

APPENDIX II: Glossary of Burundian political parties and armed opposition groups relevant to the conflict in Burundi

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ARMED OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH ATTENDED THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS

At Julius Nyerere's instigation, to speed up negotiations, the 18 delegations attending the peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania, (the government, national assembly, 13 political parties and three armed opposition groups) merged into three groupings. One grouping known as the G3, comprised government and pro-government delegations, while the G8 consisted of PARENA and smaller Tutsi-dominated opposition parties. The third grouping known as the G7 comprised FRODEBU, allied Hutu-dominated parties and Hutu-dominated armed opposition groups. In August 2000, the pro-government UPRONA joined the G8 grouping forming a pro-Tutsi group known as G10 (RADDES, a Tutsi-dominated party which joined the negotiations in February 2000 is also part of G10). The government group was reduced to two groups and became the G2.

Other parties, armed opposition groups or movements not party to the talks but mentioned in this document, or otherwise particularly relevant to the peace process, are also included at the end of the document.

THE G2 GROUPING

The Government

The government delegation was led by **Ambroise Niyonsaba**, Minister of the Peace Process and a close ally of President Pierre Buyoya. **Sebastien Ntahuga**, a key presidential advisor, **Colonel Nijimbere** and **Colonel Longin Minani**, formerly Commander of the 5th military region in the south, were also in the delegation. Ambroise Niyonsaba, Colonel Nijimbere and Colonel Minani are all from Bururi Province.

President Pierre Buyoya returned to power in July 1996 in a bloodless coup supported by the armed forces. Since his return political opponents and rivals have been imprisoned, tortured, and some, subjected to unfair trials. Human rights violations have been committed by all units of the security forces, including the *Documentation nationale*, national intelligence unit, which is directly responsible to the Presidency. President Buyoya is also Commander in Chief of the armed forces. He too is from Bururi Province.

Pierre Buyoya first took power in a coup in September 1987, deposing President Jean Baptiste Bagaza, whom he accused of corruption. Under his first presidency, there were several mass outbreaks of violence by Hutu against Tutsi civilians which were brutally repressed by the armed forces. Under international pressure, Pierre Buyoya led the transition to multi-party elections.

The National Assembly

The National Assembly delegation was led by **Augustin Nzajibwami**, from Bururi Province, who is the leader of the pro-government wing of FRODEBU in Bujumbura (see below) and a key figure in the *Convergence National pour la Paix et la Réconciliation* (CNPR), National Convergence for Peace and Reconciliation, an alliance of several political parties made up largely of politicians expelled from the main ranks of their respective parties and excluded from the peace negotiations. The CNPR is largely perceived as a mouthpiece of the government. At the negotiations, the National Assembly delegation, which includes members of parliament from both UPRONA and FRODEBU, has largely taken the same positions as the government.

Augustin Nzajibwami was formerly an outspoken defender of human rights within FRODEBU and has been detained on several occasions, including in 1997, for his criticism of the regroupment policy.

THE G10 GROUPING

Union pour le progrès national (UPRONA), Union for National Progress

The former single party, founded in 1957 and legally recognised in 1960, UPRONA, retained a close relationship with the armed forces under the presidencies of Michel Micombero, Jean Baptiste Bagaza and Pierre Buyoya. It was heavily defeated by the Hutu-dominated *Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi*, Front for Democracy in Burundi, in Burundi's first multi-party elections in 1993. UPRONA and the security forces were unwilling to cede power and were closely associated with violence by the *Sans échec* ("Without Failure") and other Tutsi militia in the 1993 to 1996 period. Senior members of UPRONA including **Charles Mukasi**, **Libère Bararuntyeretse** and **Alphonse Kadege** were among the civilians associated with the 1993 coup attempt. Charles Mukasi, has also been accused of undermining the 1994 Convention of Government power-sharing arrangement and of orchestrating some of the spiralling violence which enabled Pierre Buyoya to return to power in 1996.

Divisions between the Charles Mukasi wing, which opposed the negotiations with the Hutu-dominated armed opposition, and a pro-Buyoya wing became apparent in 1997, and culminated in the replacement of Charles Mukasi and others by pro-Buyoya

party representatives. Charles Mukasi, who is from Ngozi Province in northern Burundi, has refused to accept his dismissal, claims to be party president and to be the victim of harassment by the president and security forces. **Luc Rukingama** was nominated president of the pro-Buyoya wing of the party. The Mukasi wing has continued to vehemently oppose the negotiations.

The UPRONA delegation included **Libère Bararuntyeretse** and **Alphonse Kadege**. **Willy Madirisha**, former head of the *Sans échec*, also briefly attended the Arusha talks as a member of the UPRONA delegation in February 2000.

Parti pour le redressement national (PARENA), Party for National Recovery

PARENA was created in 1994 after the return of former president **Jean-Baptiste Bagaza** from exile. Since its creation it has been linked to armed movements or militias within Burundi which have incited violence against FRODEBU members and Hutu civilians in general. A small number of PARENA members are alleged to undergo military training in Uganda, possibly to form a protection corps for Jean-Baptiste Bagaza.

Several senior members of PARENA were convicted in January 2000 of plotting to assassinate the head of state, Major Pierre Buyoya, nearly four years after their arrest. They were released in August 2000. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza was himself also initially accused of involvement in the alleged plot and placed under house arrest. Charges against him were dropped in the run up to the start of the Arusha negotiations and he returned to exile. He now lives in Kampala.

Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, who is from Bururi Province, was president of Burundi from 1976 to 1987. Under his presidency severe restrictions on religious activities were imposed and scores of priests arrested. The Roman Catholic church was particularly targeted. Reports of torture and detention without trial also continued. Jean-Baptiste Bagaza was also the Deputy Chief of Staff in the armed forces in 1972 when as many as 100,000 Hutu were killed by members of the armed forces after a Hutu uprising in the south of the country.

MSP-INKINZO

A small Tutsi-dominated party founded in 1993 and presided by **Dr Alphonse Rugambarara**, a founder member of the Burundian League for Human Rights, the *Ligue ITEKA*. MSP-INKINZO has been critical of the policy of regroupment on human rights and humanitarian grounds. MSP-INKINZO was also reportedly heavily involved in the *villes mortes* -- violent general strikes and paralysis of city life -- which characterized Bujumbura between 1994 and 1996.

Parti pour la Réconciliation du Peuple (PRP), People's Reconciliation Party

Formerly the *Parti royaliste parlementaire* (PRP), Parliamentary Monarchist Party, the PRP is led by **Mathias Hitimana**, a businessman, who lives in exile in Brussels. Mathias Hitimana is alleged to have been behind the financing and arming of the *Sans échec* militia. **Déogratias Niyonzima**, the former leader of *Solidarité jeunesse pour la défense des minorités* (SOJEDEM), Youth Solidarity for the Defence of Minorities, was also a member of the PRP delegation. SOJEDEM, which appears to no longer exist, was believed to be a front for Tutsi militias in Bujumbura from 1994 onwards and was actively involved in the *villes mortes*. Déogratias Niyonzima fled Burundi in 1997, after being briefly detained on suspicion of threatening state security, and is based in Kampala.

AV-Intwari, The Valiant

AV-Intwari is led by **André Nkundikije**. It has a small following in Burundi and was founded in 1996.

Parti indépendant travailleurs (PIT), Independent Labour Party

Led by **Nicéphore Ndimurukundo**, the PIT was founded in 1993.

Parti social démocrate (PSD), Social Democratic Party

The PSD was founded in 1993. Members of the PSD are suspected of involvement in the *villes mortes*. Despite sometimes taking different positions from UPRONA, the party is generally perceived to be an UPRONA satellite. It is led by **Godefroid Hakizimana** in Bujumbura.

Alliance burundo-africaine pour le salut (ABASA), Burundo-African Alliance for Salvation

ABASA, which was founded in 1993, was also reportedly involved in the violent *villes mortes*. It is led in exile by former ambassador **Térence Nsanze** who lives in Europe. The party is split and is led in Bujumbura by **Serge Mukamarakiza**.

Alliance nationale pour le droit et le développement économique (ANADDE), National Alliance for Law and Economic Development

ANADDE was founded in 1992. It is led by **Patrice Nsababaganwa**. ANADDE was also linked to the *villes mortes*.

Ralliement pour la Démocratie et le Développement économique et social (RADDES), Rally for Democracy and Economic and Social Development

RADDES, which was founded in 1992, was openly involved in the *villes mortes* and violence of the 1994-1996 period. It is presided by **Joseph Nzeyimana**.

RADDES was present at the start of the negotiations but refused to sign a document on participation. It subsequently made a series of highly critical declarations accusing the former facilitator, the late Julius Nyerere, of bias in his management of the talks. RADDES rejoined the negotiations in February 2000.

THE G7 GROUPING

Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU), Front for Democracy in Burundi

FRODEBU was formed in the mid-1980s and officially recognized in mid-1992. Its manifesto includes a commitment to abolish the death penalty. Many of its founder members including former presidents **Melchior Ndadaye** and **Sylvestre Ntibantunganya** were also founder members of the *Ligue ITEKA*. FRODEBU officially rejects recourse to violence. It has been, however, frequently accused of links with armed opposition groups including PALIPEHUTU and subsequently the CNDD and its armed wing, and hundreds of supporters and officials of FRODEBU have been arrested and detained on such accusations. FRODEBU also used PALIPEHUTU networks to mobilise support for the 1993 FRODEBU election campaign.

Thousands of FRODEBU supporters and officials are now in detention, mainly on suspicion of participation in the massacres of Tutsi civilians in October 1993 or on suspicion of links with the armed opposition. Twenty-four FRODEBU members of parliament have been killed by the security forces or militias since the coup attempt of 1993. Others fled into exile, many then joining ranks with the CNDD. The president, **Jean Minani**, lives in exile in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Several senior FRODEBU representatives including some in government have been the subject of legal proceedings or accusations of participating in or inciting violence. Jean Minani is accused of inciting violence in October 1993 after calling on Radio Rwanda for people to “resist” the coup. Legal charges that **Léonce Ngendakumana** had participated in the massacres of 1993 were dropped in negotiations surrounding the 1998 power-sharing arrangement. Both **Augustin Nzojibwami**, former

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Secretary General, and **Domitien Ndayizeye**, current Secretary General, have also had legal proceedings against them on charges of threatening state security or involvement in the 1993 massacres.

Divisions in the already weakened party became more obvious with the return to power of Pierre Buyoya, and two factions emerged: the external Jean Minani wing and internal Nzojibwami wing, which appeared closer to the government. The extent of the crisis was revealed when Augustin Nzojibwami expelled senior members of the party. In retaliation, Jean Minani expelled Augustin Nzojibwami. Senior members including former president, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, Léonce Ngendakumana and Domitien Ndayizeye rallied to the Minani cause.

Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD), National Council for the Defence of Democracy

The CNDD was formed in 1994 in Bukavu, Democratic Republic of Congo, following the assassination in 1993 of President Ndadaye and flight into exile of many FRODEBU and FRODEBU-allied politicians. The main stated aims were to fight for the restoration of democracy and to end the Convention of Government power-sharing arrangement signed in September 1994.

Léonard Nyangoma, Minister of Interior under Melchior Ndadaye, holds the presidency. The Hutu-dominated CNDD retains many FRODEBU principles but advocated from its formation the use of its armed wing, the *Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie* (FDD), Forces for the Defence of Democracy. The FDD initially carried out joint operations with PALIPEHUTU and FROLINA (see below) but such cooperation came to an end in 1995 over disagreements of strategy and the inclusion of Tutsi in the ranks of the CNDD. In early 1998, the CNDD and FDD publicly split, with the commander-in-chief of the FDD, **Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye**, breaking away to form a new faction, the CNDD-FDD, claiming that Léonard Nyangoma was remote from the armed struggle. Several members of the political executive were also temporarily expelled. The CNDD retains its armed wing the FDD, although this was substantially diminished by the split. The FDD are thought to operate mainly in southern Burundi.

The FDD have been responsible for serious human rights abuses including the deliberate and arbitrary killings of unarmed civilians.

Léonard Nyangoma, along with other senior members of the movement, was charged *in absentia* with responsibility for a series of mine explosions in Bujumbura in 1997. Several defendants were sentenced to death in 1998 after unfair trials in which they were convicted of involvement in the explosions. Further investigations were ordered into the charges against Léonard Nyangoma.

Parti du Peuple (PP), People's Party

The FRODEBU-allied PP was legally recognized in 1992. It is presided by **Shadrack Niyonkuru** from Bururi Province. Shadrack Niyonkuru fled Burundi after the coup which returned Major Buyoya to power. In Bujumbura, the PP, which has also split, is led by **Séverin Ndikumugongo**. The PP is also in favour of abolition of the death penalty.

Parti libéral (PL), Liberal Party

The PL is led in exile by **Gaëtan Nikobamye** from Bubanza Province. It is FRODEBU-allied and was legally recognised in 1992. Gaëtan Nikobamye, a lawyer and businessman, fled Burundi because his business activities apparently placed him in danger. The party is split and the internal Bujumbura wing is led by **Joseph Ntidendereza**.

Rassemblement du peuple burundais (RPB), Rally of the Burundian People

The RPB is also FRODEBU-allied and was recognised in 1992. Its former president, **Ernest Kabushemeye**, Minister for Mines and Energy, was gunned down in Bujumbura in March 1995 days after his name appeared on a hit list in a paper, *Le Carrefour des Idées*. **Etienne Mvuyekure**, former Secretary General of the RPB, “disappeared” after his arrest by members of the armed forces in November 1997. He is believed to have been extrajudicially executed shortly afterwards. He had previously been convicted of links with armed opposition groups. The current president, **Balthazar Bigirimana**, lives in exile in Paris. He fled Burundi in late 1996 shortly after the arrests of close party associates. He had been actively pushing for investigations into the death of Ernest Kabushemeye and “disappearance” of Etienne Mvuyekure. The party is led in Bujumbura by **Philippe Nzobonariba**.

Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu (PALIPEHUTU), Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People

PALIPEHUTU was formed clandestinely in 1980 by **Rémy Gahutu** to fight against Tutsi domination. Rémy Gahutu died in detention in Tanzania in 1990. Its current president, **Etienne Karatasi**, lives in exile in Denmark. PALIPEHUTU retains a small fighting force, the *Forces nationales de libération* (FNL), National Forces for Liberation. Rivalry between PALIPEHUTU and the breakaway PALIPEHUTU-FNL led by Kossan Kabura is also intense. PALIPEHUTU has no control over the PALIPEHUTU-FNL.

PALIPEHUTU incited the civilian Hutu population to violence in 1988 in the north of the country in Ntega and Marangara, and several hundred Tutsi were killed. Some 20,000 Hutu civilians were killed in reprisal by members of the Tutsi-dominated armed forces. PALIPEHUTU is believed to have been responsible for armed attacks on Bujumbura and Bubanza provinces in November 1991 and April 1992 in an effort to disrupt the forthcoming 1993 elections. PALIPEHUTU campaigned clandestinely against the 1993 elections, claiming that no political change was possible for as long as the army remained Tutsi-dominated. The party was not officially recognized in 1992 due to its mono-ethnic stance.

Front pour la libération nationale (FROLINA), Front for National Liberation

FROLINA is a small breakaway faction of PALIPEHUTU lead by **Joseph Karumba**, who left Burundi after the 1972 massacres of Hutu. He is based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Its armed forces are known as the *Forces armées populaires* (FAP), Popular Armed Forces. It is mainly based in Tanzania but is largely inactive militarily. Since signature of the peace agreement, however, there have been reports of small FAP units attempting to establish bases in southern Burundi.

MAJOR ARMED OPPOSITION GROUPS WHO HAVE NOT ATTENDED THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS

CNDD-FDD

A breakaway faction of the FDD, led by **Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye**, from Bururi, the brother of Augustin Nzojibwami and nephew of Léonard Nyangoma. Its main base is eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), although it also has bases within Burundi and incursions have been launched from Tanzania. The CNDD-FDD has actively recruited out of Burundian refugee camps in Tanzania and includes many child soldiers in its ranks.

The CNDD-FDD is primarily an armed opposition group, with a limited number of political advisors including **Jean-Marie Ngendaheyo**, former Minister of Foreign Affairs under Melchior Ndadaye, who was a founder member of the *Ligue ITEKA*. Jean-Marie Ngendaheyo fled Burundi after his name appeared on a hit list established by Tutsi extremists. Prior to joining the FDD, Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye was undergoing officer training with the Burundian armed forces.

Rivalry between the two branches is intense. The CNDD Nyangoma threatened on several occasions to pull out of negotiations if the CNDD-FDD were permitted to attend. The CNDD-FDD have sought direct negotiations with President Buyoya, outside the Arusha process.

Active largely in southern and central Burundi, the CNDD-FDD has committed widespread human rights abuses. It has also been active in the DRC where it has also reportedly committed human rights abuses.

PALIPEHUTU-FNL

A breakaway faction of PALIPEHUTU, PALIPEHUTU-FNL, referred to mainly as the FNL, was until February 2001 led by **Kossan Kabura**. The FNL have been very active around Bujumbura. They have committed serious human rights abuses including the deliberate and arbitrary killings of unarmed civilians and prisoners of war, mutilation and torture. They are consistently reported to have links with Rwandese armed opposition groups including the ex-FAR and *Interahamwe*, who are accused of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and have openly threatened violence against civilians.

In February 2001, Kossan Kabura and other senior officials of the FNL were removed from their functions and **Agathon Rwasa**, a senior FNL commander was nominated as president and chief of staff.

The FNL have bases within Burundi, as well as DRC. They have actively recruited from Burundian refugee camps in Tanzania.