



The Burundi Defence Review: Lessons Identified



June 2014

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Map of Burundi



Map No. 3753 Rev. 3 UNITED NATIONS
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Acronyms

Advisory Panel	AP
African Union Mission in Somalia	AMISOM
Center for Research, Documentation and Social Science Studies	CREDESS
Comité Exécutif Permanent	CEP
Comité de Direction	CdD
Commission de Réflexion	CdR
Conflict Alert and Prevention Center	CENAP
Conflict, Security and Development Research Group	CSDRG
East African Community	EAC
Institute of Economic Development in Burundi	IDEC
Ministry of National Defence and Former Combatants	MDNAC
Memorandum of Understanding	MoU
National Defence Forces (Force de Défense Nationale)	FDN
Non-governmental organisation	NGO
Permanent Secretariat	PS
Security Sector Development programme	SSD
Security sector reform	SSR
Steering Committee	SC
Terms of reference	TORs
United Kingdom	UK
United Nations	UN
United Nations' Office in Burundi	BNUB
United States	US

BURUNDI DEFENCE REVIEW – LESSONS IDENTIFIED

Executive Summary

Background

Between 2011 and 2014 the Government of the Republic of Burundi undertook a strategic defence review with the assistance of the Government of the Netherlands. The review's overall objective was to help Burundi to adapt the National Defence Force to the changing security environment facing the country.

The purpose of this report is to assess Burundi's experiences and to identify lessons which can inform future defence reviews in Burundi or other countries. These lessons are intended, first and foremost, for Burundi's political and military authorities, members of the FDN who will be involved in implementing the review findings, and Burundi's other security agencies.

Approach

Burundi's approach to the defence review was informed by international thinking on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and the experiences of other countries, particularly Uganda. The key lesson that Burundi drew from these experiences was the need for a holistic, inclusive and transparent approach that is adapted to its own local context, circumstances and needs.

The review had three specific objectives:

- First, to develop a common understanding across government and the security agencies of the principal security challenges facing Burundi and the population's needs;
- Second, to clarify the FDN's specific roles and missions and how the FDN can best coordinate with other security actors in meeting these security challenges;
- Third, to identify the institutional and operational capabilities that the FDN will require to effectively undertake its roles and missions.

The review was conducted by the Ministry of National Defence and Former Combatants (MDNAC) under the political authority of the Presidency. Three bodies were established to carry out and manage the review: the Permanent Secretariat, the Advisory Panel, and the Steering Committee.

The review process was conducted in three phases: Phase One consisted of the preparatory activities. Phase Two was the substantive phase of the review, consisting of four stages of work: 1) analysis of the security environment; 2) analysis of the legal and institutional framework; 3) assessment of defence requirements; and 4) the political decision on the future option for defence transformation. Phase Three is the implementation phase and will commence with the elaboration of a detailed and costed defence transformation programme.

The primary outputs of the defence review were: 1) a new National Defence Policy defining the FDN's key roles and missions, and 2) a White Paper that offers a strategic orientation for the Burundian armed forces for the next 10 – 15 years, supported by a force design and prioritised domains for improvement. In addition, in a process that ran concurrently with the defence review, the government elaborated a National Security Strategy that provides a mechanism for planning and coordinating government-wide responses to security problems.

Main achievements

This was the first time that Burundi had conducted a comprehensive defence review in a holistic, transparent and inclusive manner. This was a challenging process due to the complexity of the methodology, the country's lack of experience in conducting defence reviews, variable political commitment to the process, and the strict time and budgetary constraints.

Nevertheless, Burundi marked a number of important achievements. Most importantly, this was the first time that Burundi had engaged in an open cross-governmental debate on security issues that acknowledged the limitations of past responses to the country's security problems and the need for a new, more integrated government approach.

Second, Burundi laid a number of important legal and policy foundations, including elaboration of a new Defence Policy and National Security Strategy. These documents will enable both the FDN and other security agencies to further develop their capabilities to defend the country and provide for the safety and security of the population.

Third, over the course the defence review, members of the FDN have developed new technical capacities in the areas of strategic analysis, defence planning and costing, and institutional change. These capacities will facilitate implementation of the review findings and enable Burundi to update its defence review in the future in a more independent manner.

Key lessons

The defence review team identified lessons in five specific areas relating to national ownership of the review, the methodology that was used, management of the review process, technical assistance and stakeholder participation in the review. The key lessons identified were:

National ownership

- “National” ownership of a review process should not simply be confined to the government, but broadened to include a range of other actors (such as parliament, the media, civil society, political parties, etc.) who have different functions, responsibilities and interests in relation to how security is governed and delivered in a country.
- In the context of an externally-supported defence review process, there is a risk that the achievements will not be sustained unless there is a high level of commitment to the process by the political authorities, the senior military leadership, and the external partners supporting the process.
- The Ministry of Defence has an important role to play both in facilitating high-level decision-making around the review process and addressing any obstacles that may require political intervention to

surmount. This can be done by carefully monitoring the process and keeping the Head of State informed of progress through his Cabinet.

- Close collaboration between the management bodies, each of which has a different role to play in conducting, managing and overseeing the review, is essential for the process to succeed. But it is difficult to conduct a review effectively if not all of the management bodies are committed to the review and fulfilling their roles properly.

Methodology

- When a country decides to undertake a defence review, it can draw valuable inspiration and guidance from the experiences of other countries. But it's vital that the methodology is well tailored to the country's needs and circumstances as this will likely enhance national ownership of the process and the relevance of the findings.
- In a country which is emerging from a prolonged period of crisis and seeking to adapt its security sector to new political realities, adopting a holistic, inclusive and transparent methodology which is carefully adapted to the local context can help a government to better anticipate the needs of different stakeholders.
- In order to conduct a defence review effectively, adequate time and investments are required to put in place and train the teams that will manage the process, develop the methodology and work-plan, sensitise relevant military and political actors on the reviews' aims and their roles, and secure the resources required for the review.
- A defence review is a learning process. While the ideal conditions for a successful review may not be in place at the outset, including the desired level of technical capacity in the team and political engagement, the methodology and work-plan should be followed through to the extent possible. This will increase learning, ensure the best possible results, and provide a foundation for future review efforts to build upon.
- A defence review needs to be informed by a wider assessment of a country's security environment and institutions involving all relevant actors. This assessment should be coordinated by a cross-ministerial organ in order to build a common and holistic view - which is not driven by purely military concerns - of what the key security

challenges are facing the country and the role of each actor in responding to them.

Management of the process

- A defence review is an ambitious and complex undertaking with potentially significant long-term implications for the security of a country and its people. For this reason, the political, technical and financial conditions required for the success of the process need to be in place. Those managing the process need to work closely with both national and international partners to gain their support for the process.
- A defence review creates different expectations among stakeholders inside and outside the defence sector, including the military, other security actors, the political authorities, the population, and external partners. These expectations need to be managed effectively to ensure that the review process is seen as legitimate.
- Unless each of the management bodies has a stable team, with clear TORs and the right skills to implement them, strong leadership, and appropriate incentives to meet on a regular basis, they will not be able to discharge their intended functions effectively with the risk that ownership of the process will be weak.
- An active day-to-day engagement by the donor partner who is providing financial and technical assistance for a defence review is essential to monitor progress, ensure effective and consistent communication between the partners, and address problems that may require adjustments in the schedule or work-plan, or additional expertise and resources.

Technical assistance

- The use of international advisers can often enhance the legitimacy of a review process and its outputs, such as a Defence Policy or a White Paper, provided the advisers are able to deliver their assistance in a consensual manner and are perceived by those with whom they work as committed to facilitating nationally-led efforts.

- In a context where national capacity to conduct a defence review is low, it is important for external technical advisers to strike the right balance between carrying out tasks that members of the executing team can carry out themselves and enabling the members of the team to “learn by doing”.
- Providing they have the right technical expertise and can remain engaged in the process, the use of local consultants to support a review process is often preferable given their local knowledge and the lower costs of employing them. But where local expertise is inadequate, international advisers may represent a good alternative, all the more so if they can work in partnership with local consultants so that knowledge can be shared.
- While there is a growing body of international expertise in the area of SSR, finding and recruiting the right expert who has the specific skills and knowledge required to support a review process effectively can take time. It is important to plan and manage this process in a proactive way and use existing international networks and contacts to facilitate the search for the appropriate expert.

Stakeholder participation

- In a country which is emerging from a sustained period of armed conflict, a wide-ranging security consultation can trigger a valuable policy debate on how national defence and security can be structured and managed in the most effective manner to address the country’s current and future security challenges.
- In the context of a review process, the act of consulting with oversight actors such as the parliamentary commissions responsible for defence and security, or finance and economy can trigger a greater resolve among these actors to fulfill their statutory roles in monitoring the security sector.
- The breadth and depth of stakeholder involvement in a defence review impacts on the level of national ownership of the process. Whether there is support both inside and outside government, and within the FDN, to implement the findings will be determined in part by whether people feel their concerns and priorities have been taken into account.

- Because people’s perceptions of security vary immensely depending on their social status, political affiliations and the milieu in which they live, it is important to ensure that a popular consultation on security or defence matters covers all sectors of society across the entire country.
- In the context of a national security assessment, it is important to ensure that the tools used to consult with and assess the security needs of the most vulnerable groups in society, including women and children, are sensitive to the specific security challenges these groups face which are unique to their status.
- Because there are likely to be different security interests within the donor community, government may benefit from sensitising donors about the aims of the defence review and encouraging them to harmonise their security assistance policies and align them with the strategic priorities of the defence transformation programme.

Although Burundi has completed its defence review, the task of implementation is only commencing. This process will be long, complex and politically-challenging. In order to maintain the momentum for change in the defence and wider security sector, the government will need to embrace the products of the defence review, including the new National Defence Policy and the White Paper, communicate clearly its vision for change to the FDN, other security agencies and the population, and prepare effectively for implementation.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Between 2011 and 2014 the Government of the Republic of Burundi undertook a strategic study on the future role and organisation of the National Defence Force (FDN). The defence review was supported by the Government of the Netherlands with financial and technical assistance. This was the first time that Burundi had undertaken a defence review of this nature and that the Dutch had supported one as a donor. The strength of this partnership was key to making the review possible in the first place and to ensuring its successful conclusion.

The purpose of this report is to assess Burundi's experiences over the past three years and to identify lessons from the review process which can inform future defence or security reviews in Burundi or other countries.

The defence review was an important and challenging undertaking for Burundi. It was conducted at a time when the country was emerging from a period of political crisis and seeking to implement the 2004 ARUSHA accord. The restoration and maintenance of security is the key underpinning of these accords. The review's overall objective was to help Burundi to adapt its defence forces to the changing security environment facing the country.

The approach Burundi adopted for this defence review was influenced by international thinking on Security Sector Reform (SSR) and the experiences of other countries that have conducted defence reviews. The key lesson Burundi drew from these experiences was the need for a holistic, inclusive and transparent approach that is adapted to its own local context, circumstances and needs.

In practical terms, the key implication of adopting a holistic approach was that Burundi's defence review was informed by (and also contributed to) elaboration of the country's first national security strategy, which occurred in parallel. This was based on the recognition that defence is only one component – albeit a very important one – of the government's wider response to the security challenges facing the country.

The lessons presented in this report were identified by the members of the team that conducted Burundi's defence review. The lessons arose out of a workshop which took place in Bujumbura from 17-21 April 2014 at which the team members assessed their experiences in conducting the review. The initial lessons they identified were discussed with representatives of various stakeholder group, before finalising the report.

Burundi's defence review took place in unique circumstances that are unlikely to be replicated either in Burundi or elsewhere. This report is therefore not intended to be a manual for *how* to conduct a defence review. Rather, the aim is to share with other countries seeking to undertake similar reviews (and other donors seeking to support such processes) the most important lessons from Burundi's process.

The main output of Burundi's defence review was a White Paper that offers a strategic orientation for the Burundian armed forces for the next 10 – 15 years, supported by a force design and prioritised domains for improvement. Due to delays in decision-making at the political level a full evaluation of the review process is not due to take place until the outset of the third phase. The lessons contained in this report are therefore the product of an "internal" assessment by those most closely involved in Burundi's review process.

Structure of report

This report is divided into five chapters:

- Chapter One is the Introduction.
- Chapter Two examines why "lesson learning" is important and how Burundi has benefitted from other defence review experiences.
- Chapter Three provides an overview of Burundi's defence review including why it conducted a review, the key objectives and players involved in the process, the methodology, and the main achievements.

- Chapter Four examines the challenges which Burundi faced when conducting its review, and the key lessons that have been identified.
- Chapter Five examines the next steps involved in implementing the review findings.

The annexes provide further information on:

- the key documents produced during the defence review
- the composition of the review team
- the strategic advisers

CHAPTER II: THE IMPORTANCE OF LESSON-LEARNING

This chapter explains why Burundi considered it necessary to learn from other countries' experiences before commencing its defence review, and equally, why it felt it was important to identify and share its own lessons with others after completing its review.

2.1. What is lesson-learning?

Lesson-learning can be understood simply as gaining knowledge through an analysis of one's own experiences, or the experiences of others, which can help to improve the way that an activity such as a defence review is carried out. The specific aim of lesson-learning in Burundi's case was to learn from what worked well in other countries, and not so well, in order to replicate their successes and avoid the pitfalls they encountered.

To be effective, lesson-learning needs to lead to concrete changes in the way that a review is conducted. Specifically, *identifying* a lesson has to do with pinpointing the factors which contributed to either successful or unsuccessful implementation in other cases. *Learning* the lesson has to do with actually implementing the changes required so that the review process can be improved. If nothing changes, then nothing has been learned...or improves.

2.2. External influences on Burundi's review

When Burundi decided to conduct a defence review in 2010, its first step before developing its own approach was to examine the experiences of other countries. Only a few other African countries had conducted comprehensive defence reviews in line with SSR principles. South Africa's case was of interest because its review had been conducted in the context of an important political transition. Burundi also drew inspiration from the fact that the South African review was largely designed and conducted by South Africans themselves.

Uganda's review was of particular interest because it is also a member of the East African Community (EAC) and a major troop contributor to the AMISOM mission in Somalia. During the 1970s and 1980s, Uganda

experienced serious internal political turmoil. With the support of the international community it took important steps during the 1990s to stabilise its security situation and rebuild the country. It carried out a defence review with UK support between 2002 – 2004 that provided a basis for subsequent defence reforms¹.



Exchange of experiences between the Burundian and Ugandan defence review teams.

Burundi's defence review benefited enormously from the Ugandan experience. In September 2010 the Ugandan Ministry of Defence invited a team from Burundi to attend a workshop in Kampala where it shared its defence review experiences. The presentations focused on how Uganda had conducted its review, the challenges it faced in doing so and how they were addressed, and the key lessons of relevance to Burundi and other countries.

Then, in October 2010, the Burundian team made a visit to the Netherlands to learn from European defence review experiences. The Dutch Ministry of Defence hosted a workshop at which experiences from the Netherlands and France were shared, along with some more general insights on defence reform from Switzerland. The insights gained from these European and African experiences helped Burundi's

¹ The lessons identified by Uganda were published in a report entitled *The Uganda Defence Review: Learning from Experience*, King's College London, 2007.

team to develop its methodology and to anticipate various challenges it would face when conducting the review.

2.3. Sharing Burundi's lessons with other countries

Lesson-learning should ideally be a continuous process of improvement. In Burundi's case, lesson-learning took place at the end of each stage of the defence review with a view to enabling the team to more effectively manage future stages. The main objective of this internal assessment is to document the team's extensive experiences over the past three years, both for its own benefit and that of others.

These lessons are intended, first of all, for Burundi's political and military authorities, for members of the FDN, and for Burundi's other security agencies. Specifically, the lessons are intended to assist those who may be involved either in implementing the findings of this defence review or in subsequent review processes of a security nature which take place in Burundi, both inside and outside the defence sector.

Secondly, these lessons have been identified with a view to assisting other countries in Africa and elsewhere which may be contemplating undertaking a defence review. The context in these other countries will inevitably differ from that in Burundi. However, when it comes to *process* – that is, how to conduct a review in a holistic, inclusive and transparent manner – many of the challenges Burundi faced will likely arise elsewhere.

Third, these lessons should be of utility for the Netherlands and other donor countries and agencies which may support a defence or security review in another country. Doing so effectively is both politically and technically challenging, and there are no templates which can be easily applied. But much can be learned from the nature of the government-donor partnership which underpinned the successful conclusion of Burundi's review process.

CHAPTER III: OVERVIEW OF BURUNDI'S DEFENCE REVIEW

3.1. Why did Burundi conduct a defence review?

Following a recent period of internal instability, Burundi is engaged in an important political transition that is intended to restore conditions for lasting peace and stability in the country. At the same time, the security environment within Burundi, across the central African region, and globally is undergoing significant change. New security challenges which affect the state and the population of Burundi are emerging which demand new responses. This will require Burundi's defence forces and its other security actors to adapt to the changing environment so that they can effectively fulfil their roles and responsibilities.

In this context, Burundi decided in 2010 to undertake a strategic assessment of its defence and security needs with a view to better adapting the FDN to the evolving context. The approach which Burundi adopted has been influenced by the emergence of a broader concept of security in recent years at the international level. The new thinking on security underscores the need to understand both the military and non-military security challenges facing Burundi, and to ensure that the FDN's role in addressing these challenges is complementary to and supportive of the role of other security actors.

3.2. What were the main objectives?

Burundi's defence review had three principal objectives:

- First, to develop a common understanding across government and the security agencies on the prevailing security environment in Burundi, the security needs of the population, and the principal security challenges facing the country;
- Second, to clarify the specific roles and missions of the FDN in meeting these security needs and challenges, and to determine how the FDN's role can best be coordinated with the roles of other security actors;

- Third, to identify the institutional and operational capabilities that the FDN will require to effectively undertake its roles and missions.

In addition, the defence review had two secondary objectives:

- First, to reinforce capacities within defence ministry and the FDN General Staff to conduct strategic planning and to manage implementation of the review's findings;
- Second, to provide a framework for discussion with Burundi's international partners in view of identifying options for bilateral cooperation to finance the future defence transformation process.

3.3. Who were the key players?

The defence review was conducted by the Ministry of National Defence and Former Combatants (MDNAC) under the political authority of the Presidency. The Government of the Netherlands provided financial and technical support for the review process as part of its wider Security Sector Development programme.

At the start of the defence review, MDNAC established a National Commission with a mandate to lead the process. Three separate management bodies were formally established in May 2011 with mandates to carry out and manage the review, to advise on the process, and to oversee the process and keep political authorities informed of progress. These bodies were:

- the Permanent Secretariat (*Comité Exécutif Permanent*)
- the Advisory Panel (*Commission de Réflexion*)
- the Steering Committee (*Comité de Direction*)

3.4. How did Burundi conduct its review?

3.4.1. The Burundi – Dutch partnership

In 2009, the Government of Burundi and the Government of the Netherlands signed an 8-year Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to initiate the SSD programme, covering the army and the police in particular. The programme's overall objective is to develop a security sector that is managed in a transparent manner, financially accountable, and capable of protecting state institutions and providing security and justice services to the citizens of Burundi.

The defence review was primarily financed by the Dutch government, though efforts were made throughout the review process to attract financing from other donor partners. Both the UK Government's Stabilisation Unit and the United Nation's Office in Burundi (BNUB) financed a number of activities as well as inputs provided by technical advisers.

The defence review constitutes one of the key activities of the SSD programme and was intended to be completed during its second phase (2011-2013). The project document which was agreed between the two governments outlines their common vision on how the partnership would work, the approach to be adopted, the guiding principles, how the process would be managed, the roles and responsibilities of each partner, and the expected results.

The primary outputs of the defence review were expected to be:

- First, a new National Defence Policy defining the FDN's defensive posture, its key roles and missions, and how it would support the government's overall response to the security challenges facing Burundi;
- Second, a Defence White Paper outlining the Government's vision for the transformation of the FDN, including its strategic priorities for development of defence and the financial implications;

- Third, a comprehensive, affordable plan to implement the agreed changes which is based on a realistic schedule and aligned with the national public expenditure framework. (Completion of this output was postponed to the Phase Three because, at the conclusion of Phase Two, government had not yet made a final decision on its desired strategic option for developing the FDN).

In addition, there were two expected secondary outputs:

- The first of these was this “lessons-learned” report which was intended to enable the Permanent Secretariat and the Advisory Panel to more effectively apply the experience gained during the first two phases of the review process in the subsequent phases;
- The second was a report outlining the priority needs in terms of bilateral assistance, which was intended to assist the MDNAC and the General Staff of the FDN to negotiate and obtain external support for follow-up activities. (This report will also be completed in Phase Three of the programme).

3.4.2. Methodology

Guiding principles

With a view to ensuring that the defence review achieves its intended objectives, it was agreed that the review should be completed in its entirety and in line with the agreed methodology and work-plan. The review was also to be conducted in a manner that was:

- *Holistic*, with the point of departure being a comprehensive understanding of security which makes the protection of the population a fundamental principle of national defence and state security action;
- *Inclusive*, involving all relevant actors within the security sector and across the government, as well as relevant stakeholders outside government, in identifying and implementing government responses to security problems;

- *Transparent*, with discussions conducted in an open manner and the results of each stage of work disseminated as widely as possible among the actors concerned including, where appropriate, the population.

Review phases

The defence review process was broken down into three broad phases of work:

- Phase One: Preparation for the review;
- Phase Two: Execution of the review; and
- Phase Three: Implementation of the defence transformation programme.

See the graphic overleaf for a summary of the key stages of the defence review.

Preparatory phase

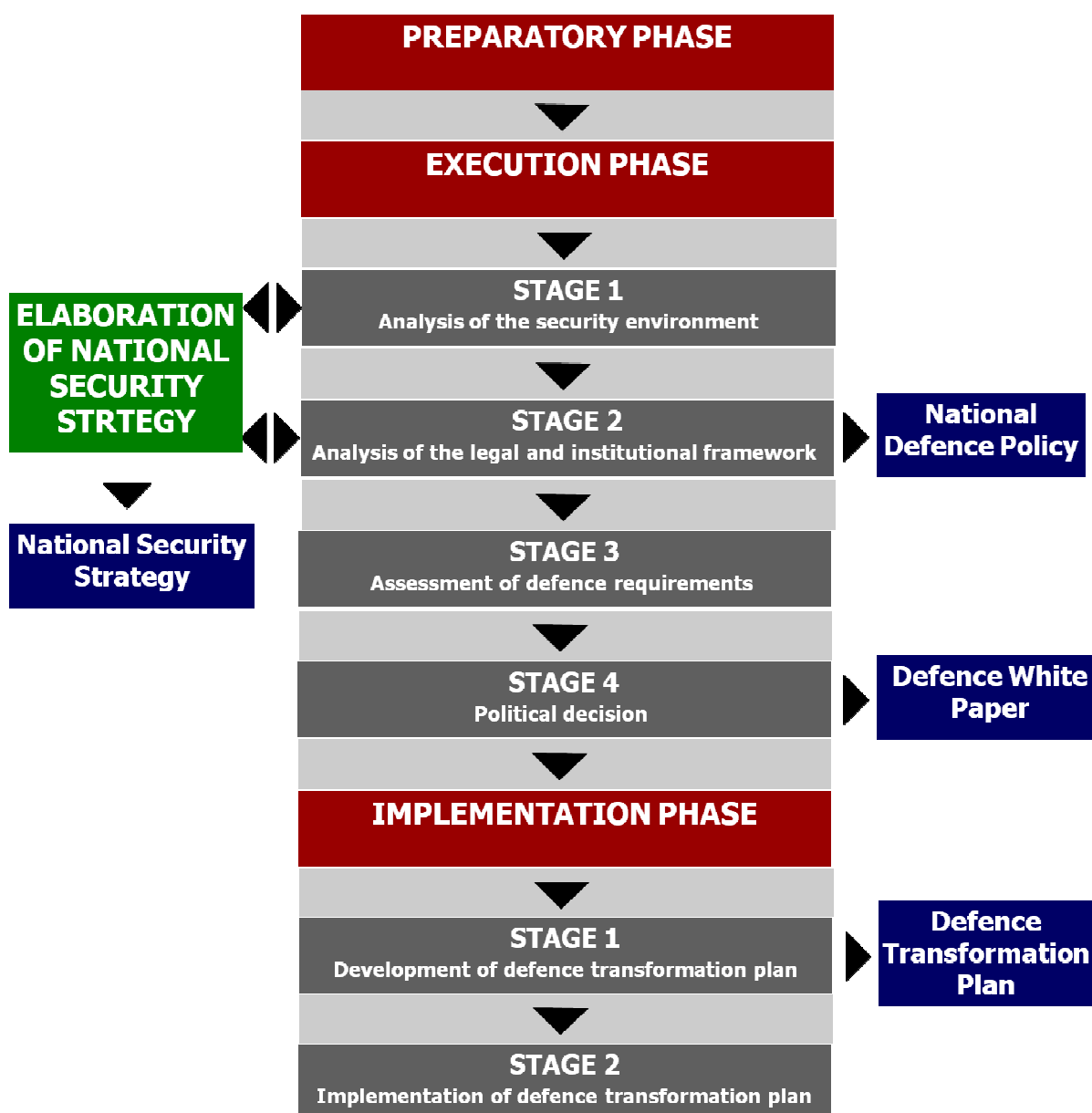
Phase One lasted from June 2010-April 2011. The main objective was to put in place all of the conditions necessary for the successful completion of the defence review, including establishing the team that would conduct the work.

The principal activities undertaken were:

- Examination of review processes in a number of different countries, including Uganda, South Africa, the Netherlands and France in order to determine the best approach for Burundi to adopt (see Chapter 2 for more details);
- Sensitisation of the political authorities and the military command on the review's purpose, aims and methodology in view of enhancing their ownership of and involvement in the review process and implementation of the findings;
- Development of a project plan which specified the methodological approach that would be followed, the guiding principles and the requirements for technical assistance;
- Development of the methodology itself that was tailored to Burundi's security needs, priorities and institutional capacity;

- Establishment of the three management bodies charged with managing, conducting and overseeing the review process: the Permanent Secretariat, the Advisory Panel, and the Steering Committee;
- Strengthening the capacity of the members of both the Permanent Secretariat and the Advisory Panel, focusing in particular on their understanding of the methodology and ability to implement it;
- Elaboration of a work-plan which specified in detail the schedule of activities and the expected outputs of each stage of work.

Burundi defence review: Key Phases and outputs



Execution phase

Phase Two began in May 2011 and was completed in June 2014. This phase was originally intended to consist of five stages of work, culminating in the production of a detailed implementation plan for defence transformation. However, given delays in the review process,

it was decided to end the execution phase following the production and approval of the Defence White Paper. The task of elaborating the transformation plan was pushed back to the implementation phase, where it became the first activity.

Stage 1 – Analysis of the security environment

The main aim of this stage was to develop a common understanding among all relevant stakeholders of the key military and non-military threats that Burundi is likely to face in the next 10 - 15 years. This work was conducted primarily through workshops, bringing together relevant stakeholders who discussed the key factors that are likely to affect Burundi's future security environment. 114 threats were identified, of which only four were considered to be "military" in nature.



Stakeholders taking part in a workshop analysing Burundi's security environment.

The preliminary assessment of the security environment was then validated through a popular consultation which took place across the country. This consultation was organised and led by two local NGO's, CENAP and CREDESS, which also compiled the findings.

The key outputs of this first stage of work were:

- An assessment of the factors influencing Burundi's security environment
- A list of the likely future threats to national security

Stage 2 – Analysis of the legal and institutional framework

The main aim of Stage 2 was to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the relevant security actors in Burundi in responding to the threats identified in Stage 1. This was achieved through consultation and negotiation between the various security actors, including defence. This process made it possible to specify the future roles and missions of the FDN and to develop a new national defence policy for Burundi, which was supported by a baseline study on the external policy context produced by the Ministry of Foreign Relations.

The backdrop for the work on clarifying roles and responsibilities was the development of Burundi's first, over-arching National Security Strategy which was conducted in parallel to the defence review and was informed by it. This work was conducted under the auspices of the National Security Council, but drew upon the Stage 1 analysis of the security environment. The aim of this work was to provide an overall vision and framework for developing a comprehensive government response to Burundi's security problems, with defence working alongside other national security agencies.

The main outputs of Stage 2 were:

- a "matrix of responsibilities" for Burundi's security actors
- a report on the legal and institutional framework for the FDN
- a National Defence Policy

Stage 3 – Analysis of defence requirements for transformation of the FDN

Stage 3 built on the work of the previous two stages by clarifying the future roles and responsibilities of defence. This stage involved an assessment of the operational capabilities and the supporting institutional structures which the FDN will require to fulfil its functions effectively. The operational capabilities examined included organisation of the FDN, equipment, military infrastructure, and training. On the institutional side, the assessment focused among others on policy and planning capacities, human resource and financial management, military justice, the legal framework.

On the basis of these institutional and operational assessments, the review team developed four separate strategic options for transformation of the FDN. This provided Government with a number of alternatives for developing the defence forces depending on political priorities and resource availability. Each strategic option was informed by a particular political, economic and security scenario which Burundi might confront in the future.



Burundian officers at work developing the strategic defence options.

The main outputs of Stage 3 were:

- an assessment of the institutional and operational requirements
- an assessment of the current operating costs of the FDN and MDNAC
- a report on strategic options for government

Stage 4 – Political decision

The aim of this 4th Stage was to obtain a political decision on the future size and structure of the defence forces and the priorities for defence transformation. This political decision forms the basis for subsequent work on elaborating the implementation plan. Parallel to this decision-making process, the Defence White Paper was drafted, outlining the Government's overall vision for the defence of the country and how it intends to implement this.

The main outputs of Stage 4 were:

- a political decision on the strategic option
- the Defence White Paper

Stage 5 - Elaboration of an implementation plan for defence transformation

This stage of work was delayed to the implementation phase (Phase Three).

Parallel to the activities conducted during Stages 1-4, a series of workshops were organised by the Permanent Secretariat to sensitise other security partners on the aims of the defence review and brief them on progress. In addition, at the end of each stage of work, an internal evaluation of the process was conducted, facilitated by an external consultant.

Implementation phase - Implementation of the defence transformation programme

The implementation phase of the review is scheduled to commence following the formal approval of the Defence White Paper by the government. The first stage of the work will be the elaboration of a detailed and costed implementation plan for defence transformation. This plan will specify what the priorities are for defence transformation in the coming few years, provide a general road-map for their implementation, and a budget.

3.5. What were the key achievements?

This was the first time that Burundi had conducted a comprehensive defence review in a holistic, transparent and inclusive manner. This was a challenging process in many ways stemming from the complexity of the methodology that was adopted, the country's lack of experience in conducting strategic security reviews of this nature, the variable commitment of different actors to supporting the process, and the need to complete the review within strict time and budgetary constraints.

Nevertheless, Burundi marked a number of important achievements in conducting this defence review. Most importantly, this was the first

time that Burundi was able to engage in an open cross-governmental debate on security issues. This debate acknowledged the limitations of current and past government responses to the country's security problems, it confirmed the necessity for Burundi to develop more integrated government responses to security problems, and it considered alternative options to achieve this goal.

Second, Burundi has laid a number of important legal and policy foundations that will enable both the FDN and other security agencies to further develop their abilities to defend the country and provide for the safety and security of the population. This includes the new National Defence Policy, a new National Security Strategy developed in parallel to the defence review, and the Defence White Paper, each of which maps out the government's vision and road-map for future reforms in the defence and security sector.

Third, over the course of the past three years, as it conducted the defence review, Burundi has developed new and vital capacities in the areas of strategic analysis, defence planning and costing, and institutional change. These capacities will facilitate the subsequent stages of the defence review and enable Burundi to play a more proactive role in designing and implementing its defence transformation programme.

CHAPTER IV: KEY CHALLENGES AND LESSONS IDENTIFIED

This chapter discusses the main challenges encountered during Burundi's defence review, how they were addressed, and the key lessons which may be of benefit to other countries undertaking a defence or security review.

4.1. National ownership

4.1.1. Why is national ownership of a defence review important?

In practical terms, national ownership of a defence review means that a country is committed to the review and takes the lead in designing, managing and conducting it. When a review is externally-supported, as in Burundi's case, national ownership is often weaker at the outset of the process. Building ownership over the course of the review is therefore critical to ensure that it is the country itself – including both the government and other stakeholders - rather than external actors which determines the priorities and shapes the process. A nationally-led process will enhance both the political legitimacy of the review and commitment by the government and the army to implementing the findings.

4.1.2. Building ownership is a gradual process

There were different levels of ownership by the various actors involved in Burundi's defence review. This may be explained in part by the fact that this was the first time that Burundi had conducted a defence review. Not everyone fully understood why the review was being conducted or was familiar with the methodology that was being used. It is likely furthermore that some people felt threatened by the prospect of the institutional changes which would come about because of the defence review, or simply disagreed with the aims. Others no doubt also felt that they had little to gain personally by participating in the review.

Burundi's defence review was externally-supported which also posed a challenge in terms of ensuring strong national ownership. Because the Dutch provided the bulk of the funding for the review, the Burundi government may have felt less of a stake in the outcome of the process. Nevertheless, the review was underpinned by a strong and dynamic partnership between the Governments of Burundi and the Netherlands. The two countries agreed from the outset on the goals of the review and the approach to be followed. Dutch technical assistance was delivered in such a way as to ensure Burundians remained in the driving seat.

The primary focus of the Dutch strategic advisers who were attached to the Permanent Secretariat was to facilitate the review process and adherence to the work-plan. While the advisers underscored from the outset their preference for a wide range of stakeholders to be involved in the review, they did not interfere in strategic decisions relating to the future shape and size of the FDN. The members of the Permanent Secretariat were generally encouraged to "learn by doing" even when this resulted in delays to the process.

From the outset, the Permanent Secretariat made efforts to both broaden and deepen national ownership of the review process. A key challenge was to ensure that ownership was not simply confined to the army or the government, but extended more broadly to include parliament, civil society and the Burundian population itself. By engaging with a wide range of stakeholders outside the security sector, it was believed that the review findings would be more likely to reflect the needs of different groups in Burundian society. This in turn would strengthen national support for implementation of the review findings.

Another key challenge was to sensitise the key governmental stakeholders involved in the review about the aims of the process, the methodology, and their roles. Within government this needed to occur at various levels, including the President and his cabinet, Parliament, the other national security agencies, and the FDN itself – from the military leadership down to the rank and file. The defence review was only but one of many government initiatives competing for the

attention of these government actors. It was not always possible for them to allocate the time necessary for detailed briefings on the review process.

The decision to adopt a holistic, inclusive and transparent methodology facilitated consultation with a wide range of stakeholders, though there were also challenges. Many actors, both on the governmental and non-governmental side, do not have the habit of discussing sensitive issues like security in public. While Burundi's defence review broke new ground in this respect, it was also evident that it takes more than one workshop to change mind-sets. It was necessary to convince people both inside and outside the security sector that security is not just the business of the military or police, but involves many different actors including the public.

Burundi's experience is that building ownership is a gradual process. There is bound to be a tension between the ideal and the reality of national ownership in a country which does not have a tradition of addressing security issues in an open manner. This does not mean that Burundi should have waited until the conditions for strong national ownership were in place before commencing its defence review. Rather, it is important to adopt a long-term perspective when seeking to build national ownership. This issue needs to be explicitly addressed from the outset as part and parcel of the review process.

4.1.3. Key lessons

- "National" ownership of a review process should not simply be confined to the government, but broadened to include a range of other actors (such as parliament, the media, civil society, political parties, etc.) who have different functions, responsibilities and interests in relation to how security is governed and delivered in a country.

Political level

- In the context of an externally-supported defence review process, there is a risk that the achievements will not be sustained unless there is a high level of commitment to the

process by the political authorities, the senior military leadership, and the external partners supporting the process.

- Given a defence review's strategic importance and political sensitivity, a direct, visible and regular engagement by the Head of State in launching the process and tracking its progress can strengthen ownership by those involved in the process.
- Sensitising members of Parliament who are responsible for questions of defence and security or finance and economy about the purpose, aims and results of the defence review is essential to obtain their approval for key outputs. This can also enhance their capacity to exercise their oversight role over the security sector.

Ministry of Defence

- Direct involvement in a review process by the Minister of National Defense and the Chief of Defence Staff is vital to ensure that the review is responsive to wider political priorities and takes into account the views of the different military authorities responsible for implementing its findings.
- The Ministry of Defence has an important role to play both in facilitating high-level decision-making around the review process and addressing any obstacles that may require political intervention to surmount. This can be done by carefully monitoring the process and keeping the Head of State informed of progress through his Cabinet.
- By supporting the development and implementation of a communication strategy targeted at key stakeholder groups, the Ministry of Defence can help to strengthen understanding and ownership of the review process and create conditions that may be more favourable to implementation of the findings.

Management bodies

- Ownership of a defence review by the management bodies tasked with implementing it may be weak at the outset. However, by steeping themselves in the process and acquiring

relevant knowledge and skills to manage the review, this can give team members a greater stake in achieving a successful outcome.

- The strategic advisers and external consultants who coach the members of the team that is responsible for conducting a review can help to strengthen its ownership of the process if they work in a way which is participative and explicitly seeks to build long-term institutional capacity.
- Close collaboration between the management bodies, each of which has a different role to play in conducting, managing and overseeing the review, is essential for the process to succeed. But it is difficult to conduct a review effectively if not all of the management bodies are committed to the review and fulfilling their roles properly.

External partners

- Where external partners lack confidence in the way that a defence review is being conducted or do not believe that the government fully owns the process, this can make it more difficult for the government to secure the support of these partners for the task of implementing the findings.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1. Why should the methodology be tailored to the local context?

This was the first time that Burundi had undertaken a comprehensive defence review. In developing its approach, Burundi turned to other countries for inspiration and practical guidance. Its aim was to conduct the review in a manner that was consistent with international “best practice” in order to enhance the standard of analysis and the credibility of the process. At the same time, Burundi sought to tailor the review to its unique circumstances, needs and institutional capacity. This was in order to strengthen national ownership of the

process and ensure that Burundians remained in the “driving seat” throughout so that the review could be adapted as required to local contingencies.

4.2.2. The need for a flexible and pragmatic approach

Burundi’s defence review was an ambitious undertaking due to its comprehensive nature and the complexity of the methodology. The Permanent Secretariat also faced significant time and capacity constraints. The decision to conduct the review in a holistic, inclusive and transparent manner broadened its scope considerably beyond a traditional military focus. As there was insufficient technical expertise within the Permanent Secretariat to cover all of the relevant issues, the team was heavily reliant on outside advisers. In the face of these challenges, a key lesson that Burundi learned from Uganda was about the need to properly prepare the team before commencing the review so that it could manage and lead the process itself.

In keeping with a holistic concept of security, the focus of the defence review encompassed the security needs of not just the state but the population as well. This focus involved catering for a broader range of both military and non-military threats to security than the FDN was accustomed to addressing. In turn, this holistic approach also made it necessary to engage through a consultative process with a wider range of state and non-state actors, some of which were not traditionally seen in Burundi as ‘security’ players. The popular consultation which took place enriched the analysis, though also lengthened the review process.

To avoid a perception that the government’s security policies were being driven by defence concerns, it was necessary to align the defence review with a wider governmental security framework. Because Burundi did not have a national security strategy in place at the time the defence review commenced, it was decided to elaborate one under the auspices of the National Security Council. This process was also supported by the Dutch government and helped to achieve a common understanding among all security actors of Burundi’s future security challenges and to clarify the specific roles and responsibilities of each actor.

Another key lesson that Burundi learned from Uganda's experience was the necessity to adopt a flexible approach in the face of unexpected challenges and obstacles. This was necessary because it was not always possible to anticipate the problems which would arise in the review process. Because of capacity limitations within the Permanent Secretariat, for instance, certain activities simply took longer than foreseen. Given political sensitivities, it was not always possible to get feedback on outputs and political guidance on the next steps from the Steering Committee. This required the flexibility to begin a subsequent stage of work before final approval had been given for an output from the preceding stage.

A particular example of the need for a flexible approach arose because insufficient attention was paid at the outset of the review to understanding the legal framework within which defence operates. During Stage 2 it was suddenly realised that the existing Organic Law which governs defence was outdated and would need to be rapidly modified to take into account the findings of the Stage 3 work. The new Organic Law would then also need to be approved by parliament in a timely manner in order to ensure that there was a legal basis for the defence structures presented in the White Paper, which was to be drafted in Stage 4.

Another challenge was that the Permanent Secretariat underestimated the complexity of certain stages of work and the amount of time and external support required to complete the tasks effectively. This was particularly the case of the Stage 3 work on identifying Burundi's defence requirements and elaborating the strategic defence options. Although it had been assumed at the outset of the review that the Permanent Secretariat could easily call upon outside experts when necessary to make up for deficits in its own capacity, sourcing these experts was often a slow process. Furthermore, the role of outside experts was generally to advise and support rather than to do the work themselves.

As a result, this often left the Permanent Secretariat in a difficult position of having to complete substantive tasks on its own, despite capacity limitations. While the team members "learned by doing", this

could be a slow and laborious process. In general, the institutional component of the work on assessing defence requirements did not receive the attention it merited. This stemmed in part from the priority placed on operational issues. But it was also a consequence of the fact that the studies on institutional issues were carried out by technical staff in MDNAC who lacked adequate experience and who were not given sufficiently detailed TORs.

There were two other activities where significant delays were encountered which illustrated the complexity of the methodology and the capacity challenges faced by the Permanent Secretariat. This was the development of force designs (and the required institutional supporting structures) for specific defence contingencies, and the costing of these force designs to ensure that they would be sustainable. Both of these areas of work required sophisticated software support and detailed databases which did not exist within the MDNAC at the time the review was conducted.

As a consequence of the challenges faced, the timeline for the defence review was extended a number of times with the agreement of the Dutch Government. This was to account for the delays that were being encountered and to source the additional external assistance required to complete the tasks. Nevertheless, immense pressure was still placed upon the Permanent Secretariat to complete the work and get approval for the main outputs of the review before government became preoccupied by preparations for the 2015 elections.

The quality of the defence review outputs did not always attain the level desired by the Permanent Secretariat due to these time pressures, capacity limitations, and the limited guidance provided by the Steering Committee. Nevertheless, it was still critically important for the Permanent Secretariat to conduct this work and to “learn by doing”, despite the delays incurred. This has given the team members valuable skills which will be of utility when it comes to implementing the review findings. It has also helped to lay an important foundation for future security review processes in Burundi to build upon.

4.2.3. Key lessons

Developing the methodology

- When a country decides to undertake a defence review, it can draw valuable inspiration and guidance from the experiences of other countries. But it's vital that the methodology is well tailored to the country's needs and circumstances as this will likely enhance national ownership of the process and the relevance of the findings.
- Because a defence review is a politically-sensitive and complex undertaking, it may not be possible when developing the methodology, work plan or budget to foresee all of the challenges or needs which will arise over the course of the process. It is therefore important to develop a flexible work-plan and budget and to anticipate any factors which may potentially affect the execution and timing of the review.

Guiding principles

- In a country which is emerging from a prolonged period of crisis and seeking to adapt its security sector to new political realities, adopting a holistic, inclusive and transparent methodology which is carefully adapted to the local context can help a government to better anticipate the needs of different stakeholders.
- Conducting a defence review in a holistic, inclusive and transparent manner can also enhance the legitimacy of the process and its results in the eyes of other security actors, development partners, and the population itself, and can increase their support for implementation of the review findings.
- Adopting a consultative approach when conducting a defence review can enhance recognition among stakeholders that security is the responsibility of a wide range of actors, not just the military, and improve transparency in the defence sector by enabling oversight actors to better fulfill their statutory functions.

Preparatory phase

- In order to conduct a defence review effectively, adequate time and investments are required to put in place and train the teams that will manage the process, develop the methodology and work-plan, sensitise relevant military and political actors on the reviews' aims and their roles, and secure the resources required for the review.
- Without official political support for a defence review, including approval of the decrees and the budgets necessary to enact the process, it is difficult to commence serious preparations and put in place and train the teams which have responsibility for developing the approach and executing the review.
- If a review commences before preparations are complete, this will increase the risk that the process will experience delays at some stage or face other obstacles. These risks need to be explicitly acknowledged in the planning process and a strategy should be developed to mitigate and manage them.

Execution phase

- In order to ensure that the methodology for a review is well tailored to a country's context, capacities and institutional framework, it is important to take into account at the outset of a process how relevant legislation and policy frameworks both inside and outside the defence sectors will impact on the review.
- Planning of the work programme should factor in not only the time required to conduct the actual work of each stage but also the amount of time required to obtain official political approval of outputs, particularly where this is required for the work to advance to the next stage.
- Undertaking two streams of work in parallel in a bid to save time can undermine the overall quality of the work and contribute to delays if there is not adequate capacity within the review team to manage these parallel activities effectively.

- Because each stage of a defence review requires a different approach and different kinds of expertise to execute, careful planning is required to ensure that there is adequate internal and external expertise available at the right time in the process in order to facilitate completion of the work.
- When a country is conducting a defence review for the first time and is employing a holistic and inclusive methodology, it is imperative to invest adequate efforts up-front in the process to sensitise the key stakeholders (particularly senior decision-makers) about the rationale for and the aims of the review.
- A defence review is a learning process. While the ideal conditions for a successful review may not be in place at the outset, including the desired level of technical capacity in the team and political engagement, the methodology and work-plan should be followed through to the extent possible. This will increase learning, ensure the best possible results, and provide a foundation for future review efforts to build upon.

Assessment of the security environment

- A defence review needs to be informed by a wider assessment of a country's security environment and institutions involving all relevant actors. This assessment should be coordinated by a cross-ministerial organ in order to build a common and holistic view - which is not driven by purely military concerns - of what the key security challenges are facing the country and the role of each actor in responding to them.
- Validating the findings of such a broad security threat assessment at the local level through consultations with the population can enrich the analysis in various ways, particularly in relation to the non-military security challenges facing the country, and augment its overall public legitimacy.
- When conducting a wider security assessment in the context of a defence review, this is also likely to focus greater attention on the changes which other security actors need to make to their own policy frameworks and operational capabilities so that government

can respond in a more effective, integrated manner to the designated threats.

Costing

- Careful costing of defence requirements is necessary to ensure that the political choices made in relation to defence transformation are affordable and sustainable. But costing can be a challenging exercise in the absence of detailed financial data, which may necessitate an additional investment in time and effort so the work can be completed.
- Costing and budgeting processes, particularly where external experts are involved, should bring in relevant technical staff from the finance ministries and the parliamentary committee responsible for defence budgeting. This can help to ensure transparency, strengthen accountability, and build institutional capacity.

4.3. Management of the process

4.3.1. Why are effective management structures essential?

A defence review is a complex and politically-sensitive undertaking. The key conditions for its success are that it is completed according to the agreed methodology and work-plan, that there is political engagement in the process, and that it generates useful results. It is important for political authorities to be kept apprised of progress so that they can provide feedback and guidance on next steps, and that expectations of the various stakeholder groups are managed. To perform their functions effectively, the management bodies require clear TORs, need to be adequately capacitated, and must have incentives to collaborate closely so that any obstacles which arise can be addressed in a timely and efficient manner.

4.3.2. The challenges of managing Burundi's review process

Putting in place the required structures and capacities for Burundi to manage its defence review was the focus of the preparatory phase.

Once the government had made a formal decision to conduct the review, a number of officers from the FDN were appointed to begin preparations and advise on both the methodology and the management structures that would be required. This team “learned by doing” as they developed the methodology for the review with the support of an international consultant, drawing lessons from the experiences of other countries in Africa and Europe which had conducted reviews.

The need to develop robust project management structures and ensure adequate training and preparation of staff before commencing the review was a key lesson identified by Uganda which Burundi took careful note of. While a full year was devoted to the preparation phase, the three management bodies were not formally established by the government until near the end of this phase. In addition, not all of the military officers who were involved in the initial preparatory phase ended up being appointed to one of the management bodies. This lack of continuity, combined with the fact that the Dutch strategic adviser was replaced just as the review was getting underway, slowed the momentum of the process.

As a consequence, when the review commenced in May 2011, not all of the members of the Permanent Secretariat were adequately prepared for the work ahead. With the assistance of the Dutch strategic advisers and a number of external consultants, it was possible to overcome these capacity limitations. Overtime the members of the Permanent Secretariat developed a deeper understanding and ownership of the process and the key skills necessary to drive the review forward with greater confidence. But this was not the case of the other two management bodies - the Advisory Panel and the Steering Committee - whose ownership (of) and engagement in the process was much more limited.



Members of the Permanent Secretariat during their morning briefing session.

The three management bodies were organised in a vertical structure to facilitate high-level monitoring of the review process and rapid political approval for each output. However, the Advisory Panel members did not actively participate in the review because they did not receive the allowances they were due. This put the Permanent Secretariat in a position of having to carry out the substantive review tasks which it was originally only intended to manage and support. The Steering Committee, which was made up of senior military officials with busy schedules, failed to convene on a regular basis.

As a consequence, there was limited high-level political oversight of the review process. The Permanent Secretariat rarely received clear or timely direction on what it should be doing. It was nonetheless able to deal with some of these delays by obtaining feedback from political authorities on key documents through informal means. And failing that, it was in several cases forced to commence the next stage of work before the outputs of the previous one had been formally approved.

The main tool which the Permanent Secretariat had to manage problems such as this was the 'risk register'. This tool was intended to facilitate the task of anticipating and assessing potential risks to the review process and designing appropriate mitigation measures. The defence review created many expectations among stakeholder groups both within the defence sector and outside which needed to be managed effectively so that the review process would be seen as legitimate. The risk register was not systematically used, however, as a consequence of which the Permanent Secretariat was not as proactive as it might have been in addressing potential obstacles to the review process.

The case of the National Police, which initially perceived the defence review as a threat to its own institutional interests, was a notable example. There was a fear among some senior officials within the police force that the review would result in the police being marginalised from its traditional security functions. As a result, there was resistance within the police establishment to the new National Defence Policy, resulting in a delay in its approval. This problem could have been better anticipated and addressed by more effectively sensitising the police at the outset of the defence review. Had the police understood better how they might benefit from the process, this may have reduced their resistance.

In an attempt to learn from their experiences, the members of the Permanent Secretariat engaged in an internal lesson-learning exercise after each of the first three stages of the review. This enabled the team members to reflect upon their experiences and draw lessons to improve their work in subsequent stages. It was nonetheless not easy to follow up on the lessons identified and change working practices, even where clear problems had been identified. This highlighted the importance of putting into place a mechanism to ensure implementation of the decisions that were taken to improve practice.

4.3.3. Key lessons

Managing the process

- A Defence Review is an ambitious and complex undertaking with potentially significant long-term implications for the security of a country and its people. For this reason, the political, technical and financial conditions required for the success of the process need to be in place. Those managing the process need to work closely with both national and international partners to gain their support for the process.
- The different bodies put into place to manage a review process play different but complementary technical and political roles. In order to manage the review process smoothly and effectively, close cooperation between the management bodies is vital.
- Unless each of the management bodies has a stable team, with clear TORs and the right skills to implement them, strong leadership, and appropriate incentives to meet on a regular basis, they will not be able to discharge their intended functions effectively with the risk that ownership of the process will be weak.
- The management of risks in a defence review is a central task of the management bodies. This requires close collaboration between the management bodies to identify both potential obstacles to the review process and follow-up actions which can be taken to manage these risks as pro-actively as possible.

Work-plan

- The back-bone of a successful defence review process is a flexible work-plan that is managed by the executing body itself. A computerised software programme like MS Project which allows for each activity to be planned and budgeted in a detailed manner is useful in adapting the work-plan in real time to changing circumstances.
- There are various advantages to developing a comprehensive work-plan at the outset of a review, even if it is likely to require

modification later. This makes it easier to anticipate both the expertise required at each stage of the process and potential challenges that may be faced. It can also help in securing political approval for the review outputs.

Communication and sensitisation

- A defence review creates different expectations among stakeholders inside and outside the defence sector, including the military, other security actors, the political authorities, the population, and external partners. These expectations need to be managed effectively to ensure that the review process is seen as legitimate.
- Managing expectations requires an effective communication strategy. This strategy should be developed early on in the review process and targeted at the specific groups which need to be influenced and sensitised, using diverse channels of communication such as the media, internet, publications, etc.
- The task of sensitising stakeholders, particularly among the defence forces, about the role and importance of the defence review should be supported by the management bodies. But to be most effective, a sensitization campaign should be led by the senior defence leadership which will reinforce the legitimacy of the review process.

Donor partners

- An active day-to-day engagement by the donor partner who is providing financial and technical assistance for a defence review is essential to monitor progress, ensure effective and consistent communication between the partners, and address problems that may require adjustments in the schedule or work-plan, or additional expertise and resources.

Managing agent

- The use of a managing agent by a donor can facilitate the delivery of its financial and technical support for a defence review. But it is critical that the financial and procurement procedures which the

managing agent adopts are consistently applied, simple and efficient to use, and progressively enable the executing body to reinforce its own management capacities and work in an autonomous fashion.

4.4. Technical assistance

4.4.1. What is the role of external advisers in a defence review?

A defence review is a challenging undertaking, particularly when a country is conducting a review for the first time in line with international principles and best practice. External advisers can help to transfer new concepts, knowledge and skills to the team conducting the review, and facilitate the work. It is nonetheless important for advisers to strike the right balance between carrying out substantive tasks themselves, so that the review can be completed more quickly and to a higher standard, and allowing the team to do the work at its own pace and “learn by doing”. While the latter option may lengthen the process, with a more uncertain outcome, this will likely lay a stronger foundation for future, nationally-led reform efforts.

4.4.2. Helping the Burundi review team to “learn by doing”

Burundi’s defence review team benefited from technical assistance throughout the process, starting with the preparatory phase. One of the first lessons which Burundi learned from the Uganda experience with regard to technical assistance was that having a permanent strategic adviser or coach attached to the team would make it easier to ensure the consistent provision of advice to the team. These permanent advisers, who were seconded members of the Dutch armed forces, were complemented by shorter-term technical advice provided by either local consultants or international consultants from a range of countries.

The role of these advisers was first and foremost to enable the members of the Permanent Secretariat and Advisory Panel to fulfil their mandates more effectively. The advisers facilitated efforts by the

team to learn from other countries which had conducted defence reviews. These advisers also worked with the team to develop the initial methodology and work-plan and to prepare the team to manage the review process itself. For many members of management bodies, who had limited or no prior experience in conducting strategic studies with a holistic, inclusive and transparent methodology, this implied a steep learning curve.

Although the members of the Permanent Secretariat had the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the methodology before the review commenced, it was only by executing it for the first time that they were able to understand its intricacies. It was in this way, through their direct experience in conducting the defence review, and being able to reflect on what worked well and did not work so well after each stage of work, that the members of the Permanent Secretariat learned to conduct and manage the defence review.

In this context, the main challenge for the technical advisers was to strike an appropriate balance between facilitating Burundian efforts to conduct and manage the review, and carrying out tasks themselves which the members of the Permanent Secretariat could actually do themselves, albeit maybe at a slower pace. This was particularly a challenge for the strategic advisers who worked with the Permanent Secretariat on a day-to-day basis, and who had a responsibility not only to support the technical work but to keep the process advancing in line with the agreed schedule.

The strategic advisers restricted their inputs as much as possible to facilitating the review process. In particular, they helped where they could to improve the rigour of the overall analysis and ensure that the final conclusions were adequately supported, without taking a strong stance on decisions relating to the future size and structure of the defence forces. Enabling the review team to “learn by doing” was a pragmatic necessity for another simple reason: it was the Burundians rather than the external advisers who understood the local security context and institutional processes as well as what was politically acceptable.

There was not an assumption that in “learning by doing” the final outputs of each stage of work would necessarily be perfect or complete in every respect. Rather, the assumption was that by respecting and empowering the members of the Permanent Secretariat to do the work themselves this would yield better results in the long-term in terms of building Burundian capacity. In addition, there was recognition of the critical importance of local ownership of the proposed reforms – if they were not shaped by the Permanent Secretariat and the senior military leadership themselves, they were less likely to be implementable or sustainable.

4.4.3. Key lessons

- Conducting a defence review for the first time is a complex and politically-sensitive undertaking. External advisers who have an appropriate background can facilitate learning from other countries’ experiences, provide an objective point of view on politically-sensitive issues, and provide technical expertise which may be lacking.
- The use of international advisers can often enhance the legitimacy of a review process and its outputs, such as a Defence Policy or a White Paper, provided the advisers are able to deliver their assistance in a consensual manner and are perceived by those with whom they work as committed to facilitating nationally-led efforts.
- When a donor makes a long-term commitment to providing both technical and financial support for a review process (eight years in the case of the MoU between the Burundian and Dutch governments) this makes it easier to provide consistent technical advice and can also allow for greater flexibility over time in how the review is executed in response to any challenges which may emerge.
- In a context where national capacity to conduct a defence review is low, it is important for external technical advisers to strike the right balance between carrying out tasks that members of the

executing team can carry out themselves and enabling the members of the team to “learn by doing”.

Strategic advisers

- Having an external adviser permanently attached to the executing body allows for the adviser to develop a deeper understanding of the local context and a closer relationship with the team that he is advising, and can also facilitate communication between the government conducting a review and the supporting donor.
- A constant presence makes it easier for a strategic adviser to develop a clear picture of how the process is going, including potential problems that may affect progress, and to focus his inputs as required on either strategic or technical issues, without actually doing the work himself.
- While individual advisers have different areas of expertise which can be of benefit to the management teams conducting a defence review, ensuring the continuity of external advice is desirable in order to maintain a consistent approach and rhythm of work over the course of the review.

Local consultants

- Providing they have the right technical expertise and can remain engaged in the process, the use of local consultants to support a review process is often preferable given their local knowledge and the lower costs of employing them. But where local expertise is inadequate, international advisers may represent a good alternative, all the more so if they can work in partnership with local consultants so that knowledge can be shared.

International consultants

- While there is a growing body of international expertise in the area of SSR, finding and recruiting the right expert who has the specific skills and knowledge required to support a review process effectively can take time. It is important to plan and manage this process in a proactive way and use existing

international networks and contacts to facilitate the search for the appropriate expert.

- Because much of the current international expertise on SSR is situated in the Anglophone world and many advisers do not speak French, having members of the management teams that are bilingual as well as good translation services is vital. This can enhance communication and allow those conducting the review to take full advantage of the expertise which the consultant has been contracted to share.
- International consultants who have specific areas of expertise and who can provide focused inputs into a review process can effectively complement the role of permanent strategic advisers, particularly if they can develop a deeper understanding of the security sector and its needs before delivering their advice.

4.5. Stakeholder participation

4.5.1. What are the benefits of involving stakeholders in a defence review?

Security is a concern of all groups in society. In Burundi, the different stakeholder groups include the FDN itself, other security agencies and government ministries, the Presidency, Parliament, civil society, political parties, and the population. Consulting with each of these groups to the extent possible during a review process can have important benefits: it can provide a richer understanding of the security problems facing a country and how they affect different segments of the population; it can enhance the legitimacy of the review in the eyes of the different groups which have been consulted; and it can increase their support for implementation of the review findings.

4.5.2. How stakeholders influenced Burundi's Review findings

In line with its holistic, inclusive and transparent methodology, Burundi's defence review involved consultations with a wide range of

stakeholder groups. The degree and quality of these consultations was shaped by various factors including access to members of these stakeholder groups, time and resource constraints, and people's understanding of the holistic security concept which informed the defence review. Prior to this defence review, Burundians did not have the habit of discussing security issues in public. It therefore took a while for some stakeholders (both civilian and military) to feel at ease with these consultations.

The rationale for the wide-ranging consultation which took place was the notion that security is a concern for everyone. This concept of security was relatively new in Burundi and at variance with the military-based notion of security which has traditionally underpinned government security policies. For this reason, during the consultative processes it was necessary for the Permanent Secretariat to sensitise people about why it was important for Burundi to adopt a broader approach to security and what the new holistic concept of security was.

While the consultative process succeeded in engaging with all of the key stakeholder groups in Burundi at both governmental and non-governmental levels, it can take a while to change people's attitudes and perceptions about security. In particular, building consensus among different stakeholders with regard to what security actually means in the Burundian context and what the key threats are, can take a long time. The elaboration of a new National Security Strategy, which occurred in parallel to the defence review, facilitated this consensus building. But the strategy development process would have been of greater benefit had it occurred before the defence review commenced.

Within the FDN, the main challenge was to get the military to accept that many of the most serious security threats facing Burundi are non-military in nature and require responses by other security agencies or arms of government. Among the other security agencies as well as the civilian groups which play a security oversight or management role, the challenge was to deepen their appreciation of how they could fulfil their statutory functions more effectively in collaboration with the FDN.

The parliamentary committees responsible for defence and security, and finance and economy have not traditionally played an active role in holding the security forces, including the FDN, to account for how they spend their budgets or conduct their activities. By involving these committees in the review process, this raised greater awareness of the importance of their oversight function and how this could be exercised. This was a positive *indirect* consequence of the defence review which illustrated the importance of consultation in laying the groundwork for subsequent implementation of the defence reforms.

With regard to the Ministry of Finance, more should have been done from the outset of the review to involve this actor. One of the main factors that will shape the ambition and direction of future defence transformation efforts in Burundi is funding. What government is able to spend on defence is determined by a number of factors including the nature and gravity of the security challenges facing Burundi as well as competing demands on resources in other sectors. Involving finance more closely in the review would have made it easier for defence to make a case for a certain level of spending and for finance to, in turn, determine whether these plans were affordable.

Learning from Uganda's experience, where consultation with non-governmental actors and the population was limited, Burundi explicitly undertook a broad popular consultation to assess perceptions of security. With the support of a local NGO, this consultation covered the entire country and every level of society. The popular consultation validated the basic findings of the Stage 1 work on analysing the country's security environment. The consultation also enriched the initial findings in various ways by highlighting that the security challenges facing Burundi's population do differ significantly depending on the region where people live, their social class, and their ethnic identity.

The popular consultation sought to be gender-sensitive and to engage with members of vulnerable groups, including women, children, the elderly and the disabled. There was recognition that these groups face unique and often aggravated threats to their safety and security because of their vulnerable position in Burundian society. These

threats include various forms of domestic and sexual violence which are by their nature sensitive and can be difficult to discuss in public settings. While the popular consultations did provide a forum for these threats to be voiced, in practice the format of the meetings and the time available did not allow for adequate or detailed discussion.

A final, important group of stakeholders in Burundi's defence review were external partners, including Burundi's neighbouring countries and its international development partners. Neighbouring countries have an interest in what happens within Burundi's defence sector given that this may have potential implications for their relations with Burundi. While these countries were made aware that the review was occurring, they showed limited interest in the process apart from Uganda which shared its own experiences and lessons with Burundi.

Donor partners also showed limited interest in the defence review, with the exception of the Netherlands, which was the principal donor supporting the process, and the UK and BNUB which provided limited inputs during Stages 1 and 2. The other 'security' donors in Burundi, including the United States, France and Belgium, provide other forms of security assistance to the government in the area of policing and to support the deployment of Burundian troops in the AMISOM mission in Somalia.

With regard to the future implementation of the defence review findings, having these donors "on board" was a key priority for the government for two reasons: first, implementing the review findings will be an ambitious undertaking and Burundi would benefit from consistent, long-term international support for this process; and second, there is a risk that any donor security assistance programmes that is not carefully aligned with the government's strategic priorities in this sector will reduce coherence, increase duplication, and potentially undermine the long-term defence transformation programme.

4.5.3. Key lessons

- In a country which is emerging from a sustained period of armed conflict, a wide-ranging security consultation can trigger a

valuable policy debate on how national defence and security can be structured and managed in the most effective manner to address the country's current and future security challenges.

State actors

- In the context of a review process, the act of consulting with oversight actors such as the parliamentary commissions responsible for defence and security, or finance and economy can trigger a greater resolve among these actors to fulfill their statutory roles in monitoring the security sector.
- Direct involvement by the Ministry of Finance in a defence review process is vital in order to establish an appropriate financial ceiling within which the assessment of defence requirements can be conducted and ensure that the strategic defense option ultimately selected by government is adequately budgeted for, but also affordable.

Non-state actors

- The breadth and depth of stakeholder involvement in a defence review impacts on the level of national ownership of the process. Whether there is support both inside and outside government, and within the FDN, to implement the findings will be determined by whether people feel their concerns and priorities have been taken into account.
- Because people's perceptions of security vary immensely depending on their social status, political affiliations and the milieu in which they live, it is important to ensure that a popular consultation on security or defence matters covers all sectors of society across the entire country.
- In the context of a national security assessment, it is important to ensure that the tools used to consult with and assess the security needs of the most vulnerable groups in society, including women and children, are sensitive to the specific security challenges these groups face which are unique to their status.

Donors

- Because there are likely to be different security interests within the donor community, government may benefit from sensitising donors about the aims of the defence review and encouraging them to harmonise their security assistance policies and align them with the strategic priorities of the defence transformation programme.

CONCLUSION

While Burundi has completed its defence review, the task of implementation is only commencing. This process will be long, complex and politically-challenging. The lessons identified in this report point to a number of important steps which can help government to maintain the momentum for change in the defence and wider security sector:

- First, it is imperative for the government to embrace the products of the defence review, including the new National Defence Policy and the White Paper, to communicate clearly its vision for change in this sector to the FDN, other security agencies and the population, and to prepare effectively for implementation.
- Second, Burundi needs to elaborate a realistic, detailed and affordable implementation plan that takes into account the government's political priorities, competing demands on national resources, existing levels of institutional capacity within the MDNAC and FDN, and the willingness of donor partners to support this process.
- Third, in developing its implementation plan, Burundi should assess which aspects of defence transformation it can implement on its own, with its own resources, and which aspects will require external support. This will demonstrate to partners that it is committed to implementation, and may engender greater international support for the transformation process.
- Fourth, MDNAC should ensure that the institutional capacity which has been developed over the last three years, particularly within the Permanent Secretariat and the Advisory Panel, is used in the most effective way to support defence transformation. There is a risk that momentum will be lost if the existing expertise is too widely dispersed.
- Fifth, defence transformation should be made a responsibility of all relevant departments and units within MDNAC and the FDN, under the direction of the Defence Minister and the Chief of General Staff, rather than being implemented by a stand-alone

unit. This will help to mainstream transformation as part of the day-to-day business of both MDNAC and the FDN.

- Sixth, in view of the fact that defence is only one component – albeit a very important one – of the state’s overall response to Burundi’s security challenges, the government should support efforts by other security actors to strengthen their policy frameworks and operational capabilities and should also work to effectively operationalize the new National Security Strategy.
- Finally, there is a need for all stakeholders to have realistic expectations about the nature and pace of changes that are possible in the defence and wider security sector in Burundi. It is vital to continue sensitising key stakeholders about what has been achieved so far and the steps required to drive the transformation process forward.

Annex A: Key resource documents

1. Project document for the Burundi defence review
2. Report on the factors influencing Burundi's security
3. Study on political, economic, environmental and social themes
4. Report on future security scenarios
5. Report on the future security threats facing Burundi
6. Study on Burundi's security needs (produced by CENAP/CREDESS)
7. Matrix of security roles and responsibilities
8. Report analysing the legal and institutional framework of the National Defence Force
9. National Security Strategy (produced by the National Security Council)
10. Internal evaluation of Stage 1 of the defence review
11. National Defence Policy
12. Internal evaluation of Stage 2 of the defence review
13. Report on the defence budgetary framework
14. Report on the institutional components of the National Defence Force
15. Report on the operational components of the National Defence Force
16. Synthesis of the reports on defence needs
17. Report on military threats
18. Report on the current financial cost of the National Defence Force
19. Report on the strategic defence options
20. Report on the costing of the strategic defence options
21. Internal evaluation of Stage 3 of the defence review
22. White Paper on Defence
23. Report on the Burundi defence review : lessons identified

Annex B: Composition of the management teams

1) Steering Committee (*Comité de Direction*)

- Ministre de la Défense Nationale et des Anciens Combattants :
Président
- Chef de Cabinet militaire du Président de la République
- Chef d'Etat-Major Général de la FDN
- Chef de Cabinet du 1^{er} Vice-président de la République
- Chef de Cabinet du 2^{ème} Vice-président de la République

2) Advisory Panel (*Commission de Réflexion*)

- Gén-Maj NDIKURIYO Cyprien : Président
- Gén Bde NTIRANYIBAGIRA Jérémie
- Gén Bde NDAYIKENGURUKIYE Aloys
- Gén Bde KARARUZA Athanase
- Gén Bde NDUWUMUNSI Audace
- Gén Bde KAMOSO Déo
- Gén Bde RUGIGANA Joseph
- Gén Bde NDAYISHIMIYE Joseph
- Col NIJENAHAGERA Athanase
- Col MUSONGERA Louis Pasteur
- Maj BAMPOYE Constantin
- Mr NTAKIYICA Nicodème
- Mr HABARUGIRA Réverien
- Mr NTAHORWAROYE BIKEBAKO Gérard
- Mr KAMANA David
- OPC2 NYIMINYERETSE Célestin

3) Permanent Secretariat (*Comité Exécutif Permanent*)

- Col NDARUSANZE Nestor: Président
- Col NDIHO Bernard : Vice-Président
- Col BARUMPISHE Jean Marie
- Col NIZIGAMA David
- Lt Col RWIMO Grégoire
- Maj RUBEZAGI Jean Claude
- Capt NIYONZIMA Jean Bosco
- Capt MUREKERISONI Claudine
- A.C RUBERINTWARI Salvator

Annex C: Strategic advisers

- Lt-Col Mick VAN DEN BERG
- Lt-Col Rob GOUDERS
- Commander Maarten POORTMAN
- Lt-Col Egwin DE VOOGT