His Excellency Ketumile Masire

_Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts_

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE
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Edited by Emiko Noma
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The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.
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Former President of Ireland and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights  
*Human Rights and Ethical Globalization*

October 27, 2005  His Excellency Ketumile Masire  
Former President of the Republic of Botswana  
*Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts*
BIOGRAPHY OF HIS EXCELLENCY
KETUMILE MASIRE

Sir Ketumile Masire, born July 23, 1925 at Kanye in the Southern District of Botswana, was trained as a teacher in 1949 at Tiger Kloof, in the former British Bechuanaland. He founded the Seepapitso Secondary School in 1950, took up farming in 1956, and later joined journalism in 1958. In 1966, Sir Ketumile Masire became a Member of Parliament, later becoming Vice President and Minister of Finance and Development Planning.

On July 18, 1980, President Masire succeeded the late Seretse Khama as the second President of the Republic Botswana and in 1984 won the presidential elections with a landslide 77 percent of the votes under the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). During his tenure in office, His Excellency contributed not only to the socioeconomic development of Botswana through the promotion of good governance, but to regional development as well. President Masire was Chairman of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and holds the distinction of Co-Chairperson Emeritus of the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA).

His Excellency retired from public office in March 1998. Since retirement, he has been actively involved in conflict resolution and prevention, promotion of good governance and representative democracy, as well as capacity building for young African leaders. President Masire led the Organization of African Unity’s (OAU) investigation of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and was facilitator of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He was appointed the fourth Balfour African President-in-Residence at Boston University’s African Presidential Archives and Research Center (APARC). His Excellency was also a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group to the Nigeria Assembly and Presidential Elections in 1999, and led the Commonwealth Observer Group to the Uganda Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in February 2006.

President Masire is the recipient of Doctorates Honoris Causa from St John University, De Paul University, Williams College, Sussex University, the University of Port Elizabeth and Ohio University. He has also been awarded the Africa Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger, the Grand Counsellor of the Royal Order of Sobhuza II (Swaziland), Honorary Knighthood of the Grand Cross of Saint Michael and Saint George (UK), and the Order of the Welwitschia (Namibia). Retirement has also provided an opportunity for President Masire to return to his hobby of farming.
INTERVIEW WITH HIS EXCELLENCY
KETUMILE MASIRE

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with His Excellency Ketumile Masire conducted by Elizabeth McClintock¹ on October 27, 2005 at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice.

KM: Ketumile Masire
EM: Elizabeth McClintock

EM: Have there been any significant experiences from the time that you were a teacher through your time as a journalist and then in the government that you would identify as significant in terms of leading you to this point?

KM: I was always asked that question when I came in. What made me a politician? I thought that I would give a helping hand to those who were aspiring to be politicians. But I found that in the process, they would be drawn in, and that pulling out of the question would not be fair because it seemed that I was making a contribution to their efforts.

EM: Absolutely. Do you find that you draw on your past experiences as a teacher or journalist, and if so, in what aspects?

KM: Both make me a better communicator because, especially in meetings, you are almost back in the classroom. You get to know what people need to know. And if you tell them what they want or should know, they become more receptive.

EM: I started out my career as a teacher as well so I can appreciate how important those skills are. Botswana is one of the most stable and enduring democracies in Africa and you have played a central role in that stability.

Are there lessons that you draw from your long career as a politician that you are currently applying in your new role as a peacemaker in Africa?

KM: I find that it helps me to have been a politician and to have experienced the problems that the people that I am talking to have experienced. Sometimes I even assure them that I have tried the same things that they are trying and I failed. So it is not only from my successes but from my failures as well that they can draw lessons.

EM: The world has changed dramatically from the time when you first entered politics to today. Are there key lessons that have endured throughout that time that are still applicable today?

KM: The principles are the same although circumstances have changed. Therefore, you apply the same principles, but you don't hope that you will do the same thing and have the same result.

EM: What are some of those principles?

KM: I started as a minister of finance and development planning with a very low budget. I was, therefore, trained more in frugality than in spending. So it might be difficult for me to go back and find that there is now money to spend. The problem is not the poverty, but the embarrassment of what you use. That's just one example of the many things that people must acknowledge do happen. And that's why I tell them that no man is good for all time because you use the same principles, but you develop habits that are not easy to get rid of.

EM: Those habits develop over a very short period of time, but they endure for a very long period of time. Botswana offers a very good example of good governance, of how to manage, as you say, an embarrassment of riches; but Botswana has not fallen into the same trap as other countries which have

¹ Elizabeth McClintock is a Partner with CMPartners, a negotiation and conflict management consulting organization, and the former Director of Programs for Conflict Management Group. She is involved in developing and implementing a comprehensive conflict resolution training program for communities in Burundi and Rwanda.
gone from having seemingly nothing or limited resources to having a lot. Because good governance doesn’t just happen and has to be developed and nurtured, how can we help other countries learn from that experience?

KM: I think that there are a number of factors that have contributed to that. One was that we started poor, and therefore, we are very careful on the use of resources. We realized that you don’t use money as it becomes available. You see what you need money for first, and when you get the money only then do you use it for that purpose. If you get money before you have developed a plan, then you put it aside and give yourself time to think first.

For instance, in Botswana we have a development plan. The development plan is a program which has been around since independence. A planning period is for a duration of six years, and we revise it every three years. We have laid a rule for ourselves that no project will be implemented, no matter how good it is, before it has been incorporated into the development plan. And no project will be incorporated into the development plan until it has been discussed in parliament. So we have to live on the resources that we have received from donors. We have also made a rule for ourselves that whatever money we have, no matter where we get it from, will have to go through the minister of finance, so that all the resources are put together and used according to the country’s need. We don’t just get the minister of education coming in and saying that he has money to build a school and that there is enough money for the building expenses, because there will be recurring expenses and there is a need for the budget to sustain such expenses.

EM: It causes me to think a lot about my current work in Burundi and how a new government comes about and takes the reigns and has to think about how to manage the many challenges that they are facing. But certainly, in terms of some principles of good governance, it seems that good governance is a process and people can develop the skills to manage these processes. And if people know what the objectives are and have the skills to reach those objectives, they can better manage challenges that arise.

KM: And then we need someone to audit everything. We have the auditor general who is appointed and is part of the government, but is not subject to the rules that apply to other offices. So if the government is wrong, the auditor general can find this out without fear of being thrown out.

EM: Those are excellent lessons that I hope some of your neighbors can learn from. I was thinking about your involvement in the Congo, which is a country of a different size and many different problems, and it seems to have run into more challenges just recently. Do you have advice for our Congolese brothers? What should the next step be?

KM: I don’t know because they didn’t want to be advised. My role in the Congo was as facilitator, not mediator. So even when I gently tried to suggest what could be done, I was not always received well. For instance, we don’t know who put [Joseph] Kabila where he is. And there was an opportunity when we were in Sun City [South Africa], for all the Congolese to find someone else to put in that position other than Kabila himself. And when I advised him that he take that opportunity [to be “democratically” chosen, rather than imposed upon the Congolese people], he thought that I was denying him what he had already gotten hold of, what he deserved. His men in Sun City thought so as well, and they asked me, “What if the people don’t agree on him?”

I said, “Well, they haven’t agreed on him now and you are hanging onto him now anyway. But you have lost an opportunity to have Kabila’s position legitimized for nothing.” I mean you don’t fight for something when you can have it without fighting. One of them came and said, “Well, what if they refuse him in the fighting?” And I said to him, “You are not a politician unless you are willing to take a risk.”

EM: I think that is a very difficult position for any politician anywhere. But the circumstances in Africa don’t lead people to that conclusion that sometimes taking a risk is a positive thing.

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2 The site of the peace talks between the parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The talks are known as the Inter-Congolese Dialogue. See Related Resources.
KM: It is inherent in democracy to take a risk. You are not there by anything other than the will of the people. And the will of the people is as temperamental as that of a lady. I have lost an election once where my opponent got just 57 more votes than I did. Something in the elections occurred that made me lose them. You would have thought that this was a constituency that I could not lose, but there you are, in just five years time. But as a politician you have to accept it.

And when I stood for election again, I had a problem with my own party because they didn't want me to stand for election in that area. They were afraid that I might lose. But I had to argue that if I go there, even if I lose, at least I have pulled the votes on account of us. And we as a party will be running that area at the council level. But if we run away, the opposition will attack the act of running away and say, “Who does he think he is to battle with us?” That might make the people realize that, even if it weren't the truth, that this politician took a risk and won.

EM: I want to go back to one of the skills that you said you utilized throughout your career and that is communication. It seems to me that if you are going to take a risk, one of the risks is to know that you feel very strongly about a policy and being able to communicate that to your constituency. I think that is excellent advice for some of our leaders currently in power. If I may, with respect to your comments on the Congo, you said that you were only a facilitator, but a facilitator can oftentimes play a very powerful role.

KM: One has to be careful because whatever advice one tenders, one is sure to be perceived in the interest of one or the other of the parties. And the party that it is perceived to be against will make that a pretext for being difficult and not participating.

EM: And I suppose, having been a facilitator in recent conflicts in Africa, you might agree that the mediator has been much more strongly mandated to play a more forceful role, whereas a facilitator does not necessarily carry the same mandate. And, as you say, the interests of the parties can be construed as reflected in the choice of the facilitator or not. As a facilitator, if you don't manage that balance, it can be very challenging. Is there someone that could play the role of the mediator in Congo more effectively? Who should play that role?

KM: It cannot be a tailor-made role. It is a role in which you have to take a number of things into consideration: the capacity of the man or lady that you want to appoint, you have to see the relationships that person has, you have to see just how that person melds together.

Let me give you an example. I had a problem with selling the Congolese on South Africa. The involvement of South Africa was like a red rag to a bull. They just became agitated, especially Kabila and the rest. But if South Africa had not come in, we would not have made it. From the standpoint of resources, there was nobody willing to pick up the bill. From the standpoint of mediation, there was nobody willing to come forward and help. And even the people who one would have hoped it would draw help from drew back. So I had to play it as gently as I could and eventually they would see. But then I found that there was willingness on the part of [Thabo] Mbeki and his government [of South Africa]. It was not just a question of whether they would come, but, if they didn't want them to, he couldn't be bothered.

We came to a point with the Congolese where I could see what should be done, but it would be difficult for me to make suggestions. So I brought Mbeki, and when he came he could afford to twist arms. Even if it seemed that he was in favor of somebody else, so what? So Mbeki was able to help and he had the resources to do it. If, for instance, I had asked the president of Malawi, he would not have had the resources to do anything. [Robert] Mugabe [of Zimbabwe] could be as articulate as Mbeki, but he might not have the patience or the resources that Mbeki has. So you have to take all of these things into account.
EM: It sounds like, to me, President Mbeki is also in a position to say, “Here is what we can do. If you choose to work with us, if you choose not to work with us, there are many other conflicts in Africa which we can become involved.”

KM: If you are not ready to take it, then don’t. But, if you are ready a little later, feel free to come back.

EM: I think it is very skillful of him to present a fading opportunity as well. Now is the time. We are here and we have the resources, but you decide what is in your best interests.

KM: And when the things fall out, he will not come and accuse others of being difficult. He will come and say, “Gentlemen, what have been your problems? I am interested in hearing about them.” Then, if someone breaks off on a tangent, he will say we need to address this as well.

EM: The power of communication and reformulation helps people to see things from different perspectives. I understand that at Boston University (BU) one of your interests is looking at state-building. Is that correct? Are you going to be looking at what sorts of assistance or efforts must be made after a conflict to help a country in building its state?

KM: When you have negotiated something like what has happened in the Congo or Burundi or Lesotho, you must see the resource constraints. And you must see that some of the conflicts really arise from the lack of resources. Therefore, you have better chances of having your efforts succeed if you place them where there are resources available. Even there, it is a delicate exercise of telling somebody that, I found with the E.U. [European Union], the British, and the Americans, the timing of making resources available didn’t bring it home to them that this is important. But the one man who I found that was on the ball was Commissioner [Poul] Nielsen3 in the E.U. He realized that if the E.U. released the funds, Kabila might not use it for the development of the  

Congo, but for buying votes, as, in fact, I believe he is doing now. That is what I feared would happen. And if it happens after an agreement had been reached, how much more would have happened had they not reached an agreement? He might have thought that he could buy a favorable agreement out of the dialogue by even buying all of the people that went to Sun City.

EM: And it is not only not releasing the funds too early, but not releasing them too late as well.

KM: It must be kept ready so that it can come in at the right time.

EM: And in your example in Burundi, is now the right time? And why is that?

KM: Yes, now is the right time. The government has demonstrated goodwill and good faith. They have been given things in good faith. Again, you go to the question of taking a risk. Even as donors, they have to take risks. They can’t just wait to see if they perform first, because it may be beyond redemption. If they don’t have the means to perform, they are written off by their constituencies, and when the money comes and the actions are performed, the constituencies will question why the leaders didn’t act earlier.

EM: A bit of a vicious cycle.

KM: Momentum doesn’t only work in physics. It also works in emotions. If you are moving in a certain direction, it is difficult to grind to a halt and then shift direction.

EM: Burundi is a relatively small country. What should the new government’s priorities be at this point?

KM: It must be development oriented. The people want to see their children not needing to pay school fees, clinical programs. There must be

3 Poul Nielsen is European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid.
something to point at so that you can say to people, “This is where we have started.”

EM: You said earlier today that a factor in Botswana’s success has been education. That is certainly a priority in Burundi as well, as has been articulated by the new government. I would imagine that you are quite supportive of this first step in their development program. I think you are absolutely correct that something tangible and some sort of emotional investment in the process of democracy are essential.

KM: Also, you have to have the skill to put them in a receptive mood and make them realize that education is necessary. And even if you know where to get the money, you must say that you think it wise to invest in a particular sector as a first effort. Then they deliver the goods.

EM: It is very much an ongoing negotiation between the leadership and their constituents. How do we all agree on the same objectives? Certainly, in your role in the government, you had to set the objectives, but not in the absence of input. Yet you can’t err on the side of giving the population all of the input. That’s why they elected you to serve as their representative.

KM: In politics, you also run the risk of people thinking that you aren’t doing something because you believe in it, but rather because you want to buy their votes. One person asked me how we made so much progress. Well, one of the reasons is because of consultation. We carried on an ongoing consultation with people, even when we had made up our minds. Sometimes it is necessary that you make up your mind that you are going to do something first and then consult people, because if you consult them before you know where to get the resources, you may have the problem of having them say, “Why did you come to us before you knew how to get anything done?” Sometimes people hear what they like to hear and not necessarily what you say.

EM: That is certainly true. I suppose you have a challenge of managing the expectations that you have set through the process of consultation. Again, it becomes a negotiation and having a sense of timing as to what point we consult.

I know that you were the head of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and have worked very closely with the OAU [Organization of African Unity] before it became the AU [African Union], and were a part of the commission that investigated the genocide in Rwanda. I see a very important role for regional and sub-regional organizations in assisting newly elected governments in setting out on a path of good governance. I would love to hear more about your opinions about the roles of SADC or the AU.

KM: You are completely correct. There is a mutual help in coming together. There is more progress than doing it alone. Even the best of those in the group will find that he does better when he is in the group than when he is on his own. When we are showing our commitment, you have then raised expectations that you have to live up to. You have that problem.

But it helps you to have to live up to such expectations, and we found that in these organizations, be it SADC or others. When we started SADC with the frontline states—Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana—the objective then was how to give the liberation movements more support. They could go in and fight, but they didn’t have diplomatic credentials, so we wanted to pick up that aspect of their fight. And we found it so rewarding that in 1980 we had managed to get Zimbabwe, and Namibia was coming along. It was not a question of if, but when. And South Africa, we thought, was going to take much longer. But we have seen that our organization works. So we said, “Why don’t we extend its coordination strategies.”

SADC started as a coordination conference. And then we felt that when the coordination conference had yielded such good results, we should then start to think of the coordination conference more in terms of a “community.” We use
the same rivers, transportation systems, telecommunications and so forth. We are the same people socially across the borders. So why don’t we formalize these actualities? So SADC became a community and is now working on protocols: trade protocols, transportation protocols and so on. So that, eventually, we shall have no borders for trade tariffs and so on.

We are looking forward to the five building blocks of Africa. That is the North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa. Each is awakening itself into a community. At the end of the day, it will not be 53 countries bringing themselves together loosely, but it will be bringing 53 countries together in five tightly working bundles. It will be a question of how to make the five work, and we shall each have in our own group the knowledge of how we made the 14 countries in the SADC work together, so it will be much easier to make five groups work together.

EM: I had the experience of working with the World Health Organization over a number of years, and one of our goals was how to look at regional groupings of countries and how to approach health issues more globally. Diseases, of course, don’t know any boundaries.

KM: Yes, these are things that we cannot individually control, but rather things that we need cooperative efforts to address.

EM: Yes, and one of the biggest lessons that I learned from that experience was that reinforcing people’s confidence in their abilities to work together and collaborate leads them to being more powerful at the negotiation table. Whether you are talking about global trade or negotiating with donors, or simply negotiating in your own country with your own population about policy, there needs to be an ability to recognize where our interests are intertwined. And it seems to me that the experience of SADC is certainly just that. You will be a more powerful block, certainly in the world at large, but also in serving your own citizens’ interests.

KM: We have that experience in dealing with the E.U. The French coming into the Commission had to bring the former colonies in. These French colonies were called associates. And we are called associables. Associables are made up of the Caribbean, East African Commission, South African Customs Unions, the Far East Pacific countries. So what happened was that the East African Commission came to Gabarone to meet the customs union and to work on strategy. Then we moved to Nigeria, where we had all the African participants on the continent. Then we had to figure out how to bring in the Caribbeans, because if we allowed the Caribbeans to negotiate alone we would be weaker. And, finally, we had to figure out how to bring in the Far East Pacific.

Once we got to Brussels, we decided that we were going to use only one speaker to speak on our behalf, to bring our case about the agreement that we had all reached. So these fellows were looking at us saying, “What if we lose them all?” Whereas one by one they would have used their balance and majority to say that others have agreed, who are you to disagree? So we still work together as the ACP, the African, Caribbean and Pacific. And, that’s the way that I think SADC is going to be.

EM: It brings to mind a question about what donors, multilateral or unilateral NGOs [non-governmental organizations], can give to assist in this effort?

KM: Human resources are, at times, much more important than material
resources. And we have found that we are headhunting because of a weakness that we have found in a particular sector. So sometimes when we are attending conferences, we talent spot and find the right individual for the position. These might be individuals who are contracting in other African nations and are about to leave, and sometimes we are lucky and this individual has not made any contracts with other countries and we get him.

But let me get back to your question. In Botswana, we place a premium on NGOs. They can become difficult when they take the bit between their teeth and want to do their own thing. So right now we have a problem with an NGO from England. They are an NGO and have decided that they must help us in Botswana in the way of zeroing in on regional inhabitants of Botswana. We don't dispute that the San people were in their place before we came in, but we are not going to keep a record which will be of doubtful validity as to who came first, or who followed who. What we want to work on is that we are all there together. And therefore, our business is to figure out how to make our togetherness work. It's an example of an NGO who we have told that we don't want any discrimination. We want everyone together in Botswana, no matter what his origin may be, to have full entitlement to all that is available that can help him or even help the country. Things like education—it is both for the individual and for the country. We don't know what a child from a bushman might do that is one in a million, or one in 10 million.

Bushmen are hunter-gatherers and we have made it a point to move them away from their hunter-gatherer mode into a development mode where they should, as a people, be in a viable settlement, where we may provide them with water, health facilities and schooling for their children; where they can compete for resources like all other children and not find that they are disadvantaged because they never went to school. And when you think that in this day and age, a child born now is going to live to be 70, what will that child be without an education? They will fall into the fold of beasts rather than of human beings.

EM: If I may, it sounds like an issue of coordinating activities with the government, as opposed to in opposition to the government. It's a challenge. We see the same thing in the United States where there are politics or policies that are sometimes perceived as contrary to the U.S. government, and it is a constant negotiation to ensure that the objectives of the government remain transparent because the government is there to serve the people.

KM: I wouldn't be here if there were no religious schools. And most likely I wouldn't be here because when I was young I got sick, but there was a hospital in the church-school that I was at which treated me. So, from many accounts, I would not be here if it were not for organizations like that. For instance, I was talking about the AIDS problem. The government has gone full throttle into doing everything possible to combat AIDS, to help the people with AIDS, and the children of those with AIDS. But the government is not saying that all others must keep to the side. If a private organization, a church organization, has a facility to take orphans or money, the government welcomes the help.

When I was vice president and minister of finance of development planning, my minister of health came to me and said that the contribution that the government gives the churches and church hospitals is far greater than anything they are putting into it. He continued and said that we must take full control of the hospitals. I told him that he was forgetting that these people are not hired, but volunteer doctors, and we would be biting off more than we can chew because we are already having problems finding doctors for government hospitals. At least if they do not come to the government hospitals, they will be able to help at the church hospitals. That is just one example of what private organizations can do.

EM: Absolutely. If I understand you correctly, it is not a matter of whether we say “yes” or “no” to NGOs or donors, it is a question of partnership and the best way to manage those partnerships. But I want to return to one of your underlying principles, which is managing scarce or limited resources as effectively as possible. It is through partnership that most countries in

4 Survival International is an NGO based in the United Kingdom. See Related Resources for more information on the debate between the government of Botswana and the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert.
the world need to do that. They don’t have the ability that some countries do who have budgets that are unlimited. It’s a matter of finding the right people and the expertise necessary.

KM: Sometimes a small contribution may have a power of balancing. There was a situation that developed in Zanzibar. There was an election between three parties. One got seven seats, another got eight, and the third got three. The man that got three seats told the others that he is willing to join whichever of them will make him the prime minister. So sometimes the one that has the balance of power can turn the boat.

EM: Absolutely. I have one last question for you. I am wondering if you have any advice, particularly for the young African leaders today.

KM: All the advice that I have is what I have been telling you today. But jokes aside, I think that all young Africans must realize that we have a challenge as a continent. We are the most backward of all the continents. And if we are going to change that status, we must depend on people. And we can’t depend on people who have not proven to be reliable. And therefore, they must know that their fathers and grandfathers have fought for their independence, but constitutional independence is an empty vessel if it is not supported by economic independence. And economic independence cannot come without large sacrifices on the parts of some people. Without serious-minded people applying themselves to the task, this cannot happen.

I have been talking to Africans in the diaspora that I have found in America. I have addressed 15 to 20 universities and I find that at each one of them, I was received by an African that is playing a leading role in that university. And when I ask them why they are not back home, they respond by saying that the conditions at home are not conducive to remaining there. These are people who have proven their abilities to compete with Americans and hold senior positions over Americans. And therefore, if they went home, they could be the catalysts to change the situations. But they want the people at home to change the situation for them and then they will return. That is putting the cart before the horse.
His Excellency Ketumile Masire grew up in the south of Botswana, in an area known as the Kalahari Desert, with four brothers and two sisters. He told us yesterday that his name, Ketumile Masire, in Setswana—which is the most widely spoken of 25 languages in Botswana—means “famous protector.” As a teacher, journalist, political party leader and head of state, His Excellency has in fact more than lived up to his name of protecting his people.

Through good governance and sound economic policies, Botswana has remained an island of peace in a very hostile neighborhood. President of the Republic of Botswana from 1980 through 1998, he oversaw high economic growth rates and universal education. Earlier this evening, someone asked him if it was true that he personally gave out the diplomas to all the graduates of the University of Botswana. He said, indeed, for 18 years, he had handed out the diplomas. I think that there can be little doubt that in a country where the president gives out the diplomas, education is a high priority. His focus was on self-reliance and unity, and as he told us yesterday when I asked him about ethnic groups in Botswana, “They are welcome to practice their traditions; but, in fact, we do not focus on ethnic groups, we focus on unity. People are Botswanan first.” This is a lesson that many other countries, from Bosnia, to China, to Rwanda, could stand to emulate.

Some of you may be familiar with a wonderful series of novels by Alexander McCall Smith about a Botswanan lady detective. In the first book of the series, *The No. 1 Ladies’ Detective Agency*, the lady detective’s father reflects on his country, and he says, “I am proud to be a Botswanan. There is no other country in Africa that can hold its head up as we can. We have no political prisoners, and never have had any. We have democracy. We have been careful. The Bank of Botswana is full of money from our diamonds, and we owe nothing.” Please join me in welcoming Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, protector, mediator and peacemaker.
Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts

His Excellency Ketumile Masire
Good evening ladies and gentlemen. I would like to express my appreciation to the Executive Director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice for inviting me to participate in this year’s lecture series, “Securing Justice in the Pursuit of Peace.” I am also delighted to speak before an esteemed audience such as this one, comprising eminent personalities who have helped in shaping the direction of the international justice system in pursuit of international peace. I believe there are among us notable persons like Elizabeth McClintock, who distinguished herself as the lead facilitator and program designer for the Burundi Leadership Training Programme; Sister Pauline Acayo, who has been responsible for supporting the implementation of peacebuilding and emergency response activities in Gulu, Uganda; Mary Ann Arnado of the Philippines, who coordinates the grassroots peacebuilding and peace advocacy program in Mindanao; Emmaculeta Chiseya from Harare, Zimbabwe, who has worked to gender sensitize community development and promote human rights for a period of over 15 years; Ms. Sarita Gari of Nepal, who is very much engaged in that peace effort; and Thavory Huot, of Cambodia. These are women who are doing wonderful work.

I am happy to acknowledge them as embodiments of national reconciliation and international peace. They are persons who believe in a good society. They contributed to the effort to find just and equitable responses to post-conflict challenges through legal justice to address discriminatory laws; through restorative justice to address violations of human rights; and through distributive justice to address structural and systematic injustices such as political, economic and social inequalities that are often the underlying causes of conflict.

In the context of the theme for this series of lectures, it is also my honor to bring to mind the Goldstone Commission, which laid the foundation for a new political dispensation in South Africa. For us in Botswana, we applauded the findings of the commission. We had suffered the brunt of the ferocious attacks by the hostile apartheid regime, which deployed a series of commandos into neighboring territories during the South African liberation struggle.

The Goldstone Commission was established to investigate and report on causes of political violence and intimidation which were plaguing South Africa. Some 20,000 people are reported to have died in the ten years before the release of Nelson Mandela. The situation deteriorated even after his release. The findings of the commission are now in the public domain—there was incontrovertible evidence of gross human rights violations in South Africa.

Sometimes I shudder when I recall... incidents of gross human rights violations that I have witnessed.

Subsequent developments in South Africa include the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The TRC, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was set up for the purpose of promoting national unity and reconciliation. “The mandate of the commission was to bear witness to, record, and in some cases, grant amnesty to the perpetrators of crimes relating to human rights violations, reparations, and rehabilitation. . . . Due to the perceived success of this approach to dealing with human rights violations after extensive political change, other countries have instituted similar commissions.”

Sometimes I shudder when I recall other incidents of gross human rights violations that I have witnessed since I retired from public office in 1998. Soon after my retirement, the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union), in an unprecedented move for the regional organization, set up a high-level investigative panel to examine the Rwanda genocide of 1994, in which between half a million and a million people were massacred.

5 Sister Pauline Acayo, Mary Ann Arnado, Emmaculeta Chiseya, and Thavory Huot were participants in the Institute’s Women PeaceMakers Program in the Fall of 2005.
6 The Standing Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Violence and Intimidation, also known as the Goldstone Commission, was led by Justice Richard Goldstone, a former judge on the Constitutional Court of South Africa, and the Institute’s Eminent Leader in Residence in the Fall of 2005. See Related Resources for more information on the commission.

9 See Ernest Harsch’s article in the journal Africa Recovery, in which he summarizes the mandate and work of the panel. It is available at http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/sfrec/subjindx/121rwan.htm.
I was the chairperson of the investigation team. Our mandate was to inquire into the underlying causes of the mass killings, look at their consequences throughout the Great Lakes region, assess the roles and responsibilities of the various local, regional and international actors—including the United Nations and its agencies—and make recommendations about how to avert similar tragedies in the future.\textsuperscript{10} I believe that our report provided valuable lessons so that Africa will never again experience such a human tragedy while the international community looks on.

I am happy that our panel contributed further to a body of available knowledge to help with the healing process, reconciliation and the prevention of new violence after one group has inflicted great violence on the other, or where two groups have mutually harmed one another. After such violence, how can groups that continue to live together build a better, nonviolent future?

As the experts and scholars on post-conflict reconstruction have observed, the impact of intense violence on survivors is enormous. Their basic psychological needs are profoundly frustrated—their identity, their way of understanding the world and their spirituality are disrupted. Their perception of the world and of other people as dangerous increases the likelihood that, without remedial action, former victims will become perpetrators. This likelihood had to be minimized in Rwanda. In this regard, I would like to commend the Rwandan authorities for their vision in establishing the necessary institutions to deal with such enormous challenges of healing, reconciliation and nation-building.

In my country, Botswana, we believe in indigenous institutions for, and approaches to, dispute resolution and the reconciliation of parties. Such institutions have sustained our democracy. We believe in the traditional system of reconciliation as mutual acceptance by members of formerly hostile groups of each other. Such acceptance includes positive attitudes and correspondingly positive actions that express them. The society has entrenched structures that facilitate reconciliation and forgiveness.

I am making this reference to Botswana because of the similarity with the traditional approach of the 	extit{gacaca} in Rwanda.\textsuperscript{11} “Under a new government, Rwanda has rebuilt its physical and administrative infrastructure. But its most difficult task was to foster reconciliation between the Hutu and the Tutsi.” The gacaca was “a bold and successful experiment in national reconciliation and nation-building…. The gacaca tribunals represent a remarkable democratization of justice for a people accustomed to dictatorial authority. The tribunals offer a voice,”\textsuperscript{12} and perhaps some therapy—a feeling of spiritual release and purification brought about by an intense emotional experience to survivors.

“However, the system is still fraught with potential pitfalls.”\textsuperscript{13} For instance, modestly trained judges are assigned complex cases, false accusations or confessions are inevitable, revenge or fear of revenge might affect testimonies, and inconsistent application of the law is a real threat.\textsuperscript{14} However, how else

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11} The 	extit{gacaca} system is a traditional, indigenous method of justice in Rwanda. The 	extit{gacaca} courts were revitalized in 2002 in order to deal with the large numbers of imprisoned suspects as a result of the genocide in 1994. See the summary of the film “Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?” on the website of First Run Icarus Films, available at http://www.frif.com/new2002/gac.html.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Summarized from ibid.
would one then deal with such an accumulation of cases? Surely, in such grave situations we should live by the dictum, justice delayed is justice denied.

As part of restorative justice, the Rwanda authorities embarked on a program to release some prisoners from custody. According to reports of the Centre for Justice and Reconciliation, because the country’s prisons were filled to capacity, Rwanda’s government ordered the release of certain inmates. “Some participants in the 1994 Genocide who were not considered ‘planners’ were among those released. Youth and those over seventy years old were also released. … The government continues to help genocide offenders released from prison become reconciled.”15

The Inter-Congolese Dialogue created a Peace and Reconciliation Commission with a remit to institute principles that embrace the body of rules that must guide national truth and reconciliation mechanisms.

After painstaking negotiations, the Congolese parties to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue signed the final act in April 2003, which committed them to adhering to the provisions of the resolutions that they had ratified at the same time. Alongside the Inter-Congolese negotiations, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa played a role in mediation. He was a constant voice for peace and compromise on the part of the Congolese parties, from the initial Inter-Congolese Dialogue in Sun City, to the talks in Pretoria that led to the signing of a memorandum of understanding on the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from the DRC. President Mbeki again hosted the Congolese factions in Pretoria to reach an agreement on an interim power-sharing government.

Another notable personality in the DRC peace process was former Prime Minister of Senegal and the Special Envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Moustapha Niasse. When the Sun City talks collapsed, he spent time negotiating, both inside and outside the Congo, together with the help of the South African government. He successfully obtained the Global and Inclusive Agreement. The agreement ordered a cessation of hostilities and committed the country to a long political transitional process that should lead to legislative and presidential elections within a period of two years, starting from the time the

15 The reports of the Centre for Justice and Reconciliation can be found at http://www.pficjr.org/newsitems/rwan-daprisoners/view?searchterm=Rwanda.
16 See the website of the Centre for Justice and Reconciliation at http://www.pficjr.org/.
transition government is put in place. He also helped negotiate the agreement for the creation of the national army.

I would like to conclude my remarks by emphasizing the fact that examples of peace negotiations and reconciliation in Africa are not limited to the processes in South Africa, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The African Union and the regional bodies such as SADC and ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] have also been involved in other conflict areas as mediators or peace underwriters.

...one cannot build reconciliation on a foundation of injustice. Justice is the bedrock of any community or nation that seeks to be free of resentment and the wounds of history.

It is also worth mentioning that every conflict situation is different and may thus require a particular reconciliation approach. Also, conflicts have complicated roots and there is rarely a single determinant. Ethnicity, religion, economic or resource scarcity, for example, may be at play. However, whatever the circumstances, it is noteworthy that one cannot build reconciliation on a foundation of injustice. Justice is the bedrock of any community or nation that seeks to be free of resentment and the wounds of history.

Thank you for your attention. I would be happy to respond to any questions you may have.
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The audience submitted questions which were read by Dr. Joyce Neu.

JN: I would like to start by asking you to talk about what skills you felt you brought to the table as a mediator and what kinds of skills you feel are essential for good mediation.

KM: I think for a good mediation, you need an array of people. You don't just use one tool, you need a set that you employ at different stages as the process gets on. For instance, in some cases I was a facilitator; in others, I was the chairman who made sure that everybody was given a fair chance to speak and that everybody had to listen when everybody else spoke. But when it came to suggesting what course of action to take, I had to be ruled out, because whatever I suggested might have favored one party or another and I would have lost my role as a mediator. I would have lost my role as deserving respect from all parties.

This is the reason that I mentioned President Thabo Mbeki because as a mediator he could make a suggestion and virtually do arm-twisting, which others were not capable of doing. And the same occurred when the U.N. Secretary-General was speaking with Moustapha Niassé, the former Prime Minister of Senegal. Moustapha Niassé was doing that same arm-twisting exercise. My own role was to insist that the dialogue was not going to come to an end until we reached the objective that was intended at the beginning.

JN: Thank you. That is an interesting distinction between coercive mediation, which is definitely needed, and the kind of facilitation that maintains the relationship so that people stay at the table. Now some questions from the audience. What strategies have you found to be most effective in building leadership capacity among young Africans, and what qualities do you see as being critical for leaders in Africa—and basically for leaders anywhere?

KM: I think young Africans, or old Africans, or young or old anywhere—we are all like little children: we like to be recognized. And one of the ways to get people to do the best that they are capable of is to recognize their merits, to see the good in them. Encourage that, and make sure that nobody feels pushed aside, for whatever reason: that if he is not getting promoted or doesn't get the limelight, “the fault” is not in the president, “Dear Brutus . . . but in ourselves, that we are underlings.”

The wisdom of the world is never all assembled in one head. You have to recognize that you are with other people. And even when you know precisely what to do, give them the chance to opine, to express their views. And even if you make a decision that is different from their views, they will know that you have taken into account their views. But, as the final arbiter, you have come to the conclusion of what to do because, after all, the buck stops with you.

JN: Please describe Botswana's relationship with DeBeers. As a company with a near monopoly on the world's diamonds I fear that DeBeers' relationship with Botswana is one of exploitation as opposed to cooperation that benefits the Botswanan people.

KM: I think this is far from the truth. We recognized when DeBeers came to Botswana that they were not a charitable organization. They had come there to make money. And we must give them the opportunity to make it. But that they were going to be taking away our resources, we also had the right to claim a fair share of that which duly belonged to us. So we negotiated very hard. And we are the envy of people who have also come up with mineral agreements with other companies. We get a fair share. I won't say how much. But it is considered by everybody to be a very fair share.

JN: We move on to a neighbor that is having serious problems, Zimbabwe. Two people in the audience ask about the status of Zimbabwe, and ask for

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17 Reference to Julius Caesar, Act I, Sc. ii, 140-141.
you to comment on the current status of Zimbabwe. Some have described Mugabe’s policies as a form of genocide, with the destruction of housing and the severe food shortages. Is some form of resolution possible?

KM: Well, the Secretary-General of the U.N. has sent his commissioner to go and investigate the matter, and a report has been produced. I think we should wait to hear what the Secretary-General says of that report and what actions he decides must be taken. But I don’t think it is fair that I should come here and pronounce judgment on my neighbor when he is still being looked at by as highly placed a person as the U.N. Secretary-General.

JN: I am not going to let you off the hook. I would like to pursue this. As a former head of state you are no longer looking for the right thing to say or do politically. But you still have many contacts all over the world, especially with your colleagues and heads of state in Africa. And I am wondering, as a former head of state, if you work quietly outside of the limelight to approach people like Mugabe, or if you have quiet conversations to try to persuade them towards the democracy that you upheld so well in Botswana.

KM: Well, as you know, heads of state don’t come running to other heads of state to tell them what to do. But quietly, heads of state do come to other heads of state and whisper. They say, “Don’t you think this thing could be done better?” And it’s no secret that the SADC heads of state have one-by-one and in a group spoken with President Mugabe. I am not going to say what they have said to him, nor how he replies to them. But, certainly I can assure you that other heads of state have had interactions with him.

JN: I think many people in this audience would like to see more interaction with President Mugabe.

KM: Actually, I have been invited by President Mugabe to go to Zimbabwe. And if only you had asked me this question after my return, I might have given a better answer.

JN: Then you will have to come back. I wish you could carry a message from the many people outside of Zimbabwe that we wish that Zimbabwe would return to its former development and democracy and human rights. That said, do you support increased United Nations military involvement in African conflicts?

KM: Something which is very encouraging has happened. Since the decolonization process in Africa, the African presidents and prime ministers have formed an organization called the Organization of African Unity. And it had the tendency for the presidents to go to whatever venue they chose and exchange pleasantries and do very little that could excite the world. But a couple of years ago, the African leaders met in Durban and they decided to change the character of the Organization of African Unity and renamed it the African Union.

The African Union came up with a program of action, both political and economic. It came up with a program called NEPAD [New Partnership for Africa’s Development]. This is a program for political and economic development of Africa, which says that perhaps 40 years ago we could explain colonialism, but 40 years down the line we must look around and see what it is that we have done ourselves. And if we want to go ahead, shouldn’t we take the lead, and other people can help us when they see what we are doing.

Now that they have shown their muscle, a few things have happened and they have taken a stand. When Togo was going to be the old story of a president grabbing power and it being left like that because it was an internal affair, this time both the regional organizations ECOWAS and the African Union said “over our dead bodies.” They’re not going to have it, and it didn’t happen. The person who wanted to take over power just had to accept that there had to be a general election and the rule of law must apply. The rule of law was that should anything happen to the president, the speaker of the house should have a temporary hold on the presidency until an election was held. And that, indeed, did happen.
Things were going berserk in Ivory Coast. The African Union has detailed Thabo Mbeki as their emissary to go there and make sure that things are done properly. Now in Darfur, Sudan, the African Union has sent a contingent to go and see that things are contained. But we must admit that sometimes the spirit is willing, but the pocket is weak. If you send a contingent there, you must have resources to fly in supplies to them and you must have resources to fly out those who are injured, and so forth and so on. And I think that they have lived true to their Durban undertaking. They must show that they are willing to do as much as they can do, and the rest of the world should give a helping hand.

JN: What are the key causes of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and does religion play a role in both the conflict and the peacemaking?

KM: The Congo is in a very unfortunate position because it is one of these times when your virtues become your vices. The Congo is the richest country in Africa. All the rivers of the Nile in the neighboring countries flow into the Congo. They say that they could generate power that could set the whole of Africa alight. And because they have these resources, different powers are backing different groups. Therefore, whenever there is a likelihood of understanding among the Congolese, those who think that their group is going to be at a disadvantage, stoke the fires.

But apart from outside interference, there is also the misfortune that the Congo was never a colony in a conventional sense. The Congo was the private property of the king of Belgium. He ran it like somebody runs a farm of his own. And when the king relinquished his hold on the Congo, it was taken by the Belgian merchants who really didn’t run the country for the benefit of everybody. It was just what interest the tycoons wanted or whatever those who were mining copper wanted. The development of administration was restricted to those very narrow confines.

Therefore, one had hoped that when the Congo became independent, this situation would be changed. But unfortunately, it was just the black Leopold in the person of President [Sese Seko] Mobutu who just ran the country as if it was his private farm. Unfortunately, there was the Cold War, when you didn’t need to do anything right. You were either under the armpit of America or Russia. And once you had fulfilled that role, it didn’t matter what wrong you did, you would get what you want because you were going to be kept in the fold. That, unfortunately, was the misfortune of the Congo.

JN: With the next question, we return to the DRC and to Darfur, and the issue of borders. Are borders in Africa one of the primary causes of conflict? What do you think we need to do to try and consolidate democracies in countries that are still in transition?

KM: Having run down the OAU, the one good thing they did in their first meeting in Addis Ababa was to say that the colonial borders must be respected. Where the colonial borders are not respected, there will be chaos in Africa because the colonial borders in almost every country have cut tribes in half. You find that one brother is a minister in Tanzania, and the other is a minister in Kenya. One brother is a minister in Uganda, and the other is a minister in Somalia. So they have laid down this guiding principle and honored that. Sometimes there is a tiff about an island here or an area which promises to have oil there, but it is now the case that there are no serious border disputes. One exception, however, is in the case of Eritrea and Ethiopia. But that has been attended to. As you know, there is none as deaf as those who do not like to hear. A judgment has been pronounced. And even though it has not been respected, this does not mean that nothing has been done.

JN: The task is always implementation. That’s very difficult.

KM: The former permanent representative of Botswana has been there for two years now as an emissary for the United Nations Secretary-General to try to make peace between the Eritreans and the Ethiopians.

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So in the negotiations that took place, the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, the worries were that there was no cohesion, no common purpose, there was no interest of the country. Men go to war to defend the right of the country. They
put their lives at stake. But in the Congo, the country is put at stake for the benefit of the individuals. That unfortunately is the position, and until that changes, the Congo will remain in turmoil.

JN: Speaking of trying, and actually succeeding so much, what in your background contributed to the development of your empathy and objectivity?

KM: I think we are very fortunate in Botswana in that we started very poor, and therefore, we became very frugal in the use of our resources, both human and material. I think that has influenced us a lot. Therefore, you realize that you are not in a position to advise those who are in a position of having money oozing out of their ears.

JN: Looking back on your accomplishments, is there anything that you would change?

KM: I would not be human if there was nothing that I would change. Yes, there are a few things that I would change. For instance, before implementing a project in Botswana, we have to have an environmental impact study done. We wanted to use surplus water from the Okavango. We wanted to dam it so that we could control the flow instead of it dissipating in the wild Kalahari sands. And we are very democratic in our approach. So we approached the Maun people and talked them into agreeing that they must give us the opportunity to manage a resource. But we don’t live in Maun. We live in Gaborone. But the tourist operators live with the people in Maun and they know their traditions, fears and hopes, and they told them that their grandfathers live in the desert. The people became very agitated.

We had already assembled a team there to construct dams to hold water. If there is surplus water it goes to dam one, and if there is extra it would be released into dam two. But people just rose up in arms and said, “Over our dead bodies.” And as a democratic president, I yielded and we had to pay the team that had assembled there a demobilization fee of 8 million pula. You may not know what pula is, but it’s a lot of money.

That is where I failed. I should have just gone ahead because it was the right
thing to do. But, I listened to them—the wrong thing to do.

JN: As our last question, if you were teaching—and as we are in a university with many students focused on learning—what would you want to communicate, as a former teacher yourself, to your students about peacebuilding?

KM: The first thing that I would say to them is that no man is an island. Even the Monroe Doctrine has failed. Therefore, they must realize that the more the world develops, the more we truly become citizens of a common village. And therefore, we bear one another’s responsibilities. There are things that are happening to humanity at large that ought not to be allowed to be happening. I will give you an example of such a thing in education.

There are countries where only 40 percent of the children are receiving education, primary education. And primary education is just that, primary. You cannot imagine a child born in this day and age that grows to be 70 years old and receives no education. If you look back at 70 years of time and the progress that has been made, it is not an arithmetic progression but a geometric progression. Therefore, if you don’t send your children to school now, you are relegating them to the animal kingdom from the human kingdom.

I would say that it is our common responsibility as human beings that these things don’t happen. Those that have the means ought to look at things of this sort. It is not the only concern, but my lesson to the students is that they have a responsibility. Humanity is investing in them, and humanity expects the result of that investment, whether it be in their own country or abroad.
RELATED RESOURCES

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WEBSITES:

Global Coalition for Africa. The GCA is an innovative intergovernmental forum that brings together top African policymakers and their partners in the international community to build consensus on Africa’s priority development issues. It is based on the premise that Africa can grow only from within, but to do so it needs outside support. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.gcacma.org/english_home.htm

Inter-Congolese Dialogue. The Inter-Congolese Dialogue was the official peace process that took place in Sun City, South Africa. President Masire was the facilitator of the talks. Full texts of the agreements that resulted from the peace process were retrieved March 2006, and can be found at http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/DRCongo/icd/index.htm

National Service of Gacaca Jurisdictions. The gacaca system was inspired by the traditional Rwandan system of settling disputes with the aim of punishment of the guilty person, but also the restoration of social harmony and cohesion. The goals of the system are the reconstruction of what happened during the genocide, the speeding up of the legal proceedings to try those responsible, and the reconciliation of all Rwandans. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.inkiko-gacaca.gov.rw/En/EnIntroduction.htm

New Partnership for Africa's Development. NEPAD is designed to address the current challenges facing the African continent. Issues such as the escalating poverty levels, underdevelopment, and the continued marginalization of Africa needed a new radical intervention, spearheaded by African leaders, to develop a new vision that would guarantee Africa's renewal. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.nepad.org

Republic of Botswana. The website of the government of Botswana. Includes links to all the ministries of government, tourism, business and investment, and

http://www.thecommonwealth.org

African Presidential Archives and Research Center. Located at Boston University, APARC is an unprecedented and unique approach to studying democratization and free market reform in Africa. President Masire was the fourth Lloyd G. Balfour African President in Residence at APARC in 2005. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.bu.edu/aparc

African Union. The AU is Africa's premier institution and principal organization for the promotion of accelerated socioeconomic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.africa-union.org


Commonwealth. Today's Commonwealth is an association of 53 countries. Its 1.8 billion citizens, about 30 percent of the world's population, are drawn from the broadest range of faiths, races, cultures and traditions. Members range from vast countries like Canada to small island states like Malta. The Commonwealth has three intergovernmental organizations: the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth of Learning. Retrieved March 2006, from

http://www.africa-union.org

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/afrika/country_profiles/1068674.stm

http://www.inkiko-gacaca.gov.rw/En/EnIntroduction.htm

http://www.thecommonwealth.org

Southern African Development Community. SADC formed in 1980 and currently includes Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe as its member states. The SADC vision is one of a common future, a future in a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice, and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.sadc.int

Survival International. Survival is the only international organization supporting tribal peoples worldwide. It was founded in 1969 and has supporters in 82 countries. Survival is lobbying for the human and land rights of all Bushmen peoples across southern Africa. In particular, Survival is campaigning with the Gana and Gwi Bushmen in Botswana, calling for them to be allowed home, for recognition of their land rights in accordance with international law, and for their right to live as they choose. Retrieved March 2006, from http://www.survival-international.org


BOOKS, SPEECHES AND ARTICLES:


ABOUT THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

Chartered in 1949, the University of San Diego is a Roman Catholic institution of higher learning located on 180 acres overlooking San Diego’s Mission Bay. The University of San Diego is committed to promoting academic excellence, expanding liberal and professional knowledge, creating a diverse community, and preparing leaders dedicated to ethical and compassionate service.

USD is steadfast in its dedication to the examination of the Catholic tradition as the basis of a continuing search for meaning in contemporary life. Global peace and development and the application of ethics and values are examined through campus centers and institutes, such as the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Values Institute, the TransBorder Institute, the Center for Public Interest Law, the Institute for Law and Philosophy, and the International Center for Character Education. Furthermore, through special campus events such as the Social Issues Conference, the James Bond Stockdale Leadership and Ethics Symposium, and the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series, we invite the community to join us in further exploration of these values.

In recent years, the University of San Diego has hosted many distinguished guests, including Nobel Peace Laureates and former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Oscar Arias, Supreme Court justices, United Nations and United States government officials, as well as ambassadors from countries around the world. In 1996, the university hosted a Presidential Debate between candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

The USD campus, considered one of the most architecturally unique in the nation, is known as Alcalá Park. Like the city of San Diego, the campus takes its name from San Diego de Alcalá, a Franciscan brother who served as the infirmary of Alcalá de Henares, a monastery near Madrid, Spain. The Spanish Renaissance architecture that characterizes the five-century old University of Alcalá serves as the inspiration for the buildings on the University of San Diego campus. The architecture was intended by the founders, Bishop Charles Francis Buddy and Mother Rosalie Hill, to enhance the search for truth through beauty and harmony. Recent additions, such as the state-of-art Donald P. Shiley Center for Science and Technology and soon the new School of Leadership and Education Sciences building, carry on that tradition.

A member of the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa, USD is ranked among the nation’s top 100 universities. USD offers its 7,500 undergraduate, graduate and law students rigorous academic programs in more than 60 fields of study through six academic divisions, including the College of Arts and Sciences and the schools of Business Administration, Leadership and Education Sciences, Law, and Nursing and Health Science. The Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies is scheduled to open in the fall of 2007.
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