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THE CAUSE OF CONFLICT IN BURUNDI

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Abstract

In my research paper, I will focus on the security situation in the Republic of Burundi, a small country located in the African Great Lakes, which knows a long period of political instability and armed conflict since its independence until now. The aim is to make the necessary investigations in order to discover the cause of the conflict in Burundi and to see how the political realist theory of self-interests and materialist values in politics apply to this situation. I will use Mill's method of difference to test how it can help to find maybe, an answer to my research question.

Table of content

| | |
|--|----|
| Front page..... | 1 |
| Abstract..... | 2 |
| Introduction..... | 3 |
| Method..... | 3 |
| Geographical location..... | 4 |
| Historical context..... | 4 |
| History of conflict in Burundi..... | 5 |
| Different civil wars..... | 6 |
| Arusha peace negotiations..... | 8 |
| Defining ethnic groups..... | 9 |
| Political realism approach..... | 11 |
| The vicious circle..... | 12 |
| The true cause of conflict in Burundi..... | 13 |
| Conclusion..... | 16 |
| Bibliography..... | 17 |

Introduction

The objective of this research paper is to try to find an alternative answer to a problem that has been misunderstood for long time and all attempted solutions so far remain inadequate, until some politicians already gave up by saying "this is a unique case and there is no solution at all". This research paper focuses on the conflict in Burundi since its independence on July 1st, 1962. Many efforts have been made by national and international community to try to address Burundi conflict but always without success because maybe, they have been using a wrong diagnostic approach. In order to solve a problem, it is important to identify first its nature and all its causes. My research question is: "What are the cause of the conflict in Burundi since its independence until today?". This issue is very important as the reality itself demonstrates that this conflict comes down to the surface when everyone thinks that the problem is finally settled. A quick solution has to be found to this issue because hundreds of thousands of human lives have perished in this conflict which continues until today. It is a very dangerous disease and each time a misdiagnosis of a disease is made, a wrong treatment is given and the result is not what should be expected. My intention is to see how political realism theoretical approach and materialist values in politics apply to my research question and help to better understand the problem and maybe to suggest an answer. Realism is the most dominant theory of international relations and political realism argues that "mankind is inherently self-centered and competitive"(Morganthau, 1978, 4-15), while materialist values in politics focus on economic issues as the basic motivation in politics (Guy Peters, pp 140) I agree with both Morganthau and Guy Peters, their approaches will help to discover the nature of Burundian conflict, and maybe, will prevent future generations to expend much energy and resources in trying to solve problems in one way only, instead they will exploit another alternative cause of the conflict in Burundi.

Methods

To address this research, it is necessary to answer some sub-questions which will guide us towards an answer to the main research question. These sub-questions are like: Where is Burundi? What are its ethnic components? What is the history of Burundi? What is conflict? What is the history of conflict in Burundi? What is the known cause of conflict and what approaches have been used to solve the conflict in Burundi? Have

they succeeded? What is political realism approach? What are materialist values in politics? What is the current situation? The answers to all these sub-questions will help us to investigate the cause of the conflict and what can be done to resolve the conflict in Burundi. I will then use the various agreements signed in attempts to find a solution and other existing documents and literatures related to my research topic. I will summarize my findings and try to suggest an answer to my research question by using Mill's method of difference.

History of conflict in Burundi

Before colonization, Burundi had been a strong, organized kingdom for centuries. Society consisted of four groups: the Twa potters, hunters and entertainers, the Ganwa the ruling aristocracy (today regarded a Tutsi subgroup), the Tutsi mainly cow herders and the Hutu mostly cultivators. Society was a hierarchical network of patron and client ties, with the princely Ganwa enjoying the highest status, and the Twa the lowest. How Hutu and Tutsi related was not clear, but actually the history of their relationship is much politicized. A rich Hutu could come to be regarded as a Tutsi, and an impoverished Tutsi as a Hutu. Hutu and Tutsi with merits and high achievements in the society could be elevated at the Ganwa status. Intermarriages among the groups were tolerated. All groups spoke and still speak the same language, shared the same culture, and practiced the same religion".(Jean Berchmans N. Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, december 15-16, 2005).

Jean Berchmas presents the three components of the Burundian population by specifying their preferred occupation of each group; the Tutsi as herders, while Hutu are farmers and the Twa as a potters, and generally these three professions are complementary, they were constantly IN need of one another in their daily lives. Under these conditions, It is not easy to understand what may be the causes of conflict in such a society where life style shows that they would live together in harmony?

This research is very necessary because, despite the fact that all three groups of Burundians have lived together in total harmony throughout the period that preceded colonization, and it is nowhere indicated any ethnic conflict between hutus and Tutsis; according to the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement on Burundi that says: "During the precolonial period, all the ethnic groups inhabiting Burundi owed allegiance to the same monarch, *Umwami*, believed in the same god, *Imana*, had the same culture and the same language, Kirundi, and lived together in the same

territory. Notwithstanding the migratory movements that accompanied the settlement of the various groups in Burundi, everyone recognized themselves as Barundi". But this situation changed after the colonization. Something very bad has been done by the colonizer, he promoted the Tutsi elite who, in turn, have put forward their own interests instead of promoting the public interest. Whenever a situation like this arises, then a large door for all kinds of conflict is open and it is not difficult to find a pretext to create a conflict to stay in power. Arusha Agreement 14-16 says this: "The colonial administration, first German and then Belgian under a League of Nations mandate and United Nations trusteeship, played a decisive role in the heightening of frustrations among the Bahutu, the Batutsi and the Batwa, and in the divisions which led to ethnic tensions. In the context of a strategy of "divide and rule", the colonial administration injected and imposed a caricatured, racist vision of Burundian society, accompanied by prejudices and clichés relating to morphological considerations designed to set the different components of Burundi's population against one another on the basis of physical characteristics and character traits. It also introduced an identity card which indicated ethnic origin, thus reinforcing ethnic awareness to the detriment of national awareness. This also enabled the colonizer to accord specific treatment to each ethnic group in accordance with its theories". In the result, a small group in power mainly Tutsi abused of power and rank against the majority of other Tutsi and other groups. That small group has been ruling the country since the independence in 1962 until 1993, when the first hutu President was democratically elected. This has created anger not only in the Hutu population, but also in the rest of the Tutsi population who felt excluded from power. Nevertheless the feeling was more acute among the Hutu. It should be understood here that the small group of Tutsi and Hutu who was in power did nothing special that shows preferential treatment to other Tutsi only or other Hutu only in terms of development and it was not even possible since all lived and still living together. We must look elsewhere for reasons of conflict or even civil wars that we observed during the period of 30 years since independence in 1962 until the advent of democracy in 1992. One thing is sure, the Burundian population, predominantly rural and illiterate, lives in the same conditions and Hutu, Tutsi and Twa have any particular problem between them.

Defining ethnic groups

Many people including scholars agree and affirm that Burundi is composed of three ethnic groups namely the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. Some of them like René Lemarchand, a famous French political scientist who is known for his research on ethnic conflict and genocide in Rwanda, Burundi and Darfur and particularly known for his work on the concept of clientism; argues that "The country's 8.7 million inhabitants are commonly divided into three ethnic groups, the Hutu (85 %), the Tutsi (14 %) and the Twa (1 %). Traditionally, there was merely a sociopolitical distinction between these groups. However, through support of a racist ideology and ethnic hierarchy clearly biased against the Hutu, the German (1889-1918) and later Belgian (1918-1962) colonialists transformed this division into more rigid identities (Lemarchand 1994:42;). The colonizer has played an important role in highlighting the ethnicism in Burundi by creating divisions within the Burundian community. The Tutsi minority, were considered by the colonizer as slightly superior compared to the majority Hutu and Twa. Tutsis are generally tall, with a straight nose and sharp, in short, they are similar except that the colonizers were black. Nevertheless, this perception can not be generalized because there are Hutu who have these same physical features when there are Tutsi who are very short in size with a big nose flattened. The colonizer has promoted some of Tutsis by giving them access to education and administration, and this has created frustration among the Hutu majority in Burundi. Thus, ethnic conflict begins with this inequality of opportunity based on criteria that are part of the divisive policy of divide and reign "of the colonizer. The ethnic issue has caught the attention of politicians in Burundi for a long time and has always been regarded as the nature of the conflict in Burundi since its independence. After having analyzed the history of Burundi, Burundi politicians from all three ethnic groups, have reached agreements on the following conclusions: "The colonial administration, first German and then Belgian under a League of Nations mandate and United Nations trusteeship, played a decisive role in the heightening of frustrations among the Bahutu, the Batutsi and the Batwa, and in the divisions which led to ethnic tensions. In the context of a strategy of "divide and rule", the colonial administration injected and imposed a caricatured, racist vision of Burundian society, accompanied by prejudices and clichés relating to morphological considerations designed to set the different components of Burundi's population against one

another on the basis of physical characteristics and character traits. It also introduced an identity card which indicated ethnic origin, thus reinforcing ethnic awareness to the detriment of national awareness. This also enabled the colonizer to accord specific treatment to each ethnic group in accordance with its theories. It manipulated the existing system to its advantage by resorting to discriminatory practices. Moreover, it undertook to destroy certain cultural values that until then had constituted a factor for national unity and cohesion. On the eve of independence the colonizer, sensing that its power was threatened, intensified divisionist tactics and orchestrated socio-political struggles. However, the charismatic leadership of Prince Louis Rwagasore and his colleagues made it possible for Burundi to avoid political confrontation based on ethnic considerations and enabled it to attain independence in peace and national harmony. (Arusha Agreement, Article 2, pp15)

In Burundi, the ethnic issue is so exaggerated to such an extent that it requires a detailed study. While stressing the importance of ethnicity in Burundi since its independence until today, it is very interesting to note that the definition of ethnicity does not apply to the case of Burundi.

The most common definition of ethnicity is the dictionary of anthropology (1973:99) that says: "it is a grouping of individuals belonging to the same culture, the same religion, the same language, same customs and traditions and recognize themselves as such. "

The new Oxford American Dictionary has almost the same definition: "An ethnic group (or ethnicity) is a group of people whose members identify with each other through a common heritage, consisting of often a common language, a common culture (often including a shared religion) and ideology that year stresses common ancestry or endogamy . "in general it is a highly self-perpetuating group biologically year sharing interest in a homeland connected with a specific geographical area, a common language and traditions, including food preferences, and has common religious faith".

These definitions show some seven important elements that allow us to identify different ethnic groups based on their differences as being the fact that an ethnic group must have its own: language, culture and traditions, religion, ideology, special interests, territory and favorite meals . These characteristics have never existed and

does not exist today within the Burundian population. I personally being born in Burundi 25th June 1962, precisely five days before its independence, and having lived in Burundi for several years, I am in good position to testify this reality. Instead, the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa have always had and now have a same language, same culture, they are found in every religion, ideologies and interests, no difference in food preferences, particularly not territory, they are found together on the hills as in neighborhoods in the city. They all worshiped the same god called "KIRANGA" or "IMANA". This could be a wise man or woman in the community, he or she could be Hutu or Tutsi.

This reality is also confirmed in the Arusha Agreement when it says: " During the precolonial period, all the ethnic groups inhabiting Burundi owed allegiance to the same monarch, *Umwami*, believed in the same god, *Imana*, had the same culture and the same language, Kirundi, and lived together in the same territory". (Arusha Agreement, article 1,p14)

Nevertheless, Jean Pierre Chretien, former professor of history at the University of Burundi has provided another definition of the ethnic group on his way. He agrees with the common definition but he adds that "the Hutu, Tutsi of the African Great Lakes region may also, as an exception, be regarded as ethnic groups". According to Jean-Pierre Chretien, " people living in the African Great Lakes region, including Hutus and Tutsis, "Here" ethnic groups can not be distinguished by language, neither by culture nor by history nor by the geographic space occupied ".(L'Afrique des grands lacs, deux ans d'histoire, ed. Aubier).

So, even if the ethnic issue is very important to Burundi, ethnicity is not the only cause of conflict. Ethnicity may be a pretext or an manifestation whose cause lies somewhere else. My intention is to look for another possible cause for the conflict in Burundi.

Geographical location.

Burundi is a small landlocked country that occupies only an area of 27834 square kilometres in size, with a population of 8 million (estimation 2009), located between the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, Rwanda to the north and the United Republic of Tanzania in the east and south. According to the report of the International Monetary Fund on the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Framework, "upon the conclusion of the

General Population and Housing Census of 2008 (RGPH 2008), the population totaled 8,053,574 inhabitants, 49.2 percent of them men and 50.8 percent of them women. There were only four million inhabitants in the early 1980s but this quickly grew to 5.3 million according to the 1990 RGPH and to 8,243,638 inhabitants in 2008. With an annual growth rate of 2.4 percent, Burundi's population could double over the next 30 years.(GPRS I.2007-2008) I emphasize that overcrowding on a very small area because it is also a factor that causes conflict. Burundi with an area of 27934 km² with a population almost equal to that of Sweden with an area of 450 000 km².

Historical context

Since the year 1880s, Burundi was part of the Germany-East Africa (Deutsch-Ostafrika). This was a huge German colony in East Africa that included three countries: Burundi, Rwanda and the United Republic of Tanzania. The colony's area was 994,996 square kilometres, nearly three times the size of Germany today. The colony ended with the defeat of Germany in World War one and the territory was divided between Britain and Belgium. The United Republic of Tanzania became a British colony while Burundi and Rwanda together as one country called then "Rwanda-Urundi" falled under Belgian colony. Since 1916 Burundi and Rwanda where one country, they broke up in 1962 when they both became independent. It took nearly two years for Burundi and Rwanda to set up separate governments and Urundi changed its name and became officially called BURUNDI. This was a birth of an independent country called Burundi and recognized by the United Nations as such.

Different civil wars

Burundi got independence on 1st July 1962 and became a constitutional monarchy. But in 1966, the monarchy was abolished and the republic proclaimed by Captain Michel Micombero, a Tutsi who took power and was named president. In fact, the independence marked the beginning of 30 years of political instability during which succeeded many coups by the Tutsi military and Hutu uprisings followed by mass killings of insurgents

in 1965, 1972, 1988 and 1992. The history of the various civil wars that took place in Burundi is very difficult to understand, because Hutu and Tutsi evoke those same dates but interpret differently the events that took place. Emile Mworoha, a Tutsi professor of history said: "There is a big gap in Burundian history, like when we go from the monarchy to the republic and the big issues of war and conflict," Mworoha said. "There has been little effort to understand this period and interpret it in a uniform way." (*Le Burundi Et Les Royaumes Voisins Au XIXe Siecle*)

Here is a list of Presidents of Burundi since independence on July 1st 1962 and we can see from 1996 to 1992, presidents Tutsi monopolized power, whereas from 1993 until today, it's the turn of the Hutu to monopolize power. The period from 1966 to 2003 is a special period during which Burundi has started the peace negotiations in Arusha in the east of Tanzania from 1988 to 2000.

-Michel Micombero (28th November 1966 - November 1st, 1976) Tutsi (who came to power by coup). One year before, in 1965, a Hutu rebellion took place and the retaliation was brutal. In 1972, a Hutu military coup against a Tutsi president failed and has driven the country into a civil war because of the indiscriminate repression operated by Tutsi soldiers against Hutu population. More than 100,000 people have died in this war. (wikipedia.com)

-Jean-Baptiste Bagaza (November 9th, 1976 - September 3rd, 1987) Tutsi (who came to power by coup). No war has been registered during this period. The country has experienced dramatic economic development and reduction of poverty.

-Pierre Buyoya (3rd September 1987 - June 1st, 1993) Tutsi (who came to power by coup). Only one year after, in 1988, a Hutu led rebel group attacked northern Burundi from neighbouring Rwanda, killing Tutsi families.

-Ndadaye (June 1st, 1993 - October 21st, 1993) Hutu (1st democratically elected president). A small group of Tutsi soldiers killed him one hundred days later. This sparked another civil war which lasted more than 15 years. (wikipedia.com/liste des president du burundi).

The country is therefore entering a period of transition, the armed rebel movements declare themselves publicly, the Sub Region of Great Lakes imposes an embargo and economic sanctions on Burundi and, finally, Major Pierre Buyoya (Tutsi), and President of the Republic by coup d'etat, agrees to negotiate peace with all

armed Hutu rebellions.

The objective of all these details is to show that there is a serious conflict in Burundi that has already carried away hundreds of thousands of human lives and try to find an answer to my research question about the true causes of this conflict in Burundi. I say "true causes" because there is false cause of this conflict, saying that that the conflict in Burundi is an ethnic one, that is why there is no lasting solution to the Burundi conflict so far because they deal with a wrong cause. Then the list of presidents continues:

-Ntaryamira (January 13th, 1994 - April 6th, 1994) Hutu (Acting President)

-Sylvestre Ntibantunganya(10th September 1994-July 25th, 1996) Hutu (Acting President)

-Pierre Buyoya (July 25th, 1996 - April 30th, 2000) Tutsi (who came to power by coup and was obliged to negotiate two years after).

-Pierre Buyoya (2001-2002) Tutsi (president in accordance with the agreements of Arusha)

Ndayizeye (April 30th, 2003 - August 19th, 2005) Hutu (president in accordance with the agreements of Arusha)

Pierre Nkurunziza (August 19th, 2005 -) Hutu (2nd democratically elected president).

This list shows the ethnic belonging of all presidents of Burundi from the independence until today it will help to demonstrate that the conflict in Burundi is not an ethnic one.

Arusha Peace Negotiations

The most important framework of finding solutions to the conflict in Burundi is the Arusha Peace Negotiations. All Burundian political actors were invited to participate in such negotiations to find a lasting solution to the Burundi conflict which has lasted too long. In my research paper I will rely on the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi signed on 28th August 2000 because all parties of the Burundi conflict were involved. So far the Arusha Agreement is the only official document where we can find all negotiated solutions to all issues that divide Burundi. I am interested to see how Burundian politicians have responded to my research question and then I will have a good opportunity to continue my research. In the Protocol I of the chapter I of the Agreement, it is written this: "With regard to the nature of the Burundi conflict, the Parties recognize that the conflict is fundamentally political, with extremely important ethnic

dimensions. It stems from a struggle by the political class to accede to and/or remain in power”.

Here we see that all parties in Burundi agree that the Burundians nature of the conflict is fundamentally political, but they add that ethnic dimensions are also extremely important. This analysis is not correct because the notion of ethnicity is misinterpreted in Burundi as we will see it bellow. In case Burundi conflict is fundamentally political and stems from a struggle by the political class to accede to and/or remain in power, then the issue of ethnicity has nothing to do in this conflict between politicians. That is why, among other solutions recommended to solve this conflict, they suggested the ethnic balance in the army, but the problem is not solved. They said: ”Regarding the omposition of the national defence force, here shall be a single defence force composed of all components of the Burundian nation irrespective of ethnic, regional, gender and/or social status. For a period to be determined by the Senate, not more than 50% of the national defence force shall be drawn from anyone ethnic group, in view of the need to achieve ethnic balance and to prevent acts of genocide and *coups d'état*. (Arusha Agreement protol 3)”

Others do not hesitate to describe the conflict in Burundi as purely ethnic. These include Rene Lemarchand, professor at the American University of Floride who chose this title to his book: ” Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide (Woodrow Wilson Center Press.”

The aim of my research paper is to prove that the real cause of conflict in Burundi is not ethnic because in Burundi ethnic group even do not exist as the definition of ethnic group shows us.

Political realism approach

In this research paper I try to use the vision of political realism when they talk about the human nature and the pursuit of personal interest and compare their vision with the policy which has been applied in Burundi since independence and probably created the conflict. In fact, the search of the personal interest of the governments that succeeded in Burundi instead of general interest for the entire population is the major cause of poverty. In Burundi as in all the poorest countries in the world, power is the main source of wealth. To leave power simply means returning to poverty. Therefore whoever comes to power does everything to

stay in it as long as possible. For many, what matters to them is actually their personal interests. As their wages are not high, they do not hesitate to divert taxpayers' money and use it as they see it fit. That's why some people in power are rich more than the government itself. The government may have difficulties to build a health center for people who desperately needs to be treated without making a long distance, but one person who is lucky to be in power can set up a Building of a value up to ten times the value of a health center.

In a country where majority of people are not sure to eat once a day and young people can not study because they can not afford school fees, they are ready to do anything to get something to eat. Politicians who want accede to power use these young people into rebellion with the pretext of ethnic conflict, while in reality the objective is to reach power and say goodbye to poverty. Politicians who want power try to maintain fear between Hutu and Tutsi. Someone gave this testimony: "They(politicians) told my father Hutu that this night our Tutsi neighbor will kill our family, that we must flee into the bush. During the night we heard gunshots and we all went into the forest to hide. In that forest, we met another family who was hiding too. When we approached them we discovered that it was our Tutsi neighbors who were afraid of us because they thought that we were going to kill them in the same night. So, together we went back home because there were nothing to fear any more".

This testimony helped to understand that it is true, self-interests can push a man to manipulate another man using any kind of pretext including ethnism as it was done by colonizers . In the context of a strategy of "divide and rule", the colonial administration injected and imposed a caricatured, racist vision of Burundian society, accompanied by prejudices and clichés relating to morphological considerations designed to set the different components of Burundi's population against one another on the basis of physical characteristics and character traits.(Arusha Agreement protocol 1)

The vicious circle: poverty-conflict-poverty-conflict ...

According to the World Bank, " many of the poorest countries of the world are caught in a vicious circle of poverty where poverty causes conflict and conflict lead to poverty (<http://go.worldbank.org/DY4040RC70>)

"Poverty is lack of material resources such as food, access to

drinking water, clothing, housing and living conditions in general, but also intangible resources such as access to education The exercise of a rewarding activity, respect received from other citizens".(Wikipedia.com)

Eighty percent of the twenty poorest nations of the world have experienced great war during the last fifteen years. Statistically, countries emerging from conflict have a 44 percent chance of plunge during the first five years of peace. Although rapid progress after peace is signed, it may take a generation or more to regain the standard of living before the war. Again, the link between poverty and Confrontation is not only a question of income or material hardship: the poor are not automatically rebel. But if deprivation match injustice and gross inequalities, history teaches us that armed conflicts, the terrorism and other forms of violence are never far away. (UNDP, Human development report, 2005)

The cause of conflict in Burundi

In Burundi, the first armed rebellion began in 1980 with the objective of driving out the Tutsi power to replace them by the Hutu because they believed that Hutu was oppressed by Tutsi. The name of this rebellion "PALIPEHUTU" (Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People "confirms the objective. Later, several other armed movements have emerged with the same goal of taking power that they believed the Tutsis had monopolized and abused . Some people believed that if the Hutus came to power, they would correct all the mistakes of the past, in short, the country would become a paradise on earth. Finally in 2005, the former Hutu armed rebellion won democratic elections and is in power until now but we see the same problems as before, some even say that nothing has changed, those in power continue to enrich themselves and misery of the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa continues to worsen. Paradoxically, many Hutu leaders have been forced into exile despite that they are Hutu in power even Rwasa Agathon, the president of PALIPEHUTU (the party that freed the Hutu) and Leonard Nyangoma, the founder of the ruling CNDD -FDD in Burundi have fled fearing for their safety. We can read this in Statment no 10/2011 of FNL: "The party PALIPEHUTU protests against the continual slaughter of a genocidal nature against its members that the current power of CNDD-FDD is doing". This is a Hutu power against the first Hutu rebel movement that became a political party. Again, my goal is to prove in this research paper, that the nature conflict in Burundi is not ethnic as

many seem to believe. If this conflict was ethnic, all Tutsi would not be worried by a Tutsi power and all Hutu should be protected by a Hutu power. This is not the case in Burundi.

I will apply Mill's "Method of Difference" to test if I can find the real cause of conflict in Burundi.

We have seen that since independence, Burundi has experienced armed conflict, but there is nevertheless a period of ten years during which Burundi has registered any armed conflict. This is the period from 1977 to 1987, and Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza was president of the Republic of Burundi. It would be very interesting to know why this time is different from others who have preceded and who followed it. In the newspaper "L'Arc-en-ciel" we can read this: "On the political front, the Government of Jean-Baptiste Bagaza remain in the memory of Burundi as a "dream team" who worked hard for the country by fighting the poverty. Burundi under the Second Republic, during the eleven glorious years, had the honor and pride to occupy a prominent place on the board sub-regional and international levels. This, because of good cooperation with the rest of the world, focusing on diplomacy diversifying donors, relying always on the interests and needs of the people of Burundi. Thus there was the construction of several hydroelectric dams, highways, international airport of Bujumbura, factories, schools, ... with extraordinary speed and the general pride of the people of Burundi. Especially the local currency had some value, the basket was always full and unemployment still very low. the Second Republic was a success economically and socially. This was the basis of total security that Burundi will almost never find". Today, everyone is unanimous that President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, became senator for life, remains the greatest leader of all time Burundi. Even the current Head of State, Honourable Pierre Nkurunziza said publicly during a visit to Rumonge (Bururi), presenting the former Burundian President Bagaza to the people of this area, under a thunder of cheers, produced by a heterogeneous population, Hutu and Tutsi together" (Arc-en-ciel). Here we see clearly that when the basic needs of life such as food, shelter, clothing, schools, hospitals, then the security problems do not arise and there is not conflict. All components of the community Burundian Hutu, Tutsi and Twa clapping together because they have a common problem, that of poverty, if this problem is solved, no matter by a Hutu or a Tutsi, people are happy and there is no conflict. In the same manner, when the issue of poverty remains, no matter who is in power people is

unhappy and the conflict is permanent.

Comparative method is used to determine different combinations of conditions associated with specific outcomes or processes.

Thus, comparative method is based on logical method, not statistical methods to stimulate experimental conditions. The essential of this method is to try to better understand the cause of phenomenon.

Technique of systematic illustration involves applications of Mill's "Method of Method of Difference".

About the Method of Difference, J. S. Mill wrote: " If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs, and an instance in which it does not occur, have every circumstance in common save one, that occurring only in the former; the circumstance in which allows the two instances differ, is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon". ((B. Guy Peters,p 29)

Let's demonstrate with an example of using Mill's Method of Difference to determine the cause of conflict in Burundi.

I will consider all the eight presidents of the Republic of Burundi and their ethnic belonging from the independence until today as following:

1. Michel Micombero (Tutsi),
2. Jean Baptiste Bagaza (Tutsi)
3. Pierre Buyoya I (Tutsi),
4. Sylvestre Ntibantunganya (Hutu),
5. Merchior Ndadaye (Hutu)
6. Pierre Buyoya II (Tutsi)
7. Domitien Ndayizeye (Hutu)
8. Pierre Nkurunziza (Hutu).

I have here four Tutsi and four Hutu, now I will see the occurrence of conflict during their regime. Then I will consider two potential causes of the conflict as following:

- The first is Ethnic issues = E
- The second is Poverty = P

Now if I check under which regime and with which cause the conflict occurred, we end up with this table:

| BURUNDI | ETHNIC | POVERTY | CONFLICT |
|------------------|--------|---------|----------|
| 1 Micombero | TUTSI | YES | YES |
| 2 Bagaza | TUTSI | NO | NO |
| 3 Buyoya | TUTSI | YES | YES |
| 4 Ndadaye | HUTU | YES | YES |
| 5 Ntibantunganya | HUTU | YES | YES |
| 6 Buyoya II | TUTSI | YES | YES |
| 7 Ndayizeye | HUTU | YES | YES |
| 8 Nkurunziza | HUTU | YES | YES |

HUTU= H, TUTSI = T, POVERTY = P, CONFLICT = C

H, T, P are independent variables and C (conflict) is dependent variable.

If we look for patterns of invariance in the causal factors, we can clear conclude that the cause of conflict in Burundi is P, Poverty, because when P (Poverty) is missing, there is no conflict in Burundi.

So, I can now say that poverty is the real cause of conflict in Burundi.

Conclusion

” this is a very complicated matter and the tendency of exaggerate the importance of ethnicity issue, but I think we need to pose adress also the questions which are forgotten, and is hidden in the litterature and that is the raison poverty issue. I want to stress the importance of this factor. THE poverty seem to be decreasing when there is . ETHNIC CONFLICT IS ALSO THERE. Poverty is more important than ethnicity. In more difficult time there is more tendency to blame other.

It is nowhere indicated an ethnic conflict between Hutu and Tutsi before colonization in Burundi. They lived in perfect harmony as they all worshiped the same god called Kiranga. This god could be a wise man or woman in the community, he or she could be Hutu or Tutsi. The history of problems between the Hutu and Tutsi began after the independence of Burundi until today. Almost all the successive regimes that have experienced armed conflict and widespread opinion argues that the nature of ethnic conflict in Burundi is because the Tutsis have monopolized and abused power. But I noticed that the conflict in Burundi has remained intact even when the Hutu are in power too. I analyzed the frequency of conflicts that took place in Burundi since independence until now and I discovered that armed conflict could take place irrespective of the ethnicity of the person who is in power. Thus, during the reign of four Tutsi presidents of the Republic of Burundi and four Hutu president, armed conflict has always been held except in one case. I noticed also a factor that has helped to answer my research question because the presence of this factor has determined the fact that there is no conflict in the unique case of my research. This factor is poverty. Thus, I can now say that the real cause of armed conflict in Burundi is indeed poverty. If they eliminate poverty in Burundi, armed conflict will be automatically eliminated also.

The end of research paper.

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