

RWANDA

Physical and Social Geography

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The Rwandan Republic, like the neighbouring Republic of Burundi, is distinctive both for the small size of its territory and for the density of its population. Covering an area of 26,338 sq km (10,169 sq miles), Rwanda had an enumerated population of 7,142,755 at the census of 15 August 1991, with a density of 271 inhabitants per sq km. However, political and ethnic violence during 1994 was estimated to have resulted in the death or external displacement of 35%–40% of the total population. Prior to these events, the population had been composed of Hutu (about 85%), Tutsi (about 14%) and Twa (1%). According to the preliminary results of a national census, published in December 2002, Rwanda's population had recovered to about 8.2m., indicating an increase of 12% since the 1991 census. At mid-2009, according to UN estimates, the population totalled 9,998,000, with a density of 379.6 inhabitants per sq km. The official languages are French, English (which is widely spoken by the Tutsi minority) and Kinyarwanda, a Bantu language with close similarities to Kirundi, the main vernacular language of Burundi.

It seems, at first sight, strange that Rwanda has not been absorbed into a wider political entity. Admittedly, the Rwandan nation has long been united by language and custom and was part of a state that won the respect of the east African slave-traders. However, other ethnic groups, such as the Kongo, Luba, Luo and Zande, which were well established in small territorial areas, have not been able to develop into national states. That Rwanda has been able to achieve this is partly the result of developments during the colonial period. While part of German East Africa, Rwanda (then known, with Burundi, as Ruanda-Urundi) was regarded as a peripheral colonial territory of little economic interest. After the First

World War it was entrusted to Belgium under a mandate from the League of Nations. The territory was administered jointly with the Belgian Congo, but was not absorbed into the larger state. The historic separateness and national traditions of both Rwanda and Burundi have prevented their amalgamation.

Although the land supports a high population density, physical conditions are not very favourable. Rwanda's land mass is very rugged and fragmented. It is part of a Pre-Cambrian shelf from which, through erosion, the harder rocks have obtruded, leaving the softer ones submerged. Thus very ancient folds have been raised and a relief surface carved out with steep gradients covered with a soil poor in quality because of its fineness and fragility. Rwanda's physiognomy therefore consists of a series of sharply defined hills, with steep slopes and flat ridges, which are intersected by deep valleys, the bottoms of which are often formed by marshy plains. The north is dominated by the lofty and powerful chain of volcanoes, the Virunga, whose highest peak is Karisimbi (4,519 m) and whose lava, having scarcely cooled down, has not yet produced cultivable soil.

The climate is tropical, although tempered by altitude, with a daily temperature range of as much as 14°C. Kigali, the capital (860,000 inhabitants at mid-2007, according to UN estimates), has an average temperature of 19°C and 1,000 mm of rain. Altitude is a factor that modifies the temperature (and prevents sleeping sickness above about 900 m), but such a factor is of debatable value for agriculture. Average annual rainfall (785 mm) is only barely sufficient for agricultural purposes, but two wet and two relatively dry seasons are experienced, making two harvests possible.

Recent History

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Based on an earlier article by THOMAS OFCANSKY

HUTU ASCENDANCY

Rwanda was not an artificial creation of colonial rule. When Rwanda and Burundi were absorbed by German East Africa in 1899, they had been established kingdoms for several centuries. In 1916, during the First World War, Belgian forces occupied the region. From 1920 Rwanda formed part of Ruanda-Urundi, administered by Belgium under a League of Nations mandate and later as a UN Trust Territory. In 1961 it was decided by referendum to replace Rwanda's monarchy with a republic, to which full independence was granted on 1 July 1962. Political life in the new Republic was dominated by its first President, Grégoire Kayibanda, and the governing party, the Mouvement démocratique républicain (MDR), also known as the Parti de l'émancipation du peuple Hutu (Parmehutu). Tensions between the majority Hutu (comprising about 85% of the population) and their former Belgian-imposed overlords, the Tutsi (14%), which had sporadically erupted into serious violence during 1963–65, recurred in late 1972 and early 1973. These tensions were the seeds of the 1994 genocide, perpetrated by Hutu, of between 800,000 and 1m. people, mostly Tutsi but also some Hutu and Twa who were considered to be Tutsi sympathizers.

In July 1973 the Minister of Defence and head of the National Guard, Maj.-Gen. Juvénal Habyarimana, deposed

Kayibanda, proclaimed a Second Republic and established a military Government under his leadership. In 1975 a new ruling party, the Mouvement révolutionnaire national pour le développement (MRND), was formed. A referendum in December 1978 approved a new Constitution, aimed at returning the country to civil government in accordance with an undertaking by Habyarimana in 1973 to end the military regime within five years. Habyarimana was elected President in the same month. An unsuccessful coup attempt took place in April 1980, and elections to the legislature, the Conseil national du développement (CND), were held in December 1981 and in December 1983; also in December 1983 Habyarimana was re-elected President.

From 1982 cross-border refugee problems began to affect Rwanda's relations with Uganda, and would later contribute to violence within Rwanda. In October Rwanda closed its border with Uganda after an influx of 45,000 refugees, most of whom were Rwandan exiles fleeing Ugandan persecution. A further 32,000 refugees gathered in camps on the Ugandan side of the border. In March 1983 Rwanda agreed to resettle more than 30,000 refugees, but Ugandan persecution of ethnic Rwandans continued, and in December thousands crossed into Tanzania. In November 1985 it was reported that 30,000 ethnic Rwandan refugees had been repatriated to Uganda. In 1986 the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported

that there were about 110,000 registered Rwandan refugees living in Uganda, while an even greater number of refugees were believed to have settled in Uganda without registering with UNHCR. In July the central committee of the MRND issued a declaration that Rwanda would not allow the return of large numbers of refugees, since the country's economy was incapable of sustaining such an influx. In the same year, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda announced that Rwandans who had been resident in Uganda for more than 10 years would automatically be entitled to Ugandan citizenship. A resurgence of ethnic tensions in Burundi led to the flight, in August 1988, of an estimated 80,000 refugees, mainly Hutu, into Rwanda. With assistance from the international community, the Rwandan authorities were able to address their needs. By June 1989 all but approximately 1,000 of the refugees had been repatriated to Burundi.

During the December 1988 presidential election, Habyarimana, as sole candidate, reportedly secured 99.98% of the votes cast. Elections for the CND were held in the same month, and the Government was reorganized in January 1989. During 1989 economic conditions deteriorated sharply, and the introduction of an economic austerity programme in December increased public discontent. In July 1990 Habyarimana conceded that political reform was necessary and announced that a national commission would be appointed to investigate the matter. The Commission nationale de synthèse (CNS) was duly established in September with a mandate to make recommendations for political renewal. However, these measures did little to alleviate the acute sense of political crisis.

REBEL INVASION AND POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

On 1 October 1990 an estimated force of 10,000 militia, representing the exiled, Tutsi-dominated Front patriotique rwandais (FPR), crossed the border from Uganda into north-eastern Rwanda, where they swiftly occupied several towns. The troops were primarily Tutsi refugees, but they also included significant numbers of disaffected elements of Uganda's ruling National Resistance Army (NRA, now the Uganda People's Defence Force—UPDF). The invasion force was led by Maj.-Gen. Fred Rwigyema, a former Ugandan Deputy Minister of Defence. In response to a request for assistance from Habyarimana, Belgian and French paratroopers were dispatched to the capital, Kigali, to protect foreign nationals and to secure evacuation routes. A contingent of troops sent by Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo—DRC) assisted the small Rwandan army in turning back the FPR some 70 km from Kigali.

The conflict continued throughout 1991 and into 1992, as the FPR made frequent guerrilla forays into Rwanda. Both sides of the conflict reported thousands of casualties, and many civilians resident in the border regions were killed and as many as 100,000 displaced. Increasing ethnic tensions, exacerbated by the war, resulted in a series of unprovoked attacks upon Tutsi civilians and prompted accusations of government involvement, particularly in the Bugesera region of southern Rwanda. In late July 1992 it was reported that the warring parties had negotiated a cease-fire, providing for the establishment of a 'neutral area'.

The FPR invasion accelerated the political reform process, initiated before the conflict. Following widespread public discussion of proposals put forward by the CNS in December 1990, the Commission published its report and a draft constitution in March 1991. In June the new Constitution, providing for the legalization of political parties, entered into force. Full freedom of the press was declared, leading to the establishment of a number of magazines and newspapers critical of government policy. In April 1992, following a series of unsuccessful attempts to negotiate a transitional government, the composition of a broad-based coalition Government, incorporating four opposition parties (the revived MDR, the Parti social-démocrate—PSD, the Parti libéral—PL and the Parti démocratique chrétien—PDC), together with the Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement (MRNDD—the new party name adopted by the MRND in April 1991), was announced. The new administration was to be headed by Dismas Nsengiyaremye of the MDR as Prime Minister, a

post established by the Constitution. Multi-party elections for municipalities, the legislature and the presidency were to take place before April 1993. In late April 1992, in compliance with a new constitutional prohibition of the armed forces' participation in the political process, Habyarimana relinquished his military title and functions.

The coalition Government and FPR representatives initiated a new dialogue in May 1992 and conducted formal discussions in Paris, France, during June. Further negotiations, in Arusha, Tanzania, in July resulted in an agreement on the implementation of a new cease-fire, to take effect from the end of that month, and the creation of a military observer group (GOM) sponsored by the Organization of African Unity (OAU, now the African Union—AU), to comprise representatives from both sides, together with officers drawn from the armed forces of Nigeria, Senegal, Zimbabwe and Mali. However, subsequent negotiations in Tanzania, during August, September and October, failed to resolve outstanding problems concerning the creation of a 'neutral zone' between the Rwandan armed forces and the FPR (to be enforced by the GOM), the incorporation of the FPR in a Rwandan national force, the repatriation of refugees, and the demands of the FPR for full participation in the transitional Government and legislature.

A resurgence in violence followed the breakdown of negotiations in early February 1993, resulting in the deaths of hundreds on both sides. An estimated 1m. civilians fled southwards and to neighbouring Uganda and Tanzania in order to escape the fighting, as the FPR advanced as far as Ruhengeri and seemed, for a time, on the verge of capturing Kigali. Belgium, France and the USA denounced the actions of the FPR. French reinforcements were dispatched to join a small French military contingent, stationed in Kigali since October 1990, in order to protect French nationals. Meanwhile, the Commander of the GOM declared that the group possessed inadequate manpower and resources to contain the advance of the FPR and requested the deployment of an additional 400 OAU troops. In late February 1993 the Government accepted FPR terms for a cease-fire in return for an end to attacks against FPR positions and on Tutsi communities, and the withdrawal of foreign troops. Although fighting continued with varying intensity, new peace negotiations were convened in March in Arusha. Later that month France began to withdraw its troops.

Negotiations conducted during April 1993 failed to produce a solution to the crucial issue of the structure of future unitary Rwandan armed forces. In the same month the five participating parties in the ruling coalition agreed to a three-month extension of the Government's mandate in order to facilitate a peace accord. Further talks during May between the Government and the FPR in the northern town of Kinshira produced significant progress, including an agreed schedule for the demobilization of the 19,000-strong security forces. In June an agreed protocol outlined the repatriation of all Rwandan refugees resident in Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire, including recommendations that compensation be made to those forced into exile more than 12 years earlier. In late June the UN Security Council approved the creation of the UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR), to be deployed on the Ugandan side of the border for an initial period of six months, in order to block FPR military supply lines.

In July 1993, with improved prospects for a prompt resolution of the conflict, Habyarimana met representatives of the five political parties represented in the Government and sought a further extension to the mandate of the coalition Government. However, the Prime Minister's insistence that the FPR should be represented in any newly mandated government exacerbated existing divisions within the MDR, prompting Habyarimana to conclude the agreement with a conciliatory group of MDR dissidents, including the Minister of Education, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who was elected as Rwanda's first female Prime Minister on 17 July. The Council of Ministers was reorganized to replace the disaffected MDR members.

On 4 August 1993 Habyarimana and Col Alex Kanyarengwe of the FPR formally signed a peace accord in Arusha. A new transitional Government, to be headed by a mutually approved Prime Minister (later named as the MDR moderate faction

leader, Faustin Twagiramungu), was to be installed by 10 September. A multi-party general election was to take place after a 22-month period, during which the FPR would participate in a transitional government and national assembly. In mid-August the Government revoked the curfew in Kigali and removed military road-blocks from all but three northern prefectures. By the end of the month, however, the Prime Minister was forced to make a national appeal for calm, following reports of renewed outbreaks of violence in Kigali and Butare, Rwanda's second largest population centre. The Government and the FPR attributed the failure to establish a transitional government and legislature by 10 September to the increasingly fragile security situation, and both sides urged the prompt dispatch of a neutral UN force to facilitate the implementation of the Arusha Accord. Meanwhile, relations between the Government and the FPR deteriorated, following the rebels' assertion that the Government had violated the Accord by attempting to dismantle and reorganize those departments assigned to the FPR under the terms of the agreement.

UN INTERVENTION

On 5 October 1993 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 872, endorsing the recommendation of the UN Secretary-General for the creation of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), under the leadership of Canadian Lt-Gen. Roméo Dallaire, to be deployed in Rwanda for an initial period of six months, with a mandate to monitor observance of the cease-fire, to contribute to the security of the capital and to facilitate the repatriation of refugees. UNAMIR, incorporating UNOMUR and GOM, was formally inaugurated on 1 November, and comprised some 2,500 personnel when fully operational. In mid-December the UN declared that it was satisfied that conditions had been sufficiently fulfilled to allow for the introduction of the transitional institutions by the end of the month.

In December 1993 UNAMIR officials escorted a 600-strong FPR battalion to Kigali (as detailed in the Arusha Accord) to ensure the safety of FPR representatives selected to participate in the transitional Government and legislature. On 5 January 1994, Habyarimana was invested as President of a transitional Government, for a 22-month period, under the terms of the Arusha Accord. (Habyarimana's previous term of office, in accordance with the Constitution, had expired on 19 December 1993.) While government spokesmen identified the need to resolve internal differences within the MDR and the PL as the crucial expedient for the implementation of the new Government and legislature, a joint statement, issued by the PSD, the PDC and factions of the MDR and the PL, accused the President of having abused the terms of the Arusha Accord by interfering in the selection of prospective ministers and deputies. The FPR repeated this charge in late February 1994, when it rejected a list of proposed future gubernatorial and legislative representatives.

During January and February 1994 Dallaire reported that the Habyarimana Government was increasing anti-Tutsi propaganda across Rwanda, stockpiling weapons and training youth militias. Dallaire insisted that anti-Tutsi sentiment was rapidly increasing and that violence against Tutsi was likely in the coming months. In March the Prime Minister-designate, Faustin Twagiramungu, declared that he had fulfilled his consultative role as established by the Arusha Accord, and announced the composition of a transitional Government, in an attempt to accelerate the installation of the transitional bodies. However, political opposition to the proposed Council of Ministers persisted, and Habyarimana insisted that the list of proposed legislative deputies, newly presented by Uwilingiyimana, should be modified to include representatives of additional political parties, including the ethnically divisive Coalition pour la défense de la république (CDR, whose participation was strongly opposed by the FPR, owing to its alleged failure to accept the code of ethics for the behaviour of political parties and to its policies advocating ethnic discrimination), prompting a further postponement of the formation of a transitional administration.

In April 1994 the UN Security Council (which in February had warned that the UN presence in Rwanda might be withdrawn in the absence of swift progress in the implementation of the Arusha Accord) agreed to extend UNAMIR's mandate for four months, pending a review of progress made in implementing the Accord, to be conducted after six weeks.

COLLAPSE OF CIVIL ORDER AND GENOCIDE

On 6 April 1994 the presidential aircraft, returning from a regional summit in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, was fired upon over Kigali, and exploded on landing, killing all 10 passengers, including Habyarimana; the President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira; two Burundian cabinet ministers; and the Chief of Staff of the Rwandan armed forces. In Kigali, although it was unclear who had been responsible for the attack on the aircraft, the presidential guard obstructed UNAMIR officials attempting to investigate the crash site and immediately initiated a brutal campaign of retributive violence against political opponents of the late President. As politicians and civilians fled the capital, the brutality of the political assassinations was compounded by attacks on the clergy, UNAMIR personnel and Tutsi civilians. Hutu civilians were instructed to murder their Tutsi neighbours. The mobilization of the Interahamwe, or unofficial militias (allegedly affiliated with the MRNDD and the CDR), apparently committed to the massacre of government opponents and Tutsi civilians, was encouraged by the presidential guard (with support from some factions of the armed forces) and by inflammatory broadcasts from Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines in Kigali. The Prime Minister, the President of the Constitutional Court, the Ministers of Labour and Social Affairs and of Information, and the Chairman of the PSD were among the prominent politicians assassinated, or declared missing and presumed dead, within hours of Habyarimana's death.

On 8 April 1994 the Speaker of the CND, Dr Théodore Sindikubwabo, announced that he had assumed the office of interim President of the Republic, in accordance with the provisions of the 1991 Constitution. The five remaining participating political parties and factions of the Government selected a new Prime Minister, Jean Kambanda, and a new Council of Ministers (largely comprising MRNDD members). The FPR immediately challenged the legality of the new administration, claiming that the CND's constitutional right of succession to the presidency had been superseded by Habyarimana's inauguration as President in January under the terms of the Arusha Accord. The legitimacy of the new Government, which had fled to the town of Gitarama to escape escalating violence in the capital, was subsequently rejected by factions of the PL and MDR (led by Faustin Twagiramungu), and by the PDC and the PSD, which in May announced that they had allied themselves as the Democratic Forces for Change.

FPR Offensives and the Refugee Crisis

In mid-April 1994 the FPR resumed military operations from its northern stronghold, with the stated intention of relieving its beleaguered battalion in Kigali, restoring order to the capital and halting the massacre of Tutsi civilians. Grenade attacks and mortar fire intensified in the capital, prompting the UN to mediate a fragile 60-hour cease-fire, during which small evacuation forces from several countries escorted foreign nationals out of Rwanda. Belgium's UNAMIR contingent of more than 400 troops was also withdrawn, after Hutu militia-men killed 10 Belgian peace-keepers sent to protect Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana, who was also murdered.

As the political violence incited by the presidential guard and the Interahamwe gathered momentum, the militia's identification of all Tutsi as political opponents of the state promoted ethnic polarization, resulting in a pogrom against Tutsi. Reports of mass Tutsi killings and unprovoked attacks on fleeing Tutsi refugees, and on those seeking refuge in schools, hospitals and churches, elicited unqualified international condemnation and outrage, and promises of financial and logistical aid for an estimated 2m. displaced Rwandans (some 250,000 had fled across the border to Tanzania in a 24-hour period in late April 1994), many of whom were killed by famine and disease in makeshift camps. By late May attempts

to assess the full scale of the humanitarian catastrophe in Rwanda were complicated by unverified reports that the FPR (which claimed to control more than one-half of the country) was carrying out retaliatory atrocities against Hutu militias and civilians. Unofficial estimates indicated that between 200,000 and 500,000 Rwandans had been killed since early April.

On 21 April 1994, in the context of intensifying violence in Kigali, and the refusal of the Rwandan armed forces to agree to the neutral policing of the capital's airport (subsequently secured by the FPR), the UN Security Council resolved to reduce its force in Rwanda to 270 personnel, a move that attracted criticism from the Rwandan Government, the FPR and international relief organizations. However, on 16 May, following intense international pressure and the disclosure of the vast scale of the humanitarian crisis in the region, the UN Security Council approved Resolution 917, providing for the eventual deployment of some 5,500 UN troops with a revised mandate, including the policing of Kigali's airport and the protection of refugees in designated 'safe areas'. In late May 1994 the UN Secretary-General criticized the failure of UN member states to respond to his invitation to participate in the enlarged force (only Ghana, Ethiopia and Senegal had agreed to provide contingents, albeit small ones). Further UN-sponsored attempts to negotiate a cease-fire failed in late May and early June, and the FPR made significant territorial gains in southern Rwanda, forcing the Government to flee Gitarama and seek refuge in the western town of Kibuye.

In early June 1994 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 925, whereby the mandate of the revised UN mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR II) was extended until December. However, the UN Secretary-General continued to encounter considerable difficulty in securing equipment and armaments requested by the African countries that had agreed to participate. By mid-June confirmed reports of retributive murders committed by FPR members (including the massacres, in two separate incidents in early June, of 22 clergymen, among them the Roman Catholic archbishop of Kigali) and the collapse of a fragile truce, negotiated at a summit meeting of the OAU, prompted the French Government to announce its willingness to lead an armed police action, endorsed by the UN, in Rwanda. Although France insisted that its military presence (expected to total 2,000 troops) would maintain strict political neutrality and operate, from the border regions, in a purely humanitarian capacity pending the arrival of a multinational UN force, the FPR vehemently opposed its deployment, citing the French administration's maintenance of high-level contacts with representatives of the self-proclaimed Rwandan Government as an indication of political bias. On 23 June the first contingent of 150 French marine commandos launched 'Operation Turquoise', entering the western town of Cyangugu, in preparation for a large-scale operation to protect refugees in the area. By mid-July the French initiative had successfully relieved several beleaguered Tutsi communities and had established a temporary 'safe haven' for the displaced population in the south-west, through which a mass exodus of Hutu refugees began to flow, encouraged by reports (disseminated by supporters of the defeated interim Government) that the advancing FPR forces were seeking violent retribution against Hutu. An estimated 1m. Rwandans sought refuge in the border town of Goma, in Zaire, while a similar number attempted to cross the border elsewhere in the south-west. The FPR had swiftly secured all major cities and strategic territorial positions, but had halted its advance several kilometres from the boundaries of the French-controlled neutral zone, requesting the apprehension and return for trial of those responsible for the recent atrocities.

At the end of June 1994 the first report of the UN Special Rapporteur on human rights in Rwanda—appointed in May—confirmed that at least 500,000 Rwandans had been killed since April, and urged the establishment of an international tribunal to investigate allegations of genocide. In early July the UN announced the creation of a commission of inquiry for this purpose.

THE FPR TAKES POWER

On 19 July 1994 Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, was inaugurated as President for a five-year term. In November a multi-party protocol of understanding was concluded, providing for a number of amendments to the terms of the August 1993 Arusha Accord, relating to the establishment of a transitional legislature. The most notable of the new provisions was the exclusion from the legislative process of members of those parties implicated in alleged acts of genocide during 1994. A 70-member National Transitional Assembly was installed on 12 December. On 5 May 1995 the new legislature announced its adoption of a new Constitution based on selected articles of the 1991 Constitution, the terms of the August 1993 Arusha Accord, the FPR's victory declaration of July 1994 and the November 1994 multi-party protocol of understanding.

In July 1999 Rwanda announced the end of the five-year transitional Government and its replacement by a four-year national unity Government. The new transitional period permitted the Government to complete the national reconciliation process, restore internal security, improve the economy and social services and establish a democratic system. Critics rejected the unilateral extension of political power and claimed that the Government's action revealed its undemocratic and dictatorial nature.

The increasingly stringent policies of the Government, which by this stage was dominated by supporters of Vice-President and FPR Chairman, Paul Kagame, prompted an increasing number of prominent figures to flee Rwanda. A notable case involved the popular Speaker of the Transitional National Assembly, Kabuye Sebarenzi, who had campaigned for good governance and official accountability. After moving from the FPR to the PL and drawing attention to government ministers accused of corruption, Sebarenzi's political fortunes gradually waned. In December 1999 the PL President, Pio Mugabo, postponed the vote for a new party President, reportedly on orders from Kagame. Sebarenzi had been expected to be elected to this post, which would have strengthened his chances of winning the election for the national presidency. In early January 2000 the Transitional National Assembly forced Sebarenzi's resignation on apparently fabricated charges of official misconduct, organizing genocide survivors against the Government and supporting the 'army of the king'. Later that month Sebarenzi, who feared that the Government would assassinate him, fled to Uganda, then to Europe, and finally to the USA. Bizimungu resigned as President on 23 March and subsequently relocated to the USA. Kagame served as provisional President until 17 April, when members of the legislature and the Government elected him, by 81 votes to five, as the first Tutsi President since Rwanda gained independence from Belgium in 1962. Kagame, who was to serve for the remainder of the transition period, until legislative and presidential elections in 2003, pledged to facilitate political decentralization, expedite the trials of some 125,000 genocide suspects in prison and conduct local government elections.

Corruption pervaded all levels of government. In September 1999 a legislative commission of inquiry implicated several government ministers in cases of corruption, some of whom subsequently resigned. A further parliamentary inquiry discovered that, when he was Minister of Education in 1995, the Prime Minister, Pierre-Célestin Rwigyema, had been implicated in the diversion of funds from a World Bank education programme almost exclusively to his home town of Gitarama. Rwigyema survived a motion of censure in the Transitional National Assembly in December 1999, but he resigned two months later. In March 2004 the Auditor-General, Gervais Ntaganda, informed the legislature that some 60 public institutions reported that tenders valued at US \$5.8m. for 2002 had not been processed by the national tender board, as scheduled. Moreover, \$7m. of government spending was unaccounted for during that year and, of 44 cases of alleged embezzlement of government funds, only nine were referred for trial and only two cases had been heard. However, the authorities did dismiss 139 police officers in March 2004 for a series of crimes, including bribery and corruption, although allegations of corruption among senior government officials remained uninvestigated.

On 29 June 2000 the Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs introduced legislation on decentralization, which aimed to make the district (*akarere*) the principal organ of local government. Apart from providing judicial services, the *akarere* was to assume responsibility for agriculture, extension, forestry and veterinary services. Other *akarere* duties included the stimulation of local trade and small-scale industries, education and teacher training, and the supervision of health, water, fire brigades, co-operatives, roads, land titles and tourism services. A legislative council and an executive committee, aided by an executive secretary, were to govern the *akarere*. This initiative was the most ambitious political scheme ever undertaken in post-independence Rwanda. Its success depended on the availability of donor aid, the authorities' ability to collect taxes and the central Government's willingness to transfer adequate funds and power to the *akarere*. Many donors insisted that, in order to receive foreign aid, Rwanda would have to shed its authoritarian culture and near-total concentration of power in the central Government.

On 24 July 2000 former Prime Minister Rwigyema, the leader of the MDR, fled from Rwanda and sought political asylum in the USA, deeply embarrassing the Kagame regime. The Hutu-dominated MDR responded to Rwigyema's self-imposed exile by removing him from the presidency of the movement and denouncing him after he issued a statement condemning Kagame as a dictator. The MDR elected Célestin Kabanda, who enjoyed considerable support among Rwanda's Hutu population, as its interim President. However, in February 2001 an MDR committee announced that it had removed Kabanda, owing to repeated allegations that he had participated in the 1994 genocide. In an about-face, in October the MDR's political bureau confirmed Kabanda's election as the party President. Désiré Nyandwi, the influential Minister for Local Government and Social Affairs, endorsed the bureau's decision.

In October 2000 Rwanda convened a Summit on Reconciliation and Unity. However, this measure failed to convince opponents of the Government that Kagame was serious about national reconciliation. As a result, political opposition to the Kagame regime continued, particularly in Rwandan expatriate communities. In May 2001 Alexandre Kimenyi, a former senior FPR member who had relocated to the USA, announced the formation of an opposition party, the Alliance rwandaise pour la renaissance de la nation (ARENA). He maintained that membership of the organization was open to all Rwandans and denied allegations that it was pro-monarchy. Despite its increasing popularity among some expatriates, ARENA was unable to form a credible opposition to Kagame's Government.

ELECTIONS AND THE END OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

On 6 March 2001 Rwanda conducted nation-wide elections for local officials. A high proportion of eligible voters participated in the polls. President Kagame claimed that the elections represented a significant measure towards democratization. However, Rwandan government statistics indicated that about 45% of the districts were contested by only one candidate. Moreover, various international human rights organizations condemned the elections as unfair; according to the US-based human rights organization Human Rights Watch, irregularities marred the elections from the outset. Many voters also claimed they participated in the polls because they feared receiving fines or other penalties if they did not. In addition, local and international election monitors only received the requisite documentation late on the day before the elections, making it impossible to observe pre-election activities, such as registration, and difficult to reach distant polling stations.

On 26 May 2003 some 93.4% of the electorate approved a new Constitution. The European Union (EU) Electoral Observation Mission in Rwanda subsequently reported that the referendum had been conducted in 'satisfactory conditions'. The Constitution mandated a bicameral legislature, which would comprise an 80-member Chamber of Deputies and a 26-member Senate. Also that month the Government endorsed a parliamentary report that urged the banning of the MDR for propagating a 'divisive' ideology and the prosecution of 47 of its

members and supporters for 'ethnic extremism'. The human rights organization Amnesty International accused the Rwandan authorities of orchestrated suppression of political opposition, and Human Rights Watch maintained that the Government was seeking to eliminate any opposition prior to Rwanda's presidential and parliamentary elections, due to be held in August and September, respectively. On 4 June the new Constitution entered into effect. However, the International Federation for Human Rights claimed that the Constitution would inhibit multi-party pluralism and freedom of expression and recommended that the Rwandan authorities guarantee such rights. Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Twagiramungu announced that he would contest the presidential election against Kagame. As most of his supporters were members of the political opposition in exile, prospects of his winning the election were minimal.

On 25 August 2003 Kagame won the first election to take place in Rwanda since the 1994 genocide, with 95.1% of the valid votes cast. Twagiramungu won 3.6% of the votes, and the only other opposition candidate, Jean-Népomuscène Nayinzira, 1.3%. Twagiramungu subsequently accused the authorities of electoral malpractice, and submitted a challenge against the official results to the Supreme Court. EU monitors confirmed that irregularities had occurred, although a South African observer mission declared that the poll had been 'free and fair'. In early September the Supreme Court rejected Twagiramungu's appeal. Kagame was officially inaugurated on 12 September. On 30 September 218 candidates (representatives submitted by eight political parties and 19 independents) contested legislative elections for 53 of 80 seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Official figures indicated that some 96% of registered voters participated in the election, although independent observers maintained that the number of voters was less than the presidential poll. The FPR won 33 seats; the PSD secured seven seats, the PL six, the Parti démocrate centriste three, the Parti démocrate idéal two, the Parti socialiste rwandais one and the Union démocratique du peuple rwandais one. The new Constitution reserved the remaining seats in the Chamber of Deputies for 'special groups' (24 women's representatives, two youth representatives and one representative of disabled persons). On 2 October some 20,000 representatives of provincial women's groups contested the 24 seats reserved for women, while local government officials and academic representatives contested 14 of the 26 Senate seats. On 9 October President Kagame appointed eight senators, as authorized by the Constitution. (A further four senators were nominated by a regulatory body, the Parties' Forum.) The EU assessed, however, that there were serious irregularities in the presidential and legislative elections.

In 2004–05 the Kagame administration accused several government officials of promoting the 'ideology of genocide'. In July 2004, the Chamber of Deputies published a report accusing several local civil society organizations, including the Ligue rwandaise pour la promotion et la défense des droits de l'homme (LIPRODHOR), one of Rwanda's largest human rights organizations, of supporting such an ideology. The report also rebuked some international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as CARE International and Trócaire Overseas Development Agency, for supporting these groups. The EU condemned the findings, and the Government rejected the legislature's recommendation for a ban on all suspect organizations. Nevertheless, eight LIPRODHOR officials fled to Uganda, claiming they were in danger from government agents. In September LIPRODHOR's general assembly, having been obliged by the Government to conduct an internal investigation, issued a statement denouncing some of its members for 'genocide-related acts' and seeking forgiveness from the Government and the Rwandan people. In early January 2005 the legislature renewed its accusations that LIPRODHOR was propagating a genocidal ideology and ethnic divisionism. Several senior LIPRODHOR members then fled Rwanda, while at a general meeting the organization issued an apology to the people of Rwanda. The Government again declined to close LIPRODHOR as the legislature's report had recommended, although it ordered the organization to conduct an internal investigation to expose 'divisionists'. The subsequent chaos forced LIPRODHOR to cease operations. On

28 September 2004 President Kagame dismissed three ministers (responsible for the interior, health, and youth, culture and sports) for poor performance, and accused many other officials of divisionist activities.

POST-GENOCIDE CRIMINAL JUSTICE

On 8 November 1994 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 955, establishing the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to be convened in Arusha, despite the negative vote of Rwanda, which held a non-permanent seat on the Council in 1994. The ICTR began formal proceedings in late November 1995 and the first trial began in January 1997. By 4 August 2008, the date of the ICTR's most recent annual report to the UN General Assembly and Security Council, the ICTR had completed judgments at the first instance of 36 people and judgments at the appellate level of 25 people. Several of these decisions established important international criminal law precedents concerning the definition of crimes (particularly genocide and rape) and the accountability of perpetrators, regardless of their official position.

In February 1996 the Rwandan Prime Minister announced the creation of special courts within the country's existing judicial system. Under these arrangements, Rwanda's Supreme Court Chief Prosecutor began investigations in each of the country's 10 districts, and established three-member judicial panels in each district to consider cases. The panels were to comprise some 250 lay magistrates, who received four months' legal training. Additionally, 320 judicial police inspectors, all of whom had attended a three-month training course, compiled dossiers on those detained for allegedly committing genocide. Newly established assessment commissions reviewed possible detentions on the basis of available evidence.

In mid-August 2004 the ICTR Chief Prosecutor, Hassan Bubacar Jallow, who had been appointed by the UN Security Council on 15 September 2003, visited Rwanda to review the Government's proposal that at least some of those convicted by the ICTR of committing atrocities should serve their sentences in Rwandan prisons. The ICTR had initially opposed this strategy as Rwanda employs the death penalty, while the maximum ICTR sentence is life imprisonment. Kagame suggested a compromise whereby Rwanda would retain the death penalty, but waive it for those convicted by the ICTR. In June 2007 the Rwandan legislature removed the death penalty from all national statutes. In response, the ICTR commenced proceedings to transfer suspects from Arusha to the national courts in Kigali. Between 1 July 2007 and 30 June 2008, according to the ICTR's most recent annual report, the ICTR chambers denied three of the ICTR Prosecutor's five requests for referral of cases to Rwanda for trial (the two others were pending). During the same period the ICTR chambers referred two single-accused cases to France, revoked the referral of one suspect to the Netherlands and transferred one convicted person to Italy. Various countries, including the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany and Finland, extradited or at least considered extraditing Rwandan genocide suspects to Rwanda or third-party countries, such as France. Some countries that refused to extradite suspects to Rwanda cited their concern that the suspects would not receive a fair trial.

During his 2004 visit to Rwanda, Jallow declined to answer questions about whether the ICTR intended to prosecute anyone from the FPR for crimes against humanity, prompting speculation that prosecution of FPR members would end the Rwandan Government's co-operation with the ICTR. In October 2004 unidentified assailants killed an ICTR prosecution witness in the province of Gikongoro. Many suspected that the incident had been related to the testimony that he had provided at the ICTR trial over genocide charges concerning Col Aloys Simba. In November Jallow revealed that 14 alleged *génocidaires* (perpetrators of the 1994 genocide) had taken refuge in the DRC and accused the Congolese authorities of failing to make any effort to apprehend them. In mid-December the ICTR's Appeals Chamber upheld the convictions of two defendants who had been sentenced in February 2003 to 10 and 25 years' imprisonment, respectively, for their role in the 1994 genocide in the province of Kibuye. In January 2005 Jallow

announced that he was ready to proceed with 17 new genocide trials, which would be conducted at the same time as 25 ongoing trials. He also indicated that national courts would conduct some of these trials (for example, in early 2006 the ICTR announced that Norway would become the first non-African state to try a case at the ICTR's request) and that his office had completed investigations into another 16 cases, some of which he claimed concerned alleged FPR atrocities. In mid-2005 the ICTR renewed its demand for prosecutions against members of the FPR for war crimes. The alleged implication of the FPR in shooting down the aircraft of President Habyarimana in 1994 was of particular interest to the Tribunal. In response, Aloys Mutabingwa, Rwanda's ICTR representative, demanded that the ICTR charge French government officials for their role in the events that precipitated the genocide. Despite such declarations, no prosecutions of FPR or French officials have occurred.

The Rwandan national courts, operating concurrently to the ICTR, have also played a major role in prosecuting genocide suspects. This has been a difficult undertaking, in view of the decimation of the Rwandan judiciary by the genocide. Despite significant reconstruction of the judiciary since then, the system has had difficulties in dealing with the immense number of imprisoned genocide suspects awaiting trial. On 1 August 2003 a court in Gikondo convicted 105 people of genocide, sentencing 73 to life imprisonment and 11 to death. The remainder received custodial terms, ranging from one to 25 years, while the court acquitted 37 suspects. By late 2003 Rwandan courts had convicted approximately 6,500 suspects, of which 600–700 received death sentences.

To relieve the pressure on its courts and to facilitate a communal dialogue on the root causes of the genocide as a means to reconciliation, the Rwandan Government instituted the *gacaca* community-based judicial system, based partly on a traditional model of participative justice, to deal with the majority of genocide cases. In October 2000 the Transitional National Assembly adopted legislation providing for the creation of *gacaca* courts; this was approved by the Constitutional Court on 18 January 2001. In October voters elected approximately 260,000 *gacaca* judges, who were to facilitate the community's evidence-gathering process during open-air hearings, to evaluate evidence and to impose judgments on genocide suspects. Suspects who confessed to their crimes early enough were able to benefit from the *gacaca* courts' plea-bargaining structure, which incorporated community service for certain lower-level genocide crimes. The *gacaca* system was deliberately designed to promote reconciliation, involving direct dialogue in the process of trials and employing plea-bargaining and community service as forms of punishment that would reintegrate convicted *génocidaires* into the community. The Government pledged that all court proceedings would be publicized and all court decisions subject to appeal.

On 18 June 2002 the authorities formally inaugurated the *gacaca* system. However, for the first three years of operation, *gacaca* trials involved only the community's recording of basic information related to the events of the genocide, rather than specific evidence related to particular genocide suspects. The community courts, of which 673 commenced operations throughout the country in November, followed by a further 8,258 in March 2003, were designed to expedite the trials of those accused of crimes relating to the 1994 genocide, to reveal the truth about what happened, to end the culture of impunity in Rwanda, and to promote national reconciliation through communal dialogue and the face-to-face engagement of genocide suspects and survivors.

The Government had undertaken to begin trials for 750 genocide suspects in September 2004 using the *gacaca* system, but this process was delayed until 2005. Meanwhile, in December 2004 the National Service of Gacaca Jurisdictions reported that it would use lists of genocide suspects that the Netherlands-based NGO Penal Reform International had earlier rejected as inadmissible on the grounds that they presumed guilt. Hearings of genocide suspects' cases before nearly 9,000 *gacaca* tribunals ultimately commenced on 10 March 2005. Defendants have included several current government officials, and Prime Minister Bernard Makuza and the Minister of Defence, Gen. Marcel Gatsinzi, provided testimony. It

appeared that Makuza would not be liable for prosecution, but Gatsinzi, a former commander of the Ecole des sous-officiers in Butare, was accused of providing weapons to Hutu troops to kill Tutsi. Gatsinzi admitted that some military personnel under his command had been involved in killings, but rejected allegations that he had assisted them.

As the Rwandan Government claims that up to 1m. suspects might eventually be charged with genocide during *gacaca* hearings, the Prosecutor-General has warned that the Government must change its judicial strategy as the *gacaca* system would be unable to process so many cases. *Gacaca* hearings were further complicated in early 2005 when thousands of Hutu reportedly fled to neighbouring countries to avoid possible prosecution through *gacaca*. In Burundi, for example, UNHCR initially granted refugee status to some 2,000 recently arrived Rwandans. However, after complaints from the Rwandan Government, Burundi released a statement indicating that the Rwandans would not be granted refugee status, that it would urge them to return home and that it would initiate extradition proceedings against those who refused. Additionally, it was announced in October 2006 that France, Belgium and the Netherlands had agreed to seek those who had taken up residence in those countries and bring them to trial.

In July 2006 phase two of the *gacaca* system began. The *gacaca* process was scheduled for completion in mid-2009, much of the first few months of 2009 having been spent prosecuting those accused of Category 1 genocide crimes, including local orchestrators of the genocide and individuals suspected of committing crimes of sexual violence. The most recent version of the *gacaca* law (adopted in May 2008) shifted to the jurisdiction of the *gacaca* courts the remainder of Category 1 genocide cases still awaiting trial in the national courts. This was an attempt to lighten the workload of the national courts, which were struggling to try the thousands of day-to-day cases before them. The Government proposed that, after its genocide caseload had been completed, the *gacaca* courts should be maintained as a community-based legal system designed to consider minor infractions, leaving the national courts to prosecute more serious crimes such as corporate fraud and murder.

2008 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

On 15 September 2008, in only the second legislative election to be held since the genocide of 1994, the FPR secured a resounding victory, winning 78.8% of the votes cast and 42 of the 53 directly elected seats; the PSD took seven seats and the PL four. It was the first time that women outnumbered men in the legislature, occupying some 56% of the seats. Turn-out for the elections was estimated at over 98%. In the following month Rose Mukantabana was nominated as Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the first woman to hold that position in the country's history. A minor cabinet reshuffle was effected, although no new ministers were introduced, following the election of Jean-Damascène Ntawukuriryayo, hitherto Minister of Health, to the Chamber of Deputies; he was replaced by Richard Sezibera.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND REFUGEE ISSUES

According to the US State Department's human rights report for 2008, released on 25 February 2009, significant human rights abuses occurred in Rwanda, but improvements in some areas had been made even over the past year. Specifically, the report claimed that Rwandan authorities continued to commit serious abuses and to restrict the right of citizens to elect a different government. Security forces, such as the Local Defence Forces, reportedly committed unlawful killings and employed torture and excessive force. Police mistreated suspects and prison conditions remained harsh. Arbitrary arrest and detention, particularly of opposition supporters, and prolonged pre-trial detention remained serious problems. Due process or expeditious trials often did not occur and genocide trials continued to move slowly. There were restrictions on freedom of speech and of the press, and limited freedom of association, assembly and religion. Other problems cited in the report included child labour, human trafficking, social violence and discrimination against women and ethnic

minorities, particularly the Batwa. Various international human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, expressed similar concerns.

The record of the Armée patriotique rwandaise (APR—the FPR's military wing) in eastern DRC has alarmed many international human rights organizations, owing to consistent reports of the APR's executions, rape, forcible removal of people and other abuses. An increasing number of people from the Kivu provinces of eastern DRC, especially non-Banyarwanda, strongly oppose the APR because of its harsh treatment of local populations. Many non-Banyarwanda have joined anti-Rwandan Mai-Mai militias to combat the APR and its Banyarwanda allies. In May 2000 Human Rights Watch released a report, entitled *Eastern Congo Ravaged*, which outlined the excesses committed by the APR in the DRC. Soon after, Amnesty International published *Democratic Republic of the Congo: Killing Human Decency*, which indicated that the APR had killed 'hundreds or even thousands' of unarmed civilians in Nord-Kivu province since 1998. In particular, Amnesty International cited the APR's killing of 74 civilians in a church, in the region of Kailenge.

In November 2002, the International Crisis Group (ICG) criticized Rwanda's poor human rights record, particularly regarding the country's activities in eastern DRC. In June 2003 Rwanda and Burundi agreed to co-operate in bringing stability to the Great Lakes region by supporting peace efforts in Burundi and the DRC. Kagame promised to convince armed Burundian groups to implement the cease-fire agreements that had been signed with the Government of Burundi. In October Rwanda announced that it would create a commission of inquiry to investigate two cases of alleged resource exploitation in the DRC, but the Government continued to dismiss reports of human rights violations by Rwandan troops in the DRC as uninformed and biased. In April 2004 Rwanda deployed troops along its border with Burundi and the DRC, in anticipation of possible attacks from Hutu rebels. Burundi accused Rwandan government forces of invading Ruhororo and Kaburantwa Valley, in the north-western province of Cibitoke, and demanded their withdrawal. The Burundian authorities subsequently announced that Rwanda had complied with the request.

REGIONAL CONCERNS

Rwanda's 1997 military intervention in the DRC marked a turning point in Central Africa's history. The Kagame Government justified its actions by claiming that its armed forces sought only to eliminate Hutu extremist elements there. However, it soon became evident that Rwandan troops, together with their Ugandan counterparts, had also started a systematic campaign to loot the region's resources. Efforts by the UN and the international community to prevent this illegal exploitation failed. Meanwhile, by 2004 various international human rights organizations believed that more than 4m. had died in eastern DRC as a result of warfare, disease and starvation. In June Col Jules Mutebutsi, a Congolese Tutsi rebel commander, and a number of his troops had sought refuge in Rwanda, after clashing with personnel of the UN Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) in Bukavu. UNHCR refused to grant refugee status to Mutebutsi and his troops until it received proof that they were no longer combatants. In late August the Rwandan Government sought to placate the UN by moving Mutebutsi and his soldiers from a temporary camp, known as Ntendezi, near the DRC border, to a camp in the remote district of Gikongoro province, known as Coko. However, this measure failed to allay UN fears that Mutebutsi and his followers remained combatants. The UN also accused the Kagame Government of arming dissident militias in the DRC's Ituri district in Province Orientale and operating a military training camp in Kibungo province for abductees from the Kiziba and Gihembe refugee camps. Rwanda denied the allegations. On 13 August Rwanda blamed the Forces démocratiques pour la libération du Rwanda (FDLR), regarded as the successor force to the former Rwandan army and containing Interahamwe militia members who fled to the DRC after the 1994 genocide, for killing 152 Congolese Tutsi refugees in the Burundian

Gatumba refugee camp, near the border with the DRC. The Rwandan Government threatened to deploy troops in the DRC unless MONUC and the Congolese authorities took action, and additionally demanded that MONUC abandon its ineffective, voluntary disarmament programme for the FDLR. MONUC responded that its efforts to disarm the FDLR had failed because Rwanda and its DRC-based allies continued to carry out military operations in eastern DRC that disrupted its operations. Additionally, MONUC accused Rwanda of using FDLR activities as justification for reintervention in the DRC.

In September 2004 the UN announced that the Rwandan and DRC Governments had agreed to launch a Joint Verification Mechanism (JVM) to enhance border security. Accordingly, both countries pledged to take reports of fighting to the JVM for verification before they were released to the media. In early November the DRC armed forces and MONUC commenced joint missions in the Walungu district of Sud-Kivu province to persuade the FDLR to disarm and return home. Shortly after, the FDLR launched a rocket attack on Rwanda's Gisenyi province from Nord-Kivu. In November 2004, Kagame warned the AU that Rwandan troops would intervene in the DRC if the armed forces and MONUC failed to disarm the FDLR. The UN, the EU, the United Kingdom, the USA, Belgium, South Africa and other countries cautioned Kagame about intervening in the DRC, while many donors, including the Swedish Government, suspended aid to the Rwandan Government. On 1 December MONUC reported that there were around 100 Rwandan troops in the Virunga mountains along the Rwanda–DRC–Uganda border. According to the DRC Government, these troops had been fighting the FDLR in Nord-Kivu for at least a week; however, the Rwandan Government denied that it had any forces in the DRC. In early December DRC armed reinforcements clashed with military units of dissidents loyal to the pro-Rwanda *Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie* (RCD) in Kanyabayonga, Nord-Kivu. However, the DRC Government maintained that the incident involved its armed forces and invading Rwandan troops. The JVM investigated the matter, but was unable to confirm whether Rwandan troops had participated in the fighting. Nevertheless, MONUC suspected that Rwanda provided military aid to the RCD. On 20 December the Rwandan Government responded to growing international criticism by announcing that it would no longer intervene in the DRC. On 31 March 2005 the FDLR unexpectedly condemned the 1994 genocide, pledged to co-operate with the ICTR and announced that it was willing to end its armed struggle, begin disarmament on 5 May, and eventually return to Rwanda. These concessions resulted from secret discussions in Rome, Italy, between the rebels and the Roman Catholic Sant'Egidio community. Much of the international community welcomed this initiative. However, the FDLR subsequently continued its campaign of violence in the Kivu provinces, aimed mainly at the Congolese Tutsi population.

In January 2009 Rwanda and the DRC mounted an historic joint operation in the Kivu provinces in an attempt to eradicate the FDLR. The joint forces succeeded in capturing Katoyi, Kibua, Kirambo, Gitoyi, Rubugu and Panamo in the Rutshuru district of Nord-Kivu from the FDLR. However, soon after Rwanda withdrew its forces in February—as dictated by a bilateral agreement—the FDLR regained much of its lost territory and increased its attacks against Tutsi civilians, perpetrating crimes including mass rape and murder.

Rwanda-Uganda relations remained tense, primarily since the Ugandan authorities believed that the Rwandan Government was aiding the self-styled People's Redemption Army (PRA), a rebel group that reportedly was linked to an opposition leader until recently in exile, Col Kizza Besigye. The Rwandan Government rejected such accusations. In November 2004 Uganda expelled a Rwandan diplomat, James Wizeye, for espionage and for co-operating with the PRA, which supposedly aimed to overthrow President Museveni's Government. Rwanda retaliated by expelling a Ugandan diplomat. Shortly afterwards Ugandan security forces arrested three UPDF soldiers for selling information to Wizeye. Rwandan officials denied these charges and accused

Ugandan government elements of seeking to damage relations between the two countries. In April 2005 Rwanda announced that it had detained a UPDF officer, Capt. David Mugambe, on espionage charges. Mugambe claimed to be fleeing political persecution in Uganda, but the Ugandan Government maintained that he was sought by the authorities for providing weapons to criminals.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Despite Rwanda's alleged poor record in the areas of governance and human rights, the Government retained the support of much of the international community. However, Rwanda's relations with France and Belgium remained uneven, largely owing to the legacies of the 1994 genocide. In March 2004 the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* reported that a French magistrate's study had determined that Kagame had ordered the shooting down of President Habyarimana's plane, which had precipitated the 1994 genocide. In response, Kagame asserted that France 'supplied weapons, and, working alongside Hutu Government extremists, gave orders, to the perpetrators of the genocide'. The Rwandan Government established a commission, headed by former Prosecutor-General Jean de Dieu Mucyo, in October 2006 to investigate France's role in the Rwandan genocide. The Mucyo commission published its three-volume report in August 2008, detailing the involvement of high-level French government and military officials in arming and training genocidal militias in 1994. The French Government maintained that French peace-keeping troops had saved 'several hundred thousand lives' during the killings. In November a French judge, Jean-Louis Bruguière, issued arrest warrants for Kagame and nine of his associates, alleging that they were involved in the assassination of Habyarimana. In response, Rwanda immediately severed relations with France, ordering the French ambassador and other diplomats in Rwanda to leave the country. To further demonstrate its split from France and its historic sphere of influence in Africa, in December Rwanda stated its desire to join the Commonwealth.

In May 2004 Belgium, which earlier had apologized for its failure to intervene to stop the genocide, pledged €75m. over a three-year period for Rwanda's health, education, and development sectors. The Rwandan Government planned to use the funds to improve the country's medical infrastructure, introduce universal primary education and facilitate small-scale, rural income generating activities to reduce poverty levels.

In March 2003 President Kagame met with President George W. Bush and other senior US officials to discuss bilateral relations, trade and development, the effect of HIV/AIDS and peace and security in the Great Lakes region. In December the US Secretary of Health and Human Services, Tommy Thompson, visited Rwanda to assess the impact of US aid on Rwanda's HIV/AIDS epidemic.

In mid-April 2004 156 Rwandan soldiers arrived in the Darfur region of western Sudan to protect the AU observer mission there (see the chapter on Sudan). These were the first foreign troops to arrive in Darfur, and the Rwandan Government was widely commended internationally for sending them. In his valedictory address to the contingent, Kagame announced that he expected the troops to defend Sudanese civilians as well as protect AU observers. In November Rwanda dispatched another military contingent to Darfur, bringing its total personnel strength in the AU mission to around 400 troops. In February 2005 Kagame visited the Rwandan troops in Darfur and met with the Sudanese President, Lt-Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, for discussions. The Rwandan President maintained that he was acting in co-operation with Sudan to resolve the Darfur crisis, while al-Bashir declared that the two countries were linked by a 'common concern' for peace. When he returned to Rwanda, Kagame urged the AU to increase the number of troops in Darfur, claiming that, after the experiences of Rwanda in 1994, the international community could not allow another genocide to occur in Darfur. By mid-2008 seven Rwandan peace-keepers had been killed during fighting in Darfur.

Economy

DUNCAN WOODSIDE

Based on an earlier article by FRANÇOIS MISSER with subsequent revision by PHILIP VERWIMP

INTRODUCTION

Rwanda has two main physical obstacles to economic development: the extreme population density and the distance from the sea. The population problem with its concomitant effect on food resources, is aggravated by soil erosion caused by leaching and other natural factors. In 2007, according to estimates by the IMF, Rwanda's gross domestic product (GDP) was US \$3,321m.

Rwanda's economy took a long time to recover from the 1994 genocide, which, among other shocks, saw around one-quarter of the country's population flee to neighbouring countries and almost wiped out the cattle stock. It took until 2001 for GDP to recover to pre-genocide levels, according to the Government. Overall GDP increased, in real terms, at an average annual rate of 6.8% in 1996–2006. Real economic growth in 2006 and 2007 was lower, at 5.5% and 6.0%, respectively, according to the IMF, although this was partially owing to the average growth numbers for the 10 years to 2006 being buoyed by relatively low base figures. In 2007 output of coffee, which has traditionally been the country's leading export, was very disappointing, at only 15,000 metric tons, according to local sources, partly due to a heavy preponderance of mature trees the previous year. Moreover, despite higher coffee prices on international markets, earnings from coffee exports were US \$35.7m. in 2007, compared with \$54.0m. in 2006. Earnings from the tea crop in 2007 were also disappointing. This meant that output in the agricultural sector as a whole contracted in 2007. However, strong growth in the financial, tourism and information technology sectors all provided support to real economic output in 2007. Construction also provided a boost, with the capital city, Kigali, continuing to experience a boom. In May 2008 the IMF pronounced that economic performance in 2007 was 'satisfactory', after completion of its fourth review under a \$12.7m. programme, boding well for the continued provision of loans and related aid.

As with nearly all countries world-wide—and particularly those where food makes up a very high proportion of the consumer basket—Rwanda experienced a rise in inflation during 2008, due to soaring soft commodity prices. The annual inflation rate reached 11% in March 2008, but then declined to below 9% in May. With inflation under 10% in such a challenging environment, it remained clear that the central bank, the Banque Nationale du Rwanda, and the Government were continuing to maintain strong macroeconomic discipline. The Rwanda franc was trading at around 538 per US dollar in July 2008, slightly stronger than at the beginning of the year (the currency had already been very stable in dollar terms over a period of five years). The strength of economic management has been a key factor behind ongoing donor support, with aid continuing to account for close to 50% of the country's budget.

In June 2008 the Minister of Finance and Planning, James Musoni, provided an upbeat assessment of Rwanda's economic prospects. He announced that economic growth was on course to register 7% in 2008, despite problems caused by political unrest in Kenya earlier in the year. In the first quarter of 2008 normal business activity in Rwanda had been significantly disrupted, owing to election-related violence in Kenya, which blocked the land-locked country's fuel supply and export of goods and produce. However, more positively favourable weather in late 2007 produced a good harvest in Rwanda during early 2008, and the authorities were confident of a significant improvement in the coffee crop. For 2009 Musoni forecast that real economic growth would register between 7% and 8%. Behind this optimistic forecast lay confidence that the service sector, particularly banking and information and communications technology (ICT), would remain strong.

In the event, economic performance in 2008 surpassed the Government's expectations. Real GDP growth of 8.5% was registered, according to an IMF estimate published in Febru-

ary 2009. Later figures from the Banque Nationale du Rwanda put the real economic growth rate in 2008 at 11.2%, with the agriculture sector performing particularly well. The IMF had earlier cited the manufacturing, construction and services sectors as also contributing strongly to economic growth during the year. The 2008 economic performance was all the more impressive when viewed alongside the financial crisis in developed markets during the second half of the year and the subsequent global economic downturn. The IMF forecast in its April 2009 *World Economic Outlook* that Rwanda's economy would remain relatively robust in 2009, despite the international recession, predicting that the country would register real GDP growth of 5.6%. At that stage, the Fund also forecast that Rwanda's real GDP growth in 2010 would be 5.8%. This was largely in line with the expectations of Rwanda's Ministry of Finance and Planning, which forecast that the economy would expand by 5.7% in fiscal year 2009/10 (July/June).

In 2008 Rwanda had expected to complete the partial privatization of the Banque de Kigali and the national airline Rwandair Express. A 70% stake in the former was made available, while a 40% stake in the latter was offered. British bank Barclays was expected to make an offer for Banque de Kigali, while Italy's Meridiana and Belgium's Brussels Airlines submitted offers for Rwandair Express. However, the privatization agenda stalled, owing to the financial crisis in developed markets in the second half of 2008 and ensuing world-wide downturn. In October Rwanda's Government announced that it had rejected the offer from Barclays for 70% of Banque de Kigali because it was too low.

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural Production

The IMF stated in February 2008 that commitment to agricultural reform was crucial to the outlook for Rwanda's economy, with Deputy Managing Director Murilo Portugal underlining that modernizing the industry to ensure food security and develop farming infrastructure represented particularly important challenges. This followed the release of a report by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) in July 2007, which maintained that the country needed to deal urgently with the problems generated by deficient agriculture investment and high population growth. Rwanda's population stood at 10.0m. by 2009, with a population growth rate of close to 3% per year and it is the most densely populated country in Africa. In this context, the IMF reported in July 2008 that the Rwandan Government was formulating a broad-based agricultural reform plan, elements of which would include soil conservation. The World Bank was expected to undertake an evaluation of the plan's financial viability.

Some 89.7% of the labour force were employed in the agricultural sector in 2006. The sector contributed 57.2% of total export revenue (including re-exports) in 2003. About 95% of the total value of agricultural production is provided by subsistence crops. While these have failed to meet the needs of the population, the annual increase in production of subsistence crops broadly kept pace with population growth until 1977. Since then the area of land annually made available for subsistence crops has increased only marginally and, moreover, crop yields are declining in many areas, owing to erosion and the traditional intensive cultivation methods used. (The problem of erosion was exacerbated during 1990–94 by the felling by displaced Rwandans of trees for timber and charcoal.) This resulted in the late 1980s in increasing strains on food production, and consequently in severe food shortages. Attempts to increase the yield of small farm plots have included a recent initiative to cultivate climbing beans. In late 1989 and early 1990 many parts of the country, in particular the south, were affected by famine, following drought and crop failure.

The Government initially did not recognize the food problem and attempted to prevent it gaining attention in the media. Subsequently, the Government had recourse to emergency food aid to avert widespread starvation.

The principal food crops are bananas, sweet potatoes, potatoes, cassava, beans, sorghum, rice, maize and peas. At the end of June 2003 humanitarian agencies warned that a severe production shortfall in the Bugesera area might result in a rapid deterioration in food security if aid to residents was not increased. Some 70,000 civilians were already experiencing conditions of moderate food insecurity, according to the UN World Food Programme (WFP). By early 2004 it was apparent that the agricultural sector would not again be able to sustain the entire population, then estimated at 8.9m. (about 1m. more than in March 1994). In January some 124,000 people were entirely dependent on food aid in the Bugesera, Kibungo and Umutara provinces, which were threatened by desertification. At the same time abundant early rainfall in January disorganized agricultural activities. Moreover, the banana plantations were suffering contamination from the Banana bunchy top and *budusiga* viruses. The Rwandan Government was concerned that the per head food availability, which had suffered a constant decline since 1980, could decrease to even lower levels, as the population was scheduled to double by 2015, unless significant productivity gains are made. However, experts from the finance and agriculture ministries believed that the challenge could be met, provided that sufficient investments were made in disseminating the use of fertilizers, limited to 5% of the farmers in 2004, and in increasing loans to the farmers: loans to agriculture indeed represented only 1% of commercial loans. It was believed that Rwanda's agricultural potential was underestimated, since the country possessed more arable land than the Nile Delta, and the success of the Kabuye Sugar Works, which by the end of 2003 had doubled its 2000 output of 3,500 metric tons, was viewed as an example of the capacity of the Rwandan agricultural sector to improve its performance.

In 2004 poor rains caused food production to fall by 1%. Nevertheless, performances varied according to products. Outputs of sorghum, beans, soya and cassava declined by 5%, 17%, 8% and 9%, respectively. However, production of maize increased by 12% and rice output by 66%, while production of bananas registered 2.6% growth. By August of that year the outlook was critical in 31 districts of the country, where an estimated population of 250,000–400,000 was expected to rely entirely on the distribution of 25,000 metric tons of food aid between September and December. The most vulnerable districts were in the south (Bugesera, Gikongoro and Butare), owing not only to drought but also to poorer soils. As a result, by November bean prices were 87% higher than in the previous year, while those of sorghum and maize were 73% and 55% higher, respectively. However, prospects began to improve in December, owing to heavy rains, and the number of people requiring food aid decreased to 110,000. In January 2005 preliminary results recorded by then Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (now the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources) and WFP indicated a 10% increase in potato production, but an 8% decrease in cassava output, mainly owing to the impact of cassava mosaic virus, in comparison with 2004.

In general terms, production of cereals is strong. Output of both maize and sorghum has been increasing over the first years of the 2000s. However, maize output is hindered by the lack of fertilizer use and soil erosion. Production of maize is estimated at 90,000 metric tons per year, compared with 160,000 tons for sorghum. Rice output remains modest (about 20,000 tons per year) but is increasing rapidly. In early 2005 the Government launched a 10-year rice development programme. Rice was selected as a 'priority crop' by the Government, since it performs well in flood-prone valleys and eases pressure on hillside land for other crops, and also because domestic demand is high. At this time it was grown on approximately 7,455 ha in Butare, Kibungo and Umutara provinces. However, it is planned to increase the cultivated area to 66,000 ha by 2016, by improved management of new areas in the marshlands, with the aim of meeting domestic requirements by 2009 and generating about US \$170m. in

export earnings. A sign of improving food security was that market prices of the main staple foods fell in April 2005 in Kigali, Butare and Ruhengeri, while beans were again being exported to Uganda. Confronted with adverse climatic conditions in 2004, the Government has been concentrating on improving service delivery (agricultural extension, seed availability, land conservation education). In 2004 it pursued its tree-planting and environmental awareness campaign, partly through the introduction of a monthly *Umuganda* community service to plant trees and improve the environment.

Rwanda was reviewing the first year of Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) in early 2008. The CAADP, managed under the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), had been adopted by the country in early 2007. The Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources stated in February 2008 that the CAADP would support initiatives including crop intensification, water irrigation, fisheries (in Lake Kivu) and the cattle industry.

The country recorded a significant increase in food output in 2008, of 16%, according to figures from the Banque Nationale du Rwanda, owing to a combination of favourable weather and an ongoing programme to raise yields. This followed a 15% rise in food production in 2007 and a 0.7% increase in 2006. Over 10,000 metric tons of high-yielding seeds were distributed under the Government's Crop Intensification Project in 2008. Small-scale farmers have been encouraged to pool land, share equipment and use fertilizers in order to increase yields. This ongoing commercialization of agriculture was reported by the Rwanda Agricultural Development Authority to have resulted in particular success in the maize sector, with average yields reaching seven tons per acre in 2008.

One sector that the Government has sought to promote from a low base is the flower industry. Land devoted to producing flowers for export expanded from 2 ha in 2005 to 42 ha in 2008. The authorities planned a further increase to 200 ha by 2010, with the industry expected to earn some US \$21m. by that stage, mainly from European markets, where Rwanda's *Draena Ornamental* has been particularly popular. In 2008 there were 3,600 flower farmers in Rwanda.

Land Reform

The Government argues that land reform, aimed at freezing the dismantlement of agricultural plots and the transformation of marshes and swamps into suitable land for agriculture, will contribute to an increase in food production. Land reforms under consideration in 2004 envisaged encouraging the development of more viable plots: the current average size of less than 0.7 ha was considered too small. Agricultural research performed at Michigan State University of the USA, however, has demonstrated that small farms in Rwanda are more productive (in yield per unit of land) than large farms. In addition, the land reform programme is not only a matter of economics, but has an important political component. Poor Hutu farmers fear that they will lose or have to sell their land to rich urban Tutsi in the process of land consolidation. In general terms, Rwanda was beset by structural problems, such as low agricultural productivity, owing to the failure to make a proper transition to intensive high-value farming. The state policy of displacing a large number of rural poor to government-designated sites, which had been initiated in 1997 and pursued until early 2000, was criticized by foreign human rights organizations in June 2001. The basic aim of the reform was to substitute the dispersed habitat and create larger landholdings in order to boost productivity. However, human rights activists, while agreeing that making agriculture more productive was imperative, considered that such reforms should not be made at the expense of the poor. The US-based organization Human Rights Watch accused military officers and businessmen with government connections of having appropriated large holdings of land from the poor.

Coffee

Revenue from coffee fluctuates considerably from year to year. After a disappointing crop in 2007, which totalled just 15,000 metric tons, the Office des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda—Café (OCIR—Café) announced in May 2008 that it expected output to rise by 93% year-on-year in 2008, to 29,000 tons, owing to favourable weather in the last quarter of 2007 and the

first quarter of 2008. Coffee export earnings of US \$50m. were anticipated in 2008, compared with \$30.2m. in 2007. The rise in production did not quite meet expectations, however. Rwanda produced 22,000 tons of coffee in 2008, according to the OCIR—Café, some 7,000 tons short of the earlier target, but still 7,000 tons higher than in 2007. Meanwhile, earnings from the crop rose to \$46.9m.

Part of the reason for the poor crop in 2007 had been over-picking and a high preponderance of mature trees in 2006, with many of these mature trees giving way to new trees, which initially bring a lower yield. A further 40m. new seedlings were due to be planted in 2008. Other long-term factors supported the outlook for the coffee industry, enabling the country to move up the value-added chain. Investment was being made in washing stations, as fully washed coffee commands higher prices than unwashed coffee on international markets. As a result, the authorities planned to wash 10,000 metric tons of coffee in 2008, compared with 3,000 tons in 2007.

In December 2007 the US company Starbucks announced that it was opening a Starbucks Farmer Support Center for East Africa in Rwanda. The centre was to be staffed by a full-time agronomist, who would work with farmers to increase yields and quality. In a further recognition of Rwanda's ability to produce quality coffee, Starbucks announced that it would start selling Rwanda Blue Bourbon Coffee in European markets for the first time in March 2008. Moreover, the coffee would be marketed under its coveted Black Apron Exclusives range. This particular coffee is grown at between 1,700 m and 2,000 m above sea level in Cyangugu province, in south-west Rwanda.

Six years earlier, in 2002, marketing efforts had begun to produce results. Small quantities from the Maraba co-operative of producers were sold in Louisiana, USA, and purchased by the British Union Coffee Roasters company. In 2003 some US \$400,000 was invested in 10 new washing stations; the Government planned to equip the country with a further 90 stations by 2010, with the target of attaining national output of 35,000 metric tons by 2010. Both the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the OCIR—Café were involved in the programme, while the European Union (EU) announced that it would finance the modernization of the coffee sector through its stabilization of export earnings (Stabex) scheme.

The long-term objective of the Government was that the coffee and tea sectors should each generate export revenue of US \$100m. by 2010 and, thereby, together with projected revenues of \$100m. from the services sector (in particular tourism), contribute to improving the trade balance. However, these targets had begun to seem a little too ambitious by 2009.

Tea

As with the coffee industry, the tea industry in Rwanda is notoriously volatile, owing to fluctuations in production and international prices. The two-and-a-half-year period from the beginning of 2006 to the middle of 2008 neatly encapsulated how volatile resultant tea earnings can be. In 2007 tea output rose by 25%, to 20,000 metric tons, from 16,000 tons in 2006, but a regional supply glut meant that earnings were less, at US \$31.6m., compared with \$31.9m. in 2006, according to estimates made by the IMF in July 2008. However, earnings in the first six months of 2008 were \$26m., almost comparable with total earnings in 2007. These earnings resulted from output of 11,000 tons, up from 9,400 tons in the first six months of 2007, despite poor rains in the north of the country and hailstorms in the west. While improved output played a part, a recovery of prices was a bigger factor in the high revenues recorded in the first half of 2008. Indeed, average prices at the weekly auction in Kenya's Mombasa port reached \$2.2 per kg in the first half of 2008, compared with \$1.7 per kg in 2007. Poor rainfall affected Kenya (which accounts for 75% of regional tea output) more than Rwanda, squeezing regional supply and sending prices higher.

In July 2008 the Office des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda—Thé (OCIR—Thé) estimated that the tea crop for the whole of 2008 would be 23,000 metric tons, while total revenues for the year were expected to amount to US \$42m. This projection was easily surpassed. The 2008 tea crop was

supported by both favourable weather and very buoyant international tea prices. Export earnings from the crop in 2008 registered \$47.6m., according to IMF estimates in February 2009, compared with \$31.6m. in 2007 and \$31.9m. in 2006. The Fund predicted that the 2009 crop would yield export revenues of \$43.2m., amid a correction of international tea prices.

Livestock

By July 1994 the livestock sector was in extreme crisis and the majority of the country's livestock had disappeared (although some cattle were introduced by refugees returning from Uganda). Limited livestock-vaccination programmes were undertaken by FAO and smaller agencies in the north-east, but the main problem remains the overstocking of cattle (and the consequent environmental strain) in this region, while livestock numbers are hopelessly insufficient elsewhere in the country. Between 1998 and 2000 livestock numbers increased from 657,137 to 732,123 head of cattle, from 192,344 to 248,345 sheep, from 481,145 to 756,522 goats and from 120,928 to 177,220 pigs, according to the Ministry of Finance and Planning. In 2001 the situation deteriorated again with an epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease, which affected five of Rwanda's 11 prefectures. The then Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock claimed that traders who had illicitly imported cattle from Uganda and Tanzania into Rwanda had spread the disease. Owners of large herds in Rwanda's Mutara highlands who also possessed cattle in these neighbouring countries were suspected of having contributed to the contamination of Rwanda's cattle. As a result, in March the authorities declared a quarantine on these areas and prohibited the circulation of cattle, dairy products and meat from this origin.

In an attempt to stimulate dairy production and increase household income, the Government and UNDP began working with communities in Mutara prefecture. Since 2000 farmers have been encouraged to produce yoghurt, cheese and cooking fat. By early 2005 some livestock numbers were approaching pre-war levels. According to government statistics, the numbers of cattle and poultry had reached 88% and 70% of the levels recorded in 1994, but the proportion was 30% for goats. In order to boost milk output, Rwanda has imported several hundred cows from Germany and South Africa; these are more productive than the local Ankole breed but more vulnerable to disease. In early 2005 an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in livestock herds necessitated the quarantining of six districts in four provinces. In 2007 livestock numbers were estimated by FAO at 950,000 head of cattle, 470,000 sheep, 1.3m. goats and 270,000 pigs.

The poultry sector is expanding rapidly. Fish production is also increasing rapidly, owing to the development of fisheries projects in Lake Kivu and in other smaller lakes throughout the country. From 1,300 metric tons in 1994, the total catch increased to 13,088 tons in 2007.

Regional Effects of Conflict and Reconciliation

Following the assassination of Burundi's first democratically elected President in October 1993 and Rwanda's genocide in 1994, the threat of conflict loomed large over the wider Great Lakes region for well over a decade. Rwanda's genocide, and a consequent flood of Hutu refugees into the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in July 1994, had a devastating effect on regional stability and put regional economic development into reverse, with Rwanda's post-genocide Tutsi-dominated Government twice invading its neighbour in an attempt to confront exiled Hutu genocide perpetrators. However, with the DRC holding elections in 2006—after Rwanda officially withdrew its troops in 2002—the prospects for regional stability and development improved considerably, particularly given that the DRC possesses significant mineral resources in its eastern provinces. As the prospects for a durable regional peace became gradually stronger, official investment in the DRC by major world powers and companies grew. This normalization of business activity would not entirely exclude Rwanda, as the business relationships built up in the eastern DRC during its earlier invasions would ensure that large volumes of (legitimate) trade would continue to flow out through Rwanda in a post-war era. Additionally, the Congo river provides significant hydroelectric power generation potential, which could

hugely enhance electricity supply in the Great Lakes region (and well beyond). Peace, security and development in the DRC's eastern provinces could also generate significant additional work for Rwanda's incipient industry, which the Government has placed a significant emphasis on developing as a regional hub.

INDUSTRY

The industrial sector followed the usual pattern for less developed African states, and food-based industries predominated, with the major companies prior to 1994 being BRALIRWA, the Rwandan subsidiary of a Dutch brewery, the Régie Sucrière de Kibuy (sugar-processing) and the OVIBAR factory, producing banana wine and liquors. By July 1994 the country's political turmoil had suspended economic activity in the sector. Factories and plants (where production had been virtually halted by power shortages earlier in the year) were looted, destroyed or abandoned. By early October, however, the BRALIRWA plant had resumed production.

In 2008 BRALIRWA gave notice of its intention significantly to expand operations. It planned to increase the volume of its drinks production by 13% in 2008, with higher output by both its soft drinks and alcoholic drinks branches. This was in response to an increase in both domestic and regional demand, including in the DRC's eastern provinces and Uganda. Beer production was projected to rise to above 700,000 hectolitres, from 600,000 hectolitres, while the planned rise for soft drinks production would be from 390,000 hectolitres to 420,000 hectolitres. The increased volumes were accommodated by investment in fermentation and bottling capacity, with the latter including a new soft drinks plant in Nyamyumba, in north-western Rwanda (close to the border with the DRC). Further expansion was envisaged, including a move into the Tanzanian market. In December 2008 BRALIRWA launched the energy drink 'Burn' in Rwanda, under licence from Coca-Cola. The company generated earnings of 6,000m. Rwanda francs in 2008, and in March 2009 unveiled a rebranding to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Primus, a significant local beer brand. The newly appointed BRALIRWA Managing Director, Sven Piederiet, stated that while the company was not immune to the economic downturn affecting much of the world in 2009, it still hoped to generate a profit that year.

SERVICES

A key emerging sector in Rwanda is the banking industry, as the country's economy integrates more closely with fellow members of the East African Community (EAC). The Banque Commerciale du Rwanda, the country's second biggest lender (after Banque de Kigali), registered a pre-tax profit of 3,500m. Rwanda francs (US \$6.4m.) in 2007, a year-on-year rise of 28.5%. The bank had been insolvent before a majority shareholding was taken by London-based private equity company Actis in 2005. The takeover enabled the bank to clean up its loan book (which had been clogged by non-performing assets dating back to the genocide). The strong profit recorded in 2007 would enable the bank to continue expanding its operations, helping to boost the extension of credit to private enterprises in the Rwandan economy, which has long been held back by a deficient banking infrastructure. The bank intended to open new branches across the country and increase automatic teller machines in 2008 and beyond.

A further factor that bodes well for the development of Rwanda's banking industry—and, by extension, the country's private sector as a whole—was the approval of Kenya Commercial Bank's (KCB) application for a licence in the country. KCB had already opened branches in Tanzania, Uganda and southern Sudan. Rwanda's decision to grant market entry to the bank was interpreted as a positive development, which would help to intensify local competition and improve services for local entrepreneurs.

Rwanda's services sector was a key driver of the country's strong growth in 2008, when the economy expanded by 11.2% in real terms, according to the Banque Nationale du Rwanda. The banking sector once again performed extremely well, in contrast to the financial sectors of developed countries. A 46.6% increase in the number of bank accounts was recorded in 2008,

with over 1.1m. operating by the end of the year, compared with just over 750,000 at the end of 2007, according to François Kanimba, the Governor of the Banque Nationale du Rwanda. Meanwhile, non-performing loans in the banking system declined from 13.8% of total loans to 9.3% during the course of 2008. The operating environment for the country's biggest lender, Banque de Kigali, therefore improved during the year, despite the suspension of its planned privatization (see above). Banque de Kigali had registered a 44% increase in net profit in 2007, to 4,200m. Rwanda francs, following a 47.6% rise in deposits, to 101,800m. Rwanda francs.

In October 2008 anti-money-laundering legislation was ratified by Rwanda's legislature. The legislation provided for the establishment of a financial intelligence unit to track, receive, process and evaluate banking data in the pursuit of terrorists and illicit funds associated with other criminal activities.

Yet, despite this progress, the IMF continued to urge further reform of the banking sector. A Financial Sector Development Plan had been finalized in May 2007. Its core aims were four-fold: to increase the affordability of financial services (including extending the provision of microfinance); to enhance savings mobilization; to modernize the regulatory framework; and to restructure the national payments system. The IMF adjudged in February 2009 that weaknesses in the system remained, emphasizing a need fully to implement the Financial Sector Development Plan. In particular, the Fund stated that adequate credit was still not being provided to the agriculture sector.

MINING

Cassiterite (a tin-bearing ore) is Rwanda's principal mineral resource (exports of cassiterite were valued at US \$37.6m. in the first 10 months of 2008), followed by wolframite (a tungsten-bearing ore), columbo-tantalite (coltan) and gold. Cassiterite exports therefore accounted for 46% of total mineral exports, which reached \$81.9m. in the first 10 months of 2008.

On 12 April 2001 a UN panel of experts on the illegal exploitation of the DRC's natural resources recommended that the UN Security Council impose an embargo against all Rwandan mineral exports. The report alleged that much of Rwanda's exported coltan, cassiterite, gold and diamonds included Congolese products, which were exploited and exported in illicit circumstances (at that time Rwanda's army was present in the DRC). The panel adopted this conclusion by comparing Rwandan official statistics for 1995 and 2000, which demonstrated a dramatic rise in gold exports, from 1 kg to 10 kg, in cassiterite exports, from 247 metric tons to 437 tons, and in coltan exports, from 54 tons to 87 tons. The UN report also found it suspicious that Rwanda exported up to 30,491 carats of diamonds in 2000. Furthermore, the report claimed to have obtained information that the Rwandan army had organized the shipment of coltan and cassiterite from the Sominki mine in the DRC's Sud-Kivu region to Kigali in November 1998. It was also alleged that many companies involved in the exploitation of the DRC's minerals in the territories under the control of the Rwandan army were owned by close associates of Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame. The Rwandan armed forces were reported to have participated directly in the illicit trade in minerals. By the time the report was published, the Armée patriotique rwandaise (APR) had shares in some of these companies and also benefited from receipts from the Rwandan-supported Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) rebels. Other revenue was reportedly generated by taxes collected by the APR's 'Congo desk', which had a department of mineral resources, and from payments by individuals in companies in exchange for the protection of their trade and mining activities in the DRC. The conclusions of this report were rejected both by the Rwandan Government and by the Congolese rebels, which emphasized that neither the exploitation nor the export of these minerals was illegal, on the grounds that the Economic Community of the Great Lake Countries (CEPGL), of which the DRC, Rwanda and Burundi are members, allowed the transit of goods between its member states. It was claimed that the exports were not illicit, since export taxes were paid, accord-

ingly, to the Congolese administration of these territories, namely the RCD, which had obtained recognition by the international community as one of the signatories of the 1999 Lusaka peace agreement. The figures released by the UN panel of experts diverged from those of the Banque Nationale du Rwanda, which reported 365 tons of cassiterite exports in 2000 (compared with 308 tons in 1999), 603 tons of coltan exports (330 tons in 1999) and 144 tons of wolfram exports (84 tons in 1999). According to the central bank, these export figures matched domestic production statistics, which would indicate that the entire output was exported in that year.

Natural Gas

Another important mineral to be exploited is natural gas, which was discovered beneath Lake Kivu on the border with the DRC. Reserves of an estimated 60,000m. cu m (about one-half of which are in the DRC) are believed to be among the largest in the world. In May 2000 Rwanda's water, electricity and gas parastatal, Electrogaz, initiated talks with the South African company Mossgas to discuss the possibility of exploiting the Lake Kivu methane and gas resources. Two pilot installations, funded by the EU, produce gas, but here again the small size of the potential market casts doubt on the likely profitability of large-scale processing. However, Electrogaz hopes to receive Belgian funding for a programme to increase its daily output of gas from 5,000 cu m to 25,000 cu m. In October 1997 the Governments of Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC agreed to finance a joint feasibility study to exploit the gas reserves of Lake Kivu. In September 1999 the Banque Rwandaise de Développement announced plans to submit a project for the establishment of a further pilot installation to process the Lake Kivu gas resources to the European Investment Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation, the International Finance Corporation and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA). In July 2002 the Israel Electric Corporation negotiated a 'build-own-operate' contract with the Rwandan authorities for the construction of a 25-MW methane power station. The overall electricity generation potential from natural gas resources was estimated at 200 MW by a private consultant and at 700 MW by the Rwandan Government. Speculation regarding the potential of Lake Kivu's resources to augment Rwanda's electricity supply culminated in 2006 when the British firm Dane Associates entered into a £48m. partnership with the Rwandan Government. A 30-MW power plant was expected to result, which would tap the lake's renewable methane deposit. Plans to supply natural gas to the cement and other industries were also under consideration. In February 1999 the South African oil company Engen purchased the local subsidiaries of British Petroleum and Fina (Belgium), taking control of 25% of the distribution market for petroleum products in Rwanda. In August of that year Shell Oil acquired for US \$2.1m. the Petrorwanda distribution company.

In 2004 the World Bank was also planning to finance consultant support for the Unité de Promotion et d'Exploitation du Gaz du Lac Kivu (UPEGAZ) parastatal, considering that the medium-term development of the power sector was 'inextricably linked' to the exploitation of Lake Kivu's methane reserves. According to Bank sources, a Strategic Social and Environmental Assessment of Power Development Options for Rwanda, Burundi and western Tanzania concluded that power generation from Kivu gas was competitive with comparable hydroelectricity options. Meanwhile, the World Bank was also considering financing the construction of a transmission link to connect potential new generation at Lake Kivu. Recent developments in the sector have included demonstrations of this methane extraction technology to the Government and potential investors by engineers from a South African firm, Murray and Roberts, at a pilot plant near Gisenyi. Cogelgaz, a joint venture between BRALIRWA and the Banque de Commerce, de Développement et d'Industrie, had commissioned the South African company to undertake the technical improvement of its existing gas plant. Rwandan projects planned by Murray and Roberts included the supply of methane gas to urban areas.

In June 2008 the Minister of State in charge of Energy, Albert Butare, stated that the Government was poised to

launch a 5-MW pilot project from the methane gas reserves. He added that the Government was in talks with a US investor for a 100-MW project, and claimed that the potential power generation from Lake Kivu stood at 350 MW.

ENERGY

Rwanda has long suffered power shortages. In 2007 the country generated 165.4 GWh of electricity, but total demand stood at 248.7 GWh, according to government statistics. Only 5% of the country's population was connected to electricity in 2007, compared with a government target of 34% of the population by 2020. Fossil fuels accounted for just over one-half (54%) of electricity generation, while the remaining 46% was accounted for by hydroelectric power.

Rwanda planned to build a hydropower plant on the River Nyabarongo from 2008, and requested a modification of its Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) with the IMF to accommodate construction of the project. The total cost of the project was to be US \$112.7m., or approximately 3% of GDP, and it was to be built over a period of four years. The IMF expressed misgivings after the authorities failed to secure borrowing on concessional terms (i.e. below non market rates) for one-half of the project, but the Rwandan Government expressed its determination to press ahead with construction, which it regarded as crucial to the country's future development. To help finance construction, the Government secured \$80m. in funding, including a grant from Exim Bank of India.

Almost half of Rwanda's electricity is supplied from hydroelectric sources, as the land relief is ideal for power generation. According to studies undertaken by the CEPGL's *Énergie des Pays des Grands Lacs*, the Ruzizi river alone offers potential generating capacity totalling 500 MW, of which only a fraction is currently being used.

In accordance with its objective to transform the country into a centre of services and a low cost centre of production for the region, which requires regular power supply as a pre-condition, the Rwandan Government declared 2004 to be 'the year of energy'. The first priority established by Lahmeyer International, which took over the management of Electrogaz by the end of 2003, was to reduce technical losses in the transport and distribution of power. A second objective was to improve Electrogaz's performance, and thus create a favourable context for privatization. By early 2004 the African Development Bank (AfDB), the World Bank and the OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID) were considering investing US \$50m. in order to support the Government's energy and water programmes. Electrogaz was also seeking complementary funds in order to improve the distribution networks in Kigali and other urban areas. The state-owned company was also planning to provide Kigali with a strategic reserve of 5 MW of thermal origin. By early 2004 2-MW generators were already being rehabilitated, and Electrogaz was considering the acquisition of generators in order to enable the Gatsatsa diesel station near Kigali to produce the remaining 3 MW. Power cuts resulting from increased demand were becoming more frequent by the end of 2003. After the completion of its rehabilitation, Electrogaz was considering several options to expand its capacity. The most advanced is the project to convert into electricity the methane of Lake Kivu. Electrogaz was trying to interest local companies, which were seeking larger and more secure power supplies, in joint ventures for the construction of small pilot plants with a maximum capacity of 2 MW. Meanwhile, the Government was continuing talks with an Israeli-Norwegian independent power producer, Dane Associates, to develop a 200-MW gas-powered plant. In a first phase, an extraction unit with a 20-MW–30-MW capacity, split into four units, in order to be compatible with existent installations, was to be established. Electrogaz also planned to restore the capacity of existing hydropower infrastructures, such as the Ruzizi 1 plant (10 MW), in the neighbouring DRC. In late 2003 the Rwandan company dispatched a team of experts, which estimated the cost of such rehabilitation work at \$1.5m. In January 2004, at a ministerial meeting held in Kigali within the framework of the Nile Basin Initiative, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda expressed interest in the development

of the Rusumo Falls hydropower project on the Kagera river, the capacity of which was estimated at 65 MW–70 MW.

Insufficient rainfall in 2004 aggravated Rwanda's chronic electricity shortfall: Electrogaz's supplies declined by 20%. As an emergency response, in June the Government provided finance for the purchase of 12.5 MW of new diesel generation capacity from Global Power System (Belgium/Germany), for the Jabana substation in Kigali (7.8 MW) and for the 4.7-MW extension of the Gatsata power station, at a total cost of €4.3m. In addition, the Government planned to add a 10-MW–15-MW thermal capacity by 2006–07 in order to meet demand. In March 2005 Dane Associates signed an agreement with the Government of Rwanda for a 49-year concession to extract methane gas from the central Kibuye section of Lake Kivu, to be used to generate electricity to be sold to Electrogaz. The two companies established a joint venture called Kibuye Power 1 to manage the operation, which was to require an estimated total investment of US \$60m.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Internal communications in Rwanda are operated almost exclusively along the relatively well-developed road system (14,008 km in 2004), as there are no railways nor navigable waterways (except Lake Kivu). Asphalted highways link Rwanda with Burundi, Uganda, the DRC and Tanzania. They also connect the principal towns. Tarmac roads extend to just over 1,000 km, which, given the small size of the country, is one of the highest densities in Africa. In early 1999 works financed by the International Development Association (IDA) for the asphaltting of the 91-km Gitarama–Kibuye road were completed. Moreover, the World Bank agreed to disburse an additional US \$10m. by the end of 1998 for the construction of roads to connect the nearby villages to the Gitarama–Kibuye road in order to facilitate the transporting of crops.

Rwanda's external trade is heavily dependent on the ports of Mombasa (Kenya), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Matadi (DRC), and about 80% of Rwandan exports and imports pass through Uganda and Kenya. Insecurity caused by the war in the north of Rwanda led to the closure of the northern transport 'corridor' through Uganda. With the Gatuna and Kagitumba roads unavailable, most traffic had to be diverted via the difficult and unreliable route through Tanzania. In 1992 several projects had been approved by the EU and the World Bank to improve road links between eastern Zaire and western Uganda, with the aim of facilitating the passage of Rwandan trade across the border with Zaire, and thereby bypassing the troubled border with Uganda. In October 2000 the EU agreed to allocate €9.2m. towards the completion of the rehabilitation of the 111-km road between Gitarama and the Burundi border. The OFID signed a further US \$10m. loan agreement with Rwanda to co-finance upgrading of the Gitarama road in early 2005. Further measures to improve the road network were undertaken in 2005. In July public works companies were invited to bid for the construction of the Kicukiro–Nyamata–Nemba road, to be financed by AfDB, and for the rehabilitation of tarmac roads in Kigali, financed by BADEA. In mid-2007 the World Bank reportedly agreed to disburse a grant of some \$11m. to facilitate the construction of roads in the northern provinces and to reconstruct the 83-km road connecting Kigali with Gisenyi in the DRC. The rehabilitation of these sections of road comprised part of the Government's Transport Sector Development Project, which had received an additional grant from the African Growth Catalyst fund valued at some \$38m. earlier in the year.

Feasibility studies have been conducted for a railway network to link Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. The Rwandan business community showed renewed interest in the sector in early 2000, dispatching a delegation to the railway terminal of Isaka (Tanzania) to discuss with the local authorities and the Tanzania Railway Corporation plans to make greater use of this central corridor, combining a road link from Kigali to Isaka (500 km) and the railway line from Isaka to the port of Dar es Salaam (1,300 km). In April 2000 Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania expressed their renewed intention to seek funds to build the railway link between Isaka and Kigali with a possible extension to Burundi. Nearly eight years later,

in January 2008, Tanzania announced that it expected work to begin on the link from Isaka to Kigali before the end of the year. Burlington Northern Santa Fe, a US company, had been chosen to act as advisers to the Rwandan Government over construction. The office of Tanzania's President Jakaya Kikwete stated that the work was envisaged to be completed by 2013.

Two foreign airlines, Belgium's Brussels Airlines and Italy's Meridiana, were selected to bid for a 40% stake in Rwanda's national carrier, Rwandair Express, in June 2007. In that year Rwandair, the country's only airline, offered services to Kenya, Uganda and Burundi on a daily basis, while also flying to Tanzania and South Africa three times a week. However, the winning bidder had still not been selected by mid-2009.

In 1998 the Government announced it would adopt a regulatory framework to supervise the participation of private companies in the telecommunications sector and to finalize the privatization of Rwandatel. In late 1999 the Government announced that the privatization of the national telecommunications company would take place during 2000. Meanwhile, the private mobile cellular telephone corporation MTN Rwandacell announced the extension of its Global System for Mobile Communications (GSM) network, which would henceforth cover three-quarters of Rwanda's territory. Rwandatel's growth is probably the country's greatest commercial success since independence. When it was created in 1993 only 3,000 lines were operating. One year later that figure had increased to 12,000, but the disruption during the 1994 genocide resulted in the near collapse of the system. By 2001 the network had expanded to 20,000 lines. By mid-2002 the country had three internet service providers (Rwandatel, the National University of Rwanda and the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology). Rwandatel's plan was to introduce high-speed and high-capacity asymmetric digital subscriber line (ADSL) connections during 2002, in order to improve services to the private sector and national institutions. Development plans included the construction of new centres, with a capacity of 20,000 lines, to provide telephone services to the inhabitants of the outskirts of Kigali, and to replace old cables outside the capital with fibre-optic ones. The long-planned privatization of the company remained the objective, but the Government took the decision to continue the expansion of the company and, after its capital reached significant proportions, to sell 51% of shares to a private operator. Plans also included the sale of Rwandatel's 26% share in Rwandacell and the creation of the government-owned company's own mobile telephone subsidiary. At the beginning of 2002 the company expanded its activities in the neighbouring DRC, signing a partnership agreement with the management of the parastatal Office Congolais des Postes et des Télécommunications in the part of the country held by the Rwandan-backed RCD, in order to improve telecommunications in both Goma and Bukavu.

The development of telecommunications was part of the national information technology policy. The Government established an Information Technology Commission, headed by the President, in 2001, and created an agency to oversee a five-year plan, with a projected cost of US \$500m., to develop the sector, with the assistance of the UN Economic Commission for Africa. The mobile cellular telephone sector expanded even more rapidly. By early 2003 it was estimated that the number of mobile cellular telephones in use in the country was at least double that of fixed telephone lines. In early 2004, however, demand for telecommunication services still exceeded the capacity of the operators, as a result of lack of financing and competition in services provision. It was anticipated that the privatization of Rwandatel would improve its operational and financial performance, as well as its investment capacity. The Government was also considering the sale of its shares in Rwandacell, the market-leader (well ahead of Afritel and Artel, which operated mainly in rural areas). In early 2004 more than 300 secondary schools were provided with internet connectivity. In February 2005 President Kagame stated, at the African Information Communications Technologies conference in Accra, Ghana, that all of the country's secondary schools were to be connected to the internet by 2017. Kagame also announced that broadband infrastructure was in place in Rwanda, that there was fibre-optic

infrastructure in Kigali and most other towns and that the authorities planned to extend this to other areas of the country. Rwanda, like other East and Central African countries, relies on satellite as a sole medium for international connectivity. However, the Government has, through Rwandatel, subscribed to the future East African Submarine Cable System. The number of internet centres was increasing rapidly in the country. In early 2005, for example, farmers at Maraba were using such facilities to communicate with other coffee producers from the rest of the world.

The Government announced in July 2008 that it would invest 1,500m. Rwanda francs in telecommunications infrastructure in rural areas in 2008. The funding came from a 2% tax on the total turnover of Rwandatel and MTN Rwandacell. A state-sponsored company, New Artel, was to use the money to invest in areas that the two main telecommunications operators did not reach. New Artel has a strong focus on increasing internet connectivity.

The authorities were also targeting a highly ambitious 50% penetration rate for telephone services to its population by 2010. In 2008 only 9% of the population had access to telephony. In June 2008 the authorities invited bids for a third combined 15-year fixed and mobile licence. The Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Agency (RURA) stated that it expected strong demand for the licence, given the country's young (and growing) population. RURA pledged that the new licensee would be able to exploit existing infrastructure to roll out its services.

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

In early 2002 the Government announced its objective to increase GDP per head to US \$960 by 2020, as part of the objectives of the 'Vision 2020' development strategy. Emphasis was to be placed on the development of services, which accounted for 34.4% of the country's GDP in 2001. The ambition was to transform Rwanda from an essentially agrarian economy to a knowledge-based society within 20 years, through the development of information technology. To this effect, the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology was inaugurated in July 2002. Meanwhile, efforts were being devoted to integrating the Rwandan banking system further into the global economy, as was demonstrated by the establishment, in April of the same year, by six Rwandan banks of a joint company to promote the use of credit cards and other electronic payment systems. The Government also aimed to encourage development in the tourism sector, which was undergoing a recovery, although its contribution to tertiary sector GDP had not reached pre-war levels by the end of 2001. However, by the end of 2003 the contribution of services to GDP had risen to 36.3%. The 'Vision 2020' strategy also aimed to increase the literacy rate from 48% in 2000 to 100%. The long-term objective was to transform Rwanda into a regional centre for services, not least within the framework of a revived CEPGL. The expansion of the coffee and tea industries, of tourism and of new communication technologies were set as priorities of the 2004 budget. Indeed, Rwanda is endowed with considerable tourism attractions, including its volcanoes and wildlife resources such as mountain gorillas and the zebras of the Kagera National Park. South Africa's Sun Group, which acquired the Meridien Hotel in Gisenyi, together with Kenyan investors and also Rwandan private interests, has contributed significantly to the development of Rwanda's hotel capacity. The first phase of the Kigali Amusement Park (KAP) was due to open in mid-2007, but it was later announced that the project would be delayed by up to five years. The KAP project was conceived by local entrepreneurs and was to be partially funded by the Commercial Bank of Rwanda. A casino, botanical garden, and 15 'eco-tourist' bungalows would feature in the completed park, in addition to a series of rides to be designed by the Chinese firm SBL Co. Adding to investment momentum in Rwanda's tourism industry, the Government announced in December 2007 that holding company Dubai World was poised to invest a total of \$230m. in four separate projects in Rwanda over three years. The company planned to build a five-star golf resort (together with 300 luxury apartments) in the capital Kigali, together with three four-star hotels in three other key

locations, including Nyungwe Forest (in the south-west of the country), Volcanoes National Park (in the north-west) and Akagera Park (in the east).

Of the 375,800m. Rwanda francs budget for 2005 (of which as much as 57.7% was to be foreign-financed) 27.9% was allocated to development expenditure. Health, education, defence and infrastructure accounted for most of the 9% increase in total budget spending. Some 4,000m. Rwanda francs was designated for the road fund, but total requirements for rehabilitation of the network were estimated at 12,000m. Rwanda francs. Other priorities of the budget were the need to enhance agricultural productivity and improve distribution of seeds and fertilizers, to promote better access to loans for the agricultural sector and to finance land reforms, as well as investments in information technologies. The 2006 budget increased to an estimated 399,300m. Rwanda francs, 49.8% of which was domestically financed. There has been a general trend in increasing government expenditure, which represented 28.2% of GDP in 2005. While the budget outlay increased in 2006, an improved economic performance saw expenditure decrease as a percentage of GDP (26.2%). The 2007 budget forecast expenditure of 506,700m. Rwanda francs, which included significant allocations to the agricultural and tourism sectors. Key service sectors were also scheduled to receive substantial budgetary funding, including the Kigali Water Project (3,300m. Rwanda francs) and the Common Development Fund, which received a bursary of 5,000m. Rwanda francs. The introduction of a 3% excise tax on a number of goods and services was expected to yield additional domestic revenue; however, around 53.3% of the budget was still expected to be financed externally, mostly in the form of grants.

Meanwhile, despite criticisms of Rwanda's involvement in the DRC war, donors continued to provide economic and financial support to Rwanda. In March 2000 the European Commission announced that it would allocate €110m. to Rwanda under the country's national indicative programme of the Fourth Lomé Convention. The remaining €47m. would be disbursed according to the use of the first tranche. Three-quarters of the funding under the programme was allocated to poverty alleviation projects, with the remainder being allocated to projects aimed at promoting good governance and justice. Meanwhile, the World Bank announced that it would provide assistance during 2000 through two projects, one in agriculture and one in rural water, with a total value of US \$25m. The World Bank was planning to disburse an additional amount of \$125m. for four projects in 2001: one in agriculture; one in human resources development; one in trade and private sector development; and a leveraged insurance facility for trade, a regional facility to guarantee investment against sovereign, but not exchange-rate, risk. In addition, in early 2000 the People's Republic of China announced a grant of 20m. yuan (approximately \$2.5m.) for agriculture, road construction and education projects. In 2000 USAID assistance totalled \$34.7m., supporting Economic Support Funds from the Great Lakes Justice Initiative, Development Assistance and emergency International Development Assistance from the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. In 2002 USAID planned to support the three priority areas: development relief and conflict prevention; global health; and economic growth. USAID also announced its intention to increase its efforts to counter HIV/AIDS by expanding awareness activities, working with other donors to prevent mother-to-child transmission and providing counselling and other support to infected persons. In that year USAID was in the early stages of implementing a three-year, multifaceted effort to stimulate agricultural production and promote broad-based economic growth, complemented by a substantial development-orientated Food for Peace programme. Components of the programme included human resources development at the principal agricultural research, training and educational institutions, policy advice to the then Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Resources and Forestry, and the expansion of agribusiness and export opportunities. In 2000 Rwanda was the main recipient of Belgian development aid on the African continent, with a loan totalling 412.5m. Belgian francs.

In January 2001 Rwanda, declared eligible to benefit from the IMF- and World Bank-sponsored initiative for heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) in December 2000, obtained debt relief of US \$810m., which was to contribute substantially to the alleviation of the country's debt burden. Total outstanding external debt was estimated at \$1,324m. by the end of 2000, equivalent to 73% of GDP. More than 87% of Rwanda external debt was owed to multilateral partners, principally the World Bank Group, with \$998.4m., followed by the AfDB (\$208.4m.). The main bilateral creditors were France (\$35.2m.), the People's Republic of China (\$32.2m.), Saudi Arabia (\$29.8m.), Kuwait (\$29.4m.) and Japan (\$13.6m.). The Government estimated that annual cash flow savings from this relief would be about \$20m.–\$30m. per year, equivalent to 1.5% of GDP, in 2001–10. In April 2001 Rwanda also completed an interim Poverty Strategy Reduction Paper, which was to serve as the basis for both concessional lending and debt relief under the enhanced HIPC initiative. The debt relief was expected to benefit the health, education, agriculture and infrastructure sectors.

The World Bank intensified its financial support to Rwanda in 2001, with the adoption of a US \$48m. programme to revitalize the rural economy, increase rural income and reduce poverty. The project, which was financed by a credit from IDA, was to focus on the rehabilitation of farmed marshland and hillside areas, the promotion of commercial and export-oriented agriculture, support for agricultural services delivery systems, small-scale rural infrastructure development and the encouragement of off-farm productive activities. However, by 2005 only a small amount of money had actually been spent on this project, owing to apparent inertia at the then Ministry of Agriculture and a perceived lack of oversight at the World Bank. The appointment of a new Minister of Agriculture and new World Bank staff in 2005 and 2006 was expected to bring about improvements. This project was part of a \$165m. rural development programme, launched in December 2001, which was to be 95% financed by the World Bank. This larger programme, which was to be implemented over a 14-year period, involved the construction of infrastructure and research centres, with the aim of finding new commercial outlets for Rwanda's agricultural products.

In March 2002 the AfDB, which approved a US \$30m. loan in 2001, opened a permanent office in Kigali in order to intensify its co-operation with Rwanda. In January 2001 President Kagame emphasized the Rwandan Government's achievements since 1994: state revenue, negligible in 1994, had reached 70,000m. Rwanda francs by 2000, while the number of Rwandan university students had increased from 3,000 to 7,000 during the same period, and 355 hospitals and health centres had been rehabilitated. However, Kagame deplored Rwanda's high levels of infant mortality, low life-expectancy, which was still below 50 years, and the Rwandan population's low purchasing power. By mid-2006 health indicators remained a cause for concern. Women and children were suffering disproportionately as a result of high fertility rates, a low proportion of births attended by qualified personnel, poor nutrition and high mortality rates. HIV/AIDS remained a serious problem, with prevalence rates estimated by UNAIDS at 3.1% of persons aged 15–49 years in 2005. In that year, however, important progress was made in re-establishing health systems. The expansion in health care expenditure initiated in 2003 was consolidated, with recurrent health expenditure reaching almost 1%. Progress made in the education sector in previous years was consolidated during 2004, with important policy reforms implemented. The introduction of fee-free education led to a further improvement in primary enrolment.

In February 2008 the IMF authorized disbursement of US \$1.8m. from the country's \$12.7m. PRGF, taking total loans under the three-year programme to \$7.2m. In May 2008 the release of full details of the fourth review of the PRGF pointed to continued uninterrupted multilateral support. This review stated that a planned large-scale energy project should have a 'manageable' impact on debt sustainability, while helping to alleviate 'binding infrastructure bottlenecks'. This followed a positive evaluation of the project's viability by the World Bank.

President Kagame and US President George Bush signed a bilateral investment treaty in February 2008. The treaty's details included the free transfer of investment-related funds, non-discriminatory treatment for companies working in one another's countries and provisions for compensation in the event of expropriation. Trade flows between the two countries increased during 2007, with Rwanda's exports to the USA increasing by 43%, to US \$13m., and Rwanda's imports from the USA increasing by 37%, to \$16m.

The Netherlands and Sweden suspended bilateral financial aid to Rwanda's Government in December 2008, after a UN panel of experts made allegations of links between Rwanda and Tutsi-led rebels in the neighbouring DRC. The Netherlands had planned to transfer €3m. to the Rwandan Government by the end of 2008, followed by €4m. in 2009, while the Swedish bilateral assistance suspended amounted to a total of €11m. Rwandan Minister of Finance and Planning Musoni claimed that the amounts involved would not affect Rwanda's budgetary planning, as the Government was able to draw on reserves that it had earlier been planning to save.

In an article for the British newspaper *Financial Times* in May 2009, President Kagame argued that aid often left recipient populations 'unstable, distracted and more dependent'. He added that a 'discussion' needed to take place on 'when to end aid and how best to end it'. However, at that stage, Rwanda remained a long way from terminating its dependence on foreign aid. The 2008 budget was 49%-funded by foreign donors, according to the country's 2008–10 budget framework paper. The World Bank and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development were the biggest aid donors for the 2008 budget.

A mini-budget for the first six months of 2009 was approved by Rwanda's cabinet in October 2008. From 1 July 2009 the country would marry its financial year (hitherto in line with the calendar year) with the July/June fiscal period followed by other EAC members. The EAC is an intergovernmental body comprising Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, and is designed to promote regional integration and trade. Rwanda's 2009 mini-budget amounted to US \$687.2m. and prioritized four key development areas: governance and sovereignty; human development and social sectors; infrastructure; and capacity building.

FOREIGN TRADE

Like many emerging markets, Rwanda has maintained a trade deficit, as it imports significant volumes of capital goods to help develop its economy. In 2007 the deficit amounted to US \$404m., up from \$299m. in 2006 and \$228m. in 2005, according to the IMF. Exports amounted to \$177m. in 2007, compared with an import bill of \$581m. In 2008 the trade deficit rose considerably further, to register \$615m., according to an IMF projection in February 2009, with exports estimated at \$222m. and imports at \$837m.

However, the IMF was not overly concerned by this upward trajectory. Rwanda's trade deficit was manageable because of significant donor support and foreign direct investment (FDI), which totalled US \$82m. in 2007, compared with a programmed level of \$40m. and \$31m. in 2006. High levels of foreign donor support (and increasing FDI in the first half of 2008) ensured that the capital account remained in surplus, thereby funding the country's trade deficits.

In May 2009 Rwanda's Ministry of Finance and Planning stated that the overall balance of payments would move into deficit for the 2009/10 fiscal year (July/June), owing to the impact of the global recession. This was attributed to declines in tourism revenues, in remittances by expatriates and in FDI, rather than any fall in exports. Indeed, exports were forecast to remain reasonably buoyant in the 2009 calendar year, with the IMF predicting a modest rise in earnings, to US \$235.4m. (largely as a result of an anticipated strong performance by the coffee sector). None the less, import costs were expected to continue rising rapidly in that year, reaching \$885.7m., according to the IMF, resulting in a projected further rise in the trade deficit for 2009, to \$650.3m.

Against this backdrop of a rising trade deficit and shrinking capital inflows, Rwanda's Ministry of Finance and Planning

predicted an overall balance of payments deficit of US \$47.4m. for fiscal year 2009/10, equivalent to less than 1% of GDP. Rwanda was therefore much less exposed to the international recession in 2009 than countries heavily dependent on petroleum resources and mining, including the neighbouring DRC, Nigeria and Cameroon. Moreover, with \$657m. of foreign exchange reserves at the end of 2008, the Banque Nationale du Rwanda held enough foreign currency to cover nine months of imports.

Tin ores and concentrates accounted for 21.5% of total exports in 2007, with US \$39.5m., ahead of coffee (\$32.4m., 17.7%) and tea (\$30.3m., 16.5%). The main destinations of exports in that year were the United Kingdom and Kenya, each of which took 18.7% of Rwanda's exports; other significant purchasers were Belgium, Hong Kong, Switzerland-Liechtenstein and the USA, according to UN statistics. The main origins of imports in that year were Kenya, which supplied 17.8% of merchandise imports in that year, followed by Uganda, the United Arab Emirates, Tanzania, Belgium, the People's Republic of China and France.

In March 2004 negotiations commenced between the EU and the Eastern and Southern Africa group of countries (including Rwanda) for a World Trade Organization-compatible free trade Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). In November 2007 EAC member states initialled an interim EPA with the EU on market access. Negotiations on a full EPA continued in

2008 and early 2009. With the extension, until 2007, of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, enacted by the USA to extend duty-free and quota-free access to the US market for nearly all textile and handicraft goods produced in eligible beneficiary countries, the Rwandan Government was keen to benefit further from this system. In the mid-2000s Rwandan small-scale cloth and textile handicraft businesses were beginning to export products to the USA.

In July 2007 Rwanda (with Burundi) formally joined the EAC. A customs union was established by the EAC in 2005, although Rwanda, which had long maintained high import tariffs on certain goods, in order to generate revenues and suppress the trade deficit, did not become a member until July 2007, at the beginning of a new financial year. A cabinet paper in late 2008 estimated the loss of revenues from joining the customs union to be an annual US \$10.9m. Minister of Finance and Planning Musoni attributed these losses to the application of the customs union's common external tariff, which would replace the national tariff structure. The national tariff had applied as follows: 0% import tax on raw materials, 5% on goods of 'economic importance', 10% on intermediate goods and 30% on fully finished products. By contrast, the EAC's common external tariff was to apply the following structure: 0% import tax on raw materials, 15% on intermediate goods and 25% on fully finished products.

Statistical Survey

Source (unless otherwise stated): Office rwandais d'information, BP 83, Kigali; tel. 75724.

Area and Population

AREA, POPULATION AND DENSITY

Area (sq km)	26,338*
Population (census results)	
15 August 1991	7,142,755
16 August 2002†	
Males	3,879,448
Females	4,249,105
Total	8,128,553
Population (UN estimate at mid-year)‡	
2007	9,455,000
2008	9,721,000
2009	9,998,000
Density (per sq km) at mid-2009	379.6

* 10,169 sq miles.

† Provisional results.

‡ Source: UN, *World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision*.

PREFECTURES

(1991 census)

	Area (sq km)	Population*	Density (per sq km)
Butare	1,830	765,910	418.5
Byumba	4,987	779,365	159.2
Cyangugu	2,226	517,550	232.5
Gikongoro	2,192	462,635	211.1
Gisenyi	2,395	728,365	304.1
Gitarama	2,241	849,285	379.0
Kibungo	4,134	647,175	156.5
Kibuye	1,320	472,525	358.0
Kigali	3,251	921,050	355.2
Kigali-Ville		233,640	
Ruhengeri	1,762	765,255	434.3
Total	26,338	7,142,755	271.2

* Source: UN, *Demographic Yearbook*.

PRINCIPAL TOWNS

(population at 1978 census)

Kigali (capital)	117,749	Ruhengeri	16,025
Butare	21,691	Gisenyi	12,436

Mid-2007 (incl. suburbs, UN estimate): Kigali 860,000 (Source: UN, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2007 Revision*).

BIRTHS AND DEATHS

(annual averages, UN estimates)

	1990–95	1995–2000	2000–05
Birth rate (per 1,000)	40.7	40.3	41.0
Death rate (per 1,000)	41.6	22.2	16.8

Source: UN, *World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision*.

Life expectancy (years at birth, WHO estimates): 51.7 (males 50.7; females 52.6) in 2006 (Source: WHO, *World Health Statistics*).

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

(persons aged 14 years and over, at census of August 2002)

	Males	Females	Total
Agriculture	1,218,181	1,731,411	2,949,592
Fishing	3,374	94	3,468
Industrial activities	3,692	1,636	5,328
Production activities	32,994	10,649	43,643
Electricity and water	2,390	277	2,667
Construction	41,641	1,244	42,885
Trade reconstruction	56,869	32,830	89,699
Restaurants and hotels	4,525	2,311	6,836
Transport and communications	29,574	1,988	31,562
Financial intermediaries	1,560	840	2,400
Administration and defence	22,479	5,585	28,064
Education	22,688	17,046	39,734
Health and social services	7,521	7,054	14,575
Activities not adequately defined	69,042	39,458	108,500
Total employed	1,516,530	1,852,423	3,368,953

Source: IMF, *Rwanda: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix* (December 2004).**Mid-2006** (estimates in '000): Agriculture, etc. 4,556; Total labour force 5,079 (Source: FAO).

Health and Welfare

KEY INDICATORS

Total fertility rate (children per woman, 2006)	6.0
Under-5 mortality rate (per 1,000 live births, 2006)	160
HIV/AIDS (% of persons aged 15–49, 2007)	2.8
Physicians (per 1,000 head, 2004)	0.05
Hospital beds (per 1,000 head, 2007)	1.6
Health expenditure (2006): US \$ per head (PPP)	210
Health expenditure (2006): % of GDP	10.4
Health expenditure (2006): public (% of total)	63.7
Access to water (% of persons, 2006)	65
Access to sanitation (% of persons, 2006)	23
Total carbon dioxide emissions ('000 metric tons, 2005)	604.6
Carbon dioxide emissions per head (metric tons, 2005)	0.1
Human Development Index (2006): ranking	165
Human Development Index (2006): value	0.435

For sources and definitions, see explanatory note on p. vi.

Agriculture

PRINCIPAL CROPS

('000 metric tons)

	2005	2006	2007*
Maize	97.3	91.8	90.0
Sorghum	227.9	187.4	187.0
Potatoes	1,314.1	128.5	120.0
Sweet potatoes	885.6	777.0	940.0
Cassava (Manioc)	781.6	588.2	830.0
Taro (Cocoyam)	136.9	125.4	130.0
Sugar cane*	70.0	68.0	70.0
Beans, dry	199.6	283.4	230.0
Peas, dry	18.9	14.2	17.0
Groundnuts, with shell	10.1	9.0	10.0
Pumpkins, squash and gourds*	210.0	210.0	210.0
Plantains	2,593.1	2,653.3	2,580.0
Coffee, green	18.6	21.0	18.9
Tea	16.5	16.0	19.0

* FAO estimates.

Aggregate production ('000 metric tons, may include official, semi-official or estimated data): Total cereals 413 in 2005, 366 in 2006, 341 in 2007; Total roots and tubers 3,122 in 2005, 2,780 in 2006, 3,104 in 2007; Total pulses 219 in 2005, 298 in 2006, 247 in 2007; Total vegetables (incl. melons) 268 in 2005, 267 in 2006, 267 in 2007; Total fruits (excl. melons) 2,671 in 2005, 2,653 in 2006, 2,580 in 2007.

Source: FAO.

LIVESTOCK

('000 head, year ending September)

	2005	2006*	2007*
Cattle	1,004.1	926.0	950.0
Pigs	346.9	256.0	270.0
Sheep	464.3	470.0	470.0
Goats	1,339.7	1,300.0	1,300.0
Chickens*	2,000	1,800	1,800

* FAO estimates.

Source: FAO.

LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

('000 metric tons, FAO estimates)

	2005	2006	2007
Cattle meat	23.1	22.0	22.0
Goat meat	4.7	3.7	3.9
Pig meat	6.4	4.7	5.0
Chicken meat	2.3	2.0	2.0
Game meat	12.0	11.0	11.0
Cows' milk	120.0	120.0	120.0
Sheep's milk	1.9	2.0	2.0
Goats' milk	25.2	22.0	22.0
Hen eggs	2.3	2.3	2.3

Source: FAO.

Forestry

ROUNDWOOD REMOVALS

('000 cubic metres, excluding bark, FAO estimates)

	2005	2006	2007
Sawlogs, veneer logs and logs for sleepers	245	245	245
Other industrial wood	250	250	250
Fuel wood	5,000	9,416	9,503
Total	5,495	9,911	9,998

Source: FAO.

SAWNWOOD PRODUCTION

('000 cubic metres, including railway sleepers)

	1997	1998	1999
Coniferous (softwood)	20	21	22
Non-coniferous (hardwood)	54	55	57
Total	74	76	79

2000–07: Figures assumed to be unchanged from 1999 (FAO estimates).

Source: FAO.

Fishing

(metric tons, live weight)

	2005*	2006*	2007
Capture	7,800	8,400	9,050
Nile tilapia	3,100	3,500	3,950
Aquaculture	386	400	4,038
Nile tilapia	340	340	3,950
Total catch	8,186	8,200	13,088

* FAO estimates.

Source: FAO.

Mining

(metric tons, unless otherwise indicated)

	2004	2005	2006*
Tin concentrates†*	550	700	700
Tungsten concentrates†	113	401	400
Columbo-tantalite‡	220	276	280
Natural gas (million cubic metres)§	140	170	170

* Estimates.

† Figures refer to the metal content of ores and concentrates.

‡ Figures refer to the estimated production of mineral concentrates. The metal content (estimates, metric tons) was: Niobium (Columbium) 69 in 2004, 86 in 2005, 88 in 2006; Tantalum 49 in 2004, 61 in 2005, 62 in 2006.

§ Figures refer to gross output.

Source: US Geological Survey.

Industry

SELECTED PRODUCTS

	2001	2002	2003
Beer ('000 hectolitres)	479	539	412
Soft drinks ('000 hectolitres)	228	n.a.	n.a.
Cigarettes (million)	278	391	402
Soap (metric tons)	7,056	5,571	4,456
Cement (metric tons)	83,024	100,568	105,105

Source: IMF, *Rwanda: Statistical Annex* (August 2002) and IMF, *Rwanda: Selected Issues and Statistical Appendix* (December 2004).**Cement** ('000 metric tons): 104.3 in 2004; 101.1 in 2005; 100.0 in 2006 (estimate) (Source: US Geological Survey).**Electric energy** (million kWh): 122 in 2003; 130 in 2004; 135 in 2005 (Source: UN, *Industrial Commodity Statistics Yearbook*).

Finance

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE RATES

Monetary Units

100 centimes = 1 franc rwandais (Rwanda franc).

Sterling, Dollar and Euro Equivalents (30 January 2009/31 October 2008)

£1 sterling = 809.54593.114 Rwanda francs;
 US \$1 = 566.03652.191 Rwanda francs;
 €1 = 725.43104.430 Rwanda francs;
 10,000 Rwanda francs = £12.351.20 = \$17.678.11 = €13.784.20.

Average Exchange Rate (Rwanda francs per US \$)

2005 557.823
 2006 551.710
 2007 546.955
 2008 546.848

Note: Since September 1983 the currency has been linked to the IMF special drawing right (SDR). Until November 1990 the mid-point exchange rate was SDR 1 = 102.71 Rwanda francs. In November 1990 a new rate of SDR 1 = 171.18 Rwanda francs was established. This remained in effect until June 1992, when the rate was adjusted to SDR 1 = 201.39 Rwanda francs. The latter parity was maintained until February 1994, since when the rate has been frequently adjusted. In March 1995 the Government introduced a market-determined exchange rate system.

BUDGET (‘000 million Rwanda francs)

Revenue*	1999	2000	2001†
Tax revenue	60.4	65.3	79.5
Taxes on income and profits	15.2	17.9	23.9
Company profits tax	7.4	10.0	14.4
Individual income tax	6.1	7.5	9.0
Domestic taxes on goods and services	33.6	35.2	41.0
Excise taxes	17.9	18.8	14.2
Turnover tax	12.9	13.8	24.2
Road fund	2.7	2.5	2.6
Taxes on international trade	11.0	11.6	14.0
Import taxes	8.4	9.3	11.1
Non-tax revenue	3.2	3.3	6.7
Total	63.6	68.7	86.2

Expenditure‡	1999	2000	2001†
Current expenditure	86.0	89.2	107.4
General public services	31.5	35.7	53.7
Defence	27.0	25.8	28.6
Social services	21.9	30.5	36.2
Education	17.2	24.0	29.8
Health	3.3	3.8	5.1
Economic services	2.6	2.1	4.9
Energy and public works	0.7	0.4	2.3
Interest on public debt	4.0	1.8	2.8
Adjustment	-1.1	-6.7	-18.8
Capital expenditure	40.8	42.0	50.0
Sub-total	126.8	131.2	157.5
Adjustment for payment arrears§.	2.0	-1.2	31.7
Total	128.8	130.0	189.2

* Excluding grants received ('000 million Rwanda francs): 38.5 in 1999; 63.7 in 2000; 63.3† in 2001.

† Estimates.

‡ Excluding lending minus repayments ('000 million Rwanda francs): -0.4 in 1999; 0.5 in 2000; 0.6 in 2001†.

§ Minus sign indicates increase in arrears.

Source: IMF, *Rwanda: Statistical Annex* (August 2002).

2002 (estimates, '000 million Rwanda francs): *Revenue*: Tax revenue 94.6; Non-tax revenue 6.6; Total 101.2, excl. grants received 70.8. *Expenditure*: Current 123.7; Capital 56.4; Total 180.1, excl. net lending 11.5 (Source: IMF, *Rwanda: First Review Under the Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and Request for Waiver of Nonobservance of Performance Criteria—Staff Report; Staff Statement; Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Rwanda—June 2003*).

2005 ('000 million Rwanda francs): *Revenue*: Tax revenue 162.6; Non-tax revenue 17.7; Total 180.3, excl. grants received 169.1. *Expenditure*: Current 214.9; Capital 121.4; Total 336.3, excl. net lending 4.4 (Source: IMF, *Rwanda: Third Review Under the Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and Request for Waiver of Nonobservance of Performance Criterion—Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Rwanda—March 2008*).

2006 ('000 million Rwanda francs): *Revenue*: Tax revenue 193.6; Non-tax revenue 14.6; Total 208.2, excl. grants received 167.8. *Expenditure*: Current 254.1; Capital 118.7; Total 372.9, excl. net lending 9.6 (Source: IMF, *Rwanda: Third Review Under the Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility and Request for Waiver of Nonobservance of Performance Criterion—Staff Report; Staff Supplement; Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Rwanda—March 2008*).

2007 ('000 million Rwanda francs): *Revenue*: Tax revenue 237.8; Non-tax revenue 15.1; Total 252.9, excl. grants received 183.8. *Expenditure*: Current 312.6; Capital 159.9; Total 472.5, excl. net lending -8.1 (Source: IMF, *Rwanda: 2008 Article IV Consultation, Fifth Review Under the Three-Year Arrangement Under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility, and Request for Waiver of Nonobservance of Performance Criterion - Staff Report; Staff Supplement and Statement; Public Information Notice and Press Release on the Executive Board Discussion; and Statement by the Executive Director for Rwanda—February 2009*).

INTERNATIONAL BANK RESERVES
(US \$ million at 31 December)

	2006	2007	2008
IMF special drawing rights	22.85	24.06	31.42
Foreign exchange	416.82	528.73	564.86
Total	439.67	552.79	596.28

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.**MONEY SUPPLY**
(million Rwanda francs at 31 December)

	2003	2004	2005
Currency outside banks	29,246	36,512	46,277
Demand deposits at deposit money banks	52,220	62,604	82,524
Total money (incl. others)	82,305	99,941	129,326

2006: Currency outside banks 52,620.

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.**COST OF LIVING**
(Consumer Price Index for Kigali; base: 2005 = 100)

	2006	2007	2008
All items	108.9	118.8	137.1

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.**NATIONAL ACCOUNTS**
(million Rwanda francs at current prices)**Expenditure on the Gross Domestic Product**

	2005	2006	2007
Government final consumption expenditure	238,600	284,340	340,980
Private final consumption expenditure	1,110,990	1,336,710	1,570,370
Changes in inventories	209,100	233,510	265,610
Gross fixed capital formation			
Total domestic expenditure	1,558,690	1,854,560	2,176,960
Exports of goods and services	136,330	150,030	162,670
Less Imports of goods and services	362,020	440,590	473,630
GDP in purchasers' values	1,333,000	1,564,000	1,866,000

Gross Domestic Product by Economic Activity

	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	516,000	604,000	664,000
Mining and quarrying	10,000	11,000	21,000
Manufacturing	82,000	90,000	102,000
Electricity, gas and water	7,000	11,000	13,000
Construction	89,000	105,000	129,000
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	143,000	169,000	199,000
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	238,000	282,000	404,000
Transport and communications	71,000	87,000	112,000
Public administration and defence	79,000	93,000	105,000
Other services	11,000	15,000	18,000
Sub-total	1,246,000	1,467,000	1,767,000
Less Imputed bank service charges	25,000	32,000	43,000
Indirect taxes, less subsidies	112,000	129,000	142,000
GDP in purchasers' values	1,333,000	1,564,000	1,866,000

Note: Figures are rounded to nearest '000 million Rwanda francs.

Source: African Development Bank.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS
(US \$ million)

	2005	2006	2007
Exports of goods f.o.b.	128	145	184
Imports of goods f.o.b.	-355	-488	-637
Trade balance	-227	-343	-452
Exports of services	129	131	179
Imports of services	-304	-243	-272
Balance on goods and services	-402	-455	-545
Other income received	27	27	48
Other income paid	-44	-48	-63
Balance on goods, services and income	-418	-476	-560
Current transfers received	352	319	435
Current transfers paid	-18	-23	-22
Current balance	-84	-180	-147
Capital account (net)	93	1,323	161
Direct investment abroad	—	14	13
Direct investment from abroad	8	11	67
Other investment assets	-14	-30	-13
Other investment liabilities	-52	-1,199	-32
Net errors and omissions	26	87	4
Overall balance	-23	26	53

Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*.

External Trade

PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES
(US \$ million)

Imports c.i.f.	2005	2006	2007
Food and live animals	34.6	51.9	67.0
Cereals and cereal preparations	19.7	29.4	33.6
Rice	3.6	6.2	7.5
Vegetables and fruit	3.3	1.8	2.2
Sugar, sugar preparations and honey	6.1	12.2	17.9
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	16.7	22.3	30.6
Textile fibres and their wastes	8.3	10.0	11.5
Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials	55.7	93.0	60.3
Petroleum, petroleum products and related materials	55.4	92.5	59.8
Animal and vegetable oils, fats and waxes	13.0	17.6	21.5
Chemicals and related products	61.0	69.6	105.5
Medicinal and pharmaceutical products	32.3	34.2	57.1
Basic manufactures	73.9	110.0	133.5
Iron and steel	18.7	32.7	40.7
Machinery and transport equipment	115.5	143.3	213.8
Telecommunications, sound recording and reproducing equipment	15.7	22.1	28.4
Electric machinery, apparatus and appliances, and parts	10.0	13.3	12.5
Road vehicles	42.9	53.5	89.7
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	41.0	44.7	58.3
Total (incl. others)	415.0	557.0	696.9

Exports f.o.b.	2005	2006	2007
Food and live animals	61.3	75.2	67.9
Coffee	37.0	48.0	32.4
Tea	23.3	25.3	30.3
Crude materials, inedible, except fuels	64.6	51.8	90.5
Metalliferous ores and metal scrap	59.3	46.2	83.1
Tin ores and concentrates	43.0	22.4	39.5
Ores and concentrates of other non-ferrous base metals	12.6	11.4	22.1
Ores of molybdenum, niobium and titanium	2.2	12.1	20.8
Total (incl. others)	146.8	137.7	183.5

Source: UN, *International Trade Statistics Yearbook*.

PRINCIPAL TRADING PARTNERS (US \$ million)

Imports	2005	2006	2007
Belgium	42.5	38.2	43.9
China	12.5	20.3	43.2
Denmark	4.9	10.6	4.6
Egypt	5.1	9.2	11.9
France (incl. Monaco)	12.3	11.8	38.8
Germany	17.2	18.4	28.5
India	15.0	20.8	24.8
Italy	3.2	5.3	8.4
Japan	18.2	11.4	14.6
Kenya	74.7	145.2	123.8
Netherlands	7.6	10.4	12.5
Saudi Arabia	22.0	7.3	1.3
South Africa	17.9	15.2	25.4
Switzerland-Liechtenstein	2.3	8.8	10.2
Tanzania	21.5	32.9	47.1
Uganda	48.2	74.0	97.3
UAE	33.0	38.7	54.6
United Kingdom	9.5	9.1	12.1
USA	9.4	14.8	24.9
Total (incl. others)	415.0	557.0	696.9

Exports	2005	2006	2007
Belgium	37.4	22.3	25.6
Burundi	2.1	3.3	7.3
China	2.2	2.7	0.9
France (incl. Monaco)	0.6	0.7	1.2
Germany	2.9	1.0	1.3
Hong Kong	13.7	14.7	23.0
Italy	0.5	0.6	1.3
Kenya	32.5	29.3	34.3
Netherlands	1.0	0.5	0.8
Pakistan	1.0	0.1	0.0
South Africa	0.5	0.2	4.3
Swaziland	0.6	3.6	5.9
Switzerland-Liechtenstein	10.7	12.4	13.3
Tanzania	0.2	0.8	0.5
Uganda	1.7	1.7	3.2
United Kingdom	27.8	29.5	34.4
USA	2.5	5.1	9.5
Total (incl. others)	146.8	137.7	183.5

Source: UN, *International Trade Statistics Yearbook*.

Transport

ROAD TRAFFIC

(estimates, motor vehicles in use at 31 December)

	1995	1996
Passenger cars	12,000	13,000
Lorries and vans	16,000	17,100

Source: IRF, *World Road Statistics*.

CIVIL AVIATION (traffic on scheduled services)

	1992	1993	1994
Passengers carried ('000)	9	9	9
Passenger-km (million)	2	2	2

Source: UN, *Statistical Yearbook*.

Tourism

(by country of residence)

	2000	2001*
Africa	93,058	99,928
Burundi	20,972	9,455
Congo, Democratic Republic	10,450	28,514
Kenya	2,050	2,243
Tanzania	18,320	18,697
Uganda	38,897	38,472
Americas	2,250	2,785
Europe	6,412	8,395
Belgium	1,866	2,057
Total (incl. others)	104,216	113,185

* January–November.

Tourism receipts (US \$ million, excl. passenger transport): 23 in 2000; 25 in 2001; 31 in 2002; 30 in 2003; 44 in 2004.

Source: World Tourism Organization.

Communications Media

	2005	2006	2007
Telephones ('000 main lines in use)	23.6	16.5	23.1
Mobile cellular telephones ('000 subscribers)	219.7	314.2	635.1
Internet users ('000)	50	100	n.a.
Broadband subscribers ('000)	1.2	1.7	2.2

Radio receivers ('000 in use): 601 in 1997.

Facsimile machines (number in use): 900 in 1998.

Daily newspapers: 1 in 1998.

Sources: International Telecommunication Union; UN, *Statistical Yearbook*; UNESCO, *Statistical Yearbook*.

Education

(2004/05, unless otherwise indicated)

	Teachers	Students		
		Males	Females	Total
Primary*	31,037	1,058,597	1,091,833	2,150,430
Secondary:	7,764	68,695	62,444	131,139
general				
technical and vocational				
Tertiary	1,817	16,083	10,295	26,378

* 2006/07.

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.

Adult literacy rate (UNESCO estimates): 64.9% (males 71.4%; females 59.8%) in 2000 (Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics).

Directory

The Constitution

A new Constitution was approved at a national referendum on 26 May 2003 and entered into effect on 4 June. The main provisions are summarized below:

PREAMBLE

The state of Rwanda is an independent sovereign Republic. Fundamental principles are: the struggle against the ideology of genocide and all its manifestations; the eradication of all ethnic and regional divisions; the promotion of national unity; and the equal sharing of power. Human rights and personal liberties are protected. All forms of discrimination are prohibited and punishable by law. The state recognizes a multi-party political system. Political associations are established in accordance with legal requirements, and may operate freely, providing that they comply with democratic and constitutional principles, without harm to national unity, territorial integrity and state security. The formation of political associations on the basis of race, ethnicity, tribal or regional affiliation, sex, religion or any other grounds for discrimination is prohibited.

LEGISLATURE

Legislative power is vested in a bicameral Parliament, comprising a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The Chamber of Deputies has 80 deputies, who are elected for a five-year term. In addition to 53 directly elected deputies, 27 seats are allocated, respectively, to two youth representatives, one disabilities representative, and 24 female representatives, who are indirectly elected. The Senate comprises 26 members, of whom 12 are elected by local government councils in the 12 provinces, and two by academic institutions, while the remaining 12 are nominated (eight by the President and four by a regulatory body, the Parties' Forum). Members of the Senate serve for eight years.

PRESIDENT

The President of the Republic is the Head of State, protector of the Constitution, and guarantor of national unity. He is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. Presidential candidates are required to be of Rwandan nationality and aged a minimum of 35 years. The President is elected by universal suffrage for a seven-year term, and is restricted to two mandates. He signs into law presidential decrees in consultation with the Council of Ministers.

GOVERNMENT

The President nominates the Prime Minister, who heads the Council of Ministers. Ministers are proposed by the Prime Minister and appointed by the President.

JUDICIARY

The judiciary is independent and separate from the legislative and executive organs of government. The judicial system is composed of the Supreme Court, the High Court of the Republic, and provincial, district and municipal Tribunals. In addition, there are specialized judicial organs, comprising *gacaca* and military courts. The *gacaca* courts try cases of genocide or other crimes against humanity committed between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994. Military courts (the Military Tribunal and the High Military Court) have jurisdiction in military cases. The President and Vice-President of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General are elected by the Senate two months after its installation.

The Government

HEAD OF STATE

President: Maj.-Gen. PAUL KAGAME (took office 22 April 2000; re-elected 25 August 2003).

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

(July 2009)

Prime Minister: BERNARD MAKUZA.

Minister of Information: LOUISE MUSHIKIWOBO.

Minister of Gender and Family Promotion: Dr JEANNE D'ARC MUJAWAMARIYA.

Minister of Agriculture: AGNES KALIBATA.

Minister of Cabinet Affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister: PORTAIS MUSONI.

Minister of Defence: Gen. MARCEL GATSINZI.

Minister of the East African Community: MONIQUE MUKARULIZA.

Minister of Education: Dr CHARLES MURIGANDE.

Minister of State in charge of Primary and Secondary Education: HABAMUNGU MATHIAS.

Minister of Finance and Planning: JAMES MUSONI.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: ROSEMARY MUSEMINARI.

Minister of Health: Dr RICHARD SEZIBERA.

Minister of Internal Affairs: MUSSA FAZIL HERERIMANA.

Minister of Infrastructure: LINDA BIHIRE.

Minister of Justice and Attorney-General: THARCISSE KARUGARAMA.

Minister of State in charge of Energy: ALBERT BUTARE.

Minister of Local Government: CHRISTOPHE BAZIVAMO.

Minister of State in charge of Social Affairs and Community Development: CHRISTINE NYATANYI.

Minister of Natural Resources: STANISLAS KAMANZI.

Minister of State in charge of Forestry, Water and Mines: VINCENT KAREGA.

Minister of Public Service and Labour: MUREKEZI ANASTSE.

Minister of Sports and Culture: JOSEPH HABINEZA.

Minister of Trade and Industry: MONIQUE NSANZABAGANWA.

Minister of Youth: PROTAIS MITALI KABANDA.

Minister in the Office of the President: SOLINA NYIRAHABIMANA.

MINISTRIES

Office of the President: BP 15, Kigali; tel. 59062000; fax 572431; e-mail info@presidency.gov.rw; internet www.presidency.gov.rw.

Office of the Prime Minister: Kigali; tel. 585444; fax 583714; e-mail primature@gov.rw; internet www.primature.gov.rw.

Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources: BP 621, Kigali; tel. 585008; fax 585057; e-mail info@minagri.gov.rw; internet www.minagri.gov.rw.

Ministry of Defence: BP 23, Kigali; tel. 577942; fax 576969; e-mail info@mod.gov.rw; internet www.mod.gov.rw.

Ministry of the East African Community: Kigali; internet www.mineac.gov.rw.

Ministry of Education: BP 622, Kigali; tel. 583051; fax 582161; e-mail info@mineduc.gov.rw; internet www.mineduc.gov.rw.

Ministry of Finance and Planning: BP 158, Kigali; tel. 575756; fax 577581; e-mail mfin@rwanda1.com; internet www.minecofin.gov.rw.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: blvd de la Révolution, BP 179, Kigali; tel. 575386; fax 573797; e-mail info@minaffet.gov.rw; internet www.minaffet.gov.rw.

Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion: Kigali; tel. 577626; fax 577543; internet www.migeprofe.gov.rw.

Ministry of Health: BP 84, Kigali; tel. 577458; fax 576853; e-mail info@moh.gov.rw; internet www.moh.gov.rw.

Ministry of Information: Kigali; e-mail ikabagambe@yahoo.com.

Ministry of Infrastructure: BP 24, Kigali; tel. 585503; fax 585755; e-mail info@mininfra.gov.rw; internet www.mininfra.gov.rw.

Ministry of Internal Affairs: BP 446, Kigali; tel. 586708; e-mail sec_cent@mininter.gov.rw; internet www.mininter.gov.rw.

Ministry of Justice: BP 160, Kigali; tel. 586561; fax 586509; e-mail mjust@minijust.gov.rw; internet www.minijust.gov.rw.

Ministry of Local Government: BP 790, Kigali; tel. 585406; fax 582228; e-mail webmaster@minaloc.gov.rw; internet www.minaloc.gov.rw.

Ministry of Natural Resources: BP 3052, Kigali; tel. 582628; fax 582629; e-mail info@minirena.gov.rw; internet www.minirena.gov.rw.

Ministry of Public Service and Labour: BP 403, Kigali; tel. 585714; fax 583621; e-mail mifotra@mifotra.gov.rw; internet www.mifotra.gov.rw.

Ministry of Sports and Culture: BP 1044, Kigali; tel. 583531; fax 583518; e-mail info@minispoc.gov.rw; internet www.minispoc.gov.rw.

Ministry of Trade and Industry: BP 73, Kigali; tel. 599103; fax 599101; e-mail albert.bizimana@minicom.gov.rw; internet www.minicom.gov.rw.

Ministry of Youth: BP 3738, Kigali; tel. 522730; e-mail info@miniyouth.gov.rw; internet www.miniyouth.gov.rw.

President and Legislature

PRESIDENT

Presidential Election, 25 August 2003

Candidate	Votes	% of votes
Paul Kagame	3,544,777	95.05
Faustin Twagiramungu	134,865	3.62
Jean-Népomuscène Nayinzira	49,634	1.33
Total*	3,729,274	100.00

*Excluding 49,634 invalid votes.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Speaker: ROSE MUKANTANTABANA.

General Election, 15 September 2008, provisional results

Party	Votes	% of votes	Seats
Front patriotique rwandais*	3,655,956	78.76	42
Parti social-démocrate	609,327	13.12	7
Parti libéral	348,186	7.5	4
Independent	27,848	0.6	—
Total	4,641,317	100.00	80†

*Contested the elections in alliance with the Parti démocrate chrétien, the Parti démocratique islamique, the Union démocratique du peuple rwandais, the Parti de prospérité et de solidarité and the Parti socialiste rwandais.

† In addition to the 53 directly elected deputies, 27 seats are allocated, respectively, to two youth representatives, one disabilities representative and 24 female representatives, who are indirectly elected.

SENATE

Speaker: Dr VINCENT BIRUTA.

The Senate comprises 26 members, of whom 12 are elected by local government councils in the 12 provinces and two by academic institutions, while the remaining 12 are nominated (eight by the President and four by a regulatory body, the Parties' Forum).

Election Commission

Commission électorale nationale du Rwanda: BP 6449, Kigali; tel. 597800; fax 597851; e-mail comelena@rwanda1.com; internet www.comelena.gov.rw; f. 2000; independent; Chair. Prof. CHRYSOLOGUE KARANGWA.

Political Organizations

Under legislation adopted in June 2003, the formation of any political organization based on ethnic groups, religion or sex was prohibited.

Front patriotique rwandais (FPR): internet www.rpfinkotanyi.org; f. 1990; also known as Inkotanyi; comprises mainly Tutsi exiles, but claims multi-ethnic support; commenced armed invasion of Rwanda from Uganda in Oct. 1990; took control of Rwanda in July 1994; Chair. Maj.-Gen. PAUL KAGAME; Vice-Chair. CHRISTOPHE BAZIVAMO; Sec.-Gen. CHARLES MURIGANDE.

Parti démocrate chrétien (PDC): BP 2348, Kigali; tel. 576542; fax 572237; f. 1990; Leader ALFRED MUKEZAMFURA.

Parti démocratique islamique (PDI): Kigali; f. 1991; Leader ANDRÉ BUMAYA HABIB.

Parti démocratique rwandais (Pader): Kigali; f. 1992; Sec. JEAN NTAGUNGIRA.

Parti libéral (PL): BP 1304, Kigali; tel. 577916; fax 577838; f. 1991; restructured 2003; Chair. PROSPER HIGORO; Sec.-Gen. Dr ODETTE NYIRAMIRIMO.

Parti du progrès et de la concorde (PPC): f. 2003; incl. fmr mems of Mouvement démocratique républicain; Leader Dr CHRISTIAN MARARA.

Parti progressiste de la jeunesse rwandaise (PPJR): Kigali; f. 1991; Leader ANDRÉ HAKIZIMANA.

Parti de prospérité et de solidarité (PSP): Kigali.

Parti républicain rwandais (Parerwa): Kigali; f. 1992; Leader AUGUSTIN MUTAMBA.

Parti social-démocrate (PSD): Kigali; f. 1991 by a breakaway faction of fmr Mouvement révolutionnaire national pour le développement; Leader Dr VINCENT BIRUTA.

Parti socialiste rwandais (PSR): BP 827, Kigali; tel. 576658; fax 83975; f. 1991; workers' rights; Leader Dr MEDARD RUTIJANWA.

Rassemblement travailliste pour la démocratie (RTD): BP 1894, Kigali; tel. 575622; fax 576574; f. 1991; Leader EMMANUEL NIZEYIMANA.

Union démocratique du peuple rwandais (UDPR): Kigali; f. 1992; Leader ADRIEN RANGIRA.

Other political organizations have been formed by exiled Rwandans and operate principally from abroad; these include:

Rassemblement républicain pour la démocratie au Rwanda (RDR): Postbus 3124, 2280 GC, Rijswijk, Netherlands; tel. (31) 623075674; fax (31) 847450374; e-mail info@rdrwanda.org; internet www.rdrwanda.org; f. 1995; prin. opposition party representing Hutu refugees in exile; Pres. VICTOIRE UMUHOZA INGABIRE.

Union du peuple rwandais (UPR): Brussels, Belgium; f. 1990; Hutu-led; Pres. SILAS MAJYAMBERE; Sec.-Gen. EMMANUEL TWAGILIMANA.

Diplomatic Representation

EMBASSIES IN RWANDA

Belgium: rue Nyarugenge, BP 81, Kigali; tel. 575551; fax 573995; e-mail kigali@diplobel.fed.be; internet www.diplomatie.be/kigali; Ambassador IVO GOEMANS.

Burundi: rue de Ntaruka, BP 714, Kigali; tel. 575010; Ambassador (vacant).

Congo, Democratic Republic: 504 rue Longue, BP 169, Kigali; tel. 575289; Ambassador NORBERT NKULU KILOMBO.

Egypt: BP 1069, Kigali; tel. and fax 82686; e-mail egypt@rwanda1.com; Ambassador AHMED RAMI AWWAD EL HOSENI.

Germany: 8 rue de Bugarama, BP 355, Kigali; tel. 575141; fax 502087; internet www.kigali.diplo.de; Ambassador ELMAR TIMPE.

Holy See: 49 ave Paul VI, BP 261, Kigali (Apostolic Nunciature); tel. 575293; fax 575181; e-mail nuntrw@rwanda1.com; internet www.vatican.va; Apostolic Nuncio Most Rev. IVO SCAPOLO (Titular Archbishop of Tagaste).

Kenya: BP 1215, Kigali; tel. 583332; fax 510919; e-mail kigali@mfa.go.ke; Ambassador ALEX KETTER.

Korea, Democratic People's Republic: Kigali; Ambassador KIM PONG GI.

Libya: BP 1152, Kigali; tel. 576470; Secretary of the People's Bureau MOUSTAPHA MASAND EL-GHAILUSHI.

Russia: 19 ave de l'Armée, BP 40, Kigali; tel. 575286; fax 574818; e-mail ambruss@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; Ambassador MIRGAYAS M. SHIRINSKII.

South Africa: 1370 blvd de l'Umuganda, POB 6563, Kacyiru-Sud, Kigali; tel. 583185; fax 583191; e-mail saemkgl@rwanda1.com; internet www.saembassy-kigali.org.rw; Ambassador G. D. GWADISO.

Uganda: 31 ave de la Paix, BP 656, Kigali; tel. and fax 503537; e-mail embassy@ugandaembassy.rw; internet www.ugandaembassy.rw; Ambassador RICHARD KABONERO.

United Kingdom: Parcelle 1131, Blvd de l'Umuganda, Kacyiru, BP 576, Kigali; tel. 584098; fax 582044; e-mail embassy.kigali@fco.gov.uk; internet ukinrwanda.fco.gov.uk/en; Ambassador NICHOLAS CANNON.

USA: blvd de la Révolution, BP 28, Kigali; tel. 505601; fax 507143; e-mail irckigali@state.gov; internet kigali.usembassy.gov; Ambassador W. STUART SYMINGTON.

Judicial System

The judicial system is composed of the Supreme Court, the High Court of the Republic, and provincial, district and municipal Tribunals. In addition, there are specialized judicial organs, comprising *gacaca* and military courts. The *gacaca* courts were established to try cases of genocide or other crimes against humanity committed between 1 October 1990 and 31 December 1994. Trials for categories of lesser genocide crimes were to be conducted by councils in the communities in which they were committed, with the aim of alleviating pressure on the existing judicial system. Trials under the *gacaca* court system formally commenced on 25 November 2002. Military courts (the Military Tribunal and the High Military Court) have jurisdiction in military cases. The President and Vice-President of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General are elected by the Senate.

Supreme Court

Kigali; tel. 587407.

The Supreme Court comprises five sections: the Department of Courts and Tribunals; the Court of Appeals; the Constitutional Court; the Council of State; and the Revenue Court.

President of the Supreme Court: ALOYSIA CYANZAIRE.

Vice-President: Prof. SAM RUGEGE.

Prosecutor-General: MARTIN NGOGAEU.

Religion

AFRICAN RELIGIONS

About one-half of the population hold traditional beliefs.

CHRISTIANITY

Union des Eglises Rwandaises: BP 79, Kigali; tel. 85825; fax 83554; f. 1963; fmly Conseil Protestant du Rwanda.

The Roman Catholic Church

Rwanda comprises one archdiocese and eight dioceses. At 31 December 2007 the estimated number of adherents totalled some 4.5m., representing about 48.7% of the total population.

Bishops' Conference

Conférence Episcopale du Rwanda, BP 357, Kigali; tel. 575439; fax 578080; e-mail cerwanda@rwanda1.com.

f. 1980; Pres. Rt Rev. ALEXIS HABIYEMBERE (Bishop of Nyundo).

Archbishop of Kigali: Most Rev. THADDÉE NTIHINYURWA, Archevêché, BP 715, Kigali; tel. 575769; fax 572274; e-mail kigarchi@yahoo.fr.

The Anglican Communion

The Church of the Province of Rwanda, established in 1992, has nine dioceses.

Archbishop of the Province and Bishop of Kigali: Most Rev. EMMANUEL MUSABA KOLINI, BP 61, Kigali; tel. and fax 576340; fax 573213; e-mail ek@rwanda1.com.

Provincial Secretary: Rev. EMMANUEL GATERA, BP 61, Kigali; tel. and fax 576340; e-mail egapeer@yahoo.com.

Protestant Churches

Eglise Baptiste: Nyantanga, BP 59, Butare; Pres. Rev. DAVID BAZIGA; Gen. Sec. ELEAZAR ZIHERAMBERE.

Eglise Luthérienne du Rwanda: BP 3099, Kigali; tel. 55110035; fax 519734; e-mail luthchurchler@yahoo.com; Bishop GEORGE W. KALIISA; 40,000 mems (2009).

There are about 250,000 other Protestants, including a substantial minority of Seventh-day Adventists.

BAHÁ'Í FAITH

National Spiritual Assembly: BP 652, Kigali; tel. 572550.

ISLAM

There is a small Islamic community.

The Press

REGULATORY AUTHORITY

Haut Conseil de la Presse (HCP): Revolution Ave, POB 6929, Kigali; tel. 570333; fax 570334; e-mail hcp@terramail.rw; internet www.hcp.gov.rw; f. 2002; Pres. DOMINIQUE KAREKEZI PADIRI; Exec. Sec. PATRICE MULAMA.

PERIODICALS

Bulletin Agricole du Rwanda: OCIR—Café, BP 104, Kigali-Gikondo; f. 1968; quarterly; French; Pres. of Editorial Bd Dr AUGUSTIN NZINDUKIYIMANA; circ. 800.

L'Ere de Liberté: BP 1755, Kigali; fortnightly.

Etudes Rwandaises: Université Nationale du Rwanda, Rectorat, BP 56, Butare; tel. 30302; f. 1977; quarterly; pure and applied science, literature, human sciences; French; Pres. of Editorial Bd CHARLES NTAKIRUTINKA; circ. 1,000.

Hobe: BP 761, Kigali; f. 1955; monthly; children's interest; circ. 95,000.

Inkingi: BP 969, Kigali; tel. 577626; fax 577543; monthly.

Inkoramutima: Union des Eglises Rwandaises, BP 79, Kigali; tel. 85825; fax 83554; quarterly; religious; circ. 5,000.

Kinyamateka: 5 blvd de l'OUA, BP 761, Kigali; tel. 576164; e-mail km@rwanda1.com; internet www.kinyamateka.org.rw; f. 1933; fortnightly; economics; circ. 11,000; Dir Fr PIERRE CLAVER NKUSI.

The New Times: BP 4953, Kigali; tel. 08301166; fax 574166; e-mail editorial@newtimes.co.rw; internet www.newtimes.co.rw; f. 1995; daily; English; CEO and Editor-in-Chief JOSEPH BIDERI.

La Nouvelle Relève: Office Rwandais d'Information, BP 83, Kigali; tel. 575735; e-mail lnr2020@yahoo.fr; internet www.orinfor.gov.rw; f. 1976; weekly; politics, economics, culture; French; Dir GÉRARD RUGAMBWA; circ. 1,700.

Nouvelles du Rwanda: Université Nationale du Rwanda, BP 117, Butare; every 2 months.

Nyabarongo—Le Canard Déchaîné: BP 1585, Kigali; tel. 576674; monthly.

Le Partisan: BP 1805, Kigali; tel. 573923; fortnightly.

La Patrie—Urwatubyaye: BP 3125, Kigali; tel. 572552; monthly.

Revue Dialogue: BP 572, Kigali; tel. 574178; f. 1967; bi-monthly; Christian issues; Belgian-owned; circ. 2,500.

Revue Médicale Rwandaise: Ministry of Health, BP 84, Kigali; tel. 576681; f. 1968; quarterly; French.

Revue Pédagogique: Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Research, BP 622, Kigali; tel. 85697; quarterly; French.

Rwanda Herald: Kigali; f. Oct. 2000; owned by Rwanda Independent Media Group.

Rwanda Libération: BP 398, Kigali; tel. 577710; monthly; Dir and Editor-in-Chief ANTOINE KAPITENI.

Rwanda Renaître: BP 426, Butare; fortnightly.

Rwanda Rushya: BP 83, Kigali; tel. 572276; fortnightly.

Le Tribun du Peuple: BP 1960, Kigali; tel. 82035; bi-monthly; Owner JEAN-PIERRE MUGABE.

Ukuli Gacaca: BP 3170, Kigali; tel. 585239; monthly; Dir CHARLES GAKUMBA.

Umucunguzi: Gisenyi; f. 1998; organ of Palir; Kinyarwanda and French; Chief Editor EMILE NKUMBUYE.

Umuhinzi-Mworozi: OCIR—Thé, BP 1334, Kigali; tel. 514797; fax 514796; f. 1975; monthly; circ. 1,500.

Umusemburo—Le Levain: BP 117, Butare; monthly.

Umuseso: Kigali; independent Kinyarwanda language weekly newspaper; Editor CHARLES KABONERO.

Urunana: Grand Séminaire de Nyakibanda, BP 85, Butare; tel. 530793; e-mail wellamahoro@yahoo.fr; f. 1967; 3 a year; religious; Pres. WELLAS UWAMAHORO; Editor-in-Chief DAMIEN NIYOYIREMERA.

NEWS AGENCIES

Agence Rwandaise d'information (ARP): BP 453, Kigali; tel. 587215; fax 587216; internet www.ari-rna.co.rw; f. 1975.

Office Rwandais d'Information (Orinfor): BP 83, Kigali; tel. 575735; fax 576539; internet www.orinfor.gov.rw; f. 1973; Dir JOSEPH BIDERI.

Publishers

Editions Rwandaises: Caritas Rwanda, BP 124, Kigali; tel. 575786; fax 574254; e-mail caritas1@rwanda1.com; Man. Dir Abbé CYRIAQUE MUNYANSANGA; Editorial Dir ALBERT NAMBAJE.

Implico: BP 721, Kigali; tel. 573771.

Imprimerie de Kabgayi: BP 66, Gitarama; tel. 562252; fax 562345; e-mail imprikabgayi@yahoo.fr; f. 1932; Dir Abbé CYRILLE UWIZEYE.

Imprimerie de Kigali, SARL: 1 blvd de l'Umuganda, BP 956, Kigali; tel. 582032; fax 584047; e-mail impkig@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; f. 1980; Dir LÉONCE NSENGIMANA.

Imprimerie URWEGO: BP 762, Kigali; tel. 86027; Dir JEAN NSENGIYUNVA.

Pallotti-Press: BP 863, Kigali; tel. 574084.

GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING HOUSES

Imprimerie Nationale du Rwanda: BP 351, Kigali; tel. 576214; fax 575820; f. 1967; Dir JUVÉNAL NDISANZE.

Régie de l'Imprimerie Scolaire (IMPRISCO): BP 1347, Kigali; tel. 85818; fax 85695; e-mail imprisco@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; f. 1985; Dir JEAN DE DIEU GAKWANDI.

Broadcasting and Communications

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

MTN Rwandacell: BP 264, MTN Centre, Nyarutarama, Kigali; tel. 586863; fax 586865; internet www.mtn.co.rw; f. 1998; provides mobile cellular telephone services; CEO THEMBA KHUMALO.

Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Agency: POB 7289 Kigali, Rwanda; tel. 584562; fax 584563; e-mail arms@rwanda1.com; internet www.rura.gov.rw; f. 2001; regulatory authority; also responsible for regulation of electricity, water, sanitation, gas and transportation sectors; Dir-Gen DIOGNE MUDENGE.

Rwandatel: ECOBANK Bldg, 7th Floor, ave de La Paix, BP 1332, Kigali; tel. 50326; e-mail info@rwandatel.rw; internet www.rwandatel.rw; national telecommunications service; privatized 2007.

BROADCASTING

Radio

Radio Rwanda: BP 83, Kigali; tel. 575665; fax 576185; f. 1961; state-controlled; daily broadcasts in Kinyarwanda, Swahili, French and English; Dir of Programmes DAVID KABUYE.

Deutsche Welle Relay Station Africa: Kigali; daily broadcasts in German, English, French, Hausa, Swahili, Portuguese and Amharic.

Television

Télévision rwandaise (TVR): Kigali; fax 575024; f. 1992; transmissions reach more than 60% of national territory; broadcasts for 10 hours daily in Kinyarwanda, French and English.

Finance

(cap. = capital; res = reserves; dep. = deposits; m. = million;
brs = branches; amounts in Rwanda francs)

BANKING

Central Bank

Banque Nationale du Rwanda: ave Paul VI, BP 531, Kigali; tel. 575282; fax 572551; e-mail info@bnr.rw; internet www.bnr.rw; f. 1964; bank of issue; cap. 2,000m., res 20,657.8m., dep. 222,665.0m. (Dec. 2007); Gov. FRANÇOIS KANIMBA.

Commercial Banks

Following the privatization of two commercial banks, government control of the banking section was reduced from 45% in 2003 to 22% in 2005, although the three largest banks continued to control two-thirds of the system's assets, valued at US \$365m. (equivalent to 34% of GDP).

Access Bank (Rwanda) Ltd: 3rd Floor, UTC Bldg, 1232 ave de la Paix, BP 2059, Kigali; tel. 500091; fax 575761; e-mail bancor@rwanda1.com; internet www.bancor.co.rw; f. 1995 as Banque à la Confiance d'Or; fmrlly Bancor SA; name changed as above in 2009 when acquired by private investors; 75% owned by Access Bank (Nigeria); cap. and res 3,417.1m., total assets 34,549.3m. (Dec. 2005); Chair. NICHOLAS WATSON.

Banque de Commerce, de Développement et d'Industrie (BCDI): ave de la Paix, BP 3268, Kigali; tel. 574437; fax 573790; e-mail info@bcdi.co.rw; internet www.bcdi.co.rw; cap. and res 3,158.4m., total assets 45,950.9m. (Dec. 2003); Pres. and Dir-Gen. ALFRED KALISA.

Banque Commerciale du Rwanda, SA: BP 354, 11 blvd de la Révolution, Kigali; tel. 595200; fax 573395; e-mail bcr@rwanda1.com; internet www.bcr.co.rw; f. 1963; privatized Sept. 2004; cap. 3,478.8m., res 673,350.0m., dep. 42,040.3m. (Dec. 2005); Chair. DR NKOSANA MOYO; Man. Dir DAVID KUWANA; 6 brs.

Banque de l'Habitat du Rwanda (CHR): BP 1034, Kigali; tel. 576382; fax 572799; internet bhr@rwanda1.com; internet www.bhr.co.rw; f. 1975 as Caisse Hypothécaire du Rwanda; name changed as above in 2005; 56% state-owned; cap. 778.2m., total assets 6,966.8m. (Dec. 2003); Pres. FRANÇOIS RUTISHASHA; Dir-Gen. GERVAIS NTAGANDA.

Banque de Kigali, SA: 63 ave du Commerce, BP 175, Kigali; tel. 576931; fax 573461; e-mail bkg10@rwanda1.com; internet www.bk.co.rw; f. 1966; cap. 1,500.0m., res 4,330.1m., dep. 59,378.6m. (Dec. 2005); Chair. FRANÇOIS NKURIKYIMFURA; Gen. Man. THIBAUT DE MAISIÈRES; 7 brs.

Compagnie Générale de Banque: blvd de l'Umuganda, BP 5230, Kigali; tel. 597500; fax 503336; e-mail cogebank@cogebank.com; internet www.cogebank.com; f. 1999; cap. and res 1,210.8m., total assets 7,297.4m. (Dec. 2003); Pres. ANDRÉ KATABARWA; 13 brs.

Fina Bank SA: 20 blvd de la Révolution, BP 331, Kigali; tel. 598600; fax 573486; e-mail info@finabank.co.rw; internet www.finabank.com; f. 1983 as Banque Continentale Africaine (Rwanda); name changed 2005; cap. 1,650m., res 1,028.7m., dep. 22,730m. (Dec. 2006); privatized; Chair. ROBERT BINYOU; Man. Dir STEPHEN CALEY; 5 brs.

Development Banks

Banque Rwandaise de Développement, SA (BRD): blvd de la Révolution, BP 1341, Kigali; tel. 575079; fax 573569; e-mail brd@brd.com.rw; internet www.brd.com.rw; f. 1967; 56% state-owned; cap. and res 4,104.6m., total assets 13,920.7m. (Dec. 2003); Man. Dir JACK NKUSI KAYONGA (acting).

Union des Banques Populaires du Rwanda (Banki z'Abaturage mu Rwanda): BP 1348, Kigali; tel. 573559; fax 573579; e-mail ubpr@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; internet www.ubpr.co.rw; f. 1975; cap. and res 1,180.5m., total assets 20,433.8m. (Dec. 2002); Pres. INNOCENT KAYITARE; 145 brs.

INSURANCE

Compagnie Générale d'Assurances et de Réassurances au Rwanda (COGEAR): ave de l'Armée, BP 2753, Kigali; tel. 576041; fax 576082; Dir-Gen. ANASTASE MUNYANDAMUTSA.

Société Nationale d'Assurances du Rwanda (SONARWA): BP 1035, Kigali; tel. 572101; fax 572052; e-mail sonarwa@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; internet www.sonarwa.co.rw; f. 1975; 35% owned by Industrial and General Insurance Co Ltd (Nigeria); cap. 500m.; Pres. FRANÇOIS NGARAMBE; Dir-Gen. HOPE MURERA.

Société Rwandaise d'Assurances, SA (SORAS): BP 924, Kigali; tel. 573716; fax 573362; e-mail sorasinf@rwanda1.com; f. 1984; cap. 1,002m. (2007); Pres. CHARLES MHORANYI; Dir-Gen. MARC RUGENERA.

Trade and Industry

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Rwanda Agricultural Development Authority (RADA): BP 538, Kigali; tel. 55102618; e-mail infos@rada.gov.rw; internet www.rada.gov.rw; f. 2006; contributes towards the growth of agricultural production through the development of appropriate technologies, providing advisory, outreach and extension services to stakeholders in agriculture; Acting Dir-Gen. NORBERT SENDEGE.

Rwanda Investment and Export Promotion Agency: Kimihurura, ave du Lac Muhazi, POB 6239, Kigali; tel. 510248; fax 510249; e-mail info@rwandainvest.com; internet www.rwandainvest.com; f. 1998 as Rwanda Investment Promotion Agency; Dir-Gen. FRANCIS GATARE.

Rwanda Public Procurement Authority: ave de la Paix, POB 4276, Kigali; tel. 501403; fax 501402; e-mail rppal@rwanda1.com; internet www.rppa.gov.rw; f. 2008 to replace the Nat. Tender Bd (f. 1998); organizes and monitors general public procurement; Dir AUGUSTUS SEMINEGA.

Rwanda Revenue Authority (RRA): ave du Lac Muhazi, POB 3987, Kimihurura, Kigali; tel. 595520; fax 578488; e-mail cg@rra.gov.rw; internet www.rra.gov.rw; f. 1998 to maximize revenue collection; Commissioner-Gen. MARY BAINE.

DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

Coopérative de Promotion de l'Industrie Minière et Artisanale au Rwanda (COOPIMAR): BP 1139, Kigali; tel. 82127; fax 572128; Dir DANY NZARAMBA.

Institut de Recherches Scientifiques et Technologiques (IRST): BP 227, Butare; tel. 530395; fax 530939; e-mail irst@irst.ac.rw; internet www.irst.ac.rw; Dir-Gen. DR JEAN BAPTISTE NDUWAYEZU.

Institut des Sciences Agronomiques du Rwanda (ISAR): BP 138, Butare; tel. 530642; fax 530644; for the devt of subsistence and export agriculture; Dir MUNYANGANIZI BIKORO; 12 centres.

Office des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda—Café (OCIR—Café): BP 104, Kigali; tel. 575600; fax 573992; e-mail ocircafe@rwanda1.com; internet ocir.vrsrv.com; f. 1978; devt of coffee and other new agronomic industries; operates a coffee stabilization fund; Dir-Gen. EPHREM NIYONSABA.

Office des Cultures Industrielles du Rwanda—Thé (OCIR—Thé): BP 1344, Kigali; tel. 514797; fax 514796; e-mail ocirthe@rwanda1.com; internet www.ocir-the.co.rw; devt and marketing of tea; Dir CÉLESTIN KAYITARE.

Office National pour le Développement de la Commercialisation des Produits Vivriers et des Produits Animaux (OPROVIA): BP 953, Kigali; tel. 82946; fax 82945; privatization pending; Dir DISMAS SEZIBERA.

Régie d'Exploitation et de Développement des Mines (REDEMI): BP 2195, Kigali; tel. 573632; fax 573625; e-mail ruzredem@yahoo.fr; f. 1988 as Régie des Mines du Rwanda; privatized in 2000; state org. for mining tin, columbo-tantalite and wolfram; Man. Dir JEAN-RUZINDANA MUNANA.

Société de Pyrèthre au Rwanda (SOPYRWA): BP 79, Ruhengeri; tel. and fax 546364; e-mail info@sopyrwa.com; internet www.sopyrwa.com; f. 1978; cultivation and processing of pyrethrum; post-war activities resumed in Oct. 1994; current production estimated at 80% pre-war capacity; Dir SYLVAIN NZABAGAMBA.

INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Association des Industriels du Rwanda: BP 39, Kigali; tel. and fax 575430; Pres. YVES LAFAGE; Exec. Sec. MUGUNGA NDOBA.

Private Sector Federation (PSF): Gikonda Magerwa, POB 319, Kigali; tel. 583541; fax 583574; e-mail info@rpsf.org.rw; internet psf.org.rw; f. 1999 to replace the Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Rwanda; promotes and represents the interests of the Rwandan business community; Dir JEAN BOSCO KABAGEMBE; Sec.-Gen. EMMANUEL HATEGEKA.

UTILITIES

Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Agency: see Telecommunications.

Electrogaz: POB 537, Kigali; tel. 572392; fax 573802; e-mail fgatanazi@electrogaz.co.rw; internet www.electrogaz.co.rw; state-owned water, electricity and gas supplier; Dir JOSEPH MUJENGA.

MAJOR COMPANIES

BP-Fina Rwanda: BP 144, Kigali; tel. 572428; fax 574998; wholesale trade in petroleum products; Man. Dir GEORGES BOSSERT.

BRALIRWA: BP 131, Kigali; tel. 8301532; fax 85693; e-mail bralirwa@heineken.com; internet www.bralirwa.com; f. 1959; mfrs and bottlers of beer in Nyamyumba and soft drinks in Kigali; Man. Dir SVEN ERIK PIEDERJET.

Cimenterie du Rwanda (CIMERWA): Kigali; f. 1984; mfrs of cement; post-war activities resumed in Aug. 1994; 1995 production estimated at 60% of pre-war capacity.

Kabuye Sugar Works SARL: BP 373; Kigali; tel. 575468; fax 572865; f. 1969; privatized 1997; owned by the Madhvani Group, Uganda; Gen. Man. M. S. V. RAO.

Office de la Valorisation Industrielle de la Banane du Rwanda (OVIBAR): BP 1002, Kigali; tel. 85857; f. 1978; mfrs of banana wine and juice; post-war activities resumed in Dec. 1994; 1995 production estimated at only 1% of pre-war capacity; activities suspended; Dir ALOYS MUTAGANDA.

Rwigass Cigarettes Co: BP 1286, Kigali; tel. 575535; fax 575516; production of cigarettes; Man. Dir R. ASSINAPOL.

Savonnerie de Kicukiro (SAKIRWA): BP 441, Kigali; tel. 572678; fax 575450; e-mail hram@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; soap and washing powders; Chair. H. RAMJI.

Société Emballage—Rwanda: BP 1009, Kigali; tel. 575705; export of fruit and fruit products; production of soya- and cereal-based foods since 1997.

Société pour l'Hydraulique, l'Environnement et la Réhabilitation: rue de l'Akagera, Parcelle 3925, Nyarugenge, BP 1526, Kigali; tel. and fax 578630; fax 578851; e-mail rwanda@sher.be; internet www.sher.be; f. 1985; rural devt; Chair. and Man. Dir PAUL GATIN; Rwandan Rep. MICHEL-HENRI BOURGE.

Société Rwandaise pour la Production et la Commercialisation du Thé (SORWATHE), SARL: Kigali; tel. 75461; f. 1978; tea. **TABARWANDA:** BP 650, Kigali; tel. 85539; e-mail tbr@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; produces cigarettes; Dir PIE MUGABO.

Tôlerie Industrielle du Rwanda (TOLIRWA): BP 521, Kigali; tel. 572129; produces sheet metal; Dir-Gen. JAFFER.

TRADE UNIONS

Centrale d'Éducation et de Coopération des Travailleurs pour le Développement/Alliance Coopérative au Rwanda (CECOTRAD/ACORWA): BP 295, Kigali; f. 1984; Pres. ELIE KATABARWA.

Centrale Syndicale des Travailleurs du Rwanda: BP 1645, Kigali; tel. 85658; fax 84012; e-mail cestrav@rwandatel1.rwanda1.com; Sec.-Gen. FRANÇOIS MURANGIRA.

Transport

RAILWAYS

There are no railways in Rwanda, although plans exist for the eventual construction of a line passing through Uganda, Rwanda

and Burundi, to connect with the Kigoma–Dar es Salaam line in Tanzania. Rwanda has access by road to the Tanzanian railways system.

ROADS

In 2004 there were an estimated 14,008 km of roads, of which 2,662 km were paved. There are road links with Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Internal conflict during 1994 caused considerable damage to the road system and the destruction of several important bridges.

Office National des Transports en Commun (ONATRACOM): BP 619, Kigali; tel. 575411; fax 576126; e-mail onatraco@rwanda1.com; internet www.onatracom.rw; f. 1978; Dir-Gen. ESDRAS NKUNDUMUKIZA.

INLAND WATERWAYS

There are services on Lake Kivu between Cyangugu, Gisenyi and Kibuye, including two vessels operated by ONATRACOM.

CIVIL AVIATION

The Kanombe international airport at Kigali can process up to 500,000 passengers annually. There is a second international airport at Kameembe, near the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There are airfields at Butare, Gabiro, Ruhengeri and Gisenyi, servicing internal flights.

Rwandair Express: Centenary House, 2nd Floor, ave de la Paix, BP 7275, Kigali; tel. 503687; fax 503686; e-mail info@rwandair.com; internet www.rwandair.com; f. 1998; privately owned; operates two passenger aircraft; regional services; CEO PIERRE CLAVER KABERA (acting).

Tourism

Attractions for tourists include the wildlife of the national parks (notably mountain gorillas), Lake Kivu and fine mountain scenery. Since the end of the transitional period in late 2003, the Government has increased efforts to develop the tourism industry. In 1998 there were only an estimated 2,000 foreign visitors to Rwanda, but by 2001 the number of tourist arrivals had increased to 113,185. Total receipts from tourism were estimated at US \$44m. in 2004.

Office Rwandais du Tourisme et des Parcs Nationaux (ORTPN): blvd de la Révolution 1, BP 905, Kigali; tel. 576514; fax 576515; e-mail info@rwandatourism.com; internet www.rwandatourism.com; f. 1973; govt agency; Dir-Gen. ROSETTE RUGAMBA.

Defence

As assessed at November 2008, the total strength of the Rwandan armed forces was estimated at 33,000, comprising an army of 32,000 and an air force of 1,000. In addition, there were an estimated 2,000 local defence forces. A programme to restructure the army, which was expected to be reduced in size to number about 25,000, was planned and a Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission was mandated to facilitate the reintegration of discharged military personnel into civilian life.

Defence Expenditure: Estimated at 33,900m. Rwandan francs in 2007.

General Chief of Staff: Gen. JAMES KABAREEBE.

Chief of Staff of the Army: Lt-Gen. CHARLES KAYONGA.

Chief of Staff of the Air Force: Lt-Gen. CHARLES MUHIRE.

Education

Primary education, beginning at seven years of age and lasting for six years, is officially compulsory. Secondary education, which is not compulsory, begins at the age of 14 and lasts for a further six years, comprising two equal cycles of three years. In 2003, however, the Government announced plans to introduce a nine-year system of basic education, including three years of attendance at lower secondary schools. Schools are administered by the state and by Christian missions. In 2006/07 93.6% of children in the relevant age-group (males 92.3%, females 94.9%) were enrolled in primary schools, according to UNESCO estimates, while secondary enrolment was equivalent in to only 13.4% of children in the appropriate age-group (males 14.2%, females 12.7%) in 2005/05. The Ministry of Education established 94 new secondary schools in 2003, and a further 58 in 2005. Rwanda has a university, with campuses at Butare and Ruhengeri, and several other institutions of higher education, but some students attend universities abroad, particu-

larly in Belgium, France or Germany. In 2004/05 the number of students in tertiary education (there are six public higher education institutions and seven private higher institutions) was 26,378. In 2008 the Government decreed that English would henceforth be the

language of instruction in all Rwandan educational establishments. In 2005 spending on education represented 12.2% of total budgetary expenditure.

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