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# £BURUNDI

## @Time for international action to end a cycle of mass murder

### 1. Introduction

On 21 October 1993 soldiers seize **President Melchior Ndadaye**, take him to a military barracks and execute him eight hours later. The soldiers also kill four other senior government and National Assembly officials. Gangs belonging to the majority Hutu ethnic group attack and kill members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group to which most soldiers belong. A local government official in Muruta district, Kayanza province, reportedly organizes the killing of 90 Tutsi and one Hutu belonging to an opposition party. Soldiers go on the rampage to avenge the killing of Tutsi civilians. At the end of October 1993 soldiers in Gitega town kill at least 100 Hutu after being helped by Tutsi civilians to identify the homes of Hutu. Around 22 October 1993 Tutsi students are armed by a local gendarmerie commander in Ruyigi town and they lead the killing of at least 70 Hutu taking refuge at Ruyigi Roman Catholic church. Victims include babies, pregnant women and the elderly.

This is just a snapshot of the human rights tragedy which engulfed most of Burundi when members of the Burundi army from the 11th paratroopers and 2nd armoured battalions in the capital, Bujumbura, tried to overthrow Burundi's first democratically elected government. President Ndadaye and most of the supporters of the 102-day-old *Front pour la démocratie au Burundi* (FRODEBU), Front for Democracy in Burundi, government were Hutu. Although the killings had abated by the end of 1993, sporadic killings of up to 200 or more at a time by civilians and soldiers continued into early 1994, casting doubts on a quick return to peace.

Humanitarian organizations working in Burundi estimated that by December 1993 more than 100,000 people had been killed and tens of thousands more injured. An inquiry by foreign human rights organizations estimated that between 25,000 and 50,000 had been killed. The actual numbers may never be known. More than 700,000 people fled to neighbouring countries and about 250,000 were displaced inside Burundi. By the end of 1993 humanitarian organizations reported that about 180 refugees were dying daily from exposure, disease and malnutrition. Many had returned clandestinely to Burundi by March 1994, amidst reports of a looming famine and further sporadic violence which forced some to flee again to Rwanda.

The scale and ferocity of the killings are virtually unprecedented in other parts of the world. The killings are a result of a persistent struggle between the Hutu and Tutsi elite for control of state institutions and the privileges that accrue from them. Before the elections in June 1993 Tutsi had dominated political life since the first military coup in 1965. While the elections changed the political balance, Tutsi remained in control of the armed forces. Hutu challenges to Tutsi domination have each time been swiftly followed by indiscriminate armed force reprisals against Hutu civilians. Killings of varying magnitudes occurred in Burundi in 1965, 1969, 1972, 1988 and 1991. In April and May 1972 more than 80,000 people, most of them Hutu, were massacred by the armed forces.

Amnesty International believes that the main reason for these periodic mass killings is the fact that those responsible have never been identified by any formal investigation or brought to justice. Hutu and Tutsi elite have repeatedly triggered, incited, encouraged or condoned violence between a predominantly rural

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Hutu and Tutsi population in times of political crisis. Prominent members of both ethnic groups were invariably quick to blame all the violence on each other. The armed forces, ostensibly sent to flash points to quell the violence, have each time carried out systematic reprisal attacks and killings of the Hutu.

Previous Tutsi-dominated governments refused to allow any independent and impartial investigation of massacres, arguing that this would prevent national reconciliation. Amnesty International believes that the real reason for the governments' stance was to protect themselves and the armed forces from being identified as having been responsible in various ways for massacres. Government and the security force authorities who had ordered, carried out or condoned the massacres have remained largely unidentified and certainly unpunished. This impunity appears to have encouraged the Hutu to take the law into their own hands and carry out reprisals against innocent Tutsi, even though the two communities otherwise live together peacefully. Tutsi civilians also carried out reprisals, often supported by the armed forces. This has over the last three decades bred a false sense of security among the Tutsi and total mistrust and fear of the security forces by the Hutu. In early 1994 there were reports of a proliferation of firearms among the civilian population in Bujumbura. For example, firearms were being used in Hutu-dominated zones of Kamenge and Kinama to kill and displace Tutsi, while in Tutsi-dominated Musaga and Nyakabiga zones Hutu were being killed and driven out of the areas.

A commission of inquiry set up by the government in December 1993 failed to begin any investigations. Virtually nothing has been done to ensure that the armed forces are impartial and are held to account for their actions. Virtually nothing has been done to prevent Hutu and Tutsi in official or unofficial positions of responsibility from encouraging and exploiting tensions between the two communities.

The massacres which occurred since 1988 received worldwide publicity. But as soon as journalists left the country or refugee camps in neighbouring countries the international community seemed to turn a blind eye. Inside Burundi itself successive governments have glossed over the killings, have failed to set up public commissions of inquiry to establish the causes of the violence, identify those responsible and make recommendations on how similar killings could be prevented.

Amnesty International is concerned that international action to prevent a recurrence of the massacres has been alarmingly inadequate. The organization is publishing this report to urge the international community to follow up their condemnation of the October 1993 attempted coup and the massacres which followed with action to ensure that everything possible is done to stop the violence and prevent its recurrence. Measures are urgently required to make the armed forces impartial and to ensure that members of the armed forces and others who violate human rights are brought to justice.

## 2. Countrywide massacres

In the early hours of 21 October 1993 members of the armed forces, led by soldiers from the 11th paratroopers battalion who were later supported by those from the 2nd armoured battalion in Bujumbura, attacked the presidential palace and took control of key installations. Two Amnesty International representatives were then in Bujumbura to hold talks with the newly-elected authorities on the protection and promotion of human rights. Within the first eight hours of the coup attempt the soldiers killed five senior government and National Assembly officials: President Ndadaye, the minister of the Interior, the President and Vice-President of the National Assembly and the head of the security police. The soldiers

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also killed two women, one the wife of the then Minister of Foreign Affairs and the other married to a member of the National Assembly. Many members of the armed forces and their civilian supporters were clearly jubilant during the first few days of the coup attempt. However, the atmosphere quickly changed when it became evident that the coup attempt had been condemned worldwide and that it had triggered widespread killings of Tutsi by Hutu government supporters.

Before he was executed President Ndadaye reportedly addressed the soldiers with the following words:

*Mes chers militaires, pensez à ce que vous allez faire. Il faut qu'on s'entende sur vos souhaits. Pensez à votre peuple, à votre famille. Ne versez pas le sang. (My dear soldiers, consider what you are about to do. We should agree on your wishes. Think about your people, your family. Do not spill blood.)*

Despite his implied warning of bloodletting, they killed him. Soldiers reportedly used bayonets to kill President Ndadaye and shot or bayoneted to death the other victims. Members of the armed forces have frequently used bayonets to kill unarmed civilians, apparently because they allow them to get close to their unarmed, are re-usable and do not attract the attention of potential victims or witnesses as guns would.

Most people in the provinces first learned about the coup attempt from radio broadcasts from neighbouring Rwanda<sup>1</sup>. Burundi government ministers in exile called for resistance to the coup. Government opponents and critics alleged that this call for resistance was an incitement to Hutu to attack innocent Tutsi civilians. The ministers have denied that they advocated violence. In many parts of the country Hutu organized themselves into gangs which took Tutsi villagers hostage and killed them when the death of President Ndadaye became known. Observers believe that this is the first time in Burundi's bloody post-independence history that Tutsi have been killed in such large numbers. Most of those killed in previous massacres were Hutu, usually extrajudicially executed by the armed forces. Hutu blocked roads and destroyed bridges. This slowed the progress of the army and over many days thousands of defenceless Tutsi were slaughtered. The killings were widespread and indiscriminate. In some areas killings of Tutsi only stopped when the army arrived and began its own round of reprisal killings. The Tutsi were killed solely because they belonged to the same ethnic group as the soldiers. Some Hutu who belonged to Tutsi-dominated political parties or opposed the killing of Tutsi were also killed.

## 2.1 Killings of Tutsi by Hutu gangs

In many cases local Hutu leaders reportedly participated in, or condoned the killings of unarmed Tutsi civilians. On 22 October a local government official in Muruta district (*commune*), Kayanza province, reportedly organized the killing of 90 Tutsi and one Hutu who was a member of the former ruling *Union pour le progrès national* (UPRONA), Union for National Progress. The previous day the official had reportedly ordered the arrest of 43 Tutsi aged between 15 and 80 years. On 22 October 47 other Tutsi and one Hutu were reportedly arrested and assembled at Murangara trading centre. The same official allegedly urged other Hutu to kill those arrested after he had decapitated three of them using a machete. The killers reportedly escaped to Rwanda when the army arrived in the area to protect Tutsi survivors.

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<sup>1</sup>Ethnic tensions in Rwanda have also resulted in human rights violations. Since October 1990 officials of the Hutu-dominated government have ordered or condoned the killing of several thousand Rwandese minority Tutsi.

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In Muramvya, the slain president's home province, a local government official reportedly separated Tutsi from Hutu and ordered the former to cut trees and block roads. The Tutsi, including **Father (Abbé) Basile Samoya**, a Roman Catholic priest of Munanira parish, who tried to prevent the killings, were killed. At Ntita in Gitega province a Hutu gang reportedly attacked a local medical centre, killing a doctor. They then attacked Tutsi sheltering at a nearby church, killing at least 30.

The most widely reported incident of Hutu excesses against the Tutsi was the burning to death of as many as 70 Tutsi students from Kibimba secondary school on 21 October 1993 in Gitega province. The students were first severely beaten and some injured with machetes and other weapons. They were then herded into a room in a disused petrol station, doused with petrol and set on fire. A Hutu gang blocked and guarded the exits to ensure that the victims did not escape. Few of the victims survived. Further killings of Tutsi were reported in early 1994. At least 30 Tutsi villagers were reportedly killed on the night of 7-8 March in Tangara district, Ngozi province. The authorities reported several days later that more than 30 Hutu had been arrested in connection with the killings, although it was unclear whether any were formally charged with any offences.

## 2.2 Extrajudicial executions by the armed forces

When the killing of Tutsi civilians began, Tutsi members of the armed forces used military weapons against armed and unarmed Hutu civilians both to prevent, but often to avenge, killings of Tutsi. Reprisals were often carried out in areas where no violence had occurred. Soldiers used bayonets, grenades, light and heavy automatic weapons, armoured cars and helicopters to carry out their attacks. Their victims, including babies, pregnant women and children were shot in the back and killed or injured as they tried to flee. There were many reports of soldiers mutilating pregnant women. On 31 October soldiers in Ngozi reportedly crucified a woman and mutilated her. Soldiers executed Hutu sheltering in churches, schools or medical centres, especially in Gitega, Karuzi and Ruyigi provinces. In other cases they protected or armed Tutsi gangs to attack Hutu.

At the end of October 1993 soldiers went on the rampage in several zones of Gitega town. They were reportedly helped by Tutsi civilians to identify the homes of Hutu, who were then killed. One hundred or more Hutu, mostly members of FRODEBU, were killed by soldiers using guns, grenades and light armoured cars. Among those extrajudicially executed in Nyamugari zone was **Bruno Bashingwa**, an employee of a cooperative society. A protestant pastor, **Bonaventure Ndorimana**, was among those extrajudicially executed in Nyabugogo zone.

A few days after the attempted coup members of the armed forces in Cankuzo province beat to death at least seven villagers at Kamuna hill, Cankuzo district. It was reported that prior to the attack no Tutsi had been attacked or killed in the area. Witnesses said that members of the armed forces, thought to be gendarmes or soldiers, found the villagers at a barricade. An argument apparently ensued and the soldiers attacked and beat the seven people to death. The soldiers apparently made no attempt to arrest their victims, as they were empowered to if any offence had been committed. A local chief (*chef de secteur*), **Benoit Mbonerane**, was among those killed. One other victim apparently survived with severe injuries.

Several days after the coup attempt soldiers shot dead at least seven Hutu taking refuge at Kiremba Roman Catholic church in Gitega province. Most of the victims were employees of a local secondary school and a medical centre. A witness said that several soldiers and a civilian came to the church

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compound and took away about 10 people who they accused of killing Tutsi. Moments later the witness heard several shots and two teachers were killed. The soldiers reportedly tied the hands of a local government official and tortured him to death. A local judicial official was among those killed. The school headmaster reportedly escaped.

On 28 December soldiers attacked Bugarama, a suburb of Bujumbura, and killed five Hutu. Many other people fled the area. On 6 March 1994 armed men, believed by many to be soldiers, massacred more than 200 unarmed Hutu during a night-time raid on Bujumbura's Kamenge zone. The victims included women and children. Among those killed was former President Ndadaye's driver, his two brothers and a nephew. The army denied responsibility but witnesses pointed to the use of bayonets and the swiftness and skill with which the killings were perpetrated as evidence. An identity card of an army warrant officer was reportedly recovered at the scene of the killings. The killings were reported to be a show of strength orchestrated by the army following the refusal by some Hutu civilians in Kamenge to be disarmed, following an exchange of fire with gendarmes. Army commanders were reported to have subsequently announced that they would use the army to disarm the civilians. They reportedly ignored calls made by the government on 5 March for the security forces to leave the area and stop attacks on civilians.

Many of those killed in Kamenge were reportedly transported in military trucks and dumped by soldiers on the banks of, and into the Ntahangwa and Rusizi rivers in Bujumbura. An 18-year-old survivor, **Zabulon Nkunzimana**, pretended to be dead when a soldier shot him in the shoulder. He and about 50 adults and children had been gathered in a compound by soldiers who subsequently opened fire and used bayonets on the group. He was taken along with many bodies and dumped in the River Rusizi. He reportedly managed to swim out of the river and sought medical care at Bujumbura's *Prince Regent Charles* hospital. Army officers reportedly came looking for him at the hospital after he told his ordeal to some staff there. Sympathizers reportedly helped him to leave the hospital and hide.

### 2.3 Killings of Hutu by Tutsi civilians

Tutsi civilians were also responsible for killing unarmed Hutu civilians, many times to avenge Hutu attacks on Tutsi. On numerous occasions members of the armed forces protected or assisted Tutsi civilians who carried out the attacks, and in some cases supplied them with firearms.

Around 22 October Tutsi students from Rusengo secondary school (*lycée*) went on rampage around Ruyigi town, killing at least 70 unarmed Hutu civilians including women and children. In an apparent attempt to ensure that they would not be vulnerable to counter attacks the Gendarmerie district commander for Ruyigi province reportedly distributed arms to the students. For three days the students and other Tutsi attacked Hutu civilians, including those who had taken refuge in the Ruyigi cathedral compound (*évêché*). Some of those killed were members of the local clergy such as a Roman Catholic priest and a seminarian, **Albert Rukarambuzi**. The governor of Ruyigi reportedly tried to stop the killings but was arrested by the commander and detained for one week. The only action known to have been taken by the military command was the transfer of the commander to Bujumbura where he was reportedly given responsibility for a mobile intervention unit (*unité d'intervention*) whose personnel and weapons he could again use to perpetrate or facilitate human rights violations.

In a separate wave of violence, between 31 January and 5 February 1994 Tutsi civilians killed more than

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50 Hutu in Bujumbura. The violence started when Tutsi opposition leaders called on their supporters to take action to force the government to reverse its decision to dissolve the Tutsi-dominated Constitutional Court. Their supporters set up barricades and used violence to enforce a general strike declared by opposition parties. The violence later degenerated when Tutsi attacked and killed Hutu simply on account of their ethnic origin or political affiliation. Members of the armed forces were deployed to stop the violence but they failed to stop the violence in residential areas. The violence stopped when FRODEBU leaders agreed to give ministerial posts to opposition leaders whose supporters had carried out the violence.

### 3. Responsibility for the coup attempt

Top army commanders have denied involvement in the coup attempt saying that only a minority of low ranking soldiers were responsible for carrying it out. However, some of the top commanders were present when soldiers from the 11th paratroopers battalion seized President Ndadaye, and failed to protect him.

Surviving members of the government in Bujumbura took refuge in the French Embassy. After the soldiers failed to establish a grip on power, they re-emerged as the country's government. Government ministers then moved from the Embassy in November 1993 to a hotel where they continued to be protected by some French soldiers. The government said it could not trust the army for protection, despite assurances by army commanders.

There have been reports that the October 1993 coup attempt was a follow-up to an attempt to seize power on 3 July 1993 when seven soldiers were arrested. One of these soldiers who had been freed on 21 October and seven others were arrested at the end of the month on the orders of the military procurator (*Auditeur militaire*) in connection with the October 1993 attempted coup. The soldiers had not been formally charged with any specific offence by March 1994.

Other soldiers suspected of involvement in the coup attempt are reported to have fled the country. At the end of December 1993 the Burundi Government asked the Uganda Government to extradite two Burundi army officers, Major Bernard Busokoza and Lieutenant Paul Kamana, accused of carrying out the attempted coup. In early 1994 there were reports that at least two other Burundi army officers suspected of involvement in the coup attempt had been seen in the Ugandan capital, Kampala, travelling in an official vehicle with Ugandan army officer. Ugandan intelligence officials denied knowledge of the presence in Uganda of the Burundi army officers. At the end of January 1994 Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni announced that he had ordered the arrest of the suspects and their deportation to a country other than Burundi. By March 1993 it was still unclear whether they had been arrested or deported.

### 4. Response to the coup

The world media reacted promptly to the coup attempt and many foreign governments and intergovernmental organizations such as the UN and the OAU condemned it. Western aid donors suspended cooperation with Burundi until the army returned power to the democratically elected

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government. The coup attempt crumbled when its perpetrators and their civilian supporters realised that their action had been condemned worldwide and that it had triggered countrywide massacres. However, the government has failed to exercise effective control over the armed forces which continue to violate human rights with impunity. It has also failed to restrain its own supporters. Crucially, the international community has also failed to take effective action to ensure that the Burundi civilian and military authorities end the violence, identify its perpetrators and bring them to justice.

The Burundi armed forces continue to use the equipment obtained from foreign countries against the civilians they are supposed to protect. France and Germany are among countries which have provided military training and equipment to the 18,000-strong Burundi army and Gendarmerie. Amnesty International is concerned that the training has certainly failed to change the character of the armed forces which continue to violate human rights with impunity. France has supplied weapons including armoured cars, helicopters and artillery pieces. The army is also equipped with armoured cars from the former Soviet Union.

#### 4.1 Government reaction

When the coup attempt took place the government asked the UN and the OAU to send a military force to Burundi to protect remaining members of the government and prevent further killings. In November 1993 the government also asked the UN to set up an international commission of inquiry to investigate the coup attempt and the killings which followed<sup>2</sup>.

At the start of December 1993 the government, which insisted that those responsible for the coup attempt and the subsequent killings must be brought to justice, set up a commission of inquiry, with the Procurator General as its president. By March 1994 the commission had failed to begin its work following the refusal of government opponents to cooperate. They claimed that it was "pro-government" and lacked expertise to carry out investigations. The opposition demanded an international commission of inquiry.

In November 1993 the FRODEBU-dominated National Assembly elected the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, as its President. Opposition parties, represented in the National Assembly by UPRONA, protested against the election. On 3 January 1994 the National Assembly elected former Minister of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Cyprien Ntaryamira, as head of state. Opposition leaders organized strikes and demonstrations to protest against his appointment and contested the appointment before the Constitutional Court. After several days Hutu members of the Court (in which Tutsi judges had a clear majority) resigned their posts amidst reports that the court was about to rule that the appointment of the head of state was unconstitutional. On 29 January the government dissolved the Court, leading to violent protests and killings by opposition supporters.

President Ntaryamira was sworn in on 5 February. On 7 February Prime Minister Sylvie Kinigi was replaced by her Minister of Public Works, Anatole Kanyenkiko. Both are Tutsi members of UPRONA.

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<sup>2</sup>The UN also played a role in relation to Burundi in the past. From the mid-1920s until independence in July 1962 the kingdoms of Burundi and Rwanda (its northern neighbour) were placed under the control of Belgium by the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations.



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## 4.2 Action by the UN and OAU

The UN declined to get involved militarily, but agreed to send civilian observers, including a five-person team to investigate responsibility for the coup attempt and work with the government commission of inquiry. The UN Secretary General appointed Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, a Mauritanian former Minister of Foreign Affairs, as his special representative to Burundi. By March 1994 the UN had not published any information about the representative's activities. In mid-March 1994 the UN Secretary General sent a three-person fact-finding mission, led by Siméon Aké, former Foreign Minister of Côte d'Ivoire, to investigate the coup attempt and the massacres of October 1993. The mission was also mandated to examine with the Secretary General's special representative and the Burundi Government what other activities might be undertaken by the United Nations in exercise of the Secretary General's good offices. The UN did not publish any information about the terms of reference or powers of this mission and it was consequently not possible to determine whether it would be consistent with international standards for inquiries into human rights violations.

In early March 1994 the UN Commission on Human Rights expressed its deep concern at the loss of life and other violations of human rights in Burundi. It condemned the brutal and violent break in the democratic process initiated in Burundi and demanded an immediate end to acts of violence and military coercion. It invited the Burundi authorities to conduct a prompt inquiry into the killings and bring those responsible to justice. However, the Commission did not recommend any specific measures by the UN to help end the violence and bring those responsible to justice; nor did it appoint a Special Rapporteur (as it did in relation to neighbouring Zaire) to monitor the human rights situation or engage the Burundi authorities in discussions about measures to prevent further killings.

In late 1993 the OAU Secretary General appointed a Senegalese Ambassador, Papa Louis Fall, as his representative in Burundi. The OAU announced that it would send 180 soldiers and 20 civilians to assist the country return to stability. The OAU team was named *Mission de protection et d'observation pour le rétablissement de la confiance au Burundi* (MIPROBU), Protection and Observation Mission to Re-establish Confidence in Burundi. In December Burundi opposition parties, which apparently believe that the arrival of the OAU force would strengthen the government and weaken the army, organized demonstrations to oppose the arrival of the OAU force. The OAU Secretary General's representative was in Bujumbura at the time. A MIPROBU advance team of 15 civilians arrived in Burundi to try to build "bridges of peace" between different sectors of society and a technical mission of military officers visited Burundi to examine the practical problems which the OAU peace-keeping force would face. By March 1994 the OAU had not issued any public reports about the activities of the special representative or the military contingent. It consequently remained unclear whether the OAU force would be deployed and, if so, what role it would play in preventing further killings.

## 4.3 Inquiry by human rights groups

At the end of 1993 foreign non-governmental human rights organizations formed their own international commission of inquiry to investigate the October 1993 coup attempt and the massacres which followed. The commission carried out investigations from 27 January to 10 February 1994. In a press release issued in February 1994 the commission concluded that:

- the armed forces were directly or indirectly responsible for the massacres.

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- most members of the armed forces actively or passively participated in the assassination of President Ndadaye.
- the violence was a direct consequence of the coup attempt and particularly the death of the President.
- in some parts of Burundi, Hutu, at times guided by local authorities, systematically killed Tutsi and their Hutu allies.
- the armed forces, at times collaborating with Tutsi civilians, systematically killed Hutu during reprisal attacks, but at times with no apparent pretext, using disproportionate force for the needs of maintaining law and order.
- total impunity for perpetrators was likely to encourage a recurrence of the massacres.
- between 25,000 and 50,000 people had been killed, but the actual number may never be known.

The press release did not include recommendations to the Burundi authorities or the international community. The commission was expected to publish a full report in April 1994.

## 5. Appeal to the international community

The government has not been able to exercise control over the armed forces whose loyalty is in doubt as most of the army failed to defend the government on 21 October 1993. The government's own commission of inquiry has failed to carry out any investigations. It is unclear whether the government will have the confidence and resources to implement recommendations of the inquiry carried out by foreign non-governmental organizations. Many Tutsi hold the government responsible for massacring members of their ethnic group. The Tutsi-dominated judiciary is viewed by Hutu as neither independent nor impartial. In such a situation, where virtually no institutions have the confidence of the population as a whole, where virtually all aspects of public life are affected by the partisan interests of either the Tutsi or the Hutu community, the country evidently needs to embark on a long process of reconstruction and confidence-building, in which awareness and respect for human rights are promoted and the rule of law established.

Amnesty International is appealing to international opinion to urge governments throughout the world and intergovernmental organizations to respond to the call of the people of Burundi for their assistance in bringing an end to the killings. This must include identifying those responsible for the killings and bringing them to justice; unless this happens, others who expect similar impunity are likely to order, encourage or perpetrate further killings. Amnesty International believes that the moment has come to end impunity and break the cycle of violence.

With so much polarization between the government on the one hand and the army on the other, indeed between the entire Hutu and Tutsi communities, there is a need for neutral intermediaries to facilitate the building of a base for the rule of law and respect for the most fundamental right to life. Amnesty International urges governments and international organizations to:

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- Urge the government, political parties and the security forces to stop perpetrating or condoning human rights abuses and instead to condemn them publicly and energetically.
- Urge countries which provide training, weapons or other facilities to the Burundi armed forces to use their contacts and influence to obtain guarantees from civilian and military authorities that these armed forces will be transformed from a partisan killing machine into an impartial and humane protector of all Burundi's citizens and institutions.
- Appoint legal and human rights experts to assist the Burundi authorities to study the report and recommendations of the inquiry carried out by foreign non-governmental human rights organizations, with a view to drawing up an appropriate follow-up.
  
- Assist the government to consider whether there still remain any aspects of Burundi's post-independence political violence which require further investigation and, if so, set up a public commission of inquiry, which satisfies all relevant international standards, composed of people known in Burundi for their independence and impartiality. The commission should have full powers to investigate all aspects of the coup attempt and the abuses that ensued and to oblige all witnesses - both members of security force and civilians - to give evidence. The commission's terms of reference should include making prompt recommendations to the government, the armed forces, political leaders and society as a whole on measures required to prevent a recurrence of massacres. The findings of the inquiry by foreign human rights organizations and any other subsequent inquiry should be used in criminal investigations with a view to bringing to justice members of the security forces or civilians alleged to be responsible for human rights abuses.
  
- Second legal and other experts to assist the government and the judiciary to ensure that the judiciary is both competent and impartial and that trials of those accused of human rights violations or other crimes are given a fair trial in accordance with international standards.
  
- Assist the people of Burundi and their government to implement recommendations of the commission of inquiry on measures to prevent killings in the future, including training for the security forces and civilians regarding respect for human rights, particularly the right to life.
  
- Urge the UN to ensure that any international fact-finding mission's investigation be consistent with the UN's own standards and that if the fact-finding mission's mandate is not to be that broad, to urge the UN to request the Burundi authorities to invite the UN Commission on Human Rights' Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions to visit Burundi.
  
- Urge the OAU to ensure that the Protection and Observation Mission to Re-establish Confidence in Burundi is encouraged to implement Amnesty International's 15-Point Program for Implementing Human Rights in International Peace-keeping Operations in *Peace-keeping and human rights*<sup>3</sup> (AI Index: 1OR 40/01/94).

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<sup>3</sup>In January 1994 Amnesty International published a paper containing a 15-Point Program for Implementing Human Rights violations in International Peace-keeping Operations, aimed at the incorporation into all peace-keeping and other relevant UN field operations essential measures to ensure respect for human rights as well as monitoring, investigation and corrective action in respect of violations. The 15-Point Program is addressed to all those involved in the establishment of such operations - the parties to the conflict, observer governments involved in the process and other UN Member States as well as the UN secretariat and other UN bodies and specialized agencies.