Rwanda Democracy and Governance Assessment

Produced for USAID Office of Democracy and Governance

By Management Systems International

Zeric Kay Smith – Team Leader
Timothy Longman – Analyst
Jean Paul Kimonyo – Analyst
Théoneste Rutagengwa – Logistician and Research Assistant

November 2002

Final Version

Table of Contents

ABBREVIATIONS LIST

CAURWA	Community of Autochthonous Rwandans
CCOAIB	Consultative Council for Organizations for Support of Grassroots Initiatives
CDC	Community Development Committee
CESTRAR	Central Syndicate of Workers in Rwanda
CLADHO	*Collectif des ligues et associations de défense des droits de l'homme au Rwanda*, The Rwandan Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defense of Human Rights
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DG	Democracy and Governance
FAR	Rwandan Armed Forces
GOR	Government of Rwanda
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICT	Information Communication Technology
LDGL	*Ligue des Droits de la Personne dans la Région des Grands Lacs*, The Human Rights League of the Great Lakes Region
MDR	Democratic and Republican Movement
MRND	National Revolutionary Movement for Development (later National Revolutionary Movement for Development and Democracy)
MINALOC	Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs
MINIJUST	Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations
PL	Liberal Party
PSD	Social Democratic Party
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SO	Strategic Objective
TNA	Transitional National Assembly

Executive Summary

This document was created on the basis of a research protocol established by USAID/Washington Democracy and Governance Center. The primary purpose of the Democracy and Governance Assessment is to inform USAID/Rwanda's strategic planning process as it prepares to put a new strategy into place that will guide USAID assistance in Rwanda for the period between 2004 – 2009. The document is an internal planning tool for the agency, and while it covers a great deal of information of interest to informed observers of Rwandan politics, its unique utility is the linkages made between general analytic findings of the research and the strategic recommendations made by the team. While the team provides some illustrative examples of program-level activities, these are not assumed to be definitive, as a further process of stakeholder consultation and program/activity design (currently underway) should define the specific parameters of future activities.

The assessment framework identifies five variables considered by political scientists to describe the critical issues at stake in the process of democratic transition and consolidation. These five variables and related summary findings are provided below.

Consensus

Consensus is basic agreement on the scope and content of the political arena. The essence of democracy is ordered competition. Consensus issues address the basic rules under which such competition takes place.
- Overall, consensus in Rwanda can only be classified as tentative at best.
- The boundaries of the state and the identity of citizens are not seriously in question though the genocide was at least in part an attempt to massively assert the non-citizenship of the Tutsi minority.
- There is considerable consensus on the need for and value of unity and reconciliation and the need to reject identity politics. At the same time, deep historical cleavages continue to divide Rwandan society.
  - Contemporary politics in Rwanda is marked by disagreement over how controlled the democratic process needs to be and how much open political debate can be allowed given a fragile social peace
  - Some political actors argue for greater control and a somewhat enforced unity while others believe that only diversity of opinion and a broad spectrum of political voices will lead to a stable political situation in the long-run
- There is wide agreement that democracy will only work in Rwanda if the country develops a democratic political culture and that this democratic political culture is now only nascent at best.
- There seems to be a marked mistrust between the elite and the masses with elites more likely to see ignorance, poverty, and intolerance of the masses as the source of social conflict and the masses viewing political manipulation by the elites as the key source of social disorder.
- Nearly all key political institutions in the country are in transition thus lending a great degree of uncertainty to the already existing level of dis-census.
  - New developments or reforms in decentralization, gacaca, civil society and media policy, constitutional reform including new roles for legislature, executive, and

judiciary, the basic rights of citizens, the role of political parties, and many other important issues.

- Proposed land reforms could become a major source of discontent, as could an economic downturn.

Rule of Law

Rule of law refers to the will and ability of a nation to enforce the rules of the political game. There may be consensus about the rules of the game, but without timely and consistent enforcement through judges, courts, statutes, lawyers, police, and informal means, there is no rule of law. Importantly in the context of Rwanda (and other post-conflict states) basic citizen security forms the bedrock on which rule of law is built.

- Overall, there have been signs of significant progress and improvements in the area of rule of law since 1994 granted there are many ongoing problems.
    - Massive efforts on the part of donors and GOR seem to have paid off in many regards:
        - Trials today are generally run in a predictable manner with respect for the rights of the accused.
        - New police force is more highly professional.
        - Basic security of citizens is dramatically improved.
        - Respect shown by RPF leaders for the rule of law since they came to power is improved, and they have shown a demonstrated commitment to reform in this area.
        - The role of the army in national politics has diminished significantly.
    - The most clear exception to this general positive trend is a continuing set of problems in the area of human rights and civil rights.
        - The government in power regards the elite, particularly the Hutu elite, with considerable suspicion, believing that if they are not kept under close scrutiny and control, they could mobilize the population once again for negative purposes.
        - The current regime has demonstrated a high degree of sensitivity to internal criticism and exercised control over critics using questionable legal tactics.
        - Professional and institutional issues in the judiciary remain a potential source of corruption and inefficiency
    - Gacaca may represent a sterling example of both commitment to ROL, as well as some of the problems remaining in the justice sector.

Inclusion

A critical hallmark of democracy is inclusion. Formal institutions and informal practice should support the rights of all citizens to participate in both governmental and non-governmental arenas. Inclusion should be both broad and deep, with all segments of the population consulted to the greatest extent possible, which is consistent with efficient government function. Rights of participation should be both guaranteed in law and most importantly in practice.

- The current regime has made a strong argument for an inclusive vision of Rwandan citizenship and has pursued inclusion in a number of areas. In fact the team believes

that inclusion represents the central ideological pillar of the RPF project. This is evidenced in areas including:
- Education
- Reconciliation activities
- Women
- Promotion of diversity
- Popular mobilization

- Yet on the other side of the balance sheet, inclusion is often formulaic or perfunctory in nature with significant pressure for conformity and actual decision making power seeming to lie with a relatively small number of high level public officials. Inclusion problems are seen to be serious and evidenced in the following areas:
  - Lack of institutions, systems, or mechanisms that recognize or promote power sharing among various political actors, instead there is a tendency for a singular view to hold sway
  - Marked constraints on public discourse
  - Economic exclusion evident
  - Status of Twa

Competition

Free and open competition for power based on popular sovereignty is perhaps the defining element of democracy. Free and fair elections are critical, but other closely related realms of competition are equally important, i.e., checks and balances, democratic decentralization, economic competition, public space for pluralism, an active civil society, and competition for ideas, including free media and freedom of expression. Issues of inclusion are echoed and reflected in problems at the level of competition.

- The government has tended to treat inclusion and competition as antagonistic rather than complementary principles.
- In its effort to create national unity and avoid a return to division and violence, the regime exerts considerable pressure for conformity of ideas and expression.
- Politicians, civil society activists, and others are expected to stay within tightly controlled bounds of discourse.
- Promise of greater competition may be found in constitutional reforms
  - Balance of power between government branches may be addressed
  - Decentralization may provide means for greater competition
- Lack of competition noted in a number of areas including:
  - Political party activity
    - o Party Forum often operates as an institution of control rather than a forum for dialogue and competition of ideas
  - Civil society
    - o Internal weakness
    - o Pressure/hostility from the state
  - Independent Media

Good Governance

Issues of good governance are intertwined with all four previous assessment variables. In the most immediate sense, good governance refers to efficiency and openness. In broader terms, the impact of all other variables comes together in the area of governance. Good governance

is "where the rubber meets the road;" it is the effective delivery of basic public goods that citizens can reasonably expect from a democratic state.

- On balance, the current regime has made a number of positive advances in the area of good governance, notably:
  - services are generally being delivered effectively, and institutional capacity has improved.
  - There has been a shift toward greater consideration of merit in a variety of ministries, and there are now a number of technically competent individuals working in various government offices
  - Improved transparency and attempts to control corruption
- The Congo war and the elicit trade related to the war is an area of concern.
- Decentralization opens avenues both for possible problems in governance but also a great deal more transparency in decisions that impact the prosaic events of most Rwandan citizens.

Strategy Recommendations

The assessment team believes that the primary/first order obstacles to democratic transition and consolidation in Rwanda are summarized under the *consensus* variable and that issues highlighted under the *competition* variable are also of serious concern. However, recognizing that consensus is a notoriously difficult obstacle to program against, the team reasons both that issues of competition are manifestations of consensus problems and improved competition can also have a positive impact on bridging social gaps. Democratic competition can result in improved institutions, provide incentives for good leadership, and lead to more genuine consensus ultimately helping to mend social cleavages.

Programmatically, the team views the areas of decentralization, tightly linked with civil society support, as the most promising focus for support – and perhaps the only logical point of entrée given Rwanda's current political situation. Further, the team sees considerable value in ongoing assistance targeted at the gacaca process, but considering the current high level of donor assistance to this area, the team suggests that USAID could rationally prioritize the first two activity sets in the event budget realities do not permit full engagement in gacaca assistance. Further, the team believes that with creative and well-targeted assistance programs, civil society strengthening activities as well as decentralization support could also provide important assistance to the ongoing gacaca process.

Acknowledgments

The assessment team owes the largest debts to our many interlocutors who allowed us to ask sometimes uncomfortable questions. The names of each are included in Appendix A of this document below. Particular appreciation is offered to USAID DG Strategic Objective 1 (SO1) co-team leaders Pierre Munyura and Kimberly Pease. The support of Lynn Carter, Karen Snow, and Natasha Wanachek of MSI in Washington is also gratefully noted. The unflagging assistance of Théoneste Rutagengwa in all phases of the project has made an otherwise impossible task enjoyable.

The team has also had the unique advantage of benefiting from the insights of other sub-sectoral assessments that have already been carried out in Rwanda over the past 2 years. A civil society assessment was carried out in early 2001 with a decentralization assessment, conflict vulnerability assessment, and justice sector assessment having been carried out in this calendar year. All these documents have been very useful reference points for the team and provide the interested reader with much greater detail than possible in the context of the broad sectoral assessment.

In spite of the assistance kindly offered us by all these people, all the usual disclaimers apply. The analysis and conclusions contained in this report do not represent official US or USAID policy and remain the sole responsibility of the authors themselves.

Section I Introduction

This assessment entails a somewhat unique analytical challenge. Often a DG assessment comes first and is followed by sub-sectoral assessments as needed to assist in the strategic planning process. In this case, USAID/Rwanda has recently conducted a number of sub-sectoral assessments or reports that focus on highly detailed accounts of DG sectors including: Civil Society, Decentralization, Justice/Rule of Law, Conflict Vulnerability, and Legislative Process. Further, each of these assessments or reports include detailed recommendations relevant to both immediate programming needs of USAID as well as long-range strategic planning. Because the DG assessment by design has as its first order priority to identify primary obstacles to democratic transition and consolidation in Rwanda, it takes a broader view than any of the previous assessments. However, the generally impressive job of the multiple teams engaged in the previous assessments has made the work of the DG assessment team easier. The DG assessment attempts to provide a time dimension that is not always evident in sub-sectoral assessments. We also aim at over-arching trends, principles, and theories in a way that would be less compelling in the context of sector-specific analysis. The detail and precision of the sub-sector assessments allows the DG assessment to rely on facts generated previously, provides a check on previous findings, and largely aims to synthesize the findings of other assessments. In fact as will be noted below, there is a remarkable amount of consistency between most of the findings of the assessments and reports noted. Hence, this assessment, broad and inclusive by design, should serve as a valuable final analytical step to solidify the strategy directions and point the way for upcoming activity design.

This assessment lays out the challenges faced in contemporary Rwanda in the areas of democracy and governance. It then suggests a broad strategy that responds to Rwandan political realities, opportunities and challenges offered by a host of transitional events including constitutional reform, gacaca, land reform, decentralization, and the comparative advantages offered by USAID and by past programming in the DG SO 1 by USAID/Rwanda. In the context of the broad strategy recommendations, the team also includes a set of suggested activities considered consistent with the proposed strategy. The activity recommendations should be considered illustrative or suggestive rather than definitive.

The final section of this assessment includes a set of risk scenarios mapping out negative, neutral, and positive political outcomes in the coming years, and maps out alternative strategic options that USAID may want to consider in the event that a particular set of potential political outcomes occurs.

The DG Assessment Method, Framework, and Findings

The Democracy Center of USAID regularly conducts DG assessments around the globe using a standard research tool. Typically, teams spend three weeks in the country and meet with a host of political actors, from high-level political operatives to civil society representatives as well as a sampling of local-level politicians and community groups. The Rwanda DG assessment team began work in Washington conducting preliminary interviews with USAID and the Department of State, as well as reviewing reports and previous research on Rwanda. After a team-planning meeting held at MSI offices, the team assembled in Rwanda with four members: two expatriate researchers, a Rwandan political scientist, and a Rwandan research assistant and logistics expert. The team spent 20 days in Rwanda including a three-day field

trip to Cyangugu Province and Butare Province, as well as a day trip taken to Rushashi District in Kigali Rural Province. The team met with over 120 different interlocutors in a series of key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observation. Through these interviews and meetings as well as a result of the study of documents, the team has assembled a series of informed impressions on the current state of democracy in Rwanda.

The team has come to nearly unanimous agreement on virtually all issues in this report, and even though Rwanda continues to face serious challenges in many areas relevant to Democracy and Governance assistance, the team remains essentially positive and optimistic about the future of both USAID's DG assistance and the future of Rwanda's democratic transition. The team spoke with numerous individuals who cited the excellent work of many USAID partners and the USAID DG team itself. The team believes strongly that the political history of the nation and the tragedy of the genocide in particular can be traced quite clearly to failures in the area of governance. Thus, we argue that active and positive engagement in the area of democracy and governance assistance in Rwanda is highly appropriate.

The brief summary of the Rwandan economic situation below provides perhaps the most convincing argument for current engagement with Rwanda on issues of democracy and governance. Consistently one of the poorest nations in the world, Rwanda had made slow but notable progress in fighting many of the indicators of poverty previous to 1994. The catastrophic political failure that led to war and genocide in 1994 also resulted in an immediate and dramatic increase in a host of poverty measures and devastated the health and education sectors, as well as disrupting AIDS prevention and family planning programs. As is recognized plainly in Rwanda's "Vision 2020" development plan and in Rwanda's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper/Plan, issues of good governance and democracy must play a key role in reducing poverty figures and contributing to continued improvements in health, education, and other important social sectors in the future.

Section II Interpreting Genocide – Recent Political History and Its Consequences for Current Political Environment

The central political fact of contemporary Rwandan politics is the 1994 genocide and civil war. It shapes contemporary politics in nearly every dimension. Yet like so much of Rwandan history, the interpretation of the causes and consequences of the genocide are controversial. Neither are political observers and analysts entirely unanimous on these issues. In this section we introduce and outline competing interpretations of these events. The balance of the assessment report will reference these interpretations at key points that will allow us to illustrate how these interpretations lead to various conclusions about contemporary politics. Although different members of the team have differing views on both the historical interpretation and the implications, we have attempted to maintain a sense of neutrality or balance in their presentation.

Contemporary Political History: Explanations of the Genocide and post-1994 political evolution

We aim for a forward-looking assessment focused on strategic planning needed for future programming. That said, context and specifics that shape the current political environment are vital. Disagreements over interpretations of Rwandan history are an active part of the current political climate, and how individuals understand the past – particularly how they explain the genocide – has a significant impact on their understanding of the current situation and their support for future reforms.

According to different sources, the estimates of the number killed in Rwanda's genocide between April and July 1994 range from 500,000 to 800,000 and up to 1,000,000 people, essentially Tutsi as well as some politically moderate Hutus.[1] The execution of the genocide probably included the participation of hundreds of thousands of people, although the masses participated in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons.

The particular character of the genocide, with massive numbers of victims as well as massive numbers of participants, had the effect of shredding the Rwandan social fabric. The genocide was also the outcome of a grave political crisis. The effects of the genocide have been profound for the social, political, and economic life of the country, and those effects are sure to be enduring. Today, on the eve of a nine-year political transition, the political and social actors in Rwanda remain conflicted as to the level of rehabilitation of Rwandan society and the measures needed to continue the process of sociopolitical reconstruction.

---

[1] Human Rights Watch has put forward the number of 500.000 Tutsi killed. (Human Rights Watch and Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, New York, Washington, London, Brussels, Human Rights Watch, Paris, International Federation of Human Rights, 1999, p.15). Gérard Prunier estimates the number of victims killed during the genocide as 800,000 Tutsi killed and 10,000 to 30,000 opposition Hutu. (Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda crisis, History of a genocide,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 265). The Ministry of Local Administration and Social Affairs has undertaken an enumeration of victims of the genocide of Tutsi and of Hutu politically or socially close to the Tutsi at 1,074,017 declared victims and 934,218 victims actually counted. These numbers are relatively close to the one-million figure declared by government officials since 1994. (République rwandaise, Ministère de l'Administration locale et des Affaires sociales, Direction de la Planification, *Dénombrement des victimes du génocide*, Kigali, mars 2001).

Contributing Factors to the Genocide

Understandings of the genocide have a direct effect on how people view post-genocide society, and hence it is important to consider the various interpretations currently held. We can distinguish between long-range and proximate causes of the genocide. We should recognize however that the precise causes remain a matter of debate both among social and political actors in Rwanda as well as among analysts and academics. The interpretation presented here is inspired by and synthesizes the most widely accepted (and thus in our view the most credible) theories in the academic milieu.[2]

Long-term Factors

Politicization

Rwandan socio-ethnic categories, Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, seem historically to have been based on socio-professional attributes and consisted of relatively flexible categories that were secondary to other identification categories, notably multi-ethnic clans and region. The most current research by Rwandan and foreign scholars demonstrates the development of an important political cleavage at the end of the nineteenth century.[3] The political cleavage was between the aristocracy and clients on the one hand and a large population of agriculturalists as well as poor pastoralists. The agriculturalists were subject to the practice of *uburetwa* that required them to pay for access to land. Scholars have situated the beginning of the politicization of social differences at this crucial period. Importantly this corresponded with a period of Rwandan state building and expansion.

There are two other arguments that contradict this interpretation of pre-colonial events. Both alternate interpretations have clear ideological origins. First is the argument that places the identity polarization between Hutu and Tutsi as the singular result of divisions imposed and manipulated by colonialism. Many current political actors in Rwanda have embraced this perspective in order to bolster efforts to create national unity. They have argued that people should no longer identify themselves by ethnic labels, because ethnicity had no historical reality in pre-colonial Rwanda.

The other argument, actually articulated by colonial powers and re-articulated by the purveyors of the genocide in the early 1990s, focuses on the primordial and intractable divisions between Tutsi and Hutu. This view posits the differences as fundamentally racial

---

[2] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda crisis, History of a genocide,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1997; Human Rights Watch and Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, New York, Washington, London, Brussels, Human Rights Watch, Paris, International Federation of Human Rights, 1999; Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers. Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence*, West Hartford, Kumarian Press, 1998; Filip Reyntjens, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en Crise*, Paris, Karthala, 1994. Catharine Newbury, "Background to Genocide in Rwanda," *Issue,* vol. 23, no 2, 1995; Timothy Longman, "Genocide and Socio-political Change: Massacres in Two Rwandan Villages", *Issue* vol. 23, no 2, 1995.

[3] Jan Vansina, *Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya*, Paris, Karthala, 2001. Jean-Népomucène Nkurikiyimfura, *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise, évolution historique : des XIIe-XIVe siècles à 1958*, Paris, Éditions l'Harmattan; Emmanuel Ntezimana, "Le Rwanda social, administratif et politique à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle," in *Au plus profond de l'Afrique*, sous la dir. de Gudrun Honke, Editions Peter Hamer Verlag, Wupertal, 1990; Alison des Forges. *Defeat is the Only Bad News: Rwanda under Musinga 1896-1931,* New Haven, Yale University; PhD thesis; Catharine Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression, Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda 1860-1960*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1988.

---

and concludes that because of the inherent invader status of the Tutsi, that they have no legitimate place in Rwanda.[4] Thus, the logic of the genocide required their extinction. Neither of these arguments finds any compelling support in scholarly research, though both have been used for political ends in contemporary Rwanda.

Ideological Hardening

The next important phase in the move toward ethnic conflict in Rwanda, that of the reification of social identity categories into distinct ethnic identities took place during the colonial era and largely as a result of colonial policy. The military and religious colonizers arrived in Rwanda at the end of the nineteenth century with a firm belief in the Hamitic Myth. The Hamitic Myth assumes that all forms of complex social organization or cultural expression that were found in Africa had an extra-African origin, notably that there were certain African phenotypes that originated in the Middle East and that these were inherently superior to Africans of supposed "Negroid" origins.[5] Facial characteristics and bodily attributes were used as evidence of this superiority and the Tutsi were identified as Hamites and declared superior to Hutu or Twa. Not only did the colonial schools work to profoundly implant these notions of racial category in Rwanda, but the colonial administration also reorganized the aristocracy to exclude virtually all Hutu and Twa. Furthermore, the Tutsi aristocracy collaborated with this system and happily benefited from the role as a privileged intermediary between the colonial administration and the Rwandan people.

Political Polarization

The third step was the political polarization of Rwandan social identity categories. As a result of colonial policy, Tutsi came thoroughly to dominate Rwandan society, economy, and politics. The centralization of political power eliminated formerly autonomous Hutu kingdoms, while administrative reforms begun in the 1920s systematically removed Hutu from political positions, so that by the late 1950s, all but two of the 45 chiefs and all but 10 of the 559 sub-chiefs were Tutsi.[6] Policies such as *ubureetwa*, a form of forced labor, exacerbated the economic gap between the Hutu and the Tutsi elite, while Hutu were excluded from educational and employment opportunities.

Political polarization ultimately resulted in an explosion of violent conflict in the 1950s near the end of the colonial period. In the early 1950s, the Tutsi aristocracy, which had collaborated with the Belgian colonial state as well as the Catholic Church, had begun to be influenced by the global movements of third-world independence. At the same time, a Hutu counter elite that had been trained in seminaries began to express frustration that their essentially liberal arts training did not permit them to enter state service unlike the Tutsi who had benefited from technical and professional schooling. At the popular level, the tensions were also mounting due to a rapid increase in population in the 1940s, which put greater pressure on land. The Hutu counter-elite turned their frustrations on the Tutsi administrators who in turn deflected the criticism, arguing that it was the colonial masters who were

---

[4] See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, Jean-François Dupaquier, Marcel Kabanda and J.Ngarambe, *Rwanda : les médias du génocide,* Paris, Khartala, 1995.
[5] Edith R. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History*, 1969, pp. 521-532.
[6] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis*, p. 27.

responsible for the undeniable inequalities and insisted that the Tutsi/Hutu division was not a legitimate problem.[7]

Faced with a grave problem and trying to salvage their own interests, the Belgian administration, as well as the Catholic Church, switched allegiances to support for the Hutu counter-elite. In 1959, with the birth of political parties, Parmehutu (the *Parti du mouvement pour l'émancipation hutu*) juxtaposed the minority Tutsi oppression with that of a democratic Hutu majority-rule in its manifesto demanding change. The growth and manipulations of political parties exacerbated the political conflict by pushing peasants into violent resistance against various chiefs. The colonial administration was accused of encouraging these developments, or at least failing to oppose these events until too late, as they rapidly led to a break down of authority and a revolution against the entire social order resulting in the end of the colonial state itself. In the process of ceding power, the Belgian colonial state effectively transferred power to a group of Hutu opposition figures who held extreme anti-Tutsi sentiment. The Parmehutu conflated the entire Tutsi aristocracy in such as way as to bring a clear racial angle to the Tutsi-Hutu conflict. This brought on a series of violent mobilization beginning in 1959 and culminating in particularly large-scale killings leading up to legislative elections in 1961.[8]

With the incursions of armed groups of exiled Tutsi from bordering countries, the *Mouvement démocratique républicain-Parmehutu* (MDR-Parmehutu)[9] regime committed large massacres against Tutsi, above all in December 1963 and January 1964 in the Gikongoro Prefecture, which killed more than 10,000 people, including women and children. The MDR-Parmehutu developed a powerful ideological discourse that portrayed the Tutsi as a foreign minority that had colonized the indigenous Hutu majority centuries earlier. They articulated a view that equated the triumph of the majority Hutu over the ruling minority Tutsi as a victory of democracy. This was the start of a pattern whereby a party of the intelligentsia defended the ideology of "democratic" domination of the majority over the minority and operationalized this domination through the use of mass violence.[10]

The Immediate Causes of the Genocide

The consensus of most scholars of Rwandan politics has considered the genocide of 1994 as first and foremost an act of political manipulation. Most also agree that the genocide was designed as a direct reaction against accommodation between the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). The RPA was a rebel movement composed mostly of Tutsi refugees who had fled earlier violence in Rwanda and which had been engaged in combat with the Rwandan army since 1990. Finally virtually all scholars interpret the genocide as being targeted against genuine democratic competition rather than resulting from democratic reforms.[11] Yet there are other important subtleties that need to be explored.

The genocide was a project planned and initiated by those who controlled the state apparatus. Thus we need to situate the genocide in the context of the wave of liberalization that swept

---

[7]Filip Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda, droit public et évolution politique 1916-1973*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1985; Ian Linden, *Christianisme et pouvoir au Rwanda (1900-1990)*, Paris, Karthala, 1999; René Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi,* New-York, Praeger, 1970.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Parmehutu added the *Mouvement démocratique républicain* to its name as it became the ruling party.

[10] Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "*La crise politique rwandaise*", *Genève –Afrique*, n°2, p.122.

[11] See references in note 2 above.

Africa in the early 1990s. After nearly 20 years of single-party rule that started in 1975 (following a July 1973 coup) the state party, the MRND, had given signs of liberalization in the face of a serious economic and social crisis. The crisis emerged from a precipitous decline in international prices for coffee and tea as well as from the social conflict and dislocation caused by an increasingly severe land shortage. The crisis was deepened by drought and ensuing famine in 1984 and more seriously in 1989.

By 1990 the MRND regime, led by Juvénal Habyarimana, was confronted with three principle pressures: pressure from donors to accept democratic reforms, the invasion of RPA forces, and pressure from internal critics. The critics were demanding an end to regional and ethnic discrimination, the return of refugees, and respect for the rule of law. Finally, by the end of 1990, there was mounting pressure from intellectuals who had begun to demand the re-institution of multiparty democracy.

The Habyarimana regime finally yielded to these multiple pressures, yet the way in which the MRND regime was able to undermine democratic reforms and abuse multiparty democracy has had a profound and continuing impact on Rwandan attitudes toward democratic government and, in particular, the role of political parties. With sporadic fighting ongoing with the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the regime accepted multiparty government in July 1991, and by April 1992 it had negotiated a power-sharing agreement with the creation of a government including a large coalition open to the political opposition. This government, managed by an MDR prime minister, then began a series of negotiations with the RPF that ultimately led to a peace treaty and a power-sharing mechanism – the Arusha Peace Accords. At the same time the MDR was also waging a veritable political war with MRND throughout the regions in the center, south, and southwest of the country. The MDR in particular, but also other opposition parties used political mobilization of youth groups, tactics of intimidation, and sometimes violence in their attempts to win adherents in the hills. The MRND in turn responded to each internal political offensive as well as each new section of the protocol leading to Arusha with violence of their own. It was during this time period, near the end of 1992 that the military and politicians within the MRND began to conceptualize and then organize the genocide and the massacre of the political opposition.

A variety of factors led to divisions in the opposition political parties and a realignment of political forces in favor of the MRND regime. From early in the negotiation process, Habyarimana made clear that he vested little significance in whatever accords they would produce. Massacres of Tutsi in northern Rwanda in January 1993 and a major RPA offensive in February 1993 added to ethnic and political tensions in the country that began to drive a wedge into opposition parties. A perception that the final Arusha Accords signed in August 1993 unfairly rewarded the RPF and, particularly, the assassination of Burundian President Melchior Ndadaye in October 1993 led to a major political shift in Rwanda. Although the MDR had dropped Parmehutu from its name, the anti-Tutsi ethnic ideology remained appealing to many party leaders and members. Both the MDR and Liberal Party split into two factions, with one representing a more moderate view in support of the Arusha Accords and the other strongly embracing "Parmehutuism" and joining into coalition with the MRND and another extremist party the *Coalition pour la défense de la république* (CDR) in a movement known as Hutu Power. In the Hutu-power controlled media, the calls for Parmehutuism resonated again and again, as Hutu were exhorted toward the conclusion that they must again liberate themselves from Tutsi invaders and the Hutu traitors who were willing to assist them.

The stage was thus set when the airplane of President Habyarimana went down in flames after being hit by at least two missiles on approach to Kigali on April 6, 1994. Returning from Dar-es-Salam, he had seemed poised to yield to pressure from other presidents in the region and to put the Arusha Accords into motion. The identity of those who launched the missiles is still a matter of impassioned debate, and even an expert team of researchers was unable to make a convincing judgment as to which of the principle antagonists had the most to gain from the early demise of Habyarimana.

In any event, the military clique and politicians of the MRND who had been preparing the genocide for more than a year put their plans into motion. The first killings were those of political party factions that had broken away in protest of the resurgence of Hutu Power and after their swift demise, the killers turned to the massacres of Tutsi across the territory that the MRND and their political allies controlled. In order to provide the institutional/logistical backbone for the genocidal project, the initiators quickly cobbled together a provisional government open to all the Hutu Power factions of opposition parties. This allowed the genocide to accelerate in the areas of the center, south and southwest where the MRND had lost control. This fact of course leads one to recognize the importance of the political party structures in actually mobilizing the mass killings.

The Participation Dimension of the Genocide

In general the political and ideological dimensions of the genocide have been privileged in most scholarly accounts, including the summary we provide above. A focus on Hutu Power ideology and the manipulations of elite politicians to drive the genocidal project are central to understanding the horrific event, however, to fully account for the Rwandan genocide, we also need to be able to explain the level of mass participation. The causes for this are also complex, but in summary we point to various observers who cite a number of contributing factors.

Certainly the massive poverty and ongoing economic crisis in Rwanda played an important role, perhaps necessary in this context, but arguably not a sufficient cause.[12] There are any number of nations in Africa and around the world with great poverty and significant socio-political divisions that have not experienced the popular mobilization evident in the Rwanda genocide. Other factors that have been listed as important contributors include the ideological inculcation of Hutu Power over an extended period of time and then revived in the 1992-94 period in the form of massive state propaganda; the manipulation of fear by those same propaganda organs that portrayed the RPF as an invading force bent on murder and mayhem;[13] and finally, the local level organization of the state, as well as political party organs themselves were put into action not to control the violence, but rather to unleash and enable it. Through penetrating social control, ideological manipulation, threats, extraordinary violence, avarice, ignorance, and taking advantage of poverty, the purveyors of genocide

---

[12] Luc Bonneaux, "Rwanda: A Case of Demographic Entrapment", *Lancet* 344, no 17, 1994, p. 1689-1690; Catharine Newbury, "Background to Genocide in Rwanda;" Jean-Claude Willame, "Aux sources de l'hécatombe rwandaise, " *Cahiers africains*, no 14, 1995; Catherine André and Jean-Philippe Plateau, "Land Tenure under Unbearable Stress: Rwanda Caught in The Malthusian Trap", *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organisation*, n°38, 1998, p. 1-47; Uvin, *Aiding Violence*.

[13] Some have argued that the RPF did not help its own cause in this regard, and the large number of war crimes on the part of RPF soldiers and officers have been a subject for both political criticism as well as ongoing war-crime trials.

were able to mobilize large numbers of people to kill on the basis of existing socio-political cleavages.

Security, Social, and Political Dynamiques in the Immediate Post-Genocide Period

The launch of the genocide pushed the RPA to restart combat with the *Force Armée Rwandaises* (FAR) with the articulated goal of taking over the national territory and thus ending the genocide. By the start of July 1994 the RPA had routed the FAR as well as the Interahamwe militias, with this defeat signaling the effective end of the genocide.

On July 17, 1994, the RPF published a declaration concerning the establishment of new state institutions. In this declaration, the RPF affirmed its commitment to the basic principles and outline of the previously negotiated Arusha Accords. In particular they pledged commitment to the rule of law, the construction of a national army open to all Rwandans, the sitting of a government of national unity based on an inclusive coalition of political forces. They also affirmed the legitimacy of the Constitution of 1991 as well as the Arusha Accords as the fundamental rules for governing the nation.

The RPF also announced that the MRND and the CDR, as well as the factions of all the other opposition parties who participated in the genocide would be disbanded and prohibited from political organization due to their primary implication in the genocide. Thus, the post of President and other positions reserved to MRND were devolved to the RPF. Due to its primary role in ending the genocide, the RPF would reserve to itself "an historical responsibility to ensure that the process of pacification, of national reconciliation, and of reconstruction are not hindered by political maneuvering" (Schabas and Imbleau, 1997, 306). The presidency was thus assumed by Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu member of the RPF.

A second important modification of the Arusha Accords included in the Declaration of the RPF was the creation of the post of Vice-President as well as the attribution of a ministerial portfolio to this office. The new Vice-President, Paul Kagame also held the portfolio of the Minister of Defense. Having served at the head of the RPA, this signaled not only the dominant position of the army in matters of security and defense but also that the army would exercise a particularly significant position in politics in the post-genocide era.

In line with the Arusha Accords, the Prime Ministerial position was given to the MDR in the person of Faustin Twagiramungu and on November 24, 1994, the eight political parties designated to participate in the government of national unity signed the accord to establish the national institutions as outlined in the fundamental texts. This meant the partition of Ministerial portfolios as well as seats in the Transitional National Assembly (TNA).

Note that it had been designed for the principal parties (RPF, MDR, PSD, and PL) to hold 13 deputy seats each, however, six additional seats were set apart for the army which were effectively additional RPF seats and again demonstrates the prominent position of the military in national politics at that time.

The immediate challenge for the country at this point was two-fold, restore security and rebuild almost the entirety of the national political, administrative, and social infrastructure. There were continuing acts of violence in small pockets of the country, both attributed to genocide perpetrators as well as reprisal killings both by victims and undisciplined factions of

the RPA. Further there were reports of looting on the part of some RPA factions.[14] These are important to note as the reaction to these events by residents of the affected communities impact negatively on the credibility of the RPF-led government in some areas of the country even today.

As late as 1996, the forces of the ex-FAR and allies, based in Zaire, had continued to carry out incursions into Rwanda with often deadly results. This continued situation of precarious security as well as the ethnic polarization induced by the genocide itself provoked serious tensions at the level of the transitional government. The RPF consistently emphasized the special character of the situation and used public security as the overriding justification for the exercise of what some saw as a very heavy political hand. The level of political control exercised by the RPF quickly led to serious disagreements with some of the strongest political figures among more independent minded factions in the government. Notably, Prime Minister Twagiramungu and the Minister of the Interior Sendashonga (RPF) demanded more administrative autonomy as well as more concerted action on the part of the RPF to crackdown on human rights abuses by RPA soldiers. They both left the government in 1995, along with three other Hutu ministers, after which the RPF tightened its control on the government.

Infiltrators loyal to the leaders of the genocide began an insurrection in northwest Rwanda in May 1997. In order to separate the civilian population from armed elements, the RPA used a host of repressive tactics, which to this day have alienated some communities from the RPF's political aims. Ultimately the RPA was successful in squelching this incursion, and since the middle of 1998, the country has known an extended period of relative security. The serious and widespread human rights violations that reportedly accompanied the 1998 insurrection are largely a thing of the past, although the legacy of division continues in some areas.

The increased level of basic security in the country has clearly been accompanied by what has been interpreted by many analysts as a gradual narrowing of the political space. The RPF, though nominally engaged in a government of national unity, remains in a very strong position in relation to any other politically relevant actors in the country today. We outline in Section III below the particular mechanisms of this control but to summarize, the RPF maintains effective control over virtually all state institutions, exercises tight control over political debate, keeps a wary eye on the activities of independent civil society, and has largely re-integrated Rwandan Churches into the sphere of political control. These developments are not necessarily negative, since the dramatic improvement of the security situation for a large majority of Rwandans as well as the ongoing rebuilding of administrative and physical infrastructure are both to be recognized and encouraged. Nonetheless, the current political situation, with a dynamic set of processes unfolding simultaneously (new constitution, evolution of decentralization, national elections, gacaca, land reform, media law, etc.), is certainly poised to evolve, perhaps dramatically, in the coming years.

---

[14] For example, in 1995 there was an assault by the RPA on the camp for internally displaced people at Kibeho, where some armed elements used the camp as a base for attacks in the area. The RPA assault involved extensive violence and hundreds of civilian deaths. These events are amply documented. C.f., Amnesty International, "Rwanda and Burundi: The Return Home, Rumours and Reatlities," AFR 02/001/1996, London, February 26 1996.

External Political Environment – The Neighborhood

The sense of security in Rwanda today is as dependent upon conditions in neighboring countries as on the current situation within Rwandan territory. Rebel attacks from across Rwanda's borders have been a recurrent theme in modern Rwanda history, dating back to the immediate post independence raids on Rwanda by refugees driven out of the country by the internal violence that began in 1959. The Rwandan Patriotic Front, itself initially a rebel movement based in Uganda, established the current government after driving from power the regime responsible for the 1994 genocide. The continuing presence in Congo of the militias and armed forces that carried out the genocide has posed an ongoing security threat for Rwanda. The Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) intervened in Congo in 1996-97 in part to close the refugee camps in which the Hutu armed groups were based. The RPA justified its second intervention in Congo in 1998 in part on the need to root out Hutu rebel groups responsible for the attacks on northwestern Rwanda in 1997 and 1998.

The ongoing presence of Hutu militias in Congo served as a justification for the retention of Rwandan troops in Congo until their withdrawal, and it could become justification for re-entry into Congo. As Joseph Mutaboba, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation, claimed, "Every day for the last four years our troops have fought ex-FAR [the former Armed Forces of Rwanda] and Interahamwe. The way we keep security in our borders is by keeping those guys at bay." The serious negative impact of the lengthy war on Congolese citizens, however, produced significant international pressure for a resolution to the conflict. Following criticism of the Rwandan regime for its perceived unwillingness to reach an agreement, President Kagame in July signed an accord with Congolese President Kabila (with the mediation of South Africa and the United Nations) to withdraw troops from Congo, and troop withdrawal was completed in a surprisingly rapid fashion. Developments in Congo over the next several years will have a major impact on Rwanda, since the establishment of peace and order in Congo could help increase the sense of security in Rwanda, whereas a renewal of raids on Rwanda by Hutu rebel groups could have a critical destabilizing impact on Rwanda's internal security situation.

The war in Congo has had a negative impact on Rwanda's relations with its neighbor to the north, Uganda. Formerly closely allied with the Rwandan regime, relations broke down early in the second Congo war, with Uganda and Rwanda each allying themselves with rival Congolese rebel factions. Although Rwandan and Ugandan troops did briefly clash in Congo and troop levels along the Uganda-Rwanda border have periodically been raised, the border has never been closed. Tensions have dissipated since they reached a height in 2001, and war between Rwanda and Uganda now seems unlikely, though relations between the countries should remain a subject of concern.

Ongoing disorder in Burundi is also an important concern for Rwanda. Because of similar ethnic structures and a history of common colonial rule, ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi have been closely linked, with violence in one country heightening tensions in the other. Refugees from each country have been important actors in political conflicts in the other. The civil war that has been going on in Burundi since 1993 remains a concern, as an upsurge in violence could drive refugees into Rwanda, where they could have a serious destabilizing impact. Deteriorating security conditions in Burundi could also allow Burundi to become a base for Rwandan Hutu rebel groups.

Economic Context

By virtually all measures, the current economic situation of Rwanda is dire, a condition that is intimately connected with political factors. Not only is poverty regarded as a significant contributing factor to ethno-political violence,[15] but Rwanda also represents compelling evidence of how profound political violence deepens poverty.

Rwanda is currently engaged in the HIPC debt reduction negotiations with the World Bank and IMF and has recently authored a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2002 a and b). The PRSP provides an authoritative overview of the current economic challenges that Rwanda faces. Overall, the PRSP notes that Rwanda's persistent poverty is a function of both economic and political factors. In the face of rapid population increases, the Rwandan economy has faced anemic growth from the 1980s through the 1990s with per capita income falling sharply in the early 1990s in response to lower international commodity prices (Ibid. 7). The war and genocide severely aggravated these problems as vast human capacity was lost, health indicators dropped precipitously, and the infrastructures need to deliver the most basic of services were destroyed. To illustrate the impact, in 1990, 47.5 percent of Rwandan households fell below the poverty line. In 1994, 77.8 percent fell below. There have been slow but steady reductions in this figure since 1994 with the most recent comparable figures indicating 64.1 percent below the poverty line in 2000. Figure 1[16] below captures the movement.

Figure 1 Movements in Poverty Since 1985
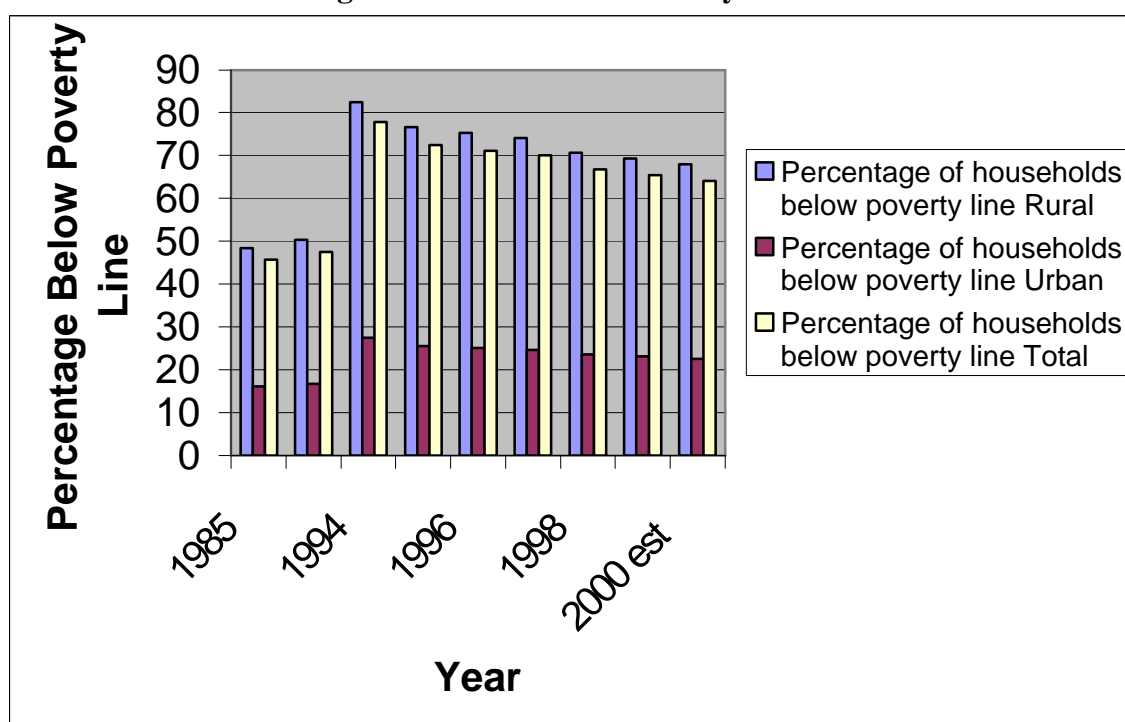
In spite of an increased economic growth rate since 1994, it is vital to note that inequality is also quite apparent in Rwanda today. This is particularly evident in the differences between

---

[15] Uvin, *Aiding Violence*; André and Plateau, "Land Tenure under Unbearable Stress."
[16] Data from (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2002 a and b, 14.

living standards of urban and rural people. Using a common measure of inequality, the Gini coefficient, Rwanda as a whole currently demonstrates a pattern of dramatic inequality (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2002 c, 4). Measures of household consumption show that the "poorest 20% of households account for only 3.5% of total consumption, the poorest 40% for 10.1%".[17] Poverty is negatively related to educational attainment and health status. Food, health, and education are key issues of primary concern for a large majority of Rwandans and issues of democracy and governance must be understood in this context of need to make sense of both Rwanda's political past and future.

Not only do considerations of poverty play an important analytical role in the context of this assessment, but also the PRSP itself represents the outline of current development strategy and priorities for Rwanda. Donors are expected to step in and fill gaps in the national blueprint that might otherwise go under funded and the US is committed to this basic premise. The PRSP identifies good governance as one of six priority areas. Good governance includes "transparency, accountability, good financial management, and the use of participatory development approaches" (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning 2002 a). Further the PRSP cites activities in the areas of national reconciliation, human rights, criminal justice system and gacaca, constitutional reform and democratization, decentralization, and accountability and transparency as important contributors in the priority area of good governance. All of the team's recommended activities fall solidly within these Rwandan-identified priorities.

---

[17] Consumption is defined to include "purchase of food, and non food items as well as valuations of household consumption of self-produced production, expenditures in kind, imputed rental value of owner-occupied dwellings, and other imputed transactions" (Ibid. 3). The Gini coefficient is .451 which is relatively high in comparison to other African nations.

Section III Actors, Interests, and Institutions

Actors, institutions, and the play of interests or incentives are determinant elements in transition to democracy, or, conversely, in stifling innovation and reform in the political system. This section reviews a number of specific elements in Rwanda's political environment and assesses the current or potential role of these actors and institutions, including both constraints and opportunities for transition to a more democratic system.

The RPF and the Executive Branch

Political power in Rwanda today is centered quite distinctly on the executive branch and more particularly in the office (and the person) of the President, Paul Kagame. Though the transitional government includes multiple parties, ostensibly governing in partnership, there is no serious dispute by any objective observer that the RPF is firmly in control. The RPF makes virtually all important policy decisions that are then handed down through the administrative structure of the Executive to the relevant ministries for implementation. The RPF itself (like all parties in the country) is organized only at the national level and has no formal "members", although it does have an extensive network of supporters. There are two principle institutions of the party, the first is the Executive Committee, consisting of a core of 20 of the most influential party members and charged with the daily functioning of the party. The Executive Committee meets regularly (at least weekly) and debates both issues of grand direction and policy implementation. On occasion the Executive Committee convenes meetings of the Political Bureau (approximately 200 members), which is, ostensibly, the governing organ of the party. The Executive Committee reports that the practice of decision making for major issues is normally as follows: The Executive Committee debates and comes to consensus then presents a set of arguments to the Political Bureau. The Political Bureau in turn considers, debates and also comes to consensus on the decision to be taken. Reportedly decisions at both institutions are taken on the basis of "consensus". However, the actual mechanism for determining consensus is not entirely clear. Sometimes it seems that it may be voted and at others it was reported to be a general sense of agreement. In the later case, it is not clear who determines the sense of agreement or what mechanisms are used to objectively establish this agreement. What is clear is that after decisions are settled on, it is expect that the debate is over. Thus the principle of democratic centralism is followed in RPF decision-making.

Some observers have noted that the decision making at the level of the RPF has become increasingly insular with a smaller number of people in the inner circle that surrounds the president. Others point to the examples of broad consultation and more power given to institutions such as the Ministry of Local Government and the Constitutional Reform and the Unity and Reconciliation Commissions as counter evidence to this assertion. In either case, the main source of political power in the country remains clearly centered on the Executive Branch and in particular it is clear that the President exercises a great deal of personal power independent of the already considerable power vested in the office. Finally, the central role of the RPF as the guiding ideological power and source of virtually all policy innovation also seems to be supportable by most available evidence. Yet, a brief look at developments in the immediate post genocide help to understand the dynamics of power in the realm of both the Executive and at the level of the RPF.

Political Forces and Institutions During the Transition - Competing Visions of the Path to Unity

In the first years after the genocide, the security situation of the nation was precarious. As noted above, the RPF thus took a somewhat heavy-handed, if arguably justified, approach that allowed only a small cadre of decision makers who shared a common wartime experience to have any real impact on political decisions. This period was also marked by a distinct lack of transparency in political decision-making and indiscipline in regards to controlling the actions of some military personnel who engaged in violent repression and or looting of some civilian populations. This situation resulted in the development of a system of illicit enrichment as well as other corrupt practices. Recall that the RPF was at this time essentially bicephalic with Pasteur Bizimungu serving as the President of the Republic while the powerful Kagame served as Vice President and head of the military. This duality of leadership was also likely an important contributor to opaque decision-making and fuzzy identification of responsibility.

From 1997, there were two important developments in the Executive. First, President Bizimungu initiated and managed a series of discussions that came to be known as the Village Urugwiro meetings after their location. These consultative discussions, which lasted more than a year, brought together the principle political and social actors of a variety of political backgrounds and tried to address some of the most troubling unanswered questions regarding what happened in 1994 and how to overcome this legacy. Included were discussions of the history of Hutu/Tutsi relations; the pressing problems of justice with a case back-log of over 100,000 overwhelming the struggling courts; and the hierarchical nature of Rwandan society through which the elite were able to engineer wide submission of the population during the genocide.

During this consultation period, dozens of participants attempted to work out creative solutions to the pressing set of national problems. At the same time as these meetings, the radio program *Kubaza bitera kumenya* (questions help us to know) served as a public forum to reflect the content and thinking emerging out of the Village Urugwiro. It was in the context of these meetings and by the avenue of this program that the government floated the outlines of most of the major policy initiatives that they are pursuing today: these include gacaca, decentralization, the creation of the various Commissions that had already been anticipated by Arusha (Human Rights and Unity and Reconciliation). From this pattern of consultation and managed transparency, the second major development also occurred. The tensions between the President and the Vice-President mounted and the President tried to get the upper hand by forming closer alliances with elements of different ethnic groups and political parties. The most important thing that this informal grouping seemed to have in common was a tendency for questionable business dealing and, some have argued, outright corruption. In the mid-ranks of the RPF there was a great deal of discontent with these developments and there was constant talk of the existence of an *Akazu* (the small house designed for a group surrounding a powerful king). In order to deal with this growing controversy, a set of extraordinary meetings of the RPF political bureau were planned for the end of 1997 with a second to follow in early 1998. These meetings were to reelect the leadership positions in the RPF and were touted as a means to clean the organization and clarify decision making with new National Executive Bureau members that was to take its leading role in the party.

There was not unanimous consent in regards to these changes, and in particular President Bizimungu viewed them as a direct challenge. By the end of 1999, the Transitional National

Assembly (TNA) had released a report on the management of certain Ministries and found serious criticisms to be warranted in a number of instances, yet this exercise of independence was not well received. It seems that the investigations hit more broadly than initially intended including tarring RPF loyalists. The president of the TNA was soon (January 2000) forced to resign and fled the country to exile. By the start of 2000 a similar pattern had repeated itself at the highest levels of government, with the resignation of the Prime Minister in February 2000 and finally in late March the resignation of President Bizimungu himself. He viewed the changes as both a challenge to his leadership and capacity to maintain control over those who were engaged in corruption. Some also noted what was perceived to be an ethnic bias (in favor of Tutsi) in these purges, though both Hutu and Tutsi politicians were forced out.

All of these changes meant an increased level of RPF control over political life with a marked increase in limits on public expression and divergent ideas both within and outside the party. The RPF justified this in the name of national cohesion and unity. Some argued that this housecleaning was politically motivated, and in fact there was a significant exodus from the government in the wake of the house cleaning. Some former officials fled the country claiming to have been threatened. It was also at this time that the Political Party Forum became an effective mechanism for the RPF to coordinate and (according to some) control the other parties in the Government of National Unity.

Contrary to this pattern of narrowing of political debate has been a pattern, since this crisis, of diversification and devolution of political and administrative responsibilities. Some argue that this new pattern was in response to the criticisms aimed at the RPF in the wake of the early 2000 events. Perhaps the most notable area in which this has been evident is in the numerous women who have acceded to posts of responsibility in the public sector. This process has been accompanied by a stress on merit and capacity in the filling of posts, but at the same time the regime has also paid attention to enlarging the social basis of the regime by balancing appointments among various regional, religious, and ethnic groups. Also in contrast to the 1994-98 period, it seems that the regime is increasingly relying on this more diverse group to make important decisions on policy implementation issues.   As noted above, the work of the Ministry of Local Governance is an example. Another example is the changes in the education sector where the work of reconstructing the educational infrastructure has been accompanied by a stress on the merit principle in academic advancement. This is one of the most easily identified changes to the broad population.

Today near the end of the transition period, there is evidence of an ongoing debated between various actors in the RPF on the issues of liberty and control. One set of actors believes that a more competitive political opening marked by a true debate of ideas is the best solution to assure the long-term stability of the country. Others argue that neither the society in general, nor the political elite are yet ready for true political competition. The specter of sectarianism and political violence is used to support this view. The manner in which this contradiction is worked out within the RPF will have a clear impact on the political evolution of the political institutions as well as political practice in the country in the coming years.

Other Political Parties

As a result of participation in the genocide, or because of targeting by genocide perpetrators, all political parties except the RPF suffered dramatic losses in human capacity and ideological leadership. Along with RPF dominance of the political scene over the past 8

years, this explains why most of these parties have largely remained very weak. Further, the only partisan institutions that have been allowed to form are national-level political organizations. Without the ability to gain support in the countryside, the parties have very little political legitimacy on which to draw. One pattern that seems evident is that opposition parties, weakened in these ways, have been forced to accept subservient positions vis-à-vis the central powers – some have noted that the parties are co-opted into the vision of unity and unable to articulate alternative views. This has been emphasized by the tendency of parties to be preoccupied by internal struggles over access to administrative and governmental posts.

An important example of this situation was the 1995 document that the MDR published which was critical of the chaotic situation of the country at the time. This was taken as a sign of disloyalty by the RPF and resulted in the MDR party president and Prime Minister at the time being pushed out of office and leaving the country in exile. Since this development, virtually all parties have preferred to play the game of cooperation and collaboration with the institutions of the transition period rather than to engage in explicit criticism.

In terms of personal conflicts, the MDR, which has disassociated itself with the racist past of the MDR-Parmehutu, still suffers from inter-party divisions. Once faction is much closer to the regime, while a breakaway faction is highly critical of many of the current government initiatives.

Many parties are unwilling to articulate criticisms openly, however not all parties are entirely supportive of RPF goals. In particular there is disagreement as to the appropriate level of political control, the position of ignoring ethnic difference, and the degree and level at which political parties are likely to be allowed to operate. Some have argued that limits on political parties in organizing at the local level are not imposed in the same manner on the RPF, which is able to use state structures to carry their message. The RPF and others, however, have used the constitutional reform process in particular to their advantage arguing that the population is clear on the point of limiting political party activities at the local level. While the team itself found considerable apprehension on the issue of political parties, there was by no means unanimity on the issue among those in the countryside. In fact, it is notable that more than one respondent commented that while they did not want multiple parties dividing the people, they also had no desire to return to a single party state. It seems that most Rwandans do not see the notion of unity without debate as a reasonable political solution to problems of division.

The issue of separation of powers is also an area where other political parties hold opinions that diverge from those of the RPF. Most parties are in favor of some sort of mechanism to divide power between political parties to assure diverse representation in government and administration posts. They also largely agree for the need of political party coordination, but are not in favor of the type of control implicit in the political party forum arrangement that is currently in place. One party, (MDR-Kambanda faction) even articulated a strong preference for a system of strict majority rule and wide-open political competition. They see the utility in a party forum but feel it should be entirely voluntary. Finally they agree that there should be a code of conduct for political parties to serve as a guard-rail against those who would use a more open system to try to exploit ethnic difference as was done in the past. Overall, and with this notable exception, the political parties share a view that political competition continues to need to be controlled and limited rather than pursued with no holds barred, though they also recognize the importance of multiple political voices. Again, the way in

which the political institutions and political actors that animate them solve this dilemma will have important implications for how the political game is played in the post-transition era.

On May 30, 2000, just a few weeks after his resignation from the post of president of the republic, Bizimungu announced the creation of a new political party, the *Parti démocratique pour le renouveau* (PDR-Ubuyanja). In its program, the party of the ex-president characterized cycles of political exclusion over the past 150 years that have alternated between Hutu and Tutsi groups in power and created cycles of violence. This analysis accused the RPF of continuing in the same logic and excluding Hutu. It proposed as a solution a sort of ethnic parity in political representation.[18] In July 2000, Bizimungu gave an interview to the magazine *Jeune Afrique* that exacerbated the regime's anger against him. He claimed, among other things, that the RPA was entirely Tutsi, that inequalities in the system of promotion resulted in extensive discontent, and that if change were not forthcoming, the result would be violence. He continued, explaining that the 1990 war had not ended and that the army of the Habyarimana regime had not been defeated, implying that it could return. In another part of his interview, ex-President Bizimungu affirmed that if things continued in this way, in 10, 15, or 20 years, Hutu were going to attack Tutsi "…with consequences that one can imagine."[19]

The government banned the party, but Pasteur Bizimungu and his associates continued in their activities despite harassment by the security forces. According to certain sources, the party was mobilizing clandestinely at all levels of the country and was playing the ethnic card, increasing ethnic tensions within the population, both among those who opposed and those who opposed the new party. In a speech during the annual commemoration of the genocide in April 2002, President Kagame declared that the Rwandan state had done everything to reassure Rwandans and that the PDR-Ubuyanja was doing everything in its power to drive the population back to ill-feeling and genocide and that they would not longer be tolerated. Several weeks later, Bizimungu was arrested and imprisoned.

Military

In the interior of the country, the army has undergone an evolution parallel to the improved security situation and the social opening of the regime. From the beginning of the post-genocide period, the victorious Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) integrated a certain number of soldiers and officers from the ex-Forces Armée Rwandaises (FAR). Yet the climate of insecurity and the ethnic and political polarization after the genocide led a number of higher officers of the ex-FAR to leave the country. The process of integrating ex-FAR into the RPA restarted in earnest near the end of the insurrection in the Northwest in 1998, as rebel soldiers who turned themselves in or were captured were integrated into the RPA. At the same time, the army has undergone a limited process of demobilization, though it cannot be confirmed that the actual number of soldiers has been diminished. In recent years, the RPA has become increasingly professionalized and is much less present in the society. Its political role seems to have diminished even if some indexes, such as the presence of army chiefs in the National Executive Committee of the RPF, attest to the RPAs continuing political power and the role that it continues to play at the summit of the state. The fact that before becoming president of the republic, General Kagame resigned the army to respect the Arusha Accords (which forbid a president of the republic from occupying a military post) is perhaps a sign of an evolution

---

[18] Manifeste du PDR-Ubuyanja.
[19] Jeune Afrique/ L'intelligent n°2112 du 3 au 9 juillet 2000.

in the thinking of RPF and the president himself toward accepting a limited role for the army in accordance with conventional liberal thinking. This is in contrast to the initial post-genocide ideology that emphasized the right of the RPF to take a leading political role because of its origins as a liberation movement and that pushed the RPF to allocate six seats in the TNA to the army. The army has also moved to promote a wider range of individuals by promoting to higher ranks officers of diverse ethnic and regional origins, both from the interior of the country and from various parts of the former diaspora. The continuing important political role of the army in the country does not suggest that it will play a neutral role in the near future in the process democratization, with the adoption of a new constitution. With the sudden massive return of soldiers from Congo, the issue of demobilization is likely to become highly important, and the way in which it is managed could have a major impact on both internal security and stability.

Police

The national police of Rwanda is a recent creation, having replaced the gendarmerie that was a military corps. Its creation responded clearly to a desire for professionalization and greater transparence by bringing the national police for the interior of the country under structures of civilian command. The national police today are under the control of civilian ministerial authority. Although it includes many former soldiers, the organization has adopted a culture of respecting the law and collaborating with civilians. It has become distinguished by its discipline and its low level of corruption. The creation of the national police has contributed to the current atmosphere among simple citizens of respect for law and civil security.

Transitional National Assembly

Rwanda's un-elected Transitional National Assembly (TNA) is an outgrowth of the Arusha Peace Accords (Protocol of Agreement, 1992, Chapter VII, Section 2). The TNA was actually brought into existence in November 1994 after the genocide using a formula for partitioning seats among the signatories to the Arusha Accords but excluding parties that participated in the genocide. Created in the context of extreme insecurity and political disarray, it is understandable that the institution was highly constrained and generally undemocratic in terms of its function. This is most noticeably in the criteria on which deputies are selected, the reliance on pre-determined formulas to establish institutional leadership, and the ability of the Executive to dissolve the TNA upon decision of the Cabinet (Ibid. Section 3: Article 76). This final point is the equivalent of an irrevocable death sentence for the TNA since there is no constitutional mechanism to reconvene the TNA in the event of such a dissolution, and because the Executive does have the legal capacity to pass laws when the TNA is not convened (Ibid. Section 2: Article 72). Consequently, in spite of the fact that the TNA does have oversight powers, it has been understandably hesitant to exercise them.

The institution, while formally empowered to exercise executive oversight as well as to legislate, has in fact rarely done either independent of the Executive branch. Of the 240 laws passed by the TNA since its inception, 20 were initiated by Deputies. In 2001, "…55 bills were passed, of which two (4%) were introduced by the Deputies" (Teschner 2002, 10). This may not be of great concern considering that the TNA is designed to function as a parliament and typically parliaments do not exercise a great deal of autonomy in legislation drafting. For example, Ghana's parliament has never passed a private member bill into law. (Smith, et al., 2002). Nonetheless, in a normal parliamentary system the Ministers are taken from the ranks

of parliamentarians which has the effect of giving at least the majority parities in parliament a significant voice in legislative drafting and decision making. The TNA deputies however are not permitted to serve as Ministers thus removing this influence (Protocol of Agreement, 1992, Chapter VII, Section 2, Article 70). Additionally, though the TNA does have the ability to question the conduct of the government and to censure the Prime Minister this has never occurred. It is easy to imagine a Prime Minister empowered with the ability to dissolve the TNA using that power in the event that such a censure seemed likely. In such an event, the TNA would have no recourse.

The TNA does in fact seem largely controlled at the level of the Political Party Forum which determines the identity of each deputy and is able to remove him or her as well. Many interlocutors from the political parties affirmed the over arching power of the Party Forum. Because it seems to serve as an arena for vetting disagreements, coming to consensus on policy, or more cynically as an avenue for indicating the directions desired by the leading party, it can be seen to effectively function as a pre-parliament. Thus the actual importance of the TNA in terms of both oversight and legislation can be called into question.

A draft analysis of the TNA, prepared by the Chief of Party for the USAID contractor working at the TNA, indicates a number of both strengths and weaknesses with the TNA as an institution as well as providing useful recommendations (Teschner, 2002). Yet for the purposes of this forward-looking assessment the outlines, potential strengths and weaknesses of any new legislative institution are still unclear. The *structural* weaknesses mentioned above are noted because to the extent that they are replicated under the new constitution, they could cause severe distortions in the consolidation of a democratic system. Further, it seems likely that at least some of the current Deputies will be found in a new national assembly and that most of the staff should also carry over. Consequently, patterns of *institutional capacity* and habits learned in the TNA are also likely to endure. Thus the recommendations derived from the ARD report are also likely to serve as useful guides in the future. In particular the importance of increasing the involvement of Rwanda's citizens in the legislative process could profitably be pursued.

Looking forward into the uncertain realm of constitutional reform, a handful of points can be made. As the constitution emerges, it is certain that the National Assembly will be elected and seems likely that legislators will be chosen on a constituency basis. The exact modalities are unclear, however, as party list systems, first-past-the-post mechanisms, and mixtures of these systems have been suggested by various parties. The technical methods for choosing legislators are clearly important as well as they have an impact on the ability of legislators to operate as both representatives of constituencies and as leaders. This in turn has important influence on the institution's ability as a whole to provide a balance of power in what is already sure to be a "semi-presidential" system.

Justice System

The legal basis for the Rwandan political system is laid out in the 1991 Constitution, the August 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement, that "formally replaced a large number of provisions of the 1991 Constitution,"[20] the RPF Declaration of July 17, 1994, the Protocol of Agreement among political parties, and the Fundamental Law of the Rwandan Republic adopted in 1995.

---

[20] William A. Schabas and Martin Imbleau, *Introduction to Rwandan Law*, Cowansville, Quebec: Les Editions Yvon Blais, 1997.

"Rwandan Fundamental Law is based on the fundamental principles of the rule of law, national unity, democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights."[21] The constitution that is likely to be adopted in 2003 will probably make certain fundamental changes to Rwandan political structures, but it is probable that it will be based on the same set of principles.

Although judicial authority is based on recent legal documents, the judicial structures and traditions themselves are an inheritance of the colonial period and are based on the Belgian civil law system. The lowest level of court is the Canton Tribunal at the district level, which hears minor cases. Most criminal cases are heard in the 14 Tribunals of First Instance, and these cases can be appealed to the four national Courts of Appeal. At the top of the judicial hierarchy is the Supreme Court, which "directs and coordinates the activities of the lower courts."[22] The Supreme Court is divided into six sections, including a Constitutional Court that reviews all laws before their adoption, a Final Court of Appeals, and a new special section to oversee the gacaca jurisdictions. A legal reform commission is currently working on revisions to the structures and functions of the legal system that will likely draw many of its reforms from the common law tradition, creating a more hybridized judicial system.

The justice system remains dominated by the executive branch through the Ministry of Justice and Institutional Relations (MINIJUST). MINIJUST sets judicial policy for Rwanda. It has authority over budgets and names judges in consultation with the Supreme Council of the Magistrate. MINIJUST also oversees the office of the Attorney General, which is responsible for prosecutions. Justice policy has been a major focus of the executive branch since the genocide, as the government has sought to use the justice system both to establish internal national security and to transform the national political culture to create national unity and help prevent future ethnic violence by combating impunity. One interlocutor warned that the process of decentralization has actually enhanced executive dominance over the judiciary, as judicial funds now flow through the offices of the prefects, appointees of the central government, a fact confirmed by the prefects interviewed. The individual argued that "Decentralized funds [for courts] should flow through the courts, not through the prefects to distribute."

The genocide had a particularly profound impact on the justice system. A vast number of judges and other judicial officials were either killed during the genocide and war or fled Rwanda, leaving an incredible deficit in personnel. At the same time, the genocide placed unprecedented demands on the judicial system, with an estimated 120,000 people ultimately arrested on genocide charges.[23] The government has made impressive advances in rebuilding the judicial system. With substantial international support, MINIJUST has initiated revision of laws, rebuilt courts, and trained a large number of judicial personnel. Genocide trials were, however, slow to begin and have advanced at a very slow pace.

In part to respond to the legal overload created by the genocide, the Rwandan government has undertaken a massive, innovative legal initiative. Gacaca draws on Rwandan traditional dispute-resolution practices and combines them with modern judicial principles to create popular, non-professional community-based courts that will treat all but the most serious genocide cases. Gacaca judges were elected in all of Rwanda's cells, sectors, and districts in October 2001, and the first gacaca courts began their work in June 2002. Gacaca seeks to

---

[21] Ibid, p. 11.
[22] Ibid, p. 23.
[23] This was the estimate of those in prison by 2000. The gacaca process is likely to result in the arrest of additional people, even as it results in the release of many others.

involve the community in the judicial response to the genocide, hoping not simply to speed up the rate of judgments of the accused but also to contribute to reconciliation in part by creating a collective community interpretation of events. The immense nature of the gacaca initiative, with over 200,000 judges needing training and over 11,000 courts to oversee, has created a monumental task for the Rwandan government and society, with many of the ministries and commissions playing a role and numerous civil society groups getting involved in organizing witnesses, providing trauma counseling, and monitoring the operations of the courts. Many observers believe that the success or failure of gacaca will have a determinative impact on social relations in Rwanda and could serve either as a basis of national unity or a source of discontent and disorder.

In addition to the Rwandan courts, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, set up in November 1994 by the Security Council of the United Nations, is prosecuting a number of prominent individuals for their alleged role in the genocide. The ICTR has been a major source of friction between the international community and the Government of Rwanda, which argues that the money spent on the ICTR could better be used to rebuild the Rwandan judicial system. Gerald Gahima, the Attorney General, for example, told the team, "When we look at the resources the international community provides to the Tribunal, money intended to promote rule of law in Rwanda, they are not getting their money's worth." If the ICTR takes up the prosecution of members of the Rwandan Patriotic Army accused of war crimes and other crimes against humanity, as the ICTR's chief prosecutor has pledged to do, tensions between the Rwandan government and the international community could be intensified.

Provincial and Local Levels of Government / Decentralization

As noted in Section I above, Rwanda has a long history of centralized political power. Since 2000, the Government of Rwanda (GOR) has embarked on an ambitious decentralization exercise.   Four policy documents have guided this experience to date and set the strategic objectives of the efforts in five areas: 1) Enabling local participation in decision making and project implementation; 2) Strengthening accountability and transparency by making local leaders directly accountable to communities; 3) Enhancing the responsiveness of public administration to local environments; 4) Developing sustainable economic planning and management capacity; and 5) Enhancing effectiveness and efficiency in all aspects of public service delivery (USAID/Rwanda 2002).

In spite of impressive efforts at decentralization over the past 2 years, the process has been described by one well-informed interviewee as a "mile wide and an inch deep". The actual structures of the new decentralized government are shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Local Government Administrative Organization

Province
11 Total (Plus City of Kigali)
6-10 Districts
Per Province

District
Population
70,000+/-
15-20 Sectors/District

Sector	Sector
Population	Population
3-6,000	3-6,000

Cell	Cell	Cell	Cell	Cell	Cell
Population	Population	Population	Population	Population	Population
500-1,000	500-1,000	500-1,000	500-1,000	500-1,000	500-1,000
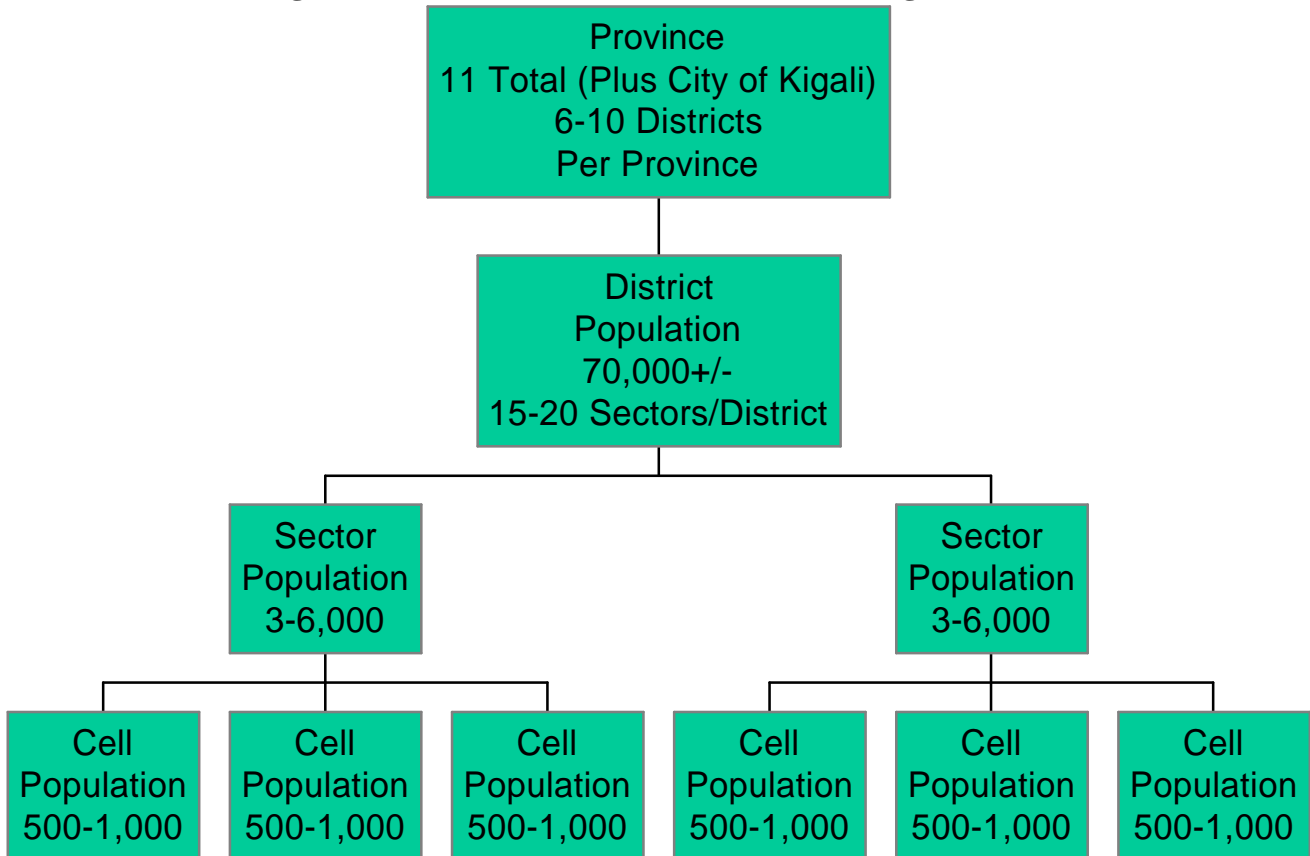
The district, which replaced somewhat smaller communes, represents the "…lowest Government unit with powers to plan and implement autonomous programs, collect revenue, and make by laws" (Ibid. 16). Yet while attempting to bring the administration closer to the people, the administrative reorganization from Commune (under the previous system) to District has actually made Districts bigger than Communes in most cases thus resulting in more physical distance between the people and their primary government services.[24]

Strengths of Local Government Decentralization Efforts

There are a number of important assets that are already evident in relation to current decentralization efforts in Rwanda. At the highest levels of government there seems to be an impressive level of commitment to the success of decentralization. This is apparent in the ongoing efforts of the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs (MINALOC) at reorganizing and rationalizing the new local governance system.

The successful election of district, sector, and cell level representatives over the past 3 years is another marker of success in meaningful decentralization as most local interlocutors agreed that the new officials represent a potential for dramatically increased accountability. The fiscal autonomy of the new local officials provides room for innovative management techniques at least in principle. Further, the putting in place of Community Development Committees (CDCs) offers a great potential for local ownership and participation in the development process though this will only be possible with sufficient funding of the CDCs.

---

[24] There were previously 154 Communes while now there are 106 Districts (including Districts of Kigali and Town/Provincial Town districts). This represents a reduction of approximately 31%.

Overall, the decentralization process may represent a dramatic opening of political space *if* more powers are devolved along with the responsibilities that have already been given to the local governments and if the process itself begins to take on more of a participatory nature.

Weaknesses of Decentralization

Unfortunately, much of the potential promise inherent in the decentralization reforms remains unrealized. This can be attributed not only to the relatively recent commencement of decentralization but probably also to other independent factors. Foremost among those is the basic conceptual difference between popular participation and popular mobilization.

As discussed at greater length in Section IV below, the government has used decentralization as a mechanism to mobilize local populations in pursuit of political and policy goals largely determined at the apex of power. Participation implies a more self-directed process whereby local communities pursue locally defined goals and mobilize to achieve those goals. Further, the non-partisan status of many new office holders has been called into question by some observers. There were many reports of those close to the RPF or assumed to be sympathetic to the political program there of being pushed to run for local offices by RPF operatives. This is neither surprising nor particularly troubling except that the RPF has maintained a strong position against the imposition of party politics in local administration. Thus a less than transparent means of putting many RPF sympathizers in positions of power at the local level calls into question the notion of non-partisan local administration.

More significant in the short term are a number of operational issues that currently plague and hinder local government's capacity to carryout basic administrative functions. First, the Districts are by most accounts universally under-funded. They have both elected and administrative personnel that go unpaid, or underpaid for months at a time. MINALOC representatives argued that this is in fact a function of a generalized misunderstanding between the ministry and the local officials such that the locals have a highly inflated notion of the salary levels that they are entitled to. In fact, the MINALOC argues that they provided guidelines on maximum salary levels that are not binding and then gave the ultimate authority to set salary as well as authority to raise the required funds to the Districts themselves. The Districts interpreted the Ministry guidelines as salary guarantees and then assert that they have not been paid what amounts to a highly inflated salary figure. However, even if one assumes a much more modest level of salary requirements, most districts would remain in an absolutely untenable fiscal state as they simply have no significant revenue generation options because they lack large or frequent markets (the main source of revenue for most rural districts) yet still operate with a full battery of staff. Beyond salaries, districts are also expected to shoulder operating expenses to keep offices functioning and carry out basic government functions. Further, efficient collection and accounting methods are lacking in most districts while budget management skills are also highly suspect given the often low level of training or experience in these matters on the part of local political representatives. Thus some wonder in the end if increased decentralization and more meaningful political democracy will really be able to deliver on development?

A final important liability and ongoing challenge to the decentralization efforts is the minimal level of civil society involvement at lowest levels of government (district, sector and cell). There are relatively few local-level organizations outside of the churches, information and citizen skills are lacking at lowest levels of government, citizens are not aware of how to

engage the administration thus they tend to be mobilized *by* the administrative structures rather than making the state *respond* to their participation. Without a vibrant grass-roots counterpart, the prospect for meaningful decentralization and the potential contribution to democratic consolidation in Rwanda becomes questionable at best. Larger issues relevant to civil society writ large are also applicable to local level civil society.

Civil Society

Although civil society in Rwanda is large and diverse, it nevertheless faces a number of serious challenges. Like other sectors, Rwanda's civil society was devastated by the genocide and war, with the death or flight from the country of many leading figures, the looting of offices, and the destruction of projects. Although major advances have been made since 1994, civil society groups continue to face serious limitations in capacity. The number of qualified workers remains limited, a problem exacerbated by the movement of many of the most outstanding civil society leaders into government positions. Most civil society organizations are extremely dependent upon international sources of funding, and their levels of activity rise and fall dramatically according to the amount of funding that they have available in a given year.

Coordination among the numerous organizations of civil society remains a major concern. The most visible part of civil society is composed of organizations in the capital, which may have very little presence outside Kigali and may reflect more the interests of the intellectual classes and the elite than those of the masses of the population. Umbrella organizations coordinate groups in various sectors of civil society, such as human rights, women's, survivors', and development groups, but the links between national-level groups and local grassroots organizations remain insufficient in most sectors. Furthermore, coordination among the various sectors remains inadequate. Several recent initiatives are promising in this regard. An election-monitoring network was set up in 2001 involving a broad spectrum of civil society organizations. Another network was established to coordinate civil society involvement in gacaca. Nevertheless, a number of civil society groups mentioned the need for a permanent, broad-based structure for coordination between civil society groups.

The problems of restricted capacity and inadequate coordination limit the influence of Rwandan civil society and affect its relationship with the government. Civil society groups in Rwanda rarely take an active role in shaping government policy, even in areas of direct concern to them. At the same time, civil society groups often take on a role of implementing government initiatives, and they remain highly dependent upon the government for authorization, funding, and access to land and other resources. The government has reacted harshly to challenges and criticism from civil society, and most groups have largely abdicated any sort of advocacy role, seeking instead to appease the authorities. Many of those groups that do seek to retain their independence take a confrontational approach, which leads to conflict with the regime.   The government has sought to exercise substantial control over civil society, and few groups have demonstrated an ability to retain their independence in the face of government pressure. Groups that run afoul of the authorities demonstrate little ability to defend their prerogatives, and they receive little support from other civil society groups. Many members of civil society complain that a new civil society law adopted in 2001 has enhanced the control that the Ministry of Local Government exercises over them.

For purposes of analysis, Rwandan civil society can be divided into several sectors, although many groups could easily be placed in more than one sector:

Religious Groups
Christian churches have traditionally played a prominent role in Rwandan society and have been closely linked to political authorities since the beginning of the colonial period. Over 90% of Rwanda's population claims membership in a Christian church (according to the 1991 census), giving the churches collectively the largest constituency of any civil society sector. Churches have a stronger presence in the countryside than any other institution, and they have supported the creation of many civil society organizations, both at the local and national levels. Their national influence, however, has waned substantially since 1994 for several reasons. First, there is much greater diversity in the religious sphere, undermining the dominance of the established churches. Both old- and new-caseload refugees brought new churches with them back to Rwanda while Islam has also taken a more prominent role since the genocide. Second, the established churches have been widely criticized for contributing to the genocide through their historic role in intensifying (some critics would say "creating") ethnic divisions and for their close ties to the regime that carried out the massacres. The government has pursued several cases against church officials, including a Catholic bishop, who was ultimately acquitted. Both feeling themselves vulnerable and in keeping with past practice, most churches have sought to improve their relations with the government by, among other things, avoiding critical comments on public policy. Churches continue to work closely with the state on the provision of education and healthcare.

The Catholic Church in particular continues to have a great deal of influence throughout the country as a result of the large numbers of practitioners as well as the extensive network of schools and health care facilities funded by the Church. Yet the formal role of the Church in the democracy and governance realm is marked by blurred lines. The Church adamantly rejects any notion of responsibility for fostering ethnic divisions in the past, pointing out that to the extent that this happened within institutions, it was the actions of individuals. Yet currently the lines of separation between the church and state remain ambiguous. For example, it is not uncommon to see political officials (both local level and national) who use Church services and the implicit approval of the Church to further patently political goals. The Church itself expressed a preference for a more carefully defined relationship between itself and the State so that the present ambiguity cannot be used to further particularistic interests.

Development Organizations
Given Rwanda's overwhelming poverty, economic development is the by far the primary focus of civil society organizations. Rwanda has a vast number of economic non-governmental organizations (NGOs), both at the national and local level. Most church groups, women's and youth associations, and other organizations have an economic component to their activities. Iwacu (the Kinyarwanda word for "Our Place),” a once-vibrant center for development cooperatives in Kigali, has taken a much less prominent role in this sector since 1994. The *Conseil de Concertation des Organisations d'Appui aux Inititatives de Base* (CCOAIB) is a large umbrella organization that links 22 such development-focused NGOs and claims to represent as many as 500,000 people. CCOAIB is an active entity and has been engaged in ongoing discussions with the government regarding putting in place a civil society platform that would facilitate interactions between civil society organizations (CSOs) and the state. CCOAIB and others have been hesitant to accept this model because of fears that they could loose autonomy by direct linkages with ministries. Instead, CCOAIB noted a pattern by which the state tends to use its economic power to hire away the most

capable and energetic civil society actors thus hobbling the ability of CSOs to pursue their goals independent of the state.

Business and Labor Organizations
Although business people and professional salaried employees constitute a relatively small percentage of Rwanda's population, they are an influential sector of society, because they are generally urban and educated with financial resources. Nevertheless, business and professional organizations have been only minor political actors in Rwanda. The Rwanda Private Sector Federation brings together various businesses, but as one interlocutor said, "It's not very effective. Businesses do advocacy themselves." Business people are of course interested in issues of law and order as well as political stability and they also desire a positive investment environment but their advocacy and engagement with the state tends to happen in ad hoc and individualistic venues.

The *Central Syndicat des Travailers au Rwanda* (CESTRAR) is a grouping of 17 labor unions including representatives of teachers, public sector workers, nurses, taxi drivers, and numerous others. CESTRAR claims a paid membership of over 7,000 people. Prior to 1994 the labor movement in Rwanda was closely associated with the regime. Since that time, there have been progressive efforts to create greater space for labor to organize and advocate their interests independent of state controls. CESTRAR reports at least partial success in this effort as they have used tools of continued dialogue with the Ministry of Labor who in turn takes the concerns of labor to the relevant government officials. They report that access to the Minister of Labor is easy but getting past that level to higher-level decision makers has not been successful and is seen to limit their ability to advocate effectively.

Women's Organizations
Probably the most vibrant sector of Rwandan civil society consists of groups that promote the rights and interests of women. A number of women's groups date back to the 1980s, but many others have been created since the genocide and war, including a number formed specifically to address conditions caused by the conflict such as widowhood and problems arising for women with husbands in prison. The majority of women's groups are involved in economic development for women, but others deal with women's health issues, empowerment for women, and women's rights. Pro-Femmes/Twese Hamwe is a collective of 40 women's groups and has been very effective at building a strong base of support for women's issues. Pro-Femmes is one of the few organizations in Rwandan civil society that has taken an effective public advocacy role, having had a major influence on policies such as the revision of inheritance laws. Reseau des Femmes is a collective of women's development organizations that has acquired expertise in research on issues affecting women. Many of the individual women's groups are well financed and well organized, and many observers are struck by the high level of competence seen in many of the women's organizations.

Youth Organizations
In contrast to women's organizations, youth organizations are relatively weak with little political influence. Most organizations for youth are church-based, like the Jeunesse Ouvrier Catholic (JOC) and the Scouts, or charitable groups, such as those that seeking to help street children or orphans. There is a noticeable absence of a public voice for youth, despite the fact that they constitute over half of Rwanda's population. The government has created positions for youth representatives at all levels of local government, but these cannot serve as a substitute for independent youth organizations.

Human Rights and Good Governance
The first human rights groups were founded in Rwanda only in 1990, but the country quickly developed a vibrant human rights community. Two collectives formed before the genocide remain active today, *Collectif des ligues et associations de défense des droits de l'homme au Rwanda*, The Rwandan Collective of Leagues and Associations for the Defense of Human Rights (CLADHO) which unites five Rwanda human rights groups, and the *Ligue des Droits de la Personne dans la Région des Grands Lacs*, The Human Rights League of the Great Lakes Region (LDGL), which unites human rights groups from Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo. The human rights groups were devastated by the genocide, as their leaders were prominent targets. Nevertheless, human rights groups played an important role in the immediate post-genocide period in researching the causes and effects of the genocide and in articulating a Rwandan response. In recent years, the human rights groups have generally become less active and outspoken, in large part because of intimidation and co-optation by the government, which has chafed at criticism of its own human rights record. Of the human rights groups, only Liprodhor has continued to take an outspoken position, which has led to periodic clashes with authorities. Several other groups defend the rights of specific groups within Rwandan society, including a number of organizations for survivors of the genocide and CAURWA, a group defending the interests of the Twa minority.

Survivors' Groups
A large number of organizations for survivors emerged in the aftermath of the genocide. Many of these are associations of women left widowed by the genocide, Avega Agahoza being the best known, with branches throughout the country. Many other groups are charitable projects designed to help survivors, particularly women and children, with needs such as housing and education. Although founded relatively recently in 1998, a collective of survivors' groups, Ibuka, whose name means "remember," quickly became a major political player in Rwandan politics. The first leaders of Ibuka ran into conflict with the government when they criticized it for neglecting the survivors, and nearly all the leaders of the group eventually fled into exile. The new leadership of Ibuka remains outspoken in defense of the interests of genocide survivors, but it has a much more cordial relationship with the government.

Media
Most observers outside the government claim that the media sector in Rwanda is quite weak. There is currently only one radio station and one television station, both run by the state and, according to critics, lacking in journalistic independence. Not only are there relatively few newspapers and magazines in Rwanda, there is also little diversity among the perspectives that these publications present. Publications that criticize the regime or present an independent perspective risk harassment from the authorities, which has resulted in the closure of at least three publications just since the beginning of 2002.[25] A number of interlocutors, however, also spoke of a lack of professionalism within the media, which has undermined its effectiveness and led to unnecessary conflicts. The new press law presents opportunities for an expansion of press freedom, because it allows the creation of independent radio and television stations. The provisions of the law, however, are contradictory, stating that the press is free while also providing a basis for regulation. As one interlocutor claimed, "The law gives the government the right to regulate the press if it so chooses."

---

[25] The publications closed in 2002 include *Le Partisan*, *Ubuntu*, and *The Rwanda Herald*. In each case, the government has advanced justifications for the policies that resulted in the closure of the publications, but a number of interlocutors expressed a belief that the government's primary interest was in controlling dissent.

Community-Based Organizations
The violent political change that removed the monarchy and the system of chiefs at the time of independence created a rupture in the traditional local social system. Social organization in local Rwandan communities was slow to redevelop and was heavily dependent on the state and the churches. Nevertheless, today Rwanda has a large number of both formal and informal local-level organizations. The vast majority of these groups are economic in orientation, including small development cooperatives and informal rotating credit societies (tontines). These groups are typically beset with few financial resources and limited capacity. Although many of the national umbrella civil society associations seek to coordinate and represent these various groups, the community-based organizations remain disaggregated. These groups, many of them founded by government development initiatives in the 1980s, remain highly dependent on the government. Since the decentralization process envisions an important role for local civil society in the formation and implementation of development programs, the weaknesses of this sector is particularly troubling.

Ongoing and Upcoming Transition Processes

While the genocide remains the starting point for understanding current Rwandan politics, the regime has been committed since taking power in 1994 to a transition to a normalized political situation. Many of the political conditions and institutions discussed above are in flux, and the national situation could look very different indeed within a few years. The government has consciously decided to implement a series of sweeping reforms in a relatively short period of time, hoping to maintain the momentum for reform and to create a more thorough transformation of Rwandan political life and culture. The reforms include the decentralization program and gacaca discussed above and a proposed reform of land laws, further judicial reform has also been pursued. The various reforms have been organized in a top-down fashion, with decisions to implement them made at the highest level of powers, but the regime has generally consulted the public in the formulation of the initiatives. Several of the reform ideas came out of a series of discussions in 1998-99 at the Village Urugwiro among a range of Rwandan elite, including government officials and representatives of civil society. Many of the reform initiatives also involve a strong element of popular participation. The acceptance of the reforms by the population is seen as crucial, because a failure of any of these reform initiatives or a perception that they are being implemented to serve the interests of a narrow spectrum of individuals at the expense of the masses could have disastrous results, destroying the relatively fragile national unity and security that the regime has been seeking to promote. The proposed land law is particularly contentious and could be a major source of social discord because of the strong cultural ties of Rwandans to the land and the centrality of agriculture to national identity.

The government has undertaken extensive efforts to reshape Rwandan political culture through extensive programs of re-education. The government has removed the mention of ethnicity on national identity cards and has discouraged open discussion of ethnic issues, instead promoting the idea of national unity and the need for a merit-based system. The government has used rhetoric that blames Rwanda's ethnic problems on its colonial legacy and argues for a traditional unity among all Rwandans. For example, a presidential commission established in 1998 to study national unity claimed in its published report, "The truth from history is that before the Colonial period, i.e. before the year 1900, [when] Catholic missionaries began to live in our country, … there was strong unity between

Rwandans: no ethnical war took place between them before that year."[26] Ingando, solidarity camps, were initially established to help reintegrate refugees returning to Rwanda from Congo, but they have since been used to help instruct government officials, entering university students, and others in the ideas of unity and reconciliation supported by the government. In addition to the ingando, the NURC has organized programs throughout the country to promote reconciliation. The government has replaced the national flag, national anthem, and national seal to give symbolic support for the new culture of national unity that it is seeking to create.

The transitional government put into place in 1994 initially gave itself a five-year mandate, but it later extended its mandate by an additional three years. The government has taken a gradual approach to democratization. Initial elections for cell-level officials were held in 1999. In 2001, the government instituted a major reorganization of local government that moved from power centralized in the hands of a burgomaster to power shared among a committee of elected leaders. Elections for sector and district officials "Commune Elections" were held throughout the country in March 2001 and a new round of cell and sector level elections taking place in March 2002. Barring unforeseen problems, the government should make a transition to full formal democracy in 2003, with elections for president and legislature.[27]

While the conduct of the 2001 and 2002 elections was widely praised by both internal and international observers, some observers have criticized the process leading up to the elections because of the active involvement of authorities in the selection of candidates to run for office.[28] The team heard reports that in some cases authorities prevented or intimidated interested candidates from standing for office, while pushing forward candidates of their own choosing. The manipulation of political parties discussed above and the harsh reaction to the creation of a political party by former president Bizimungu raise a specter that the authorities may seek to exercise substantial influence over who has the right to stand for election, even if they allow a free vote in the actual elections.

One major aspect of the transitional process has been the effort to re-write the constitution. The Arusha Peace Accord called for a constitutional commission, but the law to create it was not adopted until December 1999. The 12-member commission began its work in January 2001 and has undertaken a massive consultative process. The commission first conducted an educational campaign about the constitution process, then spent several months holding public meetings throughout the country and soliciting ideas from individuals and groups throughout Rwandan society. The results of these consultations, which include 14,000 questionnaires and 35 memoranda, as well as extensive oral testimony, are the basis for writing a constitution draft, which will be amended and approved by the TNA and then present for approval to the population in a referendum. The government is expected to move swiftly to national elections after the adoption of the constitution.[29]

---

[26] Republic of Rwanda Office of the President, *The Unity of Rwandans: Before the Colonial Period and under Colonial Rule and Under the First Republic*, Kigali, August 1999, p. 4.

[27] On elections, see Commission Electorale Nationale Republique Rwandaise, "Les Elections Recentes au Rwanda: Quelque Statistiques, Perspectives et Défis à Lever," Kigali, 2002 and International Crisis Group "Rwanda at the End of Transition: A Necessary Political Liberalisation," November 13, 2002.

[28] International Crisis Group, "'Consensual Democracy' in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Evaluating the March 2001 Elections," October 9. 2001.

[29] For information on the constitutional process, see Republic of Rwanda Legal and Constitutional Commission, "Towards a New Constitution: Action Plan 2002-2003," Kigali, April 2002.

The provisions of the constitution could have a major impact on the nature in which power is exercised in Rwanda. The constitution will help to determine the degree of independence of the judiciary and the legislature, the amount of power vested in the executive, as well as the extent to which rights such as free association and speech are guaranteed. Ultimately, however, the adoption of the constitution alone will not be determinative for Rwanda's political future, as the expansion of democracy, the respect for civil liberties, and the practice of good governance will continue to depend to a substantial degree on the will of national leaders. A good constitution, while important, does not in and of itself create a democracy.

Section IV Assessment Protocol Variables – Summary Analysis of Current Democracy and Governance Challenges

The use of the five democracy assessment protocol variables allows a more systematic look at the political actors and institutions present in Sections II and III above. The variables are not discrete categories; issues that appear in one often reappear in another. The team has tried to reduce repetition, but some bleeding between variables is useful when describing political reality. In fact, some degree of overlap serves to highlight issues of particular significance. Secondly, overlap captures the interdependent character of the various components of democracy in both theory and practice, thus providing a holistic view.

After examining the variables independently, we discuss their relationship and put forth judgments about first-order challenges to democratic transition in Rwanda. Finally, analysis of each variable reveals strengths and weaknesses that suggest strategy recommendations. The most successful DG strategies take note of system weaknesses but build on strengths and opportunities that can ensure a positive impact on the democratic process.

Consensus

Consensus is basic agreement on the scope and content of the political arena. The essence of democracy is *ordered competition*. Consensus issues address the space or terrain of politics as well as the basic rules of competition. State boundaries, issues of autonomy, and rights of citizenship are first-order concerns.

The boundaries and coherence of the state are only marginally at issue in Rwanda. An argument for a greater Rwanda has, at times, been articulated, though this has served primarily as a justification for a military presence in the Congo without any serious intent to annex Congolese territory.

Citizenship: Who is inside and outside political life? The issue of who should be considered "Rwandan" was a central consideration during the genocide, as the ideology of the genocide claimed that Tutsi were foreign invaders who had no right to remain in Rwanda. Although the current regime has dedicated particular effort to repudiating this ideology, promoting the idea of the historic unity of all Rwandans and blaming ethnic difference on colonial machinations, the degree to which the Hutu masses have embraced a more inclusive image of Rwandan nationality remains unclear. Certainly the population is wary of conflict, given the disastrous results of the 1994 conflagration for the country, but this does not eliminate the potential for mobilization in the future based on ethnicity or other identities, particularly as some people continue to view the RPF as an "occupying force." The current regime, however, has made a strong argument for an inclusive vision of Rwandan citizenship, which it has attempted to model through a diverse composition of government personnel, with people from all regions and ethnicities and both women and men holding influential posts. In its rhetoric, the regime rejects from active participation in Rwandan political life only those who express intolerance for diversity or support sectarian violence.

<u>Is there a basic consensus in which the political game can be played?</u> Among active political players in Rwanda today, there is considerable consensus on the need for and value of unity and reconciliation and the need to reject identity politics. At the same time, deep historical cleavages continue to divide Rwandan society. There is considerable disagreement over how the political game can be played in such a context of division, and current policies responding to these divisions are in some ways contradictory. The RPF and the government have placed substantial emphasis on inclusion, yet their policy of discouraging or de-emphasizing ethnicity and other identities prevents implementation of formal structures to guarantee inclusion, such as consociational models that have been implemented in other deeply divided societies.[30]

The issue of how to allow the expression of the popular will in what remains a deeply fractured society is a key question in the current political arena and is likely to remain relevant into the foreseeable future. Many Rwandans, both among the elite and the general population, remain skeptical of traditional democratic institutions such as political parties. The historical pattern since the independence era of periodic violent oppression aimed primarily at the minority and clothed in justifications of majority rule has led many to reject unfettered majoritarian democracy. The team encountered the following argument repeated many times: "Here in Rwanda, democracy doesn't mean democracy. It means majority. Officials and others hide behind ethnicity and call it democracy." Many people further argued that multiparty competition during the 1990s was extremely disruptive and was a contributing factor in the 1994 genocide.

Others, however, have emphasized the importance of participation for maintaining popular support for the system and discouraging more disruptive means of expressing dissent. They contend that the genocide did not result from democratic competition but was rather a reaction against democratic gains and an attempt to crush dissent. Several interlocutors pointed out that many of the same people who say they don't want full multiparty democracy also do not want a return to single party rule. As one claimed, "Single party rule wasn't extraordinary either. It also had violence and human rights violations."

The disagreement over how controlled the democratic process in Rwanda needs to be and how much open political debate can be allowed arises in part from contrasting perspectives on the fragility of social cohesion in Rwanda. Many influential people feel that the divisions that have led to disorder and bloodshed in the past remain just below the surface and could easily become a basis for mobilization again. One interlocutor claims, "There are a lot of fears, apprehensions of opening the public forum to discussion. Open democracy will not serve good governance. We need a controlled democracy."

Others feel that the reconciliation and unity programs of the government in the eight years since the genocide have changed Rwandan culture sufficiently to allow a loosening of social controls. "It has been necessary during the transition to maintain control, but after the transition, we need to treat the population as adults", said one interlocutor. Some are concerned that the government's discourse of consensus creates pressure for conformity that does not allow for real debate, a genuine sharing of ideas, and the correction of mistaken ideas and misunderstandings. Comments such as "…competition of ideas is the best solution. … Rwanda needs original solutions to avoid what happened in 1994" capture this concern.

---

[30] The idea of consociational democracy is most closely associated with Arendt Lijphardt. More recently, adaptations of consociational principles have been promoted by scholars such as Benjamin Reilly and Andrew Reynolds.

Despite disagreements over how much freedom can be allowed in a context of social division, there is wide agreement that democracy will only work in Rwanda if the country develops a democratic political culture. One interlocutor stated, "Education of the population is most important. If you talk of democracy, the population needs to know what that is." One local religious worker claimed, "First, we need to educate the masses, teach them respect of one another. … Multiparty government here in undeveloped countries can cause problems. You need to explain to the people first, then you can launch parties. But if you launch parties without first teaching the population, that can lead us down the road to conflict. You need to first prepare the minds of people."

One factor of division that remains quite relevant in the current political situation is mistrust between the elite and the masses. Many of Rwanda's elite remain fearful that the masses could easily be mobilized for violence once again in the future, either on ethnic or an economic basis. As one interlocutor explained, "Genocide was a political weapon. The question is why Hutu peasants killed Tutsi peasants. Since independence, there was a teaching that Tutsi were adversaries. People don't kill for fun, but because there is hatred in their heads. Now the question is how to involve this population [in the political process]? Leaders are afraid of this. If we allow complete liberty, won't they do it again?" On the other hand, the masses clearly indicate that they believe that it is politicians themselves who are at the base of the social cleavage and responsible for Rwanda's ethnic violence. The rejection of local political party activity by many people in rural areas is a reflection of the popular suspicion of the elite.

Despite understandable fears on the part of many, there seems little threat of serious internal disorder in Rwanda in the near future. The population is weary of violence and much more concerned about their immediate needs arising from the country's crippling poverty. In the short term, it seems more likely that violent conflict could come to Rwanda from outside its borders. Conflicts in neighboring countries such as Burundi or Congo could spill over into Rwanda, or Rwandans now living in exile could play a role in mobilizing armed resistance.

Assessing the risks of future conflict is made difficult by the very fact that the process of transition creates a high degree of uncertainty in most important institutional arenas. Rwandan institutions are in flux and questions of consensus are likely to be increasingly important as the details of various reforms and the outcomes of various processes emerge. Ongoing developments in decentralization, gacaca, and civil society and media policy could have a significant impact on the political climate. The constitution will also have a crucial impact on the role of the legislature, executive, and judiciary, the basic rights of citizens, the role of political parties, and many other important issues. Proposed land reforms could become a major source of discontent, as could an economic downturn. The fact that so many of the major national institutions are in flux lends a high degree of uncertainty to the basic rules of the game, and in such a situation, consensus can only be classified as tentative at best. Some outcomes and results of reform list could contribute positively to consensus building while others may pose a serious challenge to consensus. It is too early in the game to accurately anticipate these outcomes.

Consensus Future Strategy Considerations

Helping to create consensus on the rules of the game –
- To promote a more democratic political culture (national and elite) issues of citizenship rights and responsibilities, basic democratic ideals and practices (including participation), the role of identity and values of inclusion in democracy, need to be openly discussed and absorbed
  - To be clear, what is *not* recommended is a large national civic education campaign sponsored by donors (and implemented by the government). Instead the team envisions these themes as a central component of the substance of other activities in the realm of civil society capacity building, support of gacaca and decentralization (The team views the CARE model as promising in this regard).
- Consider ad hoc support of the ongoing Unity and Reconciliation Commission Activities, particularly those that provide avenues for building capacity of civil society organizations, as they can be sustainable and ongoing partners for support of the basic goals of consensus.

Rule of Law

Overall, there have been signs of significant progress and improvements in the area of rule of law since 1994, though much remains to be done to ensure that law is not enforced in an arbitrary fashion, that individual rights are respected, and that the population lives in security. The justice system was devastated by the genocide and war, and even before the war, rule of law did not exist in Rwanda. As one government official claimed, "The biggest problem of justice is … that justice in this country has never been taken seriously." The Rwandan government has placed considerable emphasis on the need to fight a culture of impunity and develop rule of law by rebuilding the judicial system and using legal means to hold those involved in the genocide responsible for their actions. The international community, including USAID, has devoted considerable resources both to reconstructing the infrastructure of the justice system and to developing human resources, and as a result of both government and international donor commitment, considerable improvements in the justice sector can be noted.

Despite their slow pace and continuing problems of insufficiently qualified judicial personnel, including judges, trials today are generally run in a predictable manner with respect for the rights of the accused. One well informed observer remarked, "Compared with the beginning of the genocide trials, we see a progressive evolution. The first trials were catastrophic. … But today we see trials run relatively well." Noticeable improvements have also been made in terms of security. The national and communal police that replaced the old system of gendarmes have increased the level of professionalization in law enforcement, while the role of the military has been limited increasingly to protecting the country from security threats from outside the country, something that they have done quite effectively. People in Rwanda are not afraid of violence coming either from the state or from sources opposed to the regime in the way that they were prior to 1998. There is a marked improvement in the respect shown by RPF leaders for the rule of law since they came to power, and they have shown a demonstrated commitment to reform in this area. The role of the army in national politics has diminished significantly in the past four years, with a few exceptions, while the visible presence of the army in the country has also decreased noticeably.

The greatest exception to this general trend is a clear continuing problem in the area of human rights and civil rights. While most common people are more or less free to go about their lives with protection of the rule of law, which is a major development, for intellectuals the situation is much more tenuous. The regime regards the elite, particularly the Hutu elite, with considerable suspicion, believing that if they are not kept under close scrutiny and control, they could mobilize the population once again for negative purposes. As one strong supporter of the current regime states, "We have been able to contain elites who might otherwise do bad. We need to continue to limit elite society." The regime has demonstrated a high degree of sensitivity to criticism. Those critical of the regime are often silenced, marginalized, intimidated, or forced into exile. Although government officials interviewed generally reject these claims and insisted that they allow free and open debate, a large number of interlocutors within civil society discussed the problem of harassment and intimidation. A single interlocutor cited ten examples of harassment of civil society just in 2002, and the team was able to corroborate nearly all of these cases. The pattern seems to indicate a strategy that extends well beyond isolated incidents that can be explained by temporary lapses in judgment. A civil society representative asserted that, "Trials outside the genocide are politicized. They arrest people first, then search for charges." A government official used almost the same words to discuss what he saw as a continuing problem of politicization of the judiciary.

In addition to problems in the area of respect for human rights, there continues to be a need for improvements in the professionalism of the judiciary, particularly at the level of the parquet, which conducts investigations. Despite positive developments in this regard, many respondents spoke of the continuing need for better-trained judicial personnel and continuing problems of corruption and the influence of bribes on the process. The attorney general, Gerald Gahima, told us that even though the judicial authorities have good intentions and have tried to create a supportive legal framework, this does not automatically solve all problems. "Just because you've changed the law, you do not translate the intent of the law into the values of the judges."

The team also noted certain continuing institutional problems for the judiciary. There is substantial potential for the executive to exert influence over the judicial system. Although the executive does not systematically interfere in the judicial process now, with the important exception of perceived regime critics, the potential for creeping executive authoritarianism is clearly there. This problem could be addressed through constitutional provisions that guarantee the autonomy of the judiciary and also through increased budgetary independence. Judge Tharcisse Karugarama, vice-president of the Supreme Court and president of the Commission on Legal Reform, argues that there is a continuing need to "pay particular attention to the judiciary to raise it up to the third branch of government. You can never have a democratic nation with a weak and demoralized judiciary, because the judiciary is the guarantor of democracy." The process of legal reform that Karugarama is overseeing presents the potential to address many of the problems noted here, raising the prestige of the judiciary and increasing its independence.

The team notes a general sense that there is a legitimate commitment to the rule of law on the part of most national leaders. Gacaca may represent a sterling example of this commitment, as well as some of the problems remaining in the justice sector. There seems to be a determination to carry out gacaca trials in a manner consistent with the rule of law. There are still important concerns about gacaca and the ability for it to achieve just outcomes, yet the regime has revised its initial gacaca proposals in order to respond to criticisms and perceived

problems. Interviews with officials convince the team that there are serious attempts being made to continue to improve the process. There are indications, however, that the government is as sensitive to criticisms of the gacaca process as in other areas. In one case, the government discussed expelling an international NGO worker who has written reports containing relatively mild criticisms of the process. In other cases, interlocutors complained of having difficulty accessing the proceedings, being forbidden by judicial authorities from speaking with those involved in the process, and being harassed. To ensure that gacaca does indeed promote rule of law, it is important that the regime allow monitors of the process to work unfettered. It is also important that those involved in the process, particularly the judges, continue to receive training and support. If gacaca is perceived as successful, it promises to have a positive impact on the rule of law as a whole by making resolving the massive case backlogs precipitated by the genocide and making the system more capable of responding to other justice sector issues. The further benefit of social healing and reconciliation will be treated more fully below in the area of inclusion.

Rule of Law Future Strategy Considerations
- Support for gacaca is vital considering the central importance of the process for the issues of consensus cited above, however there are a number of process recommendations that should be considered
  - o Multiple donors, local actors, and GOR involvement make close coordination vital
  - o Gacaca administration court currently undergoing strategic planning, engage on the basis of the outcome of that process
- Support monitoring – combine with civil society capacity building activities
- Support for ongoing civic education in relation both to the gacaca process and outcomes and to other legal institutions
- More generally, the need for and modalities needed to achieve effective judicial independence could be a productive ad hoc activity. Support for the Commission on Legal Reform could be highly useful.

Inclusion

The regime has put extensive emphasis on the notion of inclusion. In fact it can be argued that inclusion represents the central ideological pillar of the RPF project. The team notes a number of key accomplishments in the area of inclusion:

- <u>Reconciliation</u>. The regime has undertaken extensive programs to encourage reconciliation. National leaders have embraced a discourse of inclusion that calls for people to overcome division and unite for the development of the country. For the past several years, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has taken responsibility for programs to promote national unity within the population.

- <u>Women</u>. The regime has made a concerted effort to focus on issues of concern to women and has taken particular steps to increase the representation of women in political positions. Today the leaders of the gacaca court and the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission are women, and there are two women ministers, one prefect, and 17 women deputies out of 69 (25%). Five of the 20 members of the National Executive Committee of the RPF are women. Most impressively, 30% of elected officials at the cell and sector levels are women, and about 27% of gacaca judges are

women.[31] The government has reserved one vice-mayor position in each district for women. One group working to promote women's rights told the team, "Personally, I feel the authorities encourage women to get involved in public life." But they add that women still face considerable obstacles. "Some administrators resist enforcing women's rights, as in the regulation of property. Administrators need to be better informed about the law."

- Education. The regime has made substantial advances in making the education system more merit based, shifting from a system where advancement was based more on patronage and identity.

- Diversity. Although formally claiming that they operate under a system of pure merit, the regime has nevertheless been careful to ensure that both Hutu and Tutsi and individuals from all regions of the country are represented in important public positions. Not all observers, however, agree that power is in fact widely shared. Some believe that real power remains in the hands of a relatively narrow and homogeneous group. One respondent claimed, "The regime practices the politics of discrimination and exclusion." In terms of ministries, national commissions, TNA, and many other institutions, however, positions do reflect a high degree of diversity.

- Public Participation/Mobilization. The government has undertaken a variety of programs to involve the population in public issues. Local elections, decentralization, and gacaca all involve massive mobilization of the population. The constitutional reform process has involved extensive consultation with the people. Other major decisions, such as the formation of gacaca, have involved consultation with a range of people from the elite.

While the regime can be lauded for seeking to include the population in its programs, it is important to appreciate the distinction between mobilization and true popular participation. The team noted that, while the population is commonly involved in government programs, there remains considerable pressure for conformity. The pressure to demonstrate support for unity constrains people from freely expressing their ideas, for fear they will be accused of supporting division.

Decisions, though sometimes involving extensive consultation, are ultimately made by a relatively small group. Programs are implemented following a hierarchical pattern, which allows little real opportunity for the expression of the popular will. Many people remain highly skeptical of the degree to which their ideas are actually taken into account. As a result, even when efforts are made to include the population in decisions, people lack confidence that their views will actually be accepted. As one civil society member explained, "The Constitutional Commission has undertaken a consultation process. But the population is skeptical. People doubt that their ideas will be taken into account." Several others made similar observations. The public skepticism is due in part to the fact that in spite of increased inclusion, political power is still tightly controlled at the top by a small group with a common experience and a shared ideology.

Constraints on discourse and pressures for unity are particularly problematic in relationship to elections, which to be meaningful must by definition be competitive. The pressures for unity may serve to constrain substantially the choices available to voters. As one political party leader told the team, "The divisionist spirit is the greatest obstacle to democracy. … The

---

[31] According to statistics provided by Pro-Femmes.

kernel of democracy is the prevention of division." The political parties have generally supported mechanisms that will guarantee inclusion through power sharing, but there is some concern that these mechanisms could simply be used to maintain the status quo and suppress political diversity.

Economic exclusion seems to exhibit a pattern that is in serious contrast to the participation and inclusion exhibited at the political level. At the economic level, there is a tiny minority who have economic control, which has resulted in an increasing level of economic inequality in the country. At the same time that the country has modernized and bounced back rapidly from the destruction of 1994. The picture of standard of living outside of Kigali or other large towns contrasts dramatically to that in the cities. Contrast the state of elites with even lower level state functionaries not to mention the continued grinding poverty of most rural farmers.

On other continuing problem in the area of inclusion is the status of the minority Twa group. The Twa, a pygmy group generally considered the original inhabitants of Rwanda, are the poorest sector of Rwandan society who have long faced discrimination in Rwanda. CAURWA, the Communauté des Autochthones Rwandais, claims that the number of Twa currently living in Rwanda is 20,000-25,000, down from more than 30,000 before 1994. The Twa today have virtually no political representation or influence, with only 4 or 5 Twa holding local government positions and no known Twa elected as gacaca judges. The policy of discouraging discussion of ethnicity has made it particularly difficult to Twa to speak up to defend their interests, yet they need protection from the government to prevent their disappearance entirely as a distinct group within Rwandan society.

Inclusion Future Strategy Considerations
- Study and promote creative thinking regarding institutional mechanisms to provide for political inclusion
  - balance needs to be struck between consensus/power sharing and forced agreement
  - political elites concerned to avoid the status quo SEE RELATED CONSIDERATIONS UNDER COMPETITION

Competition

Free and open competition for power based on popular sovereignty is perhaps the defining element of democracy. Free and fair elections are critical, but other closely related realms of competition encompass checks and balances within government, democratic decentralization, economic competition, public space for pluralism, an active civil society, and competition of ideas, including free media and freedom of expression. The area of competition is one that the team believes deserves particular attention.

Given the history of division in Rwanda, the current regime displays an understandable fear of open competition. At the same time, the rhetoric of political leaders claims to support open exchange of ideas and freedom of thought. One RPF official asserted, "I don't know any country that has more debate than in Rwanda." One government official claimed, "Rwanda has a freer press than anywhere I have seen. … Rwanda is a perfectly free country. There are no limitations at all." Many members of the regime pointed to the Village Urugwiro meetings in 1998-99, to the constitutional process, and to various public meetings as evidence of the regime's openness to debate.

The picture drawn by many people outside the regime, however, is quite different. The government has tended to treat inclusion and competition as antagonistic rather than complementary principles. In its effort to create national unity and avoid a return to division and violence, the regime exerts considerable pressure for conformity of ideas and expression. Politicians, civil society activists, and others are expected to stay within tightly controlled bounds of discourse. Although the state allows discussion of ideas in a variety of forums, the topics of debate are set by authorities, and in most cases, participants feel constrained to respond within established ideological parameters. These public discussions, thus, serve more as opportunities for mobilization than as occasions for free and open exchange of ideas. Other possible arenas for the expression of ideas, such as the press, are also constrained. One human rights report claims, "The spaces for free expression are almost all controlled or reduced to a minimum to impede any awakening of protest."[32]

The regime remains quite sensitive not only to criticism but to public discourse that falls outside the bounds of what they consider appropriate discourse. A member of civil society told the team, "There is a problem of dialogue. We do not have a tradition of dialogue. We can't have a frank discussion of ideas. Those who want to express different ideas are accused of wanting to prepare genocide." The danger of too much control on free expression and political activity is expressed well by one member of civil society: "Political opening is a means of struggling against extremism. Political pluralism allows people to debate openly. It discourages people from going to develop extremist ideas elsewhere. To avoid extremism, you need first to accept that people think differently." Another interlocutor from the media sector opined, "The genocide in Rwanda did not result from too many ideas. It came about as a result of a singular hegemonic discourse." The regime in power, however, continues to view open debate as a threat.

Limitations on open competition have consequences in a number of areas. One area where the regime has been particularly successful in constraining competition is in political party activity. Because of the role that political parties played in the 1994 genocide, the RPF after taking power put severe restrictions on party activities, restricting them to the capital and forbidding their recruiting members or carrying out other activities normal associated with parties. Nevertheless, the first post-genocide government contained a diversity of perspectives. The resignation in mid-1995 of five ministers from parties other than the RPF led to a constriction of the range of ideas expressed within the government, and this process has continued. A Forum of Political Parties was created several years ago to coordinate between the parties, and it has served as a means of limiting the range of allowable ideas among politicians. Although interlocutors mentioned examples of relatively open debate within the Forum, as in a three-day debate held earlier this year in Kibuye on the issue of ethnicity, the emphasis on consensus within the Forum and the power of the Forum to approve members of the TNA places great pressures on politicians to conform. As one person claimed, "The parties don't have independence. The Forum is like the central committee of a single party." Several other interlocutors used similar language to discuss the Forum.

In the new political arrangements currently being discussed, many party leaders have supported the idea of continuing to use a forum of parties to constrain the parties. While the need to place some limits on party activity is understandable given the history of party activity being ethnicized in Rwanda, too much pressure for conformity and too much control

---

[32] Willy Nindorera, "Etude sur la liberté d'expression au Rwanda," Kigali: LDGL, December 17, 2001.

on competition defeats the very purpose of political parties as institutions where people who share ideas can join together to influence public policy. Some worry noting that, "Before, there was the same language to justify single party rule. 'Multiple parties cause chaos, disorder.' People accepted this. You couldn't have ideas outside those of the 'father of the country,' Habyarimana. The genocide happened because people could not think otherwise. People respected the law, and that was all." The harsh reaction to the creation of a new political party by former president Bizimungu is particularly troubling. Not only was Bizimungu eventually arrested, but also according to several interlocutors interviewed by the team, other members of the party were forced into renouncing their participation. The effort to crack down on the party has become a cover for imprisoning dozens of people without any apparent connection to Bizimungu or his party.[33] Such a disproportionately harsh response to a politician with little popular support bodes ill for future independent democratic organization.

Another area of grave concern is civil society. There is considerable pressure on civil society to work closely with the state and to conform to its vision for Rwandan society. As one civil society activist explains, "There is a group of leaders who have their own project for society, and they want you to join into their project. If you fall outside, they are afraid that you will go in a different direction. There is a visceral reaction that if you leave those lines, it could lead us into what happened before." But the activist turns to a Kinyarwanda proverb to express his fear that too much constraint will lead towards violence not order. "You create that which you are afraid of."

The team recorded a number of cases of harassment of civil society. Those civil society groups that work independently of the state or that criticize the state face harassment, public denunciation, or arrest. As one interlocutor explained, "For civil society, we ask everyday if it is going to improve. There is a sense of bad will on the part of authorities. They see civil society as the opposition, because there is not a real political opposition. … The first step was to co-opt political parties. Now they have tried to co-opt civil society groups." The situation is particularly severe for human rights groups and the media, which have experienced regular harassment. The civil society law adopted last year has, in the opinion of many, increased state control over groups. Groups that do not conform to government policy are increasingly being accused of following the interests of the international community rather than the interests of the Rwandan people. One activist reported on a speech given recently by President Kagame, "He said, 'The international community is not ready to help us, just to use us. There is no free lunch. … You, civil society, you have to make a choice: working with your government hand in hand or remaining beggars.'"

As a result of pressures to demonstrate unity and support the regime, many civil society groups have sought to avoid any confrontation with the state and instead try to carefully follow the directives of the government. This creates a situation where civil society loses its ability to act as a voice for the society. According to one civil society leader, "We should not forget that civil society should place a certain pressure on the government. If not, it is not a true civil society. What is sad is that [some civil society groups] forget their role as civil society. There are NGOs that serve basically as agents of the state." Another civil society member reiterates this perspective, "Civil society doesn't understand its role. For a long time,

---

[33] Cf., LDGL, *Grand Lacs Entre la Violence Impunité et la Misère: Rapport sur la situation des droits de l'homme: Burundi, RDC, et Rwanda, 2000-2001*, LDGL, May 2002, p. 122.

civil society has been there to implement government programs. This is true even for the churches."

The government has taken laudable initiatives within the social realm, setting up the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the Human Rights Commission, and organizations for women and youth representatives from each district, but some people fear that certain government officials hope to use these groups to replace civil society. Several people told the team that one TNA deputy even suggested that there was no need for human rights groups now because of the government Human Rights Commission. In fact, while these groups can make important contributions, they cannot be an alternative to a vibrant and independent civil society in terms of checking the power of the government and representing the interests of the society.

A number of members of civil society interviewed by the team attributed problems in civil society not simply to a hostile political environment but to weaknesses within civil society itself. Despite a number of umbrella organizations, coordination among civil society groups is limited, and most groups based in Kigali have little presence in the countryside and little connection to rural groups. The government has sought to create a forum of civil society groups, but the civil society resisted this effort, because many feared that a state-initiated forum could become a tool for controlling civil society. One interlocutor claimed, "The government wants to control everything. They have tried to put into place a forum of NGOs through which all NGOs would have to pass to express themselves. That makes us afraid." A number of groups, however, including Pro-Femmes, CCOAIB, and the Catholic Church, are seeking to initiate discussions within civil society on setting up an independent forum that could act to strengthen and defend civil society rather than help to co-opt it.

Another need expressed by members of civil society was to develop the ability to work with the state without losing independence. In the current situation, groups tend to either become implementing agents for state policy or they take a confrontational position vis-à-vis the state. Yet remarks like, "Civil society cannot be confrontational. It can't survive" were not uncommon. Groups interviewed by the team expressed an interest in developing a capacity for advocacy within areas of their interest. A member of civil society in Cyangugu claimed, "The role of advocacy is not there. But it is not the fault of civil society. We have not been welcomed." Nevertheless, a number of government officials interviewed asserted that they would welcome a role for civil society in policy formation. A few groups, notably CCOAIB and Pro-Femmes, have already been quite successful at taking on an advocacy role, and their actions could become a model for other groups.

One area where the team noted a positive trend in terms of competition is in the policy of decentralization. By devolving decision-making power to local governments and by making those governments popularly elected, the regime has made a major advance in terms of empowering the population and creating checks on centralized control. The new system implemented in March 2001 has political power shared by a committee of individuals at the district level rather than having all power vested in one official. The population seems nearly universal in its support for the policy of decentralization, although most people noted continuing problems. One NGO worker claimed, "Decentralization is the best strategy. Democracy begun at the top is too easily manipulated. It is more difficult to manipulate the many different communities." A civil society leader claimed, "Decentralization is a big opportunity. It is very weak now, but if we could work from the grassroots, it could become strong. We have a tradition of centralized government and centralized civil society."

A number of interlocutors expressed a belief that the basic institutions of decentralization are good, but that both the population and the new politicians have yet to fully understand their role. A local government official claimed that, "Elections have been well organized, but people have a problem of understanding. People don't understand decentralization as a process. People come to see the mayor and don't understand that it is not only the mayor who can answer questions. With decentralization, work is divided. Final decisions come from the district council." A prefect made a similar observation to the team, "There is a problem of collegiality. The old system did not encourage that. There is still a problem of centralized power. Mayors act like burgomasters." According to a local religious worker, "Decentralization started well with the election of leaders. … But the way it is supposed to function has not yet entered into people's minds. People are used to following orders."

The program of decentralization presents major opportunities for greater popular influence on public policy, and it can help to open up space for competition of ideas. A number of people, however, noted the need to increase public understanding of democratic rights and responsibilities. Also, decentralization makes the need for increased capacity and better coordination among civil society groups particularly essential because it calls on society to take an active role in policy formulation. Small grassroots groups will need considerable support if they are to become effective partners in influencing policy.

As the new constitution is being designed, there is considerable concern over whether there will be a better balance of power among branches of the government. A number of those consulted in the TNA and judiciary expressed a hope that their branches will become increasingly autonomous and will be able to act as a check on executive power. In particular, they pointed out the importance of giving each branch financial independence. The constitutional process provides important opportunities to establish a better balance of power, but the establishment of judicial and legislative independence will also depend ongoing practices established during the years after the transition.

Competition Future Strategy Considerations
- Civil society strengthening activities are seen as crucial to counter balance to centralized state power
  - Capacity building
  - Coordination – support ongoing efforts to overcome weakness
  - Policy analysis
  - Advocacy
  - National, regional, and local level attention is needed

- Local civil society capacity building should interface with efforts to support decentralization
  - Working with cross-sectorally relevant local organizations (health and agricultural cooperatives, micro credit organizations, etc for example)

- Support for independent media
  - Training
  - Investigative reporting skills
  - Legal
  - Communication Technologies to increase information flow
  - Expansion of media presence outside Kigali

- Decentralization support offers unique opportunity and should represent a central activity in the new strategy
  - Ongoing support for policy coordination and rationalization at the national level
  - Engage with common programs at local levels, improve donor coordination to avoid "Balkanization"
  - Local civil society and administration coordination
  - Local level media, local rural radio

Good Governance

Issues of good governance are intertwined with all four previous assessment variables. In the most immediate sense, good governance refers to efficiency and openness. In broader terms, the impact of all other variables comes together in the area of governance. Good governance is "where the rubber meets the road;" it is the effective delivery of basic public goods that citizens can reasonably expect from a democratic state. Issues of accountability, transparency, and effectiveness take the fore in this variable. Ultimately the central question is: "Does government work?"

In general, the team found that the current regime has made positive advances in the area of good governance. Despite serious financial constraints, services are generally being delivered effectively, and institutional capacity has improved. There has been a shift toward greater consideration of merit in a variety of ministries, and there are now a number of technically competent individuals working in various government offices. Particular improvements have been made in the educational system. The health care system has yet to recover to pre-war levels, in part because of the degree to which its personnel and infrastructure were devastated, but also because a relative lack of attention from the government.

The team also notes a degree of commitment on the part of the regime to control corruption. The RPF took an initiative in 1998 to bring corruption under control, replacing a number of powerful individuals. In general, the team heard few complaints about corruption. Respondents in particular noted increased professionalism on the part of police, though some problems still remain. The area where corruption remains the most problematic is in the judiciary, with large numbers of poorly trained and poorly paid personnel, but the regime has demonstrated an interest in improving the situation here.

One caveat in the area of corruption and good governance is the war in Congo. This war has presented opportunities for various people within Rwanda to grow wealthy off the exploitation of Congo's resources. There is concern about what will happen in Rwanda as those who have become used to easily accessing diamonds, gold, and other resources in Congo find their access restricted. In particular, there is concern over the role that demobilized military will play in a post-war Rwanda. Effective demobilization programs will be essential to maintain current levels of security and probity within Rwanda.

The team also notes improvements in the area of transparency. While ultimate power remains restricted to a fairly small number of individuals, important improvements have been made in opening up the decision-making process. Although debates may be constrained, there have been public discussions of a number of important policy initiatives in recent years, including gacaca and the ongoing constitutional process.

In terms of ongoing improvements in good governance, the continuing evolution of decentralization should be an area of particular attention. If the serious fiscal problems currently plaguing local governments are not resolved, increases in corruption will be very difficult to avoid. Many people interviewed agreed with a government official who claimed that what is needed "is enforcement of capacity of local officials. Mechanisms have been put in place, but now we need to make it work." Local government officials need training in management but also in law, human rights, and principles of good governance. The capacity of local civil society also needs to be improved. The system of decentralization envisions a vital role for society in policy formulation and implementation, but traditions of authoritarianism remain strong, and unless programs to encourage democratic participation are developed, decentralization may not in fact empower societies. Strengthening civil society groups will be an essential contribution to local good governance, since it will improve public participation and increase oversight. If decentralization develops in a positive direction, it could make a significant contribution to increased transparency in government and to increased popular access to authorities.

Good Governance Future Strategy Considerations

- Support Decentralization as above
  - Increase transparency
  - Improve service delivery
- Civil society support allows increased capacity as check on government power

Section V Donor Environment and USAID Comparative Advantages

Current Donor Activities and Future Plans

The donor community in Rwanda is engaged in a number of potentially complementary activities that the USAID/Rwanda DG team should take account of as they craft the new strategy. A brief description of the major donors and their areas of emphasis should serve as a launching pad for future collaboration and coordination.

Great Britain - Department for International Development (DFID)

DFID is a major donor in Rwanda providing support at the ministerial level in the Ministry of Finance to promote transparency in budgeting, and other activities targeted at improving core ministerial capacities (including MINALOC). In general DFID has focused on budget support while at the same time requiring a number of "democratization milestones" on the part of the GOR. DFID has discontinued some support when they have not seen progress. For example, in the area of liberalization of the television airwaves, they withdrew support after not seeing progress.

Sweden - SIDA

Sweden's assistance began in Rwanda at the time immediately following the genocide and like a number of other donors has evolved from an exclusive focus on humanitarian assistance. In the past Sweden's assistance to Rwanda was funneled through the UNHCR and UNDP, but SIDA has more than doubled its assistance to Rwanda in the past year. Currently SIDA's primary emphasis in good governance is on capacity building. They are providing support to the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, working with decentralization programs in Butare, and restructuring the national police. They are also supporting demobilization of soldiers and provide extensive support to the National University of Rwanda.

European Community

The EC provides extensive budgetary support in a variety of areas and have supported institution building. They supported a major training program in justice and both budgetary support for gacaca and assistance to NGOs working on gacaca. They have also been supporting democratization at the cell level and district and sector level human rights training.

Germany - GTZ

GTZ has been working in support of the national Reconciliation Commission assisting in planning, organizing and evaluating two national dialogues (2000 and 2001) focusing on the themes of reconciliation and genocide and encompassing broad social groups. They have been providing support to the judiciary by establishment of a case database, and are also anticipating work in civic education in the coming year. GTZ is also supporting the decentralization process.

Netherlands

The Dutch Embassy is engaged in assistance to the justice sector (Supreme Court), supports the principle Rwandan Human Rights Organizations, and has provided assistance to the media sector (working in concert with DFID). The Dutch have a relatively large degree of flexibility with their funding and can respond to situations as they develop as a result. They have tended to focus their activities in the Cyangugu Province and support a decentralization support unit in Cyangugu.

Belgium

DG related support has focused on gacaca support in the area of monitoring. They have supported monitoring activities in 6 of 12 provinces using local NGOs to implement the monitoring activities. The Belgians also helped to support NGO capacity building during the 1990s as well as supporting the work of the Peace and Reconciliation Commission. They also provided ad hoc assistance to the electoral commission during the last local election cycle.

Canada - CIDA

Since 1998, CIDA has supported a women's development fund including consultations for new laws to improve women's legal rights in the areas of property, marital and labor rights. Further projects promoted social justice awareness and equality of women and children, as well as voter education targeted specifically at women.

Switzerland - Cooperation Swiss

The activities of Cooperation Swiss in the DG related areas focus on the areas of Human Rights, gacaca monitoring, and support to the justice sector in knowledge of rights. Geographically, they have tended to focus support on the Kibuye Province. Cooperation Swiss sees the utility of basket-funding because of their relatively limited funds but also because they believe it can reduce duplicative efforts on the part of donors.

Multilaterals

Rwanda is currently receiving interim assistance from IDA, the IMF, the African Development Bank and the Paris Club. Guided by the Enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (eHIPC) initiative and through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Process (PRSP), Rwanda has qualified for significant debt forgiveness (US$810 million) with an end point expected at the end of 2002. The World Bank's Rural sector support project includes a component for reform of the general public administration sector. The Competitiveness and Enterprise Development Project is financing the establishment of a Commercial Court to promote investment and facilitate resolution of commercial disputes. And the Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Program Project "aims at helping return ex-combatants to their communities to resume a productive social, and economic life, by reallocating resources from defense towards poverty reduction"[34]

---

[34] http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSServlet?pcont=details&eid=000094946_02041104221775

Other Donors

UNICEF is reportedly working with the Ministry of Education to produce a set of modules on reconciliation in the national school curriculum.

USAID Comparative Advantages – Leveraging Unique Strengths

Past and Current DG Strategy – Taking Advantage of Previous Investments

USAID as an agency has a strong background in the area of local governance capacity building and promotion of participation of community organizations at local levels. CSO capacity building represents another activity in which USAID is a recognized leader. Election support has also figured prominently in many portfolios and impressive accomplishments were often demonstrated. Assistance to rule of law and justice sector issues is also an area of strength for the agency and anti-corruption, policy change, and legislative strengthening are all activities that USAID has successfully pursued in countries in the region.

USAID/Rwanda has a high degree of credibility in the areas of gender in development and decentralization as well as assistance in the justice sector. Cross-cutting issues that should also play a role in strategy development include AIDS, Public/Private Sector partnerships, Information Communication Techologies (ICTs) and conflict prevention / conflict management. Though current efforts at legislative strengthening are laudable, the USAID/Rwanda portfolio needs to be more streamlined in the future. Legislative strengthening activities may represent an area where difficult choices need to be made.

Synergy with other SOs – AG-EG SO, Health SO

In both health and agriculture/economic growth, working with local-level community organizations will clearly result in cross-sectoral synergy. Engagement with community development groups in the area of health care as well as dealing with policy level rationalization of the decentralization process will give direct benefits to Health SO activities. Similarly, providing organizational/institutional strength and advocacy capacity to health-oriented groups can be very attractive to Health SO and provide a means to dual fund certain activities. Ag cooperatives are clearly vital rural community organizations and similar linkages between DG and AG would be useful for both SOs. Working on policy advocacy at the national level with private sector organizations can also make them more effective engines for economic growth while at the same time providing transparency to the process. The linkages with the private sector at the national level could also serve as a venue for talking about corporate responsibility and citizenship both in terms of environment but also in regards to corporate philanthropy, a concept entirely foreign to Rwanda's private sector. Yet support for a productive and democratically enabling civil society ultimately should be born at least in part by just such economic actors.

Section VI Strategic Recommendations

The current USAID/Rwanda SO 1 is broad in substance and diverse in implementing partners. This has the effect of spreading management time very thin for any particular activity and also complicates the tasks of monitoring and evaluation to convincingly demonstrates the impact of the large number of activities. Finally, because of the large number of grantees, contractors, and partners involved, there is little ability to benefit from economies of scale – each activity has its own management structure, which in turn takes additional resources. The team recommends that the new strategy be structured to achieve a sharper focus and more unity of purpose. This should increase efficiencies in the management of the SO itself and also increase the likelihood of long-term impact on the areas that receive priority attention.[35] Of course this also entails making hard choices. This section should assist in guiding some of those difficult decisions.

The following set of recommendations are derived from the problem statements and obstacles articulated in Sections III and IV above. The team notes with pleasure that virtually all of the recommendations that we provide below are entirely consistent with the recommendations made in the DG sub-sectoral assessments conducted over the past 18 months. Of necessity these recommendations are not as detailed as those provided in sub-sectoral assessments, however the overall strategic coherence of the recommendations should be evident.

Critical Assumptions

The recommendations provided immediately below are based on an assumption of the mid-level funding scenario of USD 3.5 million annually from FY 04 – FY 09. Second, the team assumes a roughly "Status Quo" evolution in the political dynamics in Rwanda. This would include:

- The constitutional revision process produces a constitution with minimally workable institutional configurations
  - o Multiparty politics at least for national offices
  - o Balance of power
  - o Flexibility on institutional means for power sharing
- Decentralization's most urgent fiscal challenges are addressed
- Gacaca moves ahead as planned with mixed but generally positive results in the short term and providing for the gradual clearing of the case backlogs while allowing for the normalization of the justice system as a whole
- Regional security stabilizes with withdrawal of Rwandan troops from Congo and no new major regional conflicts imposing on domestic politics
- Rains are consistent allowing for average agricultural yields
- Economy continues to expand gradually, no major economic shocks

---

[35] Mission could consider a handful of implementing configurations to achieve this greater efficiency. One reasonable suggestion would be to consolidate all activities under each broad focus area in a single grant, cooperative agreement, or contract and engage with a partner who has capacity to both provide these broad services and to manage local partners. This would lower the management burden on the mission staff while increasing the capacity-strengthening component in regards to local partners as they work more regularly with development professionals.

General Strategic Focus

The assessment team believes that the primary/first order obstacles to democratic transition and consolidation in Rwanda are summarized under the *consensus* variable and that issues highlighted under the *competition* variable are also of serious concern. However, consensus is a notoriously difficult obstacle to program against. Rwanda's consensus problem has been hundreds of years in the making and though the nation has made important strides since 1994, mending deep social cleavages is the most serious of long-term challenges. Further, only the people themselves, with the help of committed leadership, and appropriate institutions can have a hope of making progress on these issues. With that recognition, the team reasons both that issues of competition are manifestations of consensus problems and improved competition can also have a positive impact on bridging social gaps. Democratic competition can result in improved institutions, provide incentives for good leadership, and lead to more genuine consensus ultimately helping to mend social cleavages. The role of civic education in this process is stressed below as it represents a primary means of increasing competition, can improve the status of women's rights, increase women's involvement in political life, and lead to improved conflict management skills.

Overall, an SO consistent with the team recommendations might be something like:

> *DG SO - Rwandan citizens demonstrate increasing democratic participation in local governance structures*

In order to build on the areas where consensus is already evident, and to contribute directly to the proposed SO, the team recommends concerted focus on three related areas of intervention.

1) Decentralization – Increase local good governance capacity. Activities should serve to leverage the commitment of the GOR in devolving power to local levels and contribute to building consensus among local people on the utility of productive participation in self-governance;

2) Civil Society capacity building and advocacy - Increase democratic competition and engagement of citizens with the state at national, province, and local levels;

3) Justice Sector/Gacaca – Activities in this area should help to increase citizen confidence in the Rule of Law and this in turn should increase the likely hood of participation in self-governance.

As noted above, the team also recommends the use of a crosscutting tool - civic education – in all three intervention areas because of the compelling and oft-cited need for increased citizen (both elite and non-elite) awareness and practice of basic democratic values. The type of civic education that we have in mind is often not mass oriented but rather targeted at particular sets of politically relevant actors and implemented or delivered using mechanisms that serve the goal of organizational capacity building as well as the delivery of civic education messages.

The more detailed recommendations presented below draw on the strategy directions indicated in Section IV above but prioritize and shape the strategy directions into more concrete *illustrative* activities. The team makes no suggestion that these illustrative elements represent an activity design though they may be used as a starting point for the next phase of USAID/Rwanda strategic planning.

Illustrative Specific Program Elements

Decentralization –
The assessment team views decentralization as a promising point of entry for opening up the political arena and allowing greater competition. Further, decentralization offers the unique attribute of contributing directly to citizen appreciation for and motivation to participate in the only government that has direct impact on virtually all Rwandans. Activities should serve to leverage the commitment of the GOR in devolving power to local levels and contribute to building consensus among local people on the utility of productive participation in self-governance. This assumes engagement at both the national policy level as well as working in local settings to strengthen capacity of local administrators.

Activity design in this area should be guided by one important caveat. As noted in Section III above, many interlocutors noted a tendency toward "Balkanization" in development assistance more generally and in particular in the context of decentralization. USAID should work against this tendency whenever possible. To the degree that the activities include Ministry-level engagement, the issue is not as relevant, but at the level of direct intervention in the provinces, USAID should be careful to assist the MINILOC in harmonizing donor trainings and activities. This of course does not mean that all donor activities need be identical, it does indicate though that standard accounting and management practices should be encouraged rather than the current patchwork. The current ARD project of developing a financial management system in the Ministry and then promoting it *through* the Ministry itself contributes positively in this regard.

Other recommendations relevant to decentralization include:

- Promote local civil society and local administration coordination
- Working with various local level CDCs to increase capacity to engage with community groups and to carry out development planning and implementation
- Include focus on Vice-Mayors for Gender as a means for targeting and improving participation of women
- Local level media, in particular local rural radio can be used to focus on issues of concern to local communities. Local media can encourage democratic participation as well as debate on goals and methods to allow a larger number of citizens to be informed and participate in decision making
- Civic education efforts can be targeted at local officials. The following areas seem most relevant:
  o Human rights
  o Women's rights
  o Aids prevention
  o Anti-poverty strategies
  o Conflict prevention and management
- Local civil society capacity building should interface with efforts to support decentralization. The team sees a direct link between proposed decentralization activities

and civil society activities. They should be closely coordinated in the DG portfolio either using a common contracting mechanism or by ensuring that different USAID partners plan and carry out activities with close coordination.
  o Civil society should serve to increase transparency, improve service delivery

Civil Society capacity building and advocacy –
The second major activity recommended by the team is a comprehensive effort to increase healthy competition and engagement of citizens with the state at local levels, province, and national levels through the support of civil society.

- Civil society strengthening activities are seen as a crucial counter balance to centralized state power and a current tendency to narrow parameters of debate. To assure healthy democratic competition, civil society strengthening could include:
  o Capacity building in democratic organizational management (Institutional Development Framework - IDF)[36]
  o Coordination – support ongoing efforts to overcome weakness both among CSOs and between different levels of civil society
  o Policy analysis
  o Advocacy
  o Some attention to CSOs at national and regional levels is needed to effectively support local level CSOs
  o Working with cross-sectorally relevant local organizations such as health and agricultural cooperatives, micro credit organizations, women's groups, AIDs education, survivors groups, etc
  o National level enabling issues also need to be attended to as capacity for organization and advocacy can be negatively influenced by state policy and practice
  o Civil society support to improve the ability to analyze policy, engage in policy debate, and influence the direction of policy choices
- Civil society organizations can be an appropriate and promising vector to promote a more democratic political culture (grass-roots and elite) through civic education programs on issues of citizenship rights and responsibilities, basic democratic ideals and practices (including participation), the role of identity and values of inclusion in democracy. All theses need to be openly discussed and absorbed for more genuine consensus to be reached.
- Civil society organizations implicated in gacaca monitoring, trauma support, witness support, etc. should be included to assure their capacity to provide these services
- Support for independent media is also an important component of both national and local civil society
  o Training to improve professionalism
  o Investigative reporting skills
  o Legal Education in law and human rights
  o Communication Technologies to increase information flow both from and to CSOs
- Civil society support allows increased capacity to check and balance state power
- Consider ad hoc support of the ongoing Unity and Reconciliation Commission Activities, particularly those that provide avenues for building capacity of civil society organizations

---

[36] The IDF is one of a number of tools that can be used to assist CSOs, NGOs or other organizations to self-assess their institutional capacity and to gradually improve it. It focuses on internal organizational characteristics, capacity for strategic planning and management, financial management and sustainability, as well as advocacy functions.

as they can be a sustainable and ongoing partner for support of the basic goals of consensus.

Justice Sector/Gacaca

Activities in this area should help to increase citizen confidence in the Rule of Law and increase the likely hood of participation in self-governance. Support for gacaca is vital considering the central importance of the process for rebuilding social fabric and aiding in the establishment of a genuine, not simply articulated, social consensus. This approach is consistent with an emphasis on building local capacity in both the judicial sector and local level civil society. It is important for activity design in this area to be guided by two immediately relevant and ongoing processes.

1) The GOR Supreme Court 6th Chamber (Gacaca Court) administration is currently undergoing strategic planning and an overall needs assessment. Further they are putting in place a new team charged explicitly with donor coordination with the assistance of another donor. It will be vital to match activity design in the coming months to the needs identified as a result of the ongoing strategic planning.
2) The donor community has been increasingly committed to supporting this process and has been holding regular coordination meetings to this end. USAID should continue to attend these meetings and carefully frame activity design in the context of these meetings.

These two steps should contribute to rational deployment of resources from multiple sources. In terms of the direct relationship between the USAID proposed SO level goal, a focus on the following activities may be considered:

- Support monitoring activities, witness support, trauma counseling, etc. This combines easily with civil society capacity building activities as the nearly all organizations carrying out these activities will be Rwandan CSOs.
- Support for ongoing civic education in relation to the gacaca process and outcomes – by helping citizens to understand the process in relationship to greater goals of democratic participation, and citizen responsibility, the process can serve the long term goal of helping to mend society and increase citizen participation levels.
- Support for conflict prevention and management training among the same CSOs as the outcomes of gacaca in any particular locality may bring to the surface tensions that have been hidden
- Support for media coverage of the gacaca process, particularly for local media. This could include reporter training, support for community radio coverage, as well as support for policy rationalization at the level of the new media law that would ease access to the airwaves for independent monitoring voices
- Local media should also be encouraged to cover other judicial processes including the Rwanda Genocide Tribunal and the ICTR
- Include local justice personnel (both gacaca and standard legal system) as beneficiaries of civic education messages
- More generally, the need for and modalities needed to achieve effective judicial independence could be a productive ad hoc activity. This would be targeted at higher levels than the grass-roots monitoring or civic education functions proposed. Such an activity could interact with the decentralization suggestions provided below

Immediate short-term Recommendation

At least one other recommendation for short-term consideration also emerges from the assessment team research and analysis. This is of immediate importance but also may have long-term implications into the new strategy period.

- Study and promote creative thinking regarding institutional mechanisms to provide for political inclusion
    o Power sharing configurations based on identity differences have been successfully used in dozens of countries around the world over the past 2 centuries. Recognizing that Rwanda is unique does not suggest that we can not learn from these experiences

Additional Recommendations: Alternate Political Scenarios and Alternate Funding Assumptions Matrix

The status quo political scenario is outlined above under the heading for critical assumptions. Alternative scenarios however are possible and various political outcomes should guide programming decisions in the out-years of the DG strategy as much as possible given Agency required constraints. The two broad possible outcomes in the mid-term (2-5 years) future that are presented are grouped broadly as positive and negative outcomes. This is done for clarity of analysis. In reality it is much more likely that a mixed set of outcomes will occur with some positive and some negative events but attention to certain trends typical of one or the other outcome sets can be useful in guiding program management decisions as the political situation evolves and as USAID strategy attempts to engage most productively to the inevitable evolution of events.

Positive Political Evolution

- Constitutional reform concluded with creative and efficient institutional innovations put in place
- Decentralization process is able to put in place realistic strategic plan to solve both fiscal challenges and basic organizational and institutional capacity issues
- Withdrawal from Congo accomplished and tensions significantly reduced
    o Re-integration of army into civilian life
- Political debate and multiple political opinions are promoted and become part of general political culture
- 2003 elections are legitimately competitive
    o freedom of press allowed
    o pressure on critical voices reduced
- Gacaca progresses and yields legitimate results in most constituencies nationwide
    o Promotes meaningful reconciliation
    o Allows for clearing of case back-logs and efficient functioning of traditional justice system
    o Conforms to basic standards of rule of law
    ▪ Widespread monitoring allows high public confidence in process and results

Negative Political Evolution

- Renewed regional violence (Congo, Burundi) that involves Rwandan troops
- Renewal of attacks on Rwanda from rebels based in Congo or Burundi

- o Renewal of attacks by remnants of former regime
- o Possibility of attacks from multi-ethnic opponents of current regime based outside Rwanda
- Failure of gacaca
  - o Refusal of government to include crimes by RPF in gacaca trials leads to popular frustration
  - o Interest of population wanes, causing low attendance and increasing use of coercion or force by government to compel attendance
  - o Government interference in process delegitimizes trials
  - o Trials fail to relieve burden on prisons, as large numbers of people previously outside prison are arrested
- Failure of elections
  - o Current regime intervenes to ensure its victory in elections, leading to popular discontent.
  - o Potential challenges from new parties and alternate leaders quashed through coercion or force.
  - o Freedom of press, assembly, speech curtailed to prevent challenges to regime.
- Civil rights and liberties continue to decline
  - o Government interprets new press law narrowly, allowing only its allies to open radio stations and newspapers and uses repression to silence other voices.
  - o Government enforces NGO law strictly and expands controls on civil society organizations. Independent voices in civil society silenced through political accusations and arrest.
- Decentralization fails
  - o Failure to solve financial crisis for local governments leads to collapse of social services and massive growth in corruption.
  - o Local capacity issues remain un-addressed, quality of local officials
  - o Central government intervenes to prevent local governments from expressing political positions at variance with central policy.
- Adoption and implementation of land tenure reform leads to increased landlessness, rural discontent and protest.
- Drought or floods lead to poor harvests and famine.

Figure 3 below captures a summary of potential programming options under the various alternative funding and political scenarios. In the case of the High Funding Level, they represent recommended activities in addition to those identified above. In the case of Low Funding Level, the activities are those that the team prioritizes as the most important. In general, a positive political evolution would suggest that closer cooperation and assistance offered to and through the relevant Ministries can be productively engaged. However, to the degree that the various aspects of negative political evolution can be linked to GOR policy choices or political choices of the leading political actors, then relatively more assistance should be targeted at independent actors. This avoids a situation where USAID resources are put towards support of activities that promote limits on competition and retard the ability of the polity to come to consensus.

Figure 3 Potential Programming Options for Alternative Political Scenarios and Alternate Funding Assumptions

	Positive Political Evolution	Negative Political Evolution
High Funding Level $5,000,000	- Deepen support for decentralization at the Ministerial level to clarify CDC policies and relationships between CDCs, Mayors, and community groups - Support national level CSOs with particular attention to linkages between national CSOs and local level community groups - Consider support for public participation mechanisms in National Assembly particularly aimed at relevant committees that deal with decentralization - Support for informed land reform policy	- Conflict prevention activities - Support for informed land reform policy - Increased diplomatic pressure on key reform areas - Increased support for independent civil society as counterweight to state - Press - Human rights - Women's groups - NGO capacity - Independent local election monitors
Low Funding Level $900,000	- Support decentralization efforts by engaging Ministry on enabling environment issues - Pilot trainings in targeted localities to bring local community organizations and local government together for common development goals - Leverage activities in Health and AG/EG SOs as appropriate	- Conflict prevention activities - Increased support for independent civil society as counterweight to state

Appendix A Individuals and Groups Consulted

DG Assessment Team Individuals and Groups Team Met With	
Name	*Affiliation*
Dr. Kayura	CHURCH, Eglise Presbyterienne au Rwanda, Medical Director
Jean-Baptiste Nsabimana	CHURCH, Eglise Presbyteriènne au Rwanda, Vice-President
Sr. Stanislas	CHURCH, Mushaka Catholic parish
Father Kevin Randall	CHURCH, Nonciature, Diplomat.
Abbé Honoratus	CHURCH, Nyamure? Parish
Abbé Janvier	CHURCH, Nyumba Catholic Parish, Curé
Rwaka Marcellin	CIVIL SOCIETY Caritas Cyangugu
Turengere Abana	CIVIL SOCIETY,
Laurien Ntezimana	CIVIL SOCIETY, Association Modeste et Innocent, Butare
Josephine Uwizeyemariya	CIVIL SOCIETY, Avega-Agahozo, Gashonga District representative
Zéphyrin Kalimba	CIVIL SOCIETY, CAURWA Communauté des Autochtones Rwandais, Director
François-Xavier Gasimba	CIVIL SOCIETY, CCOAIB, Administrative Council
Pascal Kiyili	CIVIL SOCIETY, CCOAIB, Secretary of Internal Management
Martin Kampayana	CIVIL SOCIETY, CESTRAR, Secretary General, a.i.
Laurent Mupemba	CIVIL SOCIETY, CFNV/AREDI, Chef de Volet, Cyangugu
Suzanne Ruboneka	CIVIL SOCIETY, Chargée of Community Action for Peace, Pro-Femmes/Twese Hamwe
Pastor Michel Kayitaba	CIVIL SOCIETY, Christian Movement of Unity and Reconciliation, Moucecore, Director
Annie Kairaba	CIVIL SOCIETY, Director, Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development
Anastase Nabahire	CIVIL SOCIETY, Executive Secretary, IBUKA
Odette Kabaya	CIVIL SOCIETY, Executive Secretary, Pro-Femmes/Twese Hamwe
Lars Waldorf	CIVIL SOCIETY, Human Rights Watch
Léonille Mukankusi	CIVIL SOCIETY, JOC - FEM (Catholic Youth, Women's Wing), President
Léonille Mukankusi	CIVIL SOCIETY, JOC-FEM, President
François-Xavier Byuma	CIVIL SOCIETY, LDGL, 1st Vice-President
Noel Twagiramungu	CIVIL SOCIETY, LDGL, Executive Secretary
Aloys Habimana	CIVIL SOCIETY, LIPRODHOR
Muhumba Merari	CIVIL SOCIETY, LIPRODHOR, Cyangugu Province Representative
Immaculée Ingabire	CIVIL SOCIETY, Rwanda Women's Network
Alice Ndegeya	CIVIL SOCIETY, and USAID PARTNER, SERUKA, Executive Secretary
Oswald Samvura	CIVIL SOCIETY, and USAID PARTNER, SERUKA, Program Director
Jacques Gourdin	DONOR, Attaché de cooperation, Belgian Embassy
Nathalie Gahunga	DONOR, Swiss Cooperation, Human Rights and Justice Officer
Maria Farrar-Hockley	DONOR, European Commission
Jeroen de Lange	DONOR, First Secretary, Royal Netherlands Embassy
Rupert Bladon	DONOR, Governance Resident Counselor, DFID
Aimé Safari Kayinamura	DONOR, GTZ National Commission for Reconciliation and Unity project
Joanna Athlin	DONOR, Swedish Embassy, Second Secretary for Development Cooperation
Mediatrice Mukamuligo	GOR, Commission of Unity and Reconciliation, Cyangugu Province

DG Assessment Team Individuals and Groups Team Met With	
Name	*Affiliation*
	GOR, Constitutional Commission Report Out public meeting, Butare
Tito Rutaremara	GOR, Constitutional Commission, President; National Executive Committee, RPF
Tharcisse Nyandwi	GOR, Councilor for Political Affairs and Diplomacy, Office of Prime Minister; Political Committee MDR
Aimable Twagirumutara,	GOR, Executive Secretary, Butare Province
Christophe Bazivamo	GOR, Executive Secretary, Electoral Commission
Joseph Kagabo	GOR, Executive Secretary, Nyakizu District
Sylvester Muganamfura	GOR, Gacaca Commission, Cyangugu Province
Nsekalije Juvaniste	GOR, Gashonga District, Vice-Mayor Charged with Economy, Finance, and Community Development
Zephyrin Ntakirutimana	GOR, Mayor, District of Rushashi
Jean de Dieu Ntiruhungwa	GOR, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Minister
Leonard Ngerageze	GOR, Ministry of Justice, Acting Director of Evaluation
Gerald Gahima	GOR, Ministry of Justice, Attorney General
Goodwin Mwesigye	GOR, Ministry of Justice, Office of Evaluation
Edda Mukabagwiza	GOR, Ministry of Justice, Secretary General,
	GOR, Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, Presentation of ARD Fiscal Management System to Prefects
Protais Musoni	GOR, Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs, Secretary General
Celestin Kabanda	GOR, Ministry of Planning, Secretary of State, President MDR
Jean-Baptiste Kalisa	GOR, TNA
Stanely Safari	GOR, TNA Deputy, Political Committee MDR
Dr. Augustin Iyamurenye	GOR, TNA Deputy; Political Bureau, Social Democratic Party
J. Berchmans Habinshuti	GOR, TNA Deputy; Political Committee MDR
Jean Népomuscène Nayinzira	GOR, TNA Deputy; President Christian Democratic Party
Dr. Médard Rutijanwa	GOR, TNA Deputy; President Socialist Party of Rwanda
Dr. Vincent Biruta	GOR, TNA Speaker; President Parti Social Démocrate
Janvier Kanyamashuli	GOR, National Genocide Survivors Fund
Frank Mugambage	GOR, National Police Commissioner
Dr. Emile Rwamasirabo	GOR, National University of Rwanda, Rector; Member Natonal Executive Committee RPF.
Pierre Karemera	GOR, Province of Butare, Prefect
Elysée Bisengimana,	GOR, Province of Cyangugu, Prefect
Bonaventure Niyibizi	GOR, RIPA, Rwanda Private Investment Commission, Director General
Collette Nyirahabonimana	GOR, Rushashi District, Vice Mayor for Gender
Aloysie Cyanzayire	GOR, Supreme Court, President of Gacaca Courts
Annicet Habaruremera	GOR, TNA, Secretary General
Tharcisse Karagurama	GOR, Vice President of the Supreme Court
Fidèle Mpabwamimana	MEDIA, CREACOM media center
Privat Rutazibwa	MEDIA, Grand Lacs Hebdo, Director of Publication
Ismail Mbonigaba	MEDIA, UMUSESO Newspaper, Editor in Chief and Publisher
Eugène Nyagahene	MEDIA/PRIVATE SECTOR, Media Post IT Technologies and independent internet provider
Immaculée Nyagahene	MEDIA/PRIVATE SECTOR, Media Post IT Technologies and independent internet provider
Faustin Minani	POLITICAL PARTY, Political Committee MDR
Théobald Rutihunza	POLITICAL PARTY, Political Committee MDR
Dr. Christian Marara	POLITICAL PARTY, Secretary General, MDR
Dr. Charles Murigande	POLITICAL PARTY, Secretary General, Rwandan Patriotic Front

DG Assessment Team Individuals and Groups Team Met With	
Name	*Affiliation*
Edouard Munyurabatware	PRIVATE SECTOR, APROJUICE Cooperative, Mushaka, Cyangugu Province, President
Tharcisse Uharaningoga	PRIVATE SECTOR, APROJUICE Cooperative, Mushaka, Cyangugu Province, Vice President
Ferdinand Bavugilije	PRIVATE SECTOR, APROJUICE Cooperative, Mushaka, Cyangugu Province, Secretaire
Celestin Simbizi	PRIVATE SECTOR, APROJUICE Cooperative, Mushaka, Cyangugu Province, Rural Trainer
Kent Brokenshire	US Dept. of State, DCM Rwanda
Beth Payne	US Dept. of State, Former Economic Officer, US Embassy, Kigali
Amy Radetsky	US Dept. of State, Rwanda Desk Officer
Margaret McMillion	US Dept. of State, US Ambassador to Rwanda
Pierre St. Hilaire	US DOJ/OPDAT, Former Resident Legal Advisor Rwanda, DOJ Debriefing
Wendy Brooks	USAID Partner, ADRA, Outdoor Therapy Project Manager
Alan Ferguson	USAID Partner, ARD Fiscal Decentralization
Andrew Jones	USAID Partner, CARE Rwanda
Miranda Clarke	USAID Partner, CARE Rwanda
Anne Morris	USAID Partner, CARE Rwanda Country Director
Yvan Porcheron	USAID Partner, Chief of Party, MSD
Henri-Paul Bolap,	USAID Partner, Chief Technical Advisor, IRC-PCA/Cyangugu
Jean-Bosco Karangwa,	USAID Partner, Counselor for Civil Society, IRC-PCAC
Eugene Ntaganda	USAID Partner, Director, Center for Conflict Management, National University of Rwanda, Butare
Kassim Kayira	USAID Partner, Internews
Mark Frohardt	USAID Partner, Internews, Regional Director Africa
Wanda Hall	USAID Partner, Internews, Country Director, ICTR
Jean Karimbizi	USAID Partner, Johns Hopkins University
Douglas Teshner	USAID Partner, Legislative Strengthening
Julie Niyibizi	USAID Partner, Women in Transition
Wanda E. Hall	USAID, Partner, Country Director Rwanda and Tanzania, Internews Network
Jean-Claude Desmarais	USAID, Partner, IRC Country Director
Willet Weeks	USAID, Partner, MSI Team Leader, Rwanda Conflict Vulnerability Assessment
Wendy J. Brooks	USAID, Partner, Outdoor Therapy Project Manager, ADRA Adventist Development and Relief Agency Rwanda.
Mark Frohardt	USAID, Partner, Regional Director Africa, Director Humanitarian Programs, Internews
Henderson Patrick	USAID/ Rwanda, Country Director
Joan LaRosa	USAID/ Rwanda, Deputy Director
Donna Gray	USAID/ Rwanda, Deputy Program Officer
Pierre Munyura	USAID/ Rwanda, DG SO
Kim Pease	USAID/ Rwanda, DG SO Program Support Officer
Andy Karas	USAID/ Rwanda, Food Security and Economic Growth SO, Team Leader
Barbara Sow	USAID/ Rwanda, Health SO
Elizabeth Drabant	USAID/ Rwanda, Health SO, Health Program Director
Josh Kaufman	USAID/ Washington Democracy and Governance Center
Sharon Isralow	USAID/ Washington, Africa Bureau
Kevin Bohrer	USAID/ Washington, Civil Society Analyst, Africa Bureau, USDA
Sharon Morris	USAID/ Washington, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation

Appendix B Additional Documents Consulted

Electoral Reform International Services. 2001. "Rwanda Post District Election Impact Study 2001: Final Report to the Department for International Development". London.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. 2002 a. Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. National Poverty Reduction Programme. June. Mimeo.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. 2002 b. Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. Summary Version. National Poverty Reduction Programme. June. Mimeo.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. 2002 c. *A profile of poverty in Rwanda: A report based on the results of the Household Living Standards Survey.* National Poverty Reduction Programme and Statistics Department. Kigali, Rwanda.

Protocol of Agreement. 1992. "Protocol of Agreement on Power-Sharing within the Framework of a Broad-based Transitional Government between the Government of The Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front".

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2001. *When victims become killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Smith, Zeric, Robin Silver, and Dan Green. 2002. "USAID/Ghana DG Sector Impact Assessment". Prepared by Management Systems International for USAID/Washington Democracy Center. Mimeo.

Teschner, Douglass P. 2002. "Analysis of the Legislative Process at the Rwanda Transitional National Assembly". Draft. Rwanda National Assembly Support Project, ARD/SUNY for USAID/Rwanda. Kigali, Rwanda. Mimeo.

USAID/Rwanda. Undated. "USAID/Rwanda Civil Society in Rwanda: Assessment and Options". Prepared by ARD Inc. Burlington, Vermont. Mimeo.

USAID/Rwanda. 2002. "Rwanda Decentralization Assessment". Prepared by Strategies 2000 SARL, Kigali, Rwanda. Mimeo.