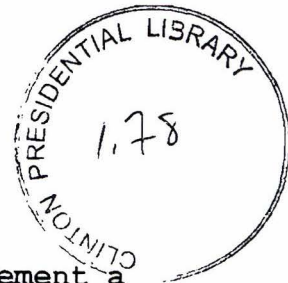


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Prospective Diplomatic Strategy

A) What diplomatic strategy should we pursue to implement a policy of stimulating voluntary repatriation and camp relocation?

There are two groups that need to be convinced that this course of action is the most appropriate: other key donors (OECD countries, EU, UNHCR, NGOs) and states in the Great Lakes region.

1. Key Allies

Feedback from the June meeting of the Rwanda Operational Support Group (ROSG) in Geneva along with follow-up reporting indicates support for creative ideas to stimulate voluntary repatriation and camp relocation. It is critical to obtain the agreement of these actors to coordinate their contributions to achieve these objectives.

USG should take the following steps to build donor consensus:

A. Senior Administration official write a letter to OECD and EU counterparts to rethink and seek agreement to a plan to stimulate voluntary repatriation and camp relocation.

B. Senior Administration official meet with UNHCR Ogata to explain position and solicit support.

C. Dispatch Special Coordinator Bogosian to UNHCR headquarters and OECD and EU capitals to press points in senior Administration official letter.

2. Great Lakes States

Stimulating voluntary repatriation and camp relocation cannot occur without the cooperation and participation of affected governments in the region (Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire). All have made commitments in international fora to promote regional security and refugee return, but have taken little action to follow through. We should inform these states of the strategic importance of promoting voluntary repatriation and camp relocation. The message must be clear, future contributions to UNHCR, IOs and NGOs will be linked to actions by effected governments toward the achievement of voluntary repatriation and camp relocation. Despite such a strong message, the African governments, Rwanda in particular, must be assured the U.S. and our partners will shift resources from the camps to provide the necessary support for an increased population.

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Classified by Shawn McCormick

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify on: 1.6

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Steps USG might take include:

- A. Senior Administration official write a letter to African counterparts to seek agreement on plan to stimulate voluntary repatriation and camp relocation.
- B. Dispatch Special Coordinator Bogosian to African capitals to press points in Christopher letter.

B) If the United States is to support programs aimed at stimulating voluntary repatriation and refugee relocation, what measures should be taken to provide for adequate security?

UNHCR is currently funding a special contingent of 1,500 Zairian soldiers (Zairian Camp Security Contingent) to provide basic levels of security in several of the refugee camps. While the troops have curtailed crime, they have been unsuccessful in eliminating the influence of the extremists. UNHCR, however, considers them indispensable. If an effort were undertaken to stimulate voluntary repatriation and refugee relocation, some degree of additional security presence might be required to assist in Zaire. No security mechanisms should be required to assist with refugees returning from Tanzania.

- 1. In a demarche to allies, request they provide funds to support an additional contingent of Zairian forces to augment the current size of the ZCSC.
- 2. In a demarche to Mobutu, request that he detail those additional forces needed to the command of UNHCR to conduct required duties.

C) If the United States is to support programs aimed at stimulating voluntary repatriation and refugee relocation, what measures should be taken to lay the proper psychological groundwork among the refugees to ensure these efforts are successful?

To be successful, there must be a well coordinated public relations campaign from international media, states in the region and UNHCR.

- 1. Daily messages, statements and interviews by various officials from the United States, European countries and UNHCR must be broadcast via international radio to instill in the minds of the refugees that this effort at repatriation and refugee relocation will shortly begin and there is no alternative.

2. The Rwandan, Zairian and Tanzanian governments should make regular statements on the impending initiatives before they are undertaken and additional daily comments when they are underway to local and international radio.

3. UNHCR should begin rotating its expatriate directors from the camps and replace them with new staff whose mandate is to stimulate repatriation and refugee relocation. UNHCR should also initiate cross boarder visits with or without ministerial activity. The buses and logistics support required should also be staged and ready to provide transportation to those unable to walk the short distance back into Rwanda.