A Primer for the USAID Workshop:
Fragility, Resilience, and Program Priorities in Burundi:
A Fragile States Assessment Exercise.

A USAID workshop is planned for July 27 and 28, 2005 to consider program priorities for Burundi. This E-Bulletin contains *essential* reading and *background* reading for workshop participants. These documents are also pasted on the workshop website at:
http://www.irisprojects.umd.edu/ppc_ideas/FS_Assessment/Secure/burundi_summary.htm
Username: fsat
Password: strategy2005

E-Bulletin Summary:

The Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement, signed in 2000, laid out a four-year period of transition in the hopes of ending Burundi's protracted ethnic conflict. 2005 marks the final stage of this transition: popular elections for municipal, parliamentary, and, on the 19th of August, presidential elections.

After more than a decade of ethnicized conflict, Burundi faces enormous challenges in maintaining peace, attaining economic stability and growth, and addressing structural imbalances in access to political power, economic opportunity, and social services. As one of the world's most densely populated countries, Burundi faces real and pressing concerns regarding social cleavages along regional, clan, and socio-economic lines. Such social tensions are exacerbated by other features of post-conflict Burundi: access to land; dependency on one cash crop (coffee); large numbers of returnee refugees and internally displaced people; and the demobilization and necessary reintegration of ex-combatants.

Thus, while this election year represents opportunities for peace and normalization in Burundi, it underscores some seriously unresolved and unaddressed issues of access, equality, and political consensus in Burundi.

This E-Bulletin presents summaries and links to full-text articles and documents relating to donor activities, and political, economic, social and security features of Burundi. The first section presents *essential* readings, which provide the most important and useful documents to gain necessary background and up-to-date information. The second section offers *recommended* readings, for additional information.

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Essential Readings

Donor Strategies

USAID Program Map: Burundi *July 19, 2005: USAID*

Burundi: Complex Emergency Bulletin *July 2005: USAID*

This document provides a quick sum-up of major issues facing Burundi, including at-a-glance statistics. In addition, the report overviews current USAID activities.

USAID-Burundi Stock-Taking *December 2004: USAID*

This report presents findings of a November 2004 stocktaking on how USAID programs are performing in relation to strategic objectives (enhancing good governance; enhancing food security; and increasing access to basic service), and in light of the challenges facing Burundi (weak/non-existent governance structures and a failing economy; deep social inequality; minimal financial resources; the continuation of security sector reform; a barely functioning judicial system; land disputes; refugees and internally displaced people; and demobilized soldiers and ex-combatants).

For each strategic objective, the stock-taking team assessed: 1). The results of USAID-funded activities; 2). The relevance of the SO structure given the current state of the transition ;and 3). The extent of the integration of USAID-funded activities. As the transition process moves forward, the report finds that USAID must maintain flexibility in programming. The team also concluded that, while elections are an important step in the transition, the USG should determine its future programming based on benchmarks or performance indicators which demonstrate a strong commitment and political will by the post-transition government for necessary policy and economic reforms. Ideally, these performance indicators would be determined in conjunction with other international donors and U.N. organizations.

USAID/ Burundi Annual Report 2004 *July 2004: USAID*

This document presents background and discusses USAID activities in Burundi for FY 2003, highlighting the needs addressed and potential future destabilizing factors. From 2001 to 2003, USAID programs consisted of peace-building and reconciliation activities, civil society enhancement, justice system improvement, women's empowerment activities, condom social marketing and HIV/AIDS prevention training, polio vaccinations and several scholarships to a U.S. university. In FY 2002, USAID incorporated food security, maternal mortality issues and psychosocial support for victims of torture. The document proposes that USAID continue its ongoing program of humanitarian and development assistance and, at the same time, refine or initiate activities in the three proposed priority areas of concentration: food security; health, including HIV/AIDS; and conflict management, democracy, and governance.

Conflict-Sensitive Development Assistance: The Case of Burundi *April 2005. Brachet, Juana and Howard Wolpe: World Bank.*

Using the Conflict Analysis Framework developed by the World Bank, Wolpe and Brachet look at both triggering causes and structural causes of conflict in Burundi (triggering being those events that cause conflict to escalate, and structural referring to the underlying fundamental causes).

The authors argue that Burundi is a country "on the brink" and provide an excellent, holistic view of the situation. They argue that clan, regional and class-based social divides are further exacerbated by differential social opportunities; a history of violence and impunity; poor economic performance, inequality and environmental stress; failed governance and institutions; and the spillover effects of regional conflict among Burundi's neighbors. In light of such destabilizing factors, the authors offer eight principles to guide international development assistance:
1). Do no harm and avoid reinforcing structural or triggering causes of conflict; 2). Make dividends of peace visible to public; 3). Address short-term issues, such as programs that contribute to the restoration of security 4); Focus on labor-intensive work projects; 5). Promote elite inclusion; 6). Highlight governance; 7). Build capacity to restore a sense of national community and develop consensus; 8). Encourage regional states to recognize and build on their common interests.

Politics

The Challenges Facing a Post-Election Burundi: A Formal New Dialogue Process Needed after Elections in order to Deal with the Unresolved Issues *February 2005. Van Eck, Jan.*

Van Eck clearly presents the challenges to Burundi's stability in this election year. While there is broad consensus among Burundians on the need for 'change', there is no agreement when it comes to defining what is meant by 'change'. The direct result of this lack of a common vision is that Burundians are heading towards elections with numerous critically important issues having been left unresolved, most notably the ethnically determined political power-sharing system set in place by the new constitution. The dispute about this new constitution is the main reason why the present situation – while seemingly moving forward - is so fragile, confusing and unstable. The author presents suggestions for the government to create a new, formalized dialogue process to address the unresolved issues that were, and continue to be, at the heart of conflict in Burundi.

Distributional Conflict, the State, and Peace Building in Burundi *May 2004. Ndikumana, Léonce: Department of Economics and Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts)*

Ndikumana analyzes the source of conflict between Tutsis and Hutus in Burundi, and argues that ethnicity was exploited as a source of conflict in the post-independence period. Rather than being used as tools to establish rule of law, state institutions were oriented toward ensuring ethnic divisions through alternating rounds of repression, resulting in inequalities in wealth distribution and the monopolization of power. The effect of such state failure touches almost every aspect of Burundi's social, economic and political structures as evidenced in still-present inequalities and deficiencies in the political system, military, agriculture, and educational opportunities. While the Burundian government holds the primary responsibility for rebuilding the state, the author highlights the essential role for the international community in assisting with peace-building and state-building and perhaps most importantly, debt reduction.

Social

Socio Political Context of Land Access, Refugee Repatriation and Resettlement of IDPs in Burundi *April 2004. J.S. Oketch: Africa Centre for Technology Studies.*

This paper offers historical background and analysis to underscore one of the biggest problems facing Burundi's society, economy, and future peace: access to land for the hundreds of thousands of returning refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). Successive waves of flight to exile and internal displacement have been accompanied by expropriation of private property and alienation of public land for personal enrichment and profit. The general population is yet to reap

the dividends of the peace process and view the political class as selfish and self-serving. This trend requires an urgent reversal if latest gains in the peace process are to be sustained and furthered.

While there is consensus that land and property issues constitute serious obstacles to the successful repatriation and re-integration of refugees and IDPs in Burundi, there is a lack of clear, co-coordinated, purposive, and deliberate action on the part of the government and the international community to address this issue. Part of the problem is that donors, despite pledging over a billion dollars, have been reluctant to release much of the funds to the government.

Security

Fourth Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Operation in Burundi *May 19 2005: United Nations Security Council.*

This report updates the activities of the ONUB (United Nations Operation in Burundi) and offers a comprehensive overview of recent developments as they relate to the security situation of Burundi. The report details four positive steps toward lasting peace: a successful referendum, promulgation of the electoral code and communal law, progress towards disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and finally security sector reform. Despite this, the report also points to continuing challenges such as political tensions, refugees and IDPs, and weaknesses in the legal framework, particularly regarding the harmonization of military ranks.

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Recommended Readings

Donor Strategies

U.S. Government Integrated Strategic Plan for Burundi 2003-2005 *May 2003: USAID.*

This document presents the USG plan to support Burundi's transition from conflict to peace and from relief to renewed development for 2003-2005. This strategy represents renewed USG activity in Burundi, after a pull out in 1996 following the coup d'etat. The paper identifies three strategic objectives for USAID activities: 1). enhancing the peace process and good governance, 2). enhancing food security, and 3).improving access to basic social services. In addition, the document also provides differing scenarios and trigger events that may potentially affect the programs.

USAID/REDSO/ESA FY 2002 Annual Report: Burundi Program *July 2002: USAID.*

This report discusses USAID activities in Burundi for FY 2001 in terms of results based on the broad Special Objective to create a foundation for a peaceful transition in Burundi. The Special Objective peace and reconciliation activities provided greater access to conflict mitigation training, inter-communal dialogue, independent media and community development programs -- including adult literacy, dance camps for children, and rebuilding houses destroyed in the fighting in the spring of 2001. In total, 1.2 million Burundians received humanitarian assistance from the U.S.

Politics

Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi *August 2000: The United States Institute of Peace.*

This link leads to the Arusha Peace Accords, signed in 2000. The document provides background on the causes of conflict and presents the timeline of transition to peace and a new government.

Rebuilding Peace and State Capacity in War-Torn Burundi *July 2004: Wolpe, Howard, et al.: The Round Table.*

This article discusses the Burundi Leadership Training Program, a project designed by the Woodrow Wilson Center and funded by USAID and the World Bank's post conflict fund. This project aims to build capacity by offering training in collaborative decision making for Burundian leaders. The article maps out the basic goals and assumptions of the training program and discusses the techniques used to break down entrenched political/ethnic/individual identities among leaders and promote empathetic discussion where participants focus on solving conflict for the stability of the entire country.

Economy

Conflict and Coffee in Burundi *2004.Oketch, Johnstone Summit and Tara Polzer: Scarcity and Surfeit.*

Like many other African countries, conflict in Burundi has, since post-independence, been essentially about who controls the state. In this article, the authors trace the historical link between state control and Burundi's primary export, coffee.

With over 80% of export earnings coming from coffee, competition for this commodity represents the axis of conflict, a conflict often mislabeled as being the sole result of ethnicity. Coffee is viewed by the Hutu majority as a legacy of the colonial period in which coffee was promoted by authorities as a means to raise tax revenues. Subsequent governments have used coffee revenues as means to benefit themselves at the expense of the population, particularly Hutus. The returns to the growers are almost tokenistic, and that has the potential to fuel discontent. There is a vital need to restructure and reform the coffee sector, from land management, to processing and even changing laws that forbid the uprooting of coffee plants before coffee can be removed as a driver of violence in Burundi society.

Interim Strategic Framework for Accelerating Economic Growth and Reducing Poverty *November 2003: Government of the Republic of Burundi.*

This interim poverty reductions strategy paper (iPRSP) outlines the short and long term objectives of the Burundian government in addressing poverty and gaining donor support for initiatives. This iPRSP has come in the midst of marked by falling output and incomes; galloping inflation; the drying up of public revenues; the withdrawal of international financial assistance; lower investment; and the accumulation of domestic and external deficits and external payment arrears (which stood at US$148.5 million in 2002). The strategy adopted by the Government focuses on winning the support and commitment of all socio-economic players involved in the poverty reduction program. This new approach will focus on standard macro stabilization goals, agricultural productivity, industrial diversification, and social services, all in the aim of economic self-sufficiency.

An Economic Interpretation of Conflict in Burundi *October 2000. Ngaruko, Floribert and Janvier Nkurunziza: Journal of African Economies.*

This paper uses economic and political analyses to investigate the economics of civil conflicts in Burundi. It shows that conflicts in Burundi have resulted from a combination of poverty, governance policies of exclusion and the fight for control of the country's limited resources. The public sector being the main source of financial accumulation, Burundian bureaucracy is analyzed

in detail and is found to be a predatory bureaucracy which cares for its own interests. In order to avoid the recurrence of war in the country, it is recommended that Burundians, with the assistance of other fellow Africans and the international community, first of all break the cycle predation-rebellion-repression. Secondly, the paper recommends that a solution be found to the country's endless problem of impunity whereby criminals responsible for some of the most horrendous crimes have never been prosecuted. The paper remarks that the challenge of bringing peace to Burundi is tall, but that the current mediator, former president Nelson Mandela, is probable the best but last hope Burundians can count on to enjoy a peaceful future.

Fiscal Policy, Conflict, and Reconstruction in Burundi and Rwanda *August 2001. Ndikumana, Léonce: United Nations University.*

This paper investigates various ways in which fiscal policy relates to conflict and discusses the role of fiscal policy in post-conflict reconstruction and poverty reduction in the cases of Burundi and Rwanda. The author argues that the ethnic conflict in Burundi has severely weakened its economy and worsened its structural fiscal imbalances, further polarizing an already ethnicized and regionalized economy due to reallocation of resources on military spending at the expense of capital and social expenditure. In Burundi and Rwanda, like in other countries in conflict or evolving from conflict, fiscal policy must move beyond the conventional goals of macroeconomic adjustment and countercyclical stabilization and pay more attention to potential effects of fiscal policy on poverty alleviation. In other words, fiscal policy must have a clear social mandate, as application of conventional fiscal policy prescriptions may actually exacerbate poverty in post-conflict countries.

Social

Land Tenure and the Return of Refugees after Conflict: The Case of Burundi *December 2004. P.M. Kamungi, J.S. Oketch and C. Huggins. pg 14-23.*

This chapter represents a summary of a presentation given at the African Centre for Technology's Conference on Land Tenure and Conflict in Africa, held in December 2004. It offers a concise and detailed presentation on the most salient features of Burundi's land tenure challenge and its relationship to enduring lasting peace in Burundi. Returnees face numerous administrative, legal and cultural obstacles when attempted to reclaim their property rights, especially women and children. The authors also highlight other problems tied into land tenure such as HIV/AIDS, demographic pressures, and economic productivity.

TDY Trip Report to Burundi *May 2005. Ewell, Peter.*

Reporting back from a trip to Burundi with representatives of NGOs supporting agricultural projects, Ewell discusses one aspect of Burundi's food shortage: the Cassava Mosaic Virus which has all but wiped out the cassava crop in Kirundo Province and other parts of the northeast of Burundi.

The virus, which is spreading to other areas of Burundi, greatly exacerbates the country's already chronic food shortage and only adds to pressure to the slow recovery of the taro plant following disease as well. The Consortium of four NGOs supported by USAID in Burundi -- CARE, CRS, Africare, and World Vision -- has made good progress in developing a plan for the multiplication and distribution of cassava cuttings of resistant varieties as part of their demand-driven programs for crop diversification and livelihood support in four northeastern provinces. Ewell reports that the consortium members have consulted among themselves, and produced a rough draft for a common program. At a wrap-up meeting, representatives of the consortium of NGOs, ISABU, EARRNET, and the FAO all agreed to work more closely together to organize a coordinated response. All parties expressed strong interest in cooperating with a regional activity, potentially supported by the Famine Fund.

Food Security Program in Bujumbura Rural-Burundi *January 2003: Gruppo Volontariato Civile.*

This document provides a narrative final report on pilot activities to prevent malnutrition through supplementary feeding programs in Bujumbura Rural. The goal of the project was to replace food aid with self-produced rations. TO do so, seeds and agricultural supplies were dispersed and training provided to 800 mothers of malnourished children.

USAID HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan 2005-2007 *January 2005: USAID*

Acknowledging the clear connection between fragile, disintegrating civil and state organizations and the increase of HIV prevalence, this report presents USAID's plan to address HIV/AIDS in Burundi as part of its strategic objective to improve access to basic social services. The Plan provides overview of the factors contributing to the spread of HIV/AIDS in an unstable environment, highlighting the return of refugees and demobilization/ repatriation of ex-combatants. In addition, the document details other donor and NGO activity in this sphere as well as current USAID activity.

Equal Access to Education: A Peace Imperative for Burundi *June 2000. Jackson, Tony: International Alert.*

This report describes in broad outline the state of formal primary and secondary education in Burundi, as of 2000. Concluding that the education system is in almost total crisis, the author examines the issues of access to education and the quality of that education, as well as the role of the state and donors in funding the system. While the report does not provide answers to this major problem, it raises some of the main issues now facing the country in this crucial sphere.

Security

Child Soldiers - The Challenge of Demobilization *2004: Amnesty International.*

This report focuses attention on the child soldiers in Burundi, which according to recent UNICEF figures range between 6,000 and 7,000 under-18 year olds who must now be disengaged, demobilized and reintegrated into society. Through personal accounts and in the context of human rights' abuses, Amnesty International concludes the report with recommendations to the transitional and post-transitional governments, urging that special attention be paid to the next generation of Burundians.

Technical Annex for a Proposed Grant to Burundi for an Emergency Demobilization, Reinsertion and Reintegration Program *February 2004: World Bank.*

Following the signing of the cease-fire agreements, the Government of Burundi began to prepare a national Demobilization, Reinsertion and Reintegration Program (DRRP) in January 2003. This document provides detail on the project, which aims to demobilize and reintegrate a total of 55,000 combatants in two stages over five years. The proposed DRRP would contain four components (demobilization, including HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation measures; reinsertion; reintegration; and customized reintegration assistance for special groups, namely child, female and disabled ex-combatants). This DRRP program is one prong of Burundi's poverty reduction strategy, contributing not only to a stable and secure environment, but also encouraging the government to reallocate expenditure from defense to social and economic sectors.

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Useful Websites for Background and Statistics

BBC News Country Profile: Burundi

BBC News Timeline: Burundi

UNDP Human Development Report: Burundi (2003)

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