

forms of control and authority with the structures of a modern state capable of delivering goods and services fairly to its own citizens.

**4) Military Reform:** The military should be brought under control through a variety of means, including highly-conditional "hands-on" multilateral assistance:

- military expenses should factor into ODA allocations. Expenditures on arms should be kept within clear limits or ODA flows would be cut off. Also, some ODA money could be used for promoting certain programs within the military to effect the changes necessary for promoting moderation and responsibility;
- irregulars, if not the armies, should be disbanded with appropriate demobilization assistance from donors and African countries with expertise in this field (Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Uganda).
- the military should be professionalised and made responsive only to civilian control. In this connection, the military should be "internationalized" through peacekeeping missions and officer exchange programs. This should be done through UN-supervised programs to avoid the perception that one faction is being favored, as was the case when France provided Habyarimana's government with military assistance. Intra-African exchanges would have the added benefit of professionalizing other African militaries.
- the military should be adequately compensated and promotion should be open to all regardless of ethnicity (or clan, an especially serious problem in Burundi where coups originate among frustrated lower ranks drawn from lower status Tutsi clans).

## V. Building Towards a Regional Solution

### *Broaden the base*

Among the most valuable approaches to long-term reconstruction of the two countries would be to foster greater regional economic, social, political and military integration. Like most sub-Saharan countries, Rwanda and Burundi have only very limited links with their neighbours. The major economic ties remain with metropolitan countries outside Africa. Political links within Africa, including those