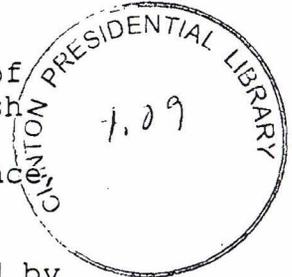


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Rwanda-Burundi Paper: Prerequisites for Success

One key lesson of successful peacekeeping operations is the vital role of consensus among interested major powers, regional countries and border states. This lesson is particularly applicable in the case of Rwanda and Burundi. The chance of success in this troubled region even with French and British cooperation will be small. However, without a common understanding among the interested players, especially France, long-term success will be very difficult to achieve.



Recent efforts to deal with the conflict have been hampered by the perception that the major powers (the U.S., France and Britain) tacitly or overtly support opposite sides in the conflict. Differences among regional players, notably Zaire and Uganda, reflect the preferences of France and Britain. Lack of consensus contributes to the poor showing of the international community: little of the \$700 million pledged has been disbursed; support for UNAMIR has dwindled; the flow of arms to ex-FAR forces has increased; few refugees have been repatriated; and political turmoil, especially in Burundi, remains rampant.

Whatever the specific option, therefore, an effective strategy for dealing with Rwanda and Burundi must have three elements:

- (1) **Agreement among the major powers (the U.S., France and Britain) on a common approach.** Private bilateral meetings (at the principal or deputy level) with Britain and France will be necessary to develop a common understanding. Once achieved, a high-level, private channel should be established to discuss sensitive political issues such as arms flows, hate radios or indictments of high-level leaders for war crimes.
- (2) **A concerted effort by the major powers to persuade key neighboring states, especially Zaire, Tanzania and Uganda, to accept and implement an integrated strategy for Rwanda/Burundi.** Working together, the major powers can persuade their regional allies to support a strategy that will promote political reconciliation, control the flow of arms, bring to justice those responsible for war crimes and repatriate refugees.
- (3) **A key coordinating role for the United Nations.** Our limited humanitarian interests and constrained resources preclude a lead role outside the UN framework. To date, the UN has taken the lead in Rwanda and Burundi, and it should continue to do so. The available UN instruments are peacekeepers, human rights monitors, war crimes tribunals, political good offices and coordination mechanisms for emergency and development assistance.

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