

Inyanduruko – Radio Isanganiro – Burundi

Translation from Kirundi into English

Indicative

Narrator 1: Dear listeners, welcome to our sixth program of the public-debate series, called ‘Inyanduruko’, in which we try to answer the question on how conflict between groups occur and how mass violence evolves. This program is produced by Radio La Benevolencija and Radio Isanganiro. In this program we will discuss the fact that the role of bystanders, during the development of a conflict, is crucial. Their passivity affirms the perpetrators, making them believe that what they are doing is acceptable, even right. Passivity also reinforces the passivity of other bystanders. Passive bystanders distance themselves from the victimised group/individuals to reduce their own empathic suffering. Therefore, when such bystanders undertake no action, the perpetrator group come to believe that their actions against the victims are acceptable and even right and then amplify them.

Musical transition

Narrator 2: Another issue we will comment on, is the problem that, when observers, whom we call bystanders, take no action, they emotionally distance themselves from the victims. We call them thus ‘Passive bystanders’ because they don’t want to feel empathy with victims, because if they do, they will themselves suffer if they remain passive. And as they distance themselves, they are less likely to take helpful action.

Narrator 1: We have seen in previous programs that in the ongoing process of war and conflicts people tend to go into groups. Most of the time you find that it this group-creation enhances the possibility to come to a violent conflict. This was of course as well in Burundi. We have seen how those people, who belong to groups, do scapegoat. How they always put responsibilities to problems to others.

Narrator 2: Most often, when there is no criticism or any concrete actions to stop the perpetrators, they assume that what they are doing is good or justified. They even seem to be encouraged to continue their bad actions. Sometimes people fear to become victims themselves. So the result is that they keep quite, even if they do not agree with what is being done. They keep their sorrow for themselves.

Musical transition

Narrator 1: The aim of this series of programs is to explain the origins of group conflicts, in order to find out how we all in our society can live peacefully. We try to understand what kind of role everyone can play during a war or a conflicting time to manage for a better situation. If we look back at the history of Burundi, the conflict developed mainly between two ethnic groups’, the Hutus and the Tutsis. We have experienced that, for

instance, some Hutus did not engage into mass killings, but also didn't engage in anything to stop those killings. Most often, they accused people from their ethnic group and vice versa. Why did this happen like that?

Narrator 2: On the other hand, we also know examples that there are Hutu who have tried to hide Tutsis during the period of killings and vice versa. How did they come up with such a decision to risk their life to help others? Can we explain this, what we call positive bystander behavior? We will examine the impact this kind of behavior can have in society?

Narrator 1: Bishop Elie Buconyori who is the head of free Methodist church in Burundi and Kenya and the head of the University of this Church, thinks that the reason why some people do not intervene to stop conflict is because of fear. But he also thinks that others don't feel concerned by what is going on thus why they do not do anything.

Transition introduces first party

Buconyori 1: That attitude is due to fear, the first aspect is fear, people fear to talk about what they know or what they have seen. They start to wonder what other people will think if they accuse them or tell the truth about what happened, so they fear that it might create problems to them. The second aspect of that fear is related to relations that people have with others. They do not want to be considered as accusers by their colleagues. So they decide to keep quiet. Another aspect which is important is that people do not know what to do when they face a conflicting situation.

Narrator 1: The passive attitude of bystanders can also be understood through other factors like fear for one's life, or in the absence of pluralism where it may feel impossible to criticize a destructive ideology and violence.

Buconyori 2: There is a lot of people who know some crises, due to the war but don't know what to do and they become indifferent. They say themselves, I leave to remain without making anything, if I have eat and has drink, and if I arrive to join the two tips of the week, it would be that my life. There are several people who are like that therefore that prevent all things have the light, and that say themselves: I am going to adjust to the situation as it will present itself. There is some of others that display a passivity while saying that the situation doesn't concern them that there is other persons that is the to act. It is that that often arrives has the people who don't take their position while imposing itself/themselves by their ideas. Often they are afraid not to know what to do.

Musical transition

Narrator 2: Helping others in a dangerous situation, denouncing the evils acts against the other, is a rule of human ethics and moral values. How could we explain the unresponsiveness or the irresponsibility of passive observers in the course of violence against a group? According to many psychological analysts, in order to justify their

passivity, bystanders may perceive victims as deserving their pain. It has to do with what we discussed in previous programs about stigmatizing and dehumanizing the others. This situation may result from a long period of devaluation, stigmatization and dehumanization, so that the passive bystander may justify his or her passive attitude in the course of violence by saying that 'after all, victims are responsible for their misfortune'.

Narrator 1: The archbishop of the diocese of Gitega, at the same time the president of the Catholic Episcopal conference of Burundi, watch well that in Burundi, some people didn't make anything to condemn the acts of violence but there are others that rose to stop the violence where they were.

Ntamwana 1: These other people who didn't take the weapons, me I first think that among them, there are the innocents who have made that they were able to even though their acts have not been taken in consideration. Concerning advice one must make it every day, if you are not listened today, you he/it will be tomorrow, to persevere is sufficient, you end up being listened. But he/it has some of others that have stirred fire instead of condemning, they encouraged this ignoble and worse acts again they collected some means to continue the war even though one didn't see them on the field of battle. If I give an example concrete on the level of our Catholic Church, we have addressed a correspondence to the belligerent on the month of December 1993. It was just to warn to everybody that even the one that doesn't have killed by a rifle or a machete or by a bamboo, he/it kills by words or by his/her/its ideas. The proof it is that this no one that is himself kills and that remained passive without condemning, what she/it took a path that doesn't lead to the peace and the social justice of everybody.

Narrator 2: The attitude of bystanders throughout the actions of violence against the group of victims can much impinge on the behavior of perpetrators. When observers do react against those violent actions, perpetrators may begin to question the validity of their actions. When witnesses or bystanders take actions against harmful and violent deeds, either by public condemnation or by arguments, or by resistance and lack of cooperation, or by actions of assistance to victims, observers could lead perpetrators to question their own actions and thus decrease their commitment to pursuing and intensifying violence against the victims. This questioning may allows perpetrators to change their behavior, thereby saving human lives.

Narrator 1: In some times people who don't react face of crisis and conflicts between the groups has these violations of the human rights. These people are discerned differently. For Eminence Elie Buconyori some of these people don't react are accomplices but others are afraid to be able to express him on this situation that passes them. He says that to be quiet is an act of encouragement to the malefactors and it is a way to give them of strength to continue.

Buconyori 3: Yes, among these observers or bystanders, he/it can have those that sustain the malefactors there and are quiet but doesn't make himself to see. But there are others that don't sustain these ignoble acts at all but these people are afraid to be able to denounce these criminal malefactors because they are dangerous. In principle, if

the people who are against crimes prefer to be quiet, it is not quite good because it is in a way to encourage the criminals. As being quiet the criminals says themselves hey, everybody is behind us because no one denounces what we make. You don't not already have heard of the people who say, the population says this on this situation, whereas no one has mandate them even less that they have consulted no one to say it. They make that because you are not yourself pronounces on a given situation. They take advantage of your silence to put you in their group and they make themselves of the doors speech. Therefore while saying nothing about you, you reinforce them without the knowledge. What would be well that is to be able to express him on a given situation that is not good and to propose some solutions? People should not be afraid to say it, it is necessary to dare to break the silence while denouncing these criminalities even though it is not at all easy to say it. If people dare to denounce that; even these criminals have at some moment they correct him and this is a way to attenuate the bad thing because the criminals realize that a certain opinion is against what these people are in process to make. It is that what it will be necessary to make because to be quiet reinforce the bad thing without the knowledge

Musical transition

Narrator 2: Bishop Buconyori adds that when criminals are angry, it becomes very difficult to denounce criminal acts being committed. But he says that if one dare do it, it can have a very positive impact in alleviating crimes even if you can create troubles to yourself as criminals can take you as a potential enemy. It is therefore important to react, as bystander, as soon as possible on ongoing events. Because bystanders can define what is happening and engage people in compassion for the pain of victims. They can promote values and norms of a positive behavior, otherwise their passivity or participation may affirm perpetrators in their confusion. When passive observers protest against violence that is perpetrated against another group, most of the time perpetrators step back.

Buconyori 4: It is not easy at all in period of war to be able to denounce the crimes that commit themselves. But said in Kirundi “the man must persevere until the tip in the hard moments.” Fortunately here in Burundi, we have some examples has follow the people who rose and have shouted to denounce some crimes. Even all other people in love of peace can rise, only, one cannot go on the waves of the mediums because it is impossible, but on the hills, a Mushingantahe (wise man) cannot let continue the crimes, that it is at work, has at church, in your setting, where you have access, you can sit down with them and can cause with them to see how to act positively and I am sure that when you begin few people, these last are going to widen the message of peace and the pain will end up being defeated slowly. But I must say that it is risking to denounce some crimes committed by people who have whereas you are not. If the parts in conflicts are informed that you denounce their acts, they can make you of the pain. But if you continue step by step, there will be other people who are going to understand your approach and can sustain you and by after, the criminals begin has say, hold, what we make is not appreciated by a certain opinion. However, the difficulties never miss when one makes the good whereas there are others that make the pain.

Narrator 1: Same sound of bell for the archbishop Ntamwana who says that denounce angry criminals, is not easy. He gives the example of Burundi or has the people who were victims to have denounced of the acts of criminalities and the others that have their subjects to escape it continuation.

Ntamwana 2: No, it was not quietly easy because I know a lot of people who were victims. They are numerous, I cannot enumerate them all and they are among the small people and the high personalities. These people have to escape it the country or their hills. You understand that it was not easy. I know some journalists with their microphones denounced the crimes; these journalists have to escape because they were intimidated and tips of the finger as target has cut down.

Indicative introduces Debate

PUBLIC DEBATE

Aloys : Dear invitees who are gathered here in the compound of the organization devoted to peaceful conflicts resolution CHAIRE UNESCO, you are welcome in this programme called INYANDURUKO. This programme is based on searching for the origin of the conflicts, the causes of killings, the conflicts that may lead to the killings such as genocide. Today is our sixth programme and we are going to talk about the role of the bystanders for ending the war in a conflicting country. Do they play any role or not? That is what we are going to talk about for the moment.

Those were the ideas of the religious people Archbishop of the diocese of Gitega and Bishop Elie Buconyori. I think that asking them such a question didn't happen by itself. It is because in the past, people used to say that in Burundi the churches have been involved in the conflicts that happened. Then it is up to you, if you have any idea, to express yourselves about it. You are free to tell it. As for you, do you have anything to say about what they have just said? Or, as you are Burundians who are gathered in different associations, you know that Burundi went through different kinds of conflicts. Then even if people are used to say that the conflict was based on the ethnic groups, what has been the role of the by-standers in the conflict, what would have been their role? Let's talk first about the role they played in the conflict. Did they play in role in the conflict?

Laurent: My name is Laurent Gahungu. I am the Executive Secretary for the organization that fights for the rights of the prisoners in Burundi and our association is nine years old. Our organization was founded during the hard times, I mean during the crisis. There were many prisoners who were jailed because of the 1993 crisis. But let me tell you that I am one of the leaders who have been assigned to stop the killings. I lead the Cibitoke Zone when I fled the Kinama Zone. That means that as for everything that happened, as the representatives of the churches said, those groups existed. There were groups of people who were not involved in the conflict, the by-standers. They were of two categories. Some of them didn't dare to utter a word about what was happening because they considered none would listen to them. Some others among the by-

standers considered they would be listened but who they had to wait as there were their relatives in the conflicting groups. Even among the Tutsi, the situation was the same. Then you wanted to know if there have been people who cried out for the fighting to stop. Yes, because first of I can even begin by talking about myself. That is something I did. I did my best to stop the killing within four months in the quarters I was leading. We forbade everybody to kill the others. We succeeded. Why did we succeed? We succeeded because even when we were asked to be assigned to stop the killings which were increasing, we have noticed that it was not the Hutu or the Tutsi who caused the killings. We noticed the cause of the killings were not the ethnic groups. People from both ethnic groups were only being suffering for what they didn't understand. That is even what we used to tell them. We told them, "What is making you conflicting with that Tutsi or Hutu? Why are you killing each other?" If one happened to meet good people, they understood. But in some other groups, if one was a Tutsi and tells that to the other Tutsi, they would tell him is a traitor. They would even add that he was supporting the Hutu. Even if a Hutu happened to tell it to the other Hutu, he was called a traitor. Thus there were people who were discouraged to continue fighting for peace. If one happened to give up, people were forced to flee because they were always afraid.

Those are the kind of people who once they saw someone being killed, they looked aside; they felt bad but they didn't dare to save him. There are the kind of persons who, knowing our power, came to inform us about the one who was about to be killed and the killers. That is how the situation was within all the ethnic groups.

Aloys: Could we say the persons who have decided to harm the others respected your orders? Was it easy for you to impose them your orders?

Laurent: They forcibly accepted the orders. They told they were combating for the ethnic groups. They said they wanted to finish the ones of the different ethnic group. But convincing them that what they were doing was not good was not so easy. There are even important organizations that happened to say that they had to fight for their ethnic groups by revenging. Forbidding them to act like that made them call you a traitor. I would tell you that I escaped from being killed four times. One day, as I have saved people, they threw a grenade to me. I had just forbidden people from Kinama and Cibitoke to throw stones to each other. After I have asked all of them to go away, one of them threw a grenade to me. I saw him. At evening I asked him and tell him, "You have killed me, you see?" He accepted and I added, "Do you find me unable and not clever enough to revenge?" Then I told him, "Go and tell them that their objective is not good. People living in Cibitoke will not get peace unless people living in Kinama are living peacefully and vice-versa." At the moment of curfew and killings, we establish a market at Buterere. You know that this area was very dangerous. The Tutsi got food from Bujumbura Rural, they come from Maramvya and they brought it in Kinyankonge. When people were aware that the Hutu and the Tutsi met there, all people came and that market made people from the different ethnic groups meet.

Aloys: Thank you.

Pie: My name is Pie Ntakarutimana, I am studying here and I have an idea to tell about the role of the by-standers during a war or conflict or any other type of killings. For starting, I would say that in case of a war between the citizens of the same country, I mean the civil war, such a war or killings that happen in a known country or in the neighborhood where people are living close to each others, where are relationships between people, people with the same resources. As for the behavior of people, they do not react because first of all, and as the two bishops said, they support what is happening. I believe in it. When the war begins, its promoters are from the neighborhood. They are the children or the brothers or the relatives of some citizens, in general the ones they may advice. That means that when they leave the community, even if they (the ones who stay) do not join the war, they may be understanding and supporting them. There is the first group of people who may call themselves by-standers. Sometimes the by-standers may be interested and be happy when an event happens. You remember how here in Burundi, when it is said there are people who have been killed in a certain corner, the first question was, "Are the ones who have been killed the Hutu or the Tutsi?" One gets happy because the ones who died belong to a certain ethnic group. I think that happened as I have just said. The second group of such persons is, in the neighborhood where war happens, in the villages or at the hills, there are representatives of the others. There are leaders; the ones people went to ask for how to behave when something happens. When there are severe killings in the way that the leaders, the wise persons do not have anything to say and when they try to utter a word they are killed. I may say it is when the killings have been so severe that the ones who want advice get it from the killers. In that case the situation in the neighborhood is so dramatic that nobody says anything about what is happening. Anyone who tries to denounce the killings is killed. The third group and the last one to my understanding, it depends on the level at which people in the neighborhood are at refusing to do evils. That means to deny the evil in the community. If there are mistakes made by the Commune or the Zone Administrator, he stands and says without fear that that is not right. He accepts to say it even if he may be condemned because of it. There are people who keep quiet when the conflicts happen in the community even if they are concerned by what is happening. As for me I may talk more about the second and the third group as far as fear and keeping quiet when there is something wrong in the community is concerned. For the community or the country to get developed, all people have to refute the evils because if there are evils done in the community and people get quiet, that community or country never gets developed. The killings happened and people kept quiet. Even now there are evils that are done and people keep quiet. Thus if people of the same neighborhood accept the evil, that neighborhood is endangered. That is why people have to get accustomed to denouncing what is not good in the community. That is the only way the country may get developed and for the citizens to live peacefully. That is the end.

Aloys: Let me ask you one question. In Burundi, as the Bishop Simon Ntamwana said, there are people who were killed because they tried to protect the others. Some called them 'Heroes', we heard about it. Have there been such people in Burundi, was their task easy as we are talking about Burundi?

Pie: By analyzing how all the problems happened in our country, among the three groups I talked about are people who stood and tell this or that is not right. There are many people who stayed with their good ideas, they lived in that way and they risked their own lives to save people who were about to be killed. There are people who have been saved in that way. There are the others who have been killed because of wanting to save the others. There are many others who were harmed in a way or another because they refused to assist to the going on of the killings. Another thing I may say is that killing is frightening but if someone stands and says that is not right, we have seen it where the killers were going to kill somebody, but if anyone happened to forbid them doing so, even the killers happened to get frightened and that person was saved in that way. That happened in Burundi, they are the heroes who fought for peace exist.

Musical transition

Béatrice: My name is Béatrice Ntahe and I work in the Ministry for Human Rights and I graduated from here last year. I would like also to participate by adding some ideas. We all know what happened in Burundi. We are still wondering how the Burundians behaved during the conflicts we went through the last years. As for me, I would go on talking about what the others were talking about. There have been many categories of people in the crisis. As Ntakarutimana was saying, the war between the citizens of the same country is very hard. It is the war that takes time to be born and it lasts long. For people to decide to fight, that takes much time. Then a conflict is born and in the time, people get involved in it. They believe that the other group is the bad one; they share the idea within the group until many of them agree on it. They consider that the other group is the bad one. That is why at a certain time, war begins. They fight, many of them fight. That means that the majority believes that it is the other group that is hindering their development. Thus those people share the same ideas. The ones who do not support the ideas are the minority. This minority that is not seen is not really supporting the other one, as Pie Ntakarutimana has just said, even if they may not appear in the fighting, they may be supporting the war or the ideas of the other group. They say to themselves, "I let him behave or act in that way, I support him" Thus he gets quiet. In that way he is not a by-stander, rather he is directly involved because he supports it even though he hide it. There is another small third group that is against the bad ideas. But most of the time the group is so small that they are frightened to say anything about what is happening because they think the others is going to kill them. They think they are going to be killed because in the group, they will be considered as traitors. They may say that if they go to the other group, they will as well be killed. Those are the true by-standers. They would denounce the situation but they are afraid because they are very few. It's among them that some, in all the corners of the country dare to denounce the situation. It is those persons we are searching for in the country asking, "Where are the persons who protected the others?" That is why among one million, we get only one thousand or two thousands. They are very few. So as Pie was saying, that is why in our country, people who were not supporting the war are very few. That is why I may say that the Burundians are accustomed to the evils. People consider the evil as something normal. There is robbery and none denounce it, there is no justice and none denounce it.

Everything is like that and the country collapses because people are not interested in what happens.

Aloys: When the very few people who do not support any group happen to stand and talk, does it change anything about the killers or the evil doers?

Béatrice: I think that that may be very important because saving one or two people is very important. Also that is something that may be talked about later on like this period when we are searching for good actions that have been done during the crisis. That may serve us as an example and the others may believe that there have been wise persons in this country who risked their lives and worked during the hard times. That is a good example that may have good outcome among the youth. They may know that there are people who can say the truth even if they know they may be killed because of it.

Musical transition

Jeanne: My name is Bitsure Jeanne and I study here. The ones who expressed before have told many of my ideas. But I have some other ideas to add. First of all I would like to support Bishop Buconyori. He said that during the crisis, there are some people who have been by-standers for two reasons. There are some who have been by-standers because of fear. They thought if they have tried to say anything, they would have been harmed because of the force of the evil doers or the ones they were living with. Normally, if we try to categorize, the crisis was based on the ethnic groups, the Hutu and the Tutsi as the others have said. The role of political parties appeared later. The conflicts were basically based on the ethnic groups. The Hutu and the Tutsi supported each other within their groups. Bishop said they have been by-standers because of fear. A Tutsi might say the other Tutsi would call him a traitor, and the Hutu might think the other Hutu would consider him as a traitor as well. Thus someone might live with fear, living without reacting to what was happening. The other group is the one of those who has been by-standers because they had no means of reacting. They do not consider what they can say thinking that would bring onto them problems only. As for me, I may add another group, the third one, is the one for people who have interests in the conflict. They said, "If we leave this quarter, we will go in the other one", you know that they were stealing the houses equipments. They said if this person leaves this place and goes Kamenge, we will go and take off the doors of his house, if it's Nyakabiga we will go and take their belongings. That is about the simple citizens. As for the politicians, there are some who were supporting the war for not leaving early the posts they were occupying. They said they have other things to do about the crisis rather than changing people in their posts. Another idea I may say is what happened. There is another way things happened. If I consider where I was, in Gihosha near Rural Bujumbura, I don't know if I can say that what happened was based on the ethnic groups. Here I am going to talk about two groups. For the persons who stayed united and be like the heroes you have talked about, there are people who thought they might stay there only if the other one was still alive. There were people who protected the armed groups' members. For example people from Bujumbura Rural might flee at around twelve or four p.m. and once we asked them what was happening, they said there was nothing wrong. They went

away or even we gave them refuge as we thought we might one day flee to them. We did so because we thought if the situation happened to change, God would consider what one had done to protect the others. That is why I say you may do it because you like yourself. Shortly, I may say that there are people who have been by-standers because they could do nothing about what was going on. But there are the others who have been by-standers because they supported the bad ideas of the others. Then at a certain time there are people who judged important to protect and save the others and the areas they were living in.

Aloys: May we say it is the by-standers who stood and denounce the situation?

Jeanne: Yes, it was the by-standers because they did not take the arms. Their lives were endangered by the war. Shortly they were by-standers. Then categorizing ourselves in groups depended on the fact that we had lost the sense of humanity. We have changed and we were like the animals. Sometimes people were killed while the others were passing close and without trying to save them. In that case, the concerned did not like him. Normally we have to like ourselves but we have to like the others the same way.

Musical transition

Aloys: Thank you. We are about to finish our debate, but let's still talking about Burundi. Burundians like to say that wherever people are, there are rumors. Here in Burundi, even if the crisis is ending, the brothers or the citizens may quarrel tomorrow or after tomorrow, as that happened in the past. Thank God because many of you have much knowledge about peaceful conflict resolution, then when a country is going through the war, what would be the role of the by-standers? In Burundi the crisis has lasted for twelve years or more, what would be their role for the crisis to finish quickly even if the times are hard?

Claver: My name is Mbonimpa Pierre Claver, and I am a member of the association for Human rights and the rights of the prisoners APRODH. You have just said that if the country happens to go back to war, but the country is still in the war. Don't go away; consider what is happening close to us in Bubanza and Cibitoke. People are being beheaded; civilians are being killed everyday without knowing who is doing it. In that way, there is something I am going to tell before answering to your question. Considering the object of this debate, the role of the by-standers, don't think that here in Burundi there have been true wars. No! There have been killings. When the true war happened? Let me answer to this question and I am going to talk about the role of the by-standers. Since 1995, there has been the war because we could see people who were fighting. Then what was the role of the ones who were not involved in the war? Frankly speaking, the role of the by-standers, first these are the unhappy persons, they are killed, they are jailed. It is at that level that I say that truly, the by-standers had nothing to do. Even today, they can do anything. I sometimes talk to some of them who have been jailed and they ask me, "What would I have done and how? That one belongs to FNL, the other one is in the national army. The FNL combatant tells me to do this or

that, to bring me water. I fetch water for them because if I do not do it he kills me. The soldier comes and tells me to carry this or that, if I do not do it he kills me. Thus what is my role, me the by-stander? I have no role to play!" But back to what some participants said, there have been good Burundians who were able to protect the others and who could inform the others about the situation to come. They would tell people not to stay in a certain locality. I remember that during the killings that happened in 1972, there are Tutsi students who came to school and told us to leave before three p.m. The ones who didn't hear it and who came back to school have been killed. The others have been saved because of the ones who informed them. None of the Hutu students went back to school because they knew they would be killed. You understand that still, there are good people. In 1993, there are people who hid the others. They told them not to go to certain areas. I myself can give an example that concerns me. My mother has been hidden. They said that there was no reason of killing that old woman. They forbid her to go to some places as she would be killed. But later on, she fled to people of the same ethnic group. She went there while they had told her not to go. After all she has been killed. You understand that there are good people who dare to inform the others that a certain locality is not good to go through just for saving them. Thus I may say that, for all the ones I saw, there was a group that was there to kill, the others were by-standers, and the others were frightened because they had nothing to do about the situation. In the Tutsi quarters, there was no Tutsi who could forbid the others to kill. He would be killed instead by the ones who were angry. In Kamenge, anyone who would go there and forbid them to kill would be killed instead. There were people who have planned things to do and anyone who would refuse it would be killed. Let me consider the judges: The judges wanted to do their job fairly and the advocates wanted to do so. But suppose an advocate who was told like this, "If you intervene in that case, surely you will die" And people died in that way. Thus even for the ones who were willing to intervene might refuse because of certain circumstances. Life is difficult! Someone told me yesterday that a foolish man entered a church while the priest was still preaching and he took a machete. He showed it to the Christians and he asked, "Who believes in God?" One of the Christians told he believed in Him and the foolish man beheaded him. He asked once more the same question, "Who believes in God?" The other Christians answered, "It is the priest who believes in God" and the priest said, "Why do you talk about me? Is it me who brought you here?" You understand that life is expensive and that is what happened to the others. There are many good people, who did not find the way to intervene. That is the same situation today. The situation here in Burundi is still complicated. There is no role of the by-standers. They are the unhappy persons, they would have got a role to play but the consequence was to be killed, being jailed. Even for the moment, there are go people who are jailed because they are accused of belonging to FNL. But they have done anything wrong.

Aloys: You are one of the persons who fight for the Human rights, I think I am not lying, maybe you didn't involve yourself in the war and you are still a by-stander. What would be the behavior of Burundians if the war happens again? How would you behave? Would you be quiet or you would speak?

Claver: Most of the time, people miss occasions of expressing themselves. The killings didn't stop quickly in 1993 because people missed opportunities of expressing

themselves. You heard that when Minani talked from Rwanda, he said, “Stand and don’t accept to be killed like in the year 1972.” People understood and they said, “They are not going to kill us, none is going to take us.” If you happen to think about the war, even if we do not belong to the same ethnic group, I cannot keep quiet if I notice that you are going to kill someone. I must denounce you unless I miss an occasion to do so. Thus many people like to protect each other but they do not get an opportunity of doing so. Even if they begin right now, that is the way I will behave. That would be my role. For the moment, as I sometimes get opportunities to express myself, I always cry out and I even tell the government, even the Palipehutu-Fnl members I use to tell them that they are responsible for the persons who are being killed. If one of them decides to stop the war, it can stop. For the war to stop in 1972 the Prime Minister Mr Nyamoya went to the stadium and he told one word only and the war stopped. None was killed after that time. Thus if the political leaders do not tell this, the simple citizen can go nowhere, he still be tortured.

Musical transition

Laurent: Here is Gahungu Laurent, he has something to tell. For the moment we are going to talk about the prevention. You are one of the persons who fight for the human rights; I think you even know about the conflicts prevention or the peaceful conflict resolution. How to proceed if the war happens again?

Laurent: Thank you. Everyday, for getting something to tell and for people to respect it you must first of all understand the period of time you are in. You say, “I must go aside from them because of these reasons.” You have also to know well the persons you want to get afar from during the war. This is because the groups of the by-standers we saw can happen if the war happens again. This means that among the by-standers would be some who would be afraid and would say anything. There would be some others who would seem not to be interested in what is happening and these ones are not afraid because they are supporting what is happening. But they do not want to be seen. There would be some others who participate to the planning. In fact, the by-standers were different because at evening, there were people who felicitated the ones who committed the crimes by giving them something to drink. That means that there were people who supported them. For good persons and who are ready to fight for the human rights, you cannot belong to such groups. Rather you look for other groups that may help you to stop the situation.

Aloys: For stopping the situation, yes, that is what I want you to tell to the listeners. What would you do to stop the killings?

Laurent: For stopping the killings, first of all, one has to be courageous. You accept to tell it. Then for succeeding, you have to tell to people the consequences of the war. It is a kind of training; you have to teach people. You accept to make people meet, you be courageous. You see, even for the moment there are people who may ask you what to do. I tell you this because it is something we experienced, that happened to us and there is a way we behave during the crisis that is ending. For people to accept to meet and not

to kill each other we visited the different groups and we convinced them that they would gain nothing from taking such positions. Then you show the one who is involved in the war the positions that are useful. There are two kinds of positions. There are some people who thought that telling the others to kill and giving them money, that was their interest because that is the way of showing that the Hutu and the Tutsi are killing each other. That is what he is interested in. There is someone else who may say, "I am living in this quarter, I want people to talk so that there be security to be able to continue living here" That is what we understood and we made the others to understand it the same way and we succeeded. As an example, in 2001 the war was very hot and the rebels begin bombarding the capital, the young men we have forbidden to fight came and asked us what to do. I told them, "You are not allowed to touch to anybody. Do not kill any Hutu, because the bombs did not select the Hutu and the FNL fighters in collaboration with the CNDD-FDD fighters penetrated until the 6th avenue in Cibitoke. At the moment they didn't kill any civilian. I told them, "You have seen that they didn't kill any civilian, then do not kill each other, you the civilians. Let free the ones who are fleeing coming to you and let the combatants fight. When they finish you will go back without any problem." That is what can be done for the moment. If the war happens again, you have to select the persons developed in fighting for the others' rights and you get united. So you can decide to stop the killings; that is possible! Don't associate the ones who are afraid and the ones who are not interested in the others' rights. Then even the ones who incite the others to crime cannot get close to you because they know you cannot support them. These persons are many. There are many examples we cannot finish here. I would like to tell you that the heroes that have been identified are very few. I was myself about to be the first one to be killed in 1993.

Aloys: Did they protect you?

Laurent: Yes, they protected me. It is the young Hutu who were living in Bukirasazi quarter who protected me. They made a barrier. At the moment, it was not the killers from Kinama who came to attack in Bukirasazi because they thought they would be identified. It is people from Mutakura and Kamenge who came to attack us. But at the moment, they said, "This is not the first one to be killed." The first person who died in Bujumbura was from Bukirasazi quarter. He died at 2:45 minutes in the afternoon. We saw how he died. That is why people have to feel able to fight for the others' rights. When the killings happen, search for the interests of the promoters in the conflict. When you identify their interests and you notice that they are different from yours, you are then able to fight them. That is clear and you even get supporters because you show them they gain nothing from killing the others. In the quarters where peace has been restored quickly, there are many examples to tell. I accompanied some people for four months every morning and every evening until people gave me the nickname of Caporal. After the four months, people have already got reconciled; all the persons I had been protecting were going through Cibitoke alone. For the persons I have been escorting from Kinama going to their jobs, I did it for God's sake. The object was to make people to be reunited. Afterwards, people got reunited and the associations working for reconciliation were founded. We founded associations and that has been our strengths because that has been our means of fighting for peace wherever we were. Even for the moment, that is the behavior one may adopt.

Aloys: Thank you. I would like to ask this question to you Ntahe for ending this debate. Claver has just said that when the leaders dare to address the population, things may change. And you are in the government's structures; you are one of the leaders. What would be the role of the by-standers so as the crisis to end as quickly as possible?

Béatrice: Thank you. But for the moment I am not representing the government, I think I have been invited as simple civilian.

Aloys: You do not represent the government but you work for it!

Béatrice: I would like to express my point of view by supporting what Gahungu have just said. For the war to stop, I think that anyone who feels that he is wise enough, the one who feels that he does not support the war, the first think to do is to identify the ones to be together, because as Mbonimpa said, none may fight alone. He cannot succeed. For such a fight, none succeeds alone. He has to join the others. How does he identify the others? I think that depends on the type of war. But as we are considering the war that happened in Burundi, it is a war that happened between the Hutu and the Tutsi. I think that for ending such a war, no single Tutsi or Hutu may succeed to stop it alone. There are people within both the Hutu and the Tutsi who have the intentions of stopping it. So the first think to do is to identify people, from all the ethnic groups, to join the efforts together and talk in a way everyone may understand you. That is because if you are a Tutsi who goes to tell the other Tutsi to stop the war, they say you are a traitor. That is what happens in the other ethnic group. So I think that you identify in all the ethnic groups the ones who the fight against the war. The Hutu and the Tutsi have to get united, and once you are together, you get much strength because when you are so many, you can achieve something important. Then the second thing is to identify the ones you are going to tell that the war has no interests. As Mbonimpa has said, there are leaders in the war. There are people who tell the others to go to certain place. Even if they are not combating, they are involved in the war. They are not seen. Those are the persons to meet first in my point of view. You show them that what they are doing is not good because of its consequences. Then the first think is to identify the ones who will support you and what you will tell. Secondly you have to identify the ones to tell what you have decided to tell. If you address yourselves to the ones who cannot make decisions, nothing is done. You have to be informed about the ones who make people to fight, those are the first ones to go to see. Then you go on convincing the civilians who follow them or the ones who go to fight by showing them the consequences. That is what I have to say. Thank you!

CONCLUSION

Narrator 1: Dear listeners, this is the end of our “Inyanduruko” debate of today. We have seen how the role of observers, whether members of the population or external observers, is crucial. Their passivity encourages perpetrators and makes them believe that their actions are acceptable and fair. We have also seen that the passivity of some reinforces the passivity of other bystanders, while the reaction against discrimination,

devaluation, or violence, can provoke a perpetrator group to stop the violence. The earlier bystanders act, the less committed are the perpetrators to their course of actions, and the greater is the potential of the bystanders to inhibit the evolution of violence.

Narrator 2: The earlier the bystanders act, the less likely it is that they will blame the victims and distance themselves. And the earlier they act the easier and less dangerous it generally is to act. Today's program has also explained how the passive attitude of observers in reality can be defensive when adopted to minimize their own suffering in the course of violence that they did not criticize. This magazine attempts to warn all members of the scapegoat group or perpetrators and external observers, that it is dangerous when no actions are undertaken to react to harmful actions, like discrimination and harassment, and to violent actions that are committed against a group. Because, without formal condemnation and other forms of opposition, perpetrators imagine that they are on the right track and act more ruthlessly against the victim group, as harmful actions and violence become more intense, they are more difficult to stop.

Aloys: We cannot go on again because time is time, let me thank you because you came even if you have many other things to do, you came to share the ideas with the others in order to rebuilt Burundi and prevent other conflicts. For Radio Isanganiro and LA BONEVOLENCIJA, I thank very much the organization devoted to peaceful conflict resolution CHAIRE UNESCO where the debate was taking place, I thank you all the invitees, I hope that even in the future, you will come if we invite you again. Aloys BATUNGWANAYO was on the microphone; and in the first party I was with Triphonie HABONIMANA have a good evening.