يعد حلول بناء هذه الجزء من تاريخنا إلا أنه ينبغي تغريدة وهو هذا، محدود في أرجائها الوطنية والأديدة، استمالة للكثير من أجزاء احترافيه، فهو مسار تتبع في تحديات الساحة يشمل:

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لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
Democracy and Peace in Africa and the Role of Archives

It was in 1998, I had barely cleared my office, when I was called upon by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to lead a group of eminent personalities that was assigned to investigate the circumstances that led to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. As if that was not enough, hardly had I completed the assignment, in December 1999, and I was approached by the Congolese to assist them in bringing about a new political dispensation in the Democratic Republic of Congo – an assignment I was happy to complete in April 2003.

My remit is to speak to you about my personal experiences about the process leading to conflict resolution and peace facilitation in the DRC. To start with, as you may be aware:

Forty years ago, the Congo was the scene of a divisive power struggle on the continent. The country felt apart as its political nation degenerated into ethnic violence.

The Congo again became the centre of acute division, pitting neighbour against neighbour and relatives against relatives. It was again the victim of external intrigue and exploitation, as foreign interests seized its resources for profit.

The 1960s was the turning point in the history of colonial rule in Africa. But, as for Congo, in 1885 King Leopold II of Belgium failed to get parliamentary support for the idea of adopting the independent State of Congo as a colony. He then opted instead to make it into his own private property. When eventually Congo became independent, and the Europeans believed they had bestowed upon the country the great gift of democracy, a cycle of antagonism, corruption, ethnic rivalry, coup d’Etat and armed conflict began.

The unfortunate circumstances of the people of the Great Lakes region, including the Rwandans and the Congolese, are well documented.7

Organisation of the Facilitation Process

For my mission as Facilitator of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, I derived my mandate from the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.8 The Agreement was a temporary settlement pending a definitive solution to the dispute. It provided for the Congolese parties to agree on the choice of a Neutral Facilitator. It also entrusted me with the responsibility of planning, organising, and directing the negotiations.

References

12. The Agreement for a Ceasefire in the DRC, signed in Lusaka, Zambia, over the period July to August 1999, by all the belligerent parties to the Congo conflict, laid the Foundation for the process of political negotiations designed to foster national reconciliation and lasting peace in the war-torn country.
13. The Congolese parties were the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC), the Political Opposition, and the Force Viva.
The facilitation process involved extensive consultations with the Congolese and other interested parties, mainly on logistical issues and other preparatory details for staging the Dialogue. I consulted with President Laurent-Désiré Kabila in Kinshasa before traveling widely to various destinations in the interior of the DRC to meet and consult the leaders of the other armed components.

Thereafter, I felt ready to convene a preparatory meeting in Cotonou, Benin, in June 2000, in order to consider the agenda and the organisational structure for the Dialogue. Unfortunately, the government component decided not to attend the meeting. The delegations that were selected to represent the civil society and the unarmed opposition based in government-controlled territories also failed to attend. This was a serious blow to the Congolese in the light of the high expectations they had about the facilitation process.

Confidence Building Mechanism

After the faltering start in Cotonou that threatened to undermine the Lusaka Agreement, it was necessary to revive the spirit with which the Agreement was signed in Lusaka. Thus, on May 4, 2001, I convened a meeting of the three armed components who were signatories to the Agreement to renew their commitment to the Agreement. They signed the Declaration of Fundamental Principles to underpin the planned negotiations.

Furthermore, I arranged for senior members of the facilitation team to visit all the 19 cities in 11 provinces of the DRC to assist the civil society organisations to select their representatives to the negotiations. This activity lasted two months. Such assistance to the civil society was important in order to safeguard the credibility of the selection process.

After another round of consultation with the signatory parties to the Lusaka Agreement, I convened a 3 days Preparatory Committee meeting on August 20, 2001 in Gaborone, Botswana, to discuss and agree on the agenda, format and date for convening the Dialogue. The delegations successfully concluded their deliberations with a draft of both the agenda and Rules of Procedure for the forum as well as the Declaration of Commitment that all the delegations signed.

The Dialogue: Addis Ababa and Sun City

After this series of consultations, I felt sufficiently encouraged to start the Dialogue in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on October 15, 2001. Many expected that Addis Ababa would be a turning point in the history of the DRC. However, it did not turn out to be the occasion that many had dreamed about due to the cash-flow situation that had compelled it to restrict participation to 15 delegates per group, as opposed to an agreed quota of 60. This restrictive participation provision seemingly defeated the desired objective for an all-inclusive forum, taking into account the great diversity of the population. After protracted discussions and disagreement on how to proceed, I had no alternative but to adjourn the meeting.

The Dialogue then resumed in Sun City on February 25, 2002. But, even then, this session was beset with problems from the outset. There were concerns about the political will on the part of some of the parties to implement the accord. I had to call upon the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of Zambia, and the President of South Africa to exert the necessary diplomatic and political pressure to bring the parties to the negotiation table.

Eventually, in accordance with the Rules of Procedure, and in keeping with conventional practice in similar negotiation processes, the Dialogue got underway; first at Plenary level to enable each party to state its perspective on the crisis, as well as its own vision as to the way forward. Thereafter, the ground was set for focused negotiations under five commissions that were established.

By April 19, 2002 the negotiations had lasted 55 days, although the initially scheduled period was 45 days. In all, a total of 14 Resolutions, covering a wide range of issues of transitional governance and principles, had been adopted. But the core issue of transitional institutional arrangements, in particular, the power-sharing plan, was still outstanding. The absence of an agreement here was certain to jeopardise all the achievements made in other areas.

Mediation versus Facilitation

Once again I called upon President Mbeki and Secretary General Kofi Annan to help keep the negotiations afloat. Secretary General Kofi Annan appointed a special envoy to head the Mediation team to open a parallel track of discussion with the parties on issues that were too sensitive to be negotiated in an open forum. The special envoy, Mr. Moussa Traoré, was to help the Congolese parties to reach an all-inclusive agreement on power sharing. With the active support of the Government of South Africa, on December 17, 2002, the parties concluded and signed the Global and Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in Pretoria.

The Final Plenary

The Dialogue resumed in Plenary in Sun City on April 1, 2002 to conclude the protracted but successful negotiations. On April 2, 2003, the Plenary ratified all the Resolutions previously adopted, including the agreements that were concluded during the mediation exercise. The Inter-Congolese Dialogue then ended on a fitting ceremonial note.

The Role of Archives

Let me reflect on the importance of using, creating and keeping the records of the events and processes I have been discussing.

Firstly, I learnt, through my experiences as Vice President, then as President of Botswana, that keeping accurate records of the activities of Government is fundamentally important for the effective functioning of a democratic government. Botswana, as you know, is Africa's most long-standing parliamentary democracy, and we are very proud of the National Archives of Botswana and recognize the important role it has played in managing the information in government offices that is so important for being accountable to parliament and citizens. Not all of you may be aware that the Botswana National Archives is now directly responsible for the work of records managers in...
government ministries and this had had a major impact on improving service delivery.

With this experience it is clear to me that the archivists of Africa will have to play a major role in the healing process in Congo. We know that one of the crucial parts of the work of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission was locating and examining the documentation of human rights abuses. This was not only necessary as part of the effort to reveal the truth, but as a foundation on which to build a system of compensation and reparations, both material and symbolic. Such a process would have to be the will of the Congolese people, but archives would be very vital in ensuring its success. Also, it is necessary to properly archive the records of the processes of dialogue, negotiation and agreement so that all parties remain aware of their obligations to each other and their promises to the Congolese people.

Conclusion

I believe that what some analysts have referred to as “Africa’s first World War” has now come to an end. Africa has known an unending torrent of violence, repression, slaughter, carnage and massacres. Sometimes I shudder at the recollection of the atrocities that I have seen in the past few years in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The media abounds with broadcasts of many other horrific incidents in other African countries.

At times one wonders whether the emancipation of Africa from the yoke of colonization merely opened up the way for civil strife and armed conflicts. However, I feel encouraged by recent discussions involving our political leaders. I feel a sense of purpose in their approach to dealing with African problems. Pragmatism has replaced their erstwhile political rhetoric. They now discuss openly and frankly the issues that we, at one time – in the African sense – considered sensitive. Democracy, good governance, promoting peace and security, and conditions for eradicating poverty, corruption and civil strife are in the agendas of their meetings.

Peace is the cornerstone of prosperity. Without peace, African prosperity will remain but an illusion. I am happy that, having learned from their own experience, our political leaders have decided to make a pledge in the form of the New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), based on a common vision and shared conviction, that they have a duty to place their countries on a path to prosperity. Africa has now reached a historic moment to strive for peace – that it has not lasted for a long time. The people of Africa have been living in a society where democracy, peace and security are a reality for all. These are basic needs that rank very high in the list of expectations for people who believe in a good society.

Sir Kachumile Masire

Liberation, Reconciliation and the Importance of the Record

In 1995 I had the privilege of being part of a BBC panel discussion on the Legacy of Nuremberg 50 years later. We met in the courtroom where the trial had been held. That is another story. We then had the opportunity of visiting Dachau, the former Nazi concentration camp. Near its entrance was a museum and over the entrance to this were Satavayama’s haunting words: “Those who forget the past are doomed to repeat it.” Some of the exhibits were quite incredible. The Germans have always been precise and meticulous and methodical. You could not accuse them of being slipshod. They had captured some material in photographs and these were quite something. One set of pictures recorded some of the experiments that Nazi doctors and scientists performed on the Jewish inmates such as determining what depths or altitudes humans could tolerate. The victims were depicted with contorted faces as they were exposed to the very limits they could stand either in depth or height. There just would have been no way of denying such damning evidence of the gross violations of the rights of the detainees.

But I cannot forget another set of pictures. It is grossly macabre. You see whenever an inmate was going to be hanged, then his fellow inmates led the unfortunate one to the gallows in a kind of music parade where they played on various musical instruments and had to prance around for the world as if they were participating in a fun fair. And all this was caught on film providing incontrovertible evidence of our horrendous capacity to be so hideously inhumane to one another.

Then you walked around the grounds and saw the dormitories in which the inmates were usually packed as tight as sardines, you then walked past the ovens where so many were cremated. What left a chill going down my spine was entering what appeared to be so utterly innocuous. It seemed like a communal shower room until one saw the vents in the wall. Yes, this was a gas chamber. Germans would never again be able to say they did not know. The evidence was there for all to see and the German nation was preserving these records for posterity, hoping that those future generations would never again should we allow such atrocities to happen. They did take place but they will never recur”. Such records clearly have proven indispensable in the process of a people taking responsibility, in being accountable and thus in making impunity virtually impossible. In a very important manner they can be said to be a crucial deterrent against future such violations of the rights of others.

The South African Setup

We have emerged only fairly recently from a vicious and repressive dispensation that as public policy blatantly denied the vast majority of the inhabitants of this land their fundamental and inalienable rights. It seems too bizarre to be true and yet we know that it was so. Nelson Mandela acknowledged to be a colossus on the international stage, had to wait until he was 76 years old before voting for the first time in the land of his birth. He was denied the fundamental right of adult suffrage. The Race Classification Act split up the South African population into frequently hostile, certainly rigidly segregated and alienated race groups and the tests used to determine an individual’s race were often crude and unscientific, for example sticking a pin suddenly into someone and on the basis of his yelp of pain stamp a classification that determined whether one belonged to the privileged few, the whites, or to the rest, the ones in the outer darkness, the Coloureds, the Indians and the blacks variously called non-white, non-European, Bantu, Native or Punal. For South African society was constructed like a pyramid of power, privilege and
advantage. The base was formed by the blacks, then the coloureds, Indians and at the top were the ruling elite of whites.

There was residential segregation—the whites lived in salubrious, leafy suburbs with stone houses, paved roads, running water, libraries, parks, swimming pools and beautiful homes and well-appointed schools and hospitals. The blacks particularly lived in what were called locations, centres of poverty, squalor and deprivation with a few street jobs to supply water to the oppressed majority, hardly any waterborne sewage, poorly equipped schools and underpaid teachers. The Government spent as much as eighty times per annum on a white child for education what it spent on a black child. It provided free school feeding for white children and only for a short time for black children and then it was stopped altogether.

The Group Areas Act designated most of South Africa (87%) for white occupancy whilst the vast majority would have to do with the remaining 13% of the land. It killed the hard policy of forced population removals when nearly three million people were uprooted from their homes and dumped as if they were rubbish in poverty stricken, and Bantustan homelands. A vibrant cosmopolitan community in District Six, Cape Town was destroyed and there is a gash on the landscape like a running sore. People were removed from there to be dumped on the inhospitable Cape Flats. Black men were forced to leave their families in the rural areas, seeking a miserable existence while they came to work in the white man’s town as migrant workers, living unnatural lives in single-sex hostels, undermining black family life through the migratory labour system, the backbone of South Africa’s cheap labour that made investment in South Africa so alluring.

The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act prohibited sexual relations between whites and people of other races, they turned something beautiful, love between persons, into something forbidden and shameful. People sometimes committed suicide when charged under these laws. The shame was too great. The movement of blacks was severely restricted by the pass laws which helped to turn black dignity under feet by their humiliation. The Inmates Reservations Act designated certain categories of work as to be done only by whites and even when black and white had the same qualifications say as doctors and were working in the same government hospital, the white doctor was paid more than his black colleague by law.

And more are recorded for posterity in Flannard and the records of Parliament and form part of our memory, of our history, of our identity. It cannot be denied and the fact that the apartheid Government in its death throes rescinded and abolished these inhuman laws can be taken as a sign that they were reprehensible and that they are action in a form of accountability. The records should serve to remind us of our capacity to be so horribly inhuman to one another and to the records, the archives are absolutely indispensable for this task.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The TRC helped to give substance to our suspicions that the apartheid Government had systematically used the torture of activists and assassinations of so-called “enemies of the State”, meaning virtually anyone who had the temerity to oppose apartheid. Despite the fact that the apartheid Government was not yet conscious of the extent of inhumane evidence and even though the language used in the Minutes of the State Security Council was remarkable for its ambiguity making derail plausible, enough had remained providing sufficient evidence for us to say that they created the atmosphere which made it possible for gross violations of human rights to occur. They might claim that when they said government enemies should be eliminated or permanently taken out that they meant they should be detained or banished. Most of those who carried out these strangest orders almost unanimously understood them to mean that the targets should be killed. It is odd in the extreme that they should not have used perfectly straightforward words readily available to them such as “detain” or “imprison”. Perhaps they did not in their wildest nightmares imagine that their surreptitious machinations would see the light of day. Their subterfuge was testimony to the potency of records to deter the commission of violations.

The only apartheid Cabinet Minister to apply for amnesty confirmed that it was the State that had destroyed the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches through bomb. When it happened this Minister had quite blatantly lied when he accused the ANC of this act of terrorism and they even detained someone linked to the ANC as being implicated.

It all confirmed what we had always suspected, that a vicious and evil system could ultimately only be maintained by equally vicious and evil methods. The ANC quite unusually had set up commissions of inquiry to investigate allegations of human rights violations especially in its camps. The provided the TRC with a remarkably frank and detailed account showing, on the basis of their submission, that fighting a just cause as they certainly had done was no guarantee that the movement would not use unjust methods. I was quite flabbergasted when the ANC sought an interdict against the publication of the TRC Report when this was so warm in commending the ANC for fighting a just war but pointing to the fact that it had committed some human rights violations as their submission indicated.

All of this and more is now part of our national archives. It is part of our history. No one can say they never knew. Every South African knows that apartheid was evil, oppressive and unjust and that it used fear and underhand methods to maintain itself. They know that the oppressed and their allies within the white community won so well carried out a just war against this evil system, sometimes becoming guilty of some human rights violations but by and large carrying out this just war fairly. No one can wishfully can be found who ever supported apartheid. Wonderful. We are ashamed of that part of our history, but it is our history none the less. And it stands there recorded in our National Archives to remind us of the worthlessness we suffered and of which we were capable.

The records are crucial to hold us accountable. They are indispensable as deterrents against a repetition of this ghastliness and they are a powerful incentive for us to say “Never again”. They are a potent bulwark against human rights violations.

We must remember our past so that we do not repeat it.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu