

PEACEKEEPING & PEACE ENFORCEMENT
OPTIONS FOR RWANDA

ASSUMPTIONS

- o The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) consists of 20,000 troops, of which 15,000 are effective fighters. The discipline of its units is relatively good. The RPF possesses small arms, 81mm and 82mm mortars, and some armored vehicles.
- o The Rwandan Armed Forces (RAF), as of SEP 1993, consisted of 28,499 soldiers, 13,000 gendarmes and 900 policemen. The discipline of its units is less than that of the RPF's. It possesses similar armament, although its armored capacity (chiefly French Panhard VCR 4X4's) is likely greater and more modern). It also has antiaircraft guns and some SAM ground-to-air missile capacity.
- o Hutu militias have an unknown number of adherents. Many have been provided with small arms. Their discipline is poor. They do not appear to be subject to any central control.
- o Many Hutu civilians unaffiliated with the militias may have acquired small arms during the disturbances. No discipline. No central control.
- o Distrust between Hutu and Tutsi, and between the RPF and the Interim Government will remain high for the immediate future.
- o The Hutu majority is an insular community, which has a great ignorance and distrust of foreigners.
- o The United Nations and OAU have little credibility with either side.
- o Any Peacekeeping or Peace Enforcement operation would be staffed primarily by African countries, and would require significant equipment, logistics and transportation support.
- o Neighboring countries should not be included as troop contributors given historical animosities, as well as out of concern for future regional relations and stability. Neighboring countries should be asked to provide basing, transport and logistical support.
- o Any Peacekeeping or Peace Enforcement force would have to be sized and equipped to defend itself against attacks by either or both factions, the militias, and/or armed civilians. Given Rwanda's recent history, peacekeepers must be prepared for a worst-case scenario at all times.

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SCENARIOS AND OPTIONS

Scenario I: Non-permissive environment.

Situation: Armed conflict continues between the RPF and the RAF, as do ethnic killings. One or both sides oppose deployment of a UN force.

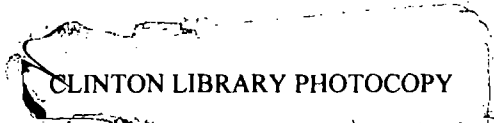
-- Option 1: Chapter VII operation designed to achieve swift pacification of the country, followed by demobilization of the military forces and disarmament of civilians. Force requirements would be massive, akin to Operation Restore Hope (30,000 troops with significant air support). Leadership (including significant contribution of forces) would have to be taken by a country possessing a modern military capability if the operation is to obtain quick results. An all-African force a la ECOMOG would likely be inadequate to the task. Transport, equipment and logistics support for a battalion (750 troops) for one year would be at least \$18.5 million (based on ECOMOG support estimates). Total cost of such a military operation could range from \$500 million to \$1.5 billion per year, depending upon the length and extent of armed resistance.

-- Option 2: Chapter VII operation designed to establish secure zones in Rwanda for the protection of persons at risk. Secure zones could include urban areas and border zones. Force would likely be configured around reinforced (armor) infantry battalions, a quick reaction force, and air support. Depending on the number and type of secure zones, the size of the force could range from 5,000 (one-two border zones) to 15,000 (two-four border zones plus one-two urban areas). Total cost of such a military operation could range from \$100-500 million per year.

Scenario Two: Semi-Permissive Environment

Situation: Sporadic armed conflict continues between the two sides. Some troops and militias are not subject to their leaders' command and control. Both sides ostensibly agree to a peace enforcement operation to support a ceasefire and/or protect secure zones for the protection of persons at risk.

-- Option 1: Chapter VII operation designed to monitor and enforce a ceasefire. Troops would be deployed between the factions. Force would be based on reinforced (armor) infantry battalions, a quick reaction force, and air support. Number of troops required would likely be 15,000 - 20,000 (similar to UNOSOM). Total cost could range from \$300 - \$500 million per year.



-- Option 2: Chapter VII operation designed to establish secure zones for the protection of persons at risk. Mission scope, force requirements and estimated costs are the same as Scenario One/Option 2. While the threat to PKO forces would not be as great as in Scenario One, it would remain significant and would require similar resources for self-protection and protection of those at risk.

-- Option 3: Chapter VII operation designed to monitor and enforce a ceasefire, as well as to establish secure zones for the protection of persons at risk. Mission scope is combination of Options 1 & 2. Force requirements: 15,000 - 30,000. Estimated cost: \$400 million - \$ 1 billion.

Scenario Three: Permissive Environment

Situation: Both sides agree to a ceasefire, resumption of reconciliation talks, and UN assistance in achieving both. RPF and RAF exercise relatively effective control over their units and over the militias. However, some banditry and killings continue, and tensions between the two ethnic groups and their political organizations remains high.

-- Option 1: Chapter VII operation designed to monitor and enforce a ceasefire. Details are the same as Scenario Two/Option 1. The unstable political-military situation in Rwanda would require a similarly-sized force for self-protection.

-- Option 2: Chapter VI operation designed to monitor a ceasefire and inspire confidence. Force requirement would be 6000-8000 troops, configured in reinforced (armor) infantry battalions and a QRF. Estimated cost would be \$200-400 million (akin to a beefed-up ONUMOZ). The unstable political-military situation in Rwanda could require the more sizeable troop number for self-protection as well as to inspire confidence in the UN.

-- Option 3: Chapter VII operation designed to establish secure areas for the protection of persons at risk. Details are the same as Scenario Two/Option 2. The unstable political-military situation in Rwanda would require a similarly-sized force for self-protection.

-- Option 4: Chapter VII operation designed to monitor and enforce a ceasefire, as well as establish secure areas for the protection of persons at risk. Details are the same as Scenario Two/Option 3. The unstable political-military situation in Rwanda would require a similarly-sized force for self-protection.