



## BURUNDI

### INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE

AMIB was formed in April 2003 with troops from South Africa (1,600), Ethiopia (980) and Mozambique (280). Its mission was to deploy a force, within two months, with a mandate to supervise, observe, oversee and verify the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement, with a view to consolidating the peace process and facilitating technical assistance for the DDR process, since the agreements reached specified that both rebels and government forces must be quartered in areas supervised by AMIB. The annual cost of the mission was 165 million dollars.

On 21 May 2004, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council agreed to create the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB), which was deployed at the beginning of June with an agreed maximum of 5,655 troops. In addition to ensuring compliance with the Peace Agreements, providing security in the country and contributing to the holding of proper elections, this mission is charged with seeing through the DDR process, as well as controlling and overseeing the state security forces and dealing with the illegal proliferation of small arms in the country's border regions. By the end of June 2006, the UN Security Council decided to extend the mission until the end of the year, with a total budget of 82.4 million dollar from July 2006 until June 2007, both included.

The ONUB was replaced in January 2007 by an Integrated United Nations Mission, BINUB, as established by Resolution 1719 of the UN Security Council. The main objectives of BINUB will be to consolidate peace and democracy, support the disarmament process and the reform of the security sector, promote human rights and establish measures to fight against impunity and perform the coordination for the United Nations agencies and the donors involved in the country.

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### DDR STRUCTURE

#### Background to the DDR process:

Preparations for the DDR programme began immediately after the Arusha Agreements were signed in August 2000, with the scheduling of a series of visits by members of the NCDRR to countries like Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Eritrea to compile a list of best practices.

The quartering of Nkurunziza's FDD was agreed at the beginning of December 2002, though it only began to happen several months later due to lack of discussions regarding the AU mission. This included troops from Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo and Tunisia, with logistical support from the USA, which was responsible for protecting the camps where soldiers were quartered. Further disagreements arose between the government and a number of groups during later months over the location of the camps.

In January 2003, the government began designing a national DDR plan with support from the World Bank, and in August of the same year it set up a **National Commission for DRR (NCDRR)**, with the following guiding principles:

- DDR represents an integral part of the programme for the reform of the defence sector
- DDR will cover all types of former combatants
- Former combatants can choose the place where they want to be reintegrated
- Help with reintegration will be coordinated with the rehabilitation and reconstruction of communities affected by the war
- The programme will respect the amnesty included in the Arusha Agreements, and will not extend to acts of genocide, crimes against humanity or participation in coups d'état
- The programme will respect the temporary immunity of the leaders and combatants in armed opposition groups and the country's armed forces

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AMIB introduced a pilot quartering experiment in Muyange (Buzanza Province), which was aimed at assisting the learning process and helping the planning of future DDR actions. The first combatants arrived in June 2003 and by November the number had reached 200, though nothing had been decided as regards their legal status, nor had any clear DDR strategy been defined. AMIB did not have sufficient funds to manage the camp, which was disproportionately guarded by 650 soldiers. In September, AMIB stated that its deployment would be conditional upon demobilised combatants being quartered in significant numbers. For its part, MONUC began to repatriate Burundian fighters who had been based in DR Congo and were eligible for DDR. The repatriation process lasted several months. The political leaders of the two groups camped in the country (J.B. Ndykengurukiye's CNDD-FDD and A. Mugarabona's FNL) refused to let their child soldiers leave. In November 2003, the Training for Peace Programme and the South African ACCORD institution gave a course on DDR to the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), drawing lessons from its experiences in Muyange.

In January 2004, President D. Ndayizeye (a member of the Hutu majority) and Vice President A. Kadege (from the Tutsi minority) formally agreed the top appointments to the armed forces general staff, with members of the former armed opposition group, P. Nkurunziza's FDD, being awarded 14 of the 35 posts (40%). This decision paved the way for the resolution of one of the main reasons behind the flare-up in the armed conflict in 1993, the integration of the Hutu majority in the armed forces, which had until then been controlled by the Tutsi minority. The joint general staff (which will not include the former armed groups that signed ceasefire agreements with the government in 2002, J-B. Ndayikengurukiye's FDD and A. Mugabarabona's FNL), will also be responsible for suggesting the size and composition of the armed forces, supervising the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programme for former combatants and implementing trust-building measures between existing members of the armed forces and former combatants joining the new unified forces.

### Type of DDR:

Multiple, including a restructuring of the country's armed forces.

### Enforcing bodies:

The programme is planned by the World Bank through the MDRP. The structure that has been developed to see the process through is as follows:

- **National Commission charged with the Demobilisation, Reinsertion and Reintegration of Former Combatants (NCDRR)**, responsible for coordinating the programme. The Commission has 17 provincial offices (one in each province) and a former-combatant contact in each of the country's 117 municipal regions.
- **Joint Ceasefire Comitee (JMC)**. In charge of monitoring the ceasefire agreement, identify the armed groups and the DDR process.
- **United Nations Mine Action Coordination Centre (UNMACC)**, responsible for weapons inspections.
- **World Food Programme (WFP)**, in charge of providing food support during the first stage.
- **UNICEF**, responsible for attending to child soldiers (around 3,500).

### Basic principles:

The DDR process was planned over two years, with the aim of demobilising 55,000 former combatants and around 30,000 militia members (a total of 85,000 people) in two stages over a maximum period of five years, together with a reduction in military spending of 62%. Support was to be provided for reinsertion and reintegration and special assistance given to vulnerable groups. In the middle of 2005, the World Bank reduced the militia figure to 21,400.

### Groups to be demobilised:

Estimates vary, but most of them put the figure around 78,000 effectives, which will be affected depending on their group origin:

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- 41,000 effectives from the Burundian Armed Forces (8,000 of them would be demobilised on a first phase and the rest on a second one).
- 15,500 combatants from different Movements and Political Opposition Armed Groups (APPM), such as CNDD, CNDD-FDD Jean Bosco, CNDD-FDD Nkurunziza, PALIPEHUTU, FROLINA, PALIPEHUTU-FNLA y PALIPEHUTU-FNL of A. Mugarabona, (6,000 in the first phase).  
(Originally, the number of combatants from the Armed Forces and APPM to demobilise it was estimated in 55,000).
- 21,400 militias from groups *Gardiens de la Paix* (11,733) and *Combattants Militants* (9,668), from a first estimation of 20,000 and 10,000 effectives, respectively, (all of them to be demobilised on the first phase).

### Vulnerable groups:

UNICEF estimates that there are around 3,500 **child soldiers** in Burundi, while the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers has calculated that a total of 14,000 children could have been involved during the war. The majority have been recruited in refugee camps in Tanzania.

In October 2001, UNICEF and the Burundian government financed a code of conduct protocol for the demobilisation of child soldiers in the country's armed forces, the FNL-Palipehutu, the CNDD-FDD and the NTG. The bodies responsible for dealing with the child soldier issue are the following:

- UNICEF.
- *Solidarité pour la Promotion de l'Assistance et du Développement* (SOPRAD), and NGO linked with the diocese of Ruyigi, which takes children in and returns them to their families.
- *Structure Nationale s'occupant des Enfants Soldats* (SNESS).
- Maison Shalom (a Burundian NGO that provides psychological support and jobs).

The first phase of the demobilisation of child soldiers ended in 2004, during which time UNICEF demobilised 2,260 children from the armed forces and the *Guardiens de la Paix*. A second phase was completed in December 2004, with the demobilisation of a further 618 children from the six armed political parties and movements. At the moment, 3,000 child soldiers have been demobilised.

The World Bank project for child soldiers in Burundi, which has been allocated a budget of 3,5 million dollars to reintegrate them in their communities within the first eight months, establishing mechanisms that will stop them from being recruited again. Around 20\$ per month is paid to the families of these children to help with their reintegration during 18 months. At the beginning of 2006, the accusations made by several child soldiers due to the lack of commitment on their reintegration rights showed the necessary lack of funds for doing it. At the beginning of 2006, denunciations made by some minors for the lack of accomplishment on the reintegration rights suggested the necessary lack of funds to implement. Moreover, *Human Rights Watch* denounced that Government still recruits child soldiers associated with FNL armed group, in spite of implementing rehabilitation activities, and urged to be released.

In addition, at the beginning of November 2006, the CNDDR began the demobilisation of the first 103 disabled ex-combatants, who came from the National Defence Forces. For this group demobilisation consists of being given somewhere to live, medical rehabilitation, clothing and constant monitoring. The Commission itself has given assurances that this demobilisation will be carried out in a progressive way, and that the needs of this group will be taken into account. It is calculated that there are a total of 2,300 disabled soldiers to be demobilised, at a cost of 1,600 dollars per person. In addition, an agreement was signed with two local hospitals, a fact that will benefit 4,000 people, while some 700 are currently receiving treatment, 367 are receiving specific professional training and another 300 have already been treated. In April 2006, UNICEF Belgium donated 128,830 dollars for child soldiers' reintegration programmes.

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### Timetable:

The DDR was planned with two phases in mind, and a maximum period of five years. The first phase would last six months (2004), and a second one three years (2005-2007). The DDR began formally on December 2<sup>nd</sup> 2004, a year late, and with a first group of 216 combatants, and there was a pause in functioning between December 23<sup>rd</sup> and January 4<sup>th</sup> 2005. The completion date is envisaged as December 31<sup>st</sup> 2008.

### Budget:

The initial estimated cost of the whole process is 84.4 million dollars, mainly financed by the World Bank under its special programme for the Great Lakes region (MDRP). **Contributions** can be broken down as follows:

Donor	Millions of \$	(%)
MDRP Trust Fund (*)	41.8	50
World Bank (IDA)	33	39
MDRP Trust Fund for child soldiers	3.6	4
Germany	6	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>84.4</b>	<b>100</b>

(\*) Funds from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the EU, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom (25) and the USA.

By year, the estimated cost of the project is as follows (shown in millions of dollars):

Year	Millions of \$	Percentage (%)
2004	19.2	22.7
2005	24.6	29.1
2006	18.1	21.4
2007	16.0	18.9
2008	6.5	7.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>84.4</b>	<b>100</b>

Stage by stage, the estimated costs is as follows:

Stage	Cost per person (dollars)	Total cost (\$M)	(%)
Demobilisation	97	4.8	6
Reinsertion	677	31.5	37
<i>Regular armed forces and armed groups</i>	586	29	34
<i>Militias</i>	91	2.5	3
Reintegration	468	20.9	25
Technical assistance	23	2	2
Administration	103	8.8	10
Vulnerable groups	(1,583)	12.4	15
Contingencies	47	4	5
<b>Total (estimate)</b>	<b>1,325*</b>	<b>84.4</b>	<b>100</b>

(\*) only indicates the average for former combatants

### Other issues:

- **Justice:** The Pretoria Protocol of 8 October 2003 provides for the temporary immunity of former combatants. However, an earlier agreement (the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, August 2000) established a commitment to work towards a new constitution with the adoption of measures to combat genocide and promote national reconciliation, with the formation of a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, judicial reforms and a National Rehabilitation Commission, among other measures, though no firm advances have as yet been made in respect of any of these

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items. Release of political prisoners, some of them former Tutsi military implied on the murder of the first democratic Hutu President, M. Ndadaye.

- **Security sector reform:** One of the main obstacles to reform the security sector was harmonisation of military ranks between members of the different armed groups, though this would lately appear to have been resolved. One requirement that has constantly been identified by all the parties involved is the need for more financial and above all technical assistance from the international community. For the time being, the army has 33,000 troops, with the government promising to reduce this number to 25,000 by December 2007.

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## DDR STAGES

Program was divided on two stages: one of 1 year duration on the Burundian Armed Forces DDR and a creation of new forces, with no more of 30,000 effectives. A second period of three years would consist on the surplus BDNF effectives.

### **Disarmament:**

ONUB is responsible for registering and storing weapons, with the possibility of arranging for their subsequent destruction since June 2004.

The process consisted on the former FAB members' disarmament in their barracks, a subsequent register and transport to cantonment camps. By March 2006, 26,295 arms were collected. On 4 May 2005, a decree ordering the disarmament of the civilian population was passed, aimed at strengthening national security through the reduction of the number of weapons in circulation. The civilian disarmament process itself began on 9 May. Other measures introduced in connection with this issue included a ban on members of the police and military wearing uniforms and carrying weapons during the electoral period when not on duty

### **Demobilisation:**

12 assembly areas have been created, along with 5 quartering and disarmament zones (2 for members of Nkurunziza's CND-FDD, 2 for armed political parties and movements and a centre for integration into the national police force). There are also 3 demobilisation centres (Gitena, Bubanza and Muramuya).

30,000 Armed Forces members were previewed to be demobilized by end 2005. The 5,000 members of the regular armed forces who were demobilised during the first phase were housed at one centre, while the first 9,000 people from armed opposition groups were housed in other two. By 16 October 2005, 17,459 former combatants had been demobilised, including 3,007 child soldiers and 482 women, with completion of the demobilisation of combatants from political parties and movements. From July onwards, efforts centred on the demobilisation of soldiers and militia members.

The transit centres, which today stand empty, were located in Randa, Gitega and Muramuya, each person staying for a total of 10 days in order to register and receive their preliminary instructions. It should be said that conditions at these centres were deplorable. Water was short, sanitary conditions appalling and there was a risk of contracting cholera. The process here involved combatants confirming their identity and then undergoing a medical examination, registration, identification, orientation and then finally onward transportation. Once demobilised, each person received their reinsertion assignment within one month. Payments were made to cover the reinsertion needs of complete family units and consequently to their range.

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### Reintegration:

Former combatants reach the reintegration phase three months after demobilisation, with ONUB taking responsibility for this process. Around 6,600 demobilised former combatants have now received their first reinsertion payment and resettled in the community of their choice, many of them investing in activities that will generate income. The main guidelines for the reintegration process are as follows:

- Former combatants receive the same assistance, regardless of their former rank.
- They may choose the place where they are to be reintegrated and the activity that they will engage in (it is estimated that around 70% of former combatants will settle in rural areas).
- There are special programmes for child soldiers, women and the disabled combatants.
- Access to job-creation programmes is guaranteed.
- Programmes must benefit the community in which they settle.
- There are opportunities to set up micro-projects and gain access to micro-loans.

Financial reintegration is mainly divided into the following areas:

- Activities that generate jobs.
- Training for self-employment.
- Formal education.
- Support for setting up businesses.
- Support for employment.

Likewise, the NCDRR is supporting activities to promote the setting-up of business in the following sectors, though one of the main elements is the encouragement of micro-businesses:

- Agriculture and fishing.
- Agricultural food crops.
- Small businesses.
- Small traders and arts and crafts.

Participation from the community itself is regarded as essential, particularly as regards the following aspects:

- Helping to reconcile former combatants with their communities.
- Mitigating the impact of the perceptions that one group has of another.
- Supporting rehabilitation needs.
- Specialised help (information and sensitization, families, HIV/AIDS, women, etc.).

Demobilised combatants, whether from the regular armed forces or from one of the opposition groups, receive a Transitional Subsistence Allowance (TSA) based on their rank, as previously arranged. The minimum allowance is \$515 and the overall average is \$586. The TSA is paid in cash in ten instalments. The first instalment is paid before leaving the quartering camp, the second is paid three months after settling in the chosen community and the remainder is then paid quarterly. The programme also provides financing for a number of reintegration activities, including micro-projects, seeds and tools, health, education, professional training and administrative work.

Militia members, around 30,000 in total, receive a single payment of \$91 following demobilisation. All payments are made via the commercial banking system rather than cash in hand. It was subsequently announced that all subsidies would be paid in materials rather than cash.

By mid April 2006, the government decided to open again the demobilisation camp destined to the armed group FNL, at northwest of the country. This decision was based on the improving of

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the security situation in the area, where this armed group were operating and also with the aid of the local residents. The MDRP guaranteed during the first term of 2006 that 1.2% of the demobilized didn't received their payments due to the communication delay of its location or bank account.

From February 2004 to June 2006, IOT and USAID implemented community based reconciliation initiatives.

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## EVOLUTION OF THE DDR PROCESS

There was 19,000 demobilized on the 16 first months. Although the reintegration phase was eventually defined as lasting from March to August 2005, it should be remembered that some former combatants have been demobilised since the end of 2003, and there are therefore question marks concerning the treatment that these individuals may have received.

During June 2005, members of the pro-governmental para-military groups known as the *Guardiens de la Paix* held protests in which they complained about delays in the payment of the money that they were owed (around \$100 per combatant). According to government sources, the money is in place but there have been problems with identifying the people who actually belonged to this group, since their number has multiplied during recent weeks, though initial estimates put their number at around 20,000 members.

As regards the groups being demobilised, priority is given to the FDD, though organisers want ensure that the smaller armed groups are not left out. The process was criticised by the FDD, the group led by P. Nkurunziza, because it felt that its troops were being forced to disarm. In addition, President D. Ndayizeye announced a programme for the disarmament of civilians which was also criticised by the same group, which regarded it as being poorly planned. The elections held in June 2005 ended in victory for the CNDD-FDD.

In August 2005, the leaders of the armed opposition groups handed their weapons over to ONUB in a symbolic gesture indicating their renunciation of violence and willingness to enter government following the elections, which were won by the former leader of the CNDD-FDD, P. Nkurunziza.

In October 2005, the *Guardiens de la Paix* were once again involved in disturbances following the review of the status of former combatant pushed through by the National Commission for the Demobilisation, Reinsertion and Reintegration of Former Combatants (CNDRR), which excluded a high (but unspecified) number of people from the process. This caused the government to form a new NCDRR team whose first job was to revise the lists of former combatants.

In February 2006, the CNDDR announced that the demobilisation phase was entering its final stage, with 5,000 ex-combatants to be demobilised. In addition, it gave assurances that the National defence Forces had been reduced to 25,000 troops, as was stipulated, 20,000 ex-combatants, including under-age soldiers, have returned to their families, while 11,000 ex-militia, including 7,000 belonging to the *Guardiens de la Paix*, have received their demobilisation payments. Nonetheless, the payment problems by the BM have led to delays in the initially envisaged planning.

By mid April 2006, the Government decided to reopen the demobilization camp addressed to the opposition armed group FNL, at northeast of the country. This reopening decision is based on the assertion that the security situation has increased in those areas, thanks also to the local residents. By the end of September 2006, there was 21,418 combatants demobilized(3,000 of

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them child soldiers and 9,000 from the FDN), a 39% from the expected, 18,403 reinserted (80%) and 5,401 reintegrated, 10% from the total, as well as 26,295 arms recollected.

At the beginning of 2007, there were several fights in the Randa cantonment camp, where FNL former combatants protested against the awful conditions of this centre with pillage activities.

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## ASPECTS TO BE EXAMINED

### Planning:

- Lack of a disarmament phase and poor planning of the disarmament of the civilian population.
- Delays and failure to stick to the original timetable.
- Lack of consultation on the role and deployment of the different international missions.
- Lack of initial planning, improvisation.
- Initial lack of information on the number of combatants and subsequent disagreement on the number of troops in each group.
- Lack of minimum conditions in quartering zones, particularly as regards sanitary conditions.
- Disagreement over where to locate the quartering zones.
- Slow rate of repatriation of combatants camped in DR Congo.
- Poor definition of status of combatant.
- Lack of consensus on harmonisation of military ranks.
- Absence of a common operational plan for the reintegration of the army.
- Lack of operational decentralisation at provincial offices.

### Financing:

- Shortage of funding for AMIB, affecting on the security coverage in the country.

### Demobilisation and Reintegration:

- Lack of proportion between the number of AMIB troops and the number of combatants to be demobilised.
- Lack of transparency in reintegration plans.
- Difficulties in appointing representatives in the collection areas.
- Delay in returning the armed forces to their barracks.
- Shortage of equipment, personnel and funds.
- Lack of support for the different projects and activities and for social reintegration.

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