

win assistance and restart its economy will be compromised by the perception that: Tutsis have not done enough to recreate an ethnically balanced state; there has been expropriation without compensation of Hutu property; and an ever-present threat of invasion waits on its borders (this reinforces the argument for early camp closures).

Reconstruction assistance should be conditional. Respect for human rights, restoration of discipline in the army, and guarantees of Hutus' property rights should be demanded in addition to the customary economic disciplines, including good governance issues. Coordination of aid efforts could be unusually difficult to achieve, especially since political objectives and conditions should feature prominently: rarely do donors have the same political agenda. However, the UN could take a lead, and develop with select NGO's, the IFIs and bilateral donors the general guidelines for ensuring that aid is effective both developmentally and in terms of political reconstruction.

#### *Stabilize Burundi*

Also a priority in the medium-term is the restoration of stability in Burundi. An important first step would be for the international community to link stability in Burundi to reconstruction in Rwanda. The political leadership in Burundi must be made to see that aid and trade will be detrimentally affected by failure to achieve durable political solutions in both countries. So far, virtually no attention has been paid to the economic dimension and the power that economic arguments can have in persuading political figures to act responsibly.

That Burundi has had any stability at all since the massacres of October 1993 is due partly to the SRSG's skill in brokering negotiations, partly to the relative standoff between the Tutsis, who control the army, and the Hutus, who control the government (and are increasingly armed and militant), and partly to each group's interest in what is happening in Rwanda: the Tutsis are encouraged by the RPF/Tutsi victory but frightened by the slaughter of their kin; the Hutus fear Tutsi revenge for Rwanda and wonder whether they should strike first or hold back, given the Tutsis' military strength. The way in which Burundi evolves will reflect, therefore, how events unfold to the north. The international community can assist by aiding the peaceful return and integration of the Hutus to Rwanda, which will help calm Burundi, and lay some groundwork for serious political discussions there.