

BURUNDI: LOCKED DOWN

A SHRINKING OF POLITICAL
SPACE

**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL**



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INTRODUCTION

Political space in Burundi is shrinking. In the build-up to the 2015 presidential, legislative and communal elections, Amnesty International has documented an increase in violations of individuals' rights to freedom of association and peaceful assembly, including the harassment and intimidation of critical voices by the Government of Burundi.

The authorities routinely and arbitrarily deny groups authorisation to hold meetings and demonstrations, whose purpose is often to discuss or raise concerns in relation to political developments or state accountability for human rights. The Government of Burundi has denied political opposition groups, the press, the Burundian Bar Association and civil society organizations their rights to association and peaceful assembly.

Members of the *Imbonerakure*, the youth wing of the ruling party, the National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy (*Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie-Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie*, CNDD-FDD), are perpetrating human rights abuses under the pretext of maintaining security at local level. The *Imbonerakure* have intimidated political opposition members, prevented political party meetings from going ahead and attacked members of the political opposition with impunity. Amnesty International is concerned by the government's failure to effectively investigate allegations of abuses by the *Imbonerakure*, and to bring those found responsible to justice. Allegations that some members of the military have armed the *Imbonerakure* were leaked from the United Nations Office in Burundi (BNUB).¹ The Government of Burundi has strenuously denied these allegations and refused to initiate a full, credible and independent enquiry into them.

Proposed amendments to the Constitution by the Government of Burundi contributed to an increase in political tension in the country. An ensuing political crisis and deterioration in the enjoyment of civil and political rights was highlighted by the African Union² and the UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.³ On 7 March 2014, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay expressed concern at "increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of the 2015 elections...following a series of violent acts by the ruling party's youth wing and the disruption of public meetings organised by opposition parties."⁴ Furthermore, she stated: "These violent acts threaten to have a negative impact on the exercise of political rights and freedoms in Burundi, and there is real risk that opposition youth groups may start to retaliate, creating a dangerous downward spiral of violence."⁵

Amnesty International calls on the Government of Burundi to take all measures to ensure that every Burundian is able to exercise his or her rights to freedom of expression, association, and peaceful assembly. At the same time, opposition group leaders should make all efforts to ensure their members do not engage in any human rights abuses in the run up to the 2015 elections.

The organisation is urging the African Union to consider all threats, including violations of civil and political rights in Burundi, within the framework of the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS), when determining risks to peace and security in the county.⁶ Amnesty

International recognises the efforts by member states of the Peace and Security Council, the East African Community, the United Nations and foreign governments to follow the human rights situation in Burundi and raise concern. The organisation urges them to step up their engagement to ensure the Government of Burundi provides space to political opposition groups, civil society and the media, to operate freely and independently whilst holding to account state actors found responsible for human rights violations.

BACKGROUND

Since Burundi obtained independence in 1962, there have been multiple outbreaks of ethnic violence,⁷ marked each time by grave violations of human rights and humanitarian law. During the recent conflict,⁸ Burundi experienced large-scale ethnic violence between the minority Tutsi ethnic group, who held political control, and the majority Hutu ethnic group who opposed that control.

Following the assassination of democratically elected Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye in 1993, Burundi suffered a protracted conflict between the government army, comprised predominantly of Tutsi, and Hutu rebel groups. Some parties to the conflict cited authoritarian control of the state along ethnic lines, exclusion, unfair land distribution, and generalized impunity for crimes under international law as grievances that provoked them to take arms.⁹ Tens of thousands of Burundians were killed. All sides to Burundi's conflict were responsible for committing crimes under international law. One of the principal Hutu armed opposition groups, the CNDD-FDD, ceased hostilities in 2003, and joined a political process.¹⁰ The CNDD-FDD won the 2005 elections, and has remained in power since.

Numerous rounds of peace talks and power-sharing negotiations were held, facilitated by regional leaders from South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. The Arusha Accord,¹¹ carefully brokered by the late Nelson Mandela in 2000, articulated power-sharing principles between the two ethnic groups. The Arusha Accord has been credited as being an important step in overcoming ethnic divisions in the country, and for contributing to a successful peace process.¹² It included language on ethnic quotas and structure in the government, army and police.¹³ These were subsequently implemented in the post-conflict transition and reconstruction of Burundi.

International peacekeepers were deployed in 2003 as part of the African Union Mission to Burundi (AMIB). It was subsequently replaced by the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB),¹⁴ whose mandate was to restore lasting peace and reconciliation, as provided under the Arusha Accord. ONUB remained in the country until 1 January 2007 when it was replaced by the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB),¹⁵ which was in turn replaced by the United Nations Office in Burundi (BNUB) on 1 January 2011. Their mandates included support to the Government of Burundi in establishing long-term peace and stability in the country. BNUB is scheduled to withdraw from the country in December 2014.¹⁶

METHODOLOGY

This report is based on information gathered by Amnesty International from primary and secondary sources.

Amnesty International conducted research missions to Burundi in July 2013 and April 2014. During these missions, field work was carried out in the capital, Bujumbura, and the provinces of Bubanza, Gitega, Kirundo and Ngozi. Amnesty International interviewed officials from the Government of Burundi and the judicial authorities, representatives from the United Nations, diplomatic missions, civil society, the media, as well as victims of, and witnesses to, human rights abuses.

Specific cases highlighted in this report have been verified with multiple national and international sources as well as with the Burundian authorities. During interviews with Amnesty International, individuals who spoke with the organization demonstrated great concern for their own security, given the heightened political tension and threats of insecurity in the country.

Amnesty International raised the concerns in this report with the Interior Minister, the President of the *Imbonerakure* and with members of the judiciary in April 2014. The responses to concerns raised have been reflected in this report.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL TENSIONS

THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE FOLLOWING THE 2010 ELECTIONS

The current government is formed predominantly by the CNDD-FDD party, who holds 81 of 106 seats in the National Assembly¹⁷ and 32 seats out of 34 elected seats in the Senate.¹⁸ This dominance can be attributed, in part, to the withdrawal of the opposition from the 2010 elections.

The opposition parties rejected the results of the communal elections in 2010, in which the CNDD-FDD won 64 percent of the vote, claiming that there had been massive fraud. The opposition boycotted the following rounds of presidential and legislative elections in June and July 2010 respectively.¹⁹ International and national election observers noted “irregularities”, but found the elections to be broadly free and fair.

Opposition parties formed a coalition called the Alliance of Democrats for Change in Burundi (*l'Alliance des Démocrates pour le Changement au Burundi*, ADC-Ikibiri) after the communal elections, and called for a re-run and for the Independent National Electoral Commission (*Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante*, CENI) to be dismantled. Their demands were rejected by the President of Burundi, yet the opposition parties continued their boycott of the following rounds of elections. The CNDD-FDD received 91 percent of the presidential votes, 81 percent of the National Assembly votes and 94 percent of the Senate votes.

The security situation deteriorated soon after the 2010 elections when largely unidentified armed groups clashed with Burundian security services.²⁰ A number of these attacks took place in areas which had been strongholds of the former armed group and opposition party, the National Liberation Forces (*Forces Nationales de Libération*, FNL) during the conflict. A large number of extra-judicial executions were reported in 2010 and 2011, implicating the Burundian security services; many victims belonged to the FNL.²¹ Some of the remaining military elements of the FNL reportedly fled to the South Kivu province of eastern Congo, but the military capacity of the group has greatly diminished.

Since 2010, political dialogue between the Government of Burundi and ADC-Ikibiri has been slow. Between 11 and 13 March 2013, the United Nations facilitated an initial dialogue in Bujumbura between the government and key political actors, to discuss the preparations for the elections in 2015. A *Roadmap* was agreed by the political actors at the meeting.²² In May 2013, the government and key political actors then met to discuss the adoption of an electoral code, which they pledged to adopt by December 2013. The new electoral code was adopted by the National Assembly on 25 April 2014. It included recommendations from the *Roadmap*, and from a workshop held in Kayanza in May 2013 between Burundi's key political stakeholders.²³ These discussions continued on 20 May 2014.²⁴

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

In October 2013, the Burundian Council of Ministers put forward a bill proposing amendments to the Constitution.²⁵ The move to revise the Constitution was perceived by many as an attempt to flout key power-sharing principles²⁶ underpinning the Arusha Accord. Some Burundians feared that it would facilitate the consolidation of political power by the CNDD-FDD.

The proposed changes increased political tension in the country, and sparked a number of ethnic and political fears amongst political parties, civil society and some of the Burundian population. Some interpreted the proposed amendments as setting the stage for the incumbent President Nkurunziza to run for a third term. Other amendments included an alteration to the voting quorums, allowing any party with over 50 percent of the seats in the National Assembly (in contrast with the current requirement for a two thirds majority) to control the legislative programme, without specifying any requirement for consultation or negotiation with other political parties.²⁷ The bill proposed changes to the executive structure, including the replacement of the current two ethnically-balanced and equally powerful vice-presidents with a single prime minister (who would have increased powers and could come from the same party as the President) and a vice-president with decreased powers.²⁸

On 21 March 2014, the bill was rejected by the National Assembly by just one vote,²⁹ but this failure did not ease political tensions. The Interior Minister said that the amendments would be put to a referendum instead,³⁰ sparking strong criticism from the opposition, political observers and civil society who argued that the National Assembly's decision was binding. The President's office has since indicated that a referendum will not be held. Latest statements from government³¹ indicate that the question of President Nkurunziza's eligibility for a third presidential mandate will be referred to the Constitutional Court.

8 MARCH: CLASHES BETWEEN POLICE AND OPPOSITION PARTY MEMBERS

On 8 March 2014, members of the Movement for Solidarity and Democracy (*Mouvement pour la solidarité et la démocratie*, MSD) had a confrontation with the police at the party headquarters in Kinindo Commune, Bujumbura. Earlier in the day, a number of MSD youths, many dressed in sports clothing, had been arrested by the police in Bujumbura.

The police arrived at the party headquarters to disperse the large number of party members inside, who refused to leave the building. Two police officers were taken captive by MSD party members. The National Independent Human Rights Commission (*Commission Nationale Indépendante des Droits de l'Homme*, CNIDH), and a local human rights organization, the Association for the Protection of Human Rights and Detained Persons (*Association pour la Protection des Droits Humains et des Personnes Détenues*, APRODH) tried but failed to mediate between the two sides. Around 17:30, the prosecutor's office granted permission for the police to enter the building. They used tear gas and fired live ammunition to gain entry. Eight MSD activists and five policemen were injured in the process.³² The Interior Minister subsequently suspended the MSD party for four months.³³ The police arrested many MSD members on 8 March and shortly afterwards. On 18 March 2014, 70 individuals were tried at the High Court in Bujumbura (*Tribunal de Grande*

Instance de Bujumbura Mairie) charged with participating in an insurrectionary movement, rebellion, grievous bodily harm and violence against law enforcement officers. The trial lasted one day and failed to comply with fair trial standards.³⁴ 21 individuals were sentenced to life in prison. Ten were sentenced to ten years in prison while another 14 were sentenced to five years in prison. 22 individuals were acquitted. The trial was criticized by Burundian human rights defenders for not meeting fair trial standards; among other things, the defendants were unable to present a defence.

Another march organised on 8 March by the Union of Burundian Women (*Union des Femmes Burundaises*, UFB), the women's league of the Union for National Progress (*Union pour le Progrès national*, UPRONA) opposition party, to celebrate international women's day was also broken up by the police using tear gas. The women's march was initially peaceful, but the police used tear gas because young men joined the march, breaking away from the authorized route.³⁵

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

BURUNDIAN LAW

Freedom of association is guaranteed under the Constitution of Burundi. Article 32 stipulates that: "Freedom of assembly and of association is guaranteed, as well as the right to found associations or organizations in accordance with the law."³⁶

Article 4 of the Law on Public Gatherings states that all public meetings are subject to a preliminary statement, which should provide details of the members of the organizing committee; the day and the time of the meeting; the objective of the meeting; the predictable participation; and the itinerary for any procession or parade.³⁷ The statement must be written and addressed to the competent administrative authority who may decide if the meeting should be postponed or prevented on the grounds of maintaining public order.

Article 3 defines the risks to public order as stirring up hatred linked to identity, provoking disorder or provoking violence.³⁸

Article 5 stipulates that preliminary statements must be made at least four working days before the event, and the competent authority has 48 hours to respond to the request.³⁹ Article 6 specifies that if the administrative authorities have not provided a response to forbid the meeting within 48 hours, the meeting has received authorization.⁴⁰

APPLICABLE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW AND STANDARDS

Burundi is party to numerous international and regional treaties which protect the rights to freedom of association and peaceful assembly. These include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) to which Burundi acceded without reservations on 9 May 1990,⁴¹ and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), which Burundi ratified on 28 July 1989.⁴²

Freedom of association is guaranteed by Article 22(1) of the ICCPR, which provides that: "Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests."⁴³

Like the right to freedom of association, the right to freedom of peaceful assembly is protected under international law. Article 21 of the ICCPR states: "The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others."⁴⁴

Freedom of association and peaceful assembly is also recognized respectively under Articles 10 and 11 of the ACHPR.⁴⁵ Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights further

states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association."⁴⁶

Restrictions on these human rights may also detrimentally impact on other human rights, notably the rights to freedom of expression and to take part in public affairs, protected by articles 19 and 25 of the ICCPR⁴⁷ and article 9 and 13 of the ACHPR,⁴⁸ respectively.

In his reports, the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association has formulated a number of best practices which states should follow in order to promote and protect these rights. Regarding restrictions on these rights, the Special Rapporteur notes that "freedom is to be considered the rule and its restriction the exception."⁴⁹

In order to realize this principle, states should ensure that any administrative or bureaucratic requirements imposed on the exercise of these rights are no more than is strictly required to meet a legitimate aim.

Specifically, the Special Rapporteur notes that "the exercise of fundamental freedoms should not be subject to previous authorization by the authorities."⁵⁰ Accordingly "notification should only be required for large assemblies where a certain degree of disruption is anticipated."⁵¹

Any requirement for notification prior to the exercise of the right to peaceful assembly should contain an exception for assemblies which are spontaneous in nature. Failure to comply with notification requirements should not automatically result in dissolution of an assembly. Organizers should not be subject to fines or imprisonment as a result of the failure to adhere to notification requirements, or as a result of the unlawful conduct of others.⁵²

The Special Rapporteur has also urged that notification procedures for the formation of associations are "simple, non-onerous or even free of charge," and are also the most compliant with international human rights law.⁵³ States are obliged to respect the independence and privacy of associations, including by refraining from interfering with the right of associations to determine their own structures and make their own decisions. In this regard, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights has found a violation of the right to freedom of association where a state attempted to replace a bar association with a new governing body made up mostly of state-appointees.⁵⁴

Furthermore, "any restriction imposed on the nature or content of the message the organizers and participants want to convey, especially in relation to criticism of Government policies, should be proscribed, unless the message constitutes "incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence", in conformity with article 20 of the Covenant."⁵⁵ Even if restrictions ostensibly serve a legitimate aim, they may also be unlawful if they are overly broad or vague or grant undue discretion to authorities in charge of granting or denying permission.⁵⁶

RESTRICTIONS TO FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY

Freedom of peaceful assembly and association in Burundi is being regularly obstructed by the authorities. The Law on Public Gatherings has allowed the authorities to arbitrarily prevent meetings from taking place in violation of human rights standards. Spontaneous public gatherings are not permitted in Burundi. Decisions made by the authorities to prevent meetings, whose stated aims are peaceful and legitimate, are often arbitrary and employ an excessively broad reading of the Law on Public Gatherings.

BURUNDIAN BAR ASSOCIATION MEETINGS PREVENTED

The Burundian Bar Association was prevented from holding its General Assembly on 4 February 2014 at the White Stone Building in Bujumbura by the police, acting under the orders of the Mayor of Bujumbura. The police verbally informed the participants that the Mayor required them to provide proof of authorisation that the meeting could go ahead.⁵⁷ The Burundian Bar Association's position on the matter was that they did not require authorisation because the meeting was neither public nor a demonstration.

On 13 February 2014, the Burundian Bar Association informed the Mayor of Bujumbura in writing of a planned training workshop and notified him that members of the National Council of Bar Associations of France (*Conseil National des Barreaux de France*) would be participating. The two bodies had jointly organized a training session on "Ontology and the procedure for international transport" (*l'ontologie et la procédure du transport international*).

The police prevented the workshop from going ahead on 18 February 2014. The Head of the Burundian Bar Association (*Bâtonnier*) told Amnesty International that "the Mayor again sent the police to stop the meeting. They prevented us from entering the room to begin the workshop."⁵⁸

The Burundian Bar Association told Amnesty International that they wrote to the authorities out of courtesy; but that the Law on Public Gatherings should not have been invoked. Individuals are not legally required to apply for official approval of private meetings and individuals are not expected to apply for permission. The Law on Public Gatherings says that the only time the organizers of a private meeting need to inform the local authorities is for the holding of a congress of a political party or a General Assembly of a non-profit organization. The Mayor of Bujumbura, Saidi Juma, disagreed with the Burundian Bar Association's interpretation of the scope of the Law on Public Gatherings, and told Amnesty International that it was stipulated.⁵⁹

Article 3 of the Law on Public Gatherings includes broad definitions of what constitutes a public meeting.⁶⁰ The Mayor of Bujumbura said it is imperative that all people who want to hold meetings ask for authorisation. He added that the Burundian Bar Association had tried

to hold the meeting by force, despite evidence that no force was used by either side.

Amnesty International considers that the Law on Public Gatherings should not have been applied to private meetings set up by the Burundian Bar Association, that the decision was arbitrary and that the language around what constitutes public meetings in the Law on Public Gatherings is excessively broad. Under international human rights law and standards governing the right to freedom of peaceful assembly, no requirements of notification or authorisation should apply to private meetings.

The Burundian Bar Association explained to Amnesty International that the two meetings cited above were prevented as part of a broader pattern of government harassment and interference into its operations. The Burundian Bar Association has reported that the Burundian authorities have established another Bar Association, known as the “Gitega Bar” (*barreau de Gitega*),⁶¹ which is comprised of lawyers who may be more willing to tolerate political interference into legal affairs.

In October 2013, the Prosecutor General of the Appeals Court (*Procureur Général près la Cour d'Appel*) demanded the dismissal of the Head of the Burundian Bar Association (*Bâtonnier*), Isidore Rufyikiri, following comments he made in a press conference, some of which were linked to the proposed amendments to the Constitution. A court case was also brought against Isidore Rufyikiri in relation to alleged embezzlement of NGO funds. The case was heard in January 2014, but was adjourned and was pending at the time of writing. Isidore Rufyikiri told Amnesty International that he has been subject to travel restrictions and is unable to leave the country.⁶²

THE “JUSTICE FOR ERNEST MANIRUMVA” CAMPAIGN OBSTRUCTED

On 9 April 2014, a march organised by civil society organizations to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the killing of anti-corruption activist Ernest Manirumva was prevented from going ahead by the authorities. This was the latest act in a pattern of harassment of civil society members working for the “Justice for Ernest Manirumva Campaign”, including arbitrary judicial summons for questioning, official intimidation and anonymous phone threats.⁶³ The “Justice for Ernest Manirumva Campaign” has repeatedly called for full judicial investigations into allegations that senior figures within the Burundian security services were involved in Manirumva’s killing.

Ernest Manirumva was the vice president of the Anti-corruption and Economic Malpractice Observatory (*Observatoire de lutte contre la corruption et les malversations économiques*, OLUCOME). He was investigating several sensitive cases including allegations of large-scale police corruption and illegal weapons purchases when he was murdered on 9 April 2009.

Amnesty International considers that the Burundian authorities have failed to deliver justice in this case.⁶⁴ A trial which started in July 2010 and concluded in January 2013, did not fully address the allegations that senior figures within the security services were implicated in the killing.⁶⁵ An appeal against the decision of the lower court is pending at the Supreme Court. The court is expected to rule on whether the case should be sent back to lower level courts for re-trial.

The “Justice for Ernest Manirumva” campaign has maintained that the judicial authorities have repeatedly ignored calls to consider important leads and recommendations by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which assisted in investigations, and a commission of inquiry established by the Burundian authorities.⁶⁶

On 9 April 2014, the Supreme Court fixed the appeal hearing by the civil party⁶⁷ on the same day as the anniversary of Manirumva’s murder. On 2 April 2014, OLUCOME informed the authorities in writing that they intended to hold a peaceful march on 9 April 2014, in strict accordance with the law.⁶⁸

On 4 April 2014, the Mayor of Bujumbura refused OLUCOME’s notification to march because the Prosecutor General had that day, in a press conference, denounced the attitude of certain civil society organisations to “disorientate justice”.⁶⁹ Around the same time, a preliminary note⁷⁰ was issued by the Prosecutor General, which did not acknowledge the concerns around the case repeatedly raised by civil society and the civil party. The note instead stated that the prosecution was in the process of making use of certain pieces of incriminating evidence which allegedly linked certain people, including the President of OLUCOME, Gabriel Rufyiri, to the murder of Ernest Manirumva. It further stated that the prosecution deplored the attitude of certain civil society organisations who, it said, were intending to “disorientate justice” and pointed to Gabriel Rufyiri’s alleged involvement in the killing.

On 8 April 2014, Burundian civil society groups jointly wrote to the Minister of the Interior to contest the decision to prevent their march.⁷¹ In the letter, they questioned the legal basis for the prevention of the march, including the Mayor’s capacity to prohibit demonstrations. The letter pointed to the fact that restrictions can only be put in place if public order demands it, including to prevent violence or ethnic hatred.

Civil society groups were forced to limit their commemoration activities on 9 April 2014. They met outside the headquarters of a local organisation, and a convoy of cars drove to the grave of Ernest Manirumva, where participants marked the anniversary of his death by singing songs and making speeches in his remembrance.

In response to concerns raised by Amnesty International that the march was arbitrarily obstructed by the authorities, the Interior Minister said that it was inappropriate to hold a march when the trial of those suspected of the killing of Ernest Manirumva had not yet been completed.⁷² He also stated that it was inappropriate for Gabriel Rufyiri to organize a demonstration, when he was a suspect in the killing and under investigation by the Prosecutor General.⁷³

The Mayor of Bujumbura referred to the Prosecutor General’s statement saying it was not important to organise the march. He told Amnesty International that there was a difference of opinion amongst the Burundian population, and this difference of opinion could create disorder.⁷⁴ Amnesty International asked if he thought that the intention of civil society was to march peacefully. The Mayor said that even if civil society marched peacefully, he would not only have to manage the participants from civil society, but also other groups within the population who could attend and cause problems, to which the administration would have to respond. He said that the principle of demonstrating was a good thing, but that all activities

are influenced by politics, and demonstrations often lead to insecurity. During the meeting with the Mayor, Amnesty International expressed concern that a march, whose aims were peaceful and legitimate, had been obstructed and therefore constituted a violation of freedom of assembly, arguing that the “Justice for Ernest Manirumva” campaign must be granted the space to undertake advocacy.

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDER, PIERRE CLAVER MBONIMPA DETAINED

Pierre Claver Mbonimpa, the President of the local human rights organization, APRODH, and an internationally renowned human rights defender,⁷⁵ was arrested around midnight on 15 May 2014.⁷⁶

He was arrested following comments he made on the radio on 6 May 2014 that young men were receiving arms, uniforms and travelling to the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo for military training. He was charged with threatening state security and using false documents.⁷⁷ Prior to his arrest, Pierre Claver Mbonimpa has been repeatedly harassed, intimidated and subject to judicial summons in relation to his work on sensitive issues, including violations by state security services.⁷⁸

UNIVERSITY MEETING PROHIBITED

Youth members of the MSD party planned a meeting on 1 March 2014 at a local centre in the commune of Gihosha, Bujumbura, to discuss the proposed amendments to the Constitution. The meeting organisers invited a professor to host the discussion, entitled “Together for the promotion of Democracy” (*Ensemble pour la promotion de la démocratie*).

The event organizers wrote to the communal administrator on 25 February 2014 informing him of their intention to hold the meeting at a local centre in Gihosha. The communal administrator responded on 27 February 2014,⁷⁹ requesting that they delay the meeting because administrative activities were planned on that date. The communal administrator did not elaborate on what these administrative activities were, and did not respond to a further request by the party spokesperson for the administration to suggest alternative dates when they could host the meeting.

The organisers decided to cancel the proposed meeting, but observed that on the scheduled date, the room at the centre remained unused, and there was no evidence of any administrative activities that would have prevented the group from using the room.⁸⁰

The MSD party reported that 14 political party meetings⁸¹ were not granted authorization by the authorities between 12 October 2013 and 13 March 2014.⁸²

PRESS FREEDOM DAY MARCH PROHIBITED

A demonstration organized by journalists for 29 April 2014, to mark International Day of the Press on 3 May, was prevented from going ahead by the Burundian authorities.

Under the orders of the Mayor of Bujumbura, a large group of police prevented the march from going ahead at Independence Square (*Place de l'Indépendance*). Journalists were planning to meet at the Square before marching to the Press House (*Maison de la Presse*) where they were to open official activities to celebrate press freedom.

One of the marchers stated that some police ordered them to remove t-shirts with press freedom logos designed for the march. He told Amnesty International that the marchers made their way to the Press House individually but not as part of an organized march.

In a letter, the Mayor of Bujumbura said he prevented the march from going ahead because it did not comply with the Law on Public Gatherings, without specifying why.⁸³ The Director General (*Directeur Général*) of the Minister of Communication told the press that there had been a misunderstanding and confusion around the letter addressed to the Mayor by the Union of Burundian Journalists.⁸⁴

In a letter to the Mayor of Bujumbura, dated 25 April 2014, the Union of Burundian Journalists informed the authorities about their intention to march to promote press freedom and the planned series of activities that had been organized with the Minister of Communication. The letter also requested the Mayor make all necessary arrangements for the police to ensure security for the demonstration. It provided details of the march including the schedule, and the proposed route.⁸⁵

Amnesty International considers that the decision to obstruct the march was arbitrary and the organizers' intent was to mark press freedom in a peaceful and legitimate way.

THE UPRONA CRISIS, OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE AND TATIEN SIBOMANA'S ARREST

The actions of the Minister of the Interior, who has official responsibility for political parties, has effectively resulted in the creation of a satellite UPRONA party, constituting excessive interference in the workings of political parties.

UPRONA, a party comprised primarily of members from the Tutsi ethnic minority, was critical of the proposed constitutional amendments, the suggestion of a third term for President Nkurunziza and the work of the National Commission on Land and Other Assets (*Commission Nationale des Terres et Autres Biens*, CNTB) in resolving land disputes, which UPRONA officials claim makes unfair decisions on ethno-political grounds.⁸⁶

The CNDD-FDD has sought to undermine and disempower other political opposition parties, including the Front for Democracy in Burundi (*Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi*, FRODEBU), the FNL and the Union for Peace and Development, (*Union pour la paix et le développement*, UPD) by supporting members who are willing to work in a more compliant way with the CNDD-FDD.⁸⁷ Today, certain parties are split into factions,⁸⁸ divided by their

opposition to, or support for, the CNDD-FDD. Only those factions in support of the CNDD-FDD are officially recognized by the government.

A political crisis involving UPRONA, which had been brewing for some time, erupted in February 2014, when the Interior Minister, Edouard Nduwimana, forced out party chairman Charles Nditije,⁸⁹ declaring that Concilie Nibigira, a former minister and known CNDD-FDD sympathiser, would be the only recognized leader of the party. A new central committee to govern UPRONA was also put in place. The First Vice-President of Burundi, Bernard Busokoza (of UPRONA), challenged the interference in a letter to the Interior Minister.⁹⁰ He was subsequently removed by President Nkurunziza because he could not, according to an official decree, tell the difference between his duties as Vice-President and those as an UPRONA representative.⁹¹ Three UPRONA ministers quit the government in protest following Bernard Busokoza's removal.

The UPRONA party split between those recognising Concilie Nibigira as their leader and those recognising Charles Nditije. The Interior Minister considers Concilie Nibigira to be the leader of the UPRONA party and her supporters as the recognised UPRONA political party. The other faction of party members do not, however, recognize Concilie Nibigira as their leader.

On 16 February 2014, those UPRONA party members supporting Charles Nditije⁹² organised a meeting at the party headquarters to conduct fresh elections for the central committee. The Interior Minister stated that the meeting could only be organized by a person designated by the government. UPRONA members protested that the Interior Minister's position was contrary to the statute of UPRONA. The meeting was prevented from going ahead by police acting on orders from the Interior Minister. The participants to the meeting were not allowed to enter the party headquarters, and were dispersed by the police using tear gas. These party members then decided to meet away from the headquarters, in a bar called Chez Gérard. The participating members prepared party resolutions in advance and members provided their signatures in support.

The participants to the meeting signed resolutions confirming Charles Nditije as the party president, requesting party reunification and calling for the former central committee members to be reinstated. They also proposed the suspension of members considered to be sympathetic to the CNDD-FDD.

Police arrived at Chez Gerard to break up the meeting. Many UPRONA members had already left, and other remaining members managed to exit through another door. However, Tatien Sibomana, a party spokesperson, was in the bar and was arrested just after he had begun an interview with *Télévision Renaissance*.

Tatien Sibomana was transferred to the Special Brigade of Research (*Brigade Spéciale de Recherche, BSR*), a police investigations body, after his arrest. He stated that he was initially placed in custody in relation to charges of rebellion, contempt and violence towards the public forces and grievous bodily harm.⁹³ Tatien Sibomana was questioned about the earlier UPRONA meeting at the party headquarters, dispersed by the police, although he had not been there. He was released on 20 February 2014 and the charges against him were dropped.

Amnesty International calls on the Government of Burundi to end excessive interference in the operations of all political parties, including UPRONA, and to allow opposition members to carry out peaceful political activities independently.

FRÉDÉRIC BAMVUGINYUMVIRA: LEGAL AND PROCEDURAL IRREGULARITIES

Amnesty International is concerned that a number of legal and procedural irregularities have occurred in the proceedings against Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira, vice-president of the Sahwanya-FRODEBU party,⁹⁴ which have prevented him from exercising his right to freedom of assembly. Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was arrested on 5 December 2013 and first charged with adultery (this charge was later dropped) and then corruption.⁹⁵

The on-going court case has limited Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira's political activities.⁹⁶ Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira had, prior to his arrest, a reputation of wielding political influence, and was pegged as a possible presidential candidate in the 2015 elections. Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was in the United States of America in October 2013 meeting US officials and Burundians living in the diaspora. ADC-Ikibiri put Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira in charge of organizing a demonstration in Bujumbura on 9 December 2013 against the constitutional amendments.⁹⁷

On 5 December 2013, Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was arrested by two men in Bujumbura around 20:00.⁹⁸ He was with a woman who was a former colleague. The men asked Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira for his identity card and the vehicle documents; the latter were in a document holder which also had 200,000 Burundian francs (US\$127) in it, which Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira stated was given to him by someone for petrol.⁹⁹ The defence has claimed that neither of the men were judicial police officers and that the act of arresting Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira could therefore be in violation of article 31 of the criminal procedural code¹⁰⁰ and article 244 of the penal code.¹⁰¹

Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was driven to the mayor's office, where he was subjected to an irregular interrogation during which he was filmed and photographed. Some of the footage was later circulated on the internet.¹⁰² The interrogation was led by an advisor at the Mayor's office, without the assistance of the judicial police or a lawyer. Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira told Amnesty International that during the interrogation, he was asked to hand over the document holder, with the 200,000 Burundian francs in it, to the person in charge of the interrogation. The footage showing this handover was later used to substantiate claims that Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira tried to bribe the authorities. He was held for four days, and he told Amnesty International that the police commissioner had offered to negotiate his release on the condition that he called off the 9 December 2013 march.¹⁰³

On Monday 9 December 2013, Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was driven to the prosecutor's office where he was questioned in relation to the woman with whom he had been arrested. One charge of adultery was dropped because of a lack of evidence. Under the Burundian penal code, the crime of adultery can only be prosecuted after a complaint from the wife or husband of the victim.¹⁰⁴ No such complaint was filed in this case.¹⁰⁵ Shortly after his arrest, a photograph had also appeared on the internet of Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira supposedly in a hotel room with the woman with whom he was arrested. His lawyers argued

that the photograph is actually composed of two separate photographs: one of Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira at the mayor's office, and another of an unidentified bed.¹⁰⁶

The judicial authorities ordered that he be sent to the Anti-Corruption Court for questioning. Afterwards, he was sent to Mpimba prison in Bujumbura and detained, in relation to the charge of corruption.¹⁰⁷

Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira's lawyers have complained to the court that prosecution witnesses have not been presented for cross-examination. They have also said that the court failed to examine allegations that immediately after Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira's arrest, one of the officers asked for money, or the alleged proposal to negotiate his release provided he call off the December 9 2013 march.¹⁰⁸

Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was denied bail and remained in custody until 20 March 2014 when he was released on medical grounds. At the time of writing, the casefile was still open at the Anti-Corruption Court.

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE IMBONERAKURE

The CNDD-FDD's youth wing, the *Imbonerakure*, are regularly implicated in abuses of human rights, including beatings, intimidation and the obstruction of political party meetings.¹⁰⁹ The *Imbonerakure* have also been linked to unlawful killings between 2012 and 2014.¹¹⁰

The word *Imbonerakure* means "those that see far". The youth wing is comprised primarily of men aged between 18 and 35, many of them demobilized soldiers. The *Imbonerakure* operate and maintain control over security at a local level,¹¹¹ often working with the police and administration.¹¹² Members of the *Imbonerakure* exercise and train together, singing CNDD-FDD songs.

The *Imbonerakure* carry out night patrols, during which they have harassed, intimidated, beaten, abducted and arbitrarily detained people. One individual told Amnesty International: "The *Imbonerakure* carry out patrols at night. When they find someone, they question him. Sometimes they beat people and ask for money. At night, they control the town. They stop people and drive them to the police. They hand them over to be put in the police cells."¹¹³ Some police and military agents have even been threatened or beaten by the *Imbonerakure*.¹¹⁴

One human rights defender living outside the capital said: "the problem is the network of *Imbonerakure*. It is difficult to manage. They have more strength than the police. If the police catch a thief, but the *Imbonerakure* intervene and he is released, it is because the police are scared. If police officers work badly with the *Imbonerakure*, they are transferred to another area of the country to work."¹¹⁵

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Burundi confirmed to Amnesty International that as of 15 May, 41 out of 56 alleged human rights abuses recorded by their office from 1 January 2014 showed indications of being related to political activities.¹¹⁶

Amnesty International found that human rights abuses perpetrated by the *Imbonerakure* were indeed often politically motivated and directed against political opponents, sometimes referred to as *Ibipinga* (a Kirundi word often used to mean *those who are against us*; the spelling of which changes to *Igipinga* in the singular).¹¹⁷ The *Imbonerakure*, sometimes supported by the local administration and the police, have also unlawfully obstructed individuals from attending or holding political meetings, or waited for individuals returning from meetings in order to threaten, intimidate or beat them. The *Imbonerakure* have also prevented opposition parties from putting up flags or prevented rival political parties from opening or accessing their party offices, and intimidated opposition party members with a view to forcing them to switch allegiance to the CNDD-FDD.

One member of the CNDD-FDD party told Amnesty International how he had changed political parties: "I am a member of the CNDD-FDD, quite simply...Even if I am a member of

the CNDD-FDD, it is because I am scared. Before, I was a member of FRODEBU-Nyakuri, but I agreed to be a member of the CNDD-FDD so as not to be killed.”¹¹⁸

Threatening comments which may amount to incitement to violence have been made in the past by certain members of the *Imbonerakure*. On 12 May 2013, Fidèle Nsengumukiza, member of the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary General of the Association of Motorcyclists in Burundi (Membre du Conseil Économique et Social, et secrétaire général de l'Association des Motards du Burundi), made inflammatory comments on Public African Radio (*Radio Publique Africaine*, RPA). He was quoted as saying: “in politics, we do not kill, but take out the obstacles.”¹¹⁹ Furthermore, he said he was ready “to mobilize the youth of the CNDD-FDD to say no to the Arusha Accords before the elections of 2015.”¹²⁰ He told listeners that “no-one will go the Hague” inferring that *Imbonerakure* members could not be referred to the International Criminal Court for human rights violations. On 14 May 2013, he was arrested and detained by the National Intelligence Services (*Service National de Renseignement*, SNR). He was subsequently transferred to Mpimba Central Prison, but was later released without charge.¹²¹

MARANGARA: MSD MEMBERS HARASSED AND BEATEN

A group of *Imbonerakure* beat up four members of the MSD party on 16 February 2014 in the commune of Marangara, Ngozi Province.¹²² The *chef de zone* (a local administrative official) participated in the attack.¹²³

The four MSD party members had earlier tried to put up the party flag, and were seated outside their headquarters when a large group of *Imbonerakure*, armed with clubs, arrived.

The attackers were carrying a radio which was, according to one of the victims, broadcasting intimidating slogans. One of the *Imbonerakure* poured beer over the head of one of the MSD party members, before the rest of the group started beating them. The MSD party members tried to escape into the headquarters.

The *chef de zone* was present during the attack.¹²⁴ One of the MSD party members asked him to calm the situation down, but the *chef de zone* took the man by the hand and pushed him towards the group of *Imbonerakure*. The group of *Imbonerakure* forced him onto a bench and beat him badly with clubs.

Members of the public were able to stop the attack. They intervened to calm the situation down and requested the attackers allow the MSD party members to receive medical attention. The victims told Amnesty International that the police were nearby, and knew about the attack, but did not intervene.

One of the MSD party members filed a complaint with the judicial police, who issued summons to some of the attackers, but the papers were not signed and no-one turned up. No arrests were made following the attack. One of the MSD party members who was beaten told Amnesty International that he believes that the administration is unwilling to pursue the attackers and bring them to justice because they were *Imbonerakure*.

One MSD party representative told Amnesty International that, in Marangara commune, at least four meetings had been obstructed by the *Imbonerakure*.¹²⁵ Members of the *Imbonerakure* waited at the meeting venue for the participants to arrive and prevented the meeting from going ahead by telling participants it was suspended.

CHRISTIAN MIBURO: HARASSMENT AND BEATING OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION MEMBER

On 1 February 2014, Christian Miburo, a FRODEBU representative, was beaten by the *Imbonerakure* in the Commune of Busoni, Kirundo Province.¹²⁶

Christian Miburo joined FRODEBU after the 2010 elections. His involvement with FRODEBU angered local members of the CNDD-FDD because he was an open member of the opposition. Christian Miburo had been harassed and intimidated on several occasions by members of the *Imbonerakure* and the *chef de colline* (a local administrative official) since joining FRODEBU.¹²⁷

Christian Miburo's manioc fields were destroyed by the *Imbonerakure* on at least two occasions. He complained to the *chef de colline* on one of these occasions, but was informed that there was no legal procedure for *Ibipinga*. He also filed complaints of harassment to the *chef de colline* but was fined instead. He has since given up reporting harassment to the local administration.

In October 2013, a group of *Imbonerakure* came to Christian Miburo's house and threw rocks on the roof of his house for more than half an hour, destroying it. He stayed inside the house for his safety. Christian Miburo reported the attack to the judicial police, who issued five summons to the suspects, but no-one showed up. Christian Miburo then paid a police officer to investigate, but instead the police officer only asked the men to apologize to Christian. The judicial police officer reportedly said that he was unable to investigate the case and referred it to the prosecutor's office. The *Imbonerakure* members ignored the summons from the prosecutor's office, and threatened to kill Christian Miburo if he did not drop the charges. Christian Miburo has since stopped pursuing the matter with the prosecutor because no action was taken in relation to his complaint.

The *chef de colline* has repeatedly asked Christian Miburo to join the CNDD-FDD stating that *Ibipinga* will have to accept the ruling party when the elections take place.

On 1 February 2014, Christian Miburo was beaten by two *Imbonerakure* members while he was walking in Gisagara. They forced him around the back of a house before punching and kicking him. Some of his teeth were knocked out during the attack.

The men told Christian Miburo that they were beating him because he had been intimidating members of the CNDD-FDD party. Following this beating, the two *Imbonerakure* members took Christian Miburo to the *chef de colline* who ordered them to take him to the forest. Instead, the men tied Christian Miburo's arms behind his back, holding the other end of the rope. They forced him to lie down in a water drain and stood guard over him for the rest of the night.

A medical report showed that Christian Miburo suffered trauma, generalized pain, dizziness and had problems breathing as a result of his beating.

Christian Miburo filed a complaint with the prosecutor's office which was under investigation at the time of writing. The prosecutor's office in Ngozi¹²⁸ told Amnesty International that they could not open a case file because there was no evidence to support the allegations. The Prosecutor's Office denied that the attack was politically motivated and claimed instead that Christian had been beaten by his son.

ANANIAS NSABAGANWA: POLITICALLY MOTIVATED KILLING OF AN OPPOSITION MEMBER

On the morning of 14 March 2014, Ananias Nsabaganwa, a FRODEBU member was visited at his home in the Commune of Busoni, Kirundo Province by the local *chef de colline*, the deputy *chef de zone*, three members of the *Imbonerakure* (including the head of Nyagisozi zone) and two soldiers.¹²⁹ The party were visiting on the grounds that they were fundraising from residents for the construction of a cemetery. They stated that they were demanding 1,600 Burundian francs (US\$ 1) from residents, but this amount was increased to 3,000 Burundian francs (just under US\$ 2) if residents delayed making their payment to the local administrative authorities.

The group first searched for Ananias Nsabaganwa at the house of his first wife but were unsuccessful. They found him when they went to his second wife's home. Ananias Nsabaganwa had just returned from working in the fields.

Ananias Nsabaganwa got into an argument with the group when he was unable to make his contribution for lack of funds. This argument escalated into physical violence when the soldiers, acting on the orders of the *chef de colline*, grabbed Ananias Nsabaganwa and tried to force him to pay up. They beat Ananias Nsabaganwa, who fought back in self-defence. One soldier then shot him on the orders of the *chef de colline* and one of the *Imbonerakure* members.¹³⁰ Ananias Nsabaganwa died shortly after.

The group fled shortly afterwards having attracted the attention of the local population.

All of the suspects were arrested by the judicial police after the attack. The two soldiers were charged in relation to the killing. However, the *chef de colline*, and the other suspects including members of the *Imbonerakure*, were released without charge. On 13 April 2014, the CNDD-FDD communal representative said at a party meeting that the *chef de colline*, as well as the other suspects, could all return to their jobs.

Ananias Nsabaganwa may have been killed as a result of statements by a CNDD-FDD representative amounting to incitement to violence. One man told Amnesty International that a few days before the killing, on 9 March 2014, the CNDD-FDD communal representative publically stated at a CNDD-FDD meeting that there would no longer be any *ibipinga* on the hills of Nyabisiga and Ruheha.¹³¹ The same communal representative publicly told members of the party afterwards that the death of Ananias Nsabaganwa was fair because the victim was an *igipinga*.¹³²

Amnesty International raised concerns about the case with the prosecutor's office, who told the organisation that the casefile was following its normal course, that the two perpetrators were apprehended and that the case was before the court, awaiting a trial date.¹³³ He said that the shooting had been the result of a fight between the soldiers and the victim. He told Amnesty International that the soldiers had reacted badly after the victim had chosen to fight with them. Amnesty International calls on the Burundian authorities to provide the soldiers with a fair trial that complies with international standards, but to also fully investigate all leads implicating other suspects in the killing.

THE IMBONERAKURE AS PART OF THE STATE APPARATUS

In meetings with Amnesty International, government officials confirmed that the *Imbonerakure* are linked to the state apparatus, including the police and local administration. The *Imbonerakure* receive official support from the local and communal administration and provincial governors, most of whom are CNDD-FDD. The President of the *Imbonerakure*, Denis Karera, and the Interior Minister, Edouard Nduwimana informed Amnesty International that the *Imbonerakure* are part of mixed security committees (*comités mixtes de sécurité*) whose purpose is to oversee and report on security at the local level. A National Security Council statement of 14 March 2014 shows that the government is establishing and operationalising these mixed security committees around the country in advance of the 2015 elections.¹³⁴ The mixed security committees were put in place by a joint decree¹³⁵ by the Interior Minister and the Minister for Public Security. The Minister of the Interior told Amnesty International that they are comprised of representatives of religious groups, political parties and the local administration, including communal administrators.¹³⁶

Political analysts, civil society actors and some members of the political opposition share Amnesty International's serious concerns about the political implications of the *Imbonerakure*'s links with government, and their role in the upcoming elections, which could be a catalyst for political violence. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has voiced concern that political parties may respond with violence in the build-up to the 2015 elections.

Amnesty International is concerned that the *Imbonerakure* are perpetrating human rights abuses with impunity, and that the state apparatus is complicit in guaranteeing this impunity. Amnesty International is aware of a high number of allegations of human rights abuses brought against the *Imbonerakure*, and is concerned that the number of investigations into these allegations, as well as prosecutions, is disproportionately low. At the same time, the *Imbonerakure* have arbitrarily arrested individuals, with or without the involvement of the local administration or the police and, in some cases, the group exerts command and control over the local administration and the police.

Amnesty International has received reports of interference into judicial proceedings by local administration enabling the *Imbonerakure* to evade justice. Amnesty International has documented cases where individuals aligned to the *Imbonerakure* have avoided prosecution following interventions by the state.

GOVERNMENT OF BURUNDI POSITION ON THE IMBONERAKURE

President Nkurunziza held a closed door meeting with leaders of the *Imbonerakure* in Ngozi on 19 April 2014. Certain media reports suggested that President Nkurunziza spoke about the *Imbonerakure*'s behaviour, but without indicating whether or not he condemned their actions.¹³⁷ The presidential spokesperson said that President Nkurunziza participated in the meeting in his capacity as President of the Council of the Wise (*Conseil des sages*), a senior body within the CNDD-FDD party.

Amnesty International has raised concerns with the authorities that the *Imbonerakure* are committing human rights abuses and taking over the role of security services in Burundi.

In a meeting with Amnesty International on 21 April 2014, the Interior minister confirmed that the *Imbonerakure* formed part of a national strategy on security, but asserted that Burundian law applied to everyone irrespective of their political affiliation. He complained that reported crimes committed in Burundi were now being falsely attributed to the *Imbonerakure* and that these accusations were politically motivated. He denied allegations that political opposition members were being deliberately intimidated, and said that this assertion was also politically motivated. When Amnesty International raised concerns that the *Imbonerakure* appeared to enjoy impunity and that those suspected of abuses were being released, he said that 80 percent of legal dossiers being dealt with by the prosecutor's office involved individuals who were outside of detention.

Amnesty International held meetings with Denis Karera, the President of the *Imbonerakure*, on 4 June 2013 and on 17 April 2014 to discuss the allegations of human rights abuses made against the group. In 2013, Denis Karera informed Amnesty International that these allegations "were not the reality" and that acts of intimidation and violence committed by the *Imbonerakure* were "isolated."

On 17 April 2014, Denis Karera told Amnesty International that he had heard about stories of "fighting". He attributed certain behaviour, including "fighting" and the carrying out of night patrols, to the fact that some *Imbonerakure* were demobilized soldiers. He stated that "we are not angels". Denis Karera also confirmed that *Imbonerakure* were operating as part of security committees, or mixed committees, with links to the police, which were set up to provide security to the local population, and therefore operating to uphold the law.

During both meetings with Amnesty International, Denis Karera reiterated that every Burundian youth must respect the law. He said that allegations of abuse, including reports of politically motivated attacks by the *Imbonerakure*, were made by opposition party members as part of a deliberate strategy to tarnish the reputation of the *Imbonerakure*. On 17 April 2014, Denis Karera stated that journalists investigating acts of violence mistakenly attribute these to the *Imbonerakure*; he claimed that the perpetrators were often over the age of 35 and therefore did not officially belong to the *Imbonerakure*. He questioned Amnesty International's research methodology which did not, he said, effectively scrutinize reports from political opposition members. Amnesty International replied that the organization's research methodology is based on gathering information from multiple sources and employing rigorous cross-checking before presenting any findings to government officials.

THE ROLE OF OTHER POLITICALLY ALIGNED YOUTH GROUPS

Other political parties also have active youth groups, some of whom have engaged in acts of violence; but politically motivated human rights abuses recorded in 2013 and 2014 are linked to the *Imbonerakure*.

Leonce Ngendakumana, leader of ADC-Ikibiri and president of Sahwanya-FRODEBU party, and Alexis Sinduhije, president of the MSD party have made statements calling on their youth wings to defend themselves against attacks by the *Imbonerakure*.¹³⁸ Clashes, or fights, involving large groups of *Imbonerakure* and the youth wings of other political parties, including MSD and FRODEBU, have taken place. The MSD youth and the *Imbonerakure* have engaged in violent clashes in Bubanza during November 2013 and again in Gitega during February 2014. During both clashes, MSD members were arrested and remained in detention without trial often for a period of weeks or months; whereas *Imbonerakure* members were only held for a short period before being released without charge.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS

On 3 April 2014, an internal cable, entitled *Reports of alleged distribution of weapons to the Imbonerakure* was sent to the United Nations headquarters in New York from the UN Office in Burundi. It was leaked shortly afterwards. The cable contained allegations that weapons, as well as military and police uniforms, had been distributed by two army generals to the *Imbonerakure* and demobilised soldiers in Rumonge, Bururi Province.¹³⁹

The government spokesperson vehemently denied “the absurdity of all these allegations seeking to tarnish the image of the country,”¹⁴⁰ pointing to the political opposition as the source of the information. Other high ranking government officials, including the two vice-presidents, the Minister of Public Security and the chairman of the CNDD-FDD, denied the allegations in the press.¹⁴¹ The government also dismissed the suggestion of Adama Dieng, the UN Secretary-General’s Special Adviser for the Prevention of Genocide, to establish an independent investigation commission into the allegations. Public Security Minister Gabriel Nizigama stated: “...it is not yet time to call for assistance to carry out investigations over this information. Defence and security bodies are capable of moving forward.”¹⁴²

In a briefing to the Security Council on 8 April 2014, Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs Jeffrey Feltman drew attention to the restrictions on political rights and freedoms and “troubling” information on *Imbonerakure* violence, including reports about efforts to arm and train the youth wing.¹⁴³ UN spokesperson, Stéphane Dujarric, told reporters on 10 April 2014 that “those responsible for manipulating the youth affiliated to political parties and instigating violence would be liable for international prosecution.”¹⁴⁴

Amnesty International calls on the Burundian authorities to conduct a full, independent and impartial investigation into the alleged distribution of arms, ensuring that the findings of such an investigation are made public and that any members of the security services implicated are suspended pending judicial proceedings in a trial which complies with international standards.

LEGISLATION THREATENING FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

A Press Law, promulgated in June 2013, provides scope for official restriction of press activities and freedom of expression. The law stipulates that journalists can be required by the authorities to reveal their sources of information, on a number of issues from public order to state security. A challenge to the press law is currently being heard by the East African Court of Justice based on a complaint lodged by the Union of Burundian Journalists.¹⁴⁵

The draft Law on Non-profit Organizations (*Associations Sans But Lucratif*), which is yet to be tabled in parliament, could increase control of the authorities over civil society organizations and limit their operations. Amnesty International is concerned that this draft law could be used to repress work on sensitive human rights issues or suppress civil society investigations into corruption allegations involving state actors. The draft allows the Interior Minister to have potentially excessive control of the registration process for non-profit organizations, which would be increased to an annual basis. The Interior Minister would have decision-making authority over the nomination of legal representatives (leaders) of civil society organizations. This could lead to excessive official interference in the functioning and structure of civil society organizations. The law also states that organizations registered under other laws, such as religious groups or trade unions, would not be allowed to form part of any coalition or collective established by a non-profit organization, arbitrarily restricting certain broad civil society structures currently in operation in Burundi.

THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

On 26 February 2014, Diarra Boubacar, African Union representative for the Great Lakes Region, and Mudibo Touré, special advisor to Mary Robison (the former UNSG Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region) publically called for increased political dialogue within the framework of the Arusha Accord.¹⁴⁶ On 5 May 2014, the Minister of External Relations and International Cooperation, Laurent Kavakure, met with the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, to continue discussions about the political situation in the build-up to the 2015 elections.¹⁴⁷

On 7 March 2014, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay expressed concern over “increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of the 2015 elections...following a series of violent acts by the ruling party’s youth wing and the disruption of public meetings organised by opposition parties.”¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, she stated: “These violent acts threaten to have a negative impact on the exercise of political rights and freedoms in Burundi, and there is real risk that opposition youth groups may start to retaliate, creating a dangerous downward spiral of violence”.¹⁴⁹

From the United States, statements in relation to on-going political concerns were made by both Russ Feingold, Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Samantha Power, the US Representative to the United Nations,¹⁵⁰ during state visits to Burundi in February and April 2014 respectively.

After the events of 8 March described above, strong statements were issued by the United Nations. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon urged both the government and political parties to de-escalate tensions and to campaign against political violence ahead of the 2015 elections. The message again reiterated concerns over “growing restrictions on the freedom of expression, association and assembly, especially the prohibition and disruption of opposition meetings by the police and the youth wing of the ruling party”.¹⁵¹ A few days later, the United Nations Office in Burundi (BNUB) called for constructive political dialogue in a communiqué and “noted political tension in Burundi and a radicalization of positions that are likely to lead to an outright confrontation, as illustrated by recent events.”¹⁵² BNUB called for “all Burundian political leaders and their supporters to show moderation and avoid expressing demands that could exacerbate tensions and violence.”¹⁵³ Baroness Ashton, European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, also issued a statement expressing concern around “a growing number of incidents and acts of intimidation which run counter to freedom of expression, freedom of association and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.”¹⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

A worryingly authoritarian drift has emerged in Burundi in 2014. Critical voices, including opposition members, civil society activists, lawyers and journalists are increasingly restricted as the pre-electoral period approaches. Meetings and marches, with legitimate aims, are not being allowed to take place. The Law on Public Gatherings is being applied by the Burundian authorities arbitrarily and is preventing Burundians from sharing ideas, opinions and beliefs in line with their rights to expression, association and peaceful assembly. The Press Law and the Law on Non-profit Organizations are further tools for potential state repression. The space for freedom of expression is at risk.

The *Imbonerakure* are a threat to the political opposition. Amnesty International is concerned that the violations to the rights of peaceful assembly and association documented in this report are politically motivated and are occurring within the context of the upcoming elections in 2015. The Burundian authorities must call on all state actors, including local administrative authorities, to respect and uphold the law, and ensure that there is no impunity for violations. The allegations that military officials have distributed arms to the group are concerning; as is the refusal of the authorities to create a full, credible and independent enquiry.

The situation could further deteriorate if opposition groups decide to retaliate using violence. By granting Burundians the space to speak, meet and discuss political concerns peacefully, the risk of human rights abuses in 2015 could be greatly diminished. Amnesty International calls on the government of Burundi to urgently heed these concerns, and take action to prevent a further deterioration to the human rights situation.

The African Union, member states of the East African Community, the United Nations and donor governments to Burundi should continue to follow the human rights situation closely and increase their engagement with the Government of Burundi to grant political opposition groups, civil society and the media, the space to operate freely and independently whilst holding to account state actors responsible for human rights violations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To the Government of Burundi:

- Ensure respect for individuals' rights to expression, association and peaceful assembly, in line with regional and international obligations by:
 - Allowing civil society groups and opposition parties to organise and hold meetings, public gatherings and demonstrations.
 - Ensuring that opposition party members are not subjected to harassment, intimidation, arbitrary arrest or detention.
 - Ending interference into the functioning and operations of political opposition parties.
 - Ending harassment and intimidation of civil society activists and ensuring that all individuals working to promote and protect human rights receive the full support of the state.
 - Releasing Pierre-Claver Mbonimpa from detention.
- Immediately address impunity for human rights violations committed by state actors and ensure justice is delivered to victims by:
 - Re-issuing clear and public instructions to local officials and the *Imbonerakure* that violence targeting political opposition members will not be tolerated and will result in prosecution.
 - Independently investigating and, where there is sufficient evidence, prosecuting all allegations of human rights abuses linked to the army, police, the *Imbonerakure* and the local administrative authorities.
 - Publicly reiterating that statements inciting violence are not lawful, and that all officials linked to the incitement of violence must be immediately investigated, and where there is sufficient evidence, prosecuted.
 - Conducting a full, independent and impartial investigation into allegations of the distribution of arms in the country, ensuring that the findings of such an investigation are made public.
- Ensure that national legislation, both draft and in force, does not lead to violations of, or threaten, individuals' rights to expression, association and peaceful assembly by:
 - Reviewing and repealing articles of the Law on Public Gatherings and the Press law that unduly restrict freedom of association and peaceful assembly or expression.
 - Ensuring that the draft Law on Non-profit Organizations complies with international standards by ensuring that registration processes, if they exist, are voluntary, simple and non-onerous, and that authorities are not granted excessive powers to interfere in the structure or decision making of non-profit organizations.

To the political opposition:

- Send a strong public message to all members that human rights abuses will not be tolerated, including during the election period, even in retaliation to reports of human rights abuses committed by state actors.
- Publicly commit not to use party youth wings to commit human rights abuses.

To International Actors, including the African Union, member states of the East African Community, the United Nations Office in Burundi, the European Union and other donor governments to Burundi:

- Continue and, where possible, increase the monitoring of the human rights situation in Burundi and make strong and unequivocal statements in response to violations.
 - Push for any election monitors deployed in 2015 to observe human rights abuses in addition to election observation responsibilities.
- Call on the Burundian authorities to ensure respect for individuals' rights to expression, association and peaceful assembly, in line with international human rights standards by:
 - Allowing civil society groups and opposition parties to organise and hold meetings in line with their rights of association and peaceful assembly.
 - Ensuring that opposition party members are not subjected to harassment, intimidation, arbitrary arrest or detention.
 - Ending interference into the functioning and operations of political opposition parties.
 - Ending harassment and intimidation of civil society activists and journalists and ensuring that all individuals working to promote and protect human rights receive the full support of the state.
 - Releasing Pierre-Claver Mbonimpa from detention.
- Call on the Burundian authorities to immediately address impunity for human rights abuses committed by state actors and ensure justice is delivered to the victims by:
 - Re-issuing clear instructions to local officials and the *Imbonerakure* that violence targeting political opposition members will not be tolerated and will result in prosecution.
 - Independently investigating and, where there is sufficient evidence, prosecuting all allegations of human rights abuses linked to the army, police, the *Imbonerakure* and the local administrative authorities.
 - Publicly reiterating that statements inciting violence are not lawful, and that all officials linked to the incitement of violence must be immediately investigated, and where there is sufficient evidence, prosecuted.

- Conducting a full, independent and impartial investigation into allegations of the distribution of arms in the country, ensuring that the findings of such an investigation are made public.
- Call on the Burundian authorities to ensure that national legislation, both draft and in force, does not lead to violations of, or threaten, individuals' rights to expression, association and peaceful assembly by:
 - Reviewing and repealing articles of the Law on Public Gatherings and the Press law that unduly restrict freedom of association and peaceful assembly or expression.
 - Ensuring that the draft Law on Non-profit Organizations complies with international standards by ensuring that registration processes, if they exist, are voluntary, simple and non-onerous, and that authorities are not granted excessive powers to interfere in the structure or decision making of non-profit organizations.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Reports of alleged distribution of weapons to the *Imbonerakure*: <http://bit.ly/1eaYWn6> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ² L'Union Africaine partisan du « respect de la lettre et de l'esprit d'Arusha »: <http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/burundi-ua-respect-esprit-arusha/> [accessed 18 June 2014]
- ³ Burundi: UN chief urges restraint following clashes between police, opposition parties: <http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1822855&language=en-US> [accessed 18 June 2014]
- ⁴ Burundi: Pillay denounces increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of 2015 elections: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14331&LangID=E> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ⁵ Burundi: Pillay denounces increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of 2015 elections: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14331&LangID=E> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ⁶ Framework for the operationalization of the continental early warning system as adopted by governmental experts meeting on early warning and conflict prevention held in Kempton Park (South Africa) from 17 – 19 December 2006: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/early-warning-system-1.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ⁷ Extreme outbursts of violence occurred in 1965, 1972, 1988, 1991 and 1993 onwards. Stef Vandeginste; Transitional Justice for Burundi: A Long and Winding Road: <http://www.peace-justice-conference.info/download/WS10-Vandeginste%20report.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ⁸ Cease-fire agreements were concluded in 2000, 2003 and 2006 and presidential, legislative and communal elections were held in 2005. Ceasefire agreements included:
- 1) the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, 2000: <http://www.issafrica.org/AF/profiles/Burundi/arusha.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014];
 - 2) the Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Burundi and the National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy; Dar es Salaam, 16 November 2013: http://icoaf.org/docs/Burundi/Accord_global_de_cessez-le-feu_16.11.11.pdf [accessed 28 June 2014];
 - 3) the Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Burundi and the Palipehutu-FNL, Dar es Salaam, 7 September 2006: <http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/burundi-coha-07-09-2006.pdf> [accessed 28 June 2014]
- Other statements, declarations and agreements were made until 2009: <http://www.issafrica.org/cdburundipeaceagreements/CDcontents.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ⁹ Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, 2000: <http://www.issafrica.org/AF/profiles/Burundi/arusha.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]
Amnesty International; Burundi: A critical time. A human rights briefing on Burundi. <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR16/002/2004/en/ba54e5cf-d64b-11dd-ab95-a13b602c0642/afr160022004en.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]
- ¹⁰ Comprehensive Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Burundi and the National Council for the Defense of Democracy-Forces for the Defense of Democracy; Dar es Salaam, 16 November 2013:

http://icoaf.org/docs/Burundi/Accord_global_de_cessez-le-feu_16.11.11.pdf

[accessed 27 June 2014]

¹¹ Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, 2000:

<http://www.issafrica.org/AF/profiles/Burundi/arusha.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]

¹² Vandeginste, Stef (2009), Power-Sharing, Conflict and Transition in Burundi: Twenty Years of Trial and Error, in *Africa Spectrum*, 44, 3, 63-86:

http://www.eurac-network.org/web/uploads/documents/20100325_12595.pdf

[accessed 16 June 2014]

¹³ Also refer to proposed constitutional amendments section of this report for further details.

¹⁴ ONUB mandate: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/onub/>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

¹⁵ United Nations Security Council; Resolution 1719 (2006); Adopted by the Security Council at its 5554th meeting, on 25 October 2006:

[http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1719\(2006\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1719(2006))

[accessed 16 June 2014]

¹⁶ Unanimously adopting resolution 2137 (2014), Security Council maintains UN Office in Burundi until year's end ahead of transition to UN country team:

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2014/sc11275.doc.htm>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

¹⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union, Burundi, National Assembly:

<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2049.htm> [accessed 16 June 2014];

Assemblée Nationale, Liste des Députés: <http://www.assemblee.bi/Liste-des-deputes>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

¹⁸ Liste des Sénateurs de la Législature, 2010-2015:

http://www.senat.bi/spip.php?page=histo_senateurs_legislature [accessed 16 June 2014]

Also see composition of the Senate : <http://www.senat.bi/spip.php?article3> [accessed 16 June 2014]

¹⁹ Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa:

<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/old-page/burundi> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁰ Amnesty International Annual Report, Burundi:

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/burundi/report-2011> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²¹ Burundi: Time for change: A human rights review; Amnesty International submission to the UN Universal Periodic Review, January-February 2013:

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR16/003/2012/en/804f68bd-2e0e-487d-b782-d0d2c9fd1e4e/afr160032012en.pdf>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

²² United Nations Office in Burundi statement, Burundi – Elections:

<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?ctl=Details&tabid=2961&mid=5312&ItemID=1167310>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

²³ BNUB congratulates Government and Parliamentarians for the adoption of Burundi new Electoral Code

<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1823089&language=en-US> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁴ BNUB statement, Burundian political actors and parties met for the second time:

<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2980&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1825689&language=en-US> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁵ Communiqué de presse de la réunion du conseil des ministres du mercredi 09 et jeudi octobre 2013: <http://www.presidence.bi/spip.php?article4124> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁶ The Arusha Accord stated, amongst other things, that the President of the Republic shall be assisted by two Vice-Presidents, belonging to different ethnic groups and different

political parties.

Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, 2000; Article 7, the Executive, page 33:

<http://www.issafrica.org/AF/profiles/Burundi/arusha.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]

The Constitution also requires, amongst other things, that the composition of the National Assembly and ministerial positions is 60 percent Hutu and 40 percent Tutsi.

Loi No1/010 du 18 mars 2005 portant promulgation de la Constitution de la République du Burundi: http://icoaf.org/docs/Burundi/Loi_N_1-010_du_18.03.05.pdf [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁷ Projet de loi portant Révision de la Constitution de la République du Burundi: <http://www.arib.info/constitution-burundi-projet-revision-oct2013.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁸ Projet de loi portant Révision de la Constitution de la République du Burundi: <http://www.arib.info/constitution-burundi-projet-revision-oct2013.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]

²⁹ Only 84 votes were made in favour, one vote short of the 85 required (out of a total 106 seats in parliament).

³⁰ Burundi: La Constitution de 2005 sera amendée avant fin mars: <http://burundi-agnews.org/sports-and-games/?p=12532>; [accessed 16 June 2014]
Radio Report, 17 March 2014, Radio Nationale.

³¹ Pierre Nkurunziza veut s'appuyer sur la Cour constitutionnelle pour un 3e mandat: http://www.burunditransparence.org/pierre_cour.html [accessed 16 June 2014]

³² Internal notes, Amnesty International, research mission, April 2014. Information gathered from human rights investigators and the United Nations.

³³ Ordonnance ministérielle N° 530/392 du 14 mars 2014 portant suspension des activités et fermeture des locaux du parti « Mouvement pour la solidarité et la démocratie » : « M.S.D. » en sigle, pour une durée de quatre (4) mois

³⁴ Internal notes, Amnesty International, research mission, April 2014. Information gathered from human rights investigators and the United Nations.

³⁵ Manifestation interdite de l'Union des Femmes Burundaises (video): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5EzuZa14YwQ> [accessed 16 June 2014]

Internal notes, Amnesty International, research mission, April 2014. Information gathered from human rights investigators and the United Nations.

³⁶ Loi No1/ 010 du 18 mars 2005 portant Promulgation de la Constitution de la République du Burundi: "La liberté de réunion et d'association est garantie, de même que le droit de fonder des associations ou organisations conformément à la loi."
http://icoaf.org/docs/Burundi/Loi_N_1-010_du_18.03.05.pdf [accessed 16 June 2014]

³⁷ Article 4 Loi No1/28 du 05 décembre 2013 portant règlementation des manifestations sur la voie publique et réunions publiques: «Sans préjudice des dispositions de l'article 1 de la présente loi, toute réunion publique est soumise à la déclaration préalable. Cette déclaration doit faire connaître l'identité complète des membres du bureau d'organisation, le jour et l'heure de la manifestation, son objet, sa participation prévisible ainsi que l'itinéraire prévu pour le cortège ou le défilé. La déclaration préalable doit être écrite et adressée à l'autorité administrative compétente qui la reçoit contre récépissé. Celle-ci peut décider ou interdire la réunion si le maintien de l'ordre public l'exige absolument. Cette décision doit être dûment motivée.»

<http://www.justice.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/LOI.pdf> [accessed 16 June 2014]

³⁸ Article 3 Loi No1/28 du 05 décembre 2013 portant règlementation des manifestations sur la voie publique et réunions publiques: «Aux termes de la présente loi, est considérée comme

étant de nature à troubler l'ordre public, notamment toute manifestation sur la voie publique ou réunion publique qui risque d'attiser la haine identitaire, provoquer des troubles ou provoquer de la violence.»

<http://www.justice.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/LOI.pdf>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

³⁹ Article 5 Loi No1/28 du 05 décembre 2013 portant réglementation des manifestations sur la voie publique et réunions publiques: « La déclaration préalable écrite doit parvenir à l'autorité compétente au moins quatre jours ouvrables avant la tenue de la réunion.

L'autorité compétente dispose d'un délai de quarante-huit (48) heures ouvrables, pour formuler et adresser en retour, éventuellement, ses observations et recommandations écrites au déclarant avec accusé de réception. Celle-ci peut décider de différer ou interdire la réunion si le maintien de l'ordre public l'exige absolument. Cette décision doit être dûment motivée. Celle-ci est susceptible de recours hiérarchique et devant la Cour Administrative qui y statue selon la procédure d'urgence. »

<http://www.justice.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/LOI.pdf>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁰ Article 6 Loi No1/28 du 05 décembre 2013 portant réglementation des manifestations sur la voie publique et réunions publiques: « Si endéans les quarante-huit (48) heures ouvrables précédant le début de la réunion, l'autorité administrative n'a pas expressément notifié son refus, la réunion est réputée non interdite. »

<http://www.justice.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/LOI.pdf>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴¹United Nations Treaty Collection, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

https://treaties.un.org/pages/viewdetails.aspx?src=treaty&mtdsg_no=iv-4&chapter=4&lang=en

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴² Ratification table: The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights:

<http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/ratification/> [accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴³ Article 22(1); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

<http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> [accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁴ Article 21; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

<http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> [accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁵ Articles 10 and 11; African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights:

<http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/#a11>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁶ Article 20; The Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁷ Article 19 and 25; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

<http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> [accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁸ Articles 9 and 13; African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights:

<http://www.achpr.org/instruments/achpr/#a11>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁴⁹ Para. 47; Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly; 24 April 2013; A/HRC/23/39:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/23/39

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵⁰ Para. 28, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; 21 May 2012; A/HRC/20/27:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/20/27

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵¹ Para. 52; Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly;

24 April 2013; A/HRC/23/39:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/23/39

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵² Paras. 29-31, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; 21 May 2012; A/HRC/20/27:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/20/27

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵³ Para. 57 - 58, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; 21 May 2012; A/HRC/20/27:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/20/27

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵⁴ Para. 64 - 65, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association; 21 May 2012; A/HRC/20/27:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/20/27 [accessed 16 June 2014]

citing Civil Society Organization (in respect of the Nigeria Bar Association)/Nigeria, African Commission of Human and Peoples' Rights (1995), available at:

http://www.achpr.org/files/sessions/17th/comunications/101.93/achpr17_101_93_eng.pdf

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵⁵ Para. 59; Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to freedom of peaceful assembly; 24 April 2013; A/HRC/23/39:

http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/23/39

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵⁶ See, *mutatis mutandis*, Human Rights Committee, General Comment 34, at para. 25 (“a norm, to be characterized as a “law”, must be formulated with sufficient precision to enable an individual to regulate his or her conduct accordingly and it must be made accessible to the public. A law may not confer unfettered discretion for the restriction of freedom of expression on those charged with its execution.”):

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/GC34.pdf>

[accessed 16 June 2014]

⁵⁷ For a report on the day's events, including an interview with the Head of the Burundian Bar Association (*Bâtonnier*), please see: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3P_7wxGLkg

[accessed 17 June 2014]

⁵⁸ Amnesty International interview notes with *Bâtonnier* Gabriel Sinarinzi, Amnesty International, 7 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁵⁹ Meeting between the Mayor of Bujumbura and Amnesty International, Mayor's office (Mairie de Bujumbura); 23 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁶⁰ Article 3 defines public meetings as all temporary gatherings of people, prepared and organized, with a view to exchange opinions, to study or defend ideas and interests in which all citizens freely have access. Loi No1/28 du 05 décembre 2013 portant règlementation des manifestations sur la voie publique et réunions publiques:

<http://www.justice.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/LOI.pdf>

[accessed 17 June 2014]

⁶¹ Amnesty International interview notes with *Bâtonnier* Gabriel Sinarinzi, Amnesty International, 7 April 2014. Also see: Memorandum sur la crise entre l'ordre des avocats du Burundi et le gouvernement du Burundi (held on private file, Amnesty International). On internal file, Amnesty International.

⁶² Amnesty International interview notes with Isidore Ruffyikiri, former *Bâtonnier*; 10 April 2014.

⁶³ Amnesty International: Burundi: Two Years After Activist Slain, Justice Stalled:

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR16/002/2011/en>

[accessed 17 June 2014]

⁶⁴ Amnesty International: Burundi: Two Years After Activist Slain, Justice Stalled: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR16/002/2011/en> [accessed 17 June 2014]

⁶⁵ On 22 May 2012, the Higher Instance Court of Bujumbura sentenced 14 individuals to lengthy prison terms for the murder of Ernest Manirumva. Many Burundian civil society groups consider that the trial failed to investigate and prosecute all the suspected perpetrators of the murder and that the trial did not comply with fair trial standards.

⁶⁶ In October 2009, a third commission of enquiry was established. Its members were active in pursuing the investigation and were seen by civil society groups as having less questionable relationships with members of the security forces than the two previous commissions of enquiry. The government also accepted an offer from the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to provide technical assistance in the investigation. The third commission was more cooperative, allowing FBI agents to help interview, fingerprint, and do DNA testing of suspects. The results of the FBI's forensic assistance have not been made public. The FBI report called on the Burundian government to carry out additional investigations, including questioning and taking DNA samples from individuals cited in the FBI report.

⁶⁷ The civil party is comprised of two complainants: OLUCOME and the family of Ernest Manirumva have pursued legal proceedings.

⁶⁸ Private correspondence from OLUCOME to the Mayor of Bujumbura; Ref 054/SC-OLUCOME/04/2014; 2 April 2014. Objet: Organisation d'une marche pacifique dans le cadre de la commémoration du 5^{ème} anniversaire de l'assassinat d'Ernest Manirumva. On internal file.

⁶⁹ Letter on file, Amnesty International; letter dated 4 April 2014, from Mayor of Bujumbura, Saidi Juma to Gabriel Rufyiri (OLUCOME); letter reference: No 531.171 618/CAB/2014.

⁷⁰ Mot liminaire, Ministère de la Justice, Parquet Général de la République.

⁷¹ Objet: Recours contre la décision du Maire de la Ville de Bujumbura, interdisant une marche pacifique. Letter on file, Amnesty International; dated 8 April 2014, from Gabriel Rufyiri, President of OLUCOME to the Minister of the Interior.

⁷² Meeting between the Interior Minister and Amnesty International, Ministry of the Interior; 21 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁷³ Meeting between the Interior Minister and Amnesty International, Ministry of the Interior; 21 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁷⁴ Meeting between the Mayor of Bujumbura and Amnesty International, Mayor's office (Mairie de Bujumbura); 23 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁷⁵ Pierre-Claver Mbonimpa has received international recognition for his human rights work, including the Martin Ennals Award for Human Rights Defenders in 2007 and the Henry Dunant Prize in 2011.

⁷⁶ Amnesty International, Urgent Action: Burundi: Human rights defender detained: Pierre Claver Mbonimpa: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR16/001/2014/en> [accessed 17 June 2014]

⁷⁷ Correspondence with legal counsel, 5 June 2014. Held on internal file, Amnesty International.

⁷⁸ Amnesty International, Annual Report, 2011; Freedom of expression section: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/burundi/report-2011> [accessed 27 June 2014]

⁷⁹ République du Burundi, Municipalité de Bujumbura, Commune Gihosha, No 531.17/23/2014, Objet: la tenue d'un forum; letter on file, Amnesty International.

⁸⁰ Meeting between Amnesty International and one of the meeting's organizers, April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁸¹ Quelques cas de réunions du Parti MSD interdits par l'administration territoriale; 22 April

2014; on internal file, Amnesty International.

⁸² On 14 March, the MSD party was suspended for four months following the clashes with police on 8 March 2014 and certain statements made publically on the radio by the party's leader, Alexis Sinduhije. Ordonnance ministérielle N° 530/392 du 14 mars 2014 portant suspension des activités et fermeture des locaux du parti « Mouvement pour la solidarité et la démocratie » : « M.S.D. » en sigle, pour une durée de quatre (4) mois.

⁸³ République du Burundi, Municipalité de Bujumbura, Cabinet du Maire, No 531.17/728/CAB/2014. Objet: Réponse à votre lettre. Letter on file, Amnesty International; dated 29 April 2014.

⁸⁴ Comments reported on four radio stations including Radio Nationale, Bonesha FM, Isanganiro and Radio Publique Africaine.

⁸⁵ République du Burundi, Municipalité de Bujumbura, Cabinet du Maire, No 531.17/728/CAB/2014. Objet: Réponse à votre lettre. Letter on file, Amnesty International; dated 29 April 2014.

⁸⁶ Memorandum du parti UPRONA sur la situation qui prévaut au Burundi, 15 April 2014: <http://burundi.news.free.fr/actualites/memorandumuprona2014.pdf> [accessed 18 June 2014]

⁸⁷ Internal notes, Amnesty International, April 2014. Interviews with political opposition members.

International Crisis Group; Burundi: Bye-bye Arusha? Page 12.

[http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/burundi/192-burundi-bye-bye-arusha.ashx](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/central-africa/burundi/192-burundi-bye-bye-arusha.ashx) [accessed 18 June 2014]

⁸⁸ FNL-Miburo and UPD-Zigamibanga are generally perceived as supporting the CNDD-FDD party.

⁸⁹ On 2 July 2014, Charles Nditije was officially removed from the party by Concilie Nibigira.

⁹⁰ Burundi: Destitution du premier vice-président de la République: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/Article/DEPAFP20140202103931/> [accessed 18 June 2014]

⁹¹ Décret No 100/25 du 1 février 2014 portant destitution du premier vice-président de la République: <http://www.presidence.bi/spip.php?article4451> [accessed 18 June 2014]

⁹² Meeting between Tatien Sibomana and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International. Allegations cross-checked with two Burundian human rights defenders and one legal expert.

⁹³ Meeting between Tatien Sibomana and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

⁹⁴ Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira was also Vice-President of Burundi from 1998 to 2001.

⁹⁵ Cabinet Segatwa Fabien; CS/sg : No/1146/2013 ; Bujumbura, le 09/12/2013; Objet : demande de libération de Monsieur Bamvuginyumvira Frédéric ex Vice Président de la République. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁹⁶ Meeting between Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International. Cross-checked with two members of Burundian civil society, one international political analyst and his defence lawyer.

⁹⁷ Meeting between Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁹⁸ Cabinet Segatwa Fabien; CS/sg: No/1146/2013; Bujumbura, le 09/12/2013; Objet : Demande de libération de Monsieur Bamvuginyumvira Frédéric ex Vice Président de la République. Internal notes, on file, Amnesty International.

⁹⁹ Meeting between Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹⁰⁰ Loi No 1/015 — Réforme du code de procédure pénale. <http://www.droit-afrique.com/images/textes/Burundi/Burundi-Code-1999-procedure-penale.pdf>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁰¹ Loi No 1/05 du 22 avril 2009 portant révision de code pénal:

[http://www.icrc.org/ihl-nat/a24d1cf3344e99934125673e00508142/cb9d300d8db9fc37c125707300338af2/\\$FILE/Code%20P%C3%A9nal%20du%20Burundi%20.pdf](http://www.icrc.org/ihl-nat/a24d1cf3344e99934125673e00508142/cb9d300d8db9fc37c125707300338af2/$FILE/Code%20P%C3%A9nal%20du%20Burundi%20.pdf)

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁰² Footage of the interrogation at the Mayor's Office:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i2rzGtKdK5g>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tDhEylH3pZQ>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RvW8vqdlb18>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁰³ Meeting between Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014.

Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹⁰⁴ Loi No 1/05 du 22 avril 2009 portant révision de code pénal: [http://www.icrc.org/ihl-nat/a24d1cf3344e99934125673e00508142/cb9d300d8db9fc37c125707300338af2/\\$FILE/Code%20P%C3%A9nal%20du%20Burundi%20.pdf](http://www.icrc.org/ihl-nat/a24d1cf3344e99934125673e00508142/cb9d300d8db9fc37c125707300338af2/$FILE/Code%20P%C3%A9nal%20du%20Burundi%20.pdf)

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁰⁵ Frédéric Bamvuginyumvira à Mpimba : les raisons avancées :

<http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/frederic-bamvuginyumvira-conduit-a-mpimba/>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁰⁶ Meeting between Segatwa Fabien and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹⁰⁷ Cabinet Segatwa Fabien; CS/sg: No/1146/201 ; Bujumbura, le 09/12/2013; Objet : Demande de libération de Monsieur Bamvuginyumvira Frédéric ex Vice Président de la République. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹⁰⁸ Meeting between Segatwa Fabien and Amnesty International; 16 April 2014. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹⁰⁹ Interviews between Amnesty International and the United Nations, 7 April 2014. Cross-checked with Burundian investigators. Also see UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Jeffrey Feltman Address to the United Nations Security Council on Burundi. April 8th, 2014. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47549> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹¹⁰ Internal notes, Amnesty International, April 2013. Interviews with victims and witnesses in Bubanza, Ngozi and Kirundo. Cross-checked and verified information from interviews with Burundian and international human rights observers.

¹¹¹ The provinces in Burundi are divided into communes, which are further divided into *collines* (hills). The *Imbonerakure* operate at both levels.

¹¹² Human Rights Watch, "You will not have peace while you are living, The Escalation of Political Violence in Burundi; page 18:

http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/burundi0512ForUpload_1.pdf

[accessed 28 June 2014]

Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada; *Burundi: The Imbonerakure, including their profile, activities and ties to the authorities, particularly the police in Bujumbura; whether they are able to locate a person anywhere in the country or to prevent a person from leaving the country (2010-March 2013) [BDI104343.FE]*

http://www.ecoi.net/local_link/260379/373289_en.html [accessed 18 June 2014]

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada; *From Burundi: Ties between the Imbonerakure and the provincial police commissioner in Bubanza (2010-August 2013)*

<http://www.refworld.org/docid/530377c84.html> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹¹³ Individual interviewed by Amnesty International, Bubanza, 11 April 2014.

¹¹⁴ Interviews with victims from Bubanza, 11 and 16 April 2014. Cross-checked in meetings between Amnesty International and the United Nations, 7 April 2014. In 2013

and 2014, Amnesty International received several accounts of police and military being beaten or threatened by the *Imbonerakure*. Internal notes held on file.

¹¹⁵ Individual interviewed by Amnesty International, Bubanza, 11 April 2014.

¹¹⁶ Internal correspondence, Amnesty International and OHCHR, May 2014.

¹¹⁷ The word was regularly repeated in interviews conducted by Amnesty International with victims, witnesses, journalists and human rights defenders.

¹¹⁸ Interview between Amnesty International and a member of the CNDD-FDD; Kirundo Province; 15 April 2014.

¹¹⁹ Fidèle Nsengumukiza arrêté à la RPA:

<http://www.isanganiro.org/spip.php?article4247> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹²⁰ Burundi : L'auteur de « En politique on ne tue pas, on élimine les obstacles » arrêté par le SNR: <http://burundi-megainfo.blogspot.sg/2013/05/burundilauteur-de-en-politique-on-ne.html> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹²¹ Confirmed with the United Nations through internal correspondence; 26 May 2014. Correspondence held on internal file.

¹²² Interviews carried out with three victims present during the attack; 14 April, 2014; interviews conducted in Ngozi province. Each individual was interviewed separately by Amnesty International with only an interpreter present during the interview.

¹²³ Allegations in relation to administrative officials cross-checked with two Burundian human rights investigators belonging to different organizations or bodies; and one international human rights body; the verification was conducted in Ngozi province and Bujumbura between 7 and 14 April 2014.

¹²⁴ Three individuals confirmed that the *chef de zone* was present during the attack.

Interviews conducted on 14 April 2014, Ngozi Province.

¹²⁵ The MSD party have also reported meetings being obstructed. See University meeting prohibited section for further details.

¹²⁶ Interviews carried out with two individuals who were present during the attack; 15 April, 2014; interviews conducted in Kirundo. Each individual was interviewed separately by Amnesty International with only an interpreter present during the interview.

¹²⁷ Allegations cross-checked with three Burundian human rights investigators belonging to different organizations or bodies; and one international human rights body; cross-checking conducted in Ngozi province and Bujumbura between 7 and 14 April 2014.

¹²⁸ Interviews carried out with two individuals who were present during the attack and one relation of the victim; 15 April, 2014; interviews conducted in Kirundo. Each individual was interviewed separately by Amnesty International with only an interpreter present during the interview.

¹²⁹ Allegations cross-checked with four Burundian human rights investigators belonging to different organizations or bodies; and one international human rights body; cross-checking conducted in Ngozi province and Bujumbura between 7 and 14 April 2014.

¹³⁰ Allegations cross-checked with four Burundian human rights investigators belonging to different organizations or bodies; and one international human rights body; cross-checking conducted in Ngozi province and Bujumbura between 7 and 14 April 2014.

¹³¹ Eye-witness interviewed by Amnesty International, 15 April 2014, Kirundo province. The same allegations confirmed by two human rights bodies, one Burundian and one international.

¹³² Eye-witness interviewed by Amnesty International, 15 April 2014, Kirundo province. The same allegations were confirmed by two human rights bodies, one Burundian and one international.

¹³³ At the time of writing, a date had not been set.

¹³⁴ Réunion du Conseil National de Sécurité, communiqué de presse, 14 mars: <http://www.burundi->

[gov.bi/IMG/pdf/COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE DU 14 MARS 2014 1 .pdf](http://www.burundi.gov.bi/IMG/pdf/COMMUNIQUE_DE_PRESSE_DU_14_MARS_2014_1_.pdf)

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹³⁵ Ordonnance conjointe No 530/215/37/2014 du 4 février 2014 portant cahier de charge des comités mixtes de sécurité humaine. Internal notes on file, Amnesty International.

¹³⁶ The text of the decree specifies that the mission of these mixed committees is to maintain security for citizens, and confirms that the committees are comprised of all categories of people at local level, including civil society.

¹³⁷ A transcript of the meeting has not been made publically available.

¹³⁸ Internal notes, Amnesty International, April 2014. Interviews with opposition members. Alexis Sinduhije en a marre des agressions des *Imbonerakure* :

<http://www.netpress.bi/spip.php?article5980> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹³⁹ *Reports of alleged distribution of weapons to the Imbonerakure*: <http://bit.ly/1eaYWn6> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁰ Présidence.bi: Communiqué du gouvernement à la suite du rapport confidentiel adressé au Secrétaire Général des Nations unies par Monsieur Onanga-Anyanga:

<http://presidence.bi/spip.php?article4616> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴¹ Des jeunes armés par le pouvoir? Le Burundi dans l'œil du cyclone

http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20140411-jeunes-armes-pouvoir-burundi-oeil-cyclone-document-onu/#./?&_suid=1402050370584002592862528380563

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴² Burundian President's third term facing obstacles:

<http://www.southworld.net/newtest/index.php/component/k2/item/636-burundian-presidents-third-term-facing-obstacles> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴³ UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Jeffrey Feltman Address to the United Nations Security Council on Burundi. April 8th, 2014.

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47549> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁴ UN concerned at 'troubling' political developments in Burundi:

<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1822853&language=en-US> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁵ The Union of Burundian Journalists also submitted a challenge to the Constitutional Court, who ruled that certain articles relating to the penalties in the law should be reviewed by parliament.

¹⁴⁶ L'Union Africaine partisan du « respect de la lettre et de l'esprit d'Arusha »:

<http://www.iwacu-burundi.org/burundi-ua-respect-esprit-arusha/>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁷ Communiqué de presse: La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union Africaine réconfortée par les nouvelles du Burundi:

http://www.burundi-gov.bi/IMG/pdf/Communique_presse_Kavakure_Zuma_552014_2_.pdf

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁸ Burundi: Pillay denounces increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of 2015 elections:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14331&LangID=E>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁴⁹ Burundi: Pillay denounces increasing restrictions on political and civil rights ahead of 2015 elections:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14331&LangID=E>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁵⁰ US details "worrying developments" in Burundi:

<http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/english/2014/04/us-details-worrying-developments-in-burundi/>

[accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁵¹ Burundi: UN chief urges restraint following clashes between police, opposition parties:
<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1822855&language=en-US> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁵² United Nations Office in Burundi calls political actors for constructive dialogue and moderation:
<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1822234&language=en-US> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁵³ United Nations Office in Burundi calls political actors for constructive dialogue and moderation:
<http://bnub.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=2961&ctl=Details&mid=5312&ItemID=1822234&language=en-US> [accessed 18 June 2014]

¹⁵⁴ Statement by the spokesperson of EU High Representative Catherine Ashton on the political situation in Burundi:
http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140312_02_en.pdf [accessed 18 June 2014]

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