

REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION
COMMISSION

REPORT ON THE EVALUATION OF NATIONAL
UNITY AND RECONCILIATION
23 November 2001

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Kigali, June 2002

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PREFACE

After a history characterised by divisions amongst Rwandan people; which culminated into April 1994 genocide, the Government of national unity considers unity and reconciliation as the only right way to ensure security and peace, source of long-term development of our country.

It is in this vision that the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was set up with the following mission:

1. Serve as a forum for Rwandan people of different categories to exchange on their problems and find solutions in truth, freedom and mutual understanding.
2. Seek all possible ways of fostering spirit of patriotism amongst Rwandan people so as for every one to feel proud of being a Rwandan citizen.
3. Support all initiatives aiming at uniting Rwandan people and improving their social welfare.

Since its inception two and a half years ago, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission endeavoured to implement its mission through organising consultations aiming at encouraging full participation of the population in this drive of unity and reconciliation.

Well before the colonial era unity amongst Rwandan people was effective. Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were all Rwandans on an equal footing, that Rwanda was a common country for them all and no group could prevail over others in terms of citizenship claims. In order for Rwanda to recover its essence, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission considers that Rwandan people need to make a thorough self-assessment and reconciling with their own conscience as Rwandans and discuss truly and openly about their cohabitation. It is in this very scope that unity and reconciliation evaluation day was organised on November 23rd, 2001.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission hereby extend their gratitude to all who contributed to the success of these consultations, especially to Rwandan people who turned up massively, to facilitators as well as to donors mostly The Federal Republic of German who played a leading role in funding grassroots consultations, the evaluation day, and the reports through the NURC-GTZ Project Crisis Prevention Support to the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission. They also owe special thanks to His Excellency the President of the Republic who attended personally the Evaluation Day and outlined the principles on which must rest the coexistence between Rwandan people. No doubt that a great deal of achievements in the line of unity and reconciliation have been recorded to date and should add to the pride of all Rwandan people, therefore requiring their full support.

NDANGIZA FATUMA
Executive Secretary

INTRODUCTION

The mission of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission includes bringing together Rwandan people of all walks of life to exchange on their coexistence and ways of promoting their unity.

This makes reference to the Parliamentarian Law no. 03/99 of March 12th, 1999 setting up the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, especially in its Article three; which stipulates: "organise and oversee national public debates aiming at promoting national unity and reconciliation of Rwandan people".

The Commission organised a series of consultations in a bid to give a floor to Rwandan people to discuss and exchange on the ways of fostering their coexistence.

Debates on history of cohabitation of Rwandan people and the role of the population in good governance have been held across the country in order to help the participants to adopt attitudes towards improving coexistence of Rwandan people.

Basing on the recommendations of the National Summit on Unity and Reconciliation that urged the Commission to work closely with the population on the grass-root level, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission organised consultations on the current social relations amongst Rwandan people. This series of consultations have been sanctioned by a Unity and reconciliation Evaluation day that brought together the population and their leaders on each provincial level.

Through transparency, the population and their leaders had an opportunity to exchange on the recommendations from different consultations on provincial level, clarifications were provided and a number of resolutions were taken in order to strengthen harmonious coexistence amongst the population of the province.

This report; which entails recommendations adopted by the population sheds light to the indications of the current status of coexistence of Rwandan people as well as measures taken for the smooth way to unity and reconciliation for the betterment of every Rwandan.

II. **SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY, PAUL KAGAME, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC ON NOVEMBER 23RD, 2001 AT KIBUYE**

- Excellencies,
- Rwandese,
- Friends of Rwanda,

I greet you and wish you peace.

I first of all wish to express my thanks to the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission for having invited me to attend this function. May I also thank the Rwandan people across the country who responded to the call and attended consultations that are coming to close to day.

It's a rather good idea to have thought about evaluating our efforts towards achieving unity and reconciliation. The Government of National Unity is now seven years old and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has made two years of existence.

Therefore, evaluation as it is the case to day is just necessary. I wish to take this opportunity to dwell on some issues though raised by other various speakers.

FIRSTLY

I want to refresh our minds just in some highlight on how discrimination came to be the government policy of different regimes as they succeeded each other in Rwanda.

- Before colonial era: Kings and their entourage were coming only from predetermined families. As time came to pass, this brought about divisions and discrimination.
- During colonial era: Colonial masters and religious preachers capitalised on "divide and rule policy". In their sermons, they developed that Rwandan people are divided into distinctive ethnic groups, insisting that one group is naturally more intelligent than others and therefore has to rule over the rest. However, time came to pass when they made up their mind that the group that had been thought of being less intelligent was being oppressed and that it should rise up and liberate itself. This is how ethnic groups came to be marked into identity cards. The discrimination along ethnic group line has been more evident mostly in schools and in the leadership. It's from the colonial rule that sprouted antagonism between Hutu and Tutsi.
- During first and second Republic government: Rwanda recovered its independence and was destined to be governed by the nationals. Discrimination and division of Rwandan people came at the forefront of governance policy. This was built on in schools, public and private sectors.
- During genocide: this has been the climax. The government decided to exterminate one part of Rwandan population as well as all those who had

not been in favour of its extermination policy. Unity of Rwandan people got severely damaged.

SECONDLY

Allow me to talk about achievements of the Government of National Unity since it was set up. As we are all aware, the Government made it a top priority every effort to unite Rwandan people. There has been a sustained sensitisation of Rwandans for harmonious cohabitation.

This has been underlined mostly through speeches of leaders at different levels. It has also been streamlined through Ingando that had been organised across provinces. National radio and television made it a policy in their programmes.

- There are concrete actions that are specifically aiming at strengthening unity of Rwandan people. These include:
 - Setting up administrative structure inclusive of all Rwandans of different background,
 - Repatriation of refugees,
 - School admission according to grades attained,
 - Recruitment in the national army and police forces is open to every Rwandan willing and according to individuals' ability,
 - The national army is made of the former belligerents (Ex-FAR and Inkotanyi armed forces)
- Another concrete example that I wish to share with you is that many Rwandans are now convinced that there is no interest to be divided. This has been mostly the case in the following positive reactions:
 - Resisting infiltrators and their ideology,
 - Turning up massively in the local elections without discrimination,
 - Turning up massively in elections of Gacaca jurisdiction structures.

THIRDLY

A point I want to comment on concerns issues that call to our attention as far as we are to foster unity and reconciliation:

- I call upon every Rwandese and friends to support Good Governance in this country. First of all, leaders at different levels ought to adopt a good culture of transparency, accountability and always be people's interests minded. Good Governance also goes hand in hand with fighting against injustice; which involves everyone, supporting justice and truth, resisting any sort of ideology and actions that are likely to divide Rwandan people.
- Another problem that we should bring to the attention of Rwandan people is "poverty". Defeating poverty remains yet another way of strengthening unity and do away with conflicts.

FOURTHLY

My fourth contribution is in regards with measures that need to be taken. Certainly, there's a number of measures to be adopted, but allow me to share with you the following:

- Firstly, we shall have to continue clarifying some issues that some people misrepresent willingly,
- Secondly, live up to good ideas and work hard as I had mentioned it earlier on.

As far as clarifying some issues that some people interpret according to their own interests, I would like to highlight the following examples:

First example

There's an issue of people who died during the war, on the battle fields, which issue some tend to extrapolate for their personal ends hence confusing the population arguing that these victims have not been reburied in dignity. Rwandan people have to remember that Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi militia as well as Ex-FAR drew civilian population into the battle against the so-called enemies who had invaded Rwanda.

Second example

Some people say that the National Fund for Assistance to vulnerable genocide survivors is a way of discriminating Rwandan people. This is groundless indeed. The Government decided to specially assist vulnerable genocide survivors because they fell victims of a bad governance of previous regimes. On the other hand however, the Government has never forgotten other needy cases and mechanisms of assisting them have been set up through department of social affairs.

Third example

Land sharing is another misrepresented issue. It should however be clearly understood that this process requires full participation of the population and draw from the culture of cooperation.

The problem is likely to be created by some ill-willed people who want to take advantage of the issue for their own interests, be they political or intention of accumulating properties. It may also come from corrupt manners of leaders.

The Government of the National Unity can never condone injustice.

Fourth example

Lack of understanding of the resettlement policy. Some critics say that it's a way of dividing people and oppressing others. This is not the case of course. This policy aims to change the settlement system of Rwandan people; which will set apart settlement sites and sufficient land for enough production; hence ending disorderly land use.

Some people mislead the population about this land use policy fuelling their reluctance; hence derailing them from development.

Fifth example

There are some injustices against the population that are brought about by corrupt manners of the leaders. There are also other voices that hold the government accountable for division and corruption.

The Government can never overlook such malpractice. Every one is therefore called upon to fight against such impropriety and dare denounce publicly the culprits.

Sixth example

There's yet another issue of relying on the rumours and spreading them. I hereby call upon leaders of different levels and those in the media to investigate and explain and report, but the truth. Refrain from spreading false information; which discourages and diverts the population from going about chores to improve their social welfare.

I have highlighted these examples to remind ourselves that clarifying what seems to be misinformation remains an important contribution to the promotion of unity and reconciliation.

One of the measures that I have mentioned earlier and which I want to stress is to translate into concrete actions our good ideas. People should go beyond contributing good ideas. It's more than time to put them into practice. This calls us to work and fight against poverty and its effects.

Excellencies,
Rwandese,
Friends of Rwanda,
People of Kibuye,

I wish to close my speech by thanking once again all those who played a role in organising these consultations; which resulted into this day for evaluation of our effort towards building national unity and reconciliation.

I am grateful indeed for the recommendations drawn and it's a challenge for us all to implement what we have agreed upon. I also want to end my remarks by yet another thing that needs our utmost attention.

Today we have met in this stadium of GATWARO, in Kibuye town, where many people lost their lives during the genocide. To have gathered here on this very day when we assess our progress towards re-building our unity and reconciliation is a clear indication of goodwill in rehabilitating and building our country.

I then hereby declare closed the ceremonies of Evaluation day of Unity and Reconciliation and call upon Rwandan people to continue on this path way of Unity and Reconciliation. Thank you and Peace be with you.

III. NATIONWIDE CONSULTATIONS ON UNITY AND RECONCILIATION: APRIL- JUNE 2001

In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide; coexistence of Rwandan people which had been already crippled, turned sour and reigned a climate of mistrust, suspicion, sidelining and all sorts of oppositions between people.

In its various programmes to help Rwandan people to recover their unity, the Government of Unity has scored a lot on which must rest hope for the future. It's in this drive that consultations have been organised so that indications on coexistence between Rwandan people can be identified in order to promote good indicators or otherwise set right what is still wanting whilst resisting all sources of divisions.

In all provinces countrywide, exception made in Gisenyi; which was undergoing security problems when these consultations were underway, population estimated at 21,553 contributed ideas and recommendations on how to achieve unity and reconciliation.

III. 1. NATURE OF CONSULTATIONS

III.1.1. Objectives

These consultations aimed at establishing indications of harmonious coexistence, roots of divisions as well as measures to be taken to strengthen harmonious coexistence while resisting all sources of divisions.

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission as well as the leadership of the country will work out new strategies basing on indications identified so as for the convenient path-way to unity and reconciliation to continue to be embarked on by Rwandan people.

III.1.2. Methodologies

Consultations consisted of open discussions amongst participants in order to achieve their objectives. Facilitators gave floor to the population who spoke out their mind while contributing their ideas.

Before starting these consultations, a three day training on mobilisation and moderation focus group discussions was organised. This training, which took place on March 14th to 16th, 2001 at Kabusunzu brought together the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission staff from the co-ordination and provincial levels as

well as two honest people "Inyangamugayo" from each Province to help the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to facilitate these discussions.

III.1.3. Objectives of Consultations

The specific objectives were:

- Understanding mobilisation and how it is done,
- Understanding communication and its principles,
- Understanding channels of communications,
- Understanding group dynamism techniques,
- Understanding group leadership and establishing rapport.

This training used DELTA method (**D**evelopment, **E**ducation, **L**eadership **T**eams in **A**ction); which consists of encouraging trainees involvement whilst building on their basic skills.

III.1.4. Participants

In order to get enough and concrete indications of true picture of coexistence of Rwandans in Districts, a sample group of up to 300 people was selected. It was made of:

- Executive committee members of Sector,
- Executive committee members of Cell,
- Teachers,
- Religious associations,
- Honest people "Inyangamugayo",
- Vulnerable people,
- Educated and uneducated youth,
- Women's associations

III.1.5. Facilitation of Consultations

Facilitators proved to be highly skilled in initiating and analysing focus group discussions. Though facilitators were to guide discussions, they had to refrain from interfering with freedom of discussants.

Among other requirements of facilitators include:

- Respect of participants; which fosters confidence in them on behalf of the participants,
- Lead discussions,
- Demonstrating discussion logic; but without imposing it as a model,
- Collaborate with others as far as possible in order to reach a compromise and as and when need arises.

A facilitator needs to be a person of logic commanding confidence from the discussants.

Making use of their experience, facilitators tried to summarise and clarify ideas of the discussants. However, they always had to refrain from distorting participants' ideas or criticising them because people were developing their ideas purposefully.

III.2. OUTCOME OF CONSULTATIONS

Participants exchanged on coexistence of Rwandan people in three key areas and identified the following:

- Indicators of harmonious coexistence,
- Indicators of divisions and their origins,
- General recommendations.

On the national level, the outcomes of consultations; which depict the true picture of the current coexistence between Rwandan people can be summarised in the following points:

III.2.1. Indicators of harmonious coexistence

□ Students have equal chances in schools

In Rwanda, admission in schools used to be made by pre-established quota according to ethnic groups and regions. It was also believed that a child from a poor background could not secure admission unless those from affluent families or leaders have been already served.

Currently, students are promoted on the basis of grades scored during exams. Admission to university and other higher learning institutions is automatic to those who achieve required grades and those below the line never feel cheated. The National Examination board is congratulated for giving all students equal chances. In general, teachers have understood the education policy; which capitalises on the students' ability and strive to adhere to it.

□ Resisting and denouncing sectarian ideologies, resisting and denouncing infiltrators in their invasion of the country and unity of Rwandan people in maintaining security.

This has been testified through the local elections, collaboration in maintaining security, freedom and full complementarity without suspicion in the activities that bring together Rwandan people, disassociating themselves from the infiltrators attacks as well as supporting national army in fighting them and sensitising them to abandon the futile war aiming at dividing people in order to return in peace as it is the policy of the Government of National Unity.

A big number of Rwandan refugees were repatriated

The Government of Rwanda managed to repatriate its citizens when the International Community had failed to do it. This will allow Rwandan people to join their efforts together in order to build their country. Rwandans who returned

from exile received a warm welcome and were reintegrated in their properties and in their job positions according to individual competence.

It is worth recalling that the doors remain open to whoever wants to return in the country and at any time.

□ **Former belligerent forces form a national army**

Previous regimes which were ruling the country by "divide and rule" principle had made the national army the privilege of one ethnic group.

The Government of National Unity has strongly condemned divisions among Rwandans and invites all those who are capable to join the army forces. It's in this respect that the current National Army is made of former belligerent forces who are recruited on capability basis. The National Army has established very good relationship with the population in order to safeguard the national security.

□ **Orphans have been re-integrated in families**

One of the effects of the genocide was a big number of orphans who were taken into different orphanages after the war. Rwandan people made a tremendous step and understood that a Rwandan child had a right to life and education regardless of the child's ethnic background nor of his/her foster family. Children who were in the orphanages care got foster families.

The Government of National Unity initiated various programmes to assist vulnerable groups. These programmes include:

- The National Fund for assistance to vulnerable genocide survivors,
- The fund for assistance to orphans and the most vulnerable groups, which is managed by the Ministry of Local Governance and Social affairs.

□ **Properties illegally occupied were returned to their owners**

In a bid to establish equity amongst the population and in the respect of human rights in as far as rights to property ownership is concerned, properties belonging to returnees and those who were in the country; which were illegally occupied, were returned to the owners.

□ **Free and transparent local elections were organised**

Free and transparent elections were organised and the population elected their leaders only in consideration of what they expect from them. Rwandans turned up massively and exercised freely their right to vote without any sort of sectarianism.

□ **Setting up Gacaca jurisdictions which will help rebuild confidence between Rwandan people**

In order to eradicate the culture of impunity and in a bid to institute justice conducive to reconciliation the Government of Rwanda got inspired by a traditional justice system, taking into account mutual trust, unity and reconciliation of Rwandan people. This was due to the fact that our prisons are overcrowded full of genocide suspects that neither the national nor international judicial systems can cope and make trials in due course.

□ **No more ethnic background mention in identity cards**

According to the governance sectarian policy every Rwandan was required to have an identity card, which mentioned his/her ethnic background and region of origin. This card could be presented whenever requested for the bearer to get special favours.

Currently there is no more ethnic mention in identity card as it serves no purpose to the owner. Identity is no longer used as a tool for allowing special favours or discrimination as it used to be in the past. To be Rwandan is the only consideration, which confers to everybody's rights and role in the management of his/her country.

□ **Various Commissions were set up to improve the social welfare of the population**

The Government of National Unity has spared no effort to improve the social welfare of the population, to strengthen Unity and Reconciliation of Rwandan people and to eradicate source of injustice. It is in this regard that the Government set up different commissions and institutions to support its initiatives. These include:

- The National Commission for Human Rights
- The Constitutional Commission
- The National Electoral Commission whose mission is to strengthen Democracy and Good Governance
- The Unity and Reconciliation Commission, which has the mandate to serve as a forum for Rwandans to exchange on Unity and reconciliation and ways of fostering their harmonious coexistence and the social welfare
- The Poverty Reduction Commission
- The Demobilisation and reintegration Commission
- The HIV/AIDS Commission
- The special instance in charge of Gacaca jurisdictions within the Supreme Court
- The General Auditor's Office whose task is to monitor the management of public funds
- The National Tender Board
- An office in charge of Competitions for Civil Servants
- The National Examination Board

- The Rwanda Revenue Authority, RRA
 - The Anti-smuggling department was set up to fight against corruption and tax evasion
 - The office of Private Investment
 - Etc.
- ***Job positions are given on the merits basis through competitions***
 - ***Members of the National Army and the Police forces are recruited on a voluntary and capability basis***
 - ***Law guaranteeing women's rights to inheritance and succession was enacted.***
- This law was implemented in order to fight against gender discrimination.
 - Structures of Youths and women were set up in order to cater for these categories of the population and to allow them to have access in decision-making instances.

111.2.2. Indicators of division

❖ Infiltrators' activities from different countries whose aim is to destabilise the national security

Although inside the country Rwandan people have been fighting the sectarian ideology by opposing infiltrators' operations, there is yet another genocide plan through the war currently being prepared outside Rwanda.

Most of these operations are particularly found in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Interahamwe and Ex-FAR are being trained and rearmed to destabilise the country. They launched various military operations and found that the sectarian ideology is outdated, hence failing to get any support from the population.

The Government of National Unity keeps on sensitising Rwandan community still in exile to peacefully return and to join in the construction of their country.

However, there are still "hard liners" who are still determined to wage unjust war. There are also some corrupt politicians whose aim is to create confusion amongst the population by spreading sectarian and hatred ideologies, through speeches and in their publications. It is obvious that to some politicians the root of sectarian ideology is still strong.

❖ Some people are not keen to participate in the re-burial ceremonies of genocide victims and in different activities organised during the national mourning week

This is a clear indication that some people have not understood that the 1994 atrocities are a common tragedy for all Rwandans.

The fact of considering that these atrocities regard only one ethnic group of the population shows that the other group was not concerned by what happened in

Rwanda. This creates an atmosphere of mistrust amongst Rwandan people; which is hampering unity and reconciliation process.

In addition to that, some people do not make any difference between genocide and other crimes committed during the war in which civilians were forcefully involved and killed. The death is the same but the cause of that death is quite different.

The First and the Second Republic prepared the genocide.

The Government of National Unity is determined to remember and to bury in dignity victims of cruelty of preceding governments. However, this does not mean that whoever has lost his/ her relative during the war cannot bury him/her in dignity and that war crimes will go unpunished.

❖ **Slowness in genocide cases trials. Some of the genocide suspects might be innocent and courts' verdicts are not executed to compensate the victims**

This comes from misunderstanding of judicial procedures. Others seem to ignore the big number of genocide suspects currently detained in different prisons and jails across the country. More to that, the Rwandan judicial system lacks enough resources (equipment, human, etc.).

The general recommendation to that situation is to implement Gacaca jurisdictions as soon as possible.

❖ **Authorities in high positions going into exile and their confusing talk**

The population does not understand the reason why some high authorities flee the country when they are no longer in their positions. They neither understand why these authorities blackmail the country when they reach exile.

Furthermore the population says that some of the high authorities who are supposed to be the role models are teaching what they are not convinced of. They are serving their personal interests.

Therefore, Rwandan people recommend that high authorities should be chosen carefully and that they should be teaching what they are convinced of as their change of talk can only sow confusion into the population.

❖ **Land sharing process and related conflicts**

Though Rwandan people basically are not against the land sharing process, the implementation resulted into some problems. In most cases these problems were caused by:

- In many regions, lands shared belonged to those who had gone into exile in 1994.
- Some people who had received land during the sharing process sold them off and moved to other places. It is obvious that they had been given the land

when they were not in need of it despite the sacrifice paid by their counterparts in accepting to share with them.

- Some of the genocide survivors do not accept the land sharing process, hence, they do not feel concerned by the process.
- In different areas, some authorities took advantage of the land sharing process and reserved themselves big shares.
- The land sharing process is only done on small land belonging to poor people. Big properties of well-off people are not considered by the exercise.

❖ **Corruption in judicial system**

People are losing confidence in justice due to some corrupt judicial officials.

❖ **Corruption in local instances is the source of injustice**

Some local leaders have no monthly salaries. To earn their living, they ask for bribes, which were given different names to show that it is not a kind of corruption. This leads to misuse of their positions as local authorities expect some returns from people they are supposed to serve. Therefore, some people become victims of injustice when they have nothing to offer or else are deprived of their small properties.

❖ **Rumours which confuse the population**

These rumours result from wrong explanations published by the international media. There are also some very sensitive interviews of high authorities explaining why they went into exile and their hostile plans against their country.

❖ **Misunderstanding about "IBUKA" association**

Some people consider IBUKA as an association aimed at strengthening divisions amongst Rwandan people. This is due to the fact that some Rwandan people have not got enough explanations about the "raison d'etre" of this association. It has never been understood that people have to remember in order to criticise, to denounce and to ensure that the genocide never happens again in Rwanda.

It has never been understood how much genocide victims have been psychologically and physically affected by the atrocities committed against them and that they need particular attention to which all Rwandans have moral obligation to contribute.

❖ **Segregation in Funds to assist genocide orphans and widows**

This segregation is noticed on following points:

- Some people are ignored by the National Fund for Assistance to genocide survivors although they are all victims.

Examples:

- In some cases, a hutu widow who had married a tutsi or a tutsi widow who had married a hutu and their orphans are not catered for though their husbands were killed during the genocide.
- Sometimes the Fund assists only those who do not need assistance and the needy ones are put aside. This is mainly due to corruption prevailing in the Fund management, especially in selecting beneficiaries.
- Those who still do not understand the specificity of genocide effects say: "Widows and orphans are all equal. There should be only one Fund to cater for all without distinction. The Fund should be operating in Districts to allow decision-making instances to work closely with executive structures. According to them, it is absolutely unbelievable to make a distinction between the National Fund for Genocide Survivors and MINALOC Fund".

Other problems listed include:

- Teachers' salaries arrears and dismissals without notice.

Teachers complain saying:

- Why the rules and legislation governing the labour are not applied for teachers?
- Why are we dismissed without notice?
- Why are we not paid on time?

III.2.3. General recommendations from the population

- The law on land should be enacted as soon as possible
- The Rwandan people should be sensitised on laws, so as to be protected by them instead of facing them only when one is in courts.
- Funds to assist vulnerable groups should fulfill their mandate without any kind of discrimination.
- The Fund for the genocide survivors should be well managed to avoid divisions amongst Rwandans.
- Bad leaders should be identified and dismissed in due course. They should not be denounced only when they have gone into exile or when they retire.
- Radio Rwanda and leaders should be denouncing as quickly as possible rumours published by international media or by individuals.
- Teachers' contracts should be terminated in transparency and dignity. This should be done in respect of the labour law. Teachers should be getting their salaries on time like other civil servants.
- Government institutions should add more efforts in working closely with the population to fight against injustice.
- Leaders should make regular visits to the population to explain Government policies. These visits will help the population not to continue to be confused with malpractice some so-called government representatives.
- There should be local institutions capacity building to help them to better fulfill their tasks.

- Rwandan people should work hard and put aside sectarian backwardness which are time consuming.

It has been noticed that sources of most of the sectarian problems are based on misinformation and failure of both leaders and the population to play their role in solving these problems.

That is why a Unity and Reconciliation Evaluation Day was organised to allow leaders and the Population to set up strategies for strengthening progress made so far and to assess obstacles to harmonious coexistence of Rwandans.

The following part is about a report on outcome of various consultations held on November 23rd, 2001, which were aimed at evaluating the progress of Unity and Reconciliation process in the country. This was compiled from reports of consultations held in different Provinces.

I.V. GENERAL ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM DIFFERENT PROVINCIAL CONSULTATIONS HELD ON NOVEMBER 23rd, 2001

On November 23rd, 2001, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission organised different meetings on Unity and Reconciliation process throughout the country. Different categories of Rwandans participated in those consultations to assess the progress made so far in the field of social relations and coexistence of Rwandans.

The population took advantage of these consultations to voice freely their ideas; which are indicative of their current views in this respect.

Authorities in all instances of the country also participated in these consultations and sufficiently clarified issues raised and took strategies of keeping on explaining to the population issues which are still unclear in a bid to promote good achievements in the field of social relations and good coexistence of Rwandans.

Considering the history of the cohabitation of Rwandan people and unspeakable 1994 genocide, participants noted the apparent progress in as far as social relations and good coexistence of Rwandans and a will to improve still more although the way towards effective Unity and reconciliation is still long.

Everybody must be felt called upon to play his part in building unity and reconciliation process. Biased feelings should be fought and the social welfare of all Rwandans should be put in the frontline.

Following the recommendations from consultations held on November 23rd, 2001, amongst the obstacles against effective social relations and good coexistence of Rwandan people, we can mention:

- Misunderstanding of Government policy. This is caused by lack of clear explanations that are given to the population by some officials who misinterpret government policy.
- The population has not understood their role in various important activities. They expect everything from the Government.
- Top officials who are negative role models who have double talk. It's hard to know their exact position, hence sowing confusing in the population.
- Various effects of the 1994 war and genocide.
- Poverty and ignorance.
- Corrupt politicians who are still convinced that they need to use ethnicity and regionalism to achieve their ambitions, so they create divisions and put aside Rwandans' interests.
- Laws which are not clarified to the population to inform them about their rights, so that they can understand that laws are to protect them and not to oppress them.
- Slowness of authorities in solving problems of the population; which leads to the loss of confidence in the Government.
- Problems of land mainly resulting from a selfishness and lack of land legislation.
- Lack of confidence in judicial system due to the mischievous behaviour of their representatives who are corrupted.

In summary, it has been noticed that there is a lot to be done in political, judicial, social domains in order to foster good indicators of hope for a better future on which must rest harmonious coexistence of Rwandan people.

Furthermore, the population still needs life skill training focusing on their daily life experience in their respective Cells, Sectors and Districts.

This training should be a response to the real problems that they are facing.

According to the achievements so far, it is obvious that most people have already understood that harmonious coexistence remains the only pathway to peace and security; source of long term development. Also it was evidenced that it is not only the government business, but everybody should feel called upon to search for harmonious coexistence no matter young or old, poor or rich.

Consultations held on November 23rd, 2001 pointed out following recommendations which need further consideration:

- The Rwandan people are totally opposed to sectarian ideology and would like to be involved in different activities to safeguard the national security.
- Rwandan children have been given equal chances to education.
- Principles of rights to property have been respected. Properties that were illegally occupied have been returned to the owners.

- The population elected their leaders in consideration of their competence and plans for the Rwandan society.
- Rwandan people have equal chances of joining the National Army and Police forces.
- Rwandan refugees were repatriated.

There is a strong collaboration between the population, NGOs and associations in the process of improving unity and reconciliation. In particular, participants in the consultations thanked the initiatives of churches and other religious based associations for their role in unity and reconciliation process. They recommended that these initiatives should be strengthened and extended over to more other different part of the country.

As a general recommendation drawn from various consultations held in all provinces of the country, the population insisted that:

"Teachings appealing to people for love and truth, denouncing wrongdoing and encouraging people to apologise, defeating spirit of vengeance while fostering tolerance, promoting the culture of peace and personal security, promoting development and the social welfare of all Rwandan people should be regularly organised".

Unity and reconciliation seeds are already grounded in all fields of the life of country and we still need to entertain them to grow and prosper.

We are calling upon ministries, various institutions, associations and organisations to go down close to the population in order to:

- Explain development programmes of the country and those of organisations and associations, so that the population can become stakeholders in these programmes;
- Sensitise the population on the role they should play in those programmes, so that they can have a sense of ownership;
- The Ministry of Education should speed up the process of including civic education in primary and secondary schools curricula. These lessons will cultivate amongst the youths a patriotic spirit and help them become aware of their rights as citizens and their obligations in promoting the culture of good coexistence, tolerance, complementarity, peace and the social welfare.

Media should reach the population in order to inform and educate them. They should initiate different programmes in which the population should be involved.

The specific recommendations drawn from various consultations held on November 23rd, 2001 include:

- Speeding up Gacaca jurisdictions set up; which are expected to work for the betterment of good coexistence amongst Rwandan people.
- Preparing the population for harmonious coexistence with those who will have been acquitted by ordinary courts or Gacaca jurisdictions and sensitise

- detainees on good coexistence with the population in villages once they will be released.
- Speeding up the setting up of development programmes for the most vulnerable groups.
 - The National Assembly should to speed up the Law against Corruption and other related offences.
 - Officials in high instances should be chosen with care and Leader's code of Conduct be put in place.
 - A Compensation Fund is highly needed, as it could help judicial systems to execute verdicts of genocide trials.
 - Campaigns to sensitise Rwandan refugees on voluntarily repatriation should continue.
 - Promoting the welfare of the population by strengthening the National Poverty Reduction Programme and involving the population in its activities.
 - Competition for job position is a step to be appreciated and should be improved. They should be organised by experts in transparency. Specifications required for various positions should be clarified on time and results be known to the public.
 - The Law on Land should be enacted as soon as possible as it will solve some conflicts related to land.

V. CONCLUSION

Obstacles to harmonious coexistence of Rwandan people as shown by the population are mainly based on injustice, mismanagement and misunderstanding of Government strategies to improve their social welfare.

All sources of injustice like corruption, bad land sharing process should be fought by concerned people and a follow up to ensure that strategies adopted are implemented should be carried out.

The population should be sensitised on the will of the Government to search for their social welfare and harmonious coexistence. This will help to establish clearly distinction between individual malpractice from Government's agenda.

According to what is mentioned above, it is obvious that people who are not aware of the Government's programmes and its endeavours in fighting for their social welfare will never realise challenges that the Government might be facing in the implementation of its programmes. People have not understood that problems might result from the mismanagement of some individuals appointed in different positions.

It has been evidenced that the lack of sufficient information, lack of transparent and free debates where the population discuss about their problems are likely to lead to conflicts between themselves and their leaders.

If the population were invited to take part in various debates about their daily life, it should change their understanding and what they were considering as source of divisions could then be turned into opportunities for Unity and reconciliation.

Leaders at all levels should know that they represent the Government, that their mischievous behaviours are counted on the Government's shoulders. Therefore, it is imperative for them to be good role models in order for the population not to lose confidence in their Government.

Every administrative instance, from the cell level to the national level represents the Government therefore everyone should fight for the population's interests. It is depressing to note that the population in some areas of the country wonders whether the Government exists due to various injustices infringed on them by the local leaders, whereas Rwanda is a state of law country, adhering to the principal that we are equal before the law.

The population should be sensitised about their rights so as to resist all those who persecute them by requesting bribes to "buy" rights guaranteed by the law. Leaders who oppress the population should be identified and denounced publicly.

The population who elected them should be aware that they have rights to dismiss those corrupt leaders.

The population should be sensitised to stand and fight for their rights in tolerance and truth and leaders should support them in this exercise.

Achieving effective unity and reconciliation is a long way but it is possible. Peace, security and lasting development remain the best heritage we will leave to the future generation.

When every Rwandan, wherever he/she is at any time, will have understood his/her role to play in this process, there is no doubt unity and reconciliation will be achieved. Conflicts between Rwandan people, suspicion, divisions, hatred and woes that befell and destroyed this country will have been defeated and Rwandan people will live in prosperity forever.
