



REFLECTING ON PEACE PRACTICE PROJECT

Case Study

NGOs and Conflict Prevention in Burundi

This case study is one of 26 cases developed as part of the Reflecting on Peace Practice Project (RPP). The RPP cases were not written as evaluations; rather, they were written to allow for the identification of cross-cutting issues and themes across the range of cases. Each case represents the views and perspectives of a variety of people—the case writer, agencies, project participants, and observers—at the point it was written. RPP would like to acknowledge the generosity of the agencies involved in donating their time and experience for these case studies, as well as their willingness to share their experience with the worldwide community of peace practitioners.

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Reflecting on Peace Practice Project

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1. Introduction

Since the coup in October 1993, in which the first democratically elected president was assassinated, Burundi has been in a severe crisis. This is the latest in a cycle of conflicts over the past forty years. The international community has aimed at preventing the escalation of the conflict and at contributing to a process for sustainable peace in the country. A number of NGOs have been among these actors. This case study aims to present and discuss the activities of some of these NGOs and give recommendations that could improve future similar ventures. It also aims at discussing the possible special role of NGOs in the process.

Undoubtedly and unfortunately, the war will continue in Burundi, though, ultimately, the more inclusive nature of the peace process should lead to a more durable negotiated compromise and a more solidly based peace. The recent partial political agreement signed at Arusha on 28 August 2000 does not automatically bring peace but it clears the way for a sharper focus on essential negotiations between the real armed belligerents if carefully handled. These negotiations could bring at least a partial cease-fire between parties.

In this case study, I will discuss the activities and efforts of some major NGOs lending their support to the peace process of Burundi under two headings: a. *support for peace building* and b. *support to peace mediation*. The first refers to efforts in building infrastructure of attitudes and institutions as a basis for a sustainable peace; the second refers to support to the peace mediation and negotiation process. Although closely interrelated and sometimes hard to separate, a major difference can be found in the time perspective of the intervention. A more practical reason, however, is the fact that, while there are very few restrictions in presenting work under the first heading, it is only possible to give an overall presentation of the work under the second heading due to its confidential nature in the midst of a formal peace negotiation process.

This study of *NGO Participation in Conflict Prevention in Burundi* is a case study aiming at assessing the performance of a number of NGOs in Burundi based on the aims and objectives clearly stated and elaborated upon in their own documentation. These aims and objectives deal with the overall situation in Burundi. Thus, it is not sufficient to simply study whether the objective of each separate activity has been fulfilled or not according to its detailed short-term goals. It is also necessary to study the respective NGOs' overall reasons for coming to Burundi in the first place, as well as their wider aims.

As a basis for the case study, I was supplied with a huge number of documents from Search for Common Ground and International Alert. These include all documented analyses of the political development in the country, yearly plans and annual reports as well as reports on every single activity such as study tours, seminars or workshops. I also visited Burundi (for the fifth time since 1994) for six intensive days, meeting many people from all walks of life inside and outside the activities supported by Search for Common Ground and International Alert (see attached list of people interviewed in Burundi).

2. Background – civil strife and peace in Burundi 1993-2000

The Great Lakes Region encompassing Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda has in the past few years met with an increasing amount of conflict and violence. The genocide in Rwanda, the war in DRC and the continuous conflict in Burundi are cases in point. The overriding problem is that all conflicts in the region are entangled and that none of them can be solved without major improvements in the rest of the region. Although this text mainly concentrates on Burundi, the regional perspective must always be kept in mind.

There is no doubt that Burundi is, and has been for some considerable time, in a state of severe political crisis. There is an abundance of books, research reports and studies on different aspects of the distant and more contemporary history. An analysis of this documentation does not provide any easy explanations for the present situation of violent conflict and bitter political recrimination. On the contrary, one of the few safe conclusions that can be reached is that the recent events and the present crisis result from an accumulation of past events, with one factor forming a building block for the next, and all the actors and factors interrelating and interacting in a complex manner – not least in a regional perspective.

Burundi, together with Rwanda, is perhaps the most illustrative case of manipulation of a pre-colonial society, built up over centuries with its own political, social and economic relationships between different groups of the population. Both countries were historically well developed political entities with a special background of co-habitation between different groups. The small size of the countries, the fertile soils and plentiful rainfall created a good basis for population increase and nation building. However, from the later part of the 19th century, i.e. the end of the pre-colonial era, over the two periods of colonial occupation by Germany (1899-1916) and Belgium (1916 -1962), and particularly in the post colonial period, the elite did manipulate the relationship between the people creating the deadly “ethnic” divide which prevails today.

A number of specific developments were particularly important in this chain of historical incidents. The first was the choice of governance by the Germans as well as the Belgians creating a leadership elite later based on a theoretical framework of the so called hamitic thesis and which allocated identity cards to the population, distinguishing Hutu from Tutsi. The second important factor was the developments taking place immediately before and after independence in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Supported by the colonial administration, this was a period when the hitherto suppressed Hutu population gained more power. In Rwanda, the results of this so-called Hutu revolution came to an end only after the 1994 genocide. In Burundi this led to, after a few years of near democracy, intense fighting, followed in 1966 by Tutsi domination which came to an end after the elections in 1993. The third important factor is the democratisation process starting in the late 1980's and to which we will return below.

The causes of politicised ethnicity - involving the two major groups in Burundi, Hutu and Tutsi - are thus not easily defined. A crisis has been built up over a long period of time, leading to a severely divided nation on the brink of self-destruction. Suffice it to quote one

of the central theses in the analysis of International Alert which, in a nutshell, summarises what many other analysts have needed book-length manuscripts to express:

“On the majority side of the equation (Hutu) there is a profound sense of grievance at their long-standing exclusion and a determination that this must be corrected - on the minority side (Tutsi) there is a profound fear of exclusion/extermination and a determination to guard against it - all leading to a deadly competition for political power”(Evaluation of International Alert, October 1997.

Although Burundi had gone through a number of problems in the 1980's, it was seen as a rather successful country - although not doing as well as Rwanda appeared to be doing at that time. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the following world-wide democratisation process, Burundi was seen as one of the best examples of democratic development in Africa.

Elections took place in June 1993 and were declared fair and successful by the international community observing the event. However, to the surprise of many - including President Buyoya himself - the electorate voted in accordance with its ethnic allegiance. The party representing the Hutu majority - Frodebu - took 71% of all votes and in the election for president, the Frodebu leader Ndadaye took almost as large a portion of the votes. Buyoya accepted defeat and Ndadaye took over the presidency. For the first time in modern times Hutu received recognition and gained responsibility for the country. This event meant that the Hutus' self respect grew enormously - a very important fact to grasp in order to understand what is happening today.

Democracy was never allowed to get a foothold. Some Tutsi leaders particularly within the army and the legal profession etc., did not , accept the situation. As soon as the Tutsi felt threatened – as more and more Hutu were introduced to government jobs - trouble started, leading in October 1993 to the assassination of President Ndadaye together with a number of the most prominent Frodebu leaders. The next three years, the country experienced “a creeping coup”, as Professor Philip Rentyens puts it, eroding the power of the elected government and increasing the power of mainly Tutsi extremists. The coup itself and the counter reactions is estimated to have led to the deaths of approximately 50,000 people. In the years thereafter some additional 150 000 persons are thought to have been killed. During the period October 1993 to July 1996, both sides built up their military strength (the main Hutu bases being outside Burundi). As with all civil wars, those who suffer most are the civilians, mainly women and children.

In July 1996, after the death of another Frodebu president and the killing of tens of thousands on both sides, Buyoya was returned to power through a military coup. The international community was encountering serious problems in how it should handle a government coming to power through a military coup nullifying a democratic system and a democratic government elected only a few years earlier. At the same time the majority of international actors saw the political chaos just before the military coup and that an alternative to Buyoya might have resulted in a less compromising person and increased oppression of the majority.

While a majority among the big powers gave Buyoya “the benefit of the doubt” the neighbouring states took clear positions against the military coup. With the support of the OAU they imposed sanctions against Burundi and demanded the reestablishment of the pre-coup parliament; free

political activities and negotiations between the different partners. At the same time the former President Julius Nyerere was appointed as the mediator between the combating groups within and outside Burundi. First after almost two years of very small progress the Arusha peace talks started in the summer of 1998.

Burundi's peace process has been a continuum with different strands moving forward at different times and even with apparent contradictions. This was the case with the internal negotiations between the Frodebu dominated parliament and Buyoyas's government, which culminated in the internal partnership government in 1998. The main aim for their internal dialogue was to find a political solution on how to constitutionally deal with the question of renewing the mandate of the parliamentarians elected in 1993. Following very constructive efforts by all internal parties an agreement was reached on a new power sharing deal with regulations on how to appoint new parliamentarians and cabinet members from the different groups. The Agreement was far from a return to the democratic framework established in 1993 but was probably the only possible compromise at that time. Arusha had been at a standstill for more than a year, and when it restarted in June 1998, there was a benefit from the greater internal political stability and the experience of negotiations and compromise that had been gained from the internal partnership negotiations.

The negotiations in Arusha have brought together 19 internal and external political and military groups; first under the leadership of Julius Nyerere and after his death in October 1999 by Nelson Mandela. The greatest hurdle has been how to get the different military groups to agree on an armistice and thereafter to keep to the promises. The main rebel groups that operate from Tanzania and Congo have been the most difficult to get on board, and fighting with the army is continuing and since mid-1999 even increasing. The violence moves from one region to another. During 1999 the government felt so threatened that they moved large groups of people to guarded camps, which in turn increased the protest and counterattacks. This is the reason why considerable work so far has – both openly and behind closed doors– been concentrated on getting the armed groups and the army to negotiate. The uncertainties and violence in the neighboring states, in particular the ongoing war in the DRC, have made the process more difficult. Major external upheavals such as the genocide in Rwanda, the two Congo wars etc. have had major impact on Burundi and made the process of peace reconciliation much more difficult. The increasing economic and financial difficulties presently facing Burundi has also heightened opposition, particularly in the capital city, Bujumbura.

Under the leadership of Mandela, however, the peace discussions at Arusha did come to a new start and there is a cautious optimism today that the partial agreement of 28 August, 2000 between some of the parties will be an important step towards peace in Burundi. But an agreement will not be the end of the story. The real problems will then have to be confronted in the implementation of such an agreement. As in so many other similar situations the real proof of the sincerity of the parties will be found in how the peace process after the agreement will be dealt with. This will be the most dangerous period. Not only is there a danger of breakdown in the peace agreement, but also a high risk of a further explosion of violence.

3. International interest in the Burundi peace efforts

After the coup in October 1993, the international community followed the development of the crisis in Burundi with great concern. Particularly after the genocide in Rwanda in April 1994, and the self-criticism among international organisations and the major powers, this concern has led to a number of initiatives which all aim at preventing the escalation of the conflict in Burundi. The United Nations and OAU appointed special representatives to Burundi and a number of international organisations, bilateral donors and NGOs sent missions and observers to assess the situation and give suggestions to what they should do in order to alleviate the crisis. International awareness can, therefore, be clearly established and there is no doubt that there is a willingness to contribute to de-escalation of the crisis.

However, most actors lacked previous experience in preventive diplomacy and, thus, a strategy on how to act. During this time of confusion, the UN Secretary General's Special Representative for Burundi (SRSG), Mr. Ould Abdallah, made a unique and important contribution, particularly in preventing escalation and in conflict management. As far as his mandate allowed, he assisted in the co-ordination of outside interventions and in the assignment of specific roles to the different actors on the scene.

The Secretary General's Office of the UN was very active in Burundi after the coup in October 1993. A Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) was quickly appointed and by virtue of his competence and willingness to cooperate with all the actors involved, the UN was respected and acquired a high profile, more so than in most other countries with a crisis of a similar nature, particularly in 1994 and 1995. There is no doubt that the UN took careful note of the serious critique of its performance in Rwanda and tried to avoid the same mistakes in Burundi.

A regional approach was adopted in 1996 by the appointment of a SRSG responsible not only for one country, but for the entire Central African region. This was an important innovation in how to tackle the problems in Burundi, which at that time was of both national and regional concern. The collaboration of the UN with the neighboring states and, in particular, the OAU, led them to joining the offices of the special envoys. The consistent support of the regional efforts by the OAU, the UN and the Security Council should be specifically mentioned.

During this period, an information service - IRIN - was started, operated by the UN DHA in cooperation with a large number of informants. This service, based in Nairobi, gives almost daily reports via Internet on the events in Burundi as well as on events all over Africa. It provides a valuable flow of information on current events.

The regional implications of internal conflicts have become more and more serious and obvious. Civil war in one country immediately affects the **neighbours**. The vast numbers of refugees that poured out of Rwanda into neighboring states, and the economic, social and political effects they brought, made the neighboring states even more concerned about the continuing upheavals in Burundi. As the internal crisis in Burundi developed, they decided to jointly intervene to try to defuse the conflict. The Heads of States of the region first met under the auspices of the Carter Center, which arranged two meetings on Burundi in

November 1995 and February 1996 and later on the region through their own accord. At the first of their joint meetings in Arusha in early 1996, the former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, was appointed by the regional states as peace negotiator, an agreement sponsored by OAU. Following the military coup in July 1996, the efforts were intensified and regional sanctions were imposed on Burundi in an effort to push Burundi back to democracy and to accept its democratically elected government. Nyerere, at that time, was trying hard to reach sustainable peace, but in spite of the strong pressure exerted by the neighbours very little was achieved. With time it became increasingly difficult to maintain a common stance between the many countries involved and sanctions were lifted, but Nyerere had the support of the states in question to continue his efforts. There are few other national conflicts in Africa where so many states been so insistently involved and so active in promoting peace and democracy in a neighbouring state. It has, however, also to be clearly recognised that these states all have their own specific interests and agendas.

Many of the major powers such as the United States, France and Belgium (the latter, because of history) have intervened and been active on the international scene as regards the conflict in Burundi, but done surprisingly little on the ground in Burundi itself. In fact, most of them withdrew their aid and military assistance as a consequence of the attempted coup in October 1993. Of the European countries Belgium, France and Germany (closed in December 1999) retained embassies in Bujumbura. However, both the United States and Europe (EU) have appointed Special Envoys for Burundi, Howard Wolpe and Aldo Aiello respectively.

Interestingly, while the other European countries slowed down or completely halted their direct assistance to Burundi, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway became more active.

4. NGO support to the Burundi peace efforts

A number of NGOs also entered the Burundi scene in attempts to contribute to the peace process. Under the heading of *peace building* I will particularly study two of these NGOs, namely **International Alert** and **Search for Common Ground**, who were both particularly invited by the SRSG to engage in Burundi. In addition to these two under the heading of *peace reconciliation*, I will cover **San Egidio Community** and **the South African Centre for Conflict Resolution**. Below, a short presentation of the NGOs mentioned as well as a few others.

Search for Common Ground in Washington, DC, and its sister organization, the European Center for Common Ground in Brussels, are independent, non-profit organizations dedicated to transforming conflict into cooperative action. Established respectively in 1982 and 1995, Search for Common Ground and the European Center apply innovative techniques of conflict prevention and resolution, negotiation, facilitation, and collaborative problem-solving to a broad range of conflicts. As Common Ground seeks to work with local partners and adapt approaches to the local contexts of any given conflict situation, its projects take a broad variety of forms. Nevertheless, at core, all Common Ground programs engage parties to conflict to identify where they share common problems and concerns to facilitate their collaboration around those shared interests as the best way to develop mutual trust.

International Alert (Alert) was founded in 1985 by a group of human rights advocates including Martin Ennals - former Secretary-General of Amnesty International - in response to growing concerns of international development agencies, human rights organisations and others involved in issues of ethnic conflict and genocide. They recognised that the denial of human rights often led to internal armed conflicts inevitably undermining efforts to protect individual and collective human rights and to promote sustainable social and economic development.

Alert is a medium-sized (45 staff), multi-cultural non-governmental organisation committed to the just and peaceful transformation of violent conflicts. Its primary goal is to "relieve the poverty, suffering and distress" of people at risk from such conflicts by contributing to a just and lasting peace. Alert prioritizes the capacity of people to resolve their own conflicts and believes that they must be the primary actors in building sustainable peace.

Alert's experience of conflict situations is that there can be no quick fixes. Its philosophy is therefore process-oriented, demanding time, patience and extended engagement in constructive efforts leading to medium and long-term change. By supporting local efforts and helping to develop and strengthen local capacities, Alert aims at empowering and supporting people to make peace. Alert has furthermore developed a code of conduct providing an ethical framework for its own work.

The Community of Sant'Egidio (or Saint Giles) was established in Rome in 1968 in the period following the Second Vatican Council. From the outset, the people of Sant'Egidio have tried to live by the light of the Gospel, as part of the Church, and in direct relationship with the poor. The members have the usual variety of professions and personal relationships, coming together to pray and to serve the poor and afflicted. Since 1986 the Community has been recognised as a "public association of lay people within the Church", approved by the Holy See. At the same time, Sant'Egidio is broadly ecumenical in scope, welcoming Christians of all churches (and anyone who would like to participate) to its prayer and works. The heart of the Community is the Renaissance church of Sant'Egidio, named after a Greek monk who lived in sixth-century France and who was especially devoted to the poor. Sant'Egidio has over 30,000 members, of which about 20,000 live in Italy. Different branches of the Community, spread throughout the world, are normally made up of small groups of people who share the same faith and spirituality.

Sant'Egidio is not a "volunteer organisation" in the usual sense. While it does much to help the poor and marginalised in Italy and elsewhere, supported by subscriptions and donations, the Community of Sant'Egidio is, in fact, a full-fledged association of the Church. Even though it is involved in social problems that concern the public good, and sometimes also in international disputes, the Community has no political affiliation.

Recently the Community has become more involved in peace reconciliation. On 4th October 1992, a peace agreement for Mozambique was signed in Rome not to a small extent resulting from the Community of Sant'Egidio's successful mediation between representatives of Maputo's government and the Renamo. This was the first major peace initiative that the Community carried out born of its awareness that war is the mother of all poverty. The contact with other countries that have experienced similar armed catastrophes, together with many requests to intervene, have led to continued involvement, using no other weapons than friendship and dialogue. For

Sant'Egidio creating peace has also meant involvement in Albania by sending food and sanitation equipment while developing numerous projects of co-operation. Beyond those mentioned, there have been many other initiatives aiming at helping the process of peace and development in countries like Albania, Lebanon, Bosnia, Guatemala, Algeria, the Sudan and most recently, Burundi (summarized from the website of Sant'Egidio)

The South African Centre for Conflict Resolution seeks to contribute towards a just peace in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa by promoting constructive, creative and co-operative approaches to the resolution of conflict and the reduction of violence. Associated with the University of Cape Town, the Centre is based in the Western Cape but works nationally and internationally to fulfil its mission.

Mediation facilitation, training, education and research comprise the Centre's main activities with an emphasis on capacity building. These activities aim at the following goals:

- to provide third party assistance in the resolution of community and political conflicts
- to equip and empower individuals and groups with the skills to settle community, political and social conflict constructively
- to participate in national and regional peace initiatives
- to promote public awareness of the value and practice of constructive conflict resolution
- to contribute towards an understanding of conflict and violence
- to contribute to the transformation of the South Africa society and its institutions by promoting democratic values.

A number of other organizations should also be mentioned for their particular efforts in acting as catalysts for the peace process in Burundi. The first is the **Carter Center**, which by arranging two meetings at a crucial point in time in the process of conflict prevention in Burundi was helpful in opening the way for co-ordinate action by the neighboring states. The two conferences, which took place in Cairo (November 1995) and Tunis (February 1996), were important for the Nyerere initiative to develop.

The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. The Foundation was established in June 1996, as a permanent tribute to Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere's contribution to improving sustainability and quality of human relations. The Foundation's work is based on Mwalimu's philosophy and belief that all people are equal. Deserve respect by virtue of their humanity, and are the purpose and justification of all human activity in any society.

Disregard for, or the breach of this fundamental purpose for social activity can destroy peace or hope for peace, social cohesion and human development. Today in Africa, issues of poverty, ignorance and disease still affect many millions of people. The Foundation believes that work to enhance and strengthen the capacity of people to be self-reliant in an environment of good governance is central to addressing these problems and for the promotion of peace and unity through justice. This conviction underpins the Foundation's mission of working with and assisting people to improve their capabilities and opportunities for poverty eradication and democratic governance.

The vision that has been articulated for the Foundation will be realised through programme work. That work must be a quality reflection of the values, principles and character of the Founder and first chairman Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The successful implementation of the Foundation's programs will socially animate these values and principles as well as the higher vision of hope for the people of Africa and the world. The institutional capacity of the Foundation will be the embodiment of those qualities and characteristics. The practical tasks for institutional capacity building and programme development are organically linked requiring different but complimentary methods for goal achievement.

The Burundi Peace Negotiations is a project of the Foundation. The Facilitators and the facilitation mechanism's institutional base and legal identity are the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. This necessitates the role of co-ordinating a compliment of plans and strategies of the negotiating process and its administration with the programme profile and peace mandate of the Foundation. This role is in concert with the wishes and directives of the Facilitator, Mwalimu Nyerere, as well as the practical task developing the environment internationally and within Burundi for the acceptance and support of the outcome from the Arusha negotiations. It is recognised that the Negotiations are only one aspect of the Peace Process. Monitoring the Implementation of the agreement and participating in creating the environment for its sustainability through acceptance and ownership by the people of Burundi are other critical aspects to be developed and supported by the Foundation's activities. Subsequent to the death of Mwalimu Nyerere, President Nelson Mandela has assumed the role of Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Process under the auspices of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (summarized from the website of the Foundation).

Action Aid, Christian Aid and Oxfam have also been active in Burundi during this period, working with important long-term support at the grass-root level. Although this is not the subject of this case study the role and importance of development NGOs concentrating their efforts on the grass-root level should be strongly commended as an important bases for peace building and long term development. One celebrated example on such long-standing support is the Action Aid program in Ruyigi region.

5. Peace building

The general objectives of peace building activities are to create an attitude in the society conducive to sustainable peace. It is a long-term project and invariably requires major attitudinal and societal changes towards democracy, respect for human rights, the rule of law and protection of minority rights. It is of course very difficult to assess every small intervention in the light of this overall objective. Again this is not the purpose of this study which is not an evaluation but rather a case study in which the efforts of supporting the peace building process in Burundi are being discussed in general in order to find common denominators and possible conclusions and recommendations useful for others involved in similar activities in Burundi and elsewhere. Below, I will discuss the different activities and interventions by two NGOs – Search for Common Ground and International Alert – and then assess them and draw some conclusions for the two jointly rather than separately in order to find the common denominators.

5.1 Search for Common Ground (SEARCH)

Background

In Burundi, Common Ground's programs have taken the form of a Women's Peace Center, a radio production house, and a new youth project. The Women's Peace Center works with local women's associations to provide training, access to funders, and resources to encourage inter-association collaboration and cross-ethnic solidarity. The radio production unit, Studio Ijambo, uses the powerful tool of radio media to transmit messages of peace and reconciliation countrywide. The Studio was the first of Common Ground's activities in Burundi and the first source of independent news broadcasting in the country. The youth project, which has been supported by Search for Common Ground but run by the local youth association, JAMAA, targets youth who have been involved in perpetrating violence on both sides of Burundi's ethnic divide to facilitate "street-level" truces, cross-ethnic exchanges, and cooperative sporting and cultural events. In addition, understanding that an agreement between the political elites is necessary for the amelioration of conflict in Burundi, in 1996 SEARCH partnered with former ANC parliamentarian Jan van Eck to launch a Political Dialogue project centering around Mr. Van Eck's experience and expertise in negotiation and reconciliation processes. Search served as the conduit for funding of Van Eck's activities until late 1999 and continues to support him by providing logistical and in-kind support in Burundi (see below under peace reconciliation).

Organisational approach

Search for Common Ground's engagement in a conflict situation is guided by the following principles:

1) The organisational approach is that one must first make a commitment to long-term engagement in the country or region in question, and then from within that context, maintain maximum flexibility to create and adjust specific programs aimed at reconciliation and peace-building. In this way, analysis and evaluation is done at the outset of projects, but is even more important as a constant process used to identify areas for maximum impact in a conflict situation after the organisational commitment to engage has been made.

2) "Understand the differences, act on the commonalities." In each SEARCH project, the organization seeks to engage locally-based partners that represent the different stakeholders to the conflict, work with them to identify possible areas of mutual concern or shared interest, and facilitate a process by which they work together in pursuit of those shared interests. As a result, each project may look completely different (Albanian, Macedonian, and Turkish kindergarten children working together to clean up each others' religious sites and other environmental projects; Arab, Israeli, Iranian, and Turkish human rights activists working together to further the cause of human rights in the Middle East; Iranian and American wrestlers agreeing to participate in the first official visit of Americans to Iran since 1979 for a wrestling competition; Hutu and Tutsi journalists working together to produce balanced professional news programming in Burundi, etc.), but at the base, they all reflect the organization's approach of working with local

actors to find areas of common interest and to develop projects around those interests to their mutual benefit. The long-term goal is that relationships of mutual trust are developed between the stakeholders to any given conflict by means of these collaborative efforts, which can then serve as the basis for addressing the conflict at hand more directly.

3) Seek high-impact "leverage points". While any project that will bring together different sides of a conflict is attractive, SEARCH works with local partners to seek those that may have the maximum impact on the conflict. This often involves working with the media in conflict zones as media is a means by which large populations can be reached quickly and efficiently. Another area of high impact, as identified in Burundi, is women's projects, given the multiplier effect that women have on their husbands, children, etc.

4) Focus on long-term reconciliation and peace-building. While SEARCH sometimes engages in crisis-prevention as situations present themselves, the main approaches involve long-term relationship-building efforts across traditional barriers (in Burundi, between Hutus and Tutsis for example). In sum, the work is that of social transformation, which is not a quick or easy prospect and the ingredients of which are hardly ever evident in advance. By working with local actors to identify and apply multiple strategies concurrently (in Burundi: women's projects, radio media, youth work, and support for work with political elites) the organization hopes to maximize the chances for breakthroughs at different levels of the conflict.

Studio Ijambo

Background

When Search for Common Ground decided to incorporate a media component into its Burundi project, radio was the natural choice. Radio is the most productive and cost effective means for delivering information to the Burundian population. In fact, radio is such a powerful tool in the Great Lakes region as a whole, that it has often been exploited to manipulate listeners and to promote fear, mistrust and violence. With the goal of using radio as a tool to achieve the opposite results, SEARCH established Studio Ijambo, Burundi's first independent radio studio. Since its inception, the studio has aimed to produce programming that addresses the daily problems and issues facing Burundians in a manner that informs listeners and promotes reconciliation, cross-ethnic understanding, and peace building.

Objectives

The Studio's current objectives are:

1. Provide balanced coverage within and outside of Burundi, allow access to accurate information, foster debate and discussion, and keep Burundi linked to the outside world despite its current isolation.
2. Build a regional network to increase Burundi's profile, allow for a regionally integrated approach and increase and integrate understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the media in conflict throughout the region.

3. Aid the peace process by ensuring that important speeches from Arusha are heard in their entirety in a language that everyone can understand, and that the discussion is carried on within the country as well as at the negotiating table.
4. Emphasise the cultural base which all the different communities in Burundi share by making and broadcasting cultural-based programmes, and help strengthen those communities (such as women) who have played little part in the violence.
5. Bear witness and keep alive a sense of hope by demonstrating that not everyone behaves the same in a crisis situation, that other countries have gone through similar nightmares and have emerged at the end, and that there are always people of good faith

Project content

The listening audience for Studio Ijambo's programmes has varied greatly due to the changing availability of radio stations in the region. Nonetheless, Studio Ijambo has consistently aimed at producing relevant, accurate and entertaining radio programmes aired throughout Burundi and the larger Great Lakes region. Given the broad audience and the range of topics that can be addressed through radio broadcasts, the Studio has developed a variety of means through which it transmits themes of reconciliation and peace, ranging from news programmes to soap operas to social and cultural magazines.

To start with, the Studio's main programming objective, was to provide the country and region balanced reliable news on the quickly changing events of the time. This was accomplished by hiring journalists of varied ethnic backgrounds and assigning them to report on stories together, each journalist gathering information from those communities to which he or she had better access due to their ethnic identity. The Studio journalists then combined these reports into news programmes which were aired over multiple radio stations.

Studio Ijambo's early news programming established it as one of the only reliable sources of accurate and unbiased information in Burundi. To date, most of the indigenous sources of news for international wire services including AP, Reuters, Agence France Press and VOA are former or current Studio Ijambo journalists.

In addition to programming for international news services, Studio Ijambo also devotes the first half of each of its two weekly current affairs magazines to news reporting, aimed at the national audience, providing the first real wedge to begin opening the Burundian media to a diversity of voices. Equally important is the Studio's regular coverage of the Arusha Peace talks.

The next group of subject matters were introduced in the form of Social and Cultural Magazine Programmes emphasising social and cultural programming that encourages reconciliation and highlights areas of mutual concern to Burundians across ethnic lines. These include different programmes:

- dealing with a variety of social issues that touch Hutus and Tutsis alike, ranging from issues of healthcare to agriculture to the economy.
- introducing international examples of conflict situations and analyses of how they have progressed toward a peaceful resolution.
- targeting topics like human rights, the environment, peace and tolerance.

- highlighting stories of cross-ethnic solidarity and bravery, both during the crisis of 1993-1996, and more recently.

Most of the programmes are in Kirundi and some in French.

One of the most important innovations in the Studio's programming was the addition of a **soap opera** as a means for addressing sensitive topics and daily problems to which most Burundians can relate, in a manner that is both entertaining and supportive of reconciliation. As some of the news programmes, particularly those aired over the national radio station, are susceptible to censorship, the soap opera provides an alternative means through which some of the most sensitive matters may be addressed to the broadest possible Burundian audience. Recently the 275th such programme was broadcasted; according to all available statistics listened to by a majority of the population.

Recently the Studio has begun to produce educational programmes designed to inform and stimulate discussion among the listening audience. There are four such programmes presently produced.

As well as having programmes that touch directly on reconciliation themes and attempts to inform Burundians, the Studio works to provide much needed entertaining, inter-community contact to people traumatised by war and their own fear. While diversionary programmes such as these comprise only a small portion of the Studio's output, they serve the essential function of reviving Burundi's cultural heritage and pride by celebrating Burundian music, artists and cultural expression.

One of the Studio's main functions is to develop the local capacity for responsible media. Several of the Studio journalists have benefited from training both in and outside of Burundi on topics ranging from technical skills development to principles of responsible journalism to interviewing and editing techniques that lend an ethnic reconciliation tone to radio broadcasts.

In addition to its programming, the Studio aims to build a regional network to facilitate better reporting on the crisis. In order to achieve this, Studio Ijambo has sought to expand the number of outlets for its programming, participated in several training initiatives and developed a number of local partnerships. One of the main constraints on the Studio's effectiveness is the difficulty with which a variety of broadcasting outlets can be secured, an issue presently being investigated and worked on.

Women's Peace Center

Background

Search for Common Ground established the Women's Center in January 1996, recognising that, Burundian women must be included as key players in the process of ethnic reconciliation and must have access to the tools necessary to fulfil that role. Sustained conflict has resulted in a disproportionate number of women who have been forced to play non-traditional roles as the head of households and other positions of responsibility for which many are ill-prepared and

unsupported. The Women's Center was founded to assist women with this process, offering a safe space for women of all ethnicities to come and talk about their problems and provide technical skills to assist women with the process of rebuilding their lives and their communities. As with the Studio, the Women's center is staffed by an ethnically diverse team.

Objectives

- Empower women peacemakers by facilitating their capacity to network and cooperate together, boosting their access to funding and resources, attracting publicity to their activities as appropriate and providing training.
- Expand that network to incorporate local administrations and partners in order to create environments where women can work in stability and peace with the understanding and support of the local administrations
- Promote the economic development of women
- Develop structures/platforms for Burundian women in civil society to voice their needs, issues and opinions, and support effective representation through appropriate government institutions, with training provided accordingly.
- Undertake regional initiatives and partnerships to promote understanding of conflict and its causes and sharing the tools to manage and prevent violent conflict.

Project content

Search for Common Ground established the first women's Center in Burundi in January 1996. The Center provides a neutral ground for nascent women's associations to meet, plan activities and receive training in association management techniques, conflict resolution skills, and other relevant areas. In addition to providing space for such gatherings, the Center also schedules weekly roundtable sessions on topics that concern women from all ethnic groups. These discussions initially attracted about 30 women, and have since increased to as many as 150 women. Roundtables have proven to be an effective programming tool, as they allowed Women's Center staff to track the changing needs of the associative movement as it has developed. Ideas that have come from roundtable participants have frequently been incorporated into future Women's Center activities and have helped determine the Center's focus.

More important than the topics discussed are the kinds of participants that have participated and therefore helped to define Women's Center roundtables and other events. Throughout its existence, the Center has been used equally by women from all socio-economic backgrounds, from the highest levels of civil society to the most grassroots community level. By the end of 1999 between 100-200 women were visiting the Center each week.

As the women's associative movement in Burundi evolved, so too did the Center's role, developing from a simple forum for exchange and training for nascent women's associations, to a link between increasingly independent and self-sufficient local associations and between those associations and funders. At present, with many Burundian women participating in associations and working together, the Center focuses its efforts on promoting trust building within and between associations. Initially brought together by immediate needs, women can now find

longer-term benefits from their associations including friendship, solidarity and understanding. Along those lines, the Center aids associations to engage in coalitions for effective action and to focus their activities on the larger community, instead of solely on their immediate constituencies.

The Center works with the main local network of women's associations, CAFOB, and groups associated with OXFAM, World Food Programme and other international NGOs to help what has become a thriving association movement to take advantage of opportunities for collaboration and mutual support, and to avoid costly and inefficient overlapping activities and programmes. The Center works with associations in a wide variety of fields including agriculture, law, human rights and the media.

Such networking activities have not replaced the support that the Center continues to provide for newer associations, but this support is now more directly need-driven and targeted than at the outset of the Center, when a neutral meeting ground alone was the greatest need. The Center provides training and formulates ideas on how to address those needs. This can entail helping associations access local funding, building small income generation programmes, accessing legal assistance and working with local authorities and communities.

In addition to the Center's role as a meeting ground and resource center for new associations and as a networking hub for more established ones, the Center seeks to organise events and projects around those developments that are likely to affect all Burundian women regardless of ethnic or economic background. Such areas provide natural points of *common ground* and organising around them has resulted in numerous benefits, including expanding a network of conflict resolution practitioners, developing platforms for Burundian women to voice their needs through a functioning and effective civil society, and forging much-needed co-operative relationships between civil society actors and relevant government institutions. Most effective in this regard has been the Center's Legal Rights programme.

A further development in the Center's role has been to gradually shift focus from Bujumbura, where NGO support for civil society and association networks has become plentiful, to the outlying regions of the city and interior of the country, where the associative movement is largely undeveloped. In addition to the Legal Rights activities, which have targeted every commune in Bujumbura, Gitega and Ngozi provinces, the Women's Center regularly holds workshops, training sessions and roundtables in the interior of the country.

As part of the Center's move toward working in Burundi's interior, it has also struggled with the problem of how to help reincorporate massive internally displaced populations into their original communities that it essential for a lasting peace. Such activities allow the Center to pursue its goals of economic empowerment for women, as well as expand its network of conflict resolution practitioners and facilitate the development of a strong women's association network throughout Burundi.

Finally, the Center is also engaged in training activities. In 1997-98, the women's Center joined with *Ligue Iteka* and the Center for Conflict Resolution in South Africa to organise a Burundi Conflict Resolution Train the Trainers programme that would complement the network developed through the International Alert/Unifem/SEARCH network of trainers which is the major training effort for women in Burundi. The programme's goal is to foster the growth of

skilled conflict resolution trainers and facilitators in Burundian civil society so they can initiate and sustain peace-making and peace-building efforts.

Youth Project

A recent addition to the SEARCH activities in Burundi is the Youth Project. SEARCH in Burundi is working with the local Burundian youth association, JAMAA, to bring together young men from throughout the city of Bujumbura and its surrounding areas for a series of recreational and communal activities designed to build relationships of trust between the youth and help them work together for positive social change. For the purposes of the project, SEARCH/Burundi and JAMAA have targeted disadvantaged youth from each of the most divided districts in and around Bujumbura; those who are without an education or jobs as well as those who have suffered particularly from or actively participated in the ethnically-charged violence in Burundi. Most of the youth are leaders in their communities and all are aged between 18 and 29. To date, SEARCH and JAMAA have organized soccer tournaments, a Kirundi cartoon book entitled "A Better Choice" and a series of exchanges and weekend camps during which the youth have come to know each other and become friends. In the coming months, the project hopes to raise the funding necessary to develop work camps, in which ethnically mixed groups of youth will work together to clean and rebuild their communities' schools, churches, and hospitals. Given the importance of youth and the role that many youth in Bujumbura played in destroying their communities during the worst periods of the Burundian crisis, SEARCH and JAMAA hope that by engaging youth, they can address one of the main sources of past instability and future hope.

5.2 International Alert (Alert)

Objectives

After having decided to work on Burundi, Alert in early 1995 arranged and convened jointly with the UN SRSG a major conference in London where they tried to define relevant activities to be undertaken and to distribute them between the interested parties. Subsequently, Alert set up a small team which initially spent a great deal of time in Burundi. The activities that dominated in 1995 centred around study tours to South Africa. Three such tours were arranged, leading to a number of follow-up activities. Alert worked closely with the UN SRSG, and based on his guidance, and on the analyses made of the situation the aim of Alert was defined as:

“helping to prevent escalation of the conflict and contributing effectively to a process of achieving a just and peaceful resolution to the crisis in Burundi”.

Within that aim, Alert each year reviews and redefines its objectives as for instance, in its annual report for 1999:

- *Learning and Analysis* - to continue to learn, analyse and share information about the causes of the conflict, and about forces and events affecting Burundi's progress to peace ;
- *Dialogue* - to support and facilitate dialogue and confidence-building between political and ethnic antagonists ;

- *Capacity-building* - to strengthen the knowledge and skills of individuals, and the capacities of groups and organisations to work for a just and sustainable peace ;
- *Catalyst action* - to act as a catalyst in support of changes favourable to peace ;
- *Advocacy* - to contribute to policy-making by international actors and advocate appropriate measures on the basis of analysed information.

Alert's Burundi programme is thus based on continuous learning and analysis providing encouragement, support and training inside and outside the country to actors already pursuing peace building activities but requiring moral and material support to be able to move ahead.

Learning, Analysis, Advocacy

Alert's Burundi staff have constantly widened their network of contacts inside the country, and expanded their own dialogue with dissident armed groups and with Burundian political exiles. As a matter of routine Alert consults with the South African Centre for Conflict Resolution, the Sant Egidio Community, International Crisis Group, and Search for Common Ground, also working in Burundi, as well as with leading academic figures who monitor and analyse events in the Great Lakes region, particularly Gerard Prunier and Filip Reyntjens. They also have periodic meetings and exchanges with interested UN, North American and European foreign affairs officials and diplomats.

Information, perceptions and views come primarily from these direct contacts and is supplemented by continuous monitoring of events. Alert continues to produce and circulate short political analyses and update its general background summary on the context of the conflict. During 1999 Alert made a particular study of the Justice system and began a major study of education in Burundi and its significance for peace in the future (published in June 2000).

With major crises in Kosovo, East Timor and Congo during 1999, Alert found it necessary to make a considerable lobbying effort to help to maintain international interest and attention to Burundi.

Dialogue and Confidence-building

Over the years Alert has given substantive support to encourage a dialogue between different groups within the country as well as between groups in the country and those in exile. The partnership with the Compagnie des Apôtres de la Paix (CAP) is a case in point and is therefore described here in some detail.

The CAP Group emerged from a study tour of 25 influential Burundians to South Africa in 1995, arranged and facilitated by Alert in collaboration with the SRSB and the South African NGO ACCORD. Today CAP is made up of Burundians from the two main ethnic groups holding positions of influence in political parties, the army, parliament and administration. Both moderate and more extreme tendencies of the conflicting political positions are represented and their objective is to develop dialogue and peace building among themselves

and their peers. Today a number of CAP members hold important positions in the negotiating groups at Arusha and in the government and National Assembly.

After their common experience in South Africa on what people can do to work for peace, they decided to stay together and form an NGO. By providing institutional support and training and acting as a discussion partner whenever needed, Alert assists CAP to hold together. The list of CAP activities in 1995 to 2000 is impressive, fostering a dialogue between the members and with other groups. Some planned activities never materialised partly due to excessive ambitions both by CAP and by Alert and partly due to deteriorating security situations.

In view of polarisation and political attitudes brought about by events between June and November 1996, especially following the July army coup, the simple fact that CAP survived as a group was in itself an achievement. Another factor is - as the representatives of the different parties told me - the fact that, for several years, this group was the only forum where the members could discuss grievances with someone from the other side. Furthermore, as the group became well known, the mere fact that a group existed consisting of persons with so many antagonistic allegiances was an extremely important example for others in Burundi.

In 1999, Alert's attention focused on support for CAP during a difficult year in which political events put great strains on the trust and confidence between group members. In many respects CAP is a microcosm of the alignments and divisions that have been more formally visible at Arusha and indeed a number of the senior figures at Arusha are CAP members. CAP was, however, strengthened by the crises and has during the first half of 2000 been very active, arranging a great number of "mini conferences" aiming to open the debate on the sensitive peace process issues to a wider public. CAP has also arranged a number of important meetings between e.g. parliamentarians and army officers. CAP has also been active in arranging meetings abroad between internal groups and groups of Burundians in exile.

The Observatoire. This newly created NGO is a close cousin of the well-respected Burundian Human Rights organisation, Ligue ITEKA (its President, Dr Christophe Sebudandi, was himself President of ITEKA until last year). The Observatoire was envisaged as a partnership between three sectors - NGOs, journalists and parliamentarians - with the function of monitoring government performance and publishing occasional reports. This function becomes particularly significant at the current juncture. There will be a critical need for independent Burundian analysis of the provisions of a Peace Agreement, and - on a continuing basis - of subsequent progress (or not) in the peace process.

The Observatoire is still embryonic but it is uniquely placed to develop credibility in carrying out monitoring and analysis of the peace process. Earlier this year Alert made a grant to the Observatoire for researchers to carry out studies on government performance on justice and education; this work is due to be completed shortly. However, the organisation is very under-resourced: it currently has a temporary one-room office and a part-time clerk. Discussions are underway to determine immediate resource needs and operational priorities.

Alert's goals in supporting the development of the Observatoire are two-fold. First to ensure that politically independent analysis is produced by a Burundian organisation on a sustained basis. Secondly to strengthen Burundian civil society as a whole by establishing a centre of expertise and excellence which can pass on skills in analysis to other Burundian groups and organisations. As well as providing funding support, Alert will share and assist with planning, encourage support, and facilitate the translation and dissemination of reports.

Justice

Alert early signalled that the justice sector was a key factor in the peace equation and should receive more attention and support from the international community. In 1999 Alert carried out an initial study of the justice system with the full collaboration of the authorities, NGOs and other interested parties. Alert has since been lobbying for well-targeted aid to progressively correct weaknesses and distortions in the administration of justice.

Among a number of small interventions in the field of Justice Alert supported the new Prosecutor General to convene the first meeting of all the provincial prosecutors to brief them on the new Penal Code enacted by the National Assembly in July 1999. A session was added to the meeting to enable an unprecedented face-to-face exchange between the Assembly's Select Committee on Justice and the assembled prosecutors. These two groupings are in the main ethnic as well as institutional adversaries.

In the latter months of 1999 the Minister and the General Prosecutor put forward a proposal aimed at reducing the numbers of prisoners held in preventive detention without proper charges by deploying supplementary magistrates from Bujumbura to several provincial centres to accelerate the examination of cases. Alert supported the scheme to be piloted in Ngozi and Bururi. Because justice is such a critical factor in the peace equation, Alert is trying to support reform in this area by acting as a catalyst. Since then the government has itself taken over the funding of this operation.

Education and Youth

In the past Alert has funded some training in peace education in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, but when a new Minister took over in 1998 his intention to review the secondary schools curriculum made Alert decide to delay further its support to peace education training. Alert however sought and gained his approval to carry out a study of the current state of education in Burundi (mentioned above). This work will be the basis of an advocacy campaign to mobilise large scale international aid for education in Burundi as a 'sine qua non' for the consolidation of peace. The report has confirmed Alert's contention that the exclusion which is a primary cause of conflict in Burundi is rooted in the inequality of access to education at all levels.

In 1999 Alert worked with the Burundian group, Inter Action, to plan a series of youth peace workshops in the provinces supposed to engage not only young people within the education system, but also the young people from the majority that fall outside the formal education system. Subsequently Alert made grants for the costs of four workshops feeding into a national consultation on youth held in Gitega in July 2000 and arranged by the Martin Luther King Foundation.

Human Rights

Alert has in the past few years engaged in discussions with the Minister for Human Rights about his Human Rights promotion strategy including the involvement of a wide range of groups including youth, women and church organisations. Alert found a strong logic in his approach, seeing this to represent an opportunity to carry out preparatory work for a longer-term strategy of Human Rights promotion.

At the request of the Minister, Alert early in 1999 arranged for an external consultant to carry out a review of existing Human Rights promotion institutions and to make recommendations. The first review was, however, incomplete and therefore Alert placed a Project Officer to work with the Ministry, the Centre for Human Rights Promotion, and Human Rights NGOs in Bujumbura for a period of several months.

The outcome was a three part package (essential office and communications equipment; Human Rights promotion training; and production of home-grown Burundian Human Rights promotion materials) which Alert agreed to fund. Concurrently Alert's project officer has been researching a comprehensive map of all groups and organisations that could potentially carry out Human Rights promotion with these materials. Youth organisations figure significantly, but so do church groups, women's groups, and of course teachers.

Women's Peace Programme

Background. The Women's Peace Programme (WPP) was started in 1996 as a direct response to needs identified by women and women's organisation working for peace in Burundi, Rwanda and the wider Great Lakes region. Since 1996, WPP has developed programmes aimed primarily at facilitating dialogue between women from different ethnic groups in both Burundi and Rwanda as well as in the diaspora. Alert also provides support for individuals, structures and organisations that contribute to developing women's roles in the politics of sustainable peace. Alerts capacity-building work target women working in local NGOs and associations, women community workers, and women operating at senior decision-making levels.

Objectives. The specific objectives of the Women Peace Programme in Burundi were similar to those of the overall Great Lakes programme, namely:

- to strengthen the engagement of women in the politics of peace-making at all levels of society;
- to encourage and enable contacts and dialogue between ethnic and political adversaries;
- to strengthen capacities for peace-making and peaceful reform;
- to continue to learn and analyse issues, interests and forces that impact on conflict and/or peace processes in Burundi;
- to contribute to international information, understanding and policy-making, and advocate appropriate policies and action.

Institutional support for CAFOB. The WPP provide CAFOB (a collective of at present 40 women's organisations working for peace and development) with institutional support to enable

CAFOB to engage in activities aimed at reinforcing the operational capacities of its member associations.

CAFOB has organised a wide range of activities including anti-poverty advocacy, promotion of women's rights and gender equality, advice on legal matters affecting women, training in project management and reproductive health for grassroots women. In the area of peace-building, it has organised seminars, days of reflection, visits to displaced persons camps and has participated in regional and international conferences. The collective has also started publishing a quarterly newsletter. CAFOB has also been requested to organise the "Marche Mondiale des Femmes" for the eradication of poverty amongst women in collaboration with the Canadian NGO, CECI.

CAFOB has been instrumental in the campaign to gain acceptance of women at the Arusha negotiations. As a result there is now a delegation of six women with 'permanent observer' status attending the talks on behalf of women's organisations from civil society, in addition to four women who are members of the delegations of various political parties and the National Assembly.

Support for community-level women peacemakers. An interesting example of organisations working in a collaborative rather than a competitive way has been the informal partnership between International Alert, Search for Common Ground and the UN Women's Organisation, UNIFEM. Alert's contribution to the programme is the training and support provided for women peacemakers. The aim of this project is to build awareness and increase women's participation, so that they can promote dialogue at the community level. A group of 45 women was trained in a series of six gender and conflict transformation workshops, held since June 1996. The group is composed of social workers, community workers, teachers and religious leaders from the three ethnic groups: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. The overall purpose of the training was to: build capacities for conflict analysis, link gender analysis and conflict transformation; enhance understanding of the role of women in the peace process and in political institutions, and formulate strategies for strengthening the work of women's groups in the country.

One of the major outcomes of the workshops was the creation of a network of community trainers called 'Dushirehamwe', which means "let's reconcile" in Kirundi. The network is very active in eight provinces, working with women from all ethnic groups and different sectors of the population. The women have implemented conflict resolution workshops and meetings in local communities and displacement camps, and have trained women leaders at the grassroots level. The network is also working with teenage girls, especially those living in displaced peoples camps or who have dropped out of school, in order to raise their awareness of issues such as prostitution, HIV/AIDS and early marriage. The Dushirehamwe network receives direct support and technical assistance from two permanent local consultants contracted by Alert.

The work by Dushirehamwe and the two consultants with grassroots women since 1996 has started moving beyond inter-ethnic dialogue to fundamental questions about women's economic and social development. To further that aim UNIFEM, has successfully lobbied UNDP in Burundi to set up an income generating programme for women with a budget of approximately US\$ 700,000 over two years.

Support for dialogue between women living in Burundi and in the diaspora

With Alert support, a dialogue between six Burundian women living in the country and six in exile took place in Kenya in July 1999. This meeting provided opportunities for women from both sides to engage in substantial discussions on crucial issues such as the judiciary system, the role of the army and guerrilla factions as well as women's participation in the internal peace process and the Arusha negotiations

The Committee of Women for Peace. This is a coalition of seven ethnically mixed women's organisations, including Dushirehamwe and the "Association Femmes pour la Paix". The coalition seeks to unite women around a common agenda for reconciliation and reconstruction in Burundi. The Committee along with the Dishirehamwe network, CAFOB, SOFEPA and other women's organisations will have an important role to play post-Arusha, not only in disseminating information on and explaining the peace process to women, but also in lobbying international development agencies to take into account the role and needs of women in the reconstruction phase.

Support to Major Institutions

The Burundian Catholic Church. The Catholic church has significant influence in Burundi. It has been part of the problem in the past and has to be part of the solution for the future. Alert's Senior Policy Advisor, Prof. Edmundo Garcia, is a specialist in international experience of church involvement in peace-making. As a consultant to the Burundi programme, he has made a number of visits to Burundi to familiarise himself with the context of the Catholic Church in Burundi, establish good working relationships with leading figures, and identify ways of encouraging greater involvement in peace work by the church. Based on that work Alert has reached an agreement with the Church to assist in strengthening the embryonic Justice and Peace Commissions in collaboration with Catholic Relief Services and Jesuit Refugee Service. Two ground-breaking workshops have been arranged by Alert to bring experience from other church contexts to stimulate and encourage the Burundian Justice and Peace movement.

The National Assembly. Alert has long-standing connections with Burundi's parliament which has functioned more effectively since the installation of the 'partnership' government in June 1998. In February 2000, Alert arranged for two Burundian MPs to take part in a one week conference in the UK on 'Models of Democracy'. With a similar capacity-building purpose, Alert also arranged for the National Assembly Press and Information Officer to attend an appropriate training course in the UK for four weeks.

Alert also supports , the Great Lakes Regional Parliamentarians Forum, AMANI. A Burundian branch of the Regional Forum was formally established in September 1999 with the public backing of the First Vice-President and of the President of the National Assembly. Apart from small meetings of the cross-party group, the first major events by the Burundian branch are planned to take place later in 2000. The first is an exchange visit by members of the Tanzanian parliament, and the second is a seminar in the theory and practice of conflict resolution for members of the national Assembly. In the context of the Burundian peace negotiations taking place in Arusha, Tanzania, and the tensions and misunderstanding between these two neighbouring countries, it is hoped that the exchange visit will contribute to improve relations between members of the two parliaments. The seminar will be conducted by members who have

already undergone training themselves. It will use the Burundi peace process and other experiences as case-studies. Alert will continue to support AMANI in these and similar initiatives.

Conclusions

The following characteristics of Alert's approach to its work in Burundi can thus be distinguished:

- Alert does seem to try hard to put into practice its belief in the importance of local "ownership" of peace-related processes. This is true of the Women's Peace Programme, of the CAP experience, and also of the Human Rights Promotion programme and of its new support for the Observatoire.
- It is also often the case in examples described above, that there is a strong emphasis on the qualities and significance of specific individuals. Alert explicitly recognises the importance of seeking out such individuals on all sides of the conflict, and taking the time to build its supportive relationships on a basis of mutual confidence. It is prepared then to maintain its moral and practical support over long periods.
- Another cornerstone of its work is the emphasis placed on updating its analysis in the light of twists and turns in the overall peace process and of changes in attitudes and mindsets, and of course the impact of major events has been very significant. Burundi and its peace process have been strongly affected by major events in the country itself and in the region over the past seven years. All these events, whilst they have not altered the fundamental issues, have nonetheless had a major impact on the Burundian conflict. Alert's partners in Burundi have reacted and adjusted to these events and Alert has sought to do likewise.

5.3 Assessment of the peace building programmes

As stated above, peace building refers to the efforts in building an infrastructure of attitudes and institutions as a basis for a sustainable peace. The ongoing programme of Alert as well as Search have undergone major evaluations in the past few years (*NGOs in Conflict – an evaluation of International Alert*, by Sørbo, Macree and Wohlgemuth, Chr. Michelsen Institute, 1997:6 and *Independent Program Evaluation – Search for Common Ground in Burundi 1995-1998*, Amr K. Abdallah et al., January, 1999). These evaluations note that for each activity Alert and Search define their goal, strategy and detailed objectives/action plans. They further note that the immediate activity objectives are being fulfilled with the flexibility of making necessary changes. Thus Studio Ijambo produces the planned number of radio programs of the right quality, and the women's programs are training the planned number of women establishing the use of the training in follow up activities. Cost effectiveness is difficult to assess but it seems that cost consciousness has been adhered to by the two organisations. So actual delivery of activities planned is achieved, but that is only part of the story.

The impact of the supported programs is more difficult to measure. The organisations themselves make considerable efforts to do so, such as listeners surveys of Studio Ijambo, follow-up activities of the women's training programs and extensive follow up of the CAP program. The evaluations referred to above are quite positive to the impacts of the programs and I have followed up this by

extensive interviews in Burundi. Of the more visible programs supported by the two organisations, most people interviewed considered them having either a major, or at least, some impact in creating an atmosphere in Burundi conducive to peace. Most people interviewed seemed to perceive that women have become considerably more active and influential in the dialogue on peace in the country compared with the situation in the early 1990s. People interviewed also thought that the radio is more involved in peace building activities than before and that seminars of the type that CAP is implementing also are important for the same process. One such example would be the evening conference CAP conducted, only four days after the signing of the peace agreement in Arusha (28 August), on the last minute amendments and reservations to the peace document.

The extent to which particular activities contribute to Alert's and/or Search's wider aim of peace in Burundi can only be assessed in relation to changes in other variables and the progress (or not) of the peace process over a longer time period. The evaluation of International Alert notes that whether each activity fulfils its overall aims depends more on its relation to overall developments than on the implementation of the activities themselves. That evaluation takes the example of CAP, to illustrate the importance of not only evaluating the immediate objectives of the projects but also relating the performance recorded to the over-all aims of the Alert program in Burundi.

Since this study is not an evaluation but a case study, I will try to make some more general comments on the efforts by the two organisations to support peace building in Burundi.

- 1. Motives for engaging in Burundi.** Both organisations have for some time been seriously involved in giving support to peace building in different parts of the globe. The violent collapse of the democratisation project in 1993 and the genocide in Rwanda made them want to explore whether they could contribute constructively in Burundi. They were both also asked by the UN SRSG to engage in Burundi. After considerable preparatory work and discussions, they both saw opportunities to engage.
- 2. The importance of a comprehensive view of the situation in the country and to possible solutions to the problems.** This requires analyses and a basic theory of how to support change towards a situation conducive to peace. As shown in the presentations above, both organisations do have well established procedures for this. Search talks of "finding real leverage points" for interaction, after thorough analyses while Alert talks about "creating spaces for dialogue". As explained earlier, these are distinguishably different approaches. It seems to me that in each case there is a close relationship between the analyses made and the strategy chosen for the actual interventions. The analyses can also be used for assessing ongoing programs and strategies. A preparedness to reassess the situation and to make necessary changes can for example be seen in the CAP program after the army coup in July 1996. However, closeness to the day to day developments may sometimes create an almost excessive readiness to make reassessments and readjustments. Thus a proper balance has to be struck between the day to day information received and the conclusions drawn. Therefore the importance of information gathering and exchange being built into the program as a well thought through and continuous process.
- 3. Full-time presence in Burundi.** Search has a local office in Burundi and operates its projects to begin with through international staff recruited by Search itself, while aiming to recruit local staff in important positions. Alert operates with staff based in London making frequent visits in Burundi and works almost exclusively with and in support of local partner

organisations. Both Alert and Search engage international and local consultants as necessary. Apart from being a function of the different strategies of the two organisations there are advantages and disadvantages of each approach. The main advantage of permanent presence in Burundi is the possibility to closely monitor the situation (and the activities themselves) and quickly react to changes. The advantage of non-permanent presence in Burundi is to give room for local staff to take the major responsibility for activities and thereby ensuring sustainability also after the support has come to an end. Both organisations seem fully aware of the pros and cons of the respective approaches and seem to be able to tackle the problems involved with their choice. Interestingly enough, in spite of its long-distance approach, the analyses made by Alert on the political developments in the country has been very well accepted and at times the most reliable available.

4. **Choice of targets for intervention.** On this point perhaps there exists the largest difference between the two organisations. As is described in section 4 above, Search has an elaborated methodology for selecting targets for intervention. After an overall assessment of the situation in a country, they will select a number of what they call “real leverage points” and on that basis develop special long-term projects for peace building, such as the Studio Ijambo. After having made their choice, development of new large scale programs is difficultⁱ. Search is however very open to adjust and adapt to new possibilities within each programme. They will look for local specialists and where they will not find the right people they will recruit internationally. As part of their project, they will develop local capacity, thereby trying to reach sustainability. Search has thus opted for a third option on recruitment: “local staff with a balanced temperament and desire to make a difference” are recruited and then trained on the job in the technical or professional skills necessary. This is a long and cumbersome process which Search willingly gave witness to. Problems in keeping expatriate staff over some time also hurts the continuity of the programme implementation and makes the transition to local management more prolonged and difficult. Alert on the other hand, after conducting an overall analyses, does a thorough investigation to find areas of interaction where there are already local initiatives and, even more importantly, local individuals, which can develop with external support. If these activities are in line with the over-all analyses, they will be supported (comp support to Human Rights, Justice, Observatory etc). Sustainability is therefore mostly directly assured. Both organisations make exceptions to their general rule such as Search support to the Youth project.
5. **Training components.** To prevent escalation of a conflict and in particular to start the long term process of peaceful resolution of the crises in Burundi, a new attitude leading to new skills and different ways of behavior must be built up in the country. Again, the fulfillment of

ⁱ Having recognized this, Search has increased its emphasis on low-cost, high-impact projects. One example is the initiation by Search’s Burundi program of a media awards competition for best reconciliation-theme radio programmes. The event costs less than \$500 but engages journalists in each of Burundi’s radio studios and stations as well as civil society and government representatives in assessing the quality and impact of reconciliation radio programming in Burundi. In a further attempt to ⁱ Having recognized this, Search has increased its emphasis on low-cost, high-impact projects. One example is the initiation by Search’s Burundi program of a media awards competition for best reconciliation-theme radio programmes. The event costs less than \$500 but engages journalists in each of Burundi’s radio studios and stations as well as civil society and government representatives in assessing the quality and impact of reconciliation radio programming in Burundi. In a further attempt to boost flexibility, Search has in the past two years established an internal organization-wide New Initiatives Fund to support new departures and program ideas for which traditional funding is not available. This has greatly increased organizational capacity for exploring new programs (added by Search after reviewing the study).

the immediate objectives is easy to establish. Many seminars, workshops, briefings and also longer courses have been implemented according to schedule. Most of them are well documented and contain self-evaluations and often follow-up activities to assist the trainees to keep up their newly attained knowledge and experiences. Hardly any training activities supported by Alert or Search have been undertaken as an isolated event, but rather, always as part of a clearly defined process with short and long term objectives and with local back-up and support over a long period. This is particularly the case with Alert's women's peace programme. The important ingredients in this programme are a) that they form part of a wider programme of women's peace work and thus do not act as a one-off activity and b) that the training forms part of a long term strategy, where women who have been trained will build up their own committees and continue to work for peace. From the interviews and study visits, a number of very interesting follow up activities were identified. The content of the training is extremely difficult to assess. In the interviews, I have, however, tried to assess the impact of the training on the trainees to understand whether the training has avoided possible pitfalls. It appears that the outcome of the training performed with the support of Alert and Search, has made people aware of the possible means of airing grievances and solving conflicts other than through violence, without making the trainees complacent or resigned to the status quo. This balance is however very delicate and the issue should be kept under close surveillance at all times. The ethnic divide and educational imbalance in favour of Tutsi can easily affect this balance.

6. **Peace building in both local and international partnership.** Search as well as Alert, with its more varied program, have worked very closely with other available actors to the benefit of the peace building process in Burundi. In a number of cases, after having acted as a catalyst at an early stage of a project, Alert has readily been prepared to leave it for other support to take over (comp the Human Rights program and in the case of Justice the support to the supplementary magistrates). For a small NGO, acting as a catalyst, facilitator and/or fundraiser during an implementation of a well-defined program may be more efficient than to actually run the whole process.
7. **No quick fixes in peace building.** Peace building programmes of this kind must be process-oriented and plan to run for at least 5–10 years and require a great deal of humility and flexibility. Connected with this is also the fact that good wisdom (and experience) from development work in general offers relevant principles for conflict-related work (long-term strategy, importance of institution building, ownership etc.). This has to a large extent always been for Alert's and Search's strategy in Burundi.
8. **Peace building is best done quietly.** Neither of these two organisations are putting any emphasise on parading their own activities or boosting their image in Burundi. Both Alert and Search learned this important lesson during past interventions, in other regions.

6 Peace Mediation and support for it

6.1 Background

As mentioned above by "peace mediation" I am referring to support to the peace mediation and negotiation process. A number of NGOs have taken part in different ways in the immediate task to make the negotiations for a durable peace in Burundi possible. These include Carter Centre, the Community of Sant Egidio, International Alert, South African Centre for Conflict Resolution of Cape Town University and Search for Common Ground through its Political Dialogue Project.

The Nyerere Foundation, registered and based in Tanzania, is perhaps the most important such organisation, but it is not discussed here as it is part of the formal mediation process. All organisations have been presented under section 3 above.

As the negotiation process is still under way, I will not be able to describe in detail each activity of the various NGOs but rather give an overall account to indicate which types of activities are involved and later comment on them.

The activities of all these organisations have in one way or the other been related to the mediation efforts among the many Burundian parties, and the formal peace negotiations. What really makes the situation in Burundi different from most other places is the degree of communication and the common analyses between the organisations. Keeping each other informed and using each person's or organisation's special knowledge and comparative advantage has proved to be extremely valuable.

The objectives for the support provided by NGOs under this heading are quite simply "to make it possible for the Burundians to reach an agreement that will lead to a durable peace". The means they have used to reach this objective are manifold – but aiming in different ways both to support the mediation efforts set up in 1996 by the neighbouring states and supported by the UN and the OAU under the leadership, first of Julius Nyerere and presently Nelson Mandela, and also to help all Burundian actors to engage in and develop their own ownership of the process.

6.2 Peace mediation activities

a) Direct or indirect support to the Arusha process. The activities involved are both many-faceted and have changed over time. The most documented are Jan van Eck's (a former South African parliamentarian) contributions.

The Political Dialogue Project (financed by Search 1996-1999) consists of efforts made by van Eck, to facilitate dialogue and to build trust between all major political and military stakeholders in the Burundian conflict so as to support their attempts at negotiation.

Remaining based in South Africa, van Eck, on average visits Burundi once every six weeks for two weeks at a time (since 1996 he has spent roughly 40% of his time in Burundi), during which he meets with the President and most of the major political leaders and role players to gauge their attitudes toward the latest developments in the country and in the peace process. His meetings are normally private talks, but sometimes carried out in larger groups, and are meant to encourage the participants' thinking about co-operative solutions and steps that could aid the negotiations.

The strategy used by van Eck is characterised as *talks, dialogue and negotiation* (TDN), with one leading to the other in that order. Using this method, he has gained virtually complete and unfettered access to most key decision-makers in Burundi and has facilitated a lengthy series of informal inter- and intra- party dialogues. These talks have included private sessions with key political leaders, exchanges between members of each side and discussions between members of allied factions.

Beyond introducing decision-makers to the concept of negotiations and equipping them with the skills necessary to participate effectively (see below), van Eck has also given direct support to the mediation process. Perhaps most importantly in working with Bill Yates of Alert and in contact with Matteo Zuppi of San Egidio, he has helped to establish lines of communications between parties to the Arusha peace talks and those important parties that remain outside the talks, including key rebel groups. All three organisations (including van Eck) have been active in trying to convince the rebel groups not represented at the negotiations to make contact and interact with the mediator. This has been of particular importance in the past year in helping Mandela achieve his objective of getting all parties to the negotiation table. Ingenuity, persistence and good collaboration between the three parties has helped the process forward.

Van Eck has also been active in assisting the various rounds of the Arusha talks, during which he has often shuttled between opposing parties, and helped them to find ways to smooth over potentially serious conflicts and sticking points in the negotiations. He has had success in helping opponents find areas of common ground while maintaining “face”, holding multi-party roundtables that enable the different sides to better understand their opponents’ position and helping participants in both the official and unofficial processes see the importance of making negotiations as inclusive as possible.

San Egidio has also offered its good offices for secret peace talks between the government of Burundi, representatives from the army and the major opposition groups organised in exile. Starting in 1996, these meetings have taken place both in Rome and in the region. These talks have been important as safety valves particularly at times when the Arusha process run into problems. San Egidio has also been directly involved in the Arusha negotiations by supplying the chairman to one of the committees preparing the agreement.

Alert has as discussed above worked closely with van Eck and also worked in a more indirect way by supporting local peace initiatives and organisations that are involved in the internal dialogue such as CAP and Women’s organisations. Many of the CAP members have participated in the talks in Arusha on different sides but still kept informal contacts with each other, which has been useful for the process. The mini-conferences held under the auspices of CAP have been helpful for the internal dialogue during a crucial period of the Arusha talks. Other examples of such efforts are the arrangement in April 1999, in collaboration with the CAP group, of a visit to Burundi by a former senior British army officer for discussions about security sector reform with the Minister of Defence and senior army officers.

b) Auxiliary activities to the mediation process. Jan van Eck in collaboration with his South African Institute and Alert has also engaged in a number of auxiliary activities designed to support Burundi’s mediation process. He has capitalised, as Alert earlier had done (see above), on the interest that all Burundians share in the successful South African transition to introduce them to the principles that guided that process. In June 1998, van Eck arranged a conflict resolution training in South Africa for Burundian parliamentarians, followed in August by another training for senior Burundian government officials. He also helped organise a conflict resolution workshop in Cape Town for a delegation of Burundian government and opposition leaders. This was followed up by a number of training work-shops for negotiators in the region.

These workshops impart basic conflict resolution techniques to senior officials, giving them tools to prevent and manage conflict both in their work and their communities. Perhaps most importantly, the training exposed participants to a concept of negotiation and compromise which did not require them to “give up everything” and which was not based on a “win-lose” situation. Certainly, it is very difficult to measure the results of such attempts at “shifting attitudes”, but the fact that many participants, entered by their own admission with the idea that compromising is akin to giving up, but left with an appreciation for the “win-win” situation that principled negotiations can achieve, is an indication of their relevance in Burundi.

c) Preparation for and conscientisation of the different constituencies inside and outside the country. The internal seminars and workshops that Alert supported and which were implemented mainly through CAP have already been discussed above. Other important activities making people more prepared to accept the peace process are for example the radio programs prepared by Studio Ijambo and in particular the one which has been concentrating on the Arusha process. Another line of action supported by Alert and implemented by CAP are the meetings between Burundian residents from different walks of life and Burundians in the diaspora. These meetings have in the past few years taken place in different part of the world, both inside and outside Africa and have been very useful. Other activities already discussed under peace building both regarding Alert and Search are also relevant here. Such areas are the efforts to maintain international interest and attention to Burundi and other kinds of advocacy towards the international media. Here also Studio Ijambos efforts to supply international media with relevant and correct information have been valuable.

It seems that from 1996 onwards we have been seeing clear indication of shifts in attitudes towards gradual and widening acceptance of negotiations. The internal partnership as a concrete experience, the increasing emphasis on the future rather than the exclusive obsession with the past and the moderation of the political discourse are all tangible indicators of constructive change of attitudes encouraged and helped by the above measures.

6.3 Assessment of the Peace mediation activities

When this is being written (September 2000) only a partial agreement exists and it is still too early to assess the impact of the activities by all actors against the overall objectives for peace mediation. Having followed the situation in Burundi closely in the past decade and after renewed interviews with many of the people directly involved in the negotiations, there is no doubt in my mind that many of the activities supported by the three organisations mentioned above have been most important to make the process of negotiations go forward. Personal interventions by people with long experience of the conflict in Burundi and of the people important in getting the negotiations proceed, have definitely helped in overcoming obstacles, solving problems and getting new ideas and solutions introduced. Most important is however, that these small NGOs have been able to act in support of the mediation team in Arusha when it had difficulties to act – especially in keeping the parties not participating in Arusha in the picture and close to the negotiation. Mandela has recently made a great effort to get these actors to formally participate in Arusha. Also at this time the NGOs have been able to provide encouragement and lend their support.

The following factors are what has made these efforts helpful/useful:

- 1 A common deep analysis of the situation in Burundi and the requirement for actions and strategies to reach a durable peace. This includes a deep knowledge of Burundi and good relations with the different relevant institutions and people in the country.
- 2 Continuity. Among the NGOs discussed here, the same persons have been active and responsible for their activities in this particular field ever since they begun their support to Burundi. As in so many other areas, personalities matter.
- 3 Close contact with the main mediation efforts of Nyerere/Mandela. Interventions by the NGOs have been aimed directly or indirectly at supporting the Arusha process. With the tacit understanding of Nyerere/Mandela and a maximum of discretion, they have given the armed rebel groups a possibility to be listened to and be informed about the Arusha process in which they did not, for a number of reasons, participate. No contradictory signals were conveyed to the parties. At the same time efforts have also been made by these NGOs and by many others to convince Nyerere of the importance to include all parties in the negotiations in Arusha. Here the three organisations have shown considerable caution and common sense in their actions towards the peace mediation process. It is of course of utmost importance that any other actor in the mediation process should never counteract the appointed mediator. This can only lead to confusion and lessens everybody's influence and credibility.
- 4 Collaborations between NGOs. The NGOs involved have often acted in collaboration and always in contact with each other. Being different they have been able to bring their respective know-how and experience to the joint efforts. They have proved to be very important. It is a high risk venture for any small NGO to participate in peace reconciliation and mediation. Doing it in consultation with others lowers the risks both as regards vulnerability as well as making it possible to exchange views with others before entering into difficult commitments.
- 5 Long-term commitments. Although we are talking of ongoing negotiations, the actors have to be prepared to make long-term commitments – at least 5-10 years. The present negotiation process in Burundi has almost been going on for four years. The task also requires full commitment and readiness to act on short notice whenever and wherever it is needed.
- 6 Utmost discretion. All NGOs involved do their part of the work quietly and with no or very careful reporting to the world outside its closest constituency.
- 7 Finally availability of supportive measures within the NGO itself is an important additional benefit. Cases in point are the preparedness of the South African Centre for Conflict Resolution to train Burundians participating in the negotiations in negotiation techniques as well as the CAP (supported by Alert) and Studio Ijambos (Search's) activities to make the people in Burundi and also in exile aware of what is going on in Arusha and even to participate in the discussion on issues important for the Arusha process are cases in point.

7. Conclusions

In presenting and discussing the activities of the NGOs that are most active in the fields of support to peace building and peace mediation respectively in Burundi a number of conclusions and recommendations have been presented above in 4.3 and 5.3. They are all of such aggregate nature that they might be useful to consider in future similar ventures although, as the “recommended” analyses will show, each case is unique.

On a more global level this case study also points at the possible roles and comparative advantages of NGOs supporting the peace building and mediation efforts of a country. Much has been said in the literature on the possible risks and pitfalls for small NGOs to get involved in this very difficult field of activities. However, when done properly, NGOs can be of extreme use in the process. Some of the reasons can be found in the discussions above, such as:

- Their openness and preparedness for flexible solutions
- their position as neutral and informal actors;
- the speed in which they can react to changes and opportunities;
- the implementation capacities to implement projects which, although desired by official structures such as bilaterals or UN organisations, they themselves are not able to implement; and
- the capacity to act as a go-between.

Burundi and its peace process have been strongly affected by major events in the country itself and in the region over the past seven years. The Rwandan genocide; the Burundian coup in 1996; the regional sanctions; the two Congo wars; the impact of Nelson Mandela taking on the Arusha mediation. All these have put a very high responsibility on the NGOs to act flexibly and with great care and difficult balances have had to be struck. With all necessary caveats in Burundi and pros and cons discussed above, it seems as if the NGOs discussed in this case study have been able to act usefully in support of the peace building and peace mediation.

List of people met during my recent visit to Burundi 29 May-5 June 2000.

Shamil Idriss; Country Director, Search for Common Ground in Burundi

Francis Rolt; Director, Studio Ijambo

Spes Manirakiza; Director, Women's Peace Center

Mr. Willy Nindorera; Head of Production, Studio Ijambo

Mr. Aloys Niyoyita; journalist, Studio Ijambo

Ms. Alice Ngezahayo; staff member, Women's Peace Center

Mr. Adrien Tuyaga; co-founder of the JAMAA youth association and supervisor of the "Gardons Contact" youth project (not a Search employee)

- **Bill Yates**, head of the group on Burundi and Rwanda at International Alert, London.
- **Abbe Marc Barendgayabo** - Mushingantahe, priest and professor at the Law Faculty in the University of Bujumbura - a frequent and helpful participant in the mini conferences organised by CAP.
- **Mme. Goretti Ndacayisaba** - retained as a consultant by International Alert to work as Joint Animatrice of the Women's Training programme and the Dushirehamwe Women's Network.
- **Hon. Terence Nahimana** - Independent MP and a strong influence within the ANAC coalition (Minani/Bagaza). Also provisional Chair of the Burundi Chapter of the Regional Parliamentarians Forum, AMANI.
- **Lt. Col. Mamert Sinarinzi** - Head of the Burundian Air Force (!), former spokesman for the Army, and Vice President of CAP.
- **Minister Eugene Nindorera** - Minister for Human Rights, the internal Peace Process and Gov't/ Nat. Assembly relations. He also heads a number of drafting committees for government submissions to Arusha.
- **Monseigneur Tscherring** - Apostolic Nuncio (Vatican Ambassador to Burundi).
- **Fidele Nziribuza** - Coordinator of Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights and Prevention of Genocide which is the HR promotion arm of the ministry.
- **Levinia Sam** - International Alert Project Officer responsible for work on Human Rights promotion in Burundi.
- **Mme Josephine Ndikumana** - Coordonatrice of CAP and women's rights activist.
- **M. Gerard Ngendabanka** - Burundi's Attorney General since December 1998 member of Frodebu. Former coordinator of UN Legal Assistance Programme and former Minister of Justice.
- **Dr. Christophe Sebudandi** - Political Science Lecturer at University of Burundi, Chairman of l'Observatoire sur la performance du Gouvernement de Burundi. Also Chair of the League Human Rights Association of the Great Lakes Region, and former Chair of the Ligue ITEKA.
- **Jan van Eck** - Associate of the South African Centre for Conflict Resolution.
- **Gudrun Engstrom** - Norwegian Refugee Service.

The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation

The Foundation was established in June 1996, as a permanent tribute to Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere's contribution to improving sustainability and quality of human relations. The foundation is based on Mwalimu's belief in the fundamental principle that all humanity, regardless of their differences, are the purpose and justification for the existence of society, and all human activity in any given society.

Disregard for, or the breach of this fundamental purpose for social activity can destroy peace or hope for peace, social cohesion and human development. Today in Africa, issues of poverty, ignorance and disease still affect many millions of people. The Foundation believes that work to enhance and strengthen the capacity of people to be self-reliant in an environment of good governance is central to addressing these problems and for the promotion of peace and unity through justice. This conviction underpins the Foundation's mission of working with and assisting people to improve their capabilities and opportunities for poverty eradication and democratic governance.

The vision that has been articulated for the Foundation will be realised through programme work. That work must be a quality reflection of the values, principles and character of the Founder and first chairman Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The successful implementation of the Foundation's programmes will socially animate these values and principles as well as the higher vision of hope for the people of Africa and the world. The institutional capacity of the Foundation will be the embodiment of those qualities and characteristics. The practical tasks for institutional capacity building and programme development are organically linked requiring different but complimentary methods for goal achievement.

The Burundi Peace Negotiations is a project of the Foundation. The Facilitators and the facilitation mechanism's institutional base and legal identity are the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. This necessitates the role of co-ordinating a compliment of plans and strategies of the negotiating process and its administration with the programme profile and peace mandate of the Foundation. This role is in concert with the wishes and directives of the Facilitator, Mwalimu Nyerere, as well as the practical task developing the environment internationally and within Burundi for the acceptance and support of the outcome from the Arusha negotiations. It is recognised that the Negotiations are only one aspect of the Peace Process. Monitoring the implementation of the agreement and participating in creating the environment for its sustainability through acceptance and ownership by the people of Burundi are other critical aspects to be developed and supported by the Foundation's activities. Some of these involve making linkages with civil society organisations and development agencies in Burundi through co-operative activities, advocacy and research on peace building activities, radio programmes emphasising information on the process and peace building work, documenting and analysing the process of the negotiations and the process of its implementation. Subsequent to the death of Mwalimu Nyerere, President Nelson Mandela has assumed the role of Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Process under the auspices of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.