



BUNGE LA AFRIKA MASHARIKI



THE OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE EALA

ISSUE 09

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DESK OF THE HON. SPEAKER

Rt. Hon. Zziwa Margaret

This being the first publication this year, I wish to convey my best wishes and prayers of good health and prosperity to all our esteemed readers. The 9th edition of the *Bunge La Afrika Mashariki* Magazine is dedicated to the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

Twenty years ago, the entire globe watched in trepidation as the Republic of Rwanda went up in flames. Thousands of lives were lost, homes demolished and economies desiccated as genocidiars descended on peace-loving Rwandans with machetes, knives, axes, guns and clubs. The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 was the first genocide in a truly globalised world. One hopes such a catastrophe will never occur again.

The International Community came on board albeit belatedly when the damage was already done by establishing an *ad hoc* United Nations International Court on Rwanda (ICTR) to try suspects accused of masterminding the genocide.

Two decades later, as Rwanda commemorates (Kwibuka20), one must hail the home-grown solutions offered by Rwandans themselves through leadership of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). The twentieth commemoration is an opportunity to look back at how Rwanda has been able to address the post genocide challenges and built a unified and ever prospering country.

Reparation and justice prevailed as close to two million people were arraigned and sentenced by the “Gacaca” Courts, a community justice system set up between 2001 and 2012 to try those involved in the genocide. The testimonies of survivors even manifestly pointed to a rage and horror that was distinct and macabre. While we commiserate with the Government and the citizens, we take pride in

the steps so far taken to re-build the country. Much can be said about Rwanda’s transformation including remarkable progress recorded in infrastructure, stability and security. The country’s GDP has grown by an average of about 8% every year since 2001, raising a million people out of poverty.

The World Bank recently ranked Rwanda as the second most business-friendly place on the continent, and the 32nd globally while the Government has resolutely pursued social inclusion and economic growth on the understanding that these are some of the sustainable foundations for peace, prosperity and liberty.

In East Africa, Rwanda has fully embraced the integration process. Rwanda has opened up its frontiers to the region. The EAC has also learnt a great deal from the country. There is renewed sense of hope even as we reflect on the grim period of the country’s history and commiserate with those who lost their loved ones.

Rwanda is one of the countries closest to fulfilling the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The country has made strides in meeting commitments such as increasing education, reducing poverty and expanding health care. When it comes to gender equality, Rwanda currently has the highest proportion of female legislators (at 64%) in the Lower-House (Rwanda Chamber of Deputies).

Rwandans in the Diaspora have also been fully involved in re-building their country. I salute President Paul Kagame and his Government for their achievements in re-construction, unity and prosperity as Rwandans embrace the existing opportunities.

We urge all Rwandans to participate fully in initiatives designed to promote well being and good governance.

We salute Rwanda’s renewal and its ability to forgive and forge ahead as we mark *Kwibuka20!* 🇷🇼

OFFICE OF THE CLERK

Mr. Kenneth Namboga Madete



Once again welcome you to the 9th edition of our flagship magazine, *Bunge la Afrika Mashariki*, the publication that brings you to speed with developments at the EALA in particular and the EAC in general.

The edition comes on the scene at a time when the Republic of Rwanda and the EAC is marking the commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi. This is the twentieth year since the horrendous act was carried out in the Republic of Rwanda. EALA has dedicated this edition specifically in remembrance of the solemn occasion. We have wholly dedicated the publication on related articles as we remember how thousands of lives were lost in an uncanny yet despicable manner.

I wish to commiserate with victims who lost their loved ones – be they family, friends and relatives. Let us remember the people who died in the genocide. For the living, do not be discouraged. Keep on hoping for a better future. Be brave, and do not be angry. Let us truly reconcile.

As we join Rwanda and the EAC in marking the 20th Anniversary (Kwibuka20), I reiterate that such acts must never be allowed to take place again. We have to bury the ideology of hatred forever.

Permit me however to digress a little on other matters to update our readers on some of the latest developments in the integration efforts.

The beginning of 2014 was marked by positive news following the agreement to implement the Single Customs Territory (SCT) and the steps taken to initiate the single visa.

The SCT is one of the key regional integration priority policy interventions adopted by the region

to consolidate the EAC Customs Union. It aims at liberalizing trade within the region with the centralized collection of taxes and duties permitting the wider and freer circulation of goods within the region.

Last month in Arusha, a new scorecard was launched to measure Partner States' compliance to the tenets of the Common Market Protocol. The Common Market Protocol which soon turns four years since the inauguration envisages free movement of persons, capital, services and goods as well as the Rights to establishment.

The Scorecard developed by the World Bank will no doubt foster peer learning, facilitate the adoption of best practices in the region and grow the Private Sector and deliver benefits to consumers.

In our efforts to ensure a people centered Integration, EALA has continued to enhance involvement of the citizens through multi-stakeholder interface. In February, EALA undertook a ten day working tour in the Republic of Kenya. The tour held with the support of the Kenya Government through the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, saw EALA visit the Counties of Nairobi, Nakuru, Kilifi and Mombasa. Members engaged with a number of stakeholders including the top leadership of the Lamu Port Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor project, Konza Techno City, Vision 2030 Secretariat as well as the officials of the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) and the East African Business Council (EABC).

It is our intention in 2014 to ensure EALA puts its best foot forward in collaboration with the EAC Organs to ensure prosperous integration.

I wish you all fruitful reading and a fruitful year ahead. 🇰🇪

Kwibuka! But Never Again!



Kwibuka Flame symbolises remembrance as well as the resilience and courage of Rwandans over the past twenty years of the genocide against the Tutsi



April is a sombre month for the region. Rwanda and the EAC shall be commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide Against the Tutsi. A number of activities have been on-going in Kigali, the region and internationally.

Dubbed Kwibuka20 (remember the Genocide), the commemoration is themed remember, unite,

renew. The flame is touring Rwanda in the lead up to the 20th commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi. Genocide is a crime against humanity and the prevention of genocide is a collective responsibility.

The Kwibuka Flame symbolises remembrance as well as the resilience and courage of Rwandans over the past twenty years. The Rwandan spirit has never died and today this spirit leads us into a brighter future.

It is an important occasion to remember the lives that were lost, to show solidarity with survivors and to unite in ensuring that genocide never happens again – in Rwanda or elsewhere.

The commemoration is also an occasion to share Rwanda's story of reconciliation and nation building with the rest of the continent and the world. A host of activities have taken place in Washington, USA and in New Delhi, India among other capitals.

Over the years, the legacy of the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda, has been a struggle to restore human dignity at individual, community and national levels.

In this context, as part of the Kwibuka20 program of events, the Rwandan Parliament will host an international forum titled "After Genocide: Examining Legacy, Taking Responsibility". The Conference in Kigali takes place from April 4th to 6th, 2014.

The conference according to a dispatch from the organiser's website brings together delegates to assess Rwanda's responses to a situation that is unprecedented in recent human history – the complete destruction of a society and nation. It will be an opportunity to discuss enduring challenges of justice, education and reconstruction with experts from around the world.

The legacy of the genocide in Rwanda has been a struggle to restore human dignity at individual, community and national levels.

The legacy of the genocide in Rwanda has been a struggle to restore human dignity at individual, community and national levels. Despite repeated warnings the international community stood by capable of intervening to prevent or reduce the scale of the genocide, but unwilling to do so.

It is only thereafter that the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established in November 1994 by the United Nations Security Council *vide* Resolution 955 in order to try people responsible for the Rwandan Genocide and other serious violations of International. The ICTR based in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania opened cases between 1st January and 31st December, 1994. It is expected to close business in December 2014.

The East African Community Secretariat shall fully participate in the activities commemorating the Genocide Against the Tutsi.

EALA on its part has dedicated its entire quarterly publication, *Bunge la Afrika Mashariki* to the worthy course. The Assembly which has continued to support Rwanda is sending a very strong message that Never Again should genocide be repeated in Rwanda or anywhere else in the region, continent and globe. 🇷🇼



Kwibuka20 Launch, New York, USA: February 27, 2014



Kwibuka20 Launch, New Delhi, India: January 31, 2014



Kwibuka20 Launch, Lyon, France: February 26, 2014

EALA has made its presence felt in Rwanda

As Rwanda and the EAC region commemorate the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi, EALA has placed a premium in advocacy for a peaceful region in order to ensure that such acts are not repeated again.

In January 2014 at its Sitting in Kampala, EALA passed a Resolution calling on the EAC Summit of Heads of State to direct the region and to undertake a comprehensive study of the security impact of genocide ideology and denial.

The Resolution moved by Hon AbuBakr Ogle notes that some of the groups in the region sowing terror are driven by sectarian and genocide ideologies and denials.

The EALA Resolution in effect, sets stage for Partner States to develop policies and legal instruments punishing genocide ideology and denial. Consequently, the Assembly requested the Summit

to direct the Council of Ministers to propose an Action Plan to deal with the matter and to further the Community's obligations under the United Nation's Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle.

The Assembly also approved the formation of a Select Committee to study and to make recommendations to the House on the likely security impact of genocide ideology to the region.

According to Hon Ogle, terror groups continue to sow seeds of discord whereas the Convention on the Prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide

“The Assembly has also approved the formation of a Select Committee to study and to make recommendations to the House on the likely security impact of genocide ideology to the region.”



A section of EALA Members during a past Plenary in Kigali, Rwanda



EALA admonished the United Nations for doing too little – too late, to stop the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi



The Kigali skyline. Rwanda has made great strides in development since 1994

was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9th December 1948, and that it came into effect two years later.

The UN's legal definition of a genocide (Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)) is: "Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly

transferring children of the group to another group."

You failed Rwanda, EALA tells International Community

Mid - last Year, EALA castigated the United Nations over its failure to prevent the Genocide against the Tutsi, despite having reports to that effect.

Consequently, EALA at its Fifth Meeting of the First Session of the Third Assembly in April 2013, passed a Resolution to Commemorate the Genocide against the Tutsi and urged the EAC Council of Ministers to designate April 7 every year, as the EAC Day of Reflection on Genocide against the Tutsi.

The Resolution in part admonished the UN for its decision in 1994, to reduce the numbers of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) troops, leading to the deaths of thousands of people who had sought refuge at the UNAMIR sanctuary. This, the Resolution states, was done despite a UN Resolution of 21/912 which had adjusted UNAMIR's mandate and Resolution 918 (1994) that expanded the force.

The Resolution moved by Hon Abubakar Zein Abubakar, takes cognisance, of the fact that the UN General Assembly globally adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide against humanity on December 9th, 1948.

The EALA however reported of the saddening yet growing intention of denial with regards to genocide against the Tutsi and the widespread hate speech through media and other relevant channels worldwide.

Building the economy with Rwanda

Members of the EALA continue to participate in socio-economic activities in Rwanda whenever an opportunity avails itself. Three years ago, the 2nd EALA made fundamental contribution to the cause of eradication of the grass thatched houses (Nyakatsi) in Rwanda.

In March and April 2011, Members of EALA participated in Umuganda (Community development)



President Paul Kagame joins members of the 2nd EALA in building houses during the Anti-Nyakatsi campaign in April 2011

in the anti-Nyakatsi drive in Kanyinya area where President Paul Kagame joined the Members in building the houses.

EALA distributed over 300 pieces of iron sheets as part of their contribution to the eradication of the Nyakatsi houses. The iron sheets come in handy and assisted in roofing houses according to the (then) Mayor of Nyarugenge District, Kigali, Ms. Solange Mukasonga.

The eradication of grass-thatched houses is a boost to the national policy in Rwanda on rural housing which focuses on construction in planned settlement sites. According to the Rwanda Governance Board, in December 1996, Rwanda adopted a Human Settlement policy to free up dwindling arable lands and to improve access to basic public services such as health, schools, water and electricity.

According to statistics, Kigali had about 1559 people living in grass thatched houses before the anti-Nyakatsi drive started. The total eradication of Nyakatsi was adopted as a country urgent goal at the National Dialogue of December 20-21, 2010. Then strategies were set to speed up the process.

The fight against “Nyakatsi” became a national call; with the population of all walks of life, involved in helping the most vulnerable amongst them, to have cleaner and durable houses.

Nyakatsi dwellers, were sensitized on the importance of having decent housing and very many

Plenary Meetings held in Rwanda

Since the ascension of the Republic of Rwanda to the East African Community, a number of Parliamentary Sittings have taken place in Rwanda. A number of oversight activities were similarly held by various Committees of the EALA. The Plenary Meetings held in Rwanda by the 2nd and 3rd EALA include:

1. 2nd Meeting of the 2nd Session of the Second Assembly in September, 2008
2. 1st Meeting of the 5th Session of the 2nd Assembly on September 4th – 16th, 2011
3. 5th Meeting of the 5th Session of the 2nd Assembly on April 12th – 26th, 2012
4. 5th Meeting of the 1st Session of the 3rd Assembly on April 12th – 26th, 2013
5. 5th Meeting of the 2nd Session of the 3rd Assembly on March 9th – 22nd, 2014

families accepted to leave their grass-thatched houses. EALA is also of the view that shelter is a critical and basic right for all.

The Assembly lauds the Government of Rwanda for the initiative and encourages other Partner States to emulate the worthy scheme. 🇷🇼

EACJ can try future genocidal atrocities with extended jurisdiction on human rights & crimes against humanity

By Professor John Eudes Ruhangisa

The East African Court of Justice (EACJ) is a judicial body of the EAC established under Article 9 of the EAC Treaty. Its mandate is to ensure adherence to law in the interpretation and application of the EAC Treaty. Currently the court does not have jurisdiction on human rights matters. However, the Treaty provides an avenue for extension of its mandate to include among others human rights jurisdiction. Such extension requires a determination by the EAC Council of Ministers and a conclusion of a Protocol to that effect by the Partner States. Both of these steps have not been taken.

The extension of the EACJ jurisdiction was the focus of the June, 2012 extraordinary meeting of the EAC Council of Ministers. This came following a directive issued to the Council by the 10th extraordinary meeting of the EAC Summit of the Heads of States to act on this matter. Arguably the efforts were triggered by the refusal of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to transfer the cases of Kenya's 'Ocampo four' to the EACJ for lack of necessary jurisdiction and capacity.

However, the 15th Ordinary Summit which was held in Entebbe Uganda on 30th November 2013 seems to have changed its earlier decision on this matter when it approved the Council recommendation to extend the jurisdiction of the EACJ to cover trade and investment as well as matters associated with the East African Monetary Union. On human rights matters as well as crimes against humanity, the Summit directed the Council of Ministers to work with the African Union on the matter.

If the EACJ jurisdiction is extended to include human rights and ***other jurisdiction (which may include crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide)*** as the Treaty provides under Article 27 (2), it will have the competence as a regional court to handle crimes against humanity including genocide like other International Courts. The Court has built

the capacity of its Judges through several trainings on interpretation and application of Community laws, on matters pertaining human rights and crimes against humanity in relation to the application of the international laws.

In addition most of the Judges are well experienced on human right issues as they have been handling human right matters in their national jurisdictions. Therefore EACJ given the jurisdiction it will be able to handle future genocidal atrocities if they ever arise in the region.

However, the Court will require resource capacity to handle such criminal cases compared to the other International Courts like the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) which is very well equipped with a Prosecution Unit as well as witness protection facilities.

Again if the EACJ Jurisdiction is extended to include human rights and other jurisdiction, genocidal atrocities committed in Rwanda in 1994 can be referred to this Court without violating the principle of non retrospective application of law.

This is in accordance with the evolution of the principle to the effect that it is not violated when an act, even though it was not punishable under national criminal law at the time when it was committed, was nevertheless criminalized either under international law or according to the general principles of law recognised by the community of nations. This position is also explicitly provided for under Article 15 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) of 1966.

It is therefore for the Council of Ministers to promptly work with the African Union on this matter as directed by the Summit without delays. 🇸🇰

Professor John Eudes Ruhangisa is the Registrar, East African Court of Justice.

Rwanda has taken a great leap post genocide - Minister Muhongayire says



Rwanda is commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide Against the Tutsi. It was a sad, horrific and dramatic story. Today, Rwanda is back on track and aiming beyond the skies. EALA's Senior Public Relations Officer, Bobi Odiko (BO) spoke to Rwanda's Minister for East African Community, Hon Jacqueline Muhongayire (JM). Excerpts below.

BO: Rwanda is commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi in April. That period was a dark chapter in the history of the country. What steps has the country taken to ensure it does not happen again?

JM: The steps that the country has taken to ensure that the Genocide will not happen again are mainly provided for under the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda:

Rwandans have resolved to fight the ideology of genocide and all its manifestations and to eradicate ethnic, regional and any other form of divisions. Today we emphasize on strengthening national unity and reconciliation, previously shaken by the Genocide against the Tutsi.

Article 54 of the Constitution, provides that the Political organizations are prohibited from basing themselves on race, ethnic, group, tribe, lineage, region, sex, religion or any other division which may lead to discrimination. In this respect, Rwandans are building a state governed by a rule of law, based on respect for fundamental human rights, pluralistic democracy and equitable power sharing. Pursuant to Article 58 of the Constitution of

Rwanda, the President of the Republic and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies shall not belong to the same political organization. This provides for a buffer against any conflict resulting from the inequality of power sharing;

Rwanda considers it necessary to draw positive values from its history as a basis for the existence and flourishing of the nation. We are also utilizing home-grown solutions to handle issues, including the issue of reconciliation among Rwandans.

BO: How can the EAC region prevent atrocities like genocide from taking place in the region?

JM: Allow me to share with you two quick quotes. *"We should stand strong and confidently declare that this will not happen again and convert our grief into strength and determination to build a better future that we deserve". (H.E Paul Kagame, 2010)*

"Preventing Genocide is a collective obligation. Let us continue to work to ensure a future forever free of genocide...", (Ban Ki-Moon, 2012).

The need to prevent genocide and punish those responsible has been of the concern to the international community since the end of the Second World War. Genocide was defined as a crime under international law in the Genocide Convention of 1948.

EAC Partner States are definitely aware of risks of crimes against humanity including genocide. They are duty bound to develop mechanisms aimed at preventing genocide and its ideology.

To this effect there is a need for:

- establishing appropriate mechanisms for

- detection, prevention, mitigation and stopping of Genocide and /or Genocide ideology;
- developing mechanisms for gathering and sharing information on genocide and/or genocide ideology;
- sensitizing communities on the causes and dangers of genocide;
- ratifying and domesticating International Conventions and Treaties pertaining to genocide;
- monitoring, counteracting and barring divisive propaganda which may culminate into religious, ethnic or tribal clashes, genocide and/or genocide ideology;
- Establishing regional mechanisms for the prevention of genocide and/or genocide ideology;
- Putting in place an EAC early warning mechanism to diffuse genocidal ideology.

BO: Rwanda is on the right track of development and social economic transformation. Remarkable progress has been recorded in developing infrastructure, building institutions and ensuring stability and security. How did the country realise this?

JM: The Vision 2020 adopted by the Government of Rwanda aims to transform the country into a middle-income country in the next six years. Vision 2020 identifies six interwoven pillars: good governance and a capable State; Human resource development and a knowledge based economy; a Private Sector led economy; infrastructure development,

Productive and market oriented agriculture; and Regional and International Economic Integration as key components of development.

We are implementing the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies 2013- 2018 (EDPRS2), which among other areas: focuses on Economic Transformation; Rural Development; Productivity and Youth Employment and Accountable Governance.

Rwanda has lifted itself out of extreme poverty and is on a trajectory towards greater self-sufficiency and Resilience. Through strong anti-corruption systems and campaign there is efficient utilization of resources including foreign aid and an effective adherence to the annual assets declaration program by Government Officials.

BO: Any parting shot?

JM: Rwanda's post-genocide rebirth and subsequent economic achievements present a strong case for other countries that have suffered the wreckage of human-induced catastrophe to emulate.

Partner States in particular can embrace good governance as a pre-requisite to rapid economic growth.

I also encourage EAC as "One People targeting One Destiny" to put measures in place to prevent atrocities like genocide to "Never Again" surface in any of the Partner States.

Before I close, I call upon the EAC citizens to join their hands with Rwandans in commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the Genocide against the Tutsi. 🇷🇼



STOP GENOCIDE FOREVER: The wreath tells the story

Good leadership and politics key components to peace



President Paul Kagame and EALA Members pose for a photo during one of the Plenary Sitzings

In April 2013 when President Paul Kagame last addressed EALA at the opening of the 5th Meeting of the 1st Session, he made one thing clear that, the consequences of bad politics and leadership are tragic in any society.

Statistics shows that during the approximate 100 day period from April 7, 1994 to mid-July, an estimated 500,000-1,000,000 Rwandans were killed, constituting as much as 20% of the country's total population and 70% of the Tutsi then living in Rwanda.

The pervasive use of rape during the Rwandan Genocide caused a spike in HIV and AIDS infections leaving many orphaned children. The decimation of infrastructure and a severe depopulation of the country crippled the economy, challenging the nascent government's desire to achieve rapid economic growth and stabilization.

It is devastating that it only took 100 days to destroy an entire nation and to destabilise its economy. The



Many children were left orphaned by the Genocide Against the Tutsi

core of the matter was that an African decimated another African. It was a case of one brother against another and a sister against another. The essence of the genocide lay essentially on poor leadership and bad politics.

The genocide had a lasting and profound impact on Rwanda and its neighboring countries.

The statement of President Kagame could thus not have come at a better time – when Africa needs to take control of its own destiny.

As East Africans join the Republic of Rwanda in commemorating 20 years of the genocide against the Tutsi, it is important that this message sinks in. The region needs to strive for dignity and for a better quality of life for its citizens. A better performing EAC is good for its citizens. It would even be more beneficial if we established links with other regions of the continent so that all Africans can enjoy the benefits of larger markets, greater safety, peace and stability and greater strength.

One of the key instruments of the EAC is the Protocol on Peace and Security. The Protocol was signed by all Partner States and is undergoing the ratification process. The Protocol touches *inter alia* on Conflict Prevention Management and Resolution, Prevention of genocide, combating terrorism, combating and suppression of Piracy and Peace and support operations.

The East African Legislative Assembly has rallied a call to Partner States to ratify the Protocol on Peace and Security in time to avoid an imminent delay of programmes and projects of the EAC.

The East African Legislative Assembly has rallied a call to Partner States to ratify the Protocol on Peace and Security in time to avoid an imminent delay of programmes and projects of the EAC.

Addressing a capacity building workshop for EALA Members on the Peace and Security Architecture in Kampala, Uganda in January 2014, EALA Speaker, Rt. Hon Margaret Nantongo Zziwa termed the Protocol a key tool in the peace and security agenda of the Community.

The Speaker of EALA, Rt. Hon Margaret Nantongo Zziwa remarked that it was important to have interventions that are dynamic given the fluidity of peace and security operations in the region.

“I am of the view that the Peace and Security Sector in the EAC should be dynamic in order to respond to the nature and form of the ever evolving security threats, crime types and trends owing to advancement in technology, information dissemination and globalization”, she said.



The Heads of State. Leadership is key for peace and development



THE ARMY AT CALL: the region needs to ratify the Protocol on Peace and Security

So far, two Partner States – Uganda and Rwanda have appended their signatures to ratify the Protocol while the other three, Burundi, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania are at various stages in the process of ratification.

According to the Peace and Security Expert at the EAC, Mr. Leonard Onyonyi, the EAC has entered into regional co-operation arrangements with a number of groups including Interpol, International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), Eastern, Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group (ESAALG) and the Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA) to deal with wide ranging security matters.

On its part, EALA can play a fundamental role through its mandate (Legislation, Oversight and Representation) in ensuring peace and security prevails. The EALA is expected to hold a Peace and Security Conference in Arusha according to the Chairman of the Committee on Regional Affairs and Conflict Resolution, Hon Abubakar Zein Abubakar. 🇪🇦

New sense of hope in Rwanda twenty years later

Twenty years after the Rwandan genocide against the Tutsi, much can today be said about Rwanda's transformation. The country which continues to enjoy stability post the genocide has a rich history.

Since the 11th century, Rwanda existed as a nation founded on a common history of its people, shared values, a single language and culture, extending well beyond the current borders of the country. The unity of the Rwandan nation was also based on the clan groups and common rites. Historically, Rwandans form three groups: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. For several years, they co-existed peacefully.

The Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 was horrendous and a time of turmoil for the nation and the region. The annual genocide memorial is thus often a time of sober reflection on the events with a view to

looking ahead. The last such event in April last year, was marked with a candlelit march from the stadium to the churches. Amidst the singing of soulful songs translated as – *“Let us remember people who died in the genocide. Don't be discouraged. Keep on hoping for a better future. Be brave, don't be angry”*, – were sorrowful wails, as survivor after survivor, remember the 100 days of distress.

But survival demands a price. There is always a price to pay. The mass killings then have today shaped the young people's, many of whom were young when the tide of death swamped Kigali and the countryside.

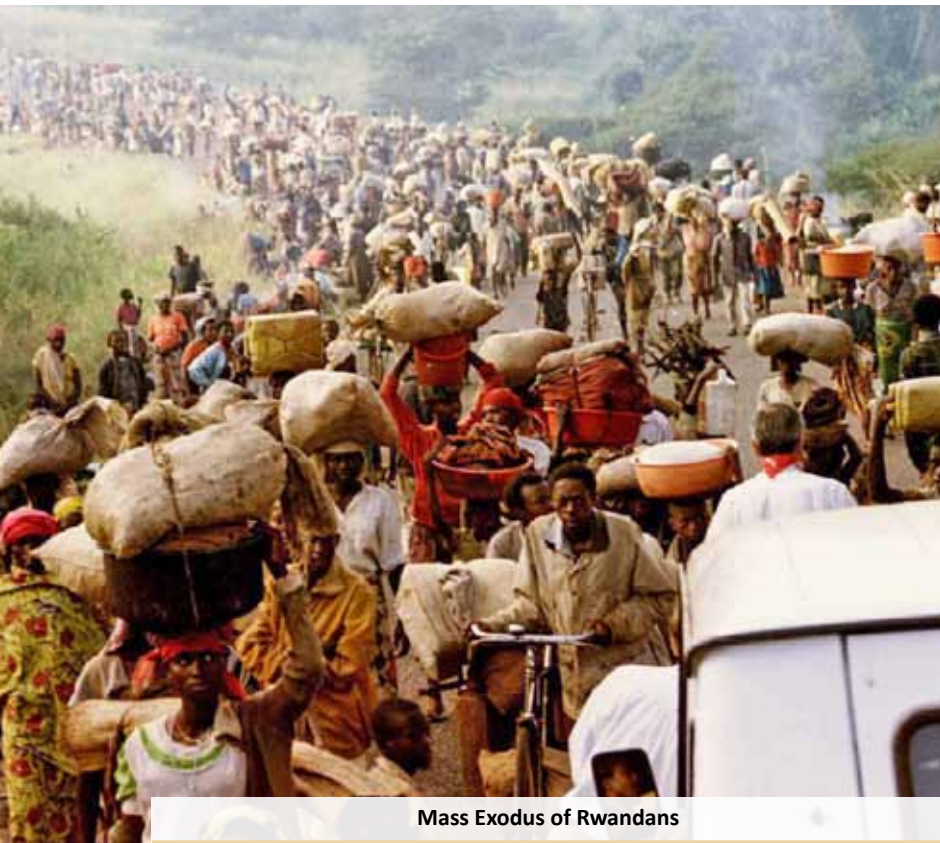
The trauma and fear that permeated many homes has been replaced by flickers of hope. Citizens are keen to construct a new Rwanda where the ideology of hatred is buried.

Rwanda is on the right track of development and social economic transformation. This has taken a lot of strength from the Rwandans themselves and also with support of brothers and sisters from the East African Community, the African continent and beyond.

Over the past 20 years, remarkable progress has been recorded in infrastructure, with stability and security achieved. The country's GDP has grown by an average of just over 6% every year since 2001, raising a million people out



Remembering the departed



Mass Exodus of Rwandans

“The country has made strides in meeting commitments such as increasing education, reducing poverty and expanding health care.”

of poverty. The World Bank recently ranked Rwanda as the second most business-friendly place on the continent, and 32nd globally.

The economy is based mostly on subsistence agriculture with coffee and tea, the major cash crops for export. Tourism is a fast-growing sector and is now the country’s leading foreign exchange earner. Rwanda has mountain gorillas which attract attention of the tourists.

The industrial sector is small, and according to statistics, contributed to 14.3% of GDP in 2010. The main products that are manufactured include textiles cement, agricultural products, plastic goods, small-scale beverages, soap, furniture and shoes. Rwanda’s mining industry is an important contributor to the economy and is estimated to have generated US\$93 million in 2008.

Minerals mined include gold, cassiterite and coltan which is used in the manufacture of electronic and communication devices such as mobile phones.

Regionally, Rwanda made its grand entry into the EAC in July 2007 after acceding to the EAC Treaty (together with Burundi) in June 2007. In May 2008, the Assembly swore in the new Members from Rwanda and Burundi.

The official launch of the East African Community Customs Union in the Republic of Rwanda (and Burundi) took place on 6th July 2009 and this was the turning point of the full integration of Rwanda into the EAC.

Rwanda is one of the countries closest to fulfilling the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The country has made strides in meeting commitments such as increasing education, reducing poverty and expanding health care. When it comes to gender equality, Rwanda currently has the highest proportion, globally of female legislators (at 64 percent) in the lower-house (Rwanda Chamber of Deputies).

Recently, the United Nations Security Council resolved that the 1994 genocide in Rwanda would henceforth be globally referred to as the “Genocide against the Tutsi.” The decision was made during the Security Council’s session in February 2014.

The UN’s legal definition of a genocide (Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948)) is: “Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: Killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

The Resolution on Rwanda is seen as an opportunity for the country to demand its rights as provided for in the UN Convention on Genocide, which was passed to outlaw actions similar to the Holocaust by Nazi Germany during World War II.

Rwanda may use the Resolution to also to put pressure on countries particularly in Europe that remain a safe haven for masterminds of the genocide, who have evaded justice. 🇷🇼

History and Circumstances conspired to place Burundi on the verge of explosion

International consensus was plain and simple: unless something urgent was done then, Burundi, ethnically the mirror image of its twin, Rwanda, lay in prostate and was on the verge of explosion.

In the months leading to the murderous mayhem in its neighbor, tension had been building in Burundi and even before Rwanda burst like a sewer spewing its human wreckage, both alive and dead in the East Africa region, it was largely assumed that Burundi faced an equal danger of explosion. That it had not gone down that way been purely a matter of luck,

but on several occasions in 1994, that luck appeared to have been running out.

None other than the (then) acting President Sylvester Ntibantganya admitted then that his country was staring cataclysm in the face and stood on the edge of an abyss waiting for a minor shove and it will go tumbling into hell.

International opinion was equally unanimously ominous as the US State Department severally warned that there should have been a swift resolution to the political impasse. Amnesty International described the events unfolding then in Burundi as a country on “a knife’s edge,” as the death resulting from the tension crept up.

In June 1994, for instance, at the height of the Rwandan genocide, more than 100 Tutsis were reportedly slaughtered and the army responded by killing many more Hutu tribesmen. And to show that they it had no or little regard to the Hutus next door, some of whom have fled to Burundi in search of an elusive asylum, Burundi’s security forces were



A birds’ eye view of Bujumbura. Burundi narrowly escaped the explosion that imploded next door

reported to have massacred nearly 2000 of them in the north of the country.

In a nutshell, Burundi was a tinder-box so polarized that the two ethnic communities that inhabited it virtually lived separately; in both urban and rural areas in distinct districts and separate villages. The country for most part has been literally surrendered and what remained then was an ignition and the whole place was going to be up in flames on a scale closer to the madness that was raging in neighboring Rwanda at the time.

Indeed, what surprised Burundi watchers was that after the death of their President Cyprien Ntarayamira in the plane crash that also claimed the life of Juvenal Habriyimana that set off the Armageddon next door, Burundi responded very calmly to the event.

But that may have had a lot to do with the trauma it had gone through a short while earlier with the assassination of its first democratically elected and hitherto most revered President, Melchior Ndadaye in an attempted coup in October 1993. Apart from being

the first democratically elected President, the late Ndadaye was the first Hutu to occupy the position, a development that did not go down well with the Tutsi extremists who were loath to see what they considered their social inferiors occupy the lofty position.

The dominant position of the Tutsis in the army had ensured that the administration had remained hobbled. That was only part of the problem. Its other problem lay in history projected into the obtaining situation then, coupled with the inability of its inhabitants to transcend it.

Burundi was a Kingdom from the 15th Century with the Tutsi as the feudal overlords over the predominantly Bantu agricultural Hutu population. The Kingdom survived, first German colonial rule, and then Belgium mandated League of Nations rule. The country became independent in 1962 as a Kingdom and one of the things that the monarchy is credited with was its ability to maintain some sort of social stability and not allowing extremists on either side to hold sway.

In a nutshell, Burundi was a tinder-box so polarized that the two ethnic communities that inhabited it virtually lived separately; in both urban and rural areas in distinct districts and separate villages.

But increasingly, the King's powers were eroded and was therefore compelled to be dependent mostly on the princely Tutsi caste that was certainly extremist in orientation, so much so that in 1965, when the King appointed a Hutu Prime Minister, Pierre Ngandandume after an election, the princely class opposed this and went ahead to assassinate him. This was immediately followed by an ethnic strife that brought an alcoholic Tutsi extremist army captain, Michel Micombero to power.

The army ruler had little regard for the Hutus and coupled with the overthrow of then King Ntare, not only ended centuries-old institution but directly led to an upsurge of pogroms against the Hutus. During his rule, there were many reports of killings, but given the international climate at the time, not many questions were asked. Micombero was in turn overthrown by Colonel Jean Baptiste Bagaza who could not be considered an extremist like his predecessor but was



President Pierre Nkurunziza and the EALA Speaker, Rt. Hon Margaret Nantongo Zziwa sample the talking drums of Burundi. Today, Burundi under President Pierre Nkurunziza is a thriving democratic nation that is at peace with itself

equally not protective of the rights of all the citizens. Under his watch, the repression persisted which he blamed on the Catholic Church for allegedly conducting subversive grass root organizations.

But the one positive policy change that the Bagaza administration initiated and oversaw was land reform. In 1977, he put an end to Tutsi land overlords, ending an overtly lopsided social and economic arrangement that was the source of much of the discontent.

In 1987, Major Pierre Buyoya, the man who has carved himself a niche in the history of democratization and political reform in Africa, overthrew Bagaza in a bloodless coup. Buyoya, a Tutsi, set about introducing what were truly radical measures intended to move his country into modern times. He appointed Adrien Sibomona, a Hutu, Prime Minister to the chagrin of his own extremist.

President Buyoya opened the political system further and systematically introduced pluralism in the teeth of determined opposition from Tutsis extremists. Several coup attempts were made against his government, but it stayed put, pushing through reforms that culminated in the general elections that saw the election of populist academician, Ndadaye sweep to power as the first Hutu President in Burundi.

The rest, as they say, is history. Today, Burundi under President Pierre Nkurunziza is a thriving democratic nation that is at peace with itself, which has over the years pragmatically accepted its ethnic diversity as a source of strength than division and tension. It is famed in the EAC region as a major contributor to African and international peacekeeping, helping stabilize global flashpoints in such varied conflict zones as Somalia, the Sudan, Central African Republic and Mali. 🇧🇮



By Hon Dr. Odette Nyiramilimo

I saw it, survived and lived to tell... ...Testimony of a genocide survivor



Hon Dr. Odette Nyiramilimo (right) poses with her colleagues from left; Hon Judith Pareno, EALA Member, Hon Monique Mukaruliza, former Minister for EAC, Rwanda and Hon Nancy Abisai, EALA Member

Genocide did not start in April 1994, it started long before. For me, it started the day I saw my parents house, that was home to I and nine of my siblings, burnt in the full view of neighbors, and the local authorities.

I was then about four years old and understood little. I was only happy that I had many more children to play with in the bush where many other families that went through the same tragedy stayed.

Sadly though, I could not have milk, as all our cows had suddenly disappeared. My mother would always push me to go and play whenever I demanded for milk. “go play with others, there is no cow to give milk” she said. Any insistence that we go and look for the cows was met with an emphatic answer. “They have all been eaten”, Mum said. I still could not understand. At some instance, she poured water in a wooden milk

jug and gave us to drink hoping that the smell of milk in the half-washed jug would give us some sense of satisfaction.

School life

When my school life began, it was actually the beginning of another challenge. My elder sister often advised me not to talk but to enlarge my nose by holding my breath whenever we passed by a potentially dangerous area. “*They need to think we are Hutus*”, she would tell me. I asked her why, and she replied that people with smaller noses are being killed. *But why?* I posed, she didn’t know herself.

In some classes, our teachers considered all kids as equals. In others, teachers would come in and say: *all the Tutsis, get up or stand there, the Hutus you stand here, then the Twas? None?* I always hesitated as I was

never sure of what I was, since I presumed my nose had by now enlarged but my sister with whom I was in the same class, pulled me to the Tutsi group.

I specifically remember my P3 teacher called Simon, who was very unkind. He would walk into class smoking a pipe and ask us; *why didn't you go where your relatives went?* Failure to give a satisfactory answer, landed one with a slap across the face or a spat of saliva and chewed tobacco on the forehead.

It was not obvious for a Tutsi to graduate from primary to secondary school as it was officially stated that Tutsi could not get more than a 10% quota be it in school or work. My sister who topped the class was not given a chance to go secondary school. I was purely lucky when one morning, I heard my name read among a long list of others, on the radio selected to join Secondary school.

“My fervent prayer is that genocide never happens in any country in the world so that nobody is called a “genocide survivor” anymore.”

In 1973, I was expelled from Senior 5. Many Tutsi children were chased from schools including the catholic seminaries and the university. I am forever indebted the late Marie Jeanne Noppen, my Belgian Headmistress at School who fought for me to complete high school and join University. May her Soul rest in eternal peace.

Work experience

Upon graduating from Medical School as the 7th woman Medical doctor in Rwanda, I applied to work as an assistant to become later a gynecologist at the University hospital or at Kigali Central Hospital. Surprisingly, the staff of the Ministry of Health perused through my file and burst out laughing. One said, very sarcastically: *doctor, so you want to work here in Kigali?* I said : *yes! We are sorry, the 10% quota has been exceeded. Go and wait until the Minister decides.* I waited and was eventually nominated to work with my husband in one of the remotest rural hospitals in Kibuye, where it (then) took a whole day to get. The (then) Government used to send in-disciplined staff or those they wanted to punish to remote areas.

Luckily, in 1986, we were successfully transferred and became practitioners at Kigali Central Hospital

(CHK). The work at Kigali Central Hospital was always plenty and exciting but I often felt tension and hatred from some of my colleagues. One day, upon responding to summons by the Chief of Intelligence I was asked: *why do you hate our father of the Nation and his family? We are told you were happy when his brother passed on, is it true?* Of course it was not! How could I be happy when somebody I did not even know died?

The following day, I was told by the director of the Hospital that my services were no longer required following orders from above! I spent eight months in uncertainty, waiting to be put in jail or killed. Finally, a foreigner again, a Canadian who was an adviser to the President accepted to take my letter to him explaining that I was falsely accused.

The President directed the Minister of Health to call me back to work. My husband had then just opened a private clinic, and I joined him in July 1990 after a few months of serving again at CHK.

Prior to the Presidential intervention, my sister at one point accompanied me to meet the Cabinet director at the Presidency office, Mr Sagatwa. He knew my sister who had studied with his wife. He immediately said; *you are Nyiramilimo, the one who hates us? It is not understandable, he retorted. We gave you education where you had no right, we awarded you a Doctorate in Medicine and you didn't deserve it, you know well where other tutsis are, don't you?*

I was speechless. It took my sister's intervention to state that indeed we had no ill feelings and that we were grateful for the opportunity to study. Indeed, a



Hon Venantie Kabageni, a sister to Hon Odette Nyiramilimo was killed in the Genocide

Tutsi had no right. I felt to be a Tutsi was the only crime I was accused of and I was being persecuted for simply being a Tutsi.

That was how genocide was prepared. One group is good and that the other bad; “us” and “them”. And the group to be exterminated is continuously shown how bad they are and that they deserve only to die. Because their existence is bad for “us”, “they” have to be discarded for “our” safety.

The systematic extermination of Tutsi

At about 7 pm on 6th April 1994, a friend Dusabe, who was physically handicapped and lived in the Nyamirambo neighbourhood came visiting beaming with excitement. He had just bought a second hand TV box at the German Embassy and my husband had donated him half of the cost. Dusabe wanted the box tested at home before he could take it to his residence but we convinced him to leave it in the car and that we simply toast to a drink.

He struggled with his handicap to climb the slab. Once seated and served just as we held our glasses to toast, the phone rung. My friend Sarah broke the news on the radio that the plane of President Juvenal Habyarimana was shot and he might be dead. None of us ignored the aftermath of such a situation. Dusabe thus hurried up to his vehicle leaving behind his drink, to make sure he joined his family before roads were blocked. He was killed on the morning of the 7th without having plugged on his TV. His wife and one son survived but with serious wounds. I was speechless and too overcome by sorrow when I met the courageous and resilient lady 10 years later. In fact, I still cannot tell Dusabe’s story without crying.



HAPPIER TIMES: Hon Dr. Odette Nyiramilimo lived to see her grandchild Shami

It is such a painful experience that I remained the only survivor of a big family. My 7 sisters and five brothers were all killed. One of my sisters Venantie Kabageni, a Parliamentarian was killed in my presence. Some entire families of my siblings were completely exterminated. In others, one or two children survived. That is how, after genocide was stopped, we had 11 nephews and nieces plus our 3 biological children to raise.

After 1994, one would ask me: are you happy to have survived? My answer would always be but how given the daily suffering? Today, I say: thank God! I am so happy to have survived to see Rwanda’s transformation, to be an East African with many sisters and brothers in EALA, to have a grand-child who is called Shami (the branch). I am happy.

Rwanda after 1994

The reconstruction period was not easy either. We must praise the Rwanda Patriotic Front which stopped genocide and saved lives. The census done in 2001 found that more than 1 Million Tutsi had been killed and only almost 300,000 had survived. We appreciate and thank the few Hutus and some expatriates like an Italian businessman, Pierre Antonio Costa, who risked their lives to save Tutsis either in their homes or by hiding them in the bush and feeding them for the entire genocidal period.

When the RPF took power, at a time when the world feared for revenge, the leaders led by his Excellency, Paul Kagame instead embraced unity and reconciliation! The first government was called “Government of Unity”!

Many home grown solutions were innovated, we went through Unity and Reconciliation campaigns to Gacaca courts, to re-integration of the army among others. Rwanda renewed its systems and embraced good governance. Today, every child has the same right to school and job seekers compete knowing the best win! Leaders work day and night to fight poverty, with special programs for the needy, like “one cow per family, fight against grass thatched houses, health insurance for all”This was the first in the history of Rwanda ! Maybe even the first in Africa!! I am happy to have survived to see and to be part of the change Rwanda is undergoing. My fervent prayer is that genocide never happens in any country in the world so that nobody is called a “genocide survivor” anymore. 🇷🇼



By Hon Dr. James Ndahiro

How a crooked and self-serving colonial strategy sustained the Rwandan genocide ideology



The Genocide plane which was assembled as the human race began to structure itself into social classes but its origin was not African

The 1994 Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda was successful in part because of the destruction of the Rwanda ideology. The Rwandan ancestors succeeded in wiring the Rwandan psychic (Ubunyarwanda) that the country became less of a geographical phenomenon but more of an ideology that we can read in Rwandan history.

Rwanda became a nation since the 17th century with appropriate administrative, social and political structures. It was a nation that respected God (Imana y'uRwanda) and believed in mutual respect to humanity.

The Genocide plane which was assembled as the human race began to structure itself into social classes but its origin was not African. In Africa then, there existed a ruling class of Kings and their subjects as the western world was busy dividing itself between Lords and Surfs during the Agrarian period which later saw

The Genocide plane which was assembled as the human race began to structure itself into social classes but its origin was not African.

the development of resource based classes (that is the haves and have not). Belgium followed the same trend dividing itself between Flemish and Walloons. When the Germans lost their colonies following the World War One, the Belgians took control over Rwanda in 1933.

The Belgians solidified the categories of "Tutsi" and "Hutu" by instructing that every person was to have an identity card labeling them either as Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. In so doing, they strengthened their control over Rwandans. It should be remembered that it was not until the colonial period that the terms



Kiziguro Genocide Memorial Site where thousands of Tutsi who were killed at Kiziguro parish are buried

Hutu and Tutsi became the defining attributes of the Rwandan race. In the absence of *ubunyarwanda*, (the Rwandan ideology), the political class in their effort to solidify power used Hutu and Tutsi relations to explain why one should prevail over the other. This changed the Rwandan Psychic. Belgian colonialists believed Tutsi were naturally superior as descendants from the Israelite tribe of Ham. Belgians distinguished between Hutu and Tutsi by nose size, height and eye type. Another indicator to distinguish Hutu farmers from Tutsi pastoralists was by the number of cattle owned.

After World War II, Tutsi elites grew impatient and became more aggressive in their pursuit of independence. The Belgians feared that their colonial rule was coming to an end. Some colonial rulers felt that by favoring the Hutu and trying to take back some power from the Tutsi, they could remain longer in power.

Who Are the Hutu and Tutsi?

The Hutu and Tutsi are a creation of a colonial era. The Hutu and Tutsis shared a common past, they both raised cattle and lived together. Those who owned the most cattle were called "Tutsi" and everyone else was called "Hutu". at that time, a person could easily change categories through marriage or cattle acquisition.

Rising tensions based on racial divisions and the oppression of some groups of people set the stage for the horrific events that occurred in 1994. They

systematically planned and organized Genocide that would uproot one race so as to live and govern forever. The Genocide became possible after the political leadership organized and trained the *Interahamwe* ("those who strike as one"). This group was used to set up road blocks, checked identity cards and killed all who were Tutsi. During this suffering, the International Community turned a blind eye on what was happening and instead withdrew its peace keeping forces from Rwanda. Worse still, some of the Western countries played a direct and indirect role in the Genocide against Tutsi.

Thousands of Tutsi tried to escape the slaughter by hiding in churches, hospitals, schools and government premises. But, this time around, there was no respect for the sacred areas and they were turned into places of mass slaughtering. One question that always comes in mind is how such madness came about? Can Genocide be an accident?

The Tutsis were dehumanized to the level they felt sub-human, the media was instrumental in tarnishing the dignity of Tutsis by calling them all sorts of names e.g. *cockroaches, animals, vermin* etc. Some politicians went as far as saying that Tutsi came from Ethiopia and they should be sent back through the Nyabarongo River.

Who stopped the Genocide?

The Rwanda genocide was stopped by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF consisted of Rwandans who had been exiled in earlier years, many of whom lived in Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, DRC, Kenya, Europe, Canada, and United States of America (USA).

The RPF were able to take control of the whole country in July 1994. The RPF did not only take over the reins of power but, has been instrumental in building a new nation by replacing the genocide ideology with unity, reconciliation, and patriotism. It has reinstated traditional values in a bid to reinstate the Rwandan dignity and pilot the country towards economic development using home grown solutions. President Paul Kagame calls it the Rwandan spirit. H.E. President Paul Kagame is the chief advocate of the *NDU MUNYARWANDA IDEOLOGY* that historically defined Rwandans and which should be instrumental in re-building Rwanda. So the question remains who piloted the Genocide plane? Is the plane indigenous or foreign? 🇷🇼



By Hon Patricia Hjobakiga

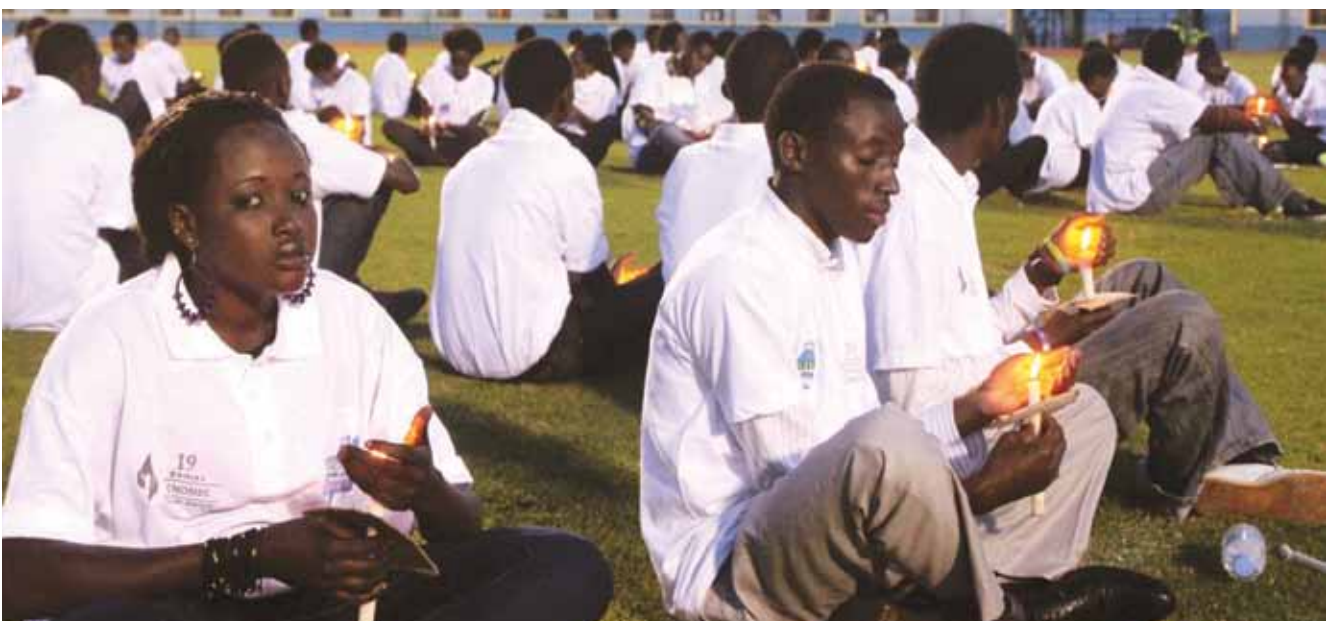
Two decades later, ICTR has a dismal record in delivering justice to the victims and survivors of the genocide

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the UN Security Council through Resolution 955 of November 1994, in a bid to punish the perpetrators of the gruesome event that was later referred to as the Genocide against the Tutsi.

The Tribunal sitting in the Headquarters in Arusha, was also entrusted with forging process of national reconciliation and peace building in a country raven by an unprecedented ethnic hostility. But right from the outset, Rwanda didn't support this resolution, for it sought the Tribunal to be set up within the country so as to bring justice closer to where the crime was committed.

Moreover, Rwanda felt that limiting the Tribunal period to cover the period between January and December 1994, meant that the Genocide planning and preparation period would have been deliberately skipped. The prohibition of Rwandan judges and prosecutors to participate in the judicial program and the refusal to include remedies and compensation for the victims like other tribunals also stood out as significant sticking points.

The Rwandan Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Legal and Security recently released a collaborative research report, along with the Office of the Prosecutor General of Rwanda and the Rwandese representative at the ICTR, on the performance of



Vigilance. Where is justice for the victims?



People suspected of involvement in Rwanda's 1994 genocide line up before re-entering Kigali's central prison from a day at work in the fields

Some of ICTR's judgments are today an indisputable proof of the Tribunals' tangible contribution to the fight against impunity.

the Tribunal thus far and whether it has been able to dispense justice to the victims of the genocide.

Overall, the Senate report appreciated that by its very set-up alone; the Tribunal gave a symbolic indicator that the world was henceforth united in the fight against impunity. Indeed, by 2012, ICTR had convicted 47 (including 16 on-going appeal cases), from 85 defendants tried, including 10 acquittals.

Some of ICTR's judgments are today an indisputable proof of the Tribunals' tangible contribution to the fight against impunity. For the first time, a head of government and 15 out of the 19 members of his cabinet as well as senior cadres in the civil and military authorities in Rwanda at the time of the genocide were arrested, tried and convicted for crimes against humanity.

But the Tribunal very soon thereafter ran into some teething problems that would become the hallmark of the proceedings for much of its life. There was often a slow pace of the trials, precipitated mainly by the defense team driven by a quest to mint more money. Another fundamental challenge related to the simultaneous use of English, French and Kinyarwanda languages that required both interpretation during the trial and translation of documents.

By and large, the ICTR process was often characterized by conflicting interests between various personalities, players and even within its own institution that further bogged down the trial proceedings in further unnecessary delays and judicial razzmatazz.

As would be expected, the long trial delays have also had an impact on preventive detention with many of the defendants expressing objections. In 2000, for instance, defendants Joseph Kayishema and Elie Ndayambaje had spent six years in preventive detention while defendants Theonest Bogosora and Anatole Nsengiyumva were in custody for five years before their trial could take off.

And the more incriminating challenge faced by the ICTR related to financial impropriety following a UN Audit Report that established glaring mismanagement and utter complicity between the defense counsel, the accused and some staff of the Tribunal.

Despite the huge financial outlay available to the Tribunal, it could not escape the discerning attention of any keen observer that the ICTR had only tried 90 persons for much of the last twenty years. The Tribunals' often-repeated claim that they could do nothing to improve on the speed of the trials was therefore utter hogwash practically intended to camouflage both its ineffectiveness and the underhand financial mismanagements than were for circumstantial reasons.

How else was one expected to logically comprehend when between 1999 and 2000, six out of the nine



AICC Building where the ICTR is based



Simon Bikindi (right) was a Rwandan musician during the genocide era. He wrote many wildly popular songs advocating ethnic nationalism

with the intention of wholly, or partially, destroying an entire ethnic or racial group. That was precisely what happened in the case of the Rwanda genocide.

But it was certainly not all gloom and doom for the ICTR. In particular recognition of the decision by the Canadian Supreme Court on the genesis of the Holocaust, the Rwandan Tribunal in itself demonstrated that acts of genocide were preceded by, and anchored in, the state-orchestrated demonization of dehumanization of the Tutsi ethnic group, using such descriptions as *inyenzi* (cockroaches), prologues and justification for crashing and exterminating them.

It is also worth noting that the Tribunal had also a very remarkable contribution to the development of international criminal law. In the particular case of Akayezu, the Tribunal confirmed that rape and sexual violence was a considerable and critical tool applied in the perpetration of genocide, the first in international history.

Unfortunately, some of the decisions made and judgments pronounced by the ICTR, especially at the appellate level, quite often led to confusion and controversy about the responsibilities of certain senior authorities in the former regime

that fomented the horrific events. The roles of such personalities like Bagosora, Zigiranyirazo, Ntagerura, Bizimungu, Kabiligi and Nsengiyumva, amongst many others, prop up to mind in this regard.

Other unresolved and hitherto contentious elements in the ICTR process include the recognition of the rights of the victims and survivors of the 1994 Genocide to get remedy and compensation as well as the importance of the archives to the Rwanda and therefore transferring the same to the primary beneficiary.

Ultimately, for the ICTR to have walked the talk in the search for justice, it was upon the Tribunal to request the cooperation of the international community to continue to arrest and bring to book the perpetrators of the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. Only then, can we confidently declare that this year will be truly *Kwibuka20!* 🇷🇼

judges did not conduct any trial for a whole period of 14 months? In fact, it was normal for the ICTR to have judges on full salary and allowances for a whole 28 months without conducting trials. The President of the Tribunal, Mme Pillay actually spent 147 days outside Arusha between June and October 1999, alone!

Moreover, the UN Security Council imposed very damaging limitations that could not allow the Tribunal to function smoothly and within the basic parameters of competent universal judicial systems. The Council unusually decreed that the jurisprudence of the Tribunal could not be pronounced on the basis of facts prior to January 1994.

This particular provision not only made the ICTR operations virtually ineffective, but also rendered the entire supposedly judicial process nugatory. Genocide does not happen as just a one-off event, but entails a process of rigorous planning over a long period of time



By Hon Louise Mushikiwabo

Twenty years after: How Rwanda has fashioned a new, post-genocide narrative

While the wounds of genocide from 20 years ago cut deep, the word Rwanda is more than shorthand for tragedy.

Since 1994, we have understood that only through meaningful engagement with the citizenry can we hope to build a functioning and stable society. For recovery to be possible, for peace, security and freedom to take root, we as Rwandans must take full ownership of our destiny, and full responsibility for our lives.

However painful, we are bound to our history, but we are not bound to repeat it; it is by remembering that we honour the lives lost, express solidarity with those who survived.

In remembering we find powerful inspiration to build a strong, hopeful society capable of resisting the re-emergence of state-sponsored hatred, pernicious foreign influence and violence that all but destroyed us 20 years ago.

As the international community looked on, capable of intervention but unwilling to act, more than one million Tutsi and others who stood in the way of genocide were slaughtered between April 7 and July 4, 1994. As hate radio filled the airwaves, no place was safe or sacred.

In light of this history, Rwanda has become synonymous with a certain kind of preventable



However painful, Rwanda is bound by its history, but the citizens bound NEVER to repeat it



It is by remembering and honouring the lives that Rwanda lost, that we express solidarity with those who survived

atrocities. World leaders and editorial writers routinely profess determination that “another Rwanda” must never occur again, whether in the Central African Republic, South Sudan or Syria.

In this way, the 1994 genocide looms as a warning against neglect and complacency in the face of unfolding or impending tragedy. And yet, the past two decades have seen Rwandans steadily lay claim to a new narrative. There had to be a clean break with the past. Rwandans have sought to rebuild a sense of individual as well as collective dignity.

A man, woman, boy or girl who respects their fundamental humanity—and sees for themselves and their loved ones the possibility of a full and decent life

— will reject even the most persuasive voices urging them to harm others.

To place value on one's own life is to see value in the lives of others — and there is only despair and humiliation in being forced by one's circumstances to have nothing to offer one's children beyond more of the same, or worse.

The government of Rwanda has resolutely pursued economic growth not for its own sake, but because we understand that only by expanding opportunity can we build sustainable foundations for prosperity, peace and liberty.

As a result, our economy has grown at more than eight per cent for the past decade, more than one million Rwandans have lifted themselves above the poverty line since 2006 and life expectancy has risen twenty years since the genocide.

Today, Rwanda stands with other countries on our continent at the vanguard of Africa's long overdue renaissance.

Transparency International calls Rwanda the least corrupt country in the region, but our policy of public probity was not designed to win international plaudits.

It was to ensure fair treatment for all and to optimise the utilisation of our meagre resources. This also extends to the way we view and use development aid — not as an undeserved reward for agreeing to external blueprints on how to drive Rwanda's progress, but as transition to self-reliance.

We pursue this path because there is no self-respect in living off humanitarian rations or depending on the permanent generosity of well-meaning strangers.

The government, often with the support of donor partners, plays its part in a contract with its citizens: We provide healthcare for families, and schools for children.

We put in place a system of taxes and benefits that encourages entrepreneurship and rewards innovation, and invest in social and economic infrastructure that enables productivity and maximises growth. We enact laws and regulations that provide confidence and security, making clear to each citizen his or her rights and responsibilities.

In return, we ask that Rwandans embrace the opportunities on offer. We urge that they participate



Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Government of Rwanda during the Launch of Kwibuka20 Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, 7 January 2014

in full measure in their villages and communities in initiatives designed to promote well being and good governance.

Whether in business or in interactions with the government, we ask that they both demand and adhere to the highest standards of transparency.

Finally, we ask that Rwandans surrender, unconditionally, the toxic ideology of prejudice, division and hatred that brought such tragedy to our country. This includes the more than three million refugees who fled Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide but have returned and reintegrated since.

Today, Rwanda stands with other countries on our continent at the vanguard of Africa's long overdue renaissance. We do this as we navigate efforts at external manipulation that have never been in short supply in the past 20 years, as well as the internal challenges that inevitably follow a genocide that almost annihilated our country.

Twenty years on, is the world prepared to act differently? Will warning signs of imminent atrocities fall once again on deaf ears? And what form should any such intervention take?

In this year of commemoration, we invite the world to join us in remembrance; to reckon once more with the tragedy of 1994; and to ask, what have we learned?

But this is far from the final word on Rwanda. As we mourn over a million people who lost their lives in 1994, we should also reflect on what has taken place in the two decades since. That Rwanda has unearthed the seeds of renewal in such destruction and despair is a triumph for forgiveness, for justice and for humanity. 🇷🇼

Louise Mushikiwabo is Rwanda's Minister of Foreign Affairs



By Hon Dan F. Kidega

Where are my young heroes?



Ntare Boys School that produced heroes. Fifth from left is Hon Dan Kidega then

African Philosopher Frantz Fanon taught us that “Every generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it” Indeed, my young heroes fulfilled their mission!

As a young man who was born in Northern Uganda, a region bordering South Sudan and partially growing up in Jinja, in the Eastern part of the country before going to school in Mbarara, Western Uganda, life was exciting as I met new friends and got domesticated to a new environment.

Ntare School was and may be still be a very liberal school where one’s nationality, tribe, religion or even skin color, did not mean anything upon which, you could be judged. You only had to match your game to the academic standards, your sports and leadership skills to belong or to be considered unique.

It was on 1st October 1990, when I was in Senior Three (S.3) we woke up to a dull and ‘dark’ morning

“ I call upon them, for those who are alive, speak out! We want to meet you, celebrate your contribution to humanity and crown you our heroes. ”

that clouded our lives and that shall never be forgotten. We woke up to find many of our colleagues missing at school. Eventually, a General Assembly had to be called, the names and number of the students who were missing was ascertained. Most of them, if not all were our Rwandan friends who were born in refugee camps or in their new found homes in Uganda.

Ntare School was responsible for the upbringing of some of the top African leaders and politicians. President Yoweri Museveni and President Paul Kagame were some of the leaders of the region who attended the School.

The young men, most of who were teenagers had heeded to a call to liberate their country from tyranny, hands of death and one of the worst dictatorship that ever lived. The decision by these young Heroes to abandon school to go and stop what turned out on 7th April – 15th July, 1994 to be a well-planned genocide against the Tutsi people is one of the most patriotic decisions ever made by my peers in my lifetime so far. The boys were in a very sophisticated and secretive manner, fully organized to leave school without the knowledge of the school administration and many of us who were prefects to go and liberate their country.

The exodus of these little boys out of school was not a one- off event. Many others who had not left in the first group continued to get out of school barehanded to go and join their colleagues at the battle field. It is very sad to note that most of these boys were very bright students in class, today who knows, they could have made the best doctors, engineers, lawyers and economists in the region. I call upon them, for those who are alive, speak out! We want to meet you, celebrate your contribution to humanity and crown you our heroes.

The most painful part of this story is that I and many of my friends will have to learn to live with the fact that, some of these heroes did not reach Kigali, others who reached; their lives can never be the same again. Their names and images are vividly alive in my mind. The photographs we took at school, the games we played together, the fights, the beans and *ugali* shared, the jokes, the debates, the social evenings with

the Bweranyangi girls and the academic competitions we had, still binds us together! For you have not died or sacrificed your school time in vain. Kigali the city you liberated is a monument of your sacrifice.

Today, many people within and without Africa, comment with pride about the development and progress in Rwanda. Behind this glory lies a sad story of friends and relatives never to be seen again. For some of us who know the story, we pledge to tell the world the sacrifice you made and we commit to say NEVER AGAIN. Long live my young heroes, forever you will never be forgotten. 🇷🇺



President Paul Kagame and President Yoweri Museveni attended Ntare School



A pensive Hon Dan Kidega speaks to Hon Mike Sebalu (back to camera) during a visit to the Kigali Memorial Centre



REFLECTIONS

By Hon. Ogle AbuBakr

Dreadful, horrific and macabre – the murderous frenzy I witnessed during the Rwanda genocide

On arrival in Kigali that memorable afternoon in mid July 1994, I tried to fit into the overcrowded Christus Centre seminary adjacent to the imposing Amahoro stadium as it was designed the safest abode amidst the mayhem obtaining at the time. There were more than hundreds of journalists who had descended here in pursuit of the developing big story.

Then early the next morning, along with a couple of daring international correspondents, we ventured out of the city. Our next stop was at the deserted border post at Rusumo Falls connected by a high bridge over the Kagera River. On the Rwandan side, machetes, knives, axes, guns and clubs lay all in a pile several

feet high. I was particularly attracted to a hefty two-handed wooden club, spiked with a bouquet of six-inch nail with a markedly gruesome coagulated blood on its sharp ends.

The fleeing killers had dropped this entire deadly, but rudimentary arsenal before going into exile, where after all their murders they could demand UN rations and escape from justice. Notwithstanding such overwhelming evidence, I can vividly recall a news flash over the small transistor radio we carried announcing that the US State Department had issued a statement to the effect that “acts of genocide” were being committed in Rwanda.

There would never have been much more nonsensical and meaningless statement than that phrase: it was either genocide or it wasn't! A fidgety *Reuter's* correspondent in the team was so infuriated that he confronted a certain apparently clueless American embassy staffer at the scene, pulled him aside and pointed to the pile of the abandoned crude weapons across and shouted, “*You can see it for yourself! What more evidence do you require?*”

Rwanda was my first international assignment as the then Foreign Correspondent for the *East African Standard* newspapers. It was an exciting and fulfilling journalistic expedition that would later take me through the whole breath of the so-called African conflict zones between Mogadishu, Maputo and Monrovia. But nothing came close to



A cache of crude weapons used during the Genocide Against the Tutsi

the horrific mind-boggling shocker in the madness I witnessed in Rwanda at the time.

There was no denying that a prodigious amount of strenuous preparation, detailed planning and physical labor had gone into realizing this event that the world much later grudgingly called the Genocide Against the Tutsi. How else does one otherwise explain the extent that you have to hate somebody if you are going to chop them into bits and pieces using a crude machete?

Besides own evidence, the testimonies of survivors manifestly pointed to a rage and horror that was distinct and macabre as it was for its intensity, speed and cruelty. It was as if the dead and those barely surviving were less than human. They had lost heads, limbs and all form, but there was something very alive that made you instantly feel you were witnessing their murders right before your own eyes.

“ I witnessed all these scenes and the memory of it, two whole decades later, remains clearly etched in my mind as if encased in amber. ”

Just comprehend the following scenes and you could shudder at the thought. I witnessed all these scenes and the memory of it, two whole decades later, remains clearly etched in my mind as if encased in amber.

The bodies bobbing down the brown waters of the Kagera River sped up towards the falls like a piece of sediment, often in a circling eddy and caught up in a logjam with other corpses. Some were fresh; some bloated, some with their black skin bleached milky white by water, or peeled off completely. Several with deep stab wounds were meticulously tied together suggesting the apparent luxury the killers had in carrying it out.

A woman lay on the narrow pathway. She was on her back with her pinkish gingham skirt hatched up around her thighs. Not much flesh left on her skeleton.

A disemboweled child here, an eight-month pregnant woman with a gaping abdomen wound and yet another woman with both feet blown to shreds there, and a boy with a leg wound heaving with maggots gave only half the dreadful picture. Moreover, the luckier lots had gangrene and fetid pus – their diminished hope and semblance of life once upon a

time, being a silent and possibly final painful groaning.

There was an arm lying in the grass. It had been ripped off its owner. The skin was dried and shrunken around the bones. The hand was intact, almost perfect.

As if these scenes were not disgusting to anybody’s sanity or basic human sensibilities, the witness testimonies told of more and equally searing and deeply instructive indicators of the ruthlessness and gung-ho precision of both the planners and perpetrators of the atrocities.

What would anyone make of a high ranking church functionary who proudly claimed to have kept away attackers from the church complex, but in actual fact wrote down the names of the eventual victims on lists and handed them over to the *interharamwe* killers as night fell? During the hours of darkness, groups of young men and those considered to be of “combatant age,” would mysteriously disappear from the church and fall into the hands of the militias where they were lined up to be hacked, shot and pushed into deep trash pits.

Some nights, I was informed the marauding attackers would hammer holes through the walls, crawl through and drag away a few youths to play with, literally speaking, before butchering them.

This operation at the Sainte Famille seminary alone, run and managed by no less than a bishop, cost several dozen before the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) liberating forces rescued a few bewildered souls days later.

It was such an extremely improbable madness that the respected *Newsweek* magazine rightly dubbed at the time, “**Hell on Earth, Satan Descends on Rwanda!**”

Yet, twenty odd years later this year, Rwanda, whose name gradually became synonymous with a certain cliché and stereotypes of preventable atrocities – whether it is happening in Central Africa Republic, South Sudan or Syria, has emerged as a portent of hope. Thanks largely to the pragmatic leadership of President Paul Kagame, they have fashioned a prosperous post-genocide narrative that today truly defines the Eastern Africa, and indeed, the African continent economic renaissance.

We at EALA take pride in our Partner State’s resolve to stand up again, proud and majestic, from the ashes of that destructive past. We salute Rwanda’s renewal and its ability to forgive and forge ahead as we mark **Kwibuka20!** 🇷🇼



By Rt. Hon Margaret Nantongo Zziwa



Congratulations, Kenya@50, the Golden Jubilee Day: How I saw it



President Uhuru Kenyatta addresses the country on Jamhuri day

It was a wet morning on 12 December 2013, when vivid memories of a fully grown Nation were rekindled in our minds and hearts. At the time, the country was stamping on the ground firmly with a new constitutional dispensation! Kenya boasted of a newly elected government! With it, came vibrant devolved powers to new County Assemblies.

The country had a new Parliament, the 10th Parliament which for the first time had seen a substantial number of lady legislators, breathing life into the women gender agenda and an Upper House – the Senate.

It was a day worth celebrating! All roads lead to Kasarani National stadium, with flags flying in all corners of Nairobi, on every motor vehicle and motorcycle. Red, green and black flags milled on caps and umbrellas. There was joy on every face of Kenyans who seemed more united than ever.

The gracious celebrations were graced by over 30 heads of state who carried not just goodwill messages but offered their full support and encouragement to the Kenyan Presidency to endure the ICC humiliation.

There were the eminent sons and daughters of Africa in attendance. They included H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of Uganda, H.E. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete of United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. Pierre Nkurunziza President of

Burundi. Others were H.E. Goodluck Johnson of Nigeria, H.E. Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, H.E. Jacob Zuma of South Africa, H.E. Joseph Kabila of DRC, H.E. Salva Kiir of South Sudan, H.E. Ikililou Dhoinine of Comoros, H.E. Kailash Purryag of Mauritius.

The Prime Minister of Ethiopia, and his counterpart, the Prime Minister of Rwanda also graced the occasion. The past leaders like H.E. Olesegun Obasanjo, H.E. Mwai Kibaki, H.E. Daniel Arap Moi, the UN Secretary General, Ban ki Moon were also present.

The Kenya disciplined forces mounted a parade. H.E. Uhuru Kenyatta and the Deputy President H.E. William



The Head of State takes a bow

President Kenyatta reiterated the Unity of Kenyans and their commitment to Peace and Development given the new Constitutional Order.

Ruto, received all their guests even as their numbers challenged the available space. The Bands, musicians, and Choirs intoned the air with famous numbers like 'Jambo . Jambo Kenya..... Hakuna Matata' illuminating the atmosphere.

After singing the Kenya National anthem and the East African Community Anthem, the function begun with the Kenya Defence Forces parade, followed by a fly past by the Air forces displaying great aerospace skills. Representatives of the religious denominations offered prayers for the country, its leadership and its people.

The Chief Host, H.E Uhuru Kenyatta, received all guests warmly. He saluted all Kenyans and congratulated them on the momentous Jamhuri day.

President Kenyatta reiterated the Unity of Kenyans and their commitment to Peace and Development given the new Constitutional Order. He emphasized the need to continue living in harmony with neighbours pointing out the firm commitment to Regional integration especially the East African Community. He assured the region of Kenya's strategic focus on the benefits uniting the people of East Africa, and said the country would remain steadfast on implementation of the pillars of integration.



Their Excellencies who spoke at the occasion gave messages of solidarity and best wishes to Kenyans as they begin their post-golden journey. The leaders urged citizens to remain steadfast as they harness the synergies they enjoy due to the position of Kenya on the African Continent.

The day was crowned with a luncheon at State House where Golden Jubilee Awards were given to past Kenya Leaders and independence freedom fighters.

As EALA, we felt proud to be associated to this great day. We salute H.E Uhuru Kenyatta, the Chairperson of the EAC summit of Heads of State, the Deputy President, H.E William Ruto, the Cabinet Secretaries, government officials and all Kenyans for this level of maturity of the State of Kenya.

Long live Kenya! long Live East Africa , long live Africa. 🇰🇪



SAUTI YA EALA

