

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION



REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SUMMIT ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

Kigali, October 26 – 28, 2002

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Note

This Summit Report was originally written in Kinyarwanda, in the even of any discrepancies between the English and French versions, the Kinyarwanda version prevails.

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The NURC takes this opportunity to thank all those who in one way or another contributed to the success of this summit.

This second summit on unity and reconciliation held between 26th and 28th October 2002 was officially opened by H.E President Paul Kagame. It was also honoured by the presence of H.E Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, who gave a keynote address in the presence of his host, President Paul Kagame.

Present also were members of the International Community and Friends of Rwanda who presented support messages.

The following were summit objectives:

- To examine the progress so far made in the Reconciliation process, review its achievements and challenges;

- To examine other matters of National interest relating to Unity and Reconciliation and;
- To use the recommendations of the previous summit to chart away into the future;

The themes discussed during the summit were:

1. Progress made in the National unity and reconciliation process-challenges and way forward.
2. Democracy and Decentralization.
3. Justice in general and Gacaca as a form of reconciliatory justice in particular.
4. Poverty reduction strategy.
5. The Constitution making process
6. A smooth exit from the transition.
7. Regional and National security.

This report relates to the summit proceedings, from the official opening to the closure of the summit. Attached are annexes of presentations and speeches of various speakers.

The NURC would like to thank H.E Paul Kagame, the President of the Republic of Rwanda for his unwavering commitment to the National Unity and Reconciliation process and for honouring the official opening and closing sessions.

The Commission would also like to extend her utmost gratitude to H.E. Joachim Chissano, the President of Mozambique for attending the opening ceremony and for his keynote address

The NURC would like to thank the leaders, distinguished personalities at different levels and the friends of Rwanda for their participation and contribution towards the success of this summit.

The NURC takes this opportunity to thank all who in one way or another participated in the organisation and proceedings of this summit

Finally the Commission would like to reiterate her thanks to friendly countries and organisation for their invaluable support during the preparation of the summit.

Fatuma NDANGIZA.

INTRODUCTION

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission is pleased to provide a report on the 2nd National Summit on unity and reconciliation that took place in the parliamentary buildings, Kigali, 26th - 28th October 2002.

"Making arrangements to conduct debates promoting national unity and reconciliation within the Rwandan society" is one of the assignments ascribed to the Commission by the March 12th, 1999 law instituting the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. The Commission has therefore, once again in keeping with that legal disposition, provided Rwandans a forum to debate on issues affecting them.

The Government of National Unity and the Unity and Reconciliation Commission, now 8 and 3 years respectively, have significantly accustomed Rwandans to debate on issues facing their society, and undertake to solve them. Evidence of this could be found in the following instances:

- The Urugwiro discussions held from May 1998 to March 1999 on such issues as democracy, security, justice, economy, national unity and the impact of all these on the governance of the country.
- The advisory consultations that took place in 1999, on national unity and reconciliation.
- The October 18 -20th 2000 first National Summit on unity and reconciliation that undertook to sort out the causes and remedies for the devastating ethnic divide.
- The April- August 2001 evaluation of the unity and reconciliation performances, based on the wishes and perceptions of the grassroots populations as to how national unity and reconciliation should be promoted.
- The solidarity camps (INGANDO) that brought together Rwandans of different walks of life.

Rwandans have, in their generality, pointed out that the problems of their society are intimately linked to the following issues:

- The history of their country.
- Dictatorial and sectarian leadership.
- Miseducation and biased teachings given to Rwandans over generations.
- A bankrupt justice system.
- Poor living standards.

These problems were on the main generated by Rwandans themselves; they steadily kept putting a premium on ethnic cleavages that eventually led to the 1994 genocide and massacres.

Though the enemies of Rwanda attempted to throw the country deep down the abyss, they did not manage. They only succeeded in creating enormous difficulties for the sons and daughters of Rwanda who gallantly sacrificed their lives to salvage the country and steer her onto the path of development and to instill a renewed sense of freedom and hope to their fellow countrymen and women.

Due to this, Rwandans have been empowered to participate in the stream of the governance of their country.

Rwandans throughout the country have been consulted and they have given constructive contributions in the overhauling of the country's legal system and in the making of the new National Constitution.

Rwandans throughout the country have also been sensitised on the need to positively participate in the Gacaca proceedings, whose outcome is meant to restore harmony in the society.

Based on the resolutions adapted during the 2000 National Summit on unity and reconciliation, the various activities undertaken at the national level and the obligations linked with the people's desire for a smooth exit from the transition period, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission decided that this year's summit focus on the following issues:

- The Unity and Reconciliation policy
- Democratisation and decentralisation
- Justice in general and Gacaca as a reconciliatory form of justice.
- The poverty reduction program.
- The prospective new Constitution ushering in the rule of law.
- The poverty reduction program.
- Negotiating a smooth exit from the transitional period.
- Security in Rwanda and in the Great Lakes region.

This National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation was meant to provide a forum for a free discussion on the variety of actions the country has engaged in and the problems that the country is currently facing, with a view to adopting relevant strategies. That is why the organizers of this National Summit invited national leaders and the representatives of the led of different echelons, representatives of religious organizations and the Civil Society, representatives of political parties officially registered in Rwanda, Rwandans in Diaspora and friends of Rwanda.

Discussions on the Summit issues were freely conducted, debates were conducted at length in different workshops, and then resolutions were relevantly formulated. Rwandans living in Diaspora who had not attended were also given the opportunity to contribute their ideas by phone.

General recommendations were eventually adopted when the discussions were brought to a close. These recommendations form part of this report. It should be indicated here that members of the Rwandan Diaspora and friends of Rwanda were also given room to address the Summit. Their message was audio-visually relayed across the country. Papers that were presented in sessions are annexed to this report. All Rwandans and friends of Rwanda should take note of the important outcome of this Summit, substantiated in this report. You are therefore called upon to read this report so as to remind yourselves, or get to know the role you ought to play in the reconstruction of Rwanda.

II. OPENING THE SUMMIT

II.1. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. HABYARIMANA JEAN BAPTIST, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (NURC)

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda;
Your Excellency the President of Mozambique;
Honorable Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Rwanda;
Honorable Speaker of the National Assembly of the Republic of Burundi;
Your Excellency the Prime Minister;
Honorable Chief Justice of the Supreme Court;
Honorable Ministers;
Honorable Members of Parliament;
Joint Army Chief of Staff;
Commissioner General of the National Police;
Distinguished Members of the Diplomatic Corps and Representatives of International Organizations;
Distinguished Guests;
Ladies and Gentlemen;
Fellow Countrymen and Women.

Allow me first of all to greet you all on behalf of the NURC. I am honored to welcome you here today to mark the beginning of the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. This is the second time we are holding a National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation since the NURC was instituted, in March 1999.

The Arusha Peace Agreements underscored that unity and reconciliation within the Rwandan society constitute a sine qua non for peace and sustainable development in Rwanda. In line with this idea, room was made for the creation of the NURC in the Arusha Peace Agreements in 1993 with a view to rebuilding unity within the Rwandan society and asserting the Nationality Right for Rwandans. Many Rwandans had indeed been deprived of their Rwandan Nationality by a bankrupt leadership characterized by sectarianism and segregation. When the Rwandan leaders of that time turned against the Arusha Peace Agreements and declined to respect the rule of law in the country, they resorted to genocide and the mass murder of other Rwandans on the basis of ethnic and political considerations. And thus in a period of just three months, from April to July 1994, over a million Rwandans were butchered in cold blood by other Rwandans; and the International Community just stood by, carelessly watching the horrible theater that Rwanda had become.

With the RPF Inkotanyi in the lead, well-meaning Rwandans put a stop to genocide and massacres and quickly put up a government of national unity to tackle the huge and tough problems that the Rwandan society was facing.

In the Rugwiro consultations that ran from the May 8, 98 to March 13, 1999, such issues as the unity of Rwandans, democracy, justice, national economy and security were scrutinized at length. National Unity and Reconciliation were clearly identified by

the Government of National Unity as a major pillar of peace and sustainable development, thus, the NURC which had been precluded by the 1994 genocide, was eventually instituted by Law N°03/99 of 12 March 1999.

The Commission has among other assignments that of making arrangements to conduct national debates aiming at promoting national unity and reconciliation within the Rwandan society. It is therefore in keeping with this that we are meeting for the second time to take stock of our performance as regards Unity and Reconciliation, chart the way forward and exchange views on whatever might be hindering the National Unity and Reconciliation programme.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda;

Your Excellency the President of Mozambique;

Your Excellencies;

Distinguished Guests;

Ladies and Gentlemen;

This Summit is being attended by Government officials, representatives of Rwandans at District and Province levels, including representatives of Youth and Women organizations, representatives of political parties officially registered. Rwanda, civil society, religious organizations, the private sector and members the Rwandan Diaspora. We also have in attendance, guests from foreign friendly countries who believe in what we say and who are interested in having a close look at what we are doing.

Drawing from some of the 2000 National Summit's recommendations, in joining the Commission to try and get closer to the people, social harmony building consultations were conducted throughout the country, with a view to highlighting factors of harmony and division among Rwandans; strategies were equally put up to enhance the factors of social harmony and unity and to eradicate all sorts of divisive factors in the Rwandan society. These consultations ended on National Unity and Reconciliation Performance Evaluation Day, which was celebrated throughout the country at Province level. At the national level, the Unity and Reconciliation Performance Evaluation Day was celebrated in KIBUYE province where His Excellency the President of the Republic presided over the closing ceremonies on November 23, 2001.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda;

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Mozambique;

Your Excellencies;

Distinguished Guests;

Ladies and Gentlemen

This Summit is going to review the results of the talks and deliberations that were previously held on various relevant issues, in the 2000 National Summit and the Consultations that were run throughout the country in 2001.

We are also going to review the performance of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, and that of the Rwanda society in general. Attention

will be drawn onto elements of our programmes that were not executed, and hindrances that were registered. Special attention will be devoted on programmes currently underway, that are designed to enhance unity and reconciliation within Rwandan society. Relevant talks and lectures should outline ways in which these programmes are paving the unity and reconciliation path.

The overall aim of this summit is:

- To assess how, far we have gone in securing unity and reconciliation among Rwandans;
- To further strengthen the unity and reconciliation that Rwandans have pledged to achieve through this kind of national summit, where all categories of Rwandans can meet and discuss;
- To conduct brainstorming sessions with a view to shaping national unity and reconciliation policies for the years ahead, and
- To elicit democracy-building ideas as we are bracing ourselves to exit from the transitional period.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda;
Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Mozambique;
Your Excellencies;
Distinguished guests;
Ladies and gentlemen.

Judging from the determination displayed by different categories of Rwandans and their leaders, right from top Government level down to grass root levels, in their search for unity and reconciliation, we can confidently assert that the future holds bright prospects for us. However, we cannot just be content with the laurels we have got; all Rwandans must remain firm and resolute in their drive in this regard, for we still have obstacles to overcome. Some of the problems we have to face are linked to the very nature of our country, others are connected to the sinister legacy we inherited from our distorted national history.

All Rwandans participating in this National Summit on unity and reconciliation are therefore expected to come up with significant contributions enabling us to adopt meaningful resolutions; this will in turn permit us to pursue our long forward march.

Once again I welcome all the Rwandans and our guests in this National Summit; I would also like to thank you all for having come to support us in this effort.

I would like to address my special thanks to the donors and all the persons who took part in organizing this summit.

On behalf of my Commission colleagues, I wish to thank the commission who served the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission right from the time it was launched, and who have now been relieved of their duties.

Finally, I would like to request H.E. the President of the Republic of Rwanda to officially open the Second National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. Thank you.

11.2. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY H.E. PAUL KAGAME, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA

Your Excellency Joaquim CHISSANO, President of the friendly Republic of Mozambique along with your distinguished delegation,
Honorable Speaker of the Rwandan National Assembly,
Honorable Prime Minister,
Honorable Chief Justice of the Supreme Court,
Honorable Ministers and Ministers of State,
Honorable Members of Parliament,

Distinguished Members of the Diplomatic Corps and Representatives of International Organizations.

Distinguished Guests coming from friendly countries,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow Rwandans,

Allow me once again to extend my greetings to you all. You have noted here the presence of an eminent personality who has come to pay a visit to our country.

This eminent person is His Excellency Joaquim CHISSANO, President of MOZAMBIQUE, a country which is friendly to Rwanda. We are honored and pleased to welcome him along with his delegation.

We also have other guests who have come to support us, and members of the Rwandan Diaspora who have come to attend this summit. You are all welcome, please feel at home in Rwanda.

**Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow countrymen and women,**

This is the second time that we are meeting in a National Summit since the creation of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. When we last met in October 2000, the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation dwelt on the following 4 issues:

- Rwandan national history as a conflict-generating factor;
- The Role of Justice in the process of building reconciliation within the Rwandan society;
- Poverty as an impediment on the unity and reconciliation path;
- The role of leadership in building unity and reconciliation.

These issues were analysed and debated upon; in the end the Summit put up a sum of ideas and recommendations upon which the Commission was to hinge for the last two years.

As you may have noted, the National Summit did not take place in this manner in the year 2001, consultations were instead run throughout the country. Every province did organize the official closure of those consultative deliberations in November last year.

We can note here that it is indeed comforting to see that Rwandans could themselves come forth and indicate that their country has covered significant ground in securing unity and reconciliation, while clearly outlining difficulties to be faced.

Examples that can be cited in this regard are:

The numerous meetings where different categories of people have been contributing ideas as to how to build harmony within the Rwandan society; Solidarity camps that were organized here and there in the provinces; meetings or debates where varieties of people have freely been speaking their mind.

Other examples are such concrete actions strengthening the unity of Rwanda as:

National Putting up leadership structures to which all categories of Rwandans can accede unimpeded; here we can note that successful elections were freely conducted at grassroots' leadership levels.

Repatriating Rwandans who had fled the country at different times. Devising policies and strategies allowing school admissions to be based on grades.

Putting up policies and strategies allowing admissions in the Army and Police to be based on the will and capability of candidates.

As regards problems pointed out by people here and there in the province we can mention the problem of poverty, problems linked to the paucity of arable land, and those connected with the adjudication of genocide suspects' cases. As you know, these types of problems really contribute to generating conflicts and social frictions.

The Government has devised relevant strategies, and we are gradually envisaging ways of solving those problems.

In general, we can positively assert that the majority of Rwandans have come to understand that the divisive trends are actually of no use to them and that they rather destroy the country instead of building it, as has been evidenced by Rwandan national history.

There are signs indicating that Rwandans have clearly improved their perception of reality:

Populations have resolved to fight away the infiltrators and their ideology. I seize this opportunity again here to tell the Rwandan people that they have no cause to worry about the withdrawal of our forces from the DRC. We have not violated any of the agreements that we signed.

We remain however determined to defend the security and sovereignty of our country. And we look forward to seeing the other parties to the agreements fulfill their obligations. The International Community shouldn't by any means keep quiet and idle, as if unconcerned. Everyone must fulfill their obligations. Another indication of the fact that Rwandans have improved their perception of things, is the way people responded to the elections of grassroots' level leaders and the Gacaca justices; and the activities of the Gacaca jurisdictions have been positively responded to.

Last but not least, I ought to mention that people have also been turning up en masse to support a variety of other actions meant to improve their welfare in general.

**Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow Rwandans,**

Even though we are pleased with strides made on the unity and reconciliation path, we must note that there are still problems that must be solved, lest they become hindrances.

This Summit we are opening today must indeed assess our performance to-date. This exercise will in turn allow us to have a clear idea of our achievements, and the obstacles that must be cleared on our way ahead.

Based on the consultations the Commission has had with different categories of Rwandans, inside the country and abroad, we consider that this Summit should conduct debates on issues summarized as follows:

First, performance as regards unity and reconciliation
Second, democratization and decentralization
Third, reconciliatory justice
Fourth, the poverty reduction programme
Fifth, the prospective new Constitution
Sixth, negotiating a soft exit from the transitional period
Seventh, security in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region.

**Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow Rwandans,**

Building unity and reconciliation is a great task that requires us to keep on pooling our energies together.

I would also like to seize this opportunity to request Rwandans of all categories keep on striving to improve their welfare, to defend the country's security and guard against all sorts of things that could again fuel conflict in our midst.

Unity, reconciliation and security in our country constitute the sine qua non condition for all other good things we may want to achieve.

I would finally like to request the assembly participating in this Summit to contribute constructive ideas, to be truthful and feel free all through, in a congenial climate of mutual respect.

I therefore hereby officially open the second National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation.

Thank you.

II.3. STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, JOACHIM ALBERTO CHISSANO AT THE II SUMMIT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION (NURC) KIGALI, 26 OCTOBER 2002

Your Excellency Paul KAGAME, President of Republic of Rwanda,

**Distinguished Senior Members of the National Commission on Unity and
Reconciliation,**

**Distinguished Participants to the 2nd Summit of the National Commission on
Unity and Reconciliation:**

It is with emotion that I take part in the deliberations of the 2nd Summit of the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation of Rwanda. Indeed, I feel deeply honoured by the invitation addressed to me to officiate this important meeting. On behalf of the people and the Government of Mozambique and on my own behalf I would like to express our sincere gratitude for this privilege.

On this auspicious occasion I would like to convey to the Rwandan people special greetings and congratulations from the Mozambican people for the dignity and seriousness with which you have been conducting and managing your process of national reconciliation.

I would also like to express to you our unflagging solidarity and our words of encouragement as you embark upon this complex yet noble exercise.

**Mr. President,
Distinguished Participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen:**

As the history of the past century is written, humankind will register with great shame and sadness a major stain in the form of the genocide in Rwanda. In effect, the coming generations will wonder how the international community could stand inactive and impotent in the face of such gruesome barbarity. Indeed we often ask ourselves these questions.

Unfortunately, whichever answer we come up with, it is not going to remove such stain for that is already a fait accompli, and those who did not act when could have done so will forever carry the burden of not having stopped such hideous crime. Yet out of this inaction we must draw lessons so that mistakes of such magnitude do not happen again.

To reflect upon the past, on a juncture that is far from what is desirable, will constitute a futile and unproductive exercise, unless it leads to changes in the way we perceive things and act.

It will be so much so if such undertaking is not systematic and if it lacks institutional legitimacy and endorsement, as well as support from the people. Indeed in order to make the results of this reflection sustainable and likely to translate themselves into concrete actions, in terms of changing attitudes and behaviors, they must be rooted on consensus.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have been following attentively the developments unfolding in your country. We admire and appreciate the lessons we can derive from the process. Indeed, we have been noted with interest that through the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation (NURC) the Government has set up a Forum for popular debate aimed at identifying, fostering and consolidating the factors that, promote national unity and reconciliation. You also have an effective mechanism for permanent monitoring and evaluation of the progress made in this endeavour.

The comprehensive nature of this process accords the opportunity to all Rwandans to take part in the collective effort of reflection over the factors that separate them, those which unite them, as well as over the seriousness and sincerity with which all are involved in the search of appropriate ways that are conducive to the building of a real national consensus among the citizens of a united and reconciled country.

The institutionalised platform devised to guide the process of national reconciliation allows for a holistic, systematic and sustainable approach of the process of change.

We are impressed with the methodology underlying the functioning of these mechanisms. The deliberations of the Seminar of the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation of which you are the President will represent an occasion for a true assessment of the national situation and constitute a platform to exchange views on how to shape the future.

They also have the merit of allowing for an introspection of the process itself, with the objective of identifying the weakest and strongest links in order to improve on the former and optimise the latter. Thanks to this innovative and creative approach, the process of national reconciliation in your country has recorded important strides.

Through this mechanism, you have been able to find adequate solutions to live up to challenges of resettlement of the former refugee populations and also to comfort the children of the victims of the genocide. The Government has also been successful in educating the people to learn to forgive and to coexist peacefully.

In the rather sensitive area of defence, the Government has succeeded in a national army, comprising the forces that used to fight each other in the past. This is a quite remarkable achievement to guarantee the security and stability of the country and the region. Indeed, it is a fundamental ingredient to the process of national reconstruction.

For all these highly positive results we would like to congratulate the Rwandan people, President KAGAME and his Government.

**Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

On October the 4th this year we celebrated 10 years of peace in Mozambique. In acknowledgment of the great significance of peace to our Nation, National Assembly, unanimously, proclaimed October the 4th, the day of signing of the General Peace Agreement in Rome, as a national holiday, the day of peace and reconciliation.

That day the whole Mozambique nation took to the streets to celebrate this date and for a joint reflection over our achievements. It was also a time to reaffirm everyone's commitment to ensure that peace in our country is continuously consolidated and becomes perennial.

In the same way as your country, Mozambique has gone through difficult moments, characterised by the prevalence of a destabilisation war that resulted in the loss of lives of hundreds of thousands of people, separation of families and the destruction of economic and social infrastructures.

The war compelled millions of people to abandon their places of origin to seek refuge in towns and in neighbouring countries, destroyed our social fabric and paralysed economy.

We felt the pain of seeing the outcome of long years of hard work being destroyed, namely schools, hospitals, bridges, railways and various industries. Uncertainty and despair had become commonplace and the people were crying out for peace.

It was within this framework that the Rome negotiations were launched. Such negotiations were difficult in Rome were difficult and complex. They constituted an important exercise of mutual adaptation, acceptance and accommodation.

Many thought the gap that divided us was so wide and it would not be possible for us to reach an understanding. Others had fresh wounds from the war and they rejected any possibility of coming together or of dialogue.

The lack of an adequate mutual knowledge and the considerable absence of trust between the parties consulted additional obstacles to the building of consensus and to the reconciliation amongst the Mozambicans.

It became imperative that the parties got to know each other better. There was a need to display clear and more explicit signs indicating that all of us wanted reconciliation, that the coexistence and cohabitation in peace and security was possible. It was indispensable to reduce extremist positions, to remove the invisible veil of hatred, intolerance, prejudice and spirit of revenge.

To reach these minimum consensus the negotiation process took two years, and for our people who longed ardently and impatiently for the end of the war, this was an endless time.

Similar to what is happening in your case today, it was the multiplication of direct contacts both formal and informal that slowly but steadily started to bring together the positions of the parties.

The dialogue and the interaction have broadened our concept of national interest, triggering in us the conscience that despite the fact that we were in different camps we were members of the same family, the Mozambican family, we belonged to the same people, the Mozambican people, that our past and our present were tied by bonds of blood, by a common history and cohabitation, that our future depended on ourselves and that it was our responsibility and only our responsibility to offer a better alternative to our people.

To put aside what divides us, to prioritise and to invest, on what unites us, to place the national interest above personal or group interest became the Rome spirit.

It was the profound wisdom and spirit of reflection of our people that have prevailed over the political differences of the various sectors of our society and have led to the successful signing and implementation of our general peace agreement.

We have resisted the temptation of the imposition of models of national reconciliation that were not inspired in our specific reality. We had to cultivate and develop the spirit of profound tolerance.

The virtue of patience, of learning how to wait for the opportunity of reaching consensus, even when the waiting time seemed long in the eyes of the people.

We had to make concessions, some of which appeared unthinkable at the beginning of the process. Without forgetting the past, the history, we focused on the future and on the opportunities it held for us.

We have learnt that when it comes to preserving peace and reconciliation one doesn't count how many times he forgives. We realised that one way or another we were all responsible for what was happening to our people. In this regard the general Peace Agreement was the celebration of everyone as we succeeded in reaching an understanding and reconciliation without losers. We did not fall prey to the temptation to resort to force in irregular situations, but of a political nature, until we felt that such attitude had the general consensus. This set of values, attitudes and behaviours are summed up in what we call "the culture of peace". Actually, we have used the culture of peace as the foundation of every action or initiative we adopted.

The search for peace in Mozambique was also a process with a regional dimension where Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana and Kenya were involved. Some of these

countries got involved at the level of Heads of State such as in the case of Presidents Robert Mugabe, Quett Massire and Daniel Arap Moi.

The political changes in Southern Africa, namely the fall of the minority regime and the end of Apartheid in South Africa as well as the end of the cold war meant that the main centres and factors of disruption, aggression and continued external interference in the affairs of Mozambique were removed from the political-scene. These changes have contributed considerably to the success of the dialogue among the Mozambicans.

To create an atmosphere of trust among the parties it was also necessary to involve a mediation comprising personalities who were neutral, with integrity and who enjoyed the trust of all the parties involved in the dialogue.

**Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen:**

As I have already mentioned, Mozambique has been enjoying peace for the last 10 years. These have been 10 years of consolidation of national unity and reconciliation.

We have learnt various lessons. The first is that peace is the most valuable asset, which all peoples should endeavour to conquer and preserve. That national reconciliation and unity are dynamic processes and should never be looked at as finished processes. Each day brings new challenges, hence the need for us to always be on the alert. We have learned that it is the people who ultimately build peace and national reconciliation.

Indeed, the reconciliation process starts within the individual himself and extends thereafter to the family, the villages and neighbourhoods. You see, for instance, parents forgiving and accepting back into the family the daughter who brings in a son-in law who has committed barbaric crimes, against the same family.

This is the way the national reconciliation is fed, through concrete actions, step by step. We have concluded that we, the politicians, are not the only architects of reconciliation. Reconciliation is lasting because it is rooted in the rebuilding of coexistence and trust between citizens and among communities.

One of the major challenges in the process of reconciliation is to overcome the hurdle of mutual mistrust. Where there is no trust, every action or gesture becomes suspicious and ghosts are seen where they do not exist. Trust can only be forged through the process of dialogue that has to be guided by a strong will and constant search for a deeper mutual understanding.

There are just some conclusions resulting from our experience, which we wanted to share with you.

We are certain of one thing, peace and national can be achieved. The dividends are enormous and valuable. Indeed, over the 10 years during which we have enjoyed peace we have made significant progress in the economic, political and social arena. In effect, in our country we succeeded in restoring the whole

education system and health facilities network destroyed during the war. We have managed to keep macroeconomic stability and our Gross Domestic Product has been growing at a two digit rate annually. Our people have also made important gains, particularly in the areas of agriculture and livestock raising. Furthermore, the prevailing climate of peace and stability has proved to be an important factor to attract private investment, both domestic and foreign. Peace and stability in a country enhance its capital of trust and credibility at the international level.

Now; for unity and reconciliation to prevail in an irreversible manner new consensus must be built on the main challenges, concerns, solutions and aspirations, particularly on a medium and long term perspective.

Ways, must be found to renew the sentiment of belonging to the process of identification of existing problems, foreseeing other problems to come and of sourcing for their solutions. A common long term vision of the future of the country has to be constructed

A permanent exercise must be undertaken to bring the diverse perceptions of collective or individual actions attitudes and plans closer because very often conflict derive from misreading the acts of one another. What happens is that I do something for your good and you perceive it or you are made to perceive it as something against you and you start going away from me. It is not enough for plans and programs to be good, they must also be perceived as being good.

Here lies the responsibility of a permanent dialogue with open hearts, with readiness to explain ones beliefs but also to correct them when proved partially or totally incorrect. This requires patience to listen in good faith and sense of humility.

These are the challenges posed to the preservation of unity and reconciliation that human behaviour very often finds difficult to face.

Egoism, the eagerness to get a better personal life with no care for that of the others, the jealousy of someone else's success are some of the obstacles that hinder solidarity among people.

**Mr. President,
Ladies and Gentlemen:**

Our countries do not exist in isolation. They are part and parcel of concrete geo-strategic spaces. For that reason, whatever takes place in our countries will have repercussions in the overall situation of the regions to which they belong.

The stabilisation of the situation in Rwanda is important in the context of the efforts being made aimed at the pacification of the whole Great Lakes Region. On the one hand, the stability of this region is crucial for the stabilisation and development of the whole of the African Union. In fact the basic assumption of the overall philosophy of the development of the African Union based on NEPAD is an African continent with peace, stability, capable of mobilising resources both internally and to use such resources to foster development.

If instability prevails, our continent will not succeed in attracting foreign private investment, and it will be unable to present itself as a solid and credible partner vis-à-vis other regions and international partners.

The stabilisation of your region also of vital importance to SADC, given that two of the countries in this region are important members of our community. Hence, instability in this region will bring about negative consequences to Southern Africa, with a massive exodus of refugees.

The objective of SADC is to reach regional integration, while establishing links of cooperation with other regions, as a way towards the continental integration. It is obvious that a climate of instability is not conducive to the materialisation of this objective.

Therefore, it is with great satisfaction that we take note of the fact that the Republic of Rwanda is well advanced in the process of consolidation of peace and reconciliation. With peace and stability your country will be in a better position to contribute to the solution of the problems that afflict the Great Lakes Region and Africa at large.

We congratulate the Republic of Rwanda for the withdrawal of her troops from the Democratic Republic of Congo pursuant to the Memorandum of Understanding signed for that country.

We would like to reiterate our appeal to the United Nations to strengthen their presence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, so as to further encourage the peace process in that sister country.

We would like to encourage the people of Rwanda not to falter as at the move towards national reconciliation, a determinant factor in the joint efforts of national reconstruction.

With these words it is my single honour and privilege to declare open the 2nd National Summit of the Unity and Reconciliation Commission. I wish you every success in your deliberations.

I thank you very much for your attention.

Kigali, 26 October 2002.

III. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION AFTER THE 2000 NATIONAL SUMMIT ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION, AS REPORTED BY MS. FATUMA NDANGIZA, THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSION.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established by Law No. 03/99 of 12/03/1999. The overall aim of the Commission is to promote unity and reconciliation within the Rwandan Society.

III.1 The Functions of the Commission:

- To organize and oversee national public debates aimed at proportioning unity and the reconciliation of Rwandans;
- To use all possible means that could sensitize Rwandans on unity and to lay it on a firm foundation;
- To conceive and disseminate ideas and initiatives aimed at promoting peace among Rwandans and to inculcate a culture of national unity and reconciliation;
- To denounce any written or declared ideas and actions aimed at, or based on disunity;
- To prepare and coordinate the country's programme for promoting unity and reconciliation;
- To educate Rwandans on their rights, the rights of others, and to build among them the culture of respect of one another's rights,
- To give their views to commissions charged with the responsibility of drafting laws that will foster unity and reconciliation among Rwandans and fight against disunity;
- To closely monitor whether Government organs do respect and observe the policy of national unity and reconciliation among Rwandans;
- To monitor whether political parties, leaders and all the people in general, do respect and observe the policy of national unity and reconciliation.

III.2. The Commission's Achievements

Upon its creation, the Commission guarded against behaving like an intellectual authority on the issue of unity; it rather preferred to provide a forum for Rwandans to discuss and analyse the root cause of their disunity.

Right from 1999-2000, the Commission has been approaching Rwandans to find out from them whatever cast them apart. Some of the causes of disunity that have been put forward are the following:

- Bad governance
- The culture of impunity
- Ignorance and poverty

Based on problems thus substantiated, the Commission devised programmes that could help solve them:

- Civic education
- Conflict prevention and resolution
- Supporting populations actions

Civic Education:

With regard to the civic education programme, the Commission has been dispensing relevant teachings sensitizing Rwandans, on the crucial need to build unity and reconciliation; the Commission has also been providing fora for Rwandans to debate openly on the causes of their disunity, with a view to correcting whatever went wrong. Solidarity camps for different categories of Rwandans and conferences normally provide a framework of action for all this; we have also been organizing social harmony building sessions, based on such elements of Rwandan culture as: oral poetry, declamation in public, singing and dancing.

Rwandans have been getting together to talk about the history of their Country, so that lessons can be learnt from those talks; people can thus correct their false perception of their national history, and there emerges the possibility of building a new Rwanda that is respectful of human rights. These sessions have also been helping Rwandans build within themselves a renewed sense of Rwandan nationality, in lieu of the fake identities derived of late from deforming mirrors. Public talks and debates have equally proved to be tremendously helpful, in that they provide Rwandans with the opportunity to share their vision and perspective in solving the variety of problems facing the country. Rwandans also get a chance, through this, to correctly identify their genuine interests, just as they get to know the role they have to play in building their country.

Different other actions were undertaken including the following:

- Seminars and conferences for different categories of Rwandans;
- Advisory consultations/ conferences with Members of Parliament and Representatives of political parties;
- Talks with members of the civil society;
- Collaborating with the Ministry of Education to devise the insertion of civic education programmes in the primary school education programmes;
- Paying visits to members of the Rwandan Diaspora, with a view to sensitizing them to join in the process of building unity and reconciliation with Rwandan Society, and to consider returning to their homeland so that the rebounding refugee issue could be wiped off eventually;
- Using the media to sensitize Rwandans on the need to build harmony in our society.

The National Unity Sensitization Programme has started yielding interesting tangible results exemplified as follows:

- Unity and Reconciliation Clubs have been created in Universities and Secondary Schools;
- People have been offering here and there to run unity and reconciliation sensitization campaigns as volunteers. Virtually all the provinces now have such volunteers;
- Leaders of political parties published a document committing themselves to support unity and reconciliation processes;
- After passing through solidarity camps, former infiltrators have been putting up peace-building associations and clubs, where they contritely confess their previous wrong-doing and pledge to build unity and reconciliation.

Supporting populations actions

Poverty has been clearly identified as a serious hindrance to unity and reconciliation. The Commission does not get really involved in the issue of poverty as such; it does, however, partially contribute to solving the problem of poverty in providing advocacy services. Some of the things we did in this regard are the following:

- We drew up a map featuring locations of populations' activities building unity and reconciliation, with a view to providing advocacy for them and ensure that they are taken into account by planning services at various levels;
- Securing donors' assistance to support some of the most outstanding actions building unity and reconciliation;
- Providing advocacy for segments of Rwandan society that are economically lagging behind, to attract attention on them.

Conflict resolution:

- Regarding conflict resolution, seminars were extensively conducted with a view to building capabilities, within Rwandan society, to resolve, and even prevent, conflicts;
- We participated in the effort of encouraging prison populations of genocide suspects to plead guilty and amend; we even made arrangements, for them to meet families of their victims;
- We conducted seminars, for Gacaca judges at province level;
- A research has been undertaken to figure out how Gacaca will impact on Rwandan society. The results of this research will soon be made available, and we are confident that this will help us improve on our handling of the Gacaca process.

- The Commission took part in the enactment of a legislation penalizing discrimination and sectarian behaviour, that legislation was eventually passed by the National Assembly.

The National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation

The National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation structurally forms part of the Commission. It is convened every year and provides a forum where Rwanda can exchange ideas, and together review the extent of progress made in building unity and reconciliation. Such a summit was held in October 2000; the following are some of the resolutions adopted by that summit:

To keep on providing Rwandans with a forum where they can contribute their ideas;

To expedite the process of putting up land legislations and relevant policies;

To sensitize refugees on the importance and necessity to return home;

To promote co-operation and trade among districts.

While implementing these and other recommendations, the Commission got closer to populations, providing them with a forum where they could discuss the issue of unity and reconciliation. In 2001, a performance evaluation exercise was conducted, to review the extent of progress made in building unity and reconciliation, and problems arising along the way.

The Summit recommendations were presented to Rwandans and relevant authorities in November 2001 and July 2002, with a view to eliciting strategies enabling us to solve the problems that had been identified.

The Commission's programme of activities for the period 2000-2003 was precisely based on some of the strategies that were put forward.

III.3 Problems

Even though there is pretty much that has admittedly been achieved, the commission has been running into difficulties along the way, such as:

- The pervasive problem of poverty
- The problem of disunity within our society: this problem cannot be easily eradicated in a short time, even though we are confident that it will eventually be resolved.
- Disruption of security in the Great Lakes region; some of the genocide perpetrators, who are at large in neighbouring countries, still intransigently entertain their sinister designs.
- The issue of limited resources and capacity, that are clearly not proportionate with the commission's onerous mission.

- The adverse effects of genocide and massacres in our society and,
- Different interpretations of our national history.

Even though problems are being faced here and there, the determination of the government of National Unity constitutes a solid insurance against failure.

III. 4 Strategies

- To keep on capitalizing on the Commission's programmes;
- Participating in the Gacaca tribunals, and to keep monitoring possible adverse effects that Gacaca might have on unity and reconciliation processes;
- Acquainting people across the country with the piece of legislation penalizing discrimination and sectarian behaviors;
- Building the Commission's capacity to ensure continued implementation of the unity and reconciliation programmes;
- Devising the country's unity and reconciliation policies. Furthering cooperation with other official structures so as to ensure that they incorporate unity and reconciliation in their respective programmes;
- Keeping a close watch on how Rwandan society engages in negotiating a soft exit from the transitional period, so as to ensure that unity and reconciliation prevail in the process;
- Collaborating with other official structures in securing improved welfare for Rwandan populations.

IV. *SUMMIT SESSIONS*

The Summit opening ceremonies were followed by seven lectures delivered by learned persons relevantly selected to suit the major themes envisaged, for the summit.

These lectures were delivered in the Parliamentary building, and were then respectively discussed in plenary sessions and, later on, in workshops of seven groups, each of which came up, in the end, with relevant recommendations. These recommendations are referred to, in this report, as "the group's recommendations".

The groups' recommendations were in turn discussed in plenary sessions, and this exercise enabled the summit finally to formulate general recommendations.

The lectures were delivered in the following order:

IV.I THE UNITY AND RECONCILIATION POLICY

As it can be noticed in the history of Rwanda, before colonization, the problem of disunity existed only between individuals who were vying for leadership; this is exemplified by the Rucunshu battle. During the colonial days, the Rwandan society was artificially dissected into ethnic groups, and the leadership of that time was predicated on those ethnic groups. After the country became independent, the types of leadership that took turns to run the country were based on ethnic and regional discrimination policies. No strategies were ever envisaged for decades, to solve the problems the country was going through, up until the divisive policies resulted in the 1994 genocide and massacres, wars and a host of attendant problems.

In the course of the 1993 Arusha peace talks therefore, the negotiating parties - the then Rwanda Government and the RPF Inkotanyi - came to the conclusion that the country must devise a unity and reconciliation policy. Thus, in the course of the Rugwiro talks that ran from May 1998 through March 1999, numerous resolutions were adopted on these issues, in an attempt to seek ways and means of restoring the unity of Rwandans. The workshop group that discussed this theme met at the NOVOTEL UMUBANO Hotel, under the supervision of:

- Hon. KALISA Evariste, a Member of Parliament;
- Mrs. GAKUBA Jeanne, Vice-Mayor of the Kigali city

IV.1.1 Summary of the lecture

The lecture dealing with the Unity and Reconciliation policy was delivered by Mr. RUTAYISIRE Antoine. He first of all indicated that the idea of setting up a national policy on unity and reconciliation originated in the Arusha Peace Agreements. This idea was further elaborated on right from 1994 through 1999, when the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established. Mr. RUTAYISIRE Antoine considered three historical phases in his talk about the unity of Rwandans and the causes of its disruption: the pre-colonial period, the colonial period, the First and Second Republics. He explained that the form of disunity that existed in pre-colonial Rwanda was predicated upon competition for leadership, e.g. the Rucunshu Coup d'Etat. He went on to say that social inequality existed among the groups that formed Rwandan society - the Batwa, Bahutu and Batutsi, groups which were wrongly termed ethnic groups.

Mr. RUTAYISIRE told his workshop group that the factors of disunity within Rwandan society came into being with the advent of the colonial masters: identity cards had to be ethnic-specific, admission into schools was nearly a privilege of local leaders' children.

Mr. RUTAYISIRE further indicated that during the period of the first and second Republics, leadership was based on outright discrimination; and the ethnic ideology developed by that type of leadership generated a whole lot of violence. He also

reminded his audience that there are certain things that hinder unity and reconciliation, and which are direct consequences of the 1994 genocide and massacres. He went on to suggest that building unity and reconciliation in Rwanda should be predicated on the following five basic things sustaining human life, enunciated by a scholar named Abraham MASLOW:

- Basic physical needs;
- Security;
- Loving and being loved;
- Fulfilling one's ideals and objectives;
- Living in dignity and honour.

Before rounding up his talk, Mr. RUTAYISIRE said that for genuine unity to be achieved and for people to live in symbiotic harmony, most of the above basic needs must be fulfilled. He finally suggested that the national policy on unity and reconciliation should be based on the following strategies:

- Helping Rwandans attain standards of good living;
- Enhancing security;
- Building harmony within Rwandan Society;
- Building a gender-sensitive society;
- Helping Rwandans to fulfill their goals and ideals;
- Building basic values within Rwandan society.

IV.1.2 Questions and ideas

This lecture was followed by an exchange of ideas on obstacles impeding unity and reconciliation processes.

Regarding factors of disunity in pre-colonial Rwanda, members of this workshop group first of all concurred that whatever forms of divisions existed in pre-colonial Rwandan society had never generated a conflict between the Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa. Factors of disunity in the old days were generally the following:

- Competing for leadership;
- The generalized norm of refusing to share a meal or a drink with the Batwa;
- Lack of mutual respect between Bahutu and Batutsi;
- Denial of property rights and inequality before the law.

As regards disrupting the unity of Rwandans during the colonial period, the workshop group pointed out that our society was unduly dissected into groups that were wrongly termed ethnic groups; the identity cards had of necessity to be ethnic-specific; educational facilities were made available mainly for local leaders' children; the then obtaining form of leadership was ethnic-predicated and dictatorial; hard labour was initiated and illegal expropriations were the order of the day; a divisive ideology was consecrated and religions cropped up that sundered the unity of Rwandans.

In the period of the First and Second Republics, the workshop group discussing unity and reconciliation noted that the unity of Rwandans was further disrupted by the divisive effects of political parties, ethnic-predicated violence and mass murder, denying Rwandan refugees the right to a homeland, running ethnic segregation policies and teachings, regional discrimination practices, embezzlement, corruption and locking up populations in the sui generis prison of ignorance and poverty.

As to the period running from 1994 to date, this group noted the following issues as hindrances to the unity of Rwandans:

- The genocide induced wounds and ills;
- Heightened degrees of poverty resulting from genocide and massacres;
- Murders committed by individuals in an attempt to avenge their families wiped off by genocide; people were killed, for various reasons, during the war;
- The war-induced brain drain;
- The land issues became intractable, especially after the repatriation of refugees;
- Some people were dissatisfied with the sharing of power among political parties;
- Lack of confidence and harmony within our society;
- Post genocide excessive prison populations.

Before rounding up their discussion, this workshop group reviewed some of the things that currently impede unity and reconciliation:

- Poverty;
- Lack of transparency and truthfulness on the part of some leaders;
- insufficient security;
- Religious sects dispensing socially divisive teachings;
- Polygamy;
- The deep grudge in the hearts of some Rwandans who cannot reconcile themselves with the country's historical processes;
- Insufficient circulations of information among Rwandans at home and abroad,
- The poor performance of the ICTR based in ARUSHA;
- Leaders who have been fleeing the country, and who have been running disparaging campaigns abroad, using ethnic and other pretences capable of further disrupting the fragile unity of Rwandans;
- People and Associations still entertaining ethnic segregation practices and behaviours.

IV.1.3. The Group's Recommendations

The group discussing the unity and reconciliation policy theme formulated recommendations centered on the following strategies:

Combating poverty:

- Acquainting populations with poverty combating strategies, putting a premium on their execution;
- Devising policies to uplift segments of our society that are lagging behind;
- Caring for widows and orphans throughout the country;
- Caring for street children lest they end up becoming instruments of crime.

Enhancing security:

- Strengthening conflict prevention policies,
- Getting people all over the country to know the law penalizing discrimination and sectarian behaviours, through the strict application of that very law;
- Acquainting populations with the law concerning transparent employment;
- Cultivating the civic duty to abide by the laws of the country, and imparting the feeling that laws are enacted for the benefit and protection of all and sundry;
- Getting people to know their rights and the laws protecting them;
- Educating leaders on the obligation to care for the rights of the people they are entrusted with;
- Instituting mechanisms precluding eventualities of politicians and other interest groups luring populations into calamities.

Building harmonious relations within Rwandan society:

- Helping people all round the country to correct their wrong thinking that generates mutual disrespect;
- Assisting populations throughout the country in their efforts to heal multifarious genocide induced wounds and ills;
- Putting up mechanisms allowing families of victims and those of murderers to meet and chart out a new social contract for the better;
- Sensitising Rwandans on being humane and compassionate.

Building a gender-sensitive society in Rwanda:

- Going ahead with equal opportunity policies in schools and jobs;
- Ensuring all the districts in the country have equal access to development opportunities;
- Get the Rwandan diaspora to have the correct picture of what is happening back home so as to enable them to counter Rwanda's detractors.

Building and imparting values:

- Helping Rwandans to get a correct picture of their national history so that they could further build on its good aspects and cast away the bad ones;

- Continuing to teach Rwandans to love their country and to sacrifice themselves for it, as this used to be the hall mark of all Rwandans;
- Restoring teachings of respect for the human being.

The group ended its presentation requesting that we, all together, must scrutinize causes of division within the Rwandan society, and put up special strategies to eradicate them so as to pave the way for genuine unity and reconciliation.

IV.2. DEMOCRATIZATION, DECENTRALIZATION AND EMPOWERMENT

"Democratisation, decentralization and empowerment" is one of the themes that were elaborated on by this second Summit on Unity and Reconciliation, considering its impact of unity and reconciliation processes.

The lecture introducing this theme was delivered by Honourable NYANDWI J. Desire Minister of Local Government and Social Affairs, aided by Mr. NSENGIYUMVA Fulgence, Mr. RUGEMINTWAZA Népo, respectively, Governors of Gitarama and Byumba provinces, and Mrs. KABAYA Odette, Executive Secretary of Pro femmes Twese Hamwe.

IV. 2.1. A Summary of the lecture

The complementary talks delivered showed that democratisation, decentralization and empowerment are some of the issues that the Government of National Unity has been putting a premium on. These issues indeed feature in its eight (8) points programme the Government of National Unity put forward on July 19, 1994 when it was installed. It was then considered necessary to "reorganize central administration, the administration of provinces, districts, sectors and cells" (point 2) and "to enhance democracy in Rwanda" (point 8).

These talks concurred to show that Rwandans were quite eager to be allowed to participate in the governance of their country, in solving their problems, in planning activities concerning their daily lives. The eagerness of the Rwandan people to participate in the governance of their country was highlighted in a relevant research that was conducted between 1996 and 1997.

The ensuing broad-based consultations that were run in the Office of the President of the Republic, for nearly a year, were precisely triggered by the findings of that research. In consistence with the wish of the people, those consultations underscored the need for democratization, decentralization and empowerment policies.

Understandably, these policies had of necessity to correct the wrong perceptions and practices of the previous governments that had been considering the Rwandan people as children that never grew up to assume responsibility (the Parent Government). Decisions to solve problems obtaining at grassroots' levels were therefore always taken by top government executives in Kigali; the authorities of

communes and prefectures (now "districts" and "provinces") were not even consulted in shaping up decisions.

This practice of leading people as though they were blind made Rwandans look like sheep all through, up until they were blindly led into the genocide butcheries.

This lecture stressed the point that, even though democratization, decentralization and empowerment did suit the wishes of the people and were consistent with the official governance policies, people should realize that this is a process that might well take time, a process that heavily depends on capacities and resources. In this process, we are likely to encounter favourable factors and hindrances. We have got, in our country certain things that readily indicate that the democratization, decentralization and empowerment policy has chances to succeed; some of them are:

- The people's will and eagerness;
- The Government's determination;
- Lessons drawn from the genocide episode;
- The international organizations and the civil society are all keen on seeing to it that this policy is brought to fruition;
- The same national language,
- The exiguity of our national territory etc...

Some of the things that are likely to hinder this policy are for example:

- Poverty;
- Lack of appropriate capacities;
- Old fashioned thinking and practices;
- The degrading habit of depending on external charities;
- Shortage of infrastructures, etc.

This lecture further indicated the close connection there is between "decentralization and empowerment" and "democracy". This close connection becomes conspicuous when you look at the definition of the very notion of democracy, "democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people". It is therefore evident, all through, that a democracy - based government is jolly well the affair of the people.

So, right from the inception of the decentralization and empowerment policy, the leadership of one single person has been replaced by shared leadership determined by elections (conducted in cells, sectors and districts/cities). The elected leadership structures, the Executive and Consultative Committees, operate on a basis of mutual complementarity and surveillance. The elected leaders implement decisions based on the people's wishes, for in the end, these leaders have to report their activities to their electorate and not to higher authorities. The Executive and Consultative Committees derive their authority more from the people than from the upper echelons of the leadership hierarchy.

And this state of affairs permits transparent stewardship and precludes abuses of office. Decentralization, empowerment and democratization being connected operations, the discussants indicated that these operations are germane to unity and reconciliation. The decentralization and empowerment policy allows the people to develop their sense of participatory responsibility which, in turn, enables them to solve majority of their problems themselves; for in this dispensation, the people can think for themselves, they are no longer locked up in eternal infancy.

The very fact of getting together to elect their leadership is in itself a concrete sign of unity, for leaders are voted into office, or appointed, on the basis of merit and not ethnicity nor any other criterion that might be perceived as discriminatory. This dynamic further indicates that Rwandans are massively freeing themselves from their ethnicity prison, to become development-oriented.

Examples coming to mind in this regard being among others:

- The massive participation of the people in the Gacaca tribunals
- The way the CDC's are run, and how they conduct an even distribution of resources
- The way people have been teaming up to create health insurance associations.

IV.2.2. Questions and ideas

At the end of the lecture on democratization, decentralization and empowerment, and their impact on unity and reconciliation, the workshop group dealing with this theme met at NOVOTEL UMUBANO Hotel to further discuss these issues, and sort out problems that have been arising in this connection.

This group pointed out that, since we embarked on the decentralization and empowerment policy, the following problems/issues have been coming to light:

- Low capacity staff,
- Lack of cooperation between districts: district's priorities do not match;
- The Executive and Consultative Committees, which are supposed to be mutually surveillante entities, are headed by one single person: the district/ city Mayor;
- Districts/ cities have the same responsibilities but have unequal amounts of resources;
- Elected grassroots' leaders have no allowances encouraging them to perform their duties, this being the reason why local elites did not vie for those positions, and preferred to stay put in cities;
- The land and house tax laws, passed in a bid to increase districts and cities resources, have not gone down well with the people; populations are not used to this type of tax, and they are yet to understand its rationale;
- Districts and cities have been enlarged in the new territorial configuration, no measure of official business has however been extended to sectors, in spite of the enlargement; so people have resorted to thinking, here and there, that what is happening is precisely the opposite of the professed decentralization and empowerment;

-Even though the Central Government has made certain concessions to grassroots' leaders, somehow these concessions end up being withheld either by the governor of the province or the district/city mayor;

-At province and district/city levels, the executive authority override other authorities, and this beclouds the separation of powers; the independence of the judiciary is seriously hindered, as a result;

-In the decentralization and empowerment policy, the role of the women and the youth does not clearly appear in the leadership structures, due to the absence of ad hoc legislation;

-Populations have not yet understood the decentralization and empowerment policy, for they are still in the habit of waiting for other people to assume their participatory responsibility.

- This workshop group did not only raise problems in this regard, they also provided answers and constructive ideas:

Even though people have to outgrow the habit of depending on charity in the course of implementing the decentralization and empowerment policy it remains however true that external assistance is needed, especially in putting up expensive infrastructures our resources cannot afford;

The empowerment needed at grassroots' levels is not only knowledge or education-based; resources are also needed; if resources are made available, at those levels (money and equipments), educated elites, who are contemptuous of the hinterland, would certainly go and settle in the countryside. Even though every district/city has its own priorities, this workshop group stressed the point that their decisions and programmes should be oriented to solving the country's problems in general, because no district or city is an island.

Ever since the decentralization empowerment experiment started, the numbers of orphans and destitutes needing help to get into schools have been swelling; this policy made it easy to identify them, which is already a good thing: children born to poor families will no longer be denied schooling, in the past going to school was the privilege of the children of people in authority and their cronies'.

Children whose parents cannot afford school fees are taken care of by the Government. A solidarity fund was established to cater, for genocide survivors, and MINALOC has another fund caring for destitutes. It is mandatory, for these funds to operate in districts and cities so that populations can participate in financing and managing them, thus helping Government to care for the orphans and destitutes. This is one clear instance where populations participate in solving their own problems.

Incorporating women and youth leadership structures in the mainstream of the country's leadership at all levels is a clear indication that due regard has been paid to these segments of our society, which therefore ought to be self-confident;

Overall, people are quite pleased with the decentralization and empowerment policy, because it grants them the power to install their leadership, and access to positions of leadership is not restricted to particular categories of people; this policy is actually perceived as a real pillar of unity within Rwandan society.

IV.2.3. The group's recommendations:

The group discussing the "democratization, decentralisation and empowerment" theme exchanged their views first, and then presented the following recommendations:

- Government's and donors' assistance should not form the basis for the development of districts and cities; this assistance will come in as something extra and must be processed through community development funds (CDF/FDC) to ensure it quickly gets to the people for whom it is meant;
- Government assistance must especially take into account levels of poverty, the population and size of districts and cities; transparency could thus be ensured;
- Leaders at grassroots' levels must continuously be trained so as to build their capacity to carry out their duties;
- District and city workers ought to have a status that is similar to that of the civil service; they could thus be assured that their labour is protected by law;
- For the decentralization and empowerment policies to gain the confidence of the people, leaders at grassroots' levels must improve their behaviours, dedicate themselves to working for their electorate, make themselves available whenever needed to solve problems coming up now and then;
- The implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policies must be done in conformity with the laws; it must especially be consistent with the principle of the separation of powers;
- Regarding allowances due to grassroots' leaders, consultative committees of different echelons could take appropriate decisions providing for the allowances, taking into account available resources, and subject to the approval of the district consultative committee;
- People have generally not yet properly understood the modality of the indirect suffrage in choosing their leaders; more explanations should therefore be provided on that issue;
- The process of enacting the new land ownership law should be quickened so that other Laws regarding the source of revenue (e.g. Land tax) could be understood and executed;
- The law on the source of revenue for districts and cities, especially the collection of tax on houses in rural areas, must be clearly explained to people before being applied;

- Competitiveness being the order of the day, districts and cities should engage development gear, drawing from their capacities, resources and educated elites originating there;
- Districts and cities must be careful about debts inherited from former communes; these debts must feature in budgets and payment modalities must be devised;
- The new constitution in the making should feature the organizational structures of women (OSW) and youth (OSY), so that, based on that, a law could later be enacted to govern the functioning of those structures;
- Due to the configuration of districts/cities, decentralization means for some people the opposite of what it is supposed to be; certain basic infrastructures therefore ought to be quickly brought closer to the people, so that they can grasp the essence of decentralization;

Leaders ought to be close to populations all the time, to provide the explanations as to current Government policies, especially the decentralization and empowerment policies; populations have indeed been showing their capability to contribute constructive ideas whenever they are offered the opportunity;

Decentralization goes along with an empowerment package understandably, so whatever must be surrendered to local governments must be released without reservation or hesitation; and this could solve the problem of Rwandan elites who have persistently been refusing to settle in rural areas.

IV.3. JUSTICE IN RWANDA IN GENERAL AND GACACA AS A RECONCILIATORY FORM OF JUSTICE IN PARTICULAR

The lecture on the theme "Justice in Rwanda and Gacaca as a reconciliatory form of justice" was delivered by Hon Jean de Dieu MUCYO, Minister of Justice and Institutional Relations. Thereafter, the workshop group dealing with this theme met to exchange their views on the theme.

IV. 3.1. A Summary of the lecture:

The Hon Minister of Justice first of all reminded his audience that the 1994 genocide and massacres wiped off more than one million Rwandans. Government structures and infrastructures were also either partially or completely destroyed.

After 1994, Government had to face the following problems in the area of Justice alone:

- The structures of the Judiciary had been destroyed, and the relevant equipments had either been stolen or destroyed;
- Genocide suspects outnumbered the capacity of the country's prisons and detention centers;

- Legislations penalizing genocide were non-existent;
- Shortage of Judiciary staff.

The Hon Minister said that a lot of things were done in an attempt to solve these problems, out of which he noted the following:

- Repairing and widening prisons and other relevant infrastructures;
- Training the judiciary staff,
- Militating for the creation of an International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda;
- Reviewing the legal system, enacting new laws;
- Creating the Gacaca jurisdictions;

Creating the following different National Commissions

- The National Human Rights Commissions;
- The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission;
- The National Constitution Commission.

Even though much has indeed been done, the Minister admitted that there are still problems to be faced, notably:

- The huge number of genocide suspects in detention;
- Corruption within the Justice system;
- Lengthy adjudication of cases;
- Cases that are tried and suspended, etc...

The Minister also spoke of the contentious issue Rwanda has with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) that employs genocide suspects and maltreats prosecution witnesses coming from Rwanda.

He further explained at length the whys and wherefores of the Gacaca tribunals, the originality of these jurisdictions as can be seen in the law establishing them.

The Minister also told his audience that some Ministries, along with the Supreme Court, have been additionally assigned the duty to help Gacaca fulfill its mission.

The Gacaca Chamber was thus assigned the duty to monitor the Gacaca operations, and to provide equipments needed in the Gacaca jurisdictions.

The Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations along with the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs were charged with sensitization campaigns and running seminars for Gacaca judges.

The Ministry of Health was charged with the duty to care for trauma issues that came about as a consequence of genocide and massacres.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs was assigned the duty to ensure the security of witnesses testifying in Gacaca jurisdictions. The Ministry of Youth, Sports and culture was charged with the duty to gather and file information relating to genocide and massacres; to disseminate that information and to conduct relevant research.

Minister MUCYO indicated that problems currently faced in regard to Gacaca are the following:

- People tend to withhold the truth on genocide and massacres;
- Some of the Gacaca judges are not equal to their task, others are suspected of genocide;
- There are people who have as yet not understood the rationale of Gacaca;
- There are people subverting the security of genocide witnesses;
- There are other people who negate genocide.

As regards strategies envisaged to help Gacaca deliver reconciliatory justice, the Minister mentioned that laws would soon be enacted to combat corruption and to establish a compensation fund for genocide survivors. A Gacaca Radio (Gacaca Broadcasting service) is also being envisaged, ways of easing communication between Gacaca tribunals in the provinces are equally being considered.

The Minister rounded up his talk requesting that all Rwandans should contribute towards making Gacaca a successful form of reconciliatory justice.

He also seized this opportunity to thank donors helping in the area of justice. Finally he congratulated the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission; offering Rwandans the opportunity to discuss problems facing the country.

The workshop group that dealt with the "Justice and Gacaca" theme was headed by Mrs. Aloysia CYANZAYIRE, Deputy Chief Justice in the Supreme Court and President of the Gacaca Chamber in the Supreme Court, along with Hon. Isaie MPAYIMANA, MP, and Mr. Antoine MUGESERA.

Before the group started their discussion, Mrs. Aloysia CYANZAYIRE delivered a talk she called "**The Gacaca Tribunals: Reconciliatory Justice**". The talk served as a complement to the one given by the Minister of Justice in the plenary session.

Mrs. Aloysie CYANZAYIRE reviewed the main reasons why Gacaca Tribunals were established and their mission; she also mentioned some of the obstacles being encountered and the strategies envisaged to overcome the obstacles.

Regarding Gacaca's mission, she explained that the main goals pursued are the following:

- To give everyone the opportunity to participate in unveiling the truth concerning genocide and massacres;
- To expedite the trials so that families of victims and detained innocent can have the benefit of justice;
- To clear the climate of suspicion and rebuild harmony within Rwandan society.

As regards how Gacaca tribunals have been operating, Mrs. Aloysie CYANZAYIRE explained that things have been running smoothly, and that activities fall in three phases:

First phase: gathering pieces of information needed by tribunals documenting files of the accused, this activity covers the first six meetings;

Second phase: completing the files of all the accused persons, and categorizing the accused according to the charges leveled against them.

Third phase: trying the accused in the order of their categorization.

Mrs. Aloysie CYANZAYIRE informed the workshop group that in general the Gacaca tribunals were doing well, and the first phase was being rounded up: information had been gathered and lists of suspects were being confected. She however indicated that there were obstacles along the way, and that, as the Justice Minister had earlier on said, strategies had been devised to overcome them. Mrs. Aloysie CYANZAYIRE ended her talk saying that it is necessary that, for Gacaca to really serve as a reconciliatory form of justice, all Rwandans and government structures get fully involved in this exercise.

The workshop group thereafter exchanged their views on this theme and debated on certain issues.

Issues that kept coming up in the debate are the following:

- There are genocide suspects, some of whom are in the first category, who are tried by the Arusha ICTR or foreign tribunals, and who are sentenced to penalties lighter than those of Rwandan tribunals; this is contrary to the interests of justice;

Explanations that were given in this regard are that international criminal legislations are different from the ones we have in Rwanda. The death sentence is provided for in Rwandan criminal law, whereas it has been outlawed in international criminal jurisdictions and in the European Union.

- There are people, especially those living in foreign countries, who are not aware of the workings of the Gacaca tribunals and their mission, and who therefore think that suspects entering guilty pleas and bidding for mercy do so under duress; they also think that prosecution witnesses are coerced to fabricate testimonies at the suspects' expenses.

The group therefore noted that extra efforts should put into providing Rwandans with further explanations as to the rationale and the mission of the Gacaca tribunals. These explanations should also be appropriately extended to the Rwandan diaspora. Rwandans living abroad should also be further sensitized on their participation in the Gacaca experiment.

There also arose the issue of people who cannot distinguish the crime of genocide from other crimes committed between 1990 and 1994.

The point was made here that genocide and massacres were planned by the government and that populations were dragged into those crimes. These are therefore different from crimes voluntarily committed by individual people.

Another issue that kept coming up in the debate is the fact that no provision has been made for the Gacaca judges' remuneration; this could cause the Gacaca judges to be less dedicated to the work of Gacaca as it is consuming .

The response to this concern was that Government resources were too limited to afford that remuneration; however arrangements have been made to reduce health expenses for the Gacaca judges and their families; their children attending government primary schools will also study free of charge.

Some members of this workshop group suggested that funds should be raised throughout the country for the Gacaca judges to receive an enticement package.

The trauma issue was also raised along with the fear that the trauma cases could go on multiplying in proportions as the truth on the horrors comes to light in the Gacaca tribunals.

This group recommended that the Ministry of health charged with the trauma issue should come up with solid trauma care schemes, and subsidiary coach Gacaca judges on how to handle cases of traumatized persons appearing before them.

Another question that was often raised is that members of the elite and leaders show little or no concern about the Gacaca tribunals, especially in the countryside; it all seems as though the Gacaca tribunals were the affair of the countryside populations alone.

The group expressed the wish, in this regard, that people should be reporting in places where they lived, or where they were, at the time of genocide, so that they can tell the Gacaca tribunals the truth about what happened.

IV.3.3. The group's recommendations

After discussing on all these issues, the group submitted the following recommendations:

Considering that there are lots of Rwandans at home and in Diaspora who have as yet not clearly understood the rationale of the Gacaca tribunals, the group recommended that:

The *raison d'être* of the Gacaca tribunals should further be explained to the Rwandan Diaspora and some Rwandans living in the country, Representatives of the Rwandan Diaspora should be brought together and be briefed on the Gacaca tribunals, so that they in turn can brief the Diaspora communities they came to represent in the summit; Rwandan Embassies abroad should be sensitized on the need to brief members of the Rwandan Diaspora on Gacaca, stressing the reconciliatory aspect of this form of justice.

Considering that religious organizations have in general been encouraging their faithful to plead guilty, and that some have been doing the opposite, the group

recommended that religious organizations should have it on their agenda to help Government sensitize people on the need to be responsive to, and supportive of the Gacaca tribunals and to say the truth. So far, only prisoners have been encouraged to plead guilty and ask for forgiveness; those of the prisoners who have entered a guilty plea should be sent to villages and encourage their fellow villagers, as yet unindicted, to come forth and admit their crime.

Handling the Gacaca tribunals should not be the business of the grassroots' populations alone, leaders, officials and workers should also be involved, especially in areas where they lived at the time of the 1994 genocide and massacres.

An example was given of a meeting that was convened by Jean KAMBANDA in 1994, supposedly for purposes of security, in the wake of which the killers went wild and increased their temper in areas like Bisesero for instance; here the question was raised as to why leaders and officials who attended that meeting, and who are still holding office today, cannot come forth and tell the truth on what happened in Kibuye.

Schedules of the Gacaca tribunals have often been clashing with those of the Government, and as a result of this, the population gets confused.. The group recommended that arrangements should be made in such a way as to suit the Gacaca tribunals;

The Ministry of Health, which has the responsibility to see to the trauma complications induced by genocide and massacres, must step up actions in that regard, since those complications have been cropping up in Gacaca.

Considering that populations have here and there been pointing accusing fingers at some of the "Inyangamugayo", or persons of high moral integrity due to run the Gacaca tribunals, and that some of those Inyangamugayo have in some instances pleaded guilty, the group recommended that the Inyangamugayo suspected of genocide should step aside before it is too late: their presence could adversely affect the Gacaca tribunals.

The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture should start discharging its responsibility of collecting information and data pertaining to genocide and massacres, filing and publishing them while conducting relevant research.

Considering that in some cases prosecution witnesses who appeared before the Gacaca tribunals were later murdered, this group recommended that security services should, in conjunction with the populations, ensure the security of prosecution witnesses; and those found tampering with the security of prosecution witnesses should deterringly be punished in an exemplary manner; preferably the punishment should be administered on the very spot where the crime was committed.

This group considers that guilty pleas and mercy biddings are not enough to ensure that reconciliation is achieved, and, what is more, the Gacaca jurisdictions

have limited competence as far as genocide is concerned; therefore, the group recommends that, for families of victims to believe that the offending party seeking forgiveness is genuinely contrite there must in addition be certain concrete and tangible actions, through which Gacaca can build confidence among populations and achieve reconciliation.

IV.4. THE POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMME

Although, admittedly, poverty is caused by economic problems, it is glaringly clear, in the case of Rwanda, that the massive destruction of whole families, cultural distortions along with the ethnic cleavages have, more than anything else, contributed to generate poverty in the country. There are evidences in our national history that poverty has often been, in turns, the cause and consequence of the lack of cohesion and harmony within our society. Building unity and reconciliation in Rwanda should therefore be harnessed to clear-cut poverty-combating strategies. Rwandans are once again offered the opportunity, in the framework of the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation, to get together and discuss the issue of combating poverty.

IV. 4.1. A Summary of the lecture

The lecture introducing the discussion of this theme was delivered by Hon. Dr. Donald KABERUKA, Minister of Finance and Economic Planning.

In short, the Hon. Minister focused on the following issues:

- The nature of poverty in Rwanda;
- The relationship between combating poverty and building unity and reconciliation;
- Government strategies to combat poverty;
- Certain necessities to be cared for as a matter of urgency.
- The nature of poverty in Rwanda

Talking about the nature of poverty in Rwanda, the Hon. Minister of Finance presented a double dimension of our type of poverty: there are aspects of poverty to be linked with the nature of Rwanda itself as a country; and there are aspects of poverty that are generated by Rwandans themselves.

The causes of this poverty are:

- The demographic growth that has been out of proportion with the economic growth since the 1980's.
- The paucity of natural resources;
- The shortage of land and spoiled soils;
- Little education and restricting economic activities to just agriculture and livestock;
- Insufficient support for private entrepreneurs;
- Private and public investment flows are low and have no impact on populations;
- Traditional agriculture that is so dependent on climatic conditions and based on technology;

- A non-competitive economy;
 - Poor political security;
 - The 1990 -1994 war;
 - Consequences of the 1994 genocide and massacres (widows, orphan amputees and crippled, excessive prison populations, trauma cases, destroyed infrastructures...);
 - The country has a bad image abroad;
 - insecurity in the region;
 - Aids and malaria.
- Dr. KABERUKA went on to say: "Even though there is not much we can do to change the nature of things, at least we can solve problems that we cause to ourselves like insecurity; we can put in place a leadership enabling us to further enhance development".
 - Some of the advantages we have, that can help us change things are for example: The major part of our society is made up of strong young men and women; Fine weather and sufficient water resources that can sustain a prosperous agriculture; One national language and culture; The culture of solidarity: the "Umuganda", "Umusanzu", "Ubudehe" etc...; A leadership committed to combat poverty; The willingness to work.
 - The Minister indicated that many Rwandans are indeed poor, and that majority of the Rwandan poor live in the countryside. The countryside got further destroyed by the war and the 1994 genocide and massacres that wiped off a great deal of Rwanda's workforce and infrastructure.
 - The Minister also drew the attention of the audience to the fact that poverty could increase further if no urgent strategies and actions are envisaged to reverse the trend. Our country has an excessive population growth rate (3% per year) that is not in tune with the economic growth rate (2% per year); and Rwanda's land mass does obviously not expand, and soils keep on depreciating.

The Minister said that it is of paramount importance that strategies be urgently put up to squarely face the poverty issue, for we have to meet the demands of a fast growing population. Recent research has shown that in the next twenty years or so, Rwanda's population will have doubled (16 million people).

The relationship between combating poverty and building unity and reconciliation

The Minister asserted that there is a close connection between combating poverty and building unity and reconciliation. He vigorously affirmed that poverty is a serious hindrance to unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. He went on to say that we must by all means continue building harmony, solidarity and trust within our society, so that we in turn can be trusted by other people, especially the investors; understandably, investors cannot venture to stake their money in development projects in Rwanda unless Rwandans are trustworthy. The Minister reminded his

audience that when there is no solidarity and trust in a given society, and you instead have disunity and antagonistic behaviours, people end up destroying their own economic infrastructures and resources painstakingly built over generations. He cited examples of certain African countries, names of which he did not disclose, that are persistently destroying themselves in broad daylight. The Minister recommended that Rwandans should push ahead with their reconciliation course, build lasting unity that could serve as an enabling basis for sustainable development.

Government strategies:

The Minister told the audience that, even though the issue of poverty remains daunting, the Government has already put up carefully designed poverty combating strategies based on the participation of the population. What remains to be done now, he said, is to join all our efforts to execute these strategies. He mentioned some of the things that have already been done in this regard:

- A research has been conducted, based on grassroots' populations perceptions, to determine what poverty is in actual fact, what the causes of poverty are, how poverty impacts on the population, and what strategies could be envisaged to combat poverty.
- Another research was done, and based on that, poverty - combating strategies were devised;
- Long-term development strategies were also conducted (vision 2020).

Certain necessities to be cared for as a matter of urgency:

Even though the following issues are dealt with in the strategies referred to above, the Minister stressed them as matters of prime importance:

a) Education, training, enhancing science and technology

The Minister indicated in his lecture that science and technology form the basis for development, and constitute the surest way of combating poverty. He further said that in this era of globalization, development is based more on science, and technology than on natural resources. And this trend will prevail for many years to come. Science and technology are the things that we need most, the Minister said. And he recommended that we should further push ahead with the promotion of science and technology.

b) Investment:

The Minister requested that Rwandans should be sensitized on the critical necessity to invest in their country, and that they should concurrently create a favorable, enabling environment to attract foreign investments. He underscored the fact that no development can ever be achieved without investment.

And you are sure to attract investors when you have security, markets for their products, basic infrastructures like roads, water, electricity, telecommunication facilities etc.. He recommended that Rwandans should disengage from their degrading habits of peddling sinister gossip and rumour, that they should disentangle themselves from the webs of antagonism and conflict, to dedicate themselves to such positive actions as can attract investments.

c) Adapting and strengthening rural economy:

The Minister reminded his audience that the war and the 1994 genocide and massacres further ruined rural economy. He recalled that rural Rwanda accounts for more than 90% of the total population of the country. All these people eke a meagre living out of their traditional petty farming. This situation cannot continue. The surest way for Rwandans to extricate themselves from poverty is to refashion the rural areas, to readapt rural economy in such a way as to attract investments, modernize agriculture and correspondingly train farmers to maintain soils and use modern equipments.

d) Leadership and governance built on the people's participation

There must be a form of governance and a leadership that is based on the participation of the people, and engaged in securing genuine interests of the people. It is this type of governance that can render possible the execution of the policies and strategies mentioned above, that are geared towards improving social welfare and building harmony within Rwandan society.

e) Building Government capacities:

It is imperative to constantly educate and train the various categories of workers in government service, so as to enable them to appropriately discharge their duties, in ways matching today's standards of efficiency.

The Minister rounded up his talk enjoining Rwandans to build self confidence within them, and strive to further build harmony and solidarity in their society, for this is the only way of consolidating Rwanda's security and thus ensuring our foreign partners' trust.

After the Minister's lecture, the workshop group carried on the discussion, trying to further scrutinize the issue of poverty, figuring out ways of combating poverty, with a view to enhancing unity and reconciliation.

The workshop discussion started with a lecture jointly delivered by Dr. KALISA MBANDA, Mrs. KANAKUZE Judith and Mr. MINANI Faustin. At the overture, KALISA MBANDA underscored the point that poverty seriously hinders the process of unity and reconciliation. He quoted the Rwandan adage saying "Abasangiye ubusa bitana ibisambo", i.e., "When people share very little food (or any other thing), they call each other names". He went on to say that a poor person is somebody who always has a chaplet of problems that he/she cannot solve; somebody who does not have enough land to till, and cannot afford the bare basic necessities of life (food, clothing, medicine, school fees for children).

He then referred the group to some research that was conducted on rural poverty in Rwanda, that divides rural populations in the following six categories:

1. **"Abatindi nyakuja"**, i.e. "destitutes with a minus"

This category comprises people who cannot afford the bare basic necessities of life; they need to be fed, their children cannot have access to education; and they cannot afford any form of medical care.

2. **"Abatindi"**, i.e. «destitutes with a plus»

These are people who can do farm work, but they do not have enough land to till; they do not have any form of property.

3. **"Abakene"**, i.e., the poor with a minus.

These are people whose piece of land is just about enough; they can rear a few animals; they cannot save anything; just some of their children can have access to schooling; it is hard for them to secure medical care.

4. **"Abekene bifashije"**, i.e. the poor with a plus

These are people who have livestock; their children attend schools.

5. **"Abakungu-jumba"**, i.e. "the ones with a wealth of potatoes"

They grow enough food for their consumption, they can access medical care and their children can have access to schooling.

6. **"Abakire"**, i.e. the rich.

These ones have enough land, livestock, a fairly good house, savings, they can have access to bank loans, and they always say that they must move away from the godforsaken hinterland.

Dr. KALISA told the group that the vast majority of Rwandans are indeed poor, and that there is a very great gap between the poor and the rich in Rwanda. He commented on this aspect saying that much as we are out to seek wealth, we ought of necessity to seek ways and means of ensuring proper distribution of that wealth. Casting a retrospective look at the history of Rwanda, Dr. KALISA, indicated, as can be seen on the table below, that the poverty trend has, for various reasons, been on the rise:

Year	Rwandan poor (%)
1985	46
1990	48
1994	78
1996	71
1999	65

2000	64
2001	61

This research has also shown that, even though Butare and Gikongoro have traditionally been ranking topmost on the poverty list of Rwandan provinces, Ruhengeri and Kigali Rural are also currently severely hit.

Dr. KALISA took some time to explain some of the reasons that may account for the increase of poverty in Rwanda in the course of years:

a) Traditional agriculture and animal husbandry

Rwanda's agriculture and animal husbandry has all along been traditional; people have always been minding the numbers / quantity of their farm animals rather than the real economic value of their livestock. In regard to this, a recommendation was passed to the effect that Rwandans should be sensitized on the need to correct their perception in this matter; they should learn to take into account the economic yield of their livestock, instead of just being content with the swelling numbers of their livestock.

b) The Government's approach to Investment

Investing in development projects has all along been a sort of Government preserve. Individual Rwandans have not been introduced to the business culture of investing in development projects.

That is why you generally find that education, health, electricity, water and telecommunication facilities have always been run by Government. Rwandan citizens have been relegated to such petty trade as selling drinks and running hair-do shops.

c) The culture of saving in banks and using bank loans has generally remained alien to Rwandans

Dr. KALISA re-emphasized the Government strategies and actions combating poverty and further building national economy, with a view to upgrading social welfare and enhancing unity and reconciliation.

IV. 4.2. Questions and ideas

After listening to the briefing introducing the debate, the workshop group commended the work that has been done so far in this area; they however pointed out the following issues of great concern:

- The thorny issue of poverty in the countryside;
- The issue of ignorance and lack of science and technology capacity;
- Marketing livestock and agricultural products;
- The distribution of resources in the country;

- The as yet unsorted strategies regarding land and habitat;
- Banks have been unwilling to make concessions to local farmers.

The group freely and congenially exchanged their views on several issues trying to figure out remedies to problems facing the country.

IV.4.3. The Group's recommendations

After a lengthy discussion on the issue of poverty, the group came up with the following recommendations:

- Security, being the pillar of sustainable development, should be further strengthened and consolidated:
- Allowing facilities to the rural farmers' associations, especially as regards financing their projects;
- The Government should harmonize its relations with the private sector in such a way as to entice investors;
- Quickening up the enactment of the land ownership law, putting a premium on poverty reduction, and ensuring that its application will not generate conflicts among Rwandans;
- Supporting further the policies combating corruption and embezzlement, as well as enhancing good governance, will build a good image of Rwanda, and will certainly be conducive for investments;
- Enhancing education, science and technology;
- Sensitising Rwandan Embassies and consulates on the need to promote the image of Rwanda, with a view to attracting investors;
- Quickening up the process of acquainting populations with poverty reduction policies and economy boosting strategies, explanations of these policies and strategies being followed by their implementation;
- Joining efforts in building domestic finances, through savings, and investing in rural areas;
- Keep on steadily explaining the meaning of tax and the tax policies to Rwandans: this will impart them the urge and willingness to pay their taxes;
- Militating further for the creation of a fund supporting agriculture and livestock;
- Building a climate of mutual confidence, mutual respect and collaboration, building a strong country, in short, will earn us the confidence of our partners;
- Caring for public property;
- Matching our budgets with national priorities;

The National Unity and Reconciliation commission, along with other entities responsible among other things of enlightening Rwandans, should persistently remind Rwandan financiers that they owe the countryside a debt; they could pay their debt through investing their money in rural projects uplifting the living conditions of populations, instead of engaging in mere speculation, increasing their capital quite all right, but having no developmental impact on their country.

- This group concluded with the assertion that poverty is a real hindrance to unity and reconciliation, and that eradicating poverty is a major imperative to be seriously tackled in our endeavor to build unity and reconciliation.

IV.5. THE NEW CONSTITUTION USHERING IN THE RULE OF LAW

In the Arusha Peace Agreements, especially in the section regarding the Rule of Law, it was agreed that no lasting unity could be achieved in Rwanda so long as the country was not respectful of human rights, democracy, and a number of other things qualifying a free society.

All these goals cannot be attained unless we have just laws in the country, laws stemming from a Constitution all Rwandans can feel comfortable with, a Constitution that would be based on their own ideas. Rwandans will feel committed to defend such a Constitution, and would under no circumstances allow anyone to flout it or modify it to suit his own ends, for this could spark civil strife in the country.

"The New constitution ushering in the rule of law" was thus one of the themes discussed in the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. The lecture introducing this theme was delivered by Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA, chairman of the Commission charged with drafting the Constitution and adapting other laws.

IV. 5.1. A Summary of the lecture:

Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA informed the Summit that preparations for the new Constitution had reached an advanced stage, for the first draft of the constitution was soon to be submitted to the National Assembly.

Before talking of the preparations proper, Mr. TITO RUTAREMARA told his audience that the Commission charged with drafting the constitution and adapting other laws had been provided for in the Arusha Peace Agreements (section 24 B of the Agreement on Power sharing). The Commission was later on established by Law n°23/99 of 12:24:1999. This Commission comprises twelve Commissioners, eight of whom represent political parties officially registered in Rwanda, one represents the Army and National Police, two represent the Civil Society, and one represents the Private Sector.

This Commission has been assigned the responsibility to draft the new Constitution, to modify laws that are not consistent with the new constitution, and to draft laws governing the ultimate stage of the transitional period.

Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA said that as soon as the Commission was set up, preparations for the new Constitution started. First of all seminars were conducted for commissioners, with a view to getting them acquainted with their duties. Then Rwandans were generally briefed on major ideas making up the core of a constitution. Different categories of grassroots' leaders were briefed and they in turn briefed populations. The briefing was further extended to secondary school and university students, to Government and Private Sector workforce. Arrangements were also made to brief the Rwandan Diaspora on major components of a constitution.

In order to draw from other countries' experiences, the Commission sent a delegation to the United States of America, and relevant international seminars were additionally conducted in Kibuye.

When the Commission was through with explaining the Constitution, it started collecting ideas contributed by Rwandan citizenry as to what their Constitution should be. Ideas were contributed either immediately after the explanatory briefings, or could later on be forwarded to the Commission in special pouches or through the Internet.

These ideas, which came in form of answers to a questionnaire, were pooled together and sorted out according to their pertinence. Every answer was graded according to pertinence and where it came from (an individual person, a group of persons, an expert in a specific area, an institution or a department serve). Those answers were then bound together in book form and returned to people who had contributed them, for purposes of cross-checking.

When the contribution of ideas was over, the Commission went on to write the first draft of the Constitution. The first draft is now ready and will soon be presented to the Government and the National Assembly. Arrangements will then be made for the adoption of the Constitution in a Referendum.

The Commission's work will continue after the Referendum; there will be the business of adapting laws that are not consistent with the new constitution, and that of drafting laws due to govern the final stages of the transitional period.

Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA told his audience that all the ideas that were contributed for the drafting of the new Constitution could be subsumed in seven principles. Out of the seven principles, only the following four are relevant to unity and reconciliation, according to the chairman of the Constitutional Commission:

- Transparent power sharing;
- Debating on problems facing the country with a view to reaching a consensus;
- Combating factors of disunity;
- Identifying and promoting factors of unity;

The Chairman of the Constitutional Commission also mentioned that they encountered a number of problems in the course of their exercise:

- The limited resources made it impossible for the Commission to reach many Rwandans living in foreign countries:

- The political problem arising from the wrong perception Rwandans have of multiparty politics. People have been saying that they hate political parties; and this is because Rwanda has had a dark history of sinister multiparty practices. Upon scrutiny, though, you find that it is not a matter of hating political parties; it is rather that people have certain complaints about political parties.

Those difficulties were eventually overcome; populations did their possible best to ease the Commission's work, and the Government of Rwanda has been very helpful. Such donors as DFID, UNIFEM, SWEDEN and USAID were appreciated as they helped increase the Commission's resources.

IV.5.2. Questions and ideas:

After Mr. RUTAREMARA's lecture, the workshop group met in Medi Motel, Kimironko, and continued the discussion on the Constitution issue, under the joint supervision of Mr. NDUWUMWE Francois, member of the Electoral Commission, and Hon. KANZAYIRE Bernadette, member of Parliament.

Mr. MUKEZAMFURA Alfred, Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, gave a talk opening the workshop group's discussion.

Mr. MUKEZAMFURA first of all recalled in a capsule what Mr. TITO RUTAREMARA had earlier on said in plenary session.

Then Mr. MUKEZAMFURA went ahead to enumerate all the seven principles upon which the new Constitution hinges:

1. Transparent power sharing;
2. Building the rule of law and a democratic government that is open to different thoughts and ideas;
3. Combating genocide and all its ramifications;
4. Eradicating ethnic and regional factors of disunity while promoting the unity of Rwandans;
5. Equality among Rwandans in general, and between men and women in particular;
6. Putting into place a government that is committed to securing the welfare of the people, and offering equal opportunities to all and sundry.
7. Debating on problems facing the country with a view to reaching a consensus;

In his talk, Mr. MUKEZAMFURA also reviewed the preparatory stages the Constitution went through, and briefly said how the Constitution stands today and how it will relate to other laws. Some members of the workshop group wanted to know if the ideas contributed, by varieties of people here and there, were actually incorporated in the first draft of the Constitution, without any alterations. The answer to this question was that the ideas that the Constitutional retained are

those that prevailed over the rest, by their number and their pertinence. Mr. MUKEZAMFURA also indicated that there are issues on which Rwandans could not be consulted, such as the Human Rights component which cannot suffer alterations. He equally pointed out that ending the transitional period is not like cutting a rope; ending the transitional period is a process that will by all means keep up such valuable things as decentralization and empowerment.

The issue of land was again brought into focus by the workshop group. Members of this group wondered if, in the envisaged new dispensation, the government should not surrender land ownership rights to the people. Explanations provided in this regard indicated that new land laws are soon going to be passed. Enacting land laws has been delayed by the imperative of ensuring that Rwandans are going to be comfortable with those laws. And if there should by any chance be sections, in those land laws, that are not consistent with the new Constitution, they will of necessity have to be relevantly modified.

This group expressed confidence in the new Constitution being a genuine foundation for the unity and reconciliation of the Rwandan people, since the Constitution was the people's doing.

Some group members recommended that the Rwandan Army officers and who have just pulled out of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, should be acquainted with the new Constitution's preparatory processes.

The phrase "gusaranganya ubutegetsi" ("power sharing"), appearing in the new Constitution's basic principles, attracted the attention of this workshop group. The Kinyarwanda word "gusaranganya" means sharing an insufficient quantity of something and everybody must be served their little bit. The impropriety of that phrasing was therefore understandably objected to, and the alternative phrasing that was suggested is "Gutanga amahirwe angana", meaning "allowing equal chances".

The Semantics of the phrasings was argued out, and it was understood that "Gusaranganya ubutegetsi" meant that elected leaders shall not grab all the power, just because they have won the elections. This would indeed be improper, since parties contesting elections are sometimes nearly at par in the end of their election race. A party may for example win elections with 51%. The word "gusaranganya" is therefore to be understood as "the specific sharing" predicated on elections, whereas "guhabwa amahirwe angana" can only fit the context of people taking a test in order to determine, in fairness, whoever, in the competing group, is going to pick whatever is being competed for.

This group also expressed the wish that the new Constitution should be fitted with other good and just laws, allowing its full execution; Rwandans should also grow into civic beings that are law abiding.

IV.5.3. The Group's recommendations:

Upon closing their discussion on "the new Constitution" theme, the group presented the following recommendations.

The group agreed with the seven basic principles identified by the Constitutional Commission, but went ahead and proposed one more principle. The eight basic principles are thus as follows:

- a) Transparent power sharing;
- b) Upholding the rule of law and a democracy that is open to the diversity of thoughts and trends;
- c) Combating genocide along with its off-shoots;
- d) Eradicating all forms of ethnic and regional discrimination, so as to foster the unity of Rwandans;
- e) Equality among all Rwandans regardless of their gender;
- f) Creating a State that cares for the welfare of the people, that offers opportunities to all Rwandans;
- g) Debating openly on issues of public interest, putting a premium on the soft resolution of differences;
- h) Upholding high standards of moral integrity.

The group further recommended that challenges facing the Constitution Commission should be tackled in the following way:

Resources should be further sought both from Government and donors; Ideas put forward by the majority of Rwandans should be allowed to prevail in the elaboration of the Constitution; thus fears of those resentful of political parties would be considerably allayed.

IV. 6. A SOFT EXIT FROM THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

The lecture that served as an overture to the discussion of this theme was jointly delivered by: Hon. RUTIJANWA Medard, Member of Parliament, Hon. IYAMUREMYE Augustin, Member of Parliament, Hon. POLISI Denys, Member of Parliament, and Mrs. INYUMBA Aloysia, Governor of Kigali Ngari province. Hon. RUTIJANWA Médard stressed the point that "A soft exit from the transitional period" will serve as a major pillar in peace-building, democracy and sustainable development.

IV. 6.1. A Summary of the lecture:

This lecture focused mainly on the following issues:

- The role of political parties;
- The role of religious organizations;
- The role of the Civil Society;
- The role of the Media;
- The role of foreign countries and international organizations;
- The role of the Government and all Rwandans, including the diaspora.

Before discussing these issues, the above named persons briefing the workshop group reviewed the transitional period, and explained how and why it came about:

- Right from 1959, Rwanda entered into a dark period of internal divisions that bred mass murders and refugees;
- Injustices of all sorts had become the order of the day in Rwanda; for this reason a section of Rwandans took up arms to fight for their rights,
- The Arusha Peace Agreements had become vain, because the Government of that time chose to engulf the Rwandan people into the horrors of genocide, instead of making arrangements to execute the Peace contract signed in Arusha.

All the horrors of genocide were perpetrated in broad daylight before an indifferent international community, including the neighboring countries and the UNO. After defeating the genocidal government, the RPF-Inkotanyi, along with other political parties that had not got involved in genocide, put into place a Government of National Unity that was to last for five years. But, in view of the formidable problems facing the country, it became necessary to extend the transitional period.

The Government of National Unity has had to its credit a number of positive achievements which have won the praise of Rwandans and foreigners alike. Some of these achievements are the following:

- The 1994 genocide and massacres were stopped by valiant sons and daughters of Rwanda;

- Leadership structures were put into place from top to bottom;
- The reconstruction of the country was conspicuously expedited;
- Old and new case refugees have been repatriated and resettled;
- Strategies building social harmony, security and unity were stepped
- Building the country, ensuring internal and border security have steadily been done;
- Elections of grassroots' leaders were successfully conducted;
- A participatory and reconciliatory form of justice has been instituted, based on the Gacaca tribunals.

This lecture encourages Rwandans to shake off their fears of democracy; we should rather get to know it better and put it into practice. So much was incredibly achieved in such a short time indeed; this should therefore embolden us to march forward, exiting from the transitional period. Even though we have achieved much, the briefing indicated that there are certain things that could hinder our soft exit from the transitional period:

- There are certain die-hard sinister habits among Rwandans to keep reviving the demons of disunity;
- Rwandans have not yet properly integrated the habit of resolving their differences in a soft and harmonious manner;
- There is still a mixture of poverty and greed that are malignantly apt to whip up the over-flogged ethnicity horse to re-ignite the embers of disunity;
- Pandemics like HIV/AIDS have been claiming lots of lives, especially those that were still valid and capable of working;
- The genocide ideology is still around;
- The unrepentant perpetrators of genocide and massacres are still hell-bent to consummate their crime, and they are supported by some foreign countries;
- The assistance we get from international organizations is insignificant.

IV.6.2. Questions and ideas

Questions that were raised, and ideas that were contributed in the discussion of “the soft exit from the Transition” theme show that there is quite a number of people who have cause to think that it is still too early to end the Transition. People expressed the wish that, when the law governing political parties is passed new parties should be allowed enough time to publicize themselves before the elections.

A wish was expressed to the effect that arrangements should be made for the Government of National Unity to be reconciled with some persons who were among the top leaders in the early stages of the Unity Government, and who are now opposing it. Leaders should set the example in building reconciliation, people said.

The Gacaca experiment was also emphasized upon as being key to a soft exit from the transitional period. The issue of religious sects cropping up like mushrooms was also debated on. People feel threatened by some religious organizations operating like laboratories of disunity, possibly being instrumentalized by the enemies of the country.

As regards political parties, it was pointed out that they played a role in sundering the Rwandan nation, and that they got involved in the mass murders that have been occurring.

However, it was also mentioned that political parties have to their credit the National Unity Government which they put into place; political parties played a positive role in ensuring populations' security and restoring normalcy in the country. It was made clear that Rwandans are not against political parties per se, but rather that they are against those political parties that are subversive, that are factors of disunity.

The MDR issue is one of the questions that kept coming up again and again. It was pointed out that MDR has for a long time been a threat to the people of this country; its divisive tendencies are still subverting our society today.

The civil society also came into focus in the discussions. It was agreed that the civil society has a major role to play in the development of the country. People pointed out, however, that there are certain problems connected with the operational standards of our civil society. They say that they are non-profit organizations, but you will see them out there, hunting profit. You find them sometimes behaving like political parties, or else you see them working for people that give them raw cash. Some civil society organizations were however commended for doing their job very well.

The media, too, were discussed upon. It was said that the media play a major role in fueling disunity within our society, when they are in the hands of people having sinister designs. People pointed out that the media have on occasions been whipping up populations' sentiments, stirring up antagonisms here and there in order to secure interests of certain individuals or cliques. It was also unanimously acknowledged that the media play a major role in educating Rwandans.

The role of foreign countries and international organizations was debated upon as well.

Some foreign countries got involved in the genocide and massacres that devastated Rwanda. Even though there are many international partners who have been assisting us in our transitional programmes of national reconstruction, some countries have steadily been antagonizing us. This is partially the reason why our region has not yet achieved sustainable peace and security.

Programmes addressing the resolution of our country's problems are often hampered by diverse interests of foreign countries and international organizations. Look at the ICTR, for example, and the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The summit expressed satisfaction, however, over the steady assistance, provided by some foreign countries and international organizations, that has greatly helped in the reconstruction of our country.

IV.6.3. The group's recommendations

The group that discussed this theme presented its recommendations as to negotiating a soft exit, from the transitional period, taking into account the political actors involved in this issue and their relative share of responsibility.

Political Parties:

Laws governing political parties should be enacted to preclude greed and negative thinking that might end up destroying current positive achievements.

Rwandans ought to realize that democracy is not to be gauged through the conflicting character of political parties, what matters above all is that political parties should have programmes geared towards improving the living conditions of the population; understandably, these programmes need not be the same.

Regarding the MDR, the group recommended as follows:

At this juncture, the MDR issue should be sorted out by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission;

MDR should cease to exist if it is bound to always cause unrest and stir up trouble amongst Rwandans.

Those willing to create political parties should be in Rwanda; Politicians who are motivated by their personal interests, rather than those of the people, should be vigorously denounced along with those capitalizing on sectarianism and segregation.

Religious Organisations

Religious organizations that took part in dividing and killing Rwandans ought to make peace with them;

Religious organizations that teach Rwandans to live in harmony, to seek forgiveness, to forgive one another, should continue doing so;

Religious organizations should stop being the source of division and sectarianism, and authorities allowing them registration should be careful.

The Civil Society

The Civil Society is requested to keep on supporting Rwanda and its population;

The Civil Society should not behave like political parties;

The Civil Society should never view interests of cliques or money per se as more important than the interests of the Rwandan people.

NGO's operating in Rwanda, whether they be foreign or national, are requested to uphold strategies Rwandans have put up to negotiate a soft exit from the transitional period and to build sustainable peace.

The Media

Rwandan media are requested to educate Rwandans, to tip the Government and to be a ferment of the culture of peace.

Foreign media are requested not to be the source of divisive ideas, but rather to help Rwandans build their unity.

Foreign Countries and international organizations

These are requested not to hinder, but rather to help build, peace and security in Rwanda and in the region;

They should not get mixed up in our problems to steer us backwards, thus becoming problems to us, instead of helping us to solve our problems;

They are requested to assist Rwanda without sowing seeds of divisions;

They are requested not to provide Rwanda with programmes, but rather to help Rwanda execute her own programmes;

Those having interests to defend in our region should be careful enough not to shake the dearly achieved foundation of our unity, and our security that has cost us so much indeed;

The group expressed its gratitude to foreign countries and international organizations that have been assisting us in our efforts to negotiate a soft exit from the transitional period; such a good initiative should be kept up.

The Government and every Rwandan:

Upholding Government's efforts to build the unity of Rwandans;

Caring for the freedom of all Rwandans, this being the ferment of sustainable development;

Sensitizing Rwandans to being all involved in building and defending their peace and security; combating poverty;

All Rwandans at home and abroad should always mind the interests of Rwanda;

Exiting from the Transition is not a matter of a date, it is rather to do with a certain number of actions, a certain way to peace and sustainable development.

Exiting from the Transition does not mean being through with all the problems Rwanda has had; but upon exiting, we must have the assurance of our foundation and strategies that can eventually take us to our ultimate goals.

We should put up programmes substantiating full-fledged rwandanness which is such a pillar of sustainable unity and development;

Rwandans of the diaspora are requested to join in and contribute their part in the process of negotiating a soft exit from the Transition. They are especially requested to convey the correct picture of Rwanda in their countries of residence; they should try as much as they can to prop up Rwanda's image abroad.

IV.7. SECURITY IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION IN GENERAL AND RWANDA IN PARTICULAR

After the first National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation held in October 2000, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has achieved much, as regards further building the unity of Rwandans. Security threats constitute, however, serious hindrances to unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. That is why "security in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region" has been included among the themes to be addressed by the second National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. The lecture introducing this theme was delivered by Lt Col. Dr. Emmanuel NDAHIRO.

The lecture was later on elaborated on in workshop by Dr. Zak NSENGA, Col. Balthazar NDENGEYINKA and Mary GAHONZIRE, Deputy Commissioner of Police.

The workshop group was allowed a forum to exchange ideas, to contribute ideas, to ask questions and to make recommendations on security.

IV. 7.1 A Summary of the lecture:

The definition of security includes many more things than just the absence of war. Some of those things are the following:

- Defending the sovereignty of the country
- Protecting population and their properties
- Having a responsible leadership
- Helping the people to secure basic necessities of life, e.g. education for children, health care, clean water, housing, electricity, roads, etc.

It was pointed out in this lecture that the divide and rule policy of the colonial masters severely affected the security of Rwandans, because it destroyed their unity. And post colonial governments perpetuated the divide and rule policy.

Consequences of this have been among others:

- Rwandan refugees all about
- Injustice and impunity
- Corruption, nepotism, embezzlement
- Ethnic and regional discrimination
- Dictatorial leadership that does not care for the interests of the people
- Poverty and ignorance, etc..

The ultimate consequence was the 1994 genocide and massacres. It was clearly said that the genocide ideology is being propagated in neighboring countries, and this is potentially dangerous. Lt. Col. Dr. Emmanuel NDAHIRO talked about Rwanda's relations with some of the neighboring countries and how they impact on our security.

In the case of Uganda, he indicated that innocent Rwandans are often subjected to harassment and torture. Uganda supports subversive politicians, and encourages desertion among the Rwandan military.

As regards Burundi, Lt. Col. Dr Emmanuel NDAHIRO said that the alliance of Ex-FAR/Interahamwe and FNL/FDD continues to pose a threat to regional stability. Lt. Col. Dr Emmanuel NDAHIRO also indicated that the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), as a failed state, remains a threat to the stability of this region.

France and Belgium were said to have been igniting the embers of war in Rwanda and in the Great Lakes region.

Different international interest groups also pose a threat to the security country and the region as a whole. The UN report on the exploitation of the resources in DRC is a good example to look at. It is neither accurate nor intended to contribute stability in this region. This report fuels the conflict instead of attempting to resolve it.

Mention was also made of the strategies Rwanda has taken to normalize her relations with foreign countries, with a view to enhancing her security. With Uganda, a memorandum of understanding was signed in November 2001, under the auspices of the British Government. A joint verification Committee (JVC) was also created for the purpose of investigating allegations of hostile activities.

A memorandum of understanding was signed by the Ministers of Defence of the two countries in July 2002. The RPF and the NRM Secretariats have put in place a mechanism through which border disputes could be resolved.

With regard to Burundi, Rwanda supports the Arusha Peace Accords signed between the Burundi Government and rebel movements FNL and FDD. Regarding the DRC, it was pointed out that the DRC violated the Lusaka Peace Accords. Rwanda signed the Pretoria Agreement with the DRC, but again the DRC violated this Agreement, while Rwanda executed her part of the contract. By October 5, 2002, Rwanda had withdrawn all her forces from DRC. But the DRC has to-date done nothing as regards fulfilling its obligations under the Pretoria Agreement. Very much to the contrary, the DRC provided support to the ex-FAR/Interahamwe in their recent effort to capture UVIRA.

The African Union may have to come up with a proposal on how the viability of the DRC could be re-established. Else, that country will continue to destabilize the whole region.

It was also pointed out that regional strategies geared towards building peace have been thwarted by foreign countries and international organizations. People expressed the wish that the African Union should have a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, so as to ensure that African countries have a say.

IV. 7.2 Questions and Ideas

Among other questions raised, there is that of a meeting between the Government of Rwanda and the people opposing it,

- A question was asked about refugees and how they are being repatriated;

- The issue of foreign media defaming Rwanda was raised by many people; people recommended that arrangements should be made to prove them wrong;
- The issue of justice was also discussed;
- People expressed fears that the African Union might turn out to be a weak organization, just like the OAU, amid all these conflicts that keep cropping up;
- A question was asked as to whether our fate would be decided upon by diplomatic negotiations, should Rwanda be attacked by enemies supported by some neighboring country.
- The behavior of Tanzania was also called into question, considering some of the weapons used by the ex-FAR/Interahamwe are shipped through the country;
- The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission must get in touch with Rwandans living in the DRC and elsewhere, who are at a loss as to how they could be repatriated;
- Some of the newly repatriated refugees should return in the host countries to sensitize the ones left behind on the need for repatriation;
- A recommendation was passed to the effect that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should get in touch with organizations and Associations operating in neighboring countries, such as the DRC, with a view to building harmony and understanding between Rwandans and their neighbours;
- People requested that Rwanda continue promoting education, for that is the best guarantee for a bright future;
- People requested that Rwanda should cooperate with neighboring countries in putting up mechanisms combating the ideology of genocide, and imposing structures on individuals peddling that stuff about, to fuel wars and conflicts;
- People expressed the need for a permanent national programme teaching the ideology of Rwandan unity, popularising the patriotic culture right from primary schools upwards, in churches and mosques, from cell levels upwards;
- People requested that anyone found guilty of spreading divisive behaviours should be punished without delay;
- People expressed the wish that a well balanced law governing political parties should be passed,
- People expressed the wish that testimonies on women who were raped in the course of genocide and massacres should not be given in ways that could be embarrassing for the persons concerned;
- People requested that there should be a commission countering people running defamation campaigns against Rwanda;

- People requested that election modalities should be eased for the Rwandan diaspora;
- People requested that explanations should be provided to Rwandan citizenry as to how taxes are fixed, how they are collected, and how useful they are to the country;
- People requested that grassroots' level leaders should continue to support the Gacaca tribunals, for it was noticed that they run securely when they are so supported.

IV. 7.3. The group's recommendations

- All Rwandans should team up together as one to track the genocide perpetrators and combat the ideology of genocide;
- Rwanda must request the international Community to see to it that Kabila's government fulfills its international obligations under the Lusaka and Pretoria Agreements;
- Strategies ought to be devised in order to seek ways and means to get the general public in Rwanda, Africa and the world, to fully understand the genocide phenomenon and its societal implications;
- Rwanda's real image should by all means be promoted across the world. We should all team up to fight the ideology of genocide, and provide support to anyone campaigning against it;
- Sensitizing Rwandans living abroad on the importance and necessity of investing in Rwanda;
- Arrangements should be made to acquaint Rwandans with the achievements of the Government through the transitional period;
- Our people must constantly be reminded of their civic obligation to defend their country: they must by all means, and at all times, assist security personnel;
- The international community and the international organizations should be reminded of their obligations to keep genocide and the genocide ideology at bay.
- Foreign interests should not be incompatible with peace and security in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region as a whole.

V. SUMMARIES OF ADDRESSES AND MESSAGES DELIVERED BY INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS.

As it was earlier on said, the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation is not an affair restricted to Rwandans at home alone. It is open to non-resident Rwandans as well. Nationals of other countries, representatives of international organizations and friendly countries can also attend the summit upon invitation.

The following section presents summaries of addresses and messages delivered to the summit. The full extents of the texts are included in the annexes.

V.1. RWANDA'S FRIENDS

V.1.1. Address delivered by Reverend BONGANI FINCA, DESMOND TUTU'S SPECIAL ENVOY

This gentleman spoke in the following terms, after greeting Rwandans in the name of the Right Reverend Desmond TUTU whom he came to represent, apologizing for him for not having come in person. He first of all expressed his gratitude for the warm hospitality he enjoyed in Rwanda and then said he was gratified for being allowed room to address such an august assembly.

He went on to say that the Chairman of their Truth and Reconciliation Commission along with his colleagues congratulate the President of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandan people on how they have been handling issues connected with the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission truly believe that both commissions can achieve their objectives, even though there are some people who think that these are just dreams. There is every reason to believe that our two countries will achieve genuine reconciliation and unity, and that the wounds inflicted to our societies in the past will be healed.

In an attempt to capture the heavy burden of both commissions, Reverend BONGANI quoted President Thabo Mbeki's words saying,

"We cannot sleep well at night, when suffering continues to afflict millions of our people. Our nights cannot but be nights of nightmares while millions of our people live in conditions of degrading poverty..."

He said that the Rwandan Commission and the South African TRC are the two most prominent commissions in Africa that are responsibly dealing with the issue of charting the future of the respective peoples of both countries. He admitted that the challenges facing reconciliation are enormous, and noted however that we have already achieved a lot in this direction:

- Both our Commissions have declared that reconciliation is a process, not an event; it is an extra-ordinarily long process that is both exciting and frustrating, exhilarating and painful, and not exactly measurable;
- Both our Commissions have acknowledged that reconciliation cannot be achieved unless the voices of the victims are taken into account.
- Both our Commissions have acknowledged that reconciliation cannot be achieved glossing over the horrors of our past; you do not efface the past by ignoring it.
- Both our Commissions have said that reconciliation is not a mirage; it is a feasible proposition instead; and this is not just a matter of words; there must be an agenda to deal with poverty, good governance, democracy etc...

Finally, Reverend BONGANI FINCA commended the National Summit and the way it was organized as a forum where all Rwandans could contribute their ideas, exchange views and adopt strategies together. He said, "For this we congratulate you. Your Commission is leading the way for other commissions...". He recommended in the end that the Summit recommendations be implemented.

V.1.2 Address delivered by Mr. Macharia Kamau, Resident Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Kigali.

Mr. Macharia said he was pleased to address such an important national conference on Unity and Reconciliation. Then he commended the statements earlier on made by Presidents Paul KAGAME and Joaquim CHISSANO. He said that those statements contained important lessons and recommendations for the way forward in building unity and furthering reconciliation.

He explained that war and conflict shaped the founding of the United Nations, and that international legislations were put up in an attempt to resolve conflicts. He went on to say that building unity and reconciliation in Rwanda is not Government business alone, it is rather the responsibility of every Rwandan. He further commended the Government of National Unity, especially in regard to the successful grassroot level elections, Gacaca, the Constitutional consultations and the decentralisation and democratisation experiment.

He pointed out that Rwanda has a lot to show the world about confronting the challenge of recovery, in the aftermath of genocide.

Mr. Macharia Kamau also stressed the point that UNDP, and the UN in general, remained committed to providing support to the Government and people of Rwanda in their development effort, especially in their fight against poverty, ignorance and disease.

Taking a broader perspective, Mr. Macharia said that sustainable peace, unity and reconciliation depended on the restoration of peace, stability and economic prosperity in the Great Lakes as a whole, considering that the countries of this sub region are closely inter-linked. In this connection, he recalled the imperative for the regional signatories of the peace agreements due to put an end to the DRC conflict to fulfill their obligations. Finally, he pledged that the United Nations system will continue to support the Government and People of Rwanda in their effort to seek unity and reconciliation.

V.1.3. The speech made by Ambassador (ret.) Harald GANNS.

Ambassador GANNS told the audience that he had trouble controlling the great emotions he experienced when he was asked to address the first National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation in 2000. He then confessed his admiration for what the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has already achieved with limited resources and in a comparatively short period of time. Then he talked of two major issues:

- The importance of getting in touch with Rwandan diaspora
- The Grassroot level consultations.

He went on to mention some of the things Germany dwelt upon in its search for unity:

- Justice
- Educating the youth
- Educating the population
- Classroom education
- Reforming the legal system
- Monitoring leaders' activities
- Developing the country
- Payment of damages

V.1.4. Speech made by Mr. Jeremy LESTER, Head of the European Union's Delegation, Kigali

In his talk, Mr. LESTER compared Rwanda's recovery process to the celebrated Phoenix in ancient Greek mythology. The ancient Greeks had a story saying that, once upon a time, everything on earth was reduced to just ashes by a deluge of fire. And out of those ashes rose a magnificent bird, a Phoenix, that flew beautifully in the sky. And this was the sign of life triumphing over death. Rwanda, which is emerging from the ashes of genocide and seeking unity and reconciliation, is therefore reasonably comparable to that magnificent bird of ancient Greece.

For Rwanda's unity and reconciliation strategies to succeed, Rwanda and her partners must step up action in the following areas:

- Disarming and repatriating the lot of Rwandans scattered out there;

- Democratization: let everyone have a voice;
- Decentralization;
- Fighting poverty.

Mr. LESTER advised Rwandans not to be dispirited by the horrors and the aftermath of genocide, poverty etc... Rwandans should rather realize that their country has successfully engaged in a self-regeneration process, and that it may soon turn out to be a model deserving emulation across the world. Redefining the Rwandan identity is at the centre of reconciliation, said Mr. LESTER. And this is a very great thing indeed, for departing from the divisive cleavages of the hutu and tutsi clichés, and building a shared sense of rwandanness, as you have been doing in your country, is certainly, unbeknown to many, an achievement that is leading the way for the rest of the world. The English and French peoples will for example take lessons from your experiment in their attempt to build their sense of "Europeanness". Africans and Europeans will likewise take advantage from your current endeavor to build their sense of shared identity as Humans. Mr. LEISTER did also emphatically indicate in this connection that it would be no surprise if, in the year 2010, English dictionaries made entries of such new words of Rwandan origin as, "Gacaca", "ubudehe", "ingando" and others, all of which are key to the reconciliation process underway. And it will no doubt be recorded in human history that the world drew from Rwanda such a fine heritage of conflict resolution package.

Mr. LESTER further reminded his audience that there is still a long way to go in building unity and reconciliation. He however cautioned that setbacks could occur along the process if care is not taken for people to ask for forgiveness and for others to forgive, be it inside the country or outside. Fear and lack of confidence, Mr. LEISTER said, are serious hindrances of unity and reconciliation.

Mr. LESTER ended his talk calling on Rwandans to do away with their fears and to build confidence rather, so that their Phoenix, metaphor for new Rwanda, could freely keep on flying far above the ashes whence it came.

V.1.5. Address delivered by Mr. Ahmadou LY, former UNDP Resident Representative in Rwanda.

Mr. Ahmadou Ly, who was UNDP Resident Representative in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994, first of all expressed gratitude to H.E. Paul KAGAME, President the Republic of Rwanda, and to the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. He then said that he was not speaking on behalf of UNDP, but rather that spoke for himself.

He went on to briefly review the 1994 genocide and massacres, expressing sorrow for his colleagues and friends who lost their lives in that catastrophe. He recalled that Rwanda was engulfed into untold horrors despite the several peace accords that were thus made redundant, and the International Community kept quiet.

He dwelt at length on the commitment of the President of the Republic to rebuild the country and seek internal and regional peace and security. He also thanked the

Government of Rwanda for its incessant efforts to seek harmonious relations with the world community of nations.

Mr. Ahmadou LY told his audience that building unity and reconciliation is a necessary and important step in building sustainable peace. He therefore thanked Rwandans who have been taking the lead to sensitize others in that direction.

Apart from the untold tragedy that befell Rwanda, Mr. Ahmadou LY reminded the audience that there are about 18 African countries facing conflicts predicated on ethnicity and religion.

He further indicated that, thanks to the determination of the President of the Republic and the Government of Rwanda, so much was done to restore normalcy in several areas such as: security, decentralization, conflict resolution, the development of the country and the welfare of the people.

He finally said that it is a paramount necessity to rebuild confidence among sons and daughters of Rwanda, and that the international community must by all means help the country rebuild itself and achieve reconciliation.

V.1.6 Speech made by Mr. Walter ZUBER, Minister President of the Rhineland-Palatinate

Mr. Walter ZUBER first expressed his gratitude for being allowed to address the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation.

We are just emerging from the bloodiest of all centuries, the 20th century which was marked by wars and genocides. Germany's part in these events is no cause for pride, Mr. ZUBER said.

The Nazi ideology asserted that Jews and Slaves were sub-humans. This degenerated into the killing of six million Jews.

Just like Rwanda, Germany had to face the following questions in the aftermath of war and genocide:

- How can sanity be restored in people's shattered hearts? How can reconciliation be achieved?
- How can people live together again in harmony?
- How can diffidence and fears instilled by evil propaganda be done away with?

Judging from our German experience, I can say that these things are not easy, because nobody can tell beforehand how long it will take to achieve reconciliation.

In an attempt to solve all those problems, associations were created; relevant trainings were organized and documents published; exhibitions on the holocaust and crimes

committed by the Germany military were organized; genocide memorials were built and arrangements were made for Germans and Jews to meet.

Roughly 25 years after the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany, reconciliation between the former war protagonists was achieved. The country was set on a democratic track during this period. Today, 13 years after the Berlin Wall was demolished, new Germany is characterised by tolerance, peace and solidarity with other nations.

"Human dignity is inviolable". This must be a cardinal rule of conduct for us humans. Combating poverty and education are fundamental conditions for people to integrate that notion. To this end, rich and poor countries must strike a partnership deal.

The friendship between Rwanda and the Rhineland Palatinate is built on the basis of partnership.

The partnership between the North and the South should radically change. The age of tutelage being over, that partnership must be built on the basis of equality. And this partnership must clearly be between peoples and not regimes.

Rwanda is committed to keeping the memory of genocide alive, and this is an important thing. We also, in Germany, had to do the same, and it did help us a lot. On each of the visits I have been paying the country since 1994, I have been gratified to notice that Rwanda is steadily marking progress, the country is advancing on the development path; for this I would like to congratulate you.

You have made significant strides in the decentralization and empowerment process; this is highly commendable. Just as the Rhineland-Palatinate helped you in running local elections in districts and cities, it will also assist you in the upcoming legislative and presidential elections.

We assure you that, as a friend of Rwanda, the Rhineland-Palatinate will always support your country as it advances on the path of unity, reconciliation and democracy.

V.1.7 Speech made Mr. Gerald CAPLAN

A Canadian gentleman named Gerard CAPLAN gave a talk, presenting himself as one of the eminent personalities who drafted a report on the 1994 Rwanda genocide upon the request of the then Organization of African Unity.

That report indicates that, when genocide was being perpetrated in Rwanda, the international community just stood by and idly watched the horrendous spectacle; and instead of attempting to stop the genocide, the UN Security Council reduced the UN Peace keeping force present in Rwanda. The United States of America just watched the unfolding tragedy without caring in the least to stop it, whereas France supported the genocidal government.

Mr. CAPLAN said that he appreciated that the Commission had allowed him room to address Rwandans. He indicated that unity and reconciliation cannot be really achieved unless the memory of genocide is kept alive in the minds of people.

He went on to inform the summit that he belonged to a group of people who are making arrangements to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Rwanda genocide. He indicated that there were already organizations and people who are supportive of that initiative; he therefore asked Rwandans to give him a hand, to assist him in this endeavor that could indeed contribute to countering negationists and detractors of the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

Mr. CAPLAN also said members of the international community are not likely to step up action to stop genocide in countries where they have no specific interests needing protection.

He finally gave his group's website: www.visiontv.ca which can keep informed on the preparations of the tenth anniversary of the 1994 genocide; people could as well contribute their ideas on that issue.

V.2. SPEECHES MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE RWANDAN DIASPORA

V. 2.1. MEMBERS OF THE RWANDAN DIASPORA PRESENT AT THE SUMMIT

Mr. GATORANO Aminadabu spoke on behalf of the Diaspora group present in the Summit:

In the name of his group, Mr. GATORANO thanked the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for inviting them in the 2nd National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. Then he explained how Rwandan diaspora has been trying to organize themselves, and build working relations among them, in Southern Africa especially. He requested that they should be given support in this regard. He however said that they encountered difficulties due to the lack of responsiveness on the part of some of them.

He informed the summit that the global organization of the Rwanda diaspora will be put up by the end of the year, and that organization would be represented by a committee in every country. The full extent of his talk is provided in the annexes.

Paul MBARAGA, a journalist living in Germany

Mr. Paul MBARAGA, a journalist living in Germany, testified before the summit saying that his writings and oral presentations may have contributed to disseminating divisive ideas among Rwandans and that he might have thus given a hateable image of Rwanda to foreigners. He regretted having been dragged into these sordid things and he firmly promised that he was going to reverse the trend; that he was going to do his best, as a journalist, to give a correct picture of Rwanda, and sensitise Rwandans to

the imperative of building unity among them and appreciating all the positive things that have been achieved in Rwanda.

V.2.2. MEMBERS OF THE RWANDAN DIASPORA WHO CONTRIBUTED THEIR IDEAS BY PHONE

Mrs. GASARABWE Odette called from Brazzaville, in the Congo, asking the following questions:

- **How can Rwandans willing to return home trust the Government of Rwanda when there are many jailed Rwandans and others are on the wanted list?**
- **Why does Rwanda continue to disrupt security in the Great Lakes region?**

These questions were answered by Commissioner General of Police, Frank MUGAMBAGE and Joint Chief of Staff, Major General James KABAREBE.

On the first question, they answered saying that abiding by the law is, in itself, a major trust - building factor. Moreover, imprisoning criminals and tracking those on the run are some of the responsibilities of justice in a law - abiding country, where the culture of impunity must be banned.

They indicated that Rwandans will trust their country when they realize that they are all equally protected by the laws of the country.

As regards the alleged disruption of security in the region, it was made clear that was a wrong perception of reality; Rwanda has all along been reacting in self - defence.

It was pointed out that perpetrators of genocide are still bent on pursuing their evil agenda, even though their several attempts have been unavailing. The Joint Chief of Staff said that those criminals got scattered across the region following the massive return of Rwandans who had been held hostage in so called refugee camps in Eastern Congo.

Some countries of the region have been harboring those criminals and incorporating them in their national armies. Understandably, they have been given means to disrupt security in the region. So, asserting that Rwanda causes instability in the region is feigning to ignore reality and distort history.

Colonel Anselme NSHIZIRUNGU, a former ex-FAR officer, testified to the saying that Rwandans returning home are kindly welcomed and properly treated. Evidence to this is his own recent return in 2001. He is indeed appreciative of the trust bestowed upon him by the Government of Rwanda, which appointed him Commissioner of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.

Boniface RUTAYISIRE, Chairman of the Association of the so-called "Abahutsi", called from Belgium.

According to him, it is regrettable that Rwandans born of hutu/tutsi parents are never given due consideration, being a non-discriminatory group. He asserted that if all Rwandans could be "Abahutsi", the unity of Rwandans would reign supreme.

Mr. Tito RUTAREMARA, Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, refuted this idea saying that adding the notion of "Hutsi" to those of "hutu", "twa" and "tutsi" would be to complicate further the political equation that we have to solve in Rwanda.

He further indicated that if we were to accept the "hutsi" patterning we would end up having an infinity of pseudo ethnic groups, apart from Hutu, Tutsi and Twa: abahutwa, abahutsi, abatsitwa, abatsiko (tutsi+korigo), abahuko (hutu+kongo), abahuzu (hutu+muzungu), abatsiga (tutsi+muganda) etc...

Mr. RUTAREMARA further explained this issue saying Rwandans ought to be careful about the following 4 considerations:

- You cannot combat ethnicity-induced disunity in Rwanda through fabrications of pseudo ethnic groups
- Hutu and tutsi extremism cannot just be fought by RUTAYISIRE's so called "Bahutsi"; not all the Batutsi nor all the Bahutu are extremists in the first place
- Fabricating small pseudo-ethnic groups like Abahutsi, et alia among Rwandans does not help solve the issue of Rwandan unity; to the contrary this would be detrimental to the ongoing process of building full fledged Rwandanness.
- Instead of further dividing our national community into smaller groups, we should strive to become mutually respecting Rwandans, enjoying equal rights. He concluded his remarks, telling RUTAYISIRE that he might well have a good objective, but using the wrong strategy.

Mr. KIGUFI Thomas called from New Zealand, commending the ongoing unity and reconciliation policy. Then he asked the following questions:

- **Is it true that properties belonging to Rwandans living outside the country are being auctioned, and that proceeds find their way into the Genocide Survivors Solidarity Fund?**
- Is it true that there is a genocide suspects list that has remained unchanged for the last six years?

Hon. Jean de Dieu MUCYO, Minister of Justice and Institutional Relations, and Dr. Odette NYIRAMIRIMO, Minister of State in the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, answered these questions in the following terms:

Lots and lots of people have been regaining possession of their properties, and there are still people whose properties are being with held, they should come, or send properly mandated persons, and enjoy their ownership rights.

The Genocide Survivors Solidarity Fund is funded by national revenue; 5% there of, totaling four to five billions RWF, is annually credited to that Fund. The fund also takes contributions from workers and Rwandans aged 18 years and above. It has not been easy, though, to collect these last two types of contributions. This fund does not receive money from any property auctions at all. Mr. KIGUFI must have mistaken this Fund for the yet to be set up genocide survivors compensation Fund.

Mr. François NZABAHIMANA called from Belgium and objected saying that people belonging to political parties operating outside Rwanda were not invited to attend the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation, that invitations were secretly distributed. Dr. Jean Baptiste HABYARIMANA, Chairman of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, answered this question saying that the Summit had been publicized well in advance, and that members of the Rwandan diaspora had been sensitized on the need to attend the Summit. Moreover, he said that people belonging to political parties, whether inside the country or outside, were not invited on the basis of their party affiliation, but rather as persons capable of contributing their ideas on the issue of unity and reconciliation.

Mr. UWIBAJIJE Silvestre called from Belgium. He said that Rwandan problems must be solved by Rwandans themselves. He further observed that Rwandan conflicts are often triggered by people competing for leadership. He thus recommended that Rwandans should be allowed to enjoy equal rights and enjoy the same legal protection.

He further said that, in order to build a conflict free Rwanda, certain confidence building measures have to be taken including the following:

- Quick decision making mechanisms;
- Assisting indiscriminately individuals adversely affected by the war;
- Discharging detained individuals having no documented charges leveled against them;
- Empowering the Ministry of Justice to track all the criminals and bring them to book;
- Putting a stop to the vicious circle of hatred and vengeance;
- Compensating individuals who have long been in preventive detention and later found to be innocent; this could allow the power to arrest and detain to be used with a greater degree of caution;

Mr. UWIBAJIJE further expressed the wish that Rwanda should have a Parliamentary regime whereby the President of the Republic should be elected by Members of Parliament and district mayors, and other executive should be appointed on a broad - based criterion.

He also wished that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should operate like the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Hon Jean de Dieu MUCYO, Minister of Justice and Institutional Relations responded to these concerns saying that the assistance to people affected by the 1994 war is now a reality in Rwanda; the Government has created two Funds to that end: the Genocide Survivors Solidarity Fund (FARG/GSSF) and the MINALOC Fund. The GSSF takes care of the needs of the survivors of genocide and massacres, and the MINALOC Fund takes care of the rest. Resources are however limited, said the Hon. Minister of Justice. Regarding the issue of innocent individuals kept in detention, the Hon Minister said that a Special Selection Group was set up to look into the matter. And thus, detainees have regularly been taken to their villages for villagers to document their cases.

As to empowering the Ministry of Justice, the Hon. Minister said that pretty much has already been done in that regard, but that available resources remain limited.

As regards the issue of false accusations, the Minister said that the Gacaca Law has provided for that. People peddling false accusations, just as those covering up criminals, as well as those using terror leverage, will be punished.

Regarding the issue of compensating long detained individuals turning out to be innocent, the Minister said that no such a thing can be entertained. People who were locked up in 1994 for being suspected of genocide and massacres, were detained in extra-ordinary circumstances, meaning that their detention did not come about as a result of a deliberate intent to deprive them of their freedom; it was rather impossible, in those times, to strictly go by the law.

Dr. Odette NYIRAMIRIMO, Minister of State in the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, joined Hon. Jean de Dieu MUCYO in responding to the concerns raised by Mr. UWIBAJIJE. She said that, apart from the assistance granted to needy genocide survivors and other war affected cases, children of detainees are also being assisted, because children cannot possibly be victimized on account of their parents' wrong-doing. She also indicated that arrangements are currently being sped up to create a genocide survivors compensation Fund.

As regards the wish for a parliamentary democracy in Rwanda, Mr. MUKEZAMFURA Alfred, Deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission, responded saying that only the Rwandan People can determine the basis of the leadership they want to have. And this will certainly feature in the upcoming Constitution, the making of which is predicated on broad-based participation of the Rwandan People. Moreover, he added that political regimes can yield good or bad results depending on how they are operated.

Regarding a broad based power-sharing, Mr. MUKEZAMFURA said that care has to be exercised here, lest we fell in a division trap. Such a thing could only be conceived of in terms of different ideas complementing one another.

As regards the wish that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should be a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Dr Jean Baptiste HABYARIMANA said that the Rwandan Commission and the South African one are charged with different responsibilities, and therefore they cannot be the same.

MUTIMURA ZENO, RUTAGONYA Canissius and NDAHAYO Cassien called from China

These gentlemen contributed ideas meant to further build unity and reconciliation, and commending the Government of Rwanda for performances achieved so far.

In the main their ideas centered on the following:

- The dispensation of justice should aim at building confidence within the Rwandan society; Justice should manage to be trustworthy.
- Rwandans should be sensitized on the need to build a worthy civic conduct.
- Great care should be exercised in devising the constitution, for this is the paramount instrument building the country.
- Arrangements should also be made concurrently to put up the electoral legislation along with the law governing political parties. Those gentlemen were told that their concerns were already being taken care of.

VI. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 2ND NATIONAL SUMMIT ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION

The National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation met for the second time in the Parliament Building on 26 - 28 October 2002.

- In attendance were different categories of Rwandans including the diaspora, foreign diplomats and friends of Rwanda. Major issues discussed in the Summit are the following:
 - The unity and reconciliation policy;
 - Democratization and decentralization;
 - Justice in Rwanda in general and Gacaca as a reconciliatory form of justice;
 - The poverty reduction programme;
 - The prospective Constitution ushering in the rule of law;
 - Negotiating a soft exit from the transitional period;
 - Security in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region.

Upon ending the discussions, the summiteers adopted the following recommendations:

1. People recommended that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should keep on sensitizing the Rwandan people and the Government on the need to eradicate hindrances of the unity of Rwandans, and to keep factors of disunity at bay;

2. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was requested to come up with programmes building and promoting full fledged Rwandanness; for there lies the foundation of sustainable peace and development;
3. The process of decentralization should go hand in hand with that of empowerment, and leaders at grassroot levels must continuously be trained so as to increase their knowledge, capacity and technological skills, thus enabling them to carry out their duties;
4. Grassroot level leaders should be entitled to allowances determined by consultative committees of different echelons, account being taken of available resources;
5. The national history and the nature of problems confronting the country command that principles of democracy ought to prevail in the country in order to ensure that the interests of the people are safeguarded.
6. People recommended that all Rwandans and different leadership structures should get involved in Gacaca processes, so as to ensure the success of this alternative form of justice;
7. Religious leaders and the civil society were requested to operate as a firmament boosting confidence within the Rwandan society, and to care for the improvement of people's welfare;
8. It was recommended that Rwandan media should educate Rwandans in peace building; foreign media were requested not to be the source of divisive ideas, but rather to help Rwandans build their unity;
9. The genocide ideology must be combated by all means;
10. Clear - cut policies should be devised, aiming at increasing Rwandans' income per capita, and ensuring that populations throughout the country derive benefits from the national economy; Rwandan financiers should invest in projects developing the hinterland, and farmers' associations should be allowed facilities to access loans and execute their project;
11. It was noted that the poverty of Rwandans is not only a matter of low income, or lack of property, it is also generated by ignorance.
12. Sustainable development strategies should be devised, involving the women and the youth to a reasonable extent;
13. All Rwandans at home and abroad should always mind the interests of Rwanda, and Rwanda embassies should significantly be involved in promoting and defending the interests of Rwandans.
14. The drafting of the Constitution should be based on the ideas and wishes of the Rwandan people, and care should be taken for the long-term.

15. Proper laws governing political parties should be enacted so as to preclude graft and ideas that could undo the country's achievements.
16. Regarding the MDR issue, the following wishes were expressed:
 - At this juncture, the MDR issue should be sorted out by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.
 - MDR should cease to exist if it is bound to always cause unrest and trouble amongst Rwandans. After a lengthy debate on this issue, MDR, as a political party was requested to quickly solve its own problems.
17. Promoting foreign interests in Rwanda and the region should not be detrimental to peace and security in Rwanda;
18. The international community was requested to see to it that the Government of the DRC fulfills its obligations under the Pretoria Agreements.

VII. CONCLUSION

The summitters freely exchanged ideas, all through the sessions, on some of the political programmes being implemented in the country, and on those yet to be implemented. Consultations were run as to how Rwanda could softly exit from the transitional period.

The programme of good governance based on decentralization and people's empowerment was largely appreciated, and ideas were contributed as to how that democratic culture could be entrenched in the country in replacement for the "sit and-wait for Government attitude. Even though poverty is still a painful thorn in Rwanda's hide, and has the potential to adversely affect Government programmes, clear-cut poverty-combating strategies were put up. Educating Rwandans and integrating technology in their different activities; sensitizing financiers on the need to develop the hinterland, allowing them facilities to access investment loans, these are some of the solutions to the poverty problem.

Regarding the Constitution and the reform of the legal system, people requested that account be taken of Rwandan national history, so that this exercise should provide solutions to problems stemming from that history. Account must also be taken of ideas contributed by the people. Given the culture of impunity, people requested that new Rwanda should be built on the basis of the rule of law and the respect for human rights, thus disunity trickeries and injustices will be done away with for good.

It was noted that Rwanda must build harmonious relations with members of the international community; Rwanda shall however never accept to be cowed down by any foreign country when her security is at stake.

Thus, people requested that all the signatories of the Lusaka and Pretoria Agreements be by all means coerced to fulfill their respective obligations.

The Summit ended upon gratitude being expressed to the organizers and the summitters, and upon Rwandans being called upon to team up together as one to ensure that the summit resolutions are translated into facts.

ANNEXES

I. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. NYANDWI JOSEPH DESIRE, MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

1. Introduction:

When the Government of National Unity was inaugurated on July 19, 1994, it assigned itself the following 8 point programme:

1. Restoring peace and security in the country;
2. Restructuring public administration, restructuring the administration of prefectures, communes, sectors and cells;
3. To strive for the unity of Rwanda;
4. Repatriation and resettlement of refugees, returning the internally displaced to their homes and properties;
5. Improving the welfare of populations generally and that of such vulnerable groups as orphans, widows and cripples in particular;
6. Rebuilding the country's economy;
7. Reshaping the foreign affairs policy;
8. Building democracy in the country.

Among these complementary points of the Government programme, there are some which are closely connected to decentralization, empowerment and democracy such as:

1. Restructuring public administration, restructuring the administration of prefectures, communes, sectors and cells;
2. Building democracy in the country.

I should recall here that the Government of National Unity was established after the former Army of the RPF-Inkotanyi had put a stop to the horrendous genocide and massacres that wiped off 1.074.017 innocent lives, 934.218 of whom have been identified, as indicated by the census of victims of genocide and massacres conducted, in July 2000, by the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs.

2. Decentralization, empowerment and democratization

2.1. Decentralization and empowerment

2.1.1. The meaning of decentralization and empowerment

Decentralization and empowerment mean allowing the people to play a considerable role in solving the problems they encounter in their everyday life. This means allowing the people to genuinely participate in the governance of the country, and to plan for actions concerning their day to day life.

The origin of the decentralization and empowerment policy

The idea of decentralization and empowerment is contained in the programme of the Government of National Unity that was established in July 19, 1994. It became a subject of scrutiny later on in 1996 and 1997 when leaders started running consultations with populations. In the course of these consultations, populations pointed out the following serious concerns:

1. Improper governance
2. Poverty
3. The consequences of genocide and massacres
4. Ignorance
5. The inadequate dispensation of justice

Based on these issues, consultations were later on run in the office of the President of the Republic, covering a period of about a year.

Those consultations began on May 9, 1998, and ended on March 13, 1999. The following five issues were interestedly discussed:

1. The unity of Rwandans
2. Democracy - connected issues
3. Justice issues
4. Economy issues
5. Security concerns

Among other resolutions adopted at the end of these consultations, there was that of decentralizing and empowering populations to tackle problems cropping up in their lives, with Government coming in to provide support.

The Government of Rwanda thus put up a decentralization and empowerment policy that was adopted by the Cabinet on May 26, 2000.

2.1.3. How decentralization and empowerment work:

For the decentralization and empowerment policy to be properly implemented in Rwanda, there are certain important things that must be cared for beforehand. A part from the overall goal of empowering populations, people are sensitized on the need to participate in solving problems connected with their daily lives.

The following special goals must be cared for:

1. Empowering populations to participate in all actions from which they derive benefits, e.g. putting up a leadership of their own.
2. Fostering leaders' efficient and transparent stewardship. Transparent administration encourages people to discharge their duties without grudging, e.g.: paying taxes.
3. Putting in place a leadership that is eager to care for actions that are profitable to populations, so that people can feel that they are duly represented;
4. Having leaders that are capable and honest; leaders that are capable to address people's real needs in ways that do not entail heavy public expenditure; e.g.: assisting vulnerable groups;
5. Empowering rural communities to secure pervasive sustainable development, thus combating poverty.

Certain principles must be abided by:

1. Caring for the unity of the country, protecting its sovereignty, evenly disseminating development infrastructures in such a way as not to have disadvantaged sections of the country;
2. Respecting districts' and cities' administrative and financial autonomy, so that people can promote their interests, even though their various activities are of interest to the country as a whole.
3. Separating political, administrative and technical activities.
4. Responsibilities and activities shifting to a given echelon of the administration must correspondingly be matched with due resources, staff and equipment.

For the decentralization and empowerment policy, to be effectively implemented in Rwanda, the following operations will be used:

- i) **Deconcentration**: the Central Administration can extend some of its responsibilities to officers working closely with populations, and these officers would be taking instructions from the Central Administration;
- ii) **Delegation**: the Central Administration can extend some of its responsibilities to grassroots leadership structures, and resources/equipments could be made available to them to enable them discharge their duties;

- iii) **Devolution:** The Central Administration can extend some of its powers, some of its authority and some of its responsibilities to grassroot administrative units established by laws; these can sue and be sued in courts.

It should be noted that:

The decentralization process takes a long time. It may take 15 years, for example, for things to be in proper order.

Decentralization is a gradual process that goes step by step, depending on capacities and resources.

Decentralization is also an action, or set of actions, calling for the involvement of all and sundry, for the pooling together of collective energies. There should be an appropriate way of pooling those energies at different administrative echelons.

2.1.4. The Government's responsibilities in the process of decentralization and empowerment:

In the decentralization and empowerment policy, the government will generally continue to assume the following responsibilities:

Devising national policies and execution of programmes;

Monitoring the execution of those policies;

Further empowering grassroot administration levels, districts and cities, but more importantly the provinces and Kigali City Council.

Pooling resources, especially external resources, to be used in decentralization and empowerment processes.

2.1.5. Factors facilitating decentralization and empowerment in Rwanda

2.1.5.1. The commitment of the Government of National Unity:

The decentralization and empowerment policy is consistently supported by all the State's political institutions: the Government, the National Assembly, the Supreme Court.

2.1.5.2. Genocide and massacres

Individuals and families have generally been adversely affected by genocide and massacres, and it is common knowledge that the 1994 tragedy, that claimed 1.074.017 lives, came about as a result of a leadership that had become morally and politically bankrupt. Populations therefore need a replacement for this type of leadership, they want a good type of governance in which they can participate. Decentralization and empowerment exercises therefore stand to gain from this situation.

2.1.5.3. The Commitment of international organizations and the civil society.

The International Organizations and the Civil Society are supportive of the decentralisation and empowerment policy.

2.1.5.4. The country's small size

Given the small size of the national territory, it is easy to go round and round monitoring the implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policies. You can easily tell which part of the country is performing better than others, and different parts of the country can easily emulate others.

2.1.5.5. The country has one single national language

The fact that there is one single national language makes it easy to sensitize people to the benefits of decentralization and empowerment.

2.1.5.6. The region where Rwanda is located

Rwanda is located in a region where some countries have had experience in decentralization and empowerment, e.g. Uganda, Rwanda can thus benefit from that experience.

2.1.5.7 Office buildings

For decentralization and empowerment to be enhanced, grassroot administration need to be housed. Generally office buildings are available in district cities, even though some of them should be enlarged.

2.1.5.8. Staff

There is need for competent staff in decentralization and empowerment though the staff currently available have limited knowledge, work can still be done nonetheless. Moreover, the Government will continue to assist administrative units that have been transferred to grassroot levels; it will pay salaries of some of their workers like teachers, health centers' staff.

2.1.6. Problems impeding the decentralization and empowerment policies

2.1.6.1 Poverty:

The paucity of the country's resources and the poverty of populations can impede the implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.1.6.2. The limited resources of grassroot administrations

Administrations that have been transferred to grassroot levels need financial resources, for the decentralization and empowerments policy to be properly implemented. Generally speaking, the limited financial resources available impede the implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.6.3. Staff with low level education

For the decentralization and empowerment policy to be properly implemented, it is necessary to have adequately trained staff in grassroot level administrations. The staff currently available generally have a low level of education. And this understandably constitutes a hindrance to decentralization and empowerment processes.

2.6.4. Shortage of office buildings in some sectors, districts and cities

Considering that some districts and cities are new entities altogether, they need buildings to house their offices; in some areas buildings inherited from former communes are too small. These are some of the things that can hamper the implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.1.6.5. People's responsiveness:

Some Rwandans have not yet understood the benefits of decentralization and empowerment policy. You can see the lukewarm attitude of officers in charge of securing resources and equipments on behalf of decentralized administrations. People's understanding is still lagging behind the swift unexpected changes in the administration. It will take some time to adapt to the new situation.

2.1.6.6. Waiting for external aid:

Waiting for Government assistance or foreign aid makes people feel, in a sense, that it is not their business to solve problems occurring in their environment. They end up developing the habit of depending on charity. This is another hindrance to the decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.1.6.7. Donors' involvement:

We need donors' involvement in the implementation of the decentralization and empowerment policy. But for their involvement to be really effective, there must be a coordination of their activities. When their actions are scattered all about in disorder, they constitute a hindrance to the execution of our decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.1.7. Preliminary steps in the execution of the decentralization and empowerment policy.

2.1.7.1. Laws, Orders, Instructions

1. Adapting the law governing administration in Rwanda on 05: 10: 2000 (official Gazette, special number).
2. Law n°43/2000 dated 29: 12: 2000 determining standards of provincial administrations (official Gazette n°4, 15: 02: 2001).
3. Law n° 04/2001 dated 13: 01: 2001 determining standards of districts administration (Official Gazette n°4, 15: 02: 2001).

4. Law n°05/2001 dated 18: 01: 2001 determining standards of cities administration (Official Gazette n°4, 15: 02: 2001).
5. Law n°07/2001 dated 11: 07: 2001 determining standards of Kigali City administration (Official Gazette n°4, 15: 02: 2001).
6. Law n°17/2002 dated 10: 05: 2002 establishing the source and use of revenue in districts and cities (Official Gazette n°13, 01: 07: 2002).
7. Law n°20/2002 dated 21: 05: 2002 determining the operating of the General Fund for the development of districts and cities (Official Gazette n°15, 01: 08: 2002).
8. Orders by the President of the Republic, by Ministers, and various instructions.

2.1.7.2. Securing office buildings for decentralized entities

The Government did not abandon decentralized entities to their own devices, as regards securing office buildings. In some places, they were allotted former prefectures' offices; in other places new buildings were put up, with populations giving a hand. Money used in those undertakings either came from Government's ordinary budget or from donors.

2.1.7.3. Training staff

It is necessary for staff attached to decentralized entities to be trained in different areas. Training for leaders and executives of those entities has therefore been going on, and that will continue.

2.1.7.4. Explaining the decentralization and empowerment policy

For the decentralization and empowerment policy to be entrenched in people's minds and further enhanced, the Ministry in charge has been explaining this issue to all parties concerned; decentralized entities are still being coached, and this trend will continue.

2.1.7.5. Devising such policies as:

- Development policy involving the participation of populations
- Revenue sharing policy
- Cooperatives fostering policy

2.1.7.6. Establishing a Decentralization Management Unit

2.1.7.7. Empowering decentralized entities:

- Giving instructions as to resource management and accounts in districts, cities, and the capital city, Kigali;
- Assisting all the districts in their budgeting;
- Training staff charged with resource management and finances at province and city levels;

- Organizing tours in different countries for grassroots leaders;
- Tours throughout the country to confer with consultative committees as to how they operate and how they relate with Executive Committees, etc.
- Explaining laws, orders and instructions in different administrative entities, especially in decentralized entities;
- Elaborating a reference document containing decentralization and empowerment operations and requirements financial resources, man-power. ..).

2.1.7.8. Publicizing, through media and public lectures, the principles of the decentralization and empowerment policy, and how it has so far been implemented.

2.1.7.9. Establishing a good governance coordinating and monitoring committee.

2.2. DEMOCRACY

2.2.1. What is democracy?

When people talk of democracy, they refer to leadership; they mean how leaders conduct their business. This is to do with the interaction of leadership structures, how these structures are put into place, how they change and how they are done away with, how leadership structures are manned; how leaders conclude their mandate to run a country, and how populations participate in the running of their country.

Democracy is generally defined as "the government of the people, by the people and for the people". Therefore, wherever there is a democratic government, the people and the welfare of the people are the center piece of all the actions, of all that is to be undertaken in the running of a country. No government can claim to be democratic when the people do not participate in making and operating it.

2.2.2. Markers of democracy

Populations manage and solve their problems;
 Populations put in place leadership structures to help solve problems;
 Leaders are not dictators, they do not abuse their office, rather mechanisms to control and penalize them exist.

2.2.3. The Rwanda type of democracy

In the wake of the 1994 genocide and massacres, it became necessary to chart a democratic course for Rwanda, taking into account the particular historical evolution of the country. This was discussed in the Rugwiro consultations.

A democracy fitting Rwanda must teach people:

- Human Rights
- Not to kill, not to commit all other crimes that have ordinarily been committed in broad daylight in the name of democracy.
- Combat the wrong divisive ideology.

The type of democracy Rwanda has engaged in is therefore the one that allow the people a forum where they can speak their mind, where they can debate on their problems and find solutions to them, without having to wait for the far-away leaders' decision as to how things must be done.

2.2.4. Steps taken to put democracy on track

Putting democracy on track in Rwanda is the 8th point of the Government's programme. For democracy to be executed, the following laws were relevantly enacted:

1. Law n°39/2000 dated 28:11:2000 prescribing the nature and operations of the Electoral Commission (The Official Gazette, Special number issued on 29:11:2000).
2. Law n°42/2000 dated 15:12:2000 prescribing the elections of grassroots leaders in Rwanda (the official Gazette, Special number issued on 19:12:2000).
3. Laws prescribing the organization and running of districts and cities, including Kigali City (the Official Gazette n°4, 15:02:2001).

These laws clearly show that the government belong to the people, who elect their leaders. Thus, districts, cities, including Kigali City, are politically run by consultative and executive committees. These committees are assisted by two technical structures: The Executive Secretary and the Development Committee (see the Official Gazette n°4, 15:02:2001).

2.3. Good Governance, democracy and the decentralization and empowerment policy.

Good governance cannot be achieved in Rwanda without decentralization, empowerment and a democracy suitable to Rwanda, a democracy taking into account the sombre legacies of genocide and massacres. At different epochs Rwandan history, it is clear that the people did not have any meaningful participation in the running of their country. This applies to such periods as:

The Monarchy
The colonial period
The post independence period

That is why the Government of National Unity came up with the decision to structure the leadership of the country, to sensitize Rwandans to choose their leaders. This is what we call "good governance".

2.3.1. What is "good governance"?

"Good governance" is the befitting way of getting Government executives and people together, so that they can exchange ideas on what good and useful actions should be undertaken. Executives of Government must discharge their duties in transparency, according to the expectations of the people, and they must be accountable to the people all through their stewardship.

2.3.2. Principles of good governance in Rwanda

- Full participation of the people in running their country
- Transparency;
- Leaders' accountability;
- Electing leaders and removing them out of office whenever they cannot deliver services expected of them;
- Equal job opportunities, equal opportunities in contributing ideas;
- Long term development versus short term makeshift things;
- A law-abiding leadership, respectful of human rights;
- Caring for public administration and security;
- Forbidding the accumulation of offices;
- Building unity and reconciliation within the Rwanda society.

2.3.3. Good governance and democracy:

For good governance to thrive in Rwanda, democracy was coupled to it, as a way of enhancing it further.

3. The meeting point between democracy and decentralization/empowerment:

It is clear that decentralization and empowerment cannot be effected without democracy. For people to have a genuine participation in their government, strategies must continuously be devised along the following lines:

1. Getting the people closer and closer to decision-making; allowing the people to participate in decision-making;
2. Further build the people's capability to solve problems;

3. Further enhance operations based on:
 - Evaluating leaders' performance
 - Monitoring leaders' performance
 - Leaders' accountability
4. Enhancing self-reliance within the Rwanda society;
5. Fostering the spirit of shared leadership versus dictatorial leadership;
6. Putting a premium on continuously educating Rwandans, thus getting them out of the ignorance trap;
7. Further build mechanisms enabling decentralized entities to secure resources necessary for their operations;
8. Keeping on providing needed infrastructures to decentralized entities;
9. Keeping on supporting decentralized entities in their efforts to foster the welfare of populations and development in general;
10. Enquiring further into how best the decentralization and empowerment policy can be operated: identifying aspects of it that are to be enhanced, corrected, and new ones to be fed into the process.

1. How democracy and decentralization/empowerment relate to unity and reconciliation"

As I kept saying, democracy and decentralization / empowerment are mutually interlinked. They go hand in hand, as it were, and they allow populations to solve problems, on the basis of analysis and capacity, and not ethnicity.

Consultative Committees of cells, sectors, districts and cities, comprise different categories of people doing their work, without paying any regard to ethnicity, religion, gender, or any other thing that could be divisive, as was custom in the previous governments. All this indicate that what Rwandans want, first and foremost, is to have their problems solved. Evidences of this are quite many:

1. The Gacaca tribunals are now solving problems that ordinary tribunals would take too long to solve, if at all. The Gacaca tribunals are therefore significantly contributing to build unity and reconciliation in the country.

2. The Community development committees (CDC).

Whenever populations set out to execute projects of various sorts (building schools, health centers, office buildings...), they do not engage in ethnic considerations, rather they consider the benefits their community, as Rwandans, is likely to derive from the projects;

3. Health care solidarity funds: populations here and there are now capitalizing on their solidarity to secure cheap health care. They pool their energies together to this end, without ethnicity coming in to set them back.

4. Whenever Government assistance comes their way, populations indiscriminately get together and discuss how best to use it in solving their problems. Here you can see unity and reconciliation at work (e.g. "ubudehe": populations get together and work to improve.

5. CONCLUSION

In the course of implementing the decentralization/empowerment policy and enhancing democracy, lots of things have been done, and more is still in the offing:

1. Elections at grassroot levels in March 1999 (29 -31 March 1999): cell and sector levels;
2. Elections at district and city levels, 6-13 March, 2001;
3. Cell and Sector Elections, 25-26 March 2002;
4. Seeking means of increasing resources of decentralized entities;
5. Organizing training for leaders and executives of decentralized entities;
6. Recruiting competent staff, eager to work;

7. Referendum, legislative and presidential elections due to take place in 2003;
8. Further enhancing unity and reconciliation in decentralized entities;
9. Further combating poverty with the participation of populations;
10. Close Monitoring of the gradual process of decentralization and empowerment; keep a watch on how delegation and devolution respectively operate at province and district/city levels.

The Government of Rwanda will continue to put up decentralization/ empowerment strategies having a positive impact on unity and reconciliation.

II. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. RUTIJANWA MEDARD, M.P.: THE WAY RWANDA CAN SOFTLY END THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Mozambique,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow Countrymen and women, esteemed friends of Rwanda,

I entreat all of you here to join me in figuring out how best and softly Rwanda can end the transitional period.

For us to get to appreciate how Rwanda can softly exit from the transitional period, we need to know the following:

- What the transition is, and what caused it;
- The main achievement Rwanda has attained in mending the Rwandan society;
- Serious hindrances to unity and reconciliation;
- The specific role of the Government in combating those hindrances;
- The role of political parties in addressing those hindrances;
- The role of the civil society;
- The role of religious organizations;
- The role of international organizations;
- The role of Rwandans at home and abroad in securing a soft end of the transition.

1. What is the transition and what caused it?

This transition has been running for eight years and three months now. The law governing it prescribes that it must end on July 19, 2003, subject to possible alteration by the upcoming Constitution

A "transition" means an interim government set up in extraordinary circumstances, intervening between the existing government and the future government due to last.

1.1 The first Transition:

The Arusha Peace Agreements were signed on August 4, 1993, between the then President of the Republic of Rwanda and the chairman of the RPF Inkotanyi. From that day, a Transition was supposed to begin and last for twenty-two months. That transition was governed by the Fundamental Law consisting of the 1991 constitution as amended and complemented by the Arusha Peace Agreements.

That Transition was to allow the belligerents to stop the hostilities, end the war, share power and govern in partnership, while making arrangements together to usher in a democratically elected government.

The Arusha Peace Agreements were not implemented, because they were rejected in bulk by the then President of the Republic of Rwanda and the political parties sharing power with him.

The day the leadership structures of that Transition were to be put into place, the then President of the Republic chose to be sworn in alone, so as to enjoy legal power alone. The other leadership structures (the Government, the National Assembly) were discarded. He kept on fueling division and conflict within political parties, breaking political parties into rivaling factions, on the basis of ethnic discrimination.

There was no transition in the nine months that elapsed after August 4, 1993, because the Arusha Peace Agreements were not implemented. Rather, it was a period of disorder, lawlessness and uncertainty, with a baseless leadership. The nine months of uncertainty were followed by 3 months of genocide.

1.2. The Second Transition

The second Transition began on July 19, 1994. After stopping genocide, the RPF-Inkotanyi informed Rwandans that it was going to set up leadership structures, in concert with political parties that had not been involved in genocide and massacres.

The RPF-Inkotanyi signed agreements with those political parties, establishing a transitional government: The Government of National Unity.

There are many causes to this transition:

- The first is that the first Transition turned out to be a period of anomy and uncertainty;
- The second cause is the perpetration of genocide;
- The third: genocidal leaders fled the country along with a huge section of the national community;
- The fourth: the genocidal leaders kept on fueling war on Rwandan borders, with the help of certain foreign countries;
- The fifth: the internal displaced persons were all scattered about the country;
- The sixth: the so-called "Zone Turquoise", a safe haven for genocidal forces holding populations hostage, kept on causing insecurity in the country;
- The seventh: the old refugees, who had been denied a homeland for over 30 years, had just been repatriated, but were not yet settled;
- The eighth: the old Rwandan habits of fueling social divisions predicated on ethnic segregation.

It is therefore understandable, with all these reasons, that we could not have run elections to put in place a democratic government.

2. The transition's main actions meant to mend the Rwandan society:

Rwanda mustered up her courage and energies to stop genocide, at a time when the international community was just watching the hideous theatre, and when the international peace - keeping army had vamoosed, leaving Rwandans to their fatal lot.

Within a short time, Rwanda put up leadership structures, starting with top echelons. Rwanda was able to repatriate at a go thousands of her refugees who had been denied a homeland for over thirty years.

Rwanda got the courage to repatriate, in quite a short time, about 3 million new case refugees, extricating them from the ferocious clutches of the unrepentant genocidal

forces, who had been holding them hostage in their ploy to pursue their genocidal agenda.

Rwanda displayed an extraordinary art in securing a harmonious co-existence of victims and perpetrators of genocide, while they waited for a reconciliatory justice. Drawing from the national culture, Rwanda instituted the Gacaca tribunals, thus putting on track a reconciliatory form of justice.

Every thing did not go according to plan, due to the insecurity caused by arm infiltrations of the genocidal forces.

It is only towards the end of 1998, shortly before the end of the transition, that security was restored in the country.

At about that time, elections of grassroot leaders were run, and majority of people were still wondering if the grass root leadership structures could work normally.

At that time justice issues seemed intractable; ordinary courts of justice had proved incapable to cope with post genocide justice issues. Then came the idea of Gacaca tribunals, which needed to be explained before becoming a fact.

The grass root leadership structures had to take time to yield their results. It also took some time for the Gacaca idea to be generally understood, and for laws establishing the Gacaca tribunals to be enacted and implemented.

The new Constitution, due to replace the Fundamental Law governing the Transition, had to be drafted; this would certainly have required more time than the seven months remaining before Transition's end.

That is why the Forum of Political Parties decided to adapt the Agreements, allowing the Transition four more years, and requested the competent authorities to integrate that modification in the Fundamental Law governing the Transition.

3. Hindrances to Unity and reconciliation

3.1 The first hindrance, which has been plaguing the country for a long time, is the old habit of fuelling divisions predicated on ethnic discrimination, regional discrimination etc...

Rwandans were inculcated this bad habit over a long time, and some of the factors generating that habit still exist. This die-hard habit has resisted all efforts geared towards inculcating factors of unity versus cultivating disunity.

The habit of settling differences in harmony has not yet taken moot. This hindrance must be combated by all leadership structures and Rwandans, wherever they may be.

- 1.2 The Second hindrance is poverty
There is a Rwandan adage saying this people sharing a bit of food (or any other thing) keep calling each other names. When Poverty is coupled with greed and ethnic discrimination, there develops an explosive situation that can, at any time, reduce the Rwandan society to ashes.
- 1.3. The third hindrance is the genocidal agenda.
The master minders of the genocide are still bent on pursuing their genocidal agenda, and seeing it through to the end.
- 1.4. Another hindrance is that Rwanda is not endowed with substantial natural resources that could form the basis for development. Even though Rwanda is densely populated, ignorance reigns supreme. Only a few Rwandans are educated; out of these many perished in genocide.
Schools are being put up here and there, but vocational and technological schools are still very few.
- 1.5. Another serious hindrance that is destroying the Rwandan Society is HIV/AIDS. The palliative treatment of HIV/AIDS is not accessible to every needy Rwandan. Rwandans should, instead of depending on palliatives, strike a compact between them to stop contaminating one another, to offer treatment to HIV/AIDS cases, and to educate children orphaned by HIV/AIDS.

Doctors should have no scruple telling their patients that they have been contaminated; contaminated persons should not make a secret of it; thus persons not yet contaminated would be known, and would exercise greater care to avoid contamination.

These are some of the hindrances to the unity of Rwandans that originate within the Rwandan society. Other hindrances are externally generated, e.g.:

- 1.6. A major hindrance originating outside the country is the border hostilities that cause insecurity in Rwanda.
- 1.7. Another hindrance is the improper leadership of some of the neighboring countries.
- 1.8. The negation of genocide and its consequences.
- 1.9. International financial institutions do not respect the agreements they signed with Rwanda; this is a serious hindrance denying Rwandan the capacity to deal with other hindrances.
- 1.10. The so-called international community has had the habit of treating Rwanda like an infant country that cannot solve its own problems.

2. The role of the Government in making arrangements for a soft end of the Transition:

Exiting from the Transition and ushering in a new democratically elected Government is a major responsibility of the Government. In addition to actions under taken in the Transition to mend the Rwandan Society, there are other important things that have been done in order to prepare for a soft end of the Transition e.g..

- Continuing to build the unity of Rwandans;
- Cultivating the civic culture in Rwanda, starting with the elections issue;
- The Cabinet will set the timetable for the following elections: the constitution's Referendum, Presidential and legislative elections;
- Enacting laws governing the elections;
- Enacting other laws and harmonizing them with the new constitution;
- Enacting laws governing political parties and harmonizing them with the new Constitution;
- Continuing to ensure security so that elections can be peacefully run;
- Ensuring that the achievements of the transition are not disrupted.

3. The role of political parties in securing a soft exit from the Transition:

Political parties have been importantly instrumental right from the beginning of the Transition. The Agreements signed between political parties was one of the pillars of the Government of National Unity.

Whenever major issues arose, political parties responded and provided analyses and recommendations, on the basis of which top leadership echelons formulated laws, and planned actions.

Political parties played a major role in providing senior Government executive and members of parliament.

Political parties have commendably been working in concert and taking their decisions in the Forum of Political Parties.

There is as yet no legislation governing the Forum of Political Parties. It works on the basis of a tacit contract between parties.

The Forum of political parties scrutinized the project of a law governing elections, along with that governing the conduct of politicians.

The Forum of political parties drafted the project of a law governing the operations of political parties.

The Forum of political parties considered that it was necessary to run a multiparty democracy, combating ethnic discrimination and genocide.

4. The role of the Civil Society

The civil society protects the interest of members of the associations. It does not get involved in political activities. In this period ending the Transition, associations have been given considerable assistance enabling them:

- To get used to working in concert;
- To help populations develop a civic culture;
- To better understand their relations with the Government.

5. The role of Religious organizations

Religious organizations play a major role in educating Rwandans. In the Transition, religious organizations have been busying themselves to mend torn consciences of Rwandans and reconcile them.

6. The role of international organizations

International organizations represented in Rwanda have in general been trying to provide assistance, but without paying great regard to Rwanda's problems. Whenever they seemed to care for our problems, they would propose ready made solutions tailored to suit other contexts.

International financial organizations have often not been eager to execute their part of the contract they signed with Rwanda.

7. The role of all Rwandans at home and abroad

Everything that is done by the Government, political parties, religious organizations and the civil society, is done on behalf of Rwandans, and by Rwandans.

All Rwandans must therefore exercise caution and identify the good and bad things being done for/against him. The good things should understandably be supported by Rwandans, and the bad ones should be combated, especially the ones impeding unity and reconciliation.

Resident Rwandans especially ought to commit themselves unreservedly to doing everything possible to mend and further build the Rwandan society. Members of the Rwandan diaspora should know that the respect and consideration they may enjoy will be dependent upon the shape Rwanda is taking. Members of the Rwandan diaspora have the responsibility to love their cultural heritage, to abide by the laws of their host countries, to build friendly relations between Rwanda and their host countries. Those who have been naturalized could respect their new civic contract and still live in such a way as to attract respect for their Rwandan cultural heritage.

CONCLUSION

The Transitional Government was necessitated by the imperative to correct the legacies of the Dictatorial regime that was built on ethnic discrimination, to mend and further build the Rwandan society, while paving the way for a new government based on democracy.

The energy and courage to exit softly from the Transition will be drawn from the positive achievements attained during the transitional period.

We must conquer all the hindrances to Rwandan unity. To this effect, we must use resources of our intellect and our traditional art; we can also draw from other peoples' experiences.

This is just overture, let us wait for the debates. Thank you.

III. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR TITO RUTAREMARA, CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION:

THE OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION:

The Commission charged with the drafting of the Constitution and the reform of the legal system was provided for in the Arusha Peace Agreement; article 24 B of the Power sharing Agreement signed on October 30, 1992, referred to it as 'The legal and constitutional Commission'.

The law n°23/99 dated December 24, 1999 provides in its article 6 that "Members of the Commission are appointed for an extendable period of 2 years ".

The Presidential order n° 40/01 Dated December 29, 2000 appointing members of the Commission, provides in its article 4 that its validity begins on July 10, 2000.

As can be seen in these legal dispositions, the validity of the Presidential order expired on July 9, 2002. That is why we are requesting that members of the Commission be allowed extra time to finish their assignment.

The Constitutional Commission comprises 12 commissioners, all of whom were chosen by the National Assembly on July 10, 2000. Out of these, 8 come from political parties officially registered in Rwanda, apart from UDPR which did not present a candidate; 2 are from the Civil Society; 1 from the National Army, and 1 is an independent candidate.

Article 1, paragraph 2 of law n°26/2000 dated 11:03:2000, modifying and complementing law n°23/99 dated 24: 12: 1999 establishing the Commission, provides that the Commission shall be run by an office comprising a Chairman, a Deputy

Chairman and an Executive Secretary selected by the President of the Republic acting in concert with the Cabinet, and approved by the National Assembly.

Members of the Commission's office were elected by the National Assembly on 23: 11: 2000, and were respectively appointed by Presidential orders n° 37/01, 36101 and 38/01 dated 29: 12: 2000.

Reference to article 2, law n° 23/99 dated 24: 12: 1999 the Commission is charged with 5 responsibilities listed in the following order:

- a) Drafting the mock draft of the Constitution;
- b) Seeking, receiving and putting together ideas contributed by populations, and drawing from other countries' experiences;
- c) Explaining to populations the meaning of the Constitution, and the main ideas that make a Constitution;
- d) Preparing the first drafts of laws governing the last stage of the Transition;
- e) Gathering all the laws due to change so as to be harmonized with the Constitution.

Based on these responsibilities, the members of the Commission adopted and executed, the following programme:

1. What the Commission has done:

A. From January 1, 2001 to June 30, 2001, members of the Commission busied themselves with building the Commission, charting a programme of activities. We had to secure offices, to recruit staff and avail equipment, to train Commissioners and staff so that they can better understand the nature of their work. Many training sessions were organized, allowing members of the Commission to meet with a number of Experienced persons coming from different countries.

As regards the programme of activities, the Commission drafted the following documents:

- The Commission's rules of procedure
- The code of conduct
- Charting the working structures
- Assignments for every structure
- A timetable covering three years (2001-2003)
- A Programme of tours in foreign countries
- Pedagogical materials to be used in explaining the meaning of the Constitution to different categories of Rwandans.

B. From July 1, 2001 to December 31, 2001 members of the Commission went round explaining the meaning of the Constitution to different categories of Rwandans, telling them the main ideas making a Constitution. They also explained how the Constitution is useful and how it relates to democracy.

They also conducted explanation sessions with special categories of Rwandans, in public and private administrations, at national level, at province and Kigali City levels, at district and city levels.

The Commission also ran sessions with secondary school students, University students and primary school teachers. The Commission also managed to run explanation sessions with Rwandan refugees in Ngara refugee Camp, Tanzania.

The Commission also conducted sessions with 120 members of the National Army, who in turn would go round explaining the Constitution issues to their fellow Army men.

The Commission ran explanation sessions with grassroots leaders who, in turn, explained the Constitution issues to populations throughout the country.

Prior to meeting the grassroots leaders, the Commission had working sessions with different leaders, who would later on assist Commission delegates, in every province and in Kigali City, in preparing sessions meant for grassroots leaders. Those working sessions took place at St Paul's, Kigali on July 11-13, 2001; those sessions were officially opened by the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister.

Those leaders included:

- 4 representatives of the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs;
- 3 representatives per province and Kigali City, comprising officers in charge of Administration and Legal matters, Good Governance and Women's leadership structures.

We had anticipated that 9800 grassroots leaders would attend sessions explaining the Constitution issues, but some of them could not make it, about 75% were able to attend the sessions. These leaders comprised:

- 5 members of the Executive Committees of the districts and cities: 5 x 106 districts and cities: 530 persons;
- 4 members of the Political and Administrative Commissions (PAC) of the sectors: 4 x 1545 sectors: 6180 persons;
- The officer in charge of Education and Training in the Community Development Commission (CDC) of Sectors, and the Sector's Advisor, 2 x 1545 Sectors: 3090 persons.

After populations, and special categories like women, Army men, the youth etc had gone through the explanation sessions, leaders of districts, and leaders of these special categories of people, sent reports to the Commission. The analysis of these reports helped us to write a booklet that was used in the next stage, that of gathering relevant ideas.

C. As regards drawing from experiences of other countries, the Commission sent a delegation of 4 persons to the United States of America, so that they can have a close look at how leadership structures are operated, and how

they interact. Members of the Commission and the staff attended international seminars on the making of a constitution; those seminars took place in Kibuye on August 20-24, 2001.

- D. From January 1, 2002 to June 30, 2002, the Commission was busy receiving ideas and wishes contributed by populations on the main sections of the Constitution. The pool of these ideas would form the basis for the drafting of the Constitution due to Govern Rwanda after the Transition.

In order to ease the process, the Commission distributed a booklet containing the main ideas making a constitution.

Those ideas were explained and analysed in such a way as to help people make their choices. The Commission also designed and distributed a questionnaire containing 47 questions on major constitutional issues, with a view to helping Rwandans to contribute their ideas.

This programme was executed in two phases:

-Special categories of Rwandans working in central administrations were given explanations first, and then the Commission's delegates handed them a questionnaire each, so that they could provide their ideas on that same questionnaire. It is worthy to note indicating here that some people preferred to send their ideas in a memorandum addressed to the Commission.

-Regarding populations in the countryside, the Commission sent 2 delegates to conduct debates with populations in sectors. Debate sessions we planned and organized by District and City leaders. The Commission delegates wrote down ideas contributed by people in those sessions, with a view to taking them to the central pool of ideas, which would eventually serve as the basis for the drafting of the Constitution. Care was taken in those sessions to distribute to 20 copies of the questionnaire mentioned above, so that people who had not been able to attend debate sessions could form groups and contribute their ideas on the questionnaire forms. We also placed suggestion boxes at Districts' and Cities' headquarters, in case some people wished to contribute their ideas in writing on sheets other than the questionnaire forms.

A part from ideas contributed in the course of debate sessions, on questionnaire forms and through suggestion boxes, there are people who wrote down their ideas and brought them in person to the Commission's headquarters, while others mailed their ideas to the Commission through the post. Other people sent their ideas through the internet, by phone or through memoranda.

Given that the time span originally planned for these activities expired when operations were still being run in virtually all the Districts, the Commission added an extra 4 days; operations were eventually rounded up on July 14, 2002.

2. CURRENT AND PLANNED ACTIVITIES

- A. From July 15, 2002 to August 30, 2002, ideas that were contributed were pooled together and fed into a Database. Next was to analyse the prevailing set of ideas and to put them together in the form of a booklet.
- B. Right from September 1, 2002, the Commission toured the country, stopping in every District and City to show populations the booklet containing their ideas. To this end, there had to be two sessions in every District and City: one for the general population, and the other for the local elite.
- C. August and September 2002: the Commission charged a group of persons with the responsibility to conceptualise and figure out the first draft of the Constitution, and to submit relevant documents to members of the Commission.
- D. Writing the first draft of the Constitution was slated for October 2002. The first draft of the Constitution was then to be shown to a variety of learned persons, Rwandans and Foreigners alike, with a view to eliciting corrections and suggestions.
- E. In November 2002, the Commission will submit the first draft of the Constitution to the Cabinet, explain it to them and discuss it with them.
- F. In December 2002, the Commission will submit the first draft of the Constitution to members of the National Assembly, explain it to them and discuss it with them.
- G. Between January 1, 2003 and March 15, 2003 the Commission intends to

produce a booklet containing the Draft of the Constitution. Lots of copies of this booklet will be printed so that populations can have access to the Draft of the Constitution, and see their own ideas. In this period, the Commission will also be sensitizing populations for the Referendum.
- H. After March 15, 2003, the Government will appoint a day for the election of the Constitution by Referendum.
- I. After the Referendum, the Commission plans to start preparing the first draft of laws due to govern the last stage of the Transition.
- J. When eventually the country's leadership structures are put in place as per the Constitution, the Commission plans to start sorting out laws due to change so as to be harmonized with the Constitution.

3. THE WAY THIS CONSTITUTION IS BEING PREPARED

Many people are wondering, others come to us asking why we have chosen this long and expensive way. Some have even been asking, "Why didn't you ask people with relevant knowledge to draft the Constitution for us?"

Here are the reasons for the choice of this long way allowing the participation of population:

1. The Constitution is the affair of all the citizens in a country. It is necessary that population be allowed full participation in making it. Thus, the people feel that the Constitution is theirs; and indeed this legitimates the Constitution, and people will naturally abide by it, and defend it, should the need arise.
2. It is necessary that populations know that the Constitution governs all the other laws, so that they stop equating laws with leaders. People should actually be taught that the laws are above everybody, leaders included, and that the Constitution is above all the other laws. People should therefore, ideally, get to know all the laws governing them.
3. Considering the foregoing basic principles, it was necessary to allow Rwandans of all walks of life to contribute their ideas; those having no ideas can pick their cue from their neighbors.
4. In every human society that has fallen apart, like ours, with conflict lurking at every corner, it is desirable that people should be allowed to meet and discuss issues, with a view to achieving a consensus.

4. CONCLUSION

The Commission's planning is based on the responsibilities the Commission is charged with. The operations covered so far have taken a long time indeed, because they form the basis for the following stages. Even though a short timing has been slated for these stages, they actually entail a lot of work that will have to be done day and night, for things to be in order at the right time. We actually do not have enough time to run our operations, considering there is little time left for the Transition, which is to end on July 18, 2003. We therefore request people who will, at one stage or another, be involved in our programmes, to please accept the extraordinary speed of our operations. Thank you.

IV. A PRESENTATION BY DR. EMMANUEL NDAHIRO, SECURITY ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

SECURITY IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION.

SUMMARY OF THE PRESENTATION

1. DEFINITION OF SECURITY
2. HOW SECURITY RELATES TO RECONCILIATION
3. THREATS TO OUR SECURITY STABILITY
 - Internal
 - Regional
 - International
4. MEASURES AND STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS THESE THREATS
5. CONCLUSION

1. DEFINITION OF SECURITY / STABILITY

The concept of security goes beyond the absence of war. In my view it should include protection of people and their property; provision of basic social services i.e. schools and quality education, medical services, housing, safe drinking, water and other infrastructures such as roads, electricity etc. good governance.

2. HOW DOES SECURITY RELATE TO RECONCILIATION

In the definition of security, therefore it goes without saying that security and stability can not be fully achieved without realising reconciliation and national unity.

3. THREAT TO OUR SECURITY/STABILITY

Threats to security and stability of the great lakes region would render the process of reconciliation and national unity difficult to attain.

The threat in historical perspective:

- Colonial history of divide and rule;
- How the post colonial governments perpetuated the divide and rule;
- Conditions that create Rwandan refugees;
- Injustice and impunity;
- Corruption, nepotism and sectarianism;
- Lack of government appropriate policies to address problems of poverty; ignorance and diseases.

All these characterised the post colonial governments in Rwanda; it seems to have been the same in the great lakes region.

Having said that, my discussion will be mainly about the recent events that have fundamentally affected Rwanda and the great lakes region. In fact they have continued to be a major threat to the security and stability in this region.

The Rwandan genocide in 1994 and the ideology of genocide that continues to be a major threat. It created more refugees, more widows, spread of aids and worsened poverty. It has also created a major challenge in dealing with the problem of justice.

Ramification of genocide : After the defeat of the genocidal forces, they spread into the great lakes region. The presence of the genocidal forces in the region more specially in the failed state of Zaire and now in DRC, continue to be threat to the security/stability of the region.

UGANDA

Following RPA-UPDF clashes in Kisangani in 1999/2000, the two countries had continued to have hostile relations. Harassment and torture of innocent Rwandan citizens continued. Supporting subversive politicians. Encouragement of RPA desertion and other hostile declarations and activities against Rwanda.

BURUNDI

The peace process in Burundi and challenges associated with its implementation. Presence of armed groups both inside and outside Burundi. Lack of a ceasefire between the government and the armed groups (FNL and FDD). The alliance of Ex-Far/Interahamwe and FNL/FDD continue to pose a threat to regional stability. The conflict in Burundi has resulted into humanitarian problems like refugees, internal displacement of people, starvation and diseases.

THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The international community has complicated this conflict; e.g. the French role in 1994 genocide, the UN failure in addressing the genocide in 1994. The recent attempt to resolve the conflict in DRC is characterised by interest groups from the international community that do not necessary appreciate the need for stability in the region. The UN report on exploitation of the resources in DRC is a case in point. It is neither accurate nor intended to contribute stability in this region.

1. MEASURES AND STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS THESE THREATS

INTERNAL

After the RPF defeated the genocidal forces in 1994, it invited other political parties that had been in coalition with the former government (MDR, PL, PSD etc.), but had not been implicated in the genocide. This broad based government embarked on a process:

Establishing the rule of law;
Reconciliation;
Justice;
National Unity;
Integration of ex-Far;
Return of refugees;
Resettlement of displaced people;
Establishment institutions that ensure good governance etc.

The Management of the Transition period would therefore include building of new institutions and restructuring the old ones to enable the transitional government to usher in stability.

New institutions meant to establish transparency and accountability are : National Tender Board, Auditor General's Officer, IGG, National Examination Board etc. We are also in a process of democratisation and decentralisation. Elections have been held from the grass roots up to the level of District.

In continuing the process of democratisation, the presidential and parliamentary elections will be held next year.

Rule of Law:

Creation of a new National Police Force to enforce law and order.

With regard to unity and reconciliation, the commissions for human rights , reconciliation and national unity were established.

A culture of impunity had to end, in specific terms justice that would punish the perpetrators of genocide but at the same time create room for reconciliation. GACACA Participatory courts of justice were established in year 2001 and launched in May 2002 and are operational now. A constitutional and legal reform commission has brought forward its recommendations to address the realities facing Rwanda i.e. a review of the judiciary and previous laws to reflect current realities of Rwanda.

The commission for Demobilisation and Reintegration was created to prepare for orderly and timely demobilisation and reintegration of former Ex-Far. Today over 27000 Ex-FAR have been integrated. The Ex-FAR still in exile are welcome back home to benefit from this process like others.

A policy for return of all Rwandan refugees without any pre-condition was put in place. A policy of dual citizenship was adopted.

Putting in place policies and programmes to address problems of poverty, diseases and ignorance.

The agricultural sector is engaged in a process of producing enough food for Rwandans and in supporting diversification of cultural produce. This will create employment and more revenue for Rwandans.

Poverty reduction strategy was put in place and has support from IMF and World Bank.

Investment in education has been increased to create a literate society and in the long term to create a knowledge based economy.

The government has embarked on a process of educating its people about the dangers of the scourge of aids. It is also involved in soliciting for funds for treatment, awareness and advocacy against HIV /AIDS.

Improving maternal and child health.

REGIONAL MEASURES

DRC

- Lusaka agreement
- Pretoria agreement

The failure of the 1997-1998 incursions into Rwanda and of KABILA's forces and those of his allies in the region to subdue the RPA convinced president Laurent Desire KABILA to pursue peaceful solution to end the conflict in the region.

On 10 July 1999, the Lusaka ceasefire Agreement was signed by the parties the conflict namely : DRC, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Angola and the two major Congolese Movements, the Rally for Democracy (RCD).

This agreement entailed:

- Cessation of hostilities;
- DDRR of Ex-FAR/Interahamwe;
- Inter-Congolese dialogue;
- Withdrawal of all foreign troops;
- Continued movement of Ex-FAR and Interahamwe (ALIR) from forces Armees Congolaises (FAC) positions towards Rwanda via Eastern Congo was clear violation of the Lusaka ceasefire Agreement.

This agreement was not fully implemented because of different interests in DRC.

PRETORIA AGREEMENT

Following the failure of implementation of LUSAKA agreement, a new initiative by President MBEKI of South Africa, resulted into a Pretoria agreement signed 31st July this year. It entailed two major components : - The disarmament and repatriation of the genocidal forces (Ex-FAR and Interahamwe) and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

By the 5th of October, Rwanda had withdrawn all this forces from the DRC. *The take over of UVIRA by Ex-FAR and Interahamwe with a support of KABILA, is clear testimony of how the DRC has violated the Pretoria agreement.

In dealing with the threat posed by the DRC to the stability of this region, one has to look at DRC as a collapsed state. The African Union may have to come up with a

proposal on how the viability of the state of DRC could be re-established. The DRC as it is now remains a threat to the stability of this region.

BURUNDI

The Arusha initiative to have the rebel groups FNL and FDD sign on to a ceasefire agreement has not succeeded.

The region has issued an ultimatum to the rebels.

Rwanda supports the regional approach to resolving the Burundi conflict.

UGANDA

A memorandum of understanding under the auspices of the British government was signed in November 2001.

A Joint Verification Committee was created with the British Government as a third party. The purpose of the JVC was to investigate the allegations of hostility activities. By and large most of the allegations were dismissed after the verification. A Memorandum of understanding between the two Ministers of Defence was signed in July 2002. The main objective was to establish confidence building measures between the two forces.

The RPF and Movement System (NRM) Secretariats have put in place a mechanism through which the border disputes could be resolved with the aim of realising normal relationship along the common border.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

A full understanding of the real issues underlying the conflicts in the region by the international community, will be more helpful.

The conventional approach by the international community in dealing with this region has become obsolete.

The regional initiatives and approaches to resolving these conflicts have been either delayed or derailed by unrealistic and at times unsolicited interventions by varied interests of the international community.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the security and stability of the great lakes region can only be achieved through a multifaceted approach. The democratisation process will be difficult but must be completed. Economic and social welfare policies must be well studied and put in process to enable our people to live decent lives.

We must invest in education to enable our people participate adequately in this competitive world.

We must end the culture of impunity.

We must continue to encourage the return and integration of ex-FAR and, Rwandan Refugees.

We should engage the international community into a meaningful dialogue that helps resolve these conflicts.

We should continue the debate on how best the IMF/World Bank and our development partners, can support our economies to the full advantage of our people.

The African Union must have a place at the UN permanent security council, to be able to articulate the problems of specific importance to Africa.

Thank you for your attention.

V.PRESENTATION BY MR. MACHARIA KAMAU, RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, KIGALI

Salutations:

It gives me a great pleasure to address this important national conference. I would like to begin by first saying how moved and impressed I was yesterday ever at the opening of this Summit by the statements of both their Excellencies President Paul KAGAME and Joaquim Chissano. In those statements lie important lessons and recommendations for the way forward in building national and furthering reconciliation. President Kagame, the Government and the people of Rwanda merit our gratitude for hosting this event.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission should also be recognized for its initiative in making this gathering possible and for its laudable efforts in executing an ambitious and challenging mandate.

War and conflict shaped the founding of the United Nations. The nations did so in the realisation and fully aware of the devastating consequence for human kind of divisions amongst peoples and nations. In Rwanda, the events of 1994 and the dangers of recidivism have given added urgency to the task of building institutions and a society intended not only to preserve peace but also above all to protect human dignity while fostering social economic progress.

I am sure that all agree that reconciliation cannot be the task or responsibility only of the government. Every citizen has an obligation and the right to contribute to this process. I note from the report of the commission the significant contribution from civil society since the Summit in promoting unity. This effort can only be encouraged.

For the leadership of this nation, the task is immense but not insurmountable. For you in the leadership your primary task above all is to create an enabling environment for increased participation by all Rwandans in the reconstitution of their polity.

Mr. Chairman, in the steps you and your government have taken within this short period and under challenging circumstances. I perceive a commitment and strength

devoted to this process of nation building and reconciliation that measures up to the task. I refer here to the ongoing consolidation of the democratisation process, enhanced decentralization and strengthening of the rule of law. In the two years since the last summit, concrete progress has been registered in the plan for managing the transition period. The recently successfully completed local elections, the ongoing Gacaca process, the preparations for next year's elections, the consultations on the constitution; all attest to this ... And we at UNDP are proud to continue to be involved in these activities.

Rwanda certainly has much to show the world about confronting the challenge of recovery. The vigorous efforts being made by the country to deal with the legacy of the past do demonstrate that it is possible to reach beyond tragedy and rekindle hope. In fact I believe, like I am sure many others do, that negative history can be understood for what it is and efforts can be made not to repeat it. I believe people can be motivated to move on beyond their history. I believe that the politics and social educational practices of the day can be guided by well thought through policies that enhance social cohesion rather than undermine it.

And I believe that social and economic policies can be designed that will work as deterrence to violence, both collective and individual; and that immunize society against self-destruction.

The enormity of what transpired in the recent past makes the Summit a fitting venue for collectively reassessing our commitment to the goal of peaceful coexistence. Over the next several days, you will be bearing witness, sharing experiences, recognizing achievements, limitations and considering ways to bring more clarity and direction in this quest for peace and unity. In this way, while acknowledging the traumatic events that have led us to this point, we will also be transforming it into something else - something that can help to prevent such divisive policies from ever finding fertile ground in this nation again.

In this vain we in UNDP and indeed, in the United Nations organizations represented in Rwanda are committed to play our role in helping the government and people of Rwanda in building unity and enhancing reconciliation. The Millennium Development Goals that were adopted by world leaders at the Millennium Summit provide a framework for United Nations organizations and all development partners to provide support to the government and people of Rwanda. These development goals are themselves important for putting in and strengthening the foundations of peace precisely by promoting human development while fighting poverty, ignorance and disease.

Mr. Chairman, in my humble estimation, and taking a broader perspective, a key ingredient for sustainability in the efforts to bring about peace, unity and reconciliation is the parallel process of the restoration of peace, stability and economic prosperity in the sub region of the Great Lakes. The cultures, communities and not the least, the economies of this region are inter and intra-linked. A weak link anywhere will hold back progress of the whole. It is my wish, and I know certainly that of the government of Rwanda that all state and parties in the region respect and do their utmost to implement all aspects of the peace agreements that have been signed.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me reiterate that the United Nations system in Rwanda will continue to support you, the government and the people of Rwanda and to be your close partner in this vital national effort of unity and reconciliation. May this nation have the courage and the strength to achieve its noble cause. Thank you very much.

VI. *SOLIDARITY MESSAGE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMISSION*

Commissioner BONGANI FINCA

Chairperson of the National Summit,
Honorable Ministers,
Honorable Members of Parliament,
Chairperson & Members of the Commission for National Unity & Reconciliation,
Distinguished People of Rwanda attending this National Summit,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I bring greetings, support and solidarity from the South Africa Truth & Reconciliation Commission. I have been asked by the Chairperson of our Commission, His Grace the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to convey his sincere apology that he was not able to be here personally to represent our Commission. Allow me to express myself both personally and to share what I believe our Commission would like to convey to your Commission at this time.

There are moments in life when a person feels a deep sense of contrast. For me personally this is one of those moments. I sense within me:

- a contrast between being honored and being humbled by the honor;
- a contrast between the joy and pride of standing here as an African, in a congregation of distinguished Africans, united together by that deep longing for the Africa of which our children will one day be proud to call home, and sadness at the realization that the Africa of our dream continues to elude us;
- a contrast between the excitement that one feels as he kisses for the first time the soil of Rwanda, smell the freshness of its air, and taste the warmth of its hospitality, but not escape the trauma of touching the soil so soaked with the blood of so many innocent fellow Africans, not escape the sadness in the eyes of the orphans, the widows, and those who lived through that period of genocide that shocked and touched us all irrespective of where we lived and stayed at the time.

The Chairperson of our Commission, the commissioners, and all those who are associated with the work of the Truth & Reconciliation Commission of South Africa would like me at this moment to salute the President of Rwanda and his government, the Chairperson and members of the Commission on National Unity & Reconciliation, and all the people of Rwanda for the miracle that you have achieved thus far, for the bold steps you have taken especially in the DRC, for the ground you have

covered in bringing your country to normality, and for the hope that you bring to us all. Hope that out of the dust and the ashes Rwanda will rise again; hope that out of the dark and gloom of your past Rwanda will shine a light of a brighter tomorrow for Rwandese little boys and girls; hope that from the broken pieces of your national life, Rwanda will rebuild for itself a better future.

As members of the South Africa Truth & Reconciliation Commission we consider ourselves to be the friends of Rwanda, the colleagues and comrades of your Commission on National Unity and Reconciliation, and fellow dreamers with you of what others might call at this time impossible dreams. The dream:

That our two countries will one day experience true reconciliation,
That the wounds of our past will one day be fully healed,
And the unity and dignity of our people will one day be fully realized.

Allow me to quote Thabo Mbeki in words that I think capture vividly the heavy burden that we carry collectively and individually as we try to be obedient to the challenges that are before us as children and leaders in this continent at this time: " We cannot sleep well at night, when suffering continues to afflict millions of our people. Our nights cannot but be nights of nightmares, while millions of our people live in conditions of degrading poverty. Sleep cannot come easily when children get permanently disabled, both physically and mentally, because of lack of food. No nights will be restful, when millions have no jobs, and some are forced to beg, rob, and murder to ensure that they and their own do not perish from hunger."

I believe that the Rwandan Commission and the South African TRC are the two most prominent commissions in the continent of Africa dealing with the subject of how to deal responsibly with our ugly past. The challenges facing reconciliation in this continent and indeed throughout the global family of nations, are enormous. We have already achieved a lot in redefining the road to reconciliation.

Both our commissions have declared that Reconciliation is a process. It can never be an event. It is an extra-ordinarily long process that is both exciting and frustrating., exhilarating and painful, tangible in its results and intangible in its long term effect on individual lives of both victims and perpetrators.

Both our commissions have said that Reconciliation cannot be achieved unless we listen patiently to the voices of victims. They must show us the way to reconciliation. We need to have the humility to seek their wisdom, to follow their guidance, and never to fail them.

Both our commissions have said that Reconciliation cannot be achieved by glossing over the evil of our past. By-gones cannot be by-gones. If we ignore them they will come back to haunt us.

Both our commissions have said that Reconciliation is not a mirage. Reconciliation and reconstruction belong together. There must be an agenda

to deal with poverty, bridging the gap between those who have and those who have not. There must be good governance, democracy, and accountability by those who are entrusted with the responsibility to preside over the affairs of the nation.

Your commission, in particular, has done so much to make reconciliation part of the national agenda. In this summit you are building bridges, and opening windows so that the people of Rwanda at all levels are able to debate issues, set priorities, and hold each other accountable.

This National Summit speaks of a nation at work to set the national agenda for the future direction of reconciliation. For this we congratulate you. Your commission is leading the way for other commissions in how to build national consensus on the direction that the nation should follow, where every person has a contribution to make, irrespective of status, ranks, education, or position in life.

Our eyes are focused on this venture. We are eager to learn from you. For this reason, you dare not fail. If you fail we will all fail. If you win we will all be winners. We thank you.

We stand in solidarity with you. Today and in the future. God Bless Africa.

VII. ADDRESS DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF THE RWANDAN DIASPORA

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Mozambique,
Honorable Speaker of the National Assembly,
Right Honorable Prime Minister,
Honorable Chief Justice of the Supreme Court,
Honorable Ministers,
Honorable Members of the National Assembly,
Distinguished Members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Distinguished Rwandan Diplomats
Esteemed Representatives of Religious Organizations,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Fellow Countrymen and women,

On behalf of the Rwandan diaspora, I would like to thank the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for having invited us to this Summit, allowing us the opportunity to meet other Rwandans, so that together we can appreciate the achievements attained in building unity and reconciliation.

I would like to talk about the following issues:

1. Reviewing some of the aspects of Rwandan history and steps taken in building unity and reconciliation;
2. Activities of the Rwandan diaspora,
3. Obstacles and difficulties we have been encountering;
4. Our plans for the future
5. We request support in some of our endeavors
6. Expressing gratitude for the support given to the Rwandan diaspora.

1. Some of the aspects of Rwandan history and steps taken in building unity and reconciliation.

In the days of our great grandparents, Rwanda was a country characterized by its national unity, a country of courageous men and women who always vied to sacrifice themselves for their country. There were no ethnic conflicts. Offences were punished; justice was always done whenever cases of injustices occurred. The unity of Rwandans was dealt a severe blow when Rwanda fell under colonial rule, and this was in the interests of colonial masters. The situation kept on degenerating right up to the 1994 genocide and massacres.

Colonial misrule caused many Rwandans to flee their country, and some of them later on became foreign nationals, quite accidentally. History has shown that events happening in the country impact on all Rwandans, whoever and wherever they may be. It is indeed true that genocide has left us an awful legacy.

The Government of National Unity has steadily been sensitizing Rwandans to rebuild their country, beginning with the reconstruction of their unity. The Performance of the Government has given populations cause to trust their leaders. That commendable performance is illustrated by such things as the repatriation of refugees, the decentralization policy and the support of human rights.

2. Activities of the Rwandan diaspora

The Rwanda diaspora has been taking its cue from Rwandans at home in building the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. Let us take the example of Rwandans living in Southern Africa.

An ideological Committee, that is representative of all Rwandans, was set up and assigned the responsibility to sensitize Rwandans living in Southern Africa on the need to build confidence in their midst, so as to live harmoniously.

We seize this opportunity to thank the Ideological Committee for its unreserved efforts and commitment to build the Rwandan Community in Southern Africa. Among other achievements of the Ideological Committee, concerting with the South Africa Rwandan Organization, we can cite the following:

The members of the Commission charged with explaining issues relating to the organization of Rwandans in Southern Africa have toured the region

several times. They have been explaining the role Rwandans living in Southern Africa must play in building unity and reconciliation within Rwandan Society;

Pretty much has been done in building harmonious relations amongst Rwandans: fellow Rwandans turn up en masse to celebrate weddings; births are celebrated with lots of presents; anyone facing hardships is given assistance.

There is a special day that we all celebrate - the Rwandan Family Day. In order to improve the quality of our lives and enhance Rwandan culture, we created cultural clubs, the South Africa Rwandan Women Association (SARWA), Youth Clubs; Clergymen have programmes of prayer sessions. People often pray for the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. Committees representing all Rwandans have been set up in every country of that region, and in major South African cities.

Meetings have regularly been organized in order for us, Rwandans, to consider together how unity and reconciliation can further be enhanced. All this has been achieved thanks to the substantial support we receive from the Embassy of Rwanda in South Africa.

The Embassy helped us launch our activities with material support and ideas. The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission also impacted on us in the course of its tours.

The activities I have just described have equally been undertaken in other countries across the world.

The Ideological Committee has been collaborating with Rwanda Southern Africa Alliance (RSAA). We felt it was necessary to get our ideas across to other Rwandans living in other parts of the world. Out of this initiative came the first Rwandan Diaspora Conference which was held here in Kigali towards the end of last year. This conference made the Rwandan diaspora feel that they must get out of their isolation and actively participate in the reconstruction of their country. Another such conference is due to take place in December this year; it will be attended by Committees representing the Rwandan diaspora.

The Government of National Unity gave us considerable support for us to be able to achieve such a great thing as organizing a global conference of the Rwandan diaspora.

Let me recall here that the Organization of the Rwandan Diaspora has an internet address: Anyone interested in knowing more about that organization can just go on line.

3. Obstacles and difficulties encountered

- Limited resources that do not allow us to execute all our programmes;
- There are Rwandans here and there who are in need of explanations as to what is going on in the country, e.g. refugees living in camps;
- There are organizations that are bent on nullifying our actions and efforts.

4. Our plans for the future

Among other things planned for the future, we can cite the following:

- (1) Further enhancing activities existing here and there.
- (2) Poverty has been identified as one of the major causes of violence in the country; in the 1994 genocide, people killed their neighbors to acquire their property. We therefore intend to engage into actions and projects supporting the economy of the country.
- (3) We plan to organize a global conference of Committees representing the Rwandan Diaspora in December this year, with a view to further enhancing unity and reconciliation. Elections will then be run for the Executive Committee of the Rwandan Diaspora Global Network.

Here, I would like to recall that the acting Committee that organized last year's Diaspora Conference was provisionally charged with running the Diaspora up to the end of this year. This Committee will be replaced by the one due to be elected in the upcoming December Conference. Rwandans having no organizing committees in countries or regions where they live, are requested to put up those committees in earnest, so that they, too, can be represented in the December conference.

- (4) The unity of the Rwandan Diaspora will further be enhanced. More sensitisation campaigns will be undertaken to enlighten members of the Rwandan diaspora who have been showing little or no response so far. They will thus kick out of their isolation and join their fellow countrymen and women, and team up together as one to face the challenging tasks ahead.
- (5) More explanations will be given to members of the Rwandan Diaspora, as to what is going on in the country; and they will be further sensitized on their participation in building unity and reconciliation within the Rwandan society.

5. We request support in some of our endeavors.

- (I) We need financial support enabling us to finalize our programmes, especially those linked with unity and reconciliation;

- (2) We request the Repatriation Commission and the Unity and Reconciliation Commission to visit the Diaspora more often, and tell them the truth about what is happening back home, so that they can get out of their isolation. Thus, anyone willing to return home can feel free to come. And those choosing to remain abroad should be fed with accurate information as to what obtains back home.
- (3) People charged with organizing Rwandans, wherever they might be, should keep it up

6. Expressing gratitude for the support given to the Rwandan diaspora

- (1) We express our gratitude to the Government of National Unity for the support they gave us, enabling us to run our programmes. We also commend the courage and determination the Government of National Unity displayed in repatriating some of the Rwandans who had been held hostage.
- (2) We very much thank the embassy of Rwanda for the support it has been providing us in resources and ideas.
- (3) We commend the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for its incessant efforts to reach out to all Rwandans and teach them to build harmonious and convivial relations.

In the name of the Rwandan Diaspora in general, and on behalf of Rwandans living in Southern Africa in particular, I wish the best for the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, in their endeavors to build harmony within the Rwandan Society.

Let us all team up together as one, and let us keep up that noble goal which will be the source of sustainable unity and peace.

God Bless Rwanda. Thank you.

VIII. SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR (RET) HARALD GANNS, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Master of Ceremonies,

Dear Rwandan friends from all walks of life gathered here today,

Almost exactly two years ago, on October 18th 2000, I had the great honour and the privilege to deliver a short address at the opening of the first National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. Some of you might remember that I experienced difficulties to control my emotions coming back to a country which after more than 20 visits between 1994 and 1998 had left me with deep, sometimes revolting memories.

I have paid two more visits to your country since, one as a member of the so-called Eminent Persons Group from South Africa, Namibia and Germany to talk about experiences in unity and Reconciliation in our countries.

I have to confess that I am full of admiration for what the Commission has already been able to achieve, with limited resources and in a comparatively short period of time. I would just like to mention two specific sectors of particular importance:

The contacts with the Rwandan community outside the country, usually called "the diaspora". I am of course fully aware of the fact that part of diaspora, and not just a small one, is extremely difficult. The efforts of the Commission are all the more praiseworthy.

I still uphold the firm conviction that all Rwandans outside the country should participate in laying the foundation for the new Rwanda - but I underline with vigour : with strict exception of all those responsible for the planning and the execution of genocide!

History teaches us that exclusion is the most genuine source for new trouble, that the notion of inclusivity implies the best chances for success.

And in order to avoid any misunderstanding : inclusivity does not mean uniformity. It simply means that different kinds of approaches can be dealt with, accommodated and presented to the people for their free decision.

I would very much like to encourage the Commission to continue its efforts for such inclusivity.

The second sector are the consultations on grass roots level. I am not too sure about experiences with this kind of approach elsewhere, but I am afraid Germany had nothing similar after World War II or after reunification. After all I have read and heard I am deeply convinced that in this particular field it is Rwanda which can teach a lesson to the rest of us.

Taking note of the efforts of the Commission and observing with admiration the commitment of the Rwandan citizens, their profound will to reconcile and to unite, what could be the use of sharing experiences and lessons learned with a foreigner from Europe, a German from far away?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The history of my country during a large period of the 20th century was marked by problems of reconciliation and of unity. Above all Germany has to live with the burden of the holocaust, with its responsibility, with its guilt.

That is why I still uphold what I said when I came here for the first time in 1994 " Who else than a German could have a more profound feeling for what had happened and for the difficulties ahead?"

Of course: you cannot compare the situation in my country after 1945 and again after reunification in 1990 with Rwanda after 1994. But there are definitely a number of similarities. That is why I am convinced that some of our experiences and of our lessons learned could be of some use in your discussions about your specific way to unity and reconciliation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

To build a new future after having gone through the darkest period of one's history, one has first to deal with the past, to analyse the root causes for disaster, to investigate responsibilities of individuals and of groups of person, and above all to take care of the victims. Because of the time frame given to me I would just like to mention two or three examples of our German experiences

Justice

The great majority of the Germans considered it an absolute necessity to deal with our past before the courts. "No reconciliation without justice", a slogan often heard in your country was commonly accepted and acted accordingly.

No serious citizen has ever put into question that such a decision was justified, the Germans agree that it would have been a mistake and could not have served the future peaceful coexistence of our people if crimes of such fundamental gravity as genocide before 1945 and politically motivated personal persecution in the former GDR before 1990 would not have been dealt with.

It goes without saying that in all juridical proceedings including penitentiary conditions our authorities made it an important point to strictly respect all commonly recognized standards of human rights.

Educating our young people.

In order to learn the right lessons from our past profound knowledge of the course of history was imperative. That is why key emphasis was put on the study of facts, ideas, developments and personalities of the dark years.

Much effort was put into the drafting of school curricula and into the revision of schoolbooks. The new generation learned how it all happened and how similar catastrophes might be avoided in the future.

Let me add on a very personal note : I was one of those indoctrinated by the old dispensation. And the former masters had done a very good job: disregard, even hatred against minorities different from us and against the Jews in particular were deeply rooted in our minds. That is why my generation owes an awful lot to education after 1945, to the guidance of those who used to be our enemies, but also to a new generation of young German teachers.

Adult education.

Improving political awareness of the adult population centred around our past for many years. Still now there are many means for thorough information. The print media, radio, TV, films, institutions of civic education offer plenty of relevant opportunities. The most impressive way to get an idea of what happened are certainly visits to the sites of horror, some of them turned into museums or memorials, some - above all a number of concentration camps - being maintained in their almost original size and shape.

Compensation.

Correction of injustice, forgiveness for violations of fundamental human rights, healing of the wounds can of course not come from material compensation. But nevertheless: compensation and reparations were part of the process. It went without lengthy discussions that those who had suffered had a claim against the successors of the Nazi empire and of the former GDR. The Federal Republic of Germany tried to live up to these claims.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dealing with the past is one side of the coin, building a better future to prevent the repetition of disastrous events the other.

What did our country do in order to make use of the lessons learned?

Writing the new constitution.

The fathers of our new constitution after World War 2 were well aware of the fact that the basic law had paramount importance for the political culture of the country and would play a key role in determining the overall direction the Federal Republic would take.

This is why the spirit and the letter of our constitution clearly show that a serious attempt was made to enshrine some core values of modern mankind in the text in order to avoid the errors of the past. Even the best of all thinkable constitutions is of course no guarantee that political disasters can never occur again. But they can at least set unequivocal standards familiar to every citizen.

Monitoring of political power.

The respect of the constitution and the actions of the leadership must be monitored permanently in order to have a political early warning system and, if need be preventive action through the relevant mechanisms.

Inspired by the failures of our past such checks and balances are a prominent feature of our basic law. The Constitutional Court, a free press, an auditing authority, political parties, and above all civil society in all its components form all part of such a regulatory system.

Economic and Social development.

Peace and stability will be difficult to achieve if substantial economic and social differences cause new divisions, envy, even hatred between different groups of the population.

After reunification of the two parts of our country in 1990 this danger was evident. That is why economic assistance and particularly financial support for the former GDR was so important. The continuing tremendous flow of transfers from West to East is one of the most obvious proofs for our serious will to reunite the nation.

Education.

As I indicated earlier on school education, university education, adult education are of great importance in dealing with the past and healing the wounds. But it is probably decisive in preventing any disposition of our citizens to be misguided by wrong policies or by irresponsible politicians.

In this context the importance of the media, of books, particularly schoolbooks, of films and any other educative materials must be mentioned with emphasis. My country has put enormous material and spiritual means into this specific sector. This certainly been one of the essential reasons for our becoming a stable and deep rooted democracy with genuine and committed democrats who would never allow the terrible events of our history during the 20th century to happen again.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

After 1945 and after 1990 we had a lot of very painful lessons to learn in order to build a better Germany, to develop from an outlaw of mankind to a respected member of the family of nations. Born in 1935 I was myself part of this difficult process which has left many of us with traumatic memories. Today we know that it was well worth it.

Lessons were learned. But that does not mean that we should think we have to teach lessons to others. Situations in different countries at different times are different. But studying the experiences elsewhere might enrich discussions and inspire valuable concepts.

That is why partners of Rwanda with experiences in the complicated field of unity and reconciliation are ready to share ideas.

This is certainly true for the Team of Eminent Persons from South Africa, Namibia and Germany, all with their particular personal history in their respective countries, who made their first joint mission to Rwanda in June last year.

Rwanda has to shape its own future. But in doing so it can always count on genuine friends. Just make use of them!

IX. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. PAUL MBARAGA, A RWANDAN JOURNALIST LIVING IN GERMANY

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen
Fellow countrymen and women,

I am pleased to greet you, after this long exile of twelve years. It is a matter of great pride for a commoner like me to be standing here, in front of top executives of the country, the diplomatic corps and other eminent guests; out of these I would like to greet Hon. Minister ZUBER of the Rhineland - Palatinate.

I am known to some as a journalist, but I like to be considered here as a Rwandan who loves his country and would like to see it develop. My heart is rejoicing, as I speak, for I found in Rwanda a degree of peace and conviviality that I could never have expected. Even though there are still problems like poverty in the countryside, even though there is still a long way to go before achieving democracy, I was comforted to see that the leaders have the will to find solutions to all these problems. I had previously met, and talked with, some of the leaders when they were on external mission. That did actually allay my fears and gave me the courage to come back home, and see how far Rwanda had gone under the Government of National Unity. Here I should thank the Embassy of Rwanda in Germany for making arrangements for me to meet members of Rwanda's delegations.

I especially thank the President of the Republic, General Paul Kagame, who gave me an unexpected interview on his last tour in Germany in March this year. This was a godsend to me; I could then sense that I had taken too long to visit Rwanda I had been entertaining unfounded fears. I wish that other Rwandans who are still hesitating could come over and feel as gratified as I felt upon entering Rwanda and should I be back in foreign lands, I pledge to be an Ambassador giving the correct picture of Rwanda, contrary to that paraded, for propaganda reasons, by detractors of Rwanda. I for one, commit myself to collaborating with people having constructive ideas.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to the Unity and Reconciliation Commission for their warm hospitality, and for allowing me this opportunity to address Rwandans. I tried to drive it home to fellow Rwandans living in foreign countries that the Unity and Reconciliation Commission is the pivot of all the other policies of the country. I tried to persuade them to accept the invitation and come to this forum to express their disagreements with the current leadership of the country. Those who did not turn up are somehow stalling the reconciliation process. I however hope that the ones still having their minds in order will be with us here next year, in this forum holding for us promises of democracy.

I also thank other top Government executives present here, who, despite their innumerable engagements, allowed me time to talk with them while I am here. I was overawed by their high degree of convivial kindness.

Let me further express my amazement. Beautiful Rwanda, which some people call the country with a thousand hills, the country with a thousand problems, is also a country with a thousand wonders. For anyone, indeed, who closely watched the 100 days of tragic horrors in 1994, it was such a wonderful thing to see Rwandans standing together, in just about five years, hoisting their flag and chanting hymns honoring Rwandan culture. We all know Somalia has spent years and years trying to secure a Government of national unity; to date that government is not yet in sight. However the extent of tragedy that befell Rwanda cannot be compared to the bit Somalia went through. We owe the current 'One thousand Wonders' to the courage and heroism of some sons and daughters of Rwanda. The men and women who have steadily been working in this country from July 1994 to-date, deserve being highly commended; they indeed deserve medals. They worked in extremely hard times to resurrect Rwanda and mend the broken hearts of the holocaust survivors. It is therefore not surprising that in such extraordinary circumstances, some incidents of human rights violations could be here and there reported and denounced. Disagreements have also occurred in the midst of our heroes; some of them have had to resign their positions in Government, and others have been driven out of office, for going far astray from the charted political course of the early days of the struggle.

At a time when Rwanda is bracing herself to round up the last stage of the transition, it is desirable that those men and women, who have showed great courage in the last eight years, should get reconciled with all those who got politically estranged from them, except those suspected of genocide. Thus, leaders would set an example, for their fellow Rwandans, in the unity and reconciliation exercise.

This Unity and Reconciliation exercise has been on for some time in the reconciliatory Gacaca tribunals. I supported this strategy and I hope it will continue to be executed with attention and scrutiny, so as to ensure that the overall envisaged goal is attained. We have been hearing that, in the Gacaca debates, there are people who have been mixing up genocide and non-genocide cases. It must be made clear that genocide is distinct from other killings that occurred. And Rwandans should realize that genocide is not an issue concerning Tutsi alone, it is a question concerning all of us, Hutu, Twa and Tutsi. It is not an issue for Rwanda alone, it concerns the whole world community of nations. That is why the UNO established a tribunal charged with trying persons suspected of committing genocide in Rwanda. Mourning the dead should be an opportunity to further unite Rwandans; it should be a moment of grief uniting Rwandans in their remembrance of genocide victims. That grief should also be made to generate the energy enabling us all to swear that no one will again ignite genocide in Rwanda.

I commended the idea IBUKA recently had to conduct a census of courageous, Bahutu who chose to sacrifice themselves and die alongside the doomed Batutsi instead of yielding in to the pressures of the Interahamwe. I believe that this could help reconciliation, if people could understand the grief of other Rwandan families who have as yet not afforded the opportunity to bury their dead in dignity; For so far burials are only being done in honor of genocide victims.

This is why some people continue to entangle their sorrow with genocide issues; the consequence of this would be that the impact of genocide would tend to be reduced in the consciences of some Rwandans. The Government could contrive a way of remembering all the other Rwandans who died in the war, or who died as a result of war-induced factors like hunger, disease, despair, running about hills and through forests having no clear destination in mind etc.. And this has nothing to do with the theory of double genocide.

While on tour in Germany recently, the Executive Secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission met with us members of the Rwandan Diaspora Committee in Germany. We asked her why the Rwandans cannot conduct a sort of national debate to analyse the role we played in genocide, apart from the known crimes of the Interahamwe. If the Belgians, the French and the UN did do that exercise, why can't Rwandans, who are most concerned, do it? What had gone wrong with our psychology and our culture, to the point of allowing genocide to be committed in our society? The Executive Secretary noted that question saying it was quite pertinent. Now, I would like this question to be on the agenda of this second National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation.

Please allow me to seize this opportunity to ask Rwandans to forgive me. When genocide had just started here, in the first days that followed the assassination of the then Head of State, one Radio Rwanda journalist called me in Germany and said, "We want to have a Rwandan living out there who can tell us how the new developments in Rwanda are being perceived out there". And I personally volunteered to respond to that.

In Germany where I was, we had not yet clearly understood what was happening in Rwanda. Whether it was genocide or not, we could not tell. The clusters of dead bodies we were seeing on TV screens could have been those of people dying at the warfront. And the word "genocide" was as yet not in currency in media, with regard to Rwanda. President CLINTON had reportedly passed instructions to his administration, at the time, not to use the word "genocide" in reference to what was happening in Rwanda.

No secret word had been passed to me as to a genocide being in the offing in Rwanda. But when I got to know that the masses of people who were killed in this country were murdered just for belonging to an ethnic group, I denounced that crime to the best of my capacity.

What I regret however is that I being a journalist, did answer the Radio Rwanda journalist's questions with sentimental precipitation and anger. I remember that I was at the time accusing the RPF of escalating hostilities again, after killing the Head of State. Then people started talking of a meeting between the belligerents, the RPF refused to meet with KAMBANDA's Government, preferring to negotiate with the Army. I remember that I did denounce the attitude of the RPF, saying that the RPF was out to reduce Rwandans into factions. I energetically supported that

the RPF had to negotiate with the new Government. I was thus put on record as a supporter of the genocidal government.

Upon scrutiny, though, anyone can see that my real concern was that the new Government should be allowed to show its capacity to stop the killings. I did not give much thought to the issue as to whether KAMBANDA'S government had been legally formed or not, as to how the cabinet members had been sorted out for appointment. I considered at the time that a prolonged leadership vacuum could have caused a lot more harm; you remember that the President of the Republic the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court had just been assassinated.

I remember running a protracted internet chat with a fellow Rwandan who was then publishing the famous IMPURUZA magazine. He would tell me that he would never stop admiring his team, the RPF, and that his hymns would praise it to the best of his chords. I retorted saying that my team was Peace. Political parties existed in Rwanda, but I had refused to register with any of them. I would have supported anyone who would bring peace. And as far as I was concerned, RPF wasn't anywhere near being a provider of peace.

I was opposed to the war quite all right, but that does not mean I was against RPF's political line all through. The RPF launched the war saying it wanted democracy. I, too, have been striving for democracy. And actually, the basic principles of the RPF that I read have substance; they deserve being supported. It often pains me, though, to see that, by virtue of the tendency to amalgamate people and things, there is theory going round saying that anyone who did not support the RPF hates Tutsis. People entertaining those ideas are definitely against RPF because the RPF I am getting to know is a family that is open to all Rwandans accepting to go by its creed of basic principles. People who did think that I hate Tutsis are certainly wrong. I can refer them to July 1973 when I was at IPN, Butare: I was slated for expulsion along with Tutsis because I was accused of always consorting with Tutsis. I haven't changed ever since. I interact with my fellow Rwandans without bothering to know where they hail from, or what tribe they are.

Those Rwandans who took it for granted that I oppose the RPF, while they look forward to being freed by it, must have thought that I am no good to them at all. Whatever the case, there is something that I will never accept: I will never accept being accused of having called on Hutus and enjoin them to kill Tutsis. I have never used that kind of language.

Having to recall all this is certainly unsavory, it may even hurt some people or revive the anger of others. But, mind you, I have no choice:

I cannot ask for forgiveness without pleading guilty and substantiating my guilt in the first place. I have chosen to go it this way, because it is a very important thing; and then I ought to correct the wrong perception some Rwandans have of my person.

It is quite some time since I felt I should ask the RPA to forgive me for some of my words which they may have perceived as disheartening during their military campaigns. I ask all Rwandans, who were hurt by those statements of mine that I have just explained, to please forgive me. I ask the RPF to forgive me for charging them with the murder of HABYARIMANA in the absence of any investigation establishing that as a fact. I trust the RPF will forgive me, drawing from the warm welcome given me by the Secretary General at the RPF head-quarters in Kimihurura, and drawing further from the cordiality the RPF chairman bestowed upon me when I shared a dinner with him last May.

I pledge as from today that I will above all else, join hands with you who are building Rwanda. I will join you in fighting anyone attacking Rwanda or undermining your efforts. Thank you.

X. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. WALTER ZUBER MINISTER - PRESIDENT OF THE RHINELAND - PALATINATE

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

In my official capacity as a Representative of the Rhineland-Palatinate which has been linked with Rwanda by a partnership contract for 20 years, I seize this opportunity to thank you for being allowed to address the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation. We are just emerging from the bloodiest of all centuries, the 20th century; a century marked by wars and genocides in which Germany has had an inglorious share. The word used to go round that Jews had to be persecuted. This degenerated into the holocaust destructions of all sorts and millions of victims in several European countries, in World War II. The Nazi ideology said that Jews and Slaves were sub-humans. That ideology wiped off 6 million Jews who were brutally murdered. Some of them had lived as Germans, and with Germans for centuries.

Germany is in a better position, than any other country, to understand problems linked with the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. After 1945, the German people, like Rwanda today, was confronted to the same problems, following the horrible killings of German and other European Jews, along with other terrible legacies of the war. How can the holocaust be treated? How can reconciliation be achieved How can people live together again? How can deep fears and prejudices be eradicated?

Drawing from the experience of my country, I know that it is not easy to address all their problems; I know that nobody can tell how long it will take to achieve genuine reconciliation. Today, Germans practicing Judaism and Catholic Germans

live together in harmony. However, it took us nearly 20 years for people forget, on a large scale, the terrible events.

The perpetrators of the holocaust did enjoy Government pensions; and after 1945 lots of former Nazis were even given all the honors; this fuelled East-West tensions and the cold war. But when a new generation started to ask questions their parents and grand parents as to how they treated their Jewish compatriots, a movement concerned with old crimes was born. An intensive treatment of the issue began, with relevant training programmes, publications, exhibitions on the holocaust and on crimes committed by persons close to the German Army. Commemoration monuments were built, meetings between Germans and Jews were organized.

Twenty five years after the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany, one could safely assume that reconciliation had been achieved. It is during this period that we had the first democratic change of government. The new government entered into office with the motto "Daring to have a better democracy". We also redefined our relations with countries of Eastern Europe. And today, 13 years after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, relations with the peoples of Eastern Europe have been normalized.

Germany is now part of the engine of the European Union. The new reunified Germany is characterized by tolerance, peace and solidarity with all the nations.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to recall that Ambassador Harald Ganns talked yesterday of general conditions of national unity and reconciliation.

"Human dignity is inviolable". This must be a cardinal rule of conduct for us humans. The reduction of poverty and the promotion of education are the fundamental conditions enabling people to integrate that reality. There must be a compromise between the North and the South, and a general willingness to show a sense of responsibility and to cooperate in building the same world.

And this is what forms the basis for the partnership between Rwanda and the Rhineland-Palatinate, whose 20th anniversary we celebrated last spring. The Rhineland-Palatinate offered Rwanda a development partnership. With this sui generis partnership of a German Federal Land and a country of the South, the Rhineland - Palatinate and Rwanda have engaged into an unprecedented cooperation venture. This type of cooperation was meant to form the basis for consultations between such people as district leaders, religious leaders, associations executives and other social groups from both countries, with the aim of combating poverty, hunger and misery.

This partnership is a modest venture the budget of which cannot be compared with budgets of major international humanitarian organizations. But I don't know of any other development partnership involving as many people from both the North and the South, and allowing partners to get to know each other better, while they try in concert to build a better world.

The Rhineland Palatinate will remain a faithful friend of Rwanda. After these twenty years, we would like to intensify our friendly relations. We must extend our activities to the technical field. We must especially think of covering the education field as well, because, without proper education, unity and reconciliation wouldn't be possible. We must also consider changing our attitude in our relations with developing countries. We should attach more importance on people and not the alms and grants; people in the developing world should be considered as our partners, and as such they don't need any form of tutelage. For centuries, the destiny of the Africans has been determined by people from the North. For a long time, Africans have been deprived of the right to determine their own development, to take initiatives by themselves. That is why we must radically change our relations with them.

Our cooperation efforts are centered on people and not on regimes. Democratisation and political stability must be based on unproved living conditions. If the daily struggle for survival could be eased for the peoples of the South, it could correspondingly be possible for them to achieve long-term political stability, peace and reconciliation.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Ladies and gentlemen,

A politician from the West like me who came to Rwanda and saw the 1994 horrors, realizes today, upon visiting Nyarubuye, Ngenda or Gisozi, the great extent of memorial work Rwanda has done. A mystic Jew said, "The memory is the secret of deliverance". This adage helped us in Germany, it is certainly also useful for Rwanda. I have been visiting Rwanda since 1994, and on every tour I could see that the country was steadily developing. I would like to congratulate you for that.

Peace, democracy, the respect for human rights and constitutional order are the pillars over which our beautiful partner must be built. A major step has already been taken in that direction with the districts elections and decentralization. Populations themselves must decide on how to develop their districts, on which projects should be undertaken.

The development partnership between the Rhineland Palatinate and Rwanda is based on the principle of direct involvement of the grassroot leaders. "Democracy is the political model for humanity", according to Tomas G. MASARY When people with different political beliefs have the opportunity to organize themselves in political parties, to publicly express their ideas and publish them, then and only

then, a political debate is open on all the problems of a country. This is also a condition for peace, reconciliation and national unity.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

You are currently in the process of making a new Constitution for your country; next year you are going to run parliamentary and presidential elections. The Rhineland Palatinate will assist you again, as we did for the district elections. Be assured that the Rhineland Palatinate will support Rwanda in all her efforts in building unity, reconciliation and democracy.

XI. Address by the Head of Delegation, European Union, to the 2nd National Reconciliation Summit, 26th October 2002 - JEREMY LESTER

Friends from Rwanda, Friends from abroad

I address most particularly Rwandans present - I speak from my head and my heart, not only from my brief as Head of Delegation for the European Union, though I know that all I will say finds a resonance in the European Union as a whole. In workshops I can contribute constructive criticism, but now I come with a different message.

Rwanda -

Out of the ashes rises a Phoenix, a beautiful bird.

Reconciliation is the leading edge of a mighty agenda.

Reconciliation is not a stand-alone policy. It can only happen through action, through doing together.

- through demobilisation, - reintegration of the errant sheep and their return to the fold
- through democratisation - let everyone have a voice
- through decentralisation - demystify power, bring decision making down to the people
- above all, through the fight against poverty
- through each of these for they give life to reconciliation and reconciliation gives life to them.

My first thought on being asked to speak was why me? The thought I have now is "me, because, I have something to share with you all" - - and it's the same for you, Rwandans. The first thought about Rwanda, and by Rwandans, is "why me? For all we have is poverty, genocide, vicious circles of defeat". Well, it's not all, you have much, much more - the phoenix IS rising from the ashes. Rwanda is redefining itself, Rwanda is like a lighthouse, about to be lit to shine out as a guide to the world.

Through the new Partnership for African Development in Africa - NEPAD - Africa prepares to be its own measure of progress and integrity - So Africa needs measures from Africa, and Rwanda can be one.

'The English language is always open for new contributions - I hope that in the Year 2010 Webster's English Dictionary, there will be new words - new words from Rwanda

- gacaca - reconciliation through catharsis, truth;
- ubudehe - working together at a local level - the basic building bloc of reconciliation;
- ingando - Learning together and living together for reconciliation;

Rwanda is the phoenix - the bird that rises from the ashes, with ideas like gacaca, like ubudehe, like ingando which can be a model for the rest of the world, and yet a word of caution. Take nothing for granted. What comes up can come down - There is in each of us the tension between to be good and to slip back - God alone knows, your success will be hard won for it comes through forgiving, through asking for forgiveness, through atonement at-one-ment - the act of becoming one through reconciliation.

I call on all Rwandans, in the hills abroad, to join the effort - Let those living in Washington and Brussels be Ambassadors for the phoenix, for the rebirth.

In a post-modern vision of reality, we learn that we are permanently redefining ourselves.

Hutu, Tutsi or more, Rwandans.

English, French, or more, European,

African, European, or more, Human.

We are not, we are permanently becoming and the rediscovery, the redefinition of becoming Rwandan, is part of becoming a beacon for the world. Reconstruction of identity is at the centre of reconciliation.

Imagine, imagine a world where Palestinians and Jews realised that only false identity divides them.

Imagine, imagine a world where we realise that colour is 0.1 % of our genetic make-up, that we're 99.9% the same.

You, Rwandans, make it easier for us to imagine, for you leading the way for us.

For the redefinition, for the reconciliation to be more than empty words, it will take a great effort - keep up the reconciliation dimension in all - realise the common humanity of all - of prisoners, of children, of survivors - realise the human rights of all - Rwanda does not need to hide contradictions but to get rid of them.

I went recently to a conference where Rwandans discussed the threats they confront - The international community was said to be a great threat, and we of the "international community" must stand saddened and humbled by this impression.

But I put it to you that the greatest threat is FEAR. Fear of each other, fear of poverty and fear of failure - I say, set aside your fear, and through efforts such as this National Summit stand together, reconciling and progressively reconciled.

Get on with the next stage as soon as possible –

Grassroots reconciliation by:

- emptying prisons through gacaca,
- fighting ignorance and disempowerment through ubudehe,
- building togetherness and understanding through ingando.

Build in word, and build in deed, an identity and way of being which is a beacon to the world - Cast off fear, and stand proud and you truly can be the phoenix rising above the ashes.

XII. ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. AHMADOU LY, FORMER RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE OF UNDP IN RWANDA.

Your Excellency the President of the Republic,
Honorable Speaker of the National Assembly,
Right Honorable Prime Minister,
Honorable Ministers,
Honorable Members of Parliament,
Mr. Chairman of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission,
Ms. Executive Secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission,
Distinguished members of the Diplomatic Corps,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me in the first place to congratulate His Excellency the President of the Republic, Major General Paul KAGAME for creating the NURC and providing it with resources necessary for its operations.

I would also like to thank the members of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for inviting me to this Second National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation.

Much as I am honoured to address this august assembly, Ladies and Gentlemen, I realize there is a sort of undefinable feeling gripping my heart and my mind. I am torn between a deep sense of gratitude and the painful memory of tragedy that struck your country, so violently and unjustly.

As the Resident Representative of UNDP and coordinator of humanitarian assistance in Rwanda from 1990 to 1994, I cannot evoke that tragedy without thinking of a number of colleagues and friends who perished in that catastrophe. That tragedy is unique in the history of mankind, for in less than three months a million lives were wiped off; women, men, children and old folks.

Anyone acquainted with the Rwandan people was struck by the tragedy erupted on April 6, 1994. That unforgettable calamity struck a people that united by its culture, its language, its beliefs, with a civilization that is so rich refined! But the incredible thing

happened: brothers killed brothers, children their parents, parents killed their children. That tragedy was certainly the work of forces external to Rwandan culture, forces that violently undid ancestral traditions.

The roots of that violence are to be traced in the rebounding challenges the Rwandan people has been confronted with since 1959.

From 1990 to 1994, I got to know the realities of this country, and I witnessed lots of efforts and sacrifices made in search for peace:

I remember the NSELE negotiations and accords, in March 1991, that allowed a ceasefire.

I remember the MWANZA and ZANZIBAR accords concerning refugees, I remember the DAR-ES-SALAAM accords of 1992.

I remember the long and difficult ARUSHA negotiations which event led to the signature of the ARUSHA Peace Agreements on August 3, 1993.

I remember the negotiations that were held when there was a UN reconnaissance mission, which led to the Security Council's resolution of October 5 establishing UNAMIR.

I remember the NGONDORE and KINIHIRA negotiations, September 1993 - March 1994, whose aim was to prepare a Humanitarian Round Table.

Finally, I remember the KINIHIRA meeting, December 8, 1993, at which the RPF leaders and the Government fixed the date for the installation of Transitional Institutions. Alas, the demon of violence outdid all the efforts and sacrifices meant for peace. We had chaos instead of peace.

When I came on a mission in July 1994, to re-open UNDP offices and start assistance operations anew, I found a country in ruins, more than a million people murdered, widowers, orphans, a massive exodus of populations, public buildings demolished, contagious diseases, a vacuum of human resources.

Today, thanks to the determination of the President of the Republic, his love for his country and the sacrifices of the Rwandan people, there are important achievements in several areas: peace and security, building and rehabilitating public infrastructures, human resources, administrations back on track; everything is being done to rebuild confidence among the sons and daughters of Rwanda.

An eminent Chinese personality said, "It is not important to compare a country to another one, but rather a country to itself: the past and present situations".

This summit is a living testimony of the will and commitment of the current Government to seek peace and progress in Rwanda

I congratulate the Government and the People of Rwanda who, in spite of the tragic events they have gone through since 1959, and especially in 1994, have been able to stand up with determination and say "let us reconcile ourselves, not only among us, but also with the international community".