



**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION  
DIRECTORATE B  
- POLICY DEPARTMENT -**

**NOTE**

**ON**

**THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI**

**Abstract:**

Since its independence in 1962, Burundi has faced a series of violent socio-political crises, where the ethnic confrontation between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi-controlled army has played a growing role. The assassination in October 1993 of the first Burundi's democratically elected President, the Hutu Melchior Ndayaye, led to a bloody civil war which has devastated the country.

The Burundians have nevertheless shown a decisive will to leave civil war behind them, and the peace process from the landmark of the Arusha peace agreement in 2000 and the free and democratic elections in 2005 can be defined as exemplary. The expectations raised by the Pierre Nkurunziza's administration were however deluded by increasing cases of power abuse and human rights violations during 2006. A radical change of policy by President Nkurunziza has led to an institutional crisis which has blocked the National Assembly for months. In addition, the elusive final peace agreement with the only remaining armed rebel group, the Palipehutu-FNL, is a powerful destabilisation factor. With presidential and general elections in the horizon of 2010 vested interests become greater and make more difficult any political agreement.

The international community, a bit too self-complacent after the 2005 elections, has slowly realised the existence of real threats to the nascent Burundian democracy and has started to act accordingly.

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# 1. MAP OF BURUNDI



Map No. 3753 Rev. 6 UNITED NATIONS Department of Peacekeeping Operations September 2004 Cartographic Section

## 2. BASIC DATA <sup>1</sup>

### *The Republic of Burundi (République du Burundi / Republika y'u Burundi)*<sup>2</sup>

*Area:* 27,830 square km (land: 25,650 sq Km)

*Population:* 8.1<sup>3</sup> million

*Population density:* 315.7 people / sq Km

*Capital:* Bujumbura (estimate 400,000 population)

*Ethnic groups:* Hutu (Bantu) 85%, Tutsi (Hamitic) 14%, Twa (Pygmy) 1%, Europeans 3,000, South Asians 2,000

*Religions:* Christian 67 % (Roman Catholic 62 %, Protestant 5%), Indigenous beliefs 23%, Muslim 10%

*Languages:* Kirundi (official), French (official), Swahili (along Lake Tanganyika and in the Bujumbura area)

*Currency (code):* Burundi franc (BIF)=100 centimes

*Exchange rate:* 1,056.9 BIF per US dollar (average 2<sup>nd</sup> Qtr 2007)

*GDP per capita (PPP)<sup>4</sup>:* 682 USD

*Human Development Rank:* 169 (out of 177 countries)<sup>5</sup>

*Government type:* Republic

*Independence:* 1 July 1962 (from Belgium-administered UN trusteeship)

*Constitution:* 28 February 2005; ratified by popular referendum

*Head of state and government:* President Pierre Nkurunziza – Hutu (since 26 August 2005)

*First Vice President:* Martin Nduwimana - Tutsi (since 29 August 2005)

*Second Vice-President:* Gabriel Ntizezerana - Hutu (since 9 February 2007)

*Cabinet:* Council of Ministers appointed by President

*Legislature:* *Assemblée Nationale* (minimum 100 seats; possibility of additional seats to ensure correct ethnic representation, see below) and *Sénat* (54 seats; 34 members elected by indirect vote so serve five-year terms, remaining seats assigned to ethnic groups and former chiefs of state)

*Elections:* *Assemblée Nationale* - last held 4 July 2005 (next to be held in 2010); *Sénat* - last held 29 July 2005 (next to be held in 2010); next *presidential* elections to be held in 2010<sup>6</sup>

*Legal System:* Based on German and Belgian civil codes and customary law; has not accepted compulsory ICJ jurisdiction

*Administrative divisions:* 17 provinces: Bubanza, Bujumbura Mairie, Bujumbura Rurale, Bururi, Cankuzo, Cibitoke, Gitega, Karuzi, Kayanza, Kirundo, Makamba, Muramvya, Muyinga, Mwaro, Ngozi, Rutana, Ruyigi

Burundi is a small, landlocked and extremely poor country with few resources, being at the same time the second <sup>7</sup>most densely populated country in Africa with over 300 people /sq km.

<sup>1</sup> Sources for basic data: UNFPA (2007 report), CIA (The World Factbook), IMF (WEO)

<sup>2</sup> Local long forms of the country name in French and Kirundi

<sup>3</sup> UNFPA : State of World Population 2007, Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth.

<sup>4</sup> GDP per capita at Purchasing Power Parity, data for 2006- EIU, Country profile 2007

<sup>5</sup> UNDP – Human Development Report 2006

<sup>6</sup> According to the February 2005 Constitution, the current president (post-transitional) was elected in August 2005 by a two-thirds majority of the parliament; subsequently the president will be elected by popular vote to a five-year term (eligible for a second term)

It is situated in eastern central Africa just south of the Equator. It lies on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika and is bordered by Rwanda to the north, Tanzania to the south and east and by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) to the west<sup>8</sup>. The climate is tropical (hot and humid) in the lowlands, and cool in the highlands, with an irregular rainfall. Average annual temperature is 24°C, driest months, June-September, wettest months, February-May. Natural hazards include: flooding, landslides and drought.

### 3. POLITICS: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION<sup>9</sup>

#### 3.1. Summary

Since its independence in 1962, Burundi has faced a series of violent socio-political crises, where the ethnic issue has played a growing role (massacres took place in 1965, 1972 and 1988). In October 1993 Burundi's first democratically elected president (Melchior Ndayaye, a Hutu) was assassinated, after only 100 days in office, triggering widespread ethnic violence between Hutu and Tutsi factions. More than 12 years of civil war have followed causing between 200,000 – 300,000 victims, 400,000 Burundi refugees in neighbouring countries, and over 100,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Following the landmark of the Arusha peace process (2000 – 2001), which set the basis for the national reconciliation, a power-sharing agreement was painstakingly brokered in October 2003 with the main armed group, the CNDD-FDD<sup>10</sup>, leading to peace in most of the country.

A new Constitution, approved by 90 % of Burundians in a referendum, entered into force in March 2005 and the long-awaited elections were finally held in June and July 2005 (communal and legislative, respectively), considered a success by the international community. In both, the former rebel group CNDD-FDD won resounding victories and the party leader, Pierre Nkurunziza, became the second Hutu president democratically elected in the history of Burundi.

After a promising start after the elections, the governance of Mr Nkurunziza deteriorated in mid-2006, with allegedly unjustified detentions and harassment of opposition members, allegations of human rights abuses and growing corruption scandals. The purge and detention in February this year of the former president of the CNDD-FDD, Hussein Radjabu, considered the hardliner strategist within the party, led to an internal split which blocked the National Assembly for months and has forced the president to agree a fragile power-sharing agreement with opposition members.

On the other hand, progress on negotiating a final peace deal with the remaining Hutu militia, Palipehutu-FNL, is very slow despite the ceasefire agreed in September 2006, owing to the vested interests involved and the proximity of legislative and presidential elections (2010). Although the rebel group is no longer in a position to relaunch a war, it is a source of insecurity in Western regions and an important destabilisation factor. Significantly, Burundi is one of the two countries<sup>11</sup> chosen as test case by the newly created UN Peacebuilding Commission<sup>12</sup>.

Rampant poverty, high inflation, heavy dependence on foreign aid and on exports of very few agricultural products, as well as growing pressure on land which could be worsened with the return of the 400,000 refugees currently abroad are all additional threats to the nascent Burundian democracy.

<sup>7</sup> The most populated is the neighbouring Rwanda, very similar in size and population, with 341 people / sq km

<sup>8</sup> The geographical configuration of Burundi is not the result of colonial negotiation but a historical nation-state whose borders are shaped by natural features (rivers and the Lake Tanganyika)

<sup>9</sup> Sources: The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) reports, ICG report Burundi: Conclure la paix avec les FNL (August 200/)

<sup>10</sup> CNDD-FDD: Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie. A full description of all political parties is given in Annex I

<sup>11</sup> The other country is Sierra Leone

<sup>12</sup> 1645 UN security Council resolution, December 2005

### 3.2. Historical background

<b>12th century</b>	The kingdom of Burundi is ruled by a <i>mwami</i> (king), under whom served the tax-collecting <i>ganwa</i> (clan lords)
<b>1889-1919</b>	German colonisation, followed in 1919 by Belgian rule, as the German colonies were confiscated after the First World War
<b>1923</b>	Belgium was given the League of Nations' mandate to administer Ruanda-Urundi. Belgian colonial administration governed through indirect rule, reinforcing the power of the princely elite
<b>1959</b>	Belgium granted Burundi internal autonomy. 1961 elections are won by the Union pour le progrès national (Uprona), of recent creation and which encompasses ethnic Hutus and Tutsis. Its unifying leader and prime minister designate, Louis Rwagasore, is assassinated the same year.
<b>July 1, 1962</b>	Independence. Burundi becomes a parliamentary monarchy under the rule of <i>mwami</i> (King) Mwambutsa IV. Uprona continues to be the governing party.
<b>1965</b>	Assassination of another prime minister. Léopold Biha, a Tutsi <i>ganwa</i> , is appointed prime minister and, ignoring the parliament, began replacing elected Hutu local government officials with his own supporters. After an attempted coup by Hutu army officers Mr Biha purged Hutus from Uprona and the army; the first massacre of Hutu civilians by the army took place (est. 5,000 victims).
<b>1966</b>	Coup d'état by Michel Micombero, a Tutsi army captain, who abolished the monarchy and established a presidential republic.
<b>April 1972</b>	After an attempted Hutu rebellion, the Tutsi-dominated army carried out revenge massacres of between 80,000 and 200,000 Hutus, targeting the educated elite. First wave of refugees to Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire (DRC) and creation of the Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu (Palipehutu), and its armed wing Force National de Liberation (FNL), as direct response to the 1972 genocide. Following the uprising, Micombero installed a Tutsi-controlled one-party regime.
<b>November 1976</b>	Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, another Tutsi officer, staged a successful coup. He consolidated Tutsi control of the state, although power was concentrated in the hands of a small Tutsi elite from Bururi province in the south, increasing tensions in the Tutsi military.
<b>September 1987</b>	Pierre Buyoya, army commander-in-chief, overthrew Bagaza and began introducing a series of reforms to ease state control over the media and against some of the more corrupt practices that had occurred during the Bagaza regime.
<b>1988</b>	Hutu militias drawn from the refugee population initiated a peasant uprising, killing hundreds of Tutsi families. Thousands of Hutus were killed in retaliation by the army, and many more left into exile. In an effort to engage in a national reconciliation dialogue, Buyoya launched a charter of national unity in 1990 and appointed a Hutu prime minister.
<b>March 1992</b>	A new Constitution, endorsed by referendum, legalised a multiparty system and democratic elections. Hutus returned from the exile formed the Front pour la démocratie au Burundi (Frodebu).
<b>June 1993</b>	Melchior Ndadaye, leader of Frodebu, won the June presidential elections in a landslide and became the first Hutu president of Burundi.
<b>October 1993</b>	Three months after his election, Ndadaye was killed by Tutsi pro-Bagaza army factions, together with other senior Frodebu members. Hutu militias responded killing Tutsis all over the country with apparent genocidal intent. The army retaliated, killing thousands of Hutu. Ten of thousands people fled the country to seek refuge in Zaire (RDC) and Tanzania. The military-installed government failed to win international recognition and senior officers soon distanced themselves from the coup.
<b>1994</b>	In January 1994 Frodebu member Cyprien Ntaryamira (Hutu) is appointed interim president. In April 1994 he dies in a plane crash with his Rwandan counterpart Juvénal Habyarimana. Independently from the real causes of the accident, this event triggered

	the genocide in Rwanda and exacerbated the violence in Burundi. Many senior Frodebu members, including the minister of the interior, Léonard Nyangoma, left Burundi and founded the Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD), and its military wing, the Forces pour la défense de la démocratie (FDD), pledging to defeat the Burundian army. It is the beginning of a prolonged civil war.
<b>1995</b>	Upon the initiative of Uganda and Tanzania, the Regional initiative for the pacification of Burundi is created, including Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, DRC, Ethiopia and Zambia, entrusting the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, as mediator in the conflict.
<b>September 1996</b>	The Burundian army, alarmed by the plans of the Regional initiative to deploy a regional military force in Burundi, reinstated Mr. Buyoya as president; parliament and all political activity was suspended. Regional heads of state imposed economic sanctions on Burundi asking the return to democracy.
<b>April 1998</b>	The government and Frodebu parliamentarians agreed to share power. They adopted an interim constitution legalising Buyoya's rule. In the meantime, the FDD, headed by Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, split from the CNDD, proclaiming itself « the true CNDD » and re-naming itself CNDD-FDD. The CNDD, still headed by Mr Nyangoma, continued active in political negotiations, while the CNDD-FDD remained outside the process (and the main militia rebel group) until 2005.
<b>June 1998 – August 2000</b>	Multiparty talks, facilitated by former Tanzanian President Mr. Julius Nyerere, began in Arusha in June 1998. Following Mr. Nyerere's death, Nelson Mandela was appointed as mediator in October 1999 and led to the signing of the Arusha peace agreement in August 2000. The two major rebel groups, CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu-FNL remained outside the negotiations.

### 3.3. The Arusha peace process (1998-2000)

The « Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi » was finally signed in August 2000 by 19 Hutu and Tutsi political parties and groups, including the government and the major political parties and paving the way for national reconciliation. CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu-FNL denounced the agreement and stepped up their military campaigns.

The Arusha agreement set out the following conditions:

- A 3-year transitional government, which would lead to democratic elections and to a new ethnically-balanced government;
- Ceasefire and cessation of hostilities regulated and monitored by an Implementation Monitoring Committee and supervised by a Ceasefire Commission ;
- Return and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people;
- Reform of military and security institutions, including the integration of armed groups into the army;
- The release of political prisoners managed by the Independent Commission of Enquiry;
- Interim impunity granted, and establishment of transitional justice mechanisms

### 3.4. The Transitional government (2001-2005) delivers results

On July 23, 2001, Nelson Mandela brokered an agreement on the composition of the 3-year transitional government between Pierre Buyoya, Uprona and Frodebu. It was decided that Mr Buyoya would be the first transitional head of state for the first 18 months, with Frodebu's Domitien Ndayize as his vice-president. After that, a candidate selected by Frodebu would take over the presidency for the remaining 18 months, until general elections could be held.



Burundi's first transitional government, headed by Pierre Buyoya (Tutsi) and Domitien Ndayizeye (Hutu) as president and vice-president was sworn in on November 2001. At the same time attempts to include CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu-FNL in the peace agreement continued. The split of these two rebel groups into smaller factions complicated further the situation. A partial ceasefire agreement was signed on December 2002 and brought the CNDD-FDD into the Arusha process although the agreement was not implemented and fighting intensified instead.

As his 18-month presidency drew to a close, Mr Buyoya, supported by the Burundian army and most Tutsi parties, argued for a delay in the transfer to a president designated by Frodebu (Hutu). Pressures exerted by South African mediation, regional leaders and Frodebu, together with the deployment of an African Union (AU) peace-keeping mission<sup>13</sup> of 2,800 soldiers, overruled attempts to delay the transfer of power. Domitien Ndayizeye was selected as Frodebu's presidential candidate and on April 2003 he became the first Hutu head of state since 1993.

In 2003, negotiations with the CNDD-FDD (led by Pierre Nkurunziza) to implement the earlier signed ceasefire agreement continued, amid persistent violence. A final agreement was finally brokered by South Africa's president, Thabo Mbeki, in October 2003. The terms of the agreement provided that the CNDD-FDD would give up its armed struggle and group its fighters into « containment camps » in return for extensive power sharing arrangements for the CNDD-FDD both in the security and the political sector. Peace returned to most of Burundi by early 2004 and some refugees from Tanzania started to return home. However, the last remaining rebel group, Palipehutu-FNL, led by Agathon Rwasa, has continued to commit sporadic violence especially in its stronghold, Bujumbura Rurale.

The transitional government of Mr. Ndayizeze was eventually able to complete its work after two extensions of its mandate. A new Constitution, approved by 90 % of Burundians in referendum, entered into force in March 2005 and the long-awaited elections were finally held in June and July 2005 (local and legislative, respectively) and were considered a success by the international community, including the UN and the EU observers<sup>14</sup>. In both, the former rebel group CNDD-FDD won resounding victories and the party leader, Pierre Nkurunziza, was elected president by the National Assembly and the Senate, becoming in August 2005 the second Hutu president democratically elected in the history of Burundi.

<b>Results of the National Assembly elections, 4th July 2005<sup>15</sup></b>			
<b>Party / coalition</b>	<b>No of votes</b>	<b>Share of vote (%)</b>	<b>No of seats 100 (118)<sup>16</sup></b>
CNDD-FDD	1,417,800	58.55	59 (64)
Frodebu	525,336	21.70	25 (30)
Uprona	174,575	7.21	10 (15)
CNDD	100,366	4.14	4 (4)
Mouvement pour la réhabilitation des citoyens-Rurenzangemero (MRC-Rurenzangemero)	51,730	2.14	2 (2)
Parti pour le redressement national (Parena)	42,223	1.74	- (-)
Independents & others	109,396	4.51	- (-)
Seats reserved for ethnic Twa members	-	-	(3)

<sup>13</sup> Mission Africaine au Burundi (MAB)

<sup>14</sup> The Electoral Observer Mission of the EU was headed by MEP Alain Hutchinson

The main reason for the CNDD-FDD's triumph appears to have been the perception amongst the predominantly Hutu electorate that they had « won the war », being able for the first time in Burundi history to create an ethnically mixed army. In addition, previous bitter experiences contributed to the widespread belief that only a Hutu party with its own armed fighters can hope to stay in power for any length of time. The strong presence of armed CNDD-FDD fighters on the ground (some of whom allegedly demobilised and then secretly rearmed) was, according to some experts, a powerful additional factor, transmitting to the electorate the implicit message that if the CNDD-FDD did not win, it would probably mean a return to war<sup>17</sup>.

### **The 28<sup>th</sup> February 2005 Constitution**

The February 2005 Constitution is designed to ensure a balance of power between Hutus, although far from reflecting the real demographic composition of the Burundian population<sup>18</sup>. It prescribes 60 % Hutu and 40 % Tutsi representation at all levels of government. In the armed forces the ratio is to be 50:50. In addition, and for the first time in Burundi's history, the representation of women in politics is constitutionally endorsed, stipulating that at least one vice-president and 30 % of the members of the government, the Senate and the National Assembly be women<sup>19</sup>.

The constitution establishes a presidential republic, where the president of the country acts as Head of Government. The president is elected by universal suffrage, for a five-year term (renewable only once)<sup>20</sup>. He nominates the two vice-presidents from different ethnic groups, one of whom must be from a party different from the President's one. He appoints the Council of Ministers along agreed ethnic quotas.

### **3.5. The Nkurunziza government (August 2005 to date): a promising start but ....**

Following a promising start after the elections, the governance of Mr Nkurunziza and his CNDD-FDD deteriorated in mid-2006. Mr Nkurunziza alleged a number of plots against himself and his government, and the former president, Domitien Ndayizeye, former vice-president, Alphonse Kadege, and a number of other leading figures in the political opposition were arrested for plotting a *coup d' état*. The trial began in November 2006 and on January 15th 2007 the High Court acquitted Mr Ndayizeye and Mr Kadege, ruling that there was insufficient evidence to convict them<sup>21</sup>. The detention and trial of Mr Ndayizeye and Mr Kadege had been much criticised internationally, with many commentators accusing the government of paranoia and excessively dictatorial tendencies, and the two men's acquittal was widely welcomed.

Following the High Court verdict, Nkurunziza turned against CNDD-FDD party president, Hussein Radjabu, the grey eminence of the political scene in Burundi for many years and

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<sup>15</sup> EIU, see supra

<sup>16</sup> 100 seats were filled based on the election results; the remaining 18 seats were allocated based on the constitutional requirement that 60 % of the seats are filled by ethnic Hutus, 40 % by ethnic Tutsis, 30 % by women and three by ethnic Twa. Figures in brackets reflect the distribution of seats after these requirements were met (Source: EIU, Burundi Country Profile 2006).

<sup>17</sup> EIU, Burundi Country Profile 2006 ; ICG : Conflict History of Burundi

<sup>18</sup> Estimated 85 % of the Burundians are Hutus and 14 % are Tutsis, although the accuracy of these estimations, based on a census conducted by Belgium back in 1920, remains dubious. In practice it is impossible to verify the ethnic origin of a candidate to a public post. Political parties have deliberately avoided any further discussion

<sup>19</sup> The 30 % gender provision does not apply to local government.

<sup>20</sup> However the current president (first after the transitional government) was to be elected by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly and the Senate.

<sup>21</sup> Two other detainees were found guilty and received long prison sentences

commonly seen as the engineer of the harassment campaign against the opposition. An extraordinary CNDD-FDD congress deposed Mr Radjabu in February 2007 from the presidency of the part, after which Nkurunziza started purging the government from Radjabu's allies. After voting the president of the National Assembly, Immaculé Nahayo<sup>22</sup> (loyal to Radjabu) out of office, the Chamber removed Mr Radjabu's immunity from prosecution, and he was arrested and imprisoned in April, under the charge of attempt to national security. His trial, which keeps being delayed, could result in the exposure of government's involvement in major cases of extra-judicial killings<sup>23</sup> and economic corruption that could damage Mr Nkurunziza.

The president's purge caused a backlash within the CNDD-FDD: 19 of its members in the National Assembly announced their support to Radjabu and their intention to join parliamentary opposition, seriously damaging Mr Nkurunziza's authority, who named a new government in July in an attempt to recover CNDD-FDD support (by including some Radjabu's allies), and restore parliamentary confidence.

**Key government ministers (last reshuffle July 2007)<sup>24</sup>**

**President** Pierre Nkurunziza (CNDD-FDD)  
**First vice-president** Martin Nduwimana (Uprona)  
**Second vice-president** Gabriel Ntisezerana (CNDD-FDD)  
**Agriculture** Jean de Dieu Mutabazi (Frodebu)  
**Civil service & social security** Daniel Kanigi (Uprona)  
**Commerce & industry** Estella Nicayenzi (CNDD-FDD)  
**Communication & government spokesperson** Hafsa Mossi (CNDD-FDD)  
**Defence** Germain Niyoyankana (military)  
**Education & culture** Saïdi Kibeya (CNDD-FDD)  
**Energy & mines** Herman Tuyaga (CNDD-FDD)  
**Finance** Clotilde Nizigama (CNDD-FDD)  
**Foreign affairs & co-operation** Antoinette Batumubwira (CNDD-FDD)  
**Good governance & state inspection** Venant Kamana (CNDD-FDD)  
**Health** Rose Gahiro (Uprona)  
**Human rights & national solidarity** Immaculée Nahayo (CNDD-FDD)  
**Interior** Evariste Ndayishimiye (CNDD-FDD)  
**Justice** Clothilde Niragira (CNDD-FDD)  
**Planning, development & reconstruction** Abdallah Tabu Manirakiza (CNDD-FDD)  
**Public works** Joseph Hasabamagara (CNDD-FDD)  
**Regional integration** Ramadhani Karenga (CNDD-FDD)  
**Transport & telecommunications** Philippe Njoni (Uprona)  
**Central bank governor** Gaspard Sindayigaya

The two main opposition parties, Frodebu and Uprona, had often criticized Radjabu's methods as violent and autocratic and might therefore have been expected to have supported the purge and the new government. They decided instead to join the Radjabu faction<sup>25</sup> and consequently the National Assembly was virtually paralysed for months (including the adoption of the budget). During the summer Mr Nkurunziza seriously considered the application of Art. 115 of the Constitution (proclamation of the state of exception and governing by presidential decree), which caused profound alarm amongst the international community<sup>26</sup>. A diplomatic demarche

<sup>22</sup> Ms Nahayo is Minister of Human rights and Solidarity

<sup>23</sup> Such as the killing of 16 people allegedly linked to Palipehutu-FNL in Muyinga (August 2006)

<sup>24</sup> EIU, November 2007 country report

<sup>25</sup> Frodebu and Uprona argued that Mr Nkurunziza had failed to give them their constitutional due in his allocation of governmental ministries

<sup>26</sup> ICG report, Conclure la Paix avec les FNL

led by the EU and the AU successfully convinced Mr Nkurunziza about the potentially enormous dangers of such option.

Finally, a power-sharing agreement has been brokered with Frodebu (in September) and with Uprona (November, 4th)<sup>27</sup> following which a new government will be formed, with 18 ministers and seven vice-ministers, in which Frodebu will obtain six portfolios and Uprona three. The agreement also deals with "questions about ethnic equilibrium in the army and police, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", according to Uprona. It remains to be seen what the exact terms and stature of this agreement will be.

The *second challenge* for Mr Nkurunziza, and one of his main promises upon his nomination, is to bring to an end the armed struggle of the only remaining militia group, the Palipehutu-FNL, led by Agathon Rwasa. Although the rebel group is no longer in a position to relaunch a war, it is a source of insecurity in the Western regions and an important destabilisation factor.

With the mediation of South African safety and security minister, Charles Nqakula, a ceasefire was eventually agreed on 7 September 2006. The agreement foresees the immediate cessation of hostilities, the swift (within one month) demobilisation of the FNL fighters (estimated at 3,000) whose security should be guaranteed by a Special Team created by the African Union, and the establishment of a Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism (JVMM) to monitor the implementation of the agreement.

One year after, the agreement has not yet been implemented. Although the security situation has improved, neither side has fully respected the ceasefire and no overall political settlement between the government and Palipehtu-FNL<sup>28</sup> has been reached. The main substantive issue dividing the two sides is what positions, if any, Palipehutu-FNL might gain in government.

Both leaders have very little room for manoeuvre. In addition, they profoundly mistrust each other, and the South-African mediation has been contested by the Palipehutu-FNL. The proximity of the 2010 elections and recent violent splits within Palipehutu-FNL over the leadership of Mr Rwasa have further complicated the situation.

#### 4. ECONOMIC SITUATION

<b>Main economic indicators, 2006</b> <sup>29</sup>	
GDP (USD bn):	1.0
Real GDP growth (%)	5.1
GDP per capita (USD)	117
GDP per capita (USD at PPP)	682
Consumer price inflation (av; %)	2.8
Current account balance (USD m)	-124.2
External debt (USD bn) <sup>30</sup>	1.3
Corruption rank <sup>31</sup>	131 (out of 179 countries)
'Ease of doing business' rank <sup>32</sup>	174 (out of 175 countries)

<sup>27</sup> AFP, 5 November 2007

<sup>28</sup> The members of the Palipehutu-FNL delegation to the JVMM left Bujumbura suddenly on 21-23 July, 2007. Fears that the conflict could resume were widespread, although FNL almost immediately explained that its members were called upon "for consultation" (ICG report, Burundi: Conclure la paix avec les FNL).

<sup>29</sup> If not indicated otherwise, data come from EIU, Country Report 2007

<sup>30</sup> WB Global Development Finance (data for 2005)

<sup>31</sup> TI (Transparency International) - 2007 Corruption Perceptions Index, 26 September 2007

<sup>32</sup> World Bank - Doing Business : Economy rankings

Burundi is a small, landlocked and extremely poor country, which has been racked by civil war. A regional economic embargo and international aid freeze against Burundi during the late 1990s inflicted further damage, prompting an increasingly opaque and interventionist approach to economic policy from the government.

Burundi is a predominantly rural and agricultural country, with few natural resources. Farming accounts for about 35% of recorded GDP but provides a livelihood for 90 % of the population, mainly through subsistence agriculture<sup>33</sup>. Commercial agricultural production, primarily of tea and coffee, contributes less than 5% of GDP but generates the majority of official export earnings. Burundi's small industrial sector, which consists mainly of agricultural processing and consumer products and has been stunted by war, sanctions, foreign exchange shortages and weak domestic demand, still contributes 20% of GDP.

Until the early 2000s real GDP growth had been either low or negative for over a decade. However, as peace has slowly returned in the past few years, the economy has shown some signs of recovery: trade on Lake Tanganyika has resumed and the construction industry is picking up (particularly in Bujumbura). Real GDP growth in 2006 was estimated at 5 %.

Apart from the rigid State interventionism and the consequences of 12 years of war, additional powerful factors continue to hamper Burundi's economy: predominantly subsistence agriculture with low levels of productivity, low levels of exports, delays in reform of the main exporting sector (coffee), and poorly developed secondary and tertiary sectors.

Corruption is often identified as one of the biggest problems for investors and foreign agencies. Despite a renewed commitment to fighting corruption from the new government, opposition parties say it is being used almost exclusively with political objectives.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is negligible, and the country remains heavily dependent on foreign external aid.

Recent estimations calculate the level of unemployment at 22%. These estimations have not taken into account, however, the informal sector of the economy, which risks being significant.

#### **4.1 Governmental economic strategy**

After international sanctions were lifted, the World Bank and the IMF led international re-engagement with the government, and agreed a post-conflict emergency programme in October 2002, which paved the way for a fully-fledged poverty reduction and growth facility (PRGF) worth USD 104 million, due for completion in January 2008<sup>34</sup>.

The last two IMF missions have judged that the macroeconomic programme had "remained on track" despite political turmoil. IMF reports remain critical, however, on lack of progress in structural reform. Privatisation programmes are seriously delayed.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)<sup>35</sup>, elaborated by the Government in 2006 and which received the agreement of Bretton Woods institutions in early 2007, unsurprisingly identified poor governance, insecurity and conflict as the main obstacles to poverty reduction and growth, to which the document added "structural rigidities" in the economy, macroeconomic instability, the poor quality of social services, the large number of people living in vulnerable circumstances, the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and gender inequality.

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<sup>33</sup> Women are responsible for 70 % of agricultural production

<sup>34</sup> USD 93.4 million disbursed so far

<sup>35</sup> CSLP in French (Cadre Stratégique de Lutte contre la Pauvreté)

In light of this analysis, the PRSP proposes four "strategic axes" for reducing poverty:

- improving governance and security;
- promoting sustainable and equitable economic growth;
- developing human capital; and
- combating HIV/AIDS.

**Cadre stratégique de croissance et de lutte contre la pauvreté (CSLP), Burundi: axes stratégiques et principales lignes d'action <sup>36</sup>**

-l'amélioration de la gouvernance et de la sécurité. C'est une condition sine qua non pour la réconciliation nationale et le rétablissement d'un environnement propice au développement économique. Les activités portent sur la mise en œuvre du cessez le feu global et permanent, la poursuite du programme DDR des ex combattants, la professionnalisation des corps de défense et de sécurité, le désarmement des populations civiles. Le renforcement de l'État de droit et la lutte contre l'impunité relèvent aussi de cet axe;

-la promotion d'une croissance économique durable et équitable. redynamisation des secteurs porteurs de croissance, notamment l'agriculture vivrière et les cultures d'exportation, l'élevage, le commerce, les mines et les industries de transformation; la relance du secteur privé; la réhabilitation et le renforcement des infrastructures de transport, d'énergie et de télécommunications indispensables à une relance économique qui passe aussi par une plus grande intégration régionale; le rétablissement des équilibres macro-économiques;

-le développement du capital humain. Il n'y a pas de développement durable sans des ressources humaines qualifiées et en bonne santé. Les secteurs de la santé, de l'éducation, de l'adduction d'eau potable et de l'assainissement, de l'urbanisme et du logement décent sont donc prioritaires. Doivent aussi être pris en compte dans cet axe les réfugiés, les déplacés mais aussi tous les groupes vulnérables pour leur permettre de reprendre pied dans une vie normale;

-la lutte contre le VIH/SIDA. Le taux de prévalence est actuellement de 9,5 % en milieu urbain dont 56 % de femmes. Il s'agit d'une menace sanitaire et socio-économique majeure. Les actions envisagées concernent simultanément la prévention, la prise en charge des malades et le soutien aux familles touchées.

The government estimated the cost of the programme at US\$1.6bn between 2007 and 2009. It was well received by the annual donors' roundtable conference in Bujumbura (May 24-25th), with donors pledging more than USD 650 million in aid over the next three years, of which USD 175 million has been allocated to budget support<sup>37</sup>. Significantly, China played a more important role than in the past, cancelling debt worth USD 28 million.

Burundi's external debt was USD 1.3 billion at the end of 2005<sup>38</sup>, with a debt servicing of USD 39 million. According to reports by IMF and World Bank Burundi is qualified to benefit from the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) debt-relief initiative.

**5. POVERTY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS. HUMANITARIAN SITUATION**

Burundi is one of the poorest countries in the world. A recent World Bank report calculated GDP per capita in Burundi between USD 90 and 100, the lowest in the world<sup>39</sup>. According to the same report, 68.6 % of the population lives below poverty threshold<sup>40</sup>, with poverty more

<sup>36</sup> Summary of the PRSP as recalled in the Draft Country Strategy Paper 2008-2013

<sup>37</sup> To see EC contribution, see below "EU-Burundi relations"

<sup>38</sup> World Bank, Global Development Finance

<sup>39</sup> World Bank QUIBB (Questionnaire Unifiée des Indicateurs de Bien-être) 2006, data collected in Draft Country Strategy Paper for Burundi, 2008-2103

<sup>40</sup> For 2006, poverty thresholds were fixed at 0.63 € / day in urban zones and 0.4 € / day in rural zones

widespread amongst rural households. Although regional differences are not critical, Burundi's north has been traditionally richer than the south, leading to some tensions in the past. The north-western provinces of Cibitoke and Bubanza (bordering DRC) and Bujumbura Rurale have been severely hit by the civil war and as consequence show particularly bad poverty indicators. Demographic pressure and the expected return of refugees will only make the situation worse, increasing tensions over land ownership.

Burundi ranks 169 (out of 177) in the UNDP *Human Development Rank*<sup>41</sup>. Life expectancy at birth is 51 years and infant mortality is estimated by the UNDP at 190 per 1,000 (compared to average 178 in Sub-Saharan Africa). The adult literacy rate is 59.3 %. Access to basic social services is restricted: net primary school enrolment was 60 % in 2005 (compared to 70 % in 1993 and 43 % in 2000)<sup>42</sup> and a basic vaccination campaign covers 78 % of the population.

Malnutrition is widespread, and health expenditure (public and private) of just USD 15 per person per year is amongst the lowest in the world. At present there is estimated to be only one functioning health centre for every 25,000 people, with healthcare services largely concentrated in the capital<sup>43</sup>.

HIV/AIDs is, along with malaria, the main cause of death and has been identified by the government as a factor hampering economic development. The level of adult prevalence rate is 9.4 % in urban areas, 10.5 % in semi-urban areas, and 2.5 % in rural areas, according to a national survey conducted in 2002. Between 150,000 and 250,000 people are estimated to leave with HIV/AIDs<sup>44</sup>, and 70 % of hospitalised patients in Bujumbura suffer from AIDs. The country's first factory to produce generic anti-retroviral drugs was opened in 2003 by Siphar (Société industrielle pharmaceutique<sup>45</sup>) and expects to enable Burundi to source 70 % of its anti-retroviral needs domestically.

The presidential decree introducing free healthcare throughout Burundi for children under the age of five and pregnant or breast-feeding women, although welcomed in its substance, has not been backed by additional financial resources, with the result of disrupting the national healthcare system.

During the civil war years, Burundi has consistently received **humanitarian assistance**, and it continues to rank as a highly vulnerable country with considerable humanitarian needs. The UN-OCHA 2007 Consolidated Appeal for Burundi, launched in January 2007, estimated needs at USD 131.6 million. The European Commission allocated EUR 15 million in 2007 to cover humanitarian needs in Burundi<sup>46</sup>. Chronic malnutrition affects 41 % of the population and over 16 % of the population is entirely dependent on food aid. Refugees abroad, internally displaced people and returnees constitute particularly vulnerable groups of the population, with specific humanitarian needs.

OCHA estimates that there are still about 160 sites in Burundi accommodating 116,000 internally displaced persons. A large number of IDPs still farm their land during the day but for reasons of security go back to the camps to spend the night. IDPs who return to live to their place of origin need housing. Burundian refugees living abroad in 2006 are estimated by the UNCHR at nearly 400,000 (see below). One of the main obstacles to the return of IDPs and

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<sup>41</sup> Indicator developed by the UNDP in 1990, which takes into account three elements: (i) life expectancy at birth, (ii) education indicators (literacy rate and school enrolment ratio), (iii) GDP per capita (PPP)

<sup>42</sup> World Development Indicators database, April 2006,

<sup>43</sup> EIU, Country Briefing 2007

<sup>44</sup> UNAIDS estimates 150,000 while CIA World Factbook estimates this figure at 250,000.

<sup>45</sup> Siphar is owned by the Indian Sonji family, which has lived in Burundi since 1920

<sup>46</sup> Humanitarian Aid for vulnerable population groups in the Republic of Burundi, 2007 Global Plan, DG ECHO

refugees, apart from the security situation, is the land issue (return of land and property rights). A new land commission was announced in 2006 but has not yet begun work.

Burundi also plays host to almost 30,000 refugees and asylum-seekers (24,500 from DRC, 455 from Rwanda).

Burundian refugees, UNHCR estimates 2006 (by country of asylum)

Country of asylum	Number
DRC	18, 947
Rwanda	2 ,781
Tanzania(*) (**)	371, 203
Total	392,931

(\*) According to UNHCR, only 171,203 refugees remain in Tanzanian refugee camps. The remaining 200,000 refugees arrived mainly after the 1972 massacre and are integrated in Tanzania. They do not face humanitarian needs  
 (\*\*) Tanzania has continued to expel Burundians they consider to be illegal immigrants

## 6. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SECURITY SITUATION<sup>47</sup>

During 2006 human rights abuses “by soldiers, police and intelligence agents persisted, including torture and apparent extrajudicial executions” of civilians suspected of links with Palipehutu-FNL. In September 2006 second vice president Alice Nzomukunda resigned, accusing the government of human rights violation and corruption<sup>48</sup>.

In violation of international law, the government held dozens of children associated with the FNL in prison or in demobilization centres. The same applies to minors accused of criminal offences. Lack of clear government policy on the children hindered the delivery of international aid for them. The FNL has equally perpetrated abuses on civilians. Easy availability of weapons poses continuing risks to security, and criminality remains high throughout the whole national territory<sup>49</sup>.

During 2006 the harassment and arrest of journalists and other members of civil society raised questions about the government’s commitment to freedom of expression, although 2007 has marked some improvements by the government. Burundi is ranked 125 in Press freedom rank (out of 168)<sup>50</sup>. Discrimination against the Twa minority has been reported.

On a positive sign, president Nkurunziza issued a decree in December 2006 commuting all death sentences and ordering the release of all prisoners whose detention violated the legal procedure<sup>51</sup>, including also elderly and terminally ill prisoners.

A significant progress towards the establishment of Transitional Justice mechanisms (TJ, agreed upon in Arusha) was the launching in early November of the tri-partite committee<sup>52</sup> in charge of conducting popular consultations towards the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and a Special International Tribunal for Burundi to deal with war crimes committed over the three past decades.

<sup>47</sup> Basic data extracted from Human Rights Watch, World report 2007

<sup>48</sup> Around 30 people went missing in Muyinga province in July, after being arrested by soldiers and interrogated by security agents, and are presumed dead, based on bodies found in a nearby river. Judicial investigation has been interrupted, reportedly on governmental orders

<sup>49</sup> Nearly 100,000 households in Burundi are thought to possess small arms and / or light weapons, and some households may own more than one (Source: Small Arms in Burundi, Study by the Small Arms Survey and the Ligue Iteka, August 2007)

<sup>50</sup> RsF (Reporters without Borders) – The Worldwide Press freedom Index, 2006

<sup>51</sup> First report of the SG on the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi, 17 May 2007, S /2007/287

<sup>52</sup> The committee is composed by representatives of the government of Burundi, the civil society and the UN, two representatives of each (source: Burundi’s government press release, 2 November 2007)



## 7. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Without the heavy involvement of the international community and the Regional Initiative<sup>53</sup> the Peace process in Burundi would probably have been much less of a success. South Africa and Tanzania remain the most active members in mediating a final peace agreement with the Palipehutu-FNL, although their legitimacy has been put into question by the FNL.

Burundi remains intrinsically linked to its neighbours in the region of Great Lakes, East and Central Africa, as well as Austral Africa, through political, security and infrastructure links. It has recently deployed significant efforts to achieve better regional integration.

Burundi and Rwanda formally joined the East African Community (EAC) on June 18th, this year. Burundi's application to host the regional executive secretariat of the Conference on the Great Lakes Region was endorsed, and preparations have started. The Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries<sup>54</sup> has been reactivated, and has received the financial support of the EU (€ 50 million).

The African Union (AU) remains an active party in the monitoring of the September 2006 cease-fire agreement, while the UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB) ended its mandate and was replaced since January 2007 by BINUB (Bureau Intégré des Nations Unis au Burundi).

## 8. EU-BURUNDI RELATIONS<sup>55</sup>

Cooperation with Burundi began in 1963 under the Yaoundé Convention between Associated and Malgach Countries (EAMA) and the then EEC. This convention gave commercial advantages and financial aid to African ex-colonies and was covered by the 2nd EDF (1964-1969). Under the new Cotonou Agreement signed in 2000, Burundi would have special benefits because of its status as a least developed country (in particular, access to the *Everything But Arms initiative*).

The Commission suspended development cooperation with Burundi in 1993 because of the security situation, only ECHO humanitarian aid continued. Since the coup in 1996, the EU's policy has been to support initiatives for a negotiated peace, in particular the Arusha peace accords, from the budget line for human rights and democracy. The EU special envoy to the Great Lakes, Mr Aldo Ajello was heavily involved in supporting the peace negotiations, and his successor Mr Roland van de Geer played a significant role in 2006-summer institutional crisis. Development cooperation resumed gradually in 1999 in view of signs of progress with the peace process and in order to encourage the continuation of the process. Since the end of 2003 the situation has, apart from certain unsafe areas, clearly improved.

À la fin du 9<sup>e</sup> FED le montant total pour le Burundi, avec le transfert des reliquats des FED antérieurs, s'élevait à 264,3 Mio EUR. À ce jour, la totalité de ces fonds a été engagée mais les projets de développement les plus importants (pour un montant de 154,4 Mio EUR) démarrent seulement maintenant, car leur élaboration et approbation ont pris beaucoup plus de temps que prévu, ce qui provoque une certaine frustration et rend plus difficile l'exercice de programmation.

### Secteurs de concentration du 9<sup>e</sup> FED :

<sup>53</sup> The Regional Initiative was created upon Uganda's and Tanzania's initiative in 1995. Members are Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda, DRC, Ethiopia and Zambia, and played a big role in the Arusha process.

<sup>54</sup> Composed of Burundi, DRC and Rwanda, and which has been inactive for 13 years owing to the conflicts in the region

<sup>55</sup> Source: Draft Country Strategy Paper 2008-2013, Burundi

Réhabilitation et développement rural (Projet Post-Conflict de Développement Rural)	67,75 Moi EUR) démarré en août 2007
Bonne gouvernance (Etat de droit, gestion transparente et équitable des affaires publiques, decentralisation et recensement de la population) -	19,75 Mio EUR démarré en février 2007
Appui budgétaire (et réduction de la dette)	46,92 Moi EUR
Programme d'appui transitoire au secteur de la santé burundais (PATSBU)	5,08 Moi EUR projet terminé

La stratégie de programmation pour le **10<sup>e</sup> FED (en préparation)** visera donc essentiellement à aider le Burundi dans son processus de stabilisation et de reconstruction, en prenant le CSLP<sup>56</sup> comme document de référence.

Elle s'organisera autour de deux domaines de concentration, la réhabilitation en zone rurale, priorité qui conditionne le développement économique et constitue un facteur d'intégration régionale, et la santé, priorité du CSLP et des OMD, dans le prolongement et développement du programme LLRD «PLUS», et de l'appui budgétaire. Elle devra être flexible pour pouvoir prendre en compte la réalité de la situation existant au moment où il faudra envisager la mise en œuvre.

INSTRUMENTS FINANCIERS 10 <sup>E</sup> FED <sup>57</sup>		
<b><u>10<sup>e</sup> FED, enveloppe A, 188 000 000 euros (montant indicatif)</u></b>		
Cette enveloppe servira à couvrir les opérations programmables de développement à long terme dans le cadre de la stratégie, et en particulier:		
<b>Domaine/secteurs</b>	<b>Montant indicatif (Mio EUR)</b>	<b>% du total</b>
Réhabilitation et développement rural	<b>52</b>	<b>27,7</b>
Santé	<b>25</b>	<b>13,3</b>
Appui budgétaire général	<b>90</b>	<b>47,9</b>
Hors concentration	<b>21</b>	<b>11,2</b>
<i>Bonne gouvernance</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>5,3</i>
<i>Cellule d'appui à l'ON</i>	<i>3,5</i>	<i>1,9</i>
<i>Facilité technique de coopération</i>	<i>2,5</i>	<i>1,3</i>
<i>Soutien aux ANE</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2,1</i>
<i>Soutien à l'APE</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,5</i>
<b>TOTAL enveloppe A</b>	<b>188,00</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<hr/>		
<b><u>10<sup>e</sup> FED, enveloppe B, 24 100 000 euros</u></b>		
Cette enveloppe sera destinée à couvrir des besoins imprévus tels que l'aide d'urgence lorsque cette aide ne peut être financée sur le budget communautaire, des contributions à des initiatives d'allègement de la dette adoptées internationalement ainsi qu'un soutien destiné à atténuer les effets négatifs de l'instabilité des recettes d'exportation.		

<sup>56</sup> Cadre stratégique de croissance et de lutte contre la Pauvreté

<sup>57</sup> Draft Country Strategy Paper, Burundi 2008-2013

**MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES IN BURUNDI (IN ORDER OF HISTORICAL CREATION)<sup>58</sup>**

- **UPRONA: Union pour le Progrès National – Tutsi**

Uprona began life in the early 1960s as a predominantly Hutu nationalist party and evolved to champion the interests of the military and Tutsi community since the late 1960s. From 1966 until the introduction of a multiparty system in 1991 it was Burundi's only legal party. The 2005 elections have left Uprona a much-diminished force, especially because Uprona (and other smaller Tutsi parties) failed to ensure that the post-election government's ethnic quota would be filled on a party rather than an individual basis. As a result, the CNDD-FDD filled the Tutsi quota with members of its own ranks. Initially supportive of Nkurunziza coalition, Uprona parliamentarians have officially joined the parliamentary opposition since July 2007 following the government crisis caused by the purge and detention of former CNDD-FDD president, Hussein Radjabu. Uprona is currently even weaker due to internal divisions. President: Pierre Buyoya.

- **PALIPEHUTU-FNL : Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu – Force Nationale de Libération**

The Palipehutu is the oldest rebel Hutu movement. Its creation is directly linked to the 1972 massacre of Hutu elites. It was created in 1980 by Rémy Gahutu, an agronomist engineer, in a Tanzanian refugee camp, with Marxist inspiration and with the objective of defeating Burundian (Tutsi) army. It stepped up its struggle in 1993 after the assassination of Hutu President Ndadaye. In 1999, the armed wing of the party, the FNL (3,000 fighters) split, calling itself PALIPEHUTU-FNL. The group has launched several large-scale attacks on Bujumbura and admitted to be behind the August 2004 massacre of Congolese Tutsi civilians at the Gatumba refugee camp near the DRC. Today it is the only remaining rebel military group. President: Agathon Rwasa (since early 2001).

- **FRODEBU: Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (Front for Democracy in Burundi) - Hutu**

The party won the 1993 multiparty elections under the leadership of Melchior Ndadaye and ruled until 1996. Frodebu's rule resumed in April 2003, when Mr Ndayizeye became president of the transitional government. Although the achievements of Mr Ndayizeye are broadly recognized, the results of 2005 elections were devastating for Frodebu: it was eclipsed by the CNDD-FDD at the polls, being perceived by most Hutu voters as too close to the Tutsi establishment and too weak (since lacks an armed force of its own) to defend Hutu interests. Initially supportive of Nkurunziza coalition, Frodebu parliamentarians have officially joined the parliamentary opposition since March 2006, following the government crisis caused by the purge and detention of former CNDD-FDD president, Hussein Radjabu. President: Léonce Ngendekumana (replaced Jean Minani after 2005 electoral disaster).

- **CNDD: Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Hutu**

The CNDD was formed in 1994 along with its military wing - FDD (Forces pour la Défense de la démocratie) by ex-Frodebu senior member and ex-ministry of interior Léonard Nyangoma, who rejected Frodebu's power-sharing agreement with UPRONA in 1995. In May 1998, the

<sup>58</sup> Sources : EIU and ICG reports, BBC news

FDD broke from CNDD and the CNDD-FDD was formed (see below). Nyangoma was present at the Arusha negotiations and signed the final Agreement in August 2000 but obtained extremely poor results in 2005 elections and is not represented in the government, since it was in the opposition from the very beginning. Its founder and leader Léonard Nyangoma has recently returned from exile.

- CNDD-FDD (originally Hutu, today multi-ethnic), is an offshoot of the CNDD

In May 1998 and in the process leading to the Arusha peace process, the military wing of the CNDD, the FDD, headed by Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, split from the CNDD and proclaimed itself “the true CNDD”, calling itself CNDD-FDD. Since then and until 2003 the CNDD-FDD remained outside the negotiations and was the main military rebel group fighting the Burundian army. The generous power-sharing agreement brokered in October 2003 under the guidance of Nkurunziza marked the entry of CNDD-FDD in the government. Since then the CNDD-FDD reinvented itself as a multi-ethnic party, keeping at the same time most of its fighters armed until the 2005 elections, despite the demobilisation agreements. June-July 2005 elections marked a resounding victory for the CDD-FDD. The powerful former party president, Hussein Radjabu, was evicted from the party presidency in February 2007 and subsequently detained in April 2007, under accusation of attempts against national security. He was replaced by Colonel Jérémie Ngendakumana.

**Other political parties:**

MRC-Rurenzangemero: Mouvement pour la réhabilitation des citoyens; PARENA: Parti pour le redressement national – Tutsi; Forces nationales pour la libération-Icanzo (FNL-Icanzo); Inkinzo; Parti du peuple (PP); Parti pour la socio-démocratie (PSD); Parti pour la réconciliation du peuple (PRP); Rassemblement pour la démocratie et le développement économique et social (Raddes); Rassemblement pour le peuple du Burundi (RPB);