

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
073	NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/03/2005	P1/b1;
073a	Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;
073c	Memorandum	Memorandum	2	01/03/2005	P1/b1;
073d	Report	...Great Lakes	8	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
073f	Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;
073g	Information Sheet	Distribution Receipt	3	01/03/2005	P3/b3;
073h	Memorandum	Action Memorandum - To: Steve Hadley - From: Cindy Courville	1	12/30/2004	P1/b1; P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
073i	Draft	Memorandum	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
073j	Draft	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
073k	Memorandum	Roadmap/Action Plan on the Great Lakes - To: Gregory Schulte - From: Karl Hofmann	1	12/29/2004	P5;
073l	Memorandum	Memorandum	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
073m	Draft	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
074	Agenda	Agenda	2	04/29/2005	P1/b1; P5;
074d	Handwritten Note	Great Lakes Contact Group	2	04/29/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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075	Agenda	Schedule of Meetings...	2	N.D.	P5; P6/b6;
076a	Draft	Contact Group Meeting...	3	05/23/2005	P1/b1; P5;
077	Email	Funding in Congo - To: Mark Swayne - From: Donald Yamamoto	1	05/03/2005	P5;
080	Memorandum	Memorandum	1	02/11/2005	P1/b1;
081	Report	Africa	2	02/17/2005	P1/b1;
082	Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	3	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
084a	Memorandum	[Memorandum]	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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084b	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Mark Swayne	7	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P5;
084c	Email	Great Lakes Mtg	1	01/18/2005	P3/b3;
084d	Memorandum	African Great Lakes...	2	12/14/2004	P1/b1; P5;
084e	Memorandum	...the Great Lakes	9	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
084f	Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	2	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;
084g	Email	FW: Small Working Group... - To: Mark Swayne	3	01/18/2004	P1/b1; P5;
084h	Handwritten Note	Great Lakes	4	01/18/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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085b	Memorandum	...the Great Lakes	8	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
086	Email	RE: JVM - To: Cindy Courville, et al. - From: Mark Swayne	6	09/03/2004	P1/b1; P5;
087	Handwritten Note	Tripartite	1	09/09/2004	P1/b1; P5;
088	Letter	[Letter] - To: Kofi Annan - From: Paul Kagame	2	09/03/2004	P1/b1;
088a	Draft	Terms of Reference...	5	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
089	Handwritten Note	Rwanda	1	02/07/2005	P1/b1; P5;
090	Email	Re: Agenda - To: Donald Yamamoto - From: Cindy Courville	1	02/16/2005	P5;

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091	Cable	Great Lakes Tripartite...	8	02/09/2005	P1/b1; P5;
093	Discussion Paper	Discussion Paper	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
094	Discussion Paper	Discussion Paper	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
095	NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/06/2005	P1/b1;
095a	Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;
095b	Memorandum	Memorandum	1	01/06/2005	P1/b1;
095c	Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet]	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1;
096	NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1;

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096a	Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;
096b	Memorandum	OMB Comments... - To: Gregory Schulte - From: Joel Kaplan	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1; P5;
097	Report	[Report]	5	01/19/2005	P1/b1;
098	Report	[Report]	1	01/25/2005	P1/b1;
099	Map	Eastern DROC	1	01/25/2005	P1/b1;

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NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/03/2005	P1/b1;

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OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

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73a

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;	10 USC 424

50 USC 3507

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: _____ LOG # 9098
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS INT ARS
 BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG _____ A/O _____

AW

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
HAINES	_____	_____	_____
GRAVER	_____	_____	_____
WISECUP	_____	_____	_____
GRADY	<u>1</u>	<u>41-3</u>	_____
BURNETT	_____	_____	_____
SCHULTE	<u>2</u>	<u>113</u>	<u>FOR</u> <u>FINAL</u> <u>APPROVAL</u>
SHIRZAD	_____	_____	_____
HADLEY	_____	_____	_____
RICE	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
RECORDS MGMT.	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

COMMENTS:

04 DEC 30 PM 3:03

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE YES

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73c

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	...Great Lakes	8	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

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~~**SECRET**~~

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
 DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT
 WEST WING DESK

NSC # 9098

DATE: 3-Jan-05

SUBJECT: Roadmap Action Plan for Great Lakes

ADDRESSEE	DATE	TIME	LAST NAME	SIGNATURE
Mr. Joel Kaplan				
Ms. Harriet Miers				
Mr. Lewis Libby				

~~**SECRET**~~

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION

DECLASSIFIED
 White House Guidelines
 E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4(B), Sept. 11, 2006
 By MAY NARA, Date 2/26/2019

DATE, SIGN, AND RETURN RECEIPT TO:

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT,
 ROOM 377, EEOB, 20504

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;	10 USC 424

50 USC 3507

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Records Not Subject to FOIA**Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.**

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National Security Council

Date: 03-January-2005

Distribution Receipt

Package Number: 0409098

Subject: ROADMAP ACTION PLAN ON GREAT LAKES

Document Classification: SECRET

External Distribution:

Full Name: L LIBBY (ASSISTANT FOR NATL SECURITY)

Agency Name: OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date

Time

Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name: K HOFMANN (EXECUTIVE SECRETARY)

Agency Name: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date

Time

Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name: PAUL CURRY (EXECUTIVE SECRETARY)

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date

Time

Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name: WILLIAM MARRIOTT (EXECUTIVE SECRETARY)

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date

Time

Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

Date, Time, Sign the receipt and return to: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 377 EEOB

National Security Council

Date: 03-January-2005

Distribution Receipt

Package Number: 0409098

Subject: ROADMAP ACTION PLAN ON GREAT LAKES

Document Classification: SECRET

External Distribution:

Full Name: J MCATAMNEY (COUNSEL FOR NATL SEC

Agency Name: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

External Distribution:

Full Name: H MIERS (DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF)

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

External Distribution:

Full Name: JOEL KAPLAN (DEPUTY DIRECTOR)

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

External Distribution:

Full Name:

(b)(3), 50 USC 3507

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

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Date Time Signature

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National Security Council

Date: 03-January-2005

Distribution Receipt

Package Number: 0409098

Subject: ROADMAP ACTION PLAN ON GREAT LAKES

Document Classification: SECRET

External Distribution:

Full Name: D ALLER (EXECUTIVE SECRETARY)

Agency Name: AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name: E SNEAD (SECRETARY, JOINT STAFF)

Agency Name: JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name: SHIRZAD

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

External Distribution:

Full Name:

Agency Name:

Address:

State:

Country:

Email:

Date Time Signature

Print Last Name:

Copy:

(b)(3), 10 USC 424

Date, Time, Sign the receipt and return to: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 377 EEOB

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Action Memorandum - To: Steve Hadley - From: Cindy Courville	1	12/30/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

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Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
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Draft	Memorandum	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424
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50 USC 3507

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SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
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Draft	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424
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SERIES:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Roadmap/Action Plan on the Great Lakes - To: Gregory Schulte - From: Karl Hofmann	1	12/29/2004	P5;

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SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

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FRC ID:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
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Memorandum	Memorandum	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424
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50 USC 3507

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

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OA Num.:

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NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
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Draft	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424
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National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

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Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Agenda	Agenda	2	04/29/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

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OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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List of Tripartite participants

Republic of Rwanda

Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Protais

Mitali

Ambassador Richard Sezibera

Ambassador Joseph Mutaboba

Republic of Uganda

State Minister for Foreign Affairs A.S. Nshimye

LTC James Mugira

Mr. Kamugisha

Charge d'Affaires Jackson Ocana

Mr. Julius Kangamba Singoma

DRC

Foreign Minister Raymond Ramazani

Ambassador Antoine Ghonda

Ambassador Andre Kapanga

National Security Advisor Samba Kaputo

Ambassador Faida Mitifu

Mr. Bilusa

Mr. Ndjoli

Mr. Yamba

Ms. Flore Sangara

EU

Ambassador Ellen Van der Laan (Netherlands)

AU

Ambassador Martin Bongo

Belgium

Ambassador Johan Swinnen

UK

Ms. Josephine Gault

US

Ambassador Donald Yamamoto

Charge d'Affaires Thomas Dougherty

Mr. David Radcliffe

Mr. Robert Hellyer

Ms. Melissa Sanderson

Ms. Meghan Moore

MONUC

SRSB William Swing

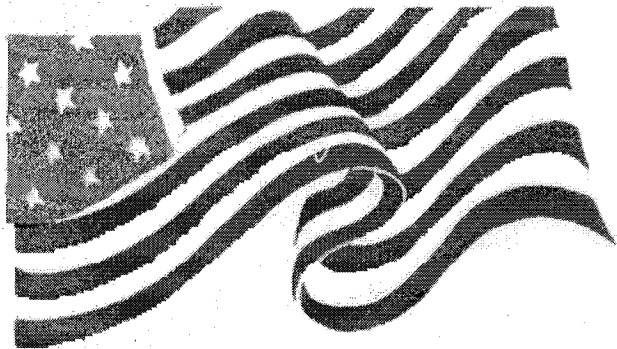
LTC Stafford

Mr. Patrick Garba

Mr. Nedialko Kostov

Mr. David Mugnier

Mr. Ndiaye Guerin



PRESS RELEASE

Kinshasa, April 22, 2005

FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON THE LUBUMBASHI TRIPARTITE MEETING

The three countries (Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo) party to the U.S. – facilitated Tripartite Agreement met in Lubumbashi April 21 and 22, 2005. Following intense, collegial and productive discussions, the parties reaffirmed their commitment to end the threat posed to the security of all three countries by the presence and activities of negative forces in the Eastern Congo as enumerated in the Tripartite Agreement. They agreed to implement a U.S. sponsored information sharing mechanism to build confidence between the parties and address the problem of armed groups in Eastern Congo.

Building on the March 29 Rome announcement in which the FDLR (Democratic Force for the Liberation of Rwanda) agreed to condemn the genocide, abandon armed struggle and voluntarily return to Rwanda, the parties to the Tripartite Agreement – and the observers present, namely the EU and AU, with the U.K. and Belgium in attendance – also agreed to use the Tripartite process to support MONUC and the DRC's joint efforts to disarm, demobilize and repatriate the members of the FDLR to Rwanda. The Rwandan government commended the efforts of the DRC and reiterated its pledge to receive FDLR members and their families.

The delegations also commended SRSG William Swing and MONUC's success in Eastern Congo and discussed the workings of the Joint Verification Mechanisms.

The delegations thanked the DRC for its hospitality and the excellent facilities placed at their disposal and agreed to meet again in Kigali in August 2005. At the close of the meetings, the heads of the delegations and the observers were received by the DRC President Joseph Kabila.

SUMMARY OF DECISIONS OF THE TRIPARTITE COMMISSION

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Uganda met at Lubumbashi, DRC on 21-22 April, 2005 in the context of the Tripartite Commission set up under the Tripartite Agreement signed by the three Partner States on 26 October, 2004 in Kigali, Rwanda. The meeting was held under the facilitation of the United States Government and was attended by MONUC Delegation led by the SRSB Amb. William Swing. The EU and the AU attended as Observers.

The Ministers considered progress made towards the setting up of an Intelligence Fusion, Operations and Analysis Cell (IFC) as directed by the last Tripartite Commission meeting held in Washington D.C on 2nd February, 2005. In this regard, the Ministers considered the provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding establishing the IFC signed at the Meeting of the Sub-Commission on Defence and Security on 23 February, 2005 at Munyonyo, Kampala, Uganda.

The Meeting agreed to co-locate the IFC with the Headquarters of MONUC Divisional Forces and FARDC Eastern Integrated Brigade Headquarters in Kisangani as soon as practicable. The US Government reiterated her pledge to provide secure communication facilities for the IFC Headquarters in Kisangani and in the capitals of the three member states. The U.S also undertook to carry out advance simultaneous training of the Officers of the three States within their respective countries to be followed by joint training at the IFC HQ in Kisangani.

The Ministers were briefed on the March 31, 2005 Declaration by the FDLR under the aegis of the Rome-based Saint Egidio Community. The Rwanda Delegation welcomed the Declaration and informed the Meeting that Rwanda had already put in place an enabling environment and mechanisms to receive the returnees. The Meeting commended the parties involved and called upon the International Community to render all the necessary support for its successful realisation.

The meeting was informed of plans to establish a Uganda Amnesty Commission in Beni, DRC to facilitate the disarmament, demobilisation and repatriation of the anti-Uganda armed groups operating in the Eastern DRC.

The Tripartite was briefed on the security situation in Ituri, the MONUC expanded and extended mandate, its current operations and future plans for dealing with the Ituri armed groups. The meeting welcomed the efforts of MONUC in the pacification of Eastern DRC.

The Ministers also received an update of the bilateral Joint Verification Mechanisms and commended the progress made so far.

The Meetings were held in a cordial and frank atmosphere. The Delegations thanked the DRC for the hospitality accorded and agreed to hold the next meeting in August, 2005 in Rwanda.

Done at Lubumbashi, on 22 April, 2005

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

FOR THE FACILITATOR

André M. Kipanga
Minister of State, Min
of foreign affairs & cooperation
Justin Nshimye AS. State Minister Foreign
Uganda.

Meghan Moore

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Attendees:

THURSDAY 19 MAY

Belgium: Jan Mutton
Alain Kundycki
Major Tom Wouters
Sophie da Camara
Jana Zikmundova

EU: Aldo Ajello
Marie Louise Lindorfer
Alison Weston
Gérard Déjoué
Dominico Rosa

France: Jean-Christophe Belliard

Netherlands: Fred Racke
Col Beukering

UK: Nick Cannon
Gareth Banner
Bill Kilby
Nick Bates
Rachel Brass
David Arkley

US: Cindy Corville
Don Yamamoto
Roger Meece
Rick Bell
Col Kelly Langdorf

FRIDAY 20 MAY

Belgium: Jan Mutton
Alain Kundycki
Major Tom Wouters
Jana Zikmundova

EU: Aldo Ajello
Marie Louise Lindorfer
Koen Vervaeke

France: Bruno Joubert

Netherlands: Fred Racke
Col Beukering

UK:

James Bevan
Nick Cannon
Nick Bates
Desmond Curran
Rachel Brass
Sandra Tyler-Haywood

US:

Cindy Corville
Roger Meece
Rick Bell
Col Kelly Langdorf
Tim Shortley

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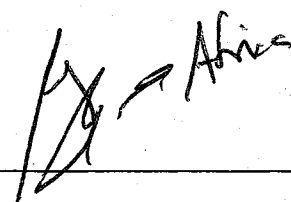
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BACK TO THE BRINK IN THE CONGO

I. OVERVIEW

Both wars that devastated the Congo (Democratic Republic) in the past decade and led to some 3.8 million deaths¹ began when Rwandan troops crossed the border into that giant country's unstable eastern region, the Kivus. History may be repeating itself in recent weeks as a Rwandan incursion stirs fears of a third catastrophe, but the situation can still be saved. There is uncertainty about what is actually happening on the ground in the isolated and rugged border terrain -- including whether the Rwandans are holding territory -- but the strong government in Kigali appears to have limited aims, and the weak government in Kinshasa is unlikely to confront the invaders seriously. At the least, however, the crisis threatens the Congo's fragile political transition. At worst it could cause the Great Lakes region to go up in flames again. The international community, including the UN, whose peacekeeping mission (MONUC) has stood by ineffectively, needs to sit all parties down for urgent discussions, decide on a course of action and apply a mix of muscle and diplomacy to make a comprehensive solution possible.

Antagonism between the Kivus' ethnic groups has been steadily rising in the last few months. Increased Rwandan interference in the two eastern provinces will add to the resentment of inhabitants of other origins against those of Rwandan origin whom they tend to view as collaborators with a foreign aggressor. In the recent wars, many Congolese of Rwandan origin, and particularly Tutsis, actively cooperated with the Rwandans and their local allies, the RCD-Goma. They fear a repeat of past pogroms against their community by government soldiers sent from

Kinshasa to quell local rebellions or repel Rwandan incursions. Fighting in the past few days for control of Kanyabayonga between reinforcements sent by the government and the North Kivu-based segment of the army made up of former Rwanda-backed rebels and the resulting flight of civilians underscore the dangers of ethnic polarisation and inter-communal violence.

The crisis is rooted in both the failure to deal with security issues in the Kivus and the faltering political process in Kinshasa. Neither the 2002 Pretoria Agreement, which envisages a transition culminating in election of a Congo government in June 2005, nor subsequent bilateral and regional security agreements signed by the parties, have been implemented. A key bargain that remains unfulfilled is definitive Rwandan withdrawal in exchange for disarming of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the insurgent force with strong links to the *génocidaires* of 1994. It is time to end the cycle of impunity: donors should link progress on these agreements directly to their aid and those who undermine the agreements need to be held personally responsible for their actions.

Rwanda's reckless decision to play with fire followed almost immediately the summit pledge of eleven regional leaders, including President Paul Kagame, to "fully support the national peace processes in the region and refrain from any acts, statements or attitudes likely to negatively impact them..."² It has multiple motivations. The 8,000 to 10,000 FDLR fighters in the Kivus are too few and disorganised to pose an imminent military or political threat to the country but they are a grave danger for civilians in the Kivus on whom they prey, including those of Rwandan origin. Kigali also wishes to maintain its political and economic influence over the two potentially rich provinces.

¹ This is the figure in a recent study by the International Rescue Committee, "Mortality Rates in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Results from a Nationwide Survey, Conducted April-July 2004", December 2004, available at http://www.theirc.org/pdf/DRC_MortalitySurvey2004_RB_8Dec04.pdf.

² "Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy, and Development in the Great Lakes Region", First Summit of Heads of State and Government, Dar-Es-Salaam, 19-20 November 2004, Ch. III, Article 17.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan should convene an emergency meeting to develop a coherent strategy that addresses all aspects of the crisis: the continuing presence of armed FDLR, Rwandan security needs, and the endangered Congolese political transition. Congo and Rwanda should participate and voice their concerns and proposals.

On its past record, the international community will have no difficulty speaking strongly to the effect that any sign of continued support for the FDLR by the Congolese government, its continued failure to disarm those rebels, a renewed Rwandan incursion, and even continued dithering on the transition by Congolese politicians is unacceptable. More difficult, but necessary, will be to give teeth to those sentiments.

Should Congo or Rwanda fail to fulfil existing obligations or those assumed in the course of the new process that Crisis Group believes must be launched immediately, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter in response to the threat to international peace and security, should impose penalties on the culpable party, including a targeted suspension of international assistance (with care to minimise effects on the civilian population); an arms embargo; and an assets freeze and travel ban against high officials.

It will perhaps be even more difficult to reach agreement on realistic measures to deal with the FDLR. Insecurity in the Kivus is a fundamental source of tension and instability, crippling the Congolese transition and poisoning relations between Rwanda and the Congo. The FDLR presence there is a major element of the witches' brew. Unfortunately, the voluntary program of disarmament, demobilisation, repatriation, resettlement, and reintegration (DDR) has failed.³ Forcible disarmament is called for and has received some verbal support from the African Union (AU) and South Africa. But the Congo's own army (the FARDC) is too weak. MONUC is unwilling and in its present configuration perhaps incapable as well. Creative thinking is needed to devise a workable compromise combining more vigorous FARDC and MONUC steps, while MONUC and others redouble their efforts to establish a functioning national army

capable of meeting the Congo's security needs and responsibilities.

Donors should turn the coordination body they have in Kinshasa -- the International Committee in Support of the Transition (CIAT) -- into a much more proactive body to further progress in the politically deadlocked capital, including on the all important reform of the security sector.

Once a plan has been devised, the Security Council should endorse it and request that the Secretary General supervise its implementation through his Special Representative in the Congo and keep the Council closely advised.

If all this can be done, or at least set on its way, within the next few weeks, perhaps another collapse of the Congo and war for its riches can be headed off.⁴

II. THE CONGO: INSECURITY IN THE KIVUS

A. A FALTERING POLITICAL TRANSITION

The two-year political transition that began in July 2003 is being undermined by both Rwanda's continued efforts to protect its sphere of influence in the Kivus and the failure of the unwieldy provisional government of President Joseph Kabila and four vice presidents to create a unified national army and enact legislation crucial to rebuilding Africa's third-largest state. The president and his quartet of vice presidents, several of whom represent former rebel factions, spend most of their time jockeying for political -- and military -- advantage ahead of the June 2005 elections. Undiminished rivalries stymie integration of disparate groups of fighters into an efficient, integrated national army. The failure to create this new army -- the FARDC⁵ -- limits the government's options in responding to the Kivus crisis. It was able to wrest control of Bukavu, the capital of South Kivu, in June, but in the present uncertain situation in North Kivu, many unpaid soldiers from the old army (ex-FAC), and the former rebel movements (MLC, RCD-ML and RCD-Goma) have been unleashed on the civilian population, resulting in all-too-familiar looting, rape and destruction of villages.

³ "Third Special Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Organisation Mission in the DR Congo", S/2004/650, 16 August 2004. For simplicity, Crisis Group uses the short form abbreviation DDR in this briefing to cover the five concepts rather than DDRRR.

⁴ Crisis Group plans to publish an extensive report on the situation in the Kivus early in 2005.

⁵ Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

B. A REGION IN TURMOIL

The current crisis in North Kivu is the second in the region since February 2004, when President Kabila named new commanders for the country's ten military regions. RCD-Goma (the main faction of the Rwandan-backed rebel movement Congolese Rally for Democracy, which is now a transition partner and whose leader, Azarias Ruberwa, is a vice president), balked at change in the tenth military region, the headquarters of which is Bukavu in South Kivu. Dissident RCD commanders, who had at least rhetorical support from Rwanda, claimed the local population of Rwandan origin (the Banyamulenge) were under threat of genocidal attacks from the new FARDC. They seized Bukavu, held it from 2 June until 9 June and withdrew only after the UK and South Africa dismissed the genocide alarm as bogus, Belgian Foreign Minister Louis Michel threatened an EU intervention and, probably most significantly, large demonstrations were held in Bukavu and elsewhere in the country against the takeover. Rwanda backed off its threat to cross the border, and the RCD-Goma, fearing for its political position, withdrew its support. Nevertheless, several hundred people were killed, and the failure of MONUC to intervene to protect civilians damaged its credibility. Kinshasa retained the RCD governor of North Kivu, Eugene Serafuli, as well as the RCD commander of the eighth military region, in which the movement's former troops play a significant role.

North Kivu, especially its southern half, remains one of RCD-Goma's last bastions after the forced withdrawal from Bukavu. Retaining control of the province is of great strategic interest to the movement and its Rwandan allies. Important Congolese Hutu and Tutsi communities (Banyarwanda) there are organised in the paramilitary Local Defence Forces. The former brigades of the RCD-Goma's *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (ANC) are also led mainly led by Banyarwanda commanders.

Ethnic resentments run deep. The indigenous inhabitants -- "Kivutiens" -- resent their province's perceived status as a *de facto* annex of Rwanda. They form a strong lobby in Kinshasa that limits President Kabila's room for manoeuvre in compromising with Rwanda. Income from taxes on border trade and revenue from exploitation of coltan and diamond mines in the Walikale area primarily benefit trade

networks dominated by RCD-Goma and Rwandan agents.⁶

A weak national government and strong local proxies appear to suit Rwanda and its local allies, but RCD-Goma is not alone in resisting Kinshasa's authority. The northern districts of Beni and Lubero are controlled by the Congolese Rally for Democracy—Liberation Movement (RCD-ML), which broke away from the RCD and is also a member of the national transitional arrangements.⁷ It was backed by Uganda during the 1998-2002 war, and proceeds from timber, gold, diamonds, and coltan in areas it controlled, as well as taxes on border trade, primarily benefited Ugandan networks.⁸

C. THE FDLR: HOW BIG A THREAT?

Members of the predominantly Hutu former Armed Forces of Rwanda (Ex-FAR) and Interahamwe militia, the foot soldiers who carried out the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, fled to the Congo to avoid retribution from what were then the rebel and mainly Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which ousted the extremist Hutu government in July of that year. Between 1996 and 2002, the Ex-FAR and Interahamwe were greatly reduced in numbers and capabilities by the Rwandan army's search and destroy operations, first when it was in the Congo as a Kinshasa ally and later when it occupied the eastern half of the country. Surviving remnants joined the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), which was founded in exile in 2000.

The FDLR opposes the present Rwandan government and says its objective is to return to its country through negotiations or force. It both denies there was genocide and claims responsibility rests with others. Nevertheless, though most of its present fighters were either born in exile or were too young to have taken part in the 1994 killings, a number of members have been indicted for genocide or crimes against humanity.

Even without having to cope with Rwandan troops on Congolese territory, the FDLR has weakened significantly in the past two years. While President

⁶ See "Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of DR Congo", UN document S/2003/1027, 23 October 2003.

⁷ Crisis Group interviews in Beni, Butembo, Lubero, October 2004.

⁸ "Final Report of the Panel of Experts", *op. cit.*

Kabila has not made good his promise to disarm the group, he has cut off its supplies since 2002, and no alternative allies have stepped forward. The break was dramatised when the old Congolese army (FAC) fought with FDLR troops in Kamina in November 2002 and pushed them out of Kinshasa-controlled territory to join the rest of the organisation in the Kivus. This fusion of its forces sparked a crisis within the FDLR, as hardliners from the west disputed leadership with the more moderate commanders in the east. In November 2003 the Force Commander, General Paul Rwawakabije, surrendered to the Rwandan army together with 100 soldiers, including a brigade commander and two former division commanders.

The FDLR's last significant attack on Rwanda, in early 2001 -- a fiasco from which it has never recovered -- left 1,000 of its fighters dead and more than 1,000 captured.⁹ According to deserting officers and soldiers, the FDLR has serious ammunition shortages and low morale.¹⁰

In addition, the new Congolese army (FARDC) began to conduct limited offensive operations against the FDLR in April 2004 in South Kivu. These were brought to a halt by the Bukavu events, however, and Rwanda's incursion seems to have turned the clock back. Kinshasa no longer talks about doing something about the FDLR; some hardliners in Kabila's camp even appear to have re-established contact with their enemy's enemy. FARDC troops originally sent to South Kivu to attack the FDLR have, following the Rwandan incursion, established an entente with the militia and even manned joint roadblocks with it.¹¹

III. RWANDA: ACTIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

Richard Sezibera, Rwanda's Special Envoy to the Great Lakes, acknowledged to Crisis Group that the FDLR "no longer constitute an immediate threat to government", but, he added, "they are a security problem to people's lives, property and our economic growth".¹² Earlier Rwandan interventions succeeded in reducing the insurgents from 125,000 to between

10,000 and 15,000, he said, which was their present strength, but he warned "if you ignore them, their number will grow in the long run".¹³

Sezibera defended the latest incursion to the annual meeting of Rwanda and its donors in Kigali on 11 December 2004 as prompted by eleven FDLR attacks on Rwandan territory in the last three months. Since there is no effective international mechanism to disarm the FDLR forcefully, he argued, Rwanda needed to cross the border to deal with the threat itself. While reports indicate that the FDLR attacks mainly consisted of random shelling from the Congolese side of the border that did little damage and produced very few casualties, Sezibera said:

We know that there is an argument that the FDLR does not constitute a threat to the Rwandan government and that in recent years, there are no reports of them killing Rwandans. Fine! But for us we start counting the dead from the 1 million plus in the 1994 genocide. In our view, even one death today caused by the FDLR is a continuation of the genocide.¹⁴

While Rwandan officials have articulated their rationale forcefully, they have provided few details about what actually has happened on the ground. President Kagame, in his 25 November letter to the African Union and his address to the Rwandan Senate on 30 November, and Rwanda's letter to the UN Security Council on the same day gave strong justifications for an incursion without actually acknowledging there had been one. Notwithstanding the ambiguity, the highly publicised statements appear to have achieved several objectives.

Political Benefits. The escalation of the Kivus crisis came at a critical time for RCD-Goma. Attempts to position itself aggressively ahead of the June 2005 elections have widened rifts between its "Banyarwanda" and "Kivutien" leaders. The movement's chairman, Vice President Ruberwa, was discredited and isolated after the withdrawal of RCD commanders from Bukavu, seen by Kinshasa hardliners as an agent of Rwandan interests and by some in his own camp as having compromised himself with President Kabila.

⁹ "Human Rights Watch World Report 2002 - Rwanda", at <http://hrw.org/wr2k2/africa9.html>.

¹⁰ Crisis Group electronic communication, December 2004.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Crisis Group interviews, Kigali, November/December 2004.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Crisis Group, interviews, Kigali, December 2004. For an account of the latest FDLR attack, on 15 November 2004, see "Congo-Rwanda dispute obscures complex undercurrents", VOA, 9 December 2004.

The successes Commander Mbuza Mabe and the tenth military region of Bukavu scored earlier in the year in regaining control of South Kivu for the government created uncertainty in RCD-Goma ranks about Kinshasa's intentions. Indeed, some hardliners around Kabila, especially his Katangan entourage, had begun to press for "reconquest" of Goma and North Kivu.

Such an undertaking would have profoundly disrupted the delicate balance of power and interests between Kinshasa and RCD-Goma that is a cornerstone of the political transition process. During the entire second war (1998-2002), RCD-Goma had remained secure in its provincial stronghold in the southern districts of North Kivu. However, the events of recent weeks have helped close the movement's fissures. Continuous warnings by RCD-Goma officials on local radio and in speeches about the imminent ethnic targeting of Banyarwanda helped restore unity. Local sources told Crisis Group that RCD-Goma distributed arms to its civilian supporters in Masisi and Rutshuru districts in mid-November.¹⁵ Rwanda's threatened invasion and the anticipation of Kinshasa counter-measures thus bolstered an important Kigali ally that had been loosing ground both politically and militarily.

Diplomatic Benefits. The 19-20 November 2004 summit in Dar-es-Salaam, whose declaration President Kagame signed, was meant to draw attention to the consolidation of peace and reconciliation processes in the Great Lakes Region. In his letter to the AU just days later, the Rwandan president made clear that he wanted the focus to shift to his country's security interests:

Rwanda has patiently awaited the reaction of the International Community, including the African Union, to the repeated attacks launched against her by these terrorist forces for ten years now. Clearly, simply waiting is not an option. It is an abdication of our responsibility.¹⁶

His notice of an imminent cross-border surgical strike against the FDLR achieved the desired effect.

¹⁵ Crisis Group interviews; also see "D.R. Congo: End Arms Flows as Ethnic Tensions Rise", Human Rights Watch backgrounder, available at http://hrw.org/english/docs/2004/11/19/congo9697_txt.htm.

¹⁶ "Letter from President Paul Kagame to His Excellency Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the African Union", Ref. RWA/01/AP04/435, 25 November 2004.

Rwanda is winning appreciation from the AU and the wider international community for its role as one of two leading contributors of troops to the AU protection force in Sudan's Darfur region.¹⁷ By interceding to protect civilians who are targets of on-going ethnic cleansing if not worse in a geographically and culturally distant African country, Kigali has gained leverage with which to pursue its interests more assertively in its immediate neighbourhood without risking serious censure. Rwanda relies on external financial aid for 90 per cent of its development budget and 50 per cent of its operating budget,¹⁸ but at the 11 December conference in Kigali, donors said "latest developments" would not affect relations.¹⁹

IV. ENHANCING SECURITY IN THE CONGO

A. MONUC'S ROLE

MONUC stood aside in Bukavu in June and has been remarkably quiescent since Rwanda first raised the spectre of a new Kivus invasion, not even able to state definitively what has been happening there. It needs to be better prepared to deal with a wide range of threats it was sent to guard against and the political transition it is mandated to advance.

UN Security Council Resolution 1565 (1 October 2004) authorised MONUC to increase its troop complement by about one third to 16,700. Although this was welcome and needed, it was well below the 23,900 level the Secretary General requested. The Security Council should grant the remainder of the Secretary General's request as outlined in his Third Special Report of 16 August 2004, at the latest when Resolution 1565 comes up for renewal in March

¹⁷ The other major contributor in Darfur is Nigeria. Rwanda has recently made support to and participation in the various AU institutions its main diplomatic focus. Patrick Mazimhaka, a former senior aide to President Kagame, is a deputy to AU Commission Chairman Alpha Konare. Rwanda has also signed on to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) "Peer Review Mechanism" and sent a strong delegation to the December 2004 session of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights in Dakar.

¹⁸ See "Donors Push Restraint on Congo", Reuters, 10 December 2004.

¹⁹ Ibid.

2005.²⁰ The immediate priority, however, is to bring MONUC up to the current approved level.²¹

Greater participation of countries with advanced military capabilities is needed, particularly in specialised areas. Contributions should include a strategic rapid reaction force as well as special forces capable of collecting information, performing reconnaissance and conducting electronic warfare. Improving MONUC's technical surveillance and intelligence capabilities is crucial, whether via contributions on the ground or by making available the product of national assets. A larger core of trained staff officers is also required to ensure processes are in place to make the revised structures and capability enhancements work.

Additional troops and better organisation are only part of the equation. The international community's increased investment should not be wasted on just doing much of the same in a few more places. It is vital that the Security Council also clarify and enhance MONUC's mandate in order, in the Secretary General's words, "to strengthen MONUC's capacity to deter spoilers, particularly in key areas of potential volatility". The prevailing concept of "deterrence through presence" has shown itself insufficient to achieve the mission's aims. MONUC must be prepared to take proactive measures -- to the maximum of its capacity -- to protect civilians and humanitarian workers under threat and the very political transition process itself and to counter threats to the peace process. To that end, the Council should authorise it to "respond robustly to any attack or threat of attack, including, if necessary, in a pre-emptive manner".²² An example of what MONUC should be doing even under its present mandate is

seizing sites of known illegal exploitation, especially when it is evident they constitute a financial lifeline for armed groups.²³

B. THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY NEEDS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The requirement to disarm and demobilise many of more than 300,000 Congolese combatants who fought for the various groups within the transitional process and to integrate a smaller number into the new Congolese National Army (FARDC) and Police Force is central to not only increasing security in the country but also to the transitional process itself. There has been little progress, partly due to capacity but also because the issue has been politically manipulated in Kinshasa. While the DDR plan for the various Congolese forces seems sound and has funding to start, the parallel process of integrating and retraining the new army is unlikely to get under way soon. Without a coordinated international effort, including adequate funding, army integration is likely to fail, exacerbating tensions within the transitional process and within some of the parties themselves. The failure to create effective security forces would rob the national government of the means to assert sovereignty over the country and deal with the many security threats that only it can solve.

A major flaw exists in the DDR plan for the foreign armed groups in the country, which has no fallback if a significant element refuses to take part, as has happened with the FDLR. Whether that group has 10,000 to 15,000 fighters as Rwanda insists, or only 8,000 to 10,000 as MONUC estimates, its refusal to disarm, demobilise and accept repatriation, resettlement and reintegration (presumably in Rwanda) voluntarily and its persistent hostility to the Kigali government, makes it at least a lightning rod for the kind of dangerous manoeuvres witnessed in and around the Kivus this November and December.

Security Council Resolution 1565 raised unrealistic expectations that the FARDC could carry out forced disarmament.²⁴ The very attempt by such a disparate and unreliable body of soldiers carries much risk both politically for the transitional government and

²⁰ The troops beyond those approved by the Security Council were to allow for the deployment of a brigade in Katanga and Kasai, where there are indications of a decline in the security environment. The most recent events suggest, however, that those troops would be better deployed to strengthen MONUC presence in Ituri and the Kivus, in particular to enhance border security and support efforts to disarm the FDLR.

²¹ For more detailed discussion of MONUC military capability issues, including matters of mandate and doctrine, see Crisis Group Africa Report N°84, *Maintaining Momentum in the Congo: The Ituri Problem*, 26 August 2004. The Secretary General's request is contained in his "Third Special Report on the UN Organisation Mission in the DR Congo", 16 August 2004, op. cit.

²² Secretary General Kofi Annan in his 9th report on Sierra Leone (14 March 2001), recommending a more robust approach after the UN Mission in that country suffered a "near death experience" at the hands of uncooperative armed groups.

²³ See "Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources", op. cit.

²⁴ ICG interviews and some media reports indicate recent operations by the FARDC in the Walungu area, supported by MONUC, have accomplished little.

physically for Congolese civilians. FARDC has to be part of a solution but the process of army integration and wider security reform will take more than five years. For the new army to play a meaningful role in the FDLR problem, it will need priority, targeted assistance from the international community to create some units that are sufficiently trained and equipped.

This means an immediate investment from key bilateral partners in an International Military Assistance and Training Team (IMATT) to support the establishment and operations of a FARDC force of approximately 10,000, competent to undertake a range of tasks to disarm the FDLR. If priority is assigned, the first elements of such a force could be operational within three to six months. Once this process is underway, the transitional government would have a viable stick to use in conjunction with the various carrots it and others should be able to devise to solve the FDLR problem definitively, thereby removing one of Rwanda's key justifications for carrying out activities that have such a destabilising impact on the country.

Even a priority program, however, may allow the FDLR problem to fester too long. In theory MONUC, especially with the reinforcements coming on line, could and should make a start at forcible disarmament but Crisis Group judges there is not sufficient political will in the Security Council or among troop contributing states. Imaginative thinking is needed to devise a new approach to the problems that have been brought into stark relief in recent weeks.

V. THE WAY FORWARD: A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

Rwanda has legitimate concerns about the presence of the hostile FDLR in the Kivus but they do not justify its troops crossing the border, especially given consequences that could lead to a return of full scale regional conflict. A comprehensive solution, including sustained international commitment to deal with the FDLR in eastern Congo, is urgently needed.

As an immediate prophylactic measure, the Security Council should direct MONUC to secure the Congo-Rwanda borders at Rutshuru and Ruzizi, the locations most likely to be used by either the Rwandan army or the FDLR. This would give Rwanda more security pending efforts that are likely to take one to two years to disarm the FDLR. MONUC would need to conduct daily patrols and gather on-the-ground intelligence to

stop incursions from either side. The deployment could happen in less than a month if the political will is there to reassess significantly MONUC's priorities and concept of operations.

Within that same initial month, the Secretary General should convene an emergency meeting of all concerned parties: Congolese, Rwandan, regional, and friends of the Congo and Rwanda from the wider international community. The objective should be primarily to develop an international strategy to solve the problems of insecurity in eastern Congo, but there will be need also to address related problems with the political transition in Kinshasa. Elements might include:

With respect to the FDLR problem

Military-to-military negotiations should be opened dealing only with the possible integration into the Rwandan army of FDLR field commanders who did not participate in the 1994 genocide. These would be designed to induce elements of the FDLR to abandon and so weaken the main body and would not involve political negotiations with the movement.

Concurrent with these negotiations, the IMATT training team described above, led by South Africa and Belgium with participation from the U.S., UK and France, would begin to identify and train a FARDC force of some 10,000 that would ultimately be able to enforce disarmament if required.

Also concurrently, the FARDC, with close support including logistical assistance from MONUC, should to the extent practicable and on a rolling basis as its capacities improve, declare and enforce "weapons free zones" in Kivu population centres. The concept would be not to confront the FDLR directly but to isolate it increasingly from civilians, thus severing a lifeline to goods and services and adding to the pressure on it to disarm voluntarily. The FARDC should deny the FDLR access to important areas within the demilitarised zones such as roads, markets, bridges, mines and the like. This would not be easy, and would need to be carried out in stages as FARDC becomes more capable, but should be more feasible than searching out and fighting FDLR, particularly since MONUC could help secure the key areas.

The stages of disarmament and repatriation/reintegration should be de-linked to reduce FDLR fears of the process and allow for cantonment in the Congo while the circumstances necessary for repatriation are created.

Rwanda should open a political dialogue with its domestic opposition and exiled opponents to give the FDLR a last chance to demonstrate commitment to peace by acknowledging and repudiating the genocide and handing over indicted *génocidaires* within its ranks. At this point the FDLR would either be accepted as a partner and cooperate with the voluntary disarmament of its forces in eastern Congo or be subjected to forced disarmament operations as the new FADRC elements came on line, assisted by MONUC.

With respect to the political transition

Pressure should be applied to the transitional government to implement the reform program in the Pretoria Agreement. The International Committee in Support of the Transition (CIAT) established by key donors in Kinshasa has not been active enough in representing its views and providing a forum for cooperation by the Congo's major partners.²⁵ Greater overall coordination would have an exponential impact on the mechanism's effectiveness, especially on security sector reform, which is the subject of numerous uncoordinated bilateral initiatives. The three "joint commissions" authorised in Security Council Resolution 1565 can create momentum in the key areas of legislation, security sector reform and the electoral process only if there is are concerted efforts by all CIAT members.

With respect to international supervision

Participants from beyond the region must make clear to Congo and Rwanda that continued flouting of agreements will have serious consequences. In particular, they need to be prepared to respond to actions that threaten international peace and security by suspending certain forms of aid; applying targeted sanctions against culpable senior leaders such as travel bans and assets freezes; and imposing new arms embargos on a state that fails to live up to the commitments it has already undertaken or accepts in the course of the new process that Crisis Group urges be set in motion immediately.²⁶

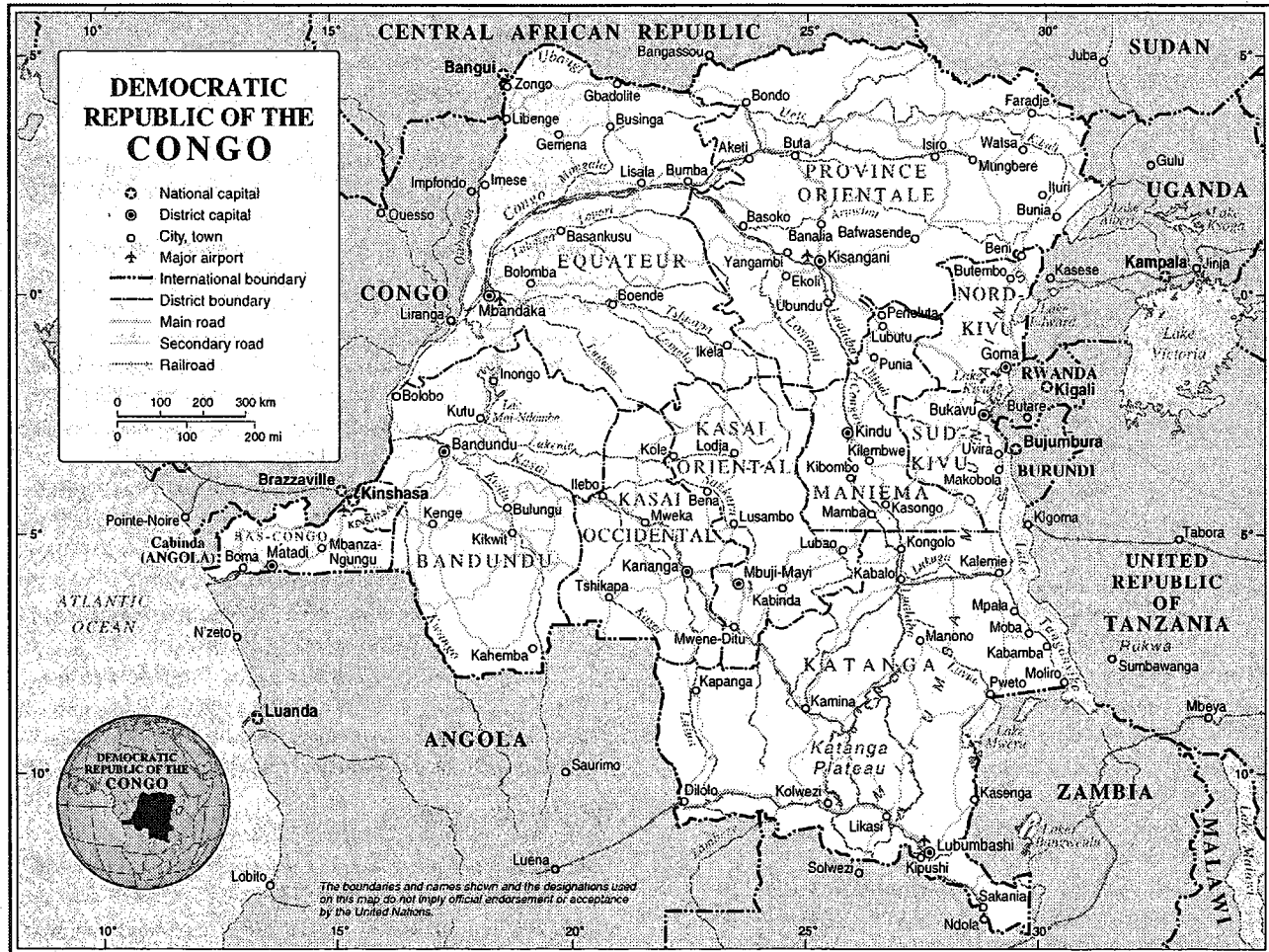
Nairobi/Brussels, 17 December 2004

²⁵ CIAT comprises ambassadors to the Congo of Angola, Canada, China, Belgium, France, Gabon, Russia, South Africa, the UK, the U.S., Zambia, the EU, and the African Union, in addition to MONUC.

²⁶ An embargo against the introduction of arms into the Congo provinces of North and South Kivu and Ituri was established in UN Security Council Resolution 1493 (2003), which also authorised MONUC to report on the movement of armed groups as well as arms supplies and the presence of foreign military. Resolution 1533 (2004) established a sanctions committee to gather and analyse information about violations of that embargo. The arms embargos envisaged above might be applied against states for violation of agreements.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO



APPENDIX B

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International Crisis Group

International Headquarters

149 Avenue Louise, 1050 Brussels, Belgium · Tel: +32 2 502 90 38 · Fax: +32 2 502 50 38

E-mail: icgbrussels@icg.org

New York Office

420 Lexington Avenue, Suite 2640, New York 10170 · Tel: +1 212 813 0820 · Fax: +1 212 813 0825

E-mail: icgny@icg.org

Washington Office

1629 K Street, Suite 450, Washington DC 20006 · Tel: +1 202 785 1601 · Fax: +1 202 785 1630

E-mail: icgwashington@icg.org

London Office

Cambridge House – 5th Fl, 100 Cambridge Grove, London W6 0LE · Tel: +44(0)20 7031 0230 · Fax: +44(0)20 7031 0231

E-mail: icglondon@icg.org

Moscow Office

Nizhnij Kislovskij Pereulok 3, apt. 46 - Moscow 125009 Russia · Tel/Fax: +7 095 290 4256

E-mail: icgmoscow@icg.org

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An international committee overseeing the two-year transitional process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has said that many aspects of constitutional law pertaining to the nation's Independent Electoral Commission "do not conform with either the letter or the spirit of the transitional constitution and are counter to the resolutions of [the] Sun City [peace accord]".

In a statement issued on Wednesday following a meeting with three of DRC's four vice presidents, the International Committee to Accompany the Transition (known by its French acronym, CIAT) said that legislation now under discussion by the country's transitional parliament would not fully ensure the independence of the electoral commission from political parties, as called for by the nation's constitution and by the inter-Congolese dialogue.

Among its concerns, CIAT said that the draft legislation for the electoral commission risked being superseded by laws pertaining to the Supreme Court and National Assembly, and undermined by allegiances to political parties.

CIAT called on the transitional parliament to take its concerns into consideration as it continued to examine the draft legislation.

CIAT comprises ambassadors accredited to the Congo, meeting under the presidency of William Swing, the UN Secretary-General's special representative to the country.

A national power-sharing government was inaugurated on 30 June 2003, ostensibly bringing an end to nearly five years of war, and leading to the holding of nationwide elections within two years.

UN Security Council Resolution 1493 of 28 July 2003 called on MONUC, the UN Mission in the DRC, in coordination with other UN agencies, donors and NGOs to support the Congo in the holding of free and democratic elections.

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81

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Africa	2	02/17/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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82

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	3	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424 50 USC 3507

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

Names titles and telephone numbers of those involved in making sure the legal framework for elections is put in place on time:

1. Government:

- a. **Azarias RUBERWA:** Vice-President in charge of the Politics, Defense and Security commission
Tel: (243)81 5153228
(243)98 916338
- b. **Jean-Pierre BEMBA:** Vice-President in charge of the economic and finance commission
Tel: (243)81 7125001
- c. **Arthur ZAIDI-NGOMA:** Vice-President in charge of the Social and cultural commission
Tel: (243)81 0325383
- d. **Yerodia A. NDOMBASI:** Vice-President in charge of the commission on Reconstruction and Development
Tel: (243)81 8888866

2. National Assembly

- a. **Olivier KAMITATU:** President of the National Assembly
Tel: (243)81 5103700
(243)98 000888
- b. **Mwando NSIMBA:** President of the commission on Legal and Administrative matters at the National Assembly
Tel: (243)98 301636
- c. President of major political parties in the National Assembly:
 - MLC: **Thomas LUHAKU** Tel: (243) 815192105
 - Political opposition: **Konde V. KIKANDA** Tel: (243) 9990559
 - Civil Society: **Bahati LUKWEBO** Tel: (243) 98911284
 - RCD-Goma: **Moise NYARUGABO** Tel: (243) 815120312
 - RCD-National: **Willy NTUMBA** Tel: (243) 9972470
 - RCD-KML: **TAGOYA** Tel: (243) 813026819
 - Mai-Mai movement: **VALIALI** Tel: (243) 814032223

3. Senate

- a. **Mgr Marini BONDO:** President of the Senate.
Tel: (243) 815993685
- b. **Tshibwabwa ASHILAPASHI:**
Tel: (243) 98189172
- c. **Emile ILUNGA:** First Vice-President of the Senate
Tel: (243) 815135354

d. Presidents of major political parties in the Senate:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| - MLC: Masegabio NZANZU | Tel: (243) 817005163 |
| - Political Opposition: Kasusula NJUMA | Tel: (243) 9924401 |
| - Civil Society: Ms. Jacqueline RUMB | Tel: (243) 97022281 |
| - RCD/KML: Uringi PAOLOLO | Tel: (243) 813051576 |
| - Mai-Mai: Amuri MASTAKI | Tel: (243) 816512447 |
| - RCD: Ridja NZOZA | Tel: (243) 98508542 |

4. **Independent Electoral Commission**

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| a. Bishop MALUMALU President of the Commission | Tel: (243) 98232754 |
| b. Basengezi KATINTIMA (RCD): Vice President of the Commission | Tel: (243) 813176450 |
| c. Ngoy BOLIA (MLC): First Vice President of the Commission | Tel: (243) 815087561 |
| d. Mulongo MIRIMU (Mai Mai): Title Rapporteur | Tel: (243) 9902630 |

STATE/IOUNCLASSIFIED

MONUC'S CAPACITY TO DISARM REBELS
UNDER CURRENT MANDATE (UN SC Resolution 1565)

MONUC estimates that approximately 10,000 ex-FAR/Interahamwe are located in the eastern DRC, concentrated in North and South Kivu, roughly in a triangle from Kindu to Beni to Bukavu. Although MONUC does not believe these groups represent a threat to the regime in Rwanda, they threaten border populations and regional stability. Repatriating the ex-FAR/Interahamwe rebels in a reasonable timeframe would remove Rwanda's pretext to intervene in eastern DRC and is one of MONUC's principal challenges.

MONUC expects to be at full deployment of 16,700 by the end of February 2005, including four new battalions, 14 additional utility, attack and surveillance helicopters, and two rapid reaction brigades. MONUC intends to improve coordination of how it uses assets its capability to monitor or interdict cross border flows of arms and armed groups. However, MONUC - with a new divisional field headquarters at Kisangani for eastern DRC -- believes it is still constrained by the limited number of sites it can cover near ex-FAR/Interahamwe camps. **MONUC does not intend to deploy as an inter-positional force along the DRC-Rwandan border or to undertake forced disarmament operations unilaterally, and has had little success with its limited joint operations with the Congolese Armed Forces.**

To date, voluntary DDR efforts in Congo have resulted in the disarmament and repatriation of 6,000 former combatants and over 5,000 dependents to Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. MONUC has had some success in recent weeks in the Ituri district. As of early January, according to MONUC, over 2,000 ex-combatants had voluntarily handed over 12,000 arms and pieces of ammunition. MONUC's seizure of munitions and dismantling of an FAPC militia camp near Magahi on December 9 may have prompted more combatants to disarm subsequently. MONUC has noted that combatants who want to disarm voluntarily are frequently threatened if they attempt to go to DDR sites.

Within the scope of its current mandate and force configuration, and with a revised military concept of operations, MONUC intends take similar, more aggressive approaches that will turn up the pressure for voluntary disarmament by establishing weapons-free zones, conducting area domination missions, and cordon and search operations. DPKO said most of

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2

its TCCs would not agree to use of forces for forcible disarmament, although South Africa might consent.

Forced disarmament of combatants is beyond MONUC's capability. Nevertheless, MONUC has demonstrated its capability to use force to protect civilians in support of Congolese Armed Forces operations. If the Congolese Armed Forces proceeds to disarm ex-FAR/Interahamwe combatants by force, MONUC would repatriate those who wished to return to their countries of origin. The Governments of the DRC and Rwanda, and the ICTR, as appropriate, would deal with the ex-FAR/Interahamwe who do not choose repatriation.

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3

Approved: IO Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary James W. Swigert

Drafted: IO/PSC P. Syring ext 6-7734

Z:\2005\Country Files\Congo\0113 MONUC's CAPACITY TO DISARM
REBELS.doc

Cleared:

AF/RSA K Kenny	ok
IO/UNP S Amadeo	info
AF/C G Mallory/J Greene	ok
PM/RSAT E Weinstein	ok
IO/PSC R Moran	ok

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum]	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

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846

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Mark Swayne	7	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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Swayne, Mark J (Africa-NSC)

Subject: Great Lakes mtg (Room 208)

Start: Tue 1/18/2005 4:30 PM
End: Tue 1/18/2005 5:30 PM

Recurrence: (none)

Don Yamamoto
Elon Weinstein (IO)
Gerald Anderson (IO)
Roger Moran (IO)
Lt. Col. Larry Holcomb
Bob Williams (JCS)
Craig Whitaker (JCS)
David Desroches (OSD)
Kelly Langdorf (OSD)
David Radcliffe (ODS)

(b)(3), 50 USC 3507

Brooke Ford

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84d

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	African Great Lakes...	2	12/14/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	...the Great Lakes	9	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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846

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Summary of Conclusions	Summary of Conclusions	2	12/22/2004	P1/b1; P3/b3; P5;	10 USC 424 50 USC 3507
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Small Working Group... - To: Mark Swayne	3	01/18/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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Handwritten Note	Great Lakes	4	01/18/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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~~SECRET~~
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 0409084
RECEIVED: 29 Dec 04
DOC DATE: 29 Dec 2004
SOURCE REF: 200430022

TO: SCHULTE (NSC)

FROM: K HOFMANN (AG POC)

KEYWORDS: RWANDA
UGANDA

CONGO D R
SECURITY

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: ROADMAP/ACTION PLAN ON THE GREAT LAKES

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 12 Jan 05

STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: MARK SWAYNE (NSC)

FILES: IFG

LOGREF: 0408954 0408628 0408948

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4(B), Sept. 11, 2006
By MAY NARA, Date 2/21/2019

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY: _____ DATE: _____ BY HAND W/ATTACH

OPENED BY: WHITEHOUSE\WerkhovK

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DOC 1 of 1

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S/S 200430022

9084 85a

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 29, 2004

~~SECRET~~

(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachment)

MEMORANDUM FOR GREGORY L. SCHULTE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Roadmap/Action Plan on the Great Lakes

Attached is the Roadmap and Action Plan on Africa's Great Lakes as requested at the December 12 Deputies Committee Meeting. It is fully cleared by the State Department and informally by the Africa offices of the Department of Defense (OSD) and the United States Agency for International Development.

Karl Hofmann
Karl Hofmann
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Great Lakes Roadmap/Action Plan

~~SECRET~~

(UNCLASSIFIED when separated from attachment)

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856

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	...the Great Lakes	8	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

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86

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	RE: JVM - To: Cindy Courville, et al. - From: Mark Swayne	6	09/03/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	Tripartite	1	09/09/2004	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Kofi Annan - From: Paul Kagame	2	09/03/2004	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	Terms of Reference...	5	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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89

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	Rwanda	1	02/07/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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90

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Re: Agenda - To: Donald Yamamoto - From: Cindy Courville	1	02/16/2005	P5;

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Cable	Great Lakes Tripartite...	8	02/09/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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Summary of Conclusions

Meeting of the Tripartite Commission

February 2, 2005

Washington, D.C.

During the February 2 meeting, the Commission, comprised of Ministers representing the governments of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Uganda, considered a number of critical issues relating to the work of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies.

In broad terms, the discussion centered around a shared concern that the Commission and the tripartite process required additional efforts and organization to achieve its goals within the timeframe agreed in October, 2004 in Kigali.

The Commission agreed unanimously to take the following actions:

- Operationalize the Sub-Commissions on Security and Defense Matters and Diplomatic Affairs, to immediately organize meetings and be fully functional by the end of February, 2005.
- Through the Sub-Commission on Security and Defense Matters, establish an interim emergency action plan defining a strategy to react quickly to an emergency, including specific points of contact to be made among the parties to the Tripartite Commission, the United States, the United Nations, the African Union, Burundi and others as appropriate, in the event of a crisis. Particular attention should be paid to developing means to communicate immediately in private channels rather than through the media.
- The United States as facilitator of the process will send representatives to the capitals of the DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda in February to collaborate and assist in the establishment of a mechanism whereby information may be shared among the Parties and acted upon to prevent crises before they occur.
- The facilitator will prepare a paper for Commission consideration which will outline potential options for additional actions to support the goals of the process and to strengthen the infrastructure of cooperation. Options could include further actions by the DRC government and MONUC, bilateral donors, and the African Union and its member states. The options will encompass political and prosecutorial options as well as military/security steps. Once considered by the three governments concerned, the options should be discussed with the observers, and with other interested states and potential donors.
- The Commission will consult further with respect to Burundi's relationship with the process.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Discussion Paper	Discussion Paper	3	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

95

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/06/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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95a

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;	10 USC 424

50 USC 3507

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

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NARA Num.:

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2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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95b

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Memorandum	1	01/06/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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952

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet]	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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96

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/RMO Profile	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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96a

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)	(b)(3) STATUTE(S)
Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P3/b3;	10 USC 424

50 USC 3507

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COLLECTION:
National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:
Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:
Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:
35914

OA Num.:
NSC 1677

NARA Num.:

FOIA IDs and Segments:
2019-0082-F

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966

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	OMB Comments... - To: Gregory Schulte - From: Joel Kaplan	1	01/07/2005	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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97

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	5	01/19/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

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SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

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98

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	1	01/25/2005	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

NSC 1677

NARA Num.:**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2019-0082-F

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Withdrawal Marker

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99

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Map	Eastern DROC	1	01/25/2005	P1/b1;

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National Security Council - African Affairs

SERIES:

Swayne, Mark

FOLDER TITLE:

Great Lakes [Folder 2] [3]

FRC ID:

35914

OA Num.:

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2019-0082-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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