21 54 97

138

PARTICIPANTS A LA SESSION DE REFLEXION SUR L'EDUCATION A LA DEMOCRATIE - NOVOTEL
19-20 JUILLET

Nom et prénom du participant	Maison représentée	Tél.	Adresse du siège
1. MUSAHARA Bonaventure	LDH SONERA	23.2971	Bujumbura
2. ICONZI Expert	FENACU	21.5382	Bujumbura
3. GAHUNGU Laurent	Association A.J.R.C/ Guc	23.3929	Bujumbura B.P. 2726
4 BACAMURWANKO M.	Association communication et l'éducation aux droits de l'Homme	23.4755	Bujumbura
5. NTAHUGA Jean Claude	Ligue ITEKA	22.8636	B.P. 177 Bujumbura
6. NZIRAGUHINDWA Eddy	Ligue ITEKA	22.8636	B.P. 177 Bujumbura
7. KAZEKURE Etoile	Ligue ITEKA	22.8636	B.P. 177 Bujumbura
8. MVURUMA Pascal	Pociraghink	22.4553	B.P. 172 Bujumbura
9. NDAYISENGA Marie - Amélie	Fondation NDADAYE Melchior pour les Droits de l'Homme, la Démocratie et le Développement - CNUDH	21. 65 01 21.4882	Bblvd 28 Nov Bujumbura, BURUNDI Av. D'ITALIE B.P. 1490 Bujum.
10. NDAYISHIMIYE Japhet Legenti	CYHA/ Christian Youth for Humanitarian Action	21.6985	11, Av. de France B.P. 6217
11. KATABARUMWE Madeleine	ABUBEF Association Burundaise pour le bien être familial	23.2936	Avenue Mosso
12. RUTWE Sylvestre	Ecole Nationale de Police	22.5702	Q, Industriel
13. NGARIGARI Ida	B.E.PE.S	23.1981	B.P. 2990

PARTICIPANTS A LA SESSION DE REFLEXION SUR L'EDUCATION A LA DEMOCRATIE - NOVOTEL
19-20 JUILLET

Nom et prénom du participant	Maison représentée	Tél.	Adresse du siège
14. SAFARI Cléophas	APRODEBU	22.0100	B.P. 6571 maison de l'UNESCO pour la paix (provisoire)
15. KAMENGE Juvénal	RADDES		
16 SAHABO Chrisanthe	Scouts du Burundi	22.6441	Chaussée Rwagasore B.P. 550
17. NTANDIKI Juvénal	A.N.S.S.	21.5977	B.P. 4152 Bujumbura
18. MVURUMA Pascal	Journaliste	22.4553	B.P. 177 Bujumbura
19. HICINTUKA Dismas	A.S.B.	22.6441	B.P. 550 Bujumbura
20. KAZE Nadine	Guides du Burundi	22.7355	Ngagara - B.P. 4301
21. SINDAYIGAYA Adrien	S. C. G. - Studio Ijambo	21.6334	B.P.6180 Bujumbura
22. JUMA Idi	COMIBU	21.5749	B.P. 2741 Bujumbura
23. HAKIZIMANA J. Bosco	Collège de l'Avenir	21.6465	B.P. 3522 Bujumbura
24. KAGAYO Jacques - Fils	Mouvement M.E.J.	_	B.P. 690 Bujumbura
25. NTAMIKEVYO Antoine	C.N.U.D.H.	21.4882	B.P. 1490 Bujumbura
26. NDAYIZEYE Alexis	Continuum/P.N.U.D.	21.6002	_
27. NSENGIMANA Thérèse	A.F.C.F.	22.0002	B.P. 6091
28. BIGIRIMANA Jean Claude	J.E.C.	_	B.P. 2996
29. NIYAKIRE Daphrose	A.P.E.F.	21.3375	B.P 1892 Bujumbura
30. TWESSO Bedin	Centre Jeunes Kamenge	23.2805	B.P. 500 Bujumbura
31. NTAGUZWA Jérôme	Ligue SONERA(RTNB)	21.6121	B.P. 1980 Bujumbura
32. SABUSHIMIKE Elie	Ministère de l'Intérieur	22.9860	B.P. 1910 Bujumbura
33. HAVYARIMANA Gervais	UNICEF	22.4773	_
34. NDAYIZEYE Gaspard	M.E. J	224773	B.P. 690
35. BUYOYA Catherine	C.E.D.E.S. (F.M.S.)	22.4126 c/o 21.5126	B.P. 1505 Bujumbura
36. NDAYIRAGIGE Ferdinand	UJDD	23.2088	B.P. 4267 Bujumbura
37. BARYANA Philippe	Collège Municipal de Kinama	23.1100	B.P. 117
38. MINDOZI Andre	Service National d'Alph.	23.4374	B.P.1414 Bujumbura
39. NDUWAYO Charles	Xavéri	22.3604	B.P. 942 "
40. REHEMA RAJABU	AFEMUBU	22.5100	B.P.6679 "
41. MBANZAMIHIGO Dieudonné	C.D.H.	232910	B.P.2588
42. NSHIMIRIMANA Brigitte	Centre pour femmes	21.7192	Bulging Old East

PARTICIPANTS A LA SESSION DE REFLEXION SUR L'EDUCATION A LA DEMOCRATIE - NOVOTEL
19-20 JUILLET

Nom et prénom du participant	Maison représentée	Tél.	Adresse du siège
43 KAGABO Emmanuel	APGD	21.7167	B.P.6040 Bujumbura
44. BASHIRAHISHIZE Adrien	FENACU	21. 5382	B.P.1490 "
45. NYOBEWUMUSI Estella	Journal UBUMWE	22.4147	B.P.1400 "
46. NDIKUNKIKO Léonidas	Service National d'Alphabét°	23.1261	B.P. 1414 "
		23.4373	

APPENDIX XI

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Suite 503, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136
■ FAX (202) 939-3166
■ Telex 5106015068 NDIIA

DATE: 23 February 1995
TO: Ken, Jean, Ned, Tom, Susan, Tim
FROM: Jean H. Lavoie
RE: Parliamentary program in Burundi

With regards to our parliamentary program, many consultations took place in the recent two weeks in spite of the work interruptions, movements of civil disobedience, or manifestations of paranoia from one ethnic group towards the other. The wounds are deep and none of the public personalities is exempt from the political pressures of their respective "clan". Most of the political actors let their passions and emotions control their mind; rare are the people who seem able to rationalize the conflict with objectivity. Most people are exhausted to hear day after day about human massacres. "Search for peace", "Reconciliation", "National Unity" are now keywords in the Burundi language. Madness and evil are not the main sources of the ethnic conflicts that occur in Burundi. Increasingly, both ethnic groups act emotionally by instinct of survival, by fear of being victims of extermination. Moderates share the opinion that a national debate is the only way for the country to look carefully at its cruel realities and find ways to reach a better ethnic balance in all sectors of the burundian society: military, "Gendarmerie", judicial system, education, economic forces. Quite an agenda...

Mps seem to deny responsibility for everything that happens. Many suffer from a major lack of initiative, motivation or creativity. Unless they are told what to do, they do not think on their own about setting up activities that could allow the people to get together, discuss, and tell the politicians what they stand for. Upronists seem to believe that any NDI training program would particularly help those poor Frodebist analphabets to better understand why they were elected and what their role should be. Frodebists believe that Upronists never respected the results of the elections and that it is time for them to understand what democracy means: a zero-sum game with some limited space for compromise and consensus...

When I met with the group of Mps going on this AMEX trip, only a few were interested to hear about the program of workshops that I intend to implement between parliamentary sessions. Most of them were too excited to look at their flight schedule (by the way, they will travel during five weeks around the world on Business class...thanks to the american taxpayer...). They expressed no particular interest in participating to a roundtable or training

143

seminar at NDI's headquarters. Some seemed to have reached the conclusion that after all its efforts in Burundi, NDI deserved a courtesy visit from the Honorable persons they are... Two of the Mps asked me if their "tour" would make a stop in Detroit... All Burundians know by now that the Detroit-Windsor border used to be the easy way for people to penetrate Canada and live there as illegal immigrants for years and years...

I must confess that there were moments over the last two weeks that I felt frustrated not to have more support from most Mps. I initially expected that they would be looking forward to benefit from NDI's assistance. I rather often had the impression that they were doing us a favor by accepting to listen to us. One of the two Secretary-Generals of the National Assembly even asked me if we had planned a system of per diem for the Mps who would come down to Bujumbura to attend our workshops... According to Therence (who by the way will be re-named as Minister of institutional Reforms and relations with the Parliament in the new Government) told me that we should be firm and impose our agenda on the leadership of the National Assembly. Unless we act unilaterally, he thinks that the leadership of the Assembly as well as the Mps will not be organized and motivated enough to go ahead and invite us to cooperate with them.

The President of the National Assembly and one of the Secretary-Generals however impressed me for their vision and their openness. Although they sometimes tend to forget that their role necessitates a great degree of political neutrality, they were supportive of our plan of action and assured me that they would require the Mps to attend our workshops.

The following summarizes the workplan that I intend to implement over the next few months:

1- The two parliamentary sessions will be in April and May, and in October and November. No extraordinary session is expected for now. Outside of the parliamentary sessions, I intend to set up workshops with the parliamentarians, and discuss one topic over two sessions per week. I recommend that the following topics followed by practical discussions be addressed:

a) What is Democracy: majority and minority concepts

b) The concept of separation of powers between the executive and the legislative branches

c) Developing legislation: policy-making and consultation processes

d) Drafting legislation

e) The role and functions of permanent commissions

f) Mps and their constituents

g) Mps and the medias

h) The rule of law: implementation of the laws by the administration, the police, the judicial system, etc.

i) How to control the governmental action in a constructive way (Alliance Mps/Civic Society)

j) Which interests should the Mp represent: the party, the electors, the country ?

k) The Mps and the political parties

l) The legislative rules of the National Assembly

m) What are the responsibilities of the members of the Bureau and of the parliamentary leaders ?

n) The role of the General-Secretariat of the National Assembly

This list does not intend to be exhaustive. Each workshop will without doubt open the door to other topics. I also expect to have to regroup from time to time some of the subjects, or have to split the groups in sub-groups, according either to the political affiliation of the participants or to the necessity to increase the degree of participation.

2- As far as the parliamentary sessions are concerned, the best approach would be to focus on six different levels:

a) The plenary sessions and the dynamics between the Mps

b) The commissions

c) The parliamentary leaders and the political parties they represent

d) The General-Secretariat and parliamentary staff

e) The bureau of the Assembly: legislative agenda and procedure

f) The Minister responsible for Parliamentary Relations as well as the Ministers concerned by the subjects under study before the Parliament or the Commissions

Consultations would take place on a day-to-day basis in order to examine the dynamics between the political actors, identify the problems, provide recommendations and prevent the crisis...

145

APPENDIX XII

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Fifth Floor, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 328-3136 ■ FAX (202) 939-3166

DATE: 21 April 1995
TO: Ambassador Abdallah, UN Special Representative to Burundi
FROM: Jean H. Lavoie
RE: Proposed agenda for the parliamentary week (15-19 May 1995) and background information

I) BACKGROUND

What we realize today is that no governmental structure or Legislature can bring peace and stability to Burundi unless all its interventions are animated by the motivation to reach consensus amongst all people.

Mps from FRODEBU must learn how to manage their victory in a democratic manner. Winning elections with a high-majority does not mean that the new leaders are allowed to play the zero-sum game or to interpret the results as an opportunity to conduct a social revolution.

Mps from the opposition must understand that the defeat does not mean that they can do nothing to contribute to the evolution of the society until they get back to power. Both political parties in Parliament need to build common ground and understand how to make compromises. The most substantive issue of government and Parliament today is power to the detriment of other issues such as education, health or any social, political or economic reforms. The government and Parliament must be more sensitive to the real priorities of the population: political and economic stability as a means for lasting peace.

Here are a series of ideas that guest-speakers should keep in mind when addressing the issues covered in the attached hereto agenda:

1- Priority for the Mps: constituents

The National Assembly has been seriously affected by the political instability that took place in this country. In his opening speech (April 3, 1995) of the parliamentary session, His

147

Excellency Ngendakumana, the Speaker of the House, reaffirmed that although the National Assembly should be independent from the executive branch, MPs would be asked in this difficult context to assist the government and follow its orientations. The role of the MPs will therefore, first and foremost, to work closely with the population and to support the dialogue between all sectors of society. They will be requested to travel on a regular basis inside the country to stimulate discussions between citizens, the military and local administrators. They will also visit jails and promote the respect for Human Rights. Many teams will consist of MPs of both political parties who will take note of people's concerns and recommendations and will address them with the governmental officials or the members of the National Debate Commission.

2- Build up a coherent and unified institution

As members of such a vital democratically-elected institution, Parliamentarians need to become more unified, active and self-confident. They must understand that although their main responsibility for now is to fully contribute to the peace-making process, they do not have to feel subjugated as legislators in this specific and unusual political context. Mps from both UPRONA and FRODEBU must be responsible and put themselves in a position to improve the situation. In order to play a constructive role, they must learn how to work in collegiality as part of the same institution, to develop relationships based on trust and to build a Legislature that represents the interests of the whole country. As policy-makers, they need to influence the governmental process and provide an example of cohesion and reconciliation to the population.

3- Work in cooperation with the government to the policy-making process

MPs feel that they have not been consulted enough in the resolution of the different crisis. Many of the MPs are still reluctant to support the Government Convention that was negotiated between the leaders of the political parties and the governmental actors. For the time being, they are frustrated not to be asked to share their vision on the short or long term. They would like to be instrumental to the evolution of this country.

During the parliamentary week, speakers should help the Mps to feel rewarded and eliminate the feeling that they are merely rubber-stamps of the governmental action. Although a clear separation of powers would not be suitable in the current situation, there are ways for Mps to contribute to the policy-making process without destabilizing the very fragile balance in

148

the government. For instance:

* Express their opinion and influence the governmental policies in the party meetings (caucus)

* Make the government realize that the expertise of the members of parliamentary committees is valuable and is the reflect of the positions of the population by whom they were elected

* Create platforms that would promote the dialogue between government members, Mps and representatives of the society

4- Material and human resources

Finally, methods of restructurating the human and material resources of the National Assembly should be discussed. Employees should be assigned to political or administrative positions. The President, Vice-President and MPs in general do not have the support they deserve in the fields of research, media communications, committee work, or political and legal analysis and drafting. There should also be more staff with a thorough knowledge in public finance, budget issues and accounting.

PROPOSED AGENDA

DAY #1

8:30- 9:00 Opening session

9:00- 10:30 PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

* Sovereignty of the people
* Majority rule
* Respect of the minorities
* Guarantee of fundamental human rights
* Rule of law
* Search for compromises and consensus

1st speaker: Mp from a democratic country
2nd speaker: Mp from a country in democratic transition (Ex: Benin, Niger, South Africa)

10:30- 10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45- 12:30 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

12:30- 14:00 LUNCH

14:00- 15:30 PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONNAL BUILDING

* Role of the MPs
* The policy-making in party caucuses

* Decision-making process between political parties
* Distinctions between the majority party and the"loyal" opposition in a parliamentary coalition government

1st speaker: Mp from a democratic country
2nd speaker: Mp from a country in democratic transition

15:30- 15:45 COFFEE BREAK

15:45- 16:15 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

16:15- 17:30 SCENARIO

17:30- 18:00 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DAY #2

9:00- 10:30 METHODS OF NEGOTIATION: INTERESTS AND POSITIONS

* How to represent interests
* Identifying interests vs positions
* Generating objective criteria

2 speakers: Experts in the fields of mediation, communications or resolution of conflicts

10:30- 10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45- 11:45 METHODS OF NEGOTIATION: CONSENSUS AND COOPERATION

* Reframing the problem: attack the problem, not the people
* How to turn adversaries into partners
* How to build on common interests

2 same speakers

11:45- 12:30 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

12:30- 14:00 LUNCH

14:00-15:30 SEPARATION OF POWERS vs SHARING OF POWERS

* Branches of government and functions
* Specificities of the Burundian current system
* Channels of communication between the Mps and the administration

1st Speaker: Mp from a democratic country
2nd Speaker: Mr Terence Sinunguruza, Minister responsible for the relations with Parliament, Burundi

15:30-15:45 COFFEE BREAK

15:45-16:15 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

16:15-17:30 SCENARIO

17:30-18:00 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DAY #3

9:00-10:30 RULE OF LAW: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAWS BY THE ADMINISTRATION, THE POLICE, THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

* Controlling the governmental action in a constructive way
* Assessing the objectives of a specific policy vs the results achieved after the adoption of the law
* Modifications to a law

1st speaker: Mp from a country in democratic transition
2nd speaker: Mp from a democratic country

10:30-10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45-11:15 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

11:15-12:00 HOW TO HARMONIZE PARTY, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

1st speaker: Mp from a country in democratic transition
2nd speaker: Mp from a democratic country

12:00-12:30 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

12:30- 14:00 LUNCH

14:00- 15:30 COMMITTEES AS ARMS OF THE LEGISLATURE

* Role of the committees
* Categories of committees
* Developing legislation
* Drafting legislation

1st speaker: Mp from a democratic country
2nd speaker: Mp from a country in democratic transition

15:30- 15:45 COFFEE BREAK

15:45- 16:15 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

16:15- 17:30 SCENARIO

17:30- 18:00 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DAY #4

9:00-10:30 MECHANISMS FOR PARLIAMENTARY PARTICIPATION TO THE DIALOGUE PROCESS

* Citizens
* Military
* Business groups
* Civic society
* Media

1st speaker: Mp from a democratic country
2nd speaker: Expert in the field of communication

10:30-10:45 COFFEE BREAK

10:45-11:15 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

11:15-12:00 PARLIAMENTARY ORGANIZATION

9.

* Political and administrative staff
* Material resources
* Financial and Budget considerations
* Oversight and accountability

1st speaker: Mp also chairperson of a parliamentary committee in a democratic country
2nd speaker: Secretary general of a Legislature in a democratic country

12:00-12:30 QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

12:30-14:00 LUNCH

14:00-15:30 ANALYSIS OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND RECOMMENDATIONS

* Duties and rights of the Mps
* Agenda
* Draft laws (bills tabled by the government) and proposals (by Mps)
* Procedure for committee meetings
  Functioning of joint or sub committees
* Functions and duties of the members of the committees
* Consultations with the executive branch
* Public consultations
* Procedure for commmittee decisions
* Form of committee reports
* Filing of the reports
* Introduction of amendments
* Motions
* Discipline and Ethics

DAY #5

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
PLAN OF ACTION AND MECHANISMS OF FOLLOW-UP

Free consultations and discussions with the Mps or the members of the international organizations

154

APPENDIX XIII

Burundi: An Assessment

Prepared for
National Democratic Institute

by
Howard Wolpe

July 10, 1995

156

REPORT OF BURUNDI VISIT

by Howard Wolpe

Background

At the request of the National Democratic Institute, I traveled to Bujumbura, Burundi from June 27, 1995 through July 1, 1995. My visit was one of several visitations being organized by Western states to demonstrate continuing internal concern with events in Burundi. In addition, I was asked to provide an independent assessment about NDI's programming and other possible measures to improve the situation in Burundi.

During my stay in Burundi, I met with several of the key players. Persons interviewed included the following.

1. Leonce Ngendakumana, President of the National Assembly
2. Eugene Nindorera, President of the Working Commission on the National Debate
3. Antoine Ndwayo, Prime Minister
4. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, former President and President of Parena Party
5. Lieutenant Colonel Jean Bikomagu, Army Chief of Staff
6. Anatole Kanyenkiko, former Prime Minister
7. German Ambassador
8. French Ambassador
9. Robert Krueger, American Ambassador
10. Amedou Ould Abdallah, UN Special Representative
11. Jackie Damon, World Bank Representative
12. François Héon, National Democratic Institute
13. Jean Lavoie, National Democratic Institute (by phone)
14. Paul Patten, former Public Relations Officer, American Embassy
15. Johnnie Carson, American Ambassador to Zimbabwe (and former Ambassador to Uganda)
16. Myron Golden, AID Director, Burundi
17. Marty Schulman, AID Deputy Director, Burundi
18. Abdel Aziz, Assistant to UN Special Representative

Also consulted, and of excellent quality, were three very recent independent reports on Burundi:

1) Rene Lemarchand, "Preface to the Second Edition," an as yet unpublished update on his study of Burundi, May 5, 1995.

2) Abiy Hailu and Robert Archer, "Burundi: Living in Fear: Report of a Visit by Christian Aid, " March 1995.

157

3) Amnesty International, "Burundi: Struggle for Survival," June 1995.

Findings

The Burundi bottom line is very dismal indeed. The political situation appears to be steadily deteriorating -- with intensifying violence, fear and insecurity. The Tutsi-controlled military and their UPRONA political allies have succeeded in reclaiming virtually all of the power that had been lost by the FRODEBU electoral victory. The authority of the National Assembly has been substantially eroded; the FRODEBU party is in disarray, and the credibility of the President has been significantly undermined by the concessions he has made to the Tutsi military. Moderates are increasingly marginalized -- a fact given dramatic expression in the recent defection of the Foreign Minister, a moderate Tutsi who found his position untenable. In truth, democracy has become a fragile shell. Ethnic cleansing or "purification" -- of local Bujumbura neighborhoods and of the university -- continue apace, and no one is being held accountable -- within or without the military -- for criminal acts. Within Burundi, it is the Hutu that comprise 90% of those victimized by the violence of either the army or of youth gangs. But many Tutsi are also being targeted by Hutu armed hands in the countryside. In Bujumbura, the streets are generally safe in the daytime (aside from those neighborhoods that have been "cleansed" of all Hutu residents and which are blockaded by the military); but at nighttime gunfire can often be heard.

Few expect Burundi to be exactly another Rwanda -- with the kind of apocalyptic genocidal explosion that claimed the lives of twice as many people in a month as in the Bosnian civil war in two years. But almost everyone anticipates increasingly violent confrontations with a resultant huge loss of life. Moreover, most observers believe that the deepening of the Burundi crisis will inevitably produce the internationalization of the military conflict, drawing in refugee populations in Rwanda, Zaire, Tanzania, and possibly Uganda.

The real tragedy is that with timely and effective international action, the vicious Burundi circle of intensifying violence, fear and insecurity may well be reversible. Good people, Tutsi as well as Hutu, are still attempting to contain the violence, to launch a National Debate on Burundi's constitutional future, to keep a political dialogue going. The National Assembly is still perceived as a relevant institution, even by the army -- though arguably the Tutsi-controlled army, in effective control, is content to maintain the shell of a parliamentary system so as to avoid the international opprobrium that would accompany a military putsch. Moreover, the Burundi elite is very small and uniquely dependent upon the international community for both jobs and income -- giving to the international community substantial leverage if there is political will.

Policy Recommendations

Short-term

The most urgent imperative is to address **the problem of impunity**. To date, absolutely no

138

one has been held accountable for any of the violence that has torn Burundi apart. Neither those responsible for the assassination of the democratically elected Hutu President Ndadaye in October 1993, nor those who participated in the communal massacres following his assassination, have been brought to justice. The Tutsi-dominated military and police, in particular, appear to be wholly unable or unwilling to act against Tutsi murderers. Crimes of violence occur daily -- in the cities and in the countryside -- but no one is held accountable. There is simply no way a political dialogue can go forward in such violent and insecure circumstances. The culture of impunity is only playing into the hands of extremists on both sides who argue, with compelling logic, that they must assume personal responsibility for their own security and for the rendering of "justice".

It is imperative that the United States throw its full diplomatic weight behind the immediate creation of an **International Commission of Enquiry, to investigate both the assassination of President Ndadaye and the violence that followed his assassination** -- as had been formally agreed to by both the government and the opposition at the time the power-sharing Convention was negotiated. There has been far too much delay and vacillation.. The Commission must be established as soon as possible, if there is to be any hope for a negotiated Burundi political settlement.

It is time, to, for the greater exercise of public diplomacy. Human rights abuses, acts of communal genocide, the military targeting of innocent civilians -- all must be condemned publicly and forcefully. **And the United States must act -- jointly with France, Belgium, and Germany if possible; alone if necessary -- to publicly identify the extremists and human rights violators, to deny visa applications that they and members of their families might submit, to seize their bank assets wherever possible, and to deny to them and to the members of their families all access to American and European educational institutions and scholarships.** The dependence of Burundian elites on international institutions and educational and economic opportunities makes the application of such sanctions unusually effective -- and with minimal cost or risk to the relevant Western states.

The international community can constructively contribute in other ways as well. The **provision of more United Nations observers** to observe army activity, and to establish a broader ongoing international presence, would enhance public confidence and strengthen the hands of those who seek public dialogue. However, it is important that the international observers be given the **freedom to move about the country** that is required to maintain their independence and credibility. **It has also been suggested that Burundi would greatly benefit by more effectively coordinated UN-OAU presence -- along the lines of the UN-OAS relationship established in Haiti.**

The **training of the Burundian military, particularly with respect to the observance of fundamental human rights** should be emphasized in our bilateral program. The similarities between the Burundian and South African situations suggests the particular appropriateness of the **Defense Equal Opportunity Management program** that has reportedly been quite successful in South Africa.

Dialogue facilitation efforts should be continued, as long as conditions permit. **It is important that the NDI presence be maintained, along with that of Search for Common Ground.** To abandon the field at this point will only further demoralize the moderates that are seeking desperately to keep alive the hope for dialogue and a negotiated resolution of Burundi's conflict. It will be important to review the practicability of such programs on a day-to-day basis -- but all parties affirm the importance both of the work with parliamentarians and of the effort to strengthen Burundian civil society. **A particularly promising concept would see the sponsorship of Burundian delegations to either South Africa or the United States delegations that would include representatives of both the military and the political leadership, and both Hutu and Tutsi.** A recent delegation to South Africa was reportedly very successful -- not only in exposing Burundians to an example of successful conflict resolution, but also in forging new relationships among the Burundians that participated in the delegation. Given the high levels of tension and insecurity within Burundi at this time, it may well be easier for Burundians to interact comfortably with one other outside their country. (A similar program involving Latin American military and political delegations to the United States reportedly was very successful in generating a new level of understanding and cooperation among military and political actors.) Such a program would be significantly enhanced by intensive follow-up efforts upon the delegation's return, focused upon cross-ethnic problem-solving. **Finally, Burundi is one country that would greatly benefit from a visit by Nelson Mandela**. The parallels between South Africa and Burundi are striking, and Mandela is held in great esteem by all parties to the Burundi conflict. A Mandela visit would contribute significantly to the Burundian political dialogue.

Long-term

The **strengthening of Burundi's system of justice** must command the ongoing attention of donor nations. **The training of new judges and lawyers is essential -- together with continued support for the professionalization of Burundian law enforcement.**

There must also be recognition that at the core of Burundi's internal conflict is fierce struggle for very meager economic resources. Because the Burundian elites rely almost exclusively upon the state for employment, competition for control of the state is particularly intense. Moreover, the Burundian economic pie is shrinking at a very fast rate, with the banking and public sectors on the verge of collapse. The harsh reality is that Burundi, like Rwanda, is not economically viable by itself; **consequently, regional economic integration is the only viable long-term solution to Burundi's economic -- and political -- crisis.**

There is similarly an urgent need for the United States to develop **a regional framework for our diplomacy.** The dispersion of refugees, and of displaced persons in all of the proximate states, makes the Burundian conflict a truly regional affair -- requiring a regional perspective and strategy. Minimally, there must be **greater coordination among the United States embassies in the area, with respect to both over-all strategy and day-to-day diplomacy.** Particular attention needs to be focused on the volatile -- and expanding -- regional refugee

160

crisis.

A Final Thought

The Special Representative of the United Nations, Mr. Amedou Ould Abdallah, has received well-deserved plaudits for his exceptional diplomatic talents. He is credited with playing the pivotal role in securing a negotiated power-sharing arrangement in the aftermath of the Ndadaye assassination, and in preventing even larger loss of life. Yet there is a growing sense that the fundamental problems that give such volatility to the Burundian conflict remain unresolved.

Surely the principal outcome of the various negotiations that followed the assassination of Burundi's first democratically elected president has been the reassertion of Tutsi supremacy. The Tutsis again control the state, notwithstanding their minority status in the National Assembly. And the brutality of extremist Tutsi politicians and army personnel have only encouraged extremist Hutus to respond in kind.

At a minimum, Mr. Abdallah's diplomacy must be strengthened by international action directed at isolation and condemnation of extremists on all sides.

161

APPENDIX XIV

Embassy of the United States of America

August 31, 1995

Mr. Kenneth Wollack, President
National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ken:

I have just returned to Bujumbura from nearly a month of much appreciated R&R with my family; otherwise I would have contacted you sooner. I see Francois Heon and Jean Lavois are now on well-deserved vacation. I look forward to seeing them on their return.

First, I want to express to you my sincere condolence at the loss of your Burundian NDI driver. This was another needless death attributable to the growing extremism and anarchy in the country. If it is any consolation, it does not appear that the killing was directed towards NDI. But be assured that we have made our feelings known to the Burundian authorities.

Returning from an extended absence and seeing the cycle of violence continuing in Burundi, I believe it is important that we examine what we can usefully do in this climate. There is no doubt that the extremists and the enemies of democracy are in the ascendance. However, rather than diminishing our activity, I think it even more important than before to remind all Burundians of the principles of majority rule and the protection of human rights.

I firmly believe America's continued active interest in supporting peace, reconciliation, and the ideals of democracy remain essential. In that regard, I want sincerely to commend your organization for its efforts toward these objectives in extremely difficult circumstance. My contacts among those Burundians supporting peace and democracy, the international community, USAID, and others all confirm my opinion that the role of NDI remains critical to the American Government's objective of promoting democracy and moderation in this country.

I believe NDI performs three essential roles in Burundi: first, it is seen by Burundians as a symbol of the American people's concern for democracy (the positive role NDI played at the birth of Burundian democracy during the elections of 1993 is still appreciated by Burundians); second, it is a pillar of the badly needed support network for moderate and democratic leaders; and third, NDI provides concrete support to strengthen Burundi's only democratic institution, the National Assembly.

Since the founding of our nation, the statements of our leaders including Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, Kennedy and countless others indicates that Americans expect our nation to be an example of support for democracy. Were we to withdraw in the face of the difficult challenges now faced here, we would be seen as abandoning our faith in Burundi, and in our own principles. Therefore, I look forward to our continued close collaboration in this worthwhile endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Bob Krueger

Robert Krueger
Ambassador