

camps that the Rwandan army fled with its weapons; it is here that the military, political and militia leadership rests; and it is here, therefore, that the greatest potential resides for destabilizing Rwanda. Success in the Zaire camps would probably lead to success in dealing with all the camps since the militias in the Tanzanian and Burundi camps would become demoralized. Even if closing the Zaire camps failed, however, this would not necessarily foreclose action in the other, "easier" camps.

Once Zaire camps were closed, the next phase would be to close the Burundi, Tanzanian and Ugandan camps. The speed with which this phase would be implemented would depend on the rate at which relief agencies could cope with new influxes of returnees.

The manner in which the camps for the displaced are closed in the "Zone Turquoise" will have to be studied very closely in preparing plans for the closure of refugee camps.

Prevent inter-camp "pollution"

It will be important in developing the phased plan to build in measures to prevent the transfer of problems from closed camps to those still open: in particular, there should be a means to stop troublemakers from going to new camps. The Rwanda War Crimes Tribunal could play a part in the identification and arrest of these individuals.

III. Medium-Term Imperatives: Reconstruction in Rwanda and Stabilization in Burundi

Rwanda the priority

The reconstruction of Rwanda must be a priority. The international community must not allow Rwanda's government to be denied funds from the World Bank and IMF on specious grounds: there is an emergency and, in the circumstances, the new government has performed reasonably well and deserves financial and political support.

Reconstruction will be difficult to achieve if the refugees do not return in sufficient numbers. If they do not, the country will become increasingly Tutsi as exiles return and take up "vacated" land and businesses. This, of course, will only further aggravate Tutsi/Hutu tensions. So long as refugees stay away, Rwanda's ability to