

Dissertation By SSANYU, Beatrice

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

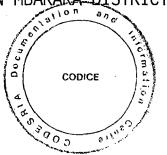
The refugee as a person: a case study of Rwandese refugees in Mbarara district, western Uganda

14.07.00 SSA 10005

THE REFUGEE AS A PERSON

A CASE STUDY OF RWANDESE REFUGEES IN MBARARA DISTRICT,

WESTERN UGANDA



SSANYU BEATRICE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (PHILOSOPHY) OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has never been submitted for a degree in Makerere University or in any other University or institution of higher learning.

Signed:

SSANYU BEATRICE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
D 3		
	ration	, i i
Acknow	wledgement	viii
Abstra	act	ix
	CHAPTER ONE	
1	INTRODUCTION OF THE THESIS	1 -
1.1	Preliminary remarks	1
1.1.1	Background to the study	2
1.1.2	Description of Rwandese	8
1.1.3	Causes of Rwandese refugee influx into Uganda	
	in late 1950s	9
1.2	Statement of the problem	11
1.3	Scope and purpose of the study	11
1.4	Review of literature	12
1.5	Hypothesis	15
1.6	Methodology	16
1.7	Significance of the study	18.
	CHAPTER TWO	
2	CLARIFICATION OF THE KEY ETHICAL CONCEPTS	
	IN THIS THESIS	19
2.1	Introduction	19
2.2	Definition of freedom	19
2.2.1	Clarification of freedom vis-a-vis coercion	21
2.2.2	Choosing between alternatives	23
2.2.3	Free will and free action	26
221	The author's perspective of freedom	27

2.3	Human rights	27
2.3.1	Assessment of the views advanced by M.A. Gonsalves	
	and C. Andrew Varga	30
2.3.2	Theory of natural rights	32
2.3.3	A comment on John Locke and Julius Nyerere's view	
	about natural rights	34
2.3.4	Differences between freedom and human rights	35
2.4	The person	36
2.4.1	An over view of St. Thomas Aquinas' doctrine	
	of the soul	37
2.5	Identity	38
2.5.1	The identity of a person in relation to other	
	creatures in the universe	. 39
2.5.2	Identity as a relationship between the	
	individual and society	39
2.5.3	The search for identity ,	42
2.6	Conclusion	45
	CHAPTER THREE	
3	THE EXPERIENCE OF RWANDESE IN ORUCHINGA REFUGEE	
	SETTLEMENT	47
3.1	Introduction	47
3.2	Assistance received from Uganda as a country	
	of asylum	47
3.3	Commencement of alien life in Oruchinga Refugee	
	Settlement	48
3.4	Social discrimination among the young people	51
3.5	Economic uncertainty	55

		v	
·	3.6	Administrative problems	56
	3.7	Political problems	57
	3.8	Attitude of local people towards Rwandese refugees .	59
,	3.9	Conclusion	60
		CHAPTER FOUR	
	4	CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCE FACED BY	
		RWANDESE REFUGEES	62 ⁻
	4.1	Introduction	62
	4.2	The morality of being a refugee	62
	4.3	Restrictions on land use	63
	4.4	Work ethics among Rwandese refugees and	
		the local people	65
	4.5	Factors underlying the hostility of	
		Rwandese refugees	68
	4.6	Repatriation	70
	4.7	Critical examination of 1982 event	72
,	4.8	Superficial interaction between Rwandese refugees	
		and the local people	73 -
	4.9	Conclusion	74
		CHAPTER FIVE	
	5	FINAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	76
	5.1	Conditions faced by refugees all over the world	76
	5.2	Key concepts that influenced the relationship	
		between Rwandese refugees and the local people	
	•	in Mbarara District	 77

5.3	Positive and negative aspects of Rwandese stay in	
	Uganda from 1959 to August 1994	80
5.4	Issues underlying positive and negative aspects	
	of Rwandese refugees' stay in Uganda	83 -
5.5	Recommendations	85
5.5.1	Social recommendations	85
5.5.2	Economic recommendations	89
5.5.3	Political recommendations	90
APPENI	DICES	·
APPENI	DIX 1: MAPS	
Map 1	Location of Mbarara District in Uganda 9	1
Map 2	Location of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement	_
	in Mbarara District 9	2
Map 3	Soil types around Oruchinga Settlement 9	3
APPEN	DIX 2: TABLES	
Table	1 Refugee population in some African	
	countries 9	4
Table	2 Regional statistics for refugees	
	in Africa9	5
Table	3 Frequency table showing the response	
	of Rwandese refugees at Oruchinga Refugee	_
	Settlement 9	6

Table 4	Data obtained from Ministry of	
	Local Government	
Table 5	Frequency table showing the response of	
	local people who were living in the	
	vicinity of Rwandese refugees settlement 98	-
APPENDIX 3:	GRAPH	
÷		
Graph 1	Graph showing refugee population in some	•
	African countries in Eastern, Western,	
	Southern and Central Africa 99	
APPENDIX 4:	FIGURE	
Figure 1:	Rwandese leaving Uganda in August 1994 100	
	,6	-
APPENDIX 5:	QUESTIONNAIRES	
Questionnai	re 1	101
Questionnai	re 2	103
Questionnai	re 3	105
APPENDIX 6:	RESPONDENTS FOR ORAL INTERVIEWS	107
BIBLIOGRAPH	Υ	111

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the members of staff of philosophy department who taught me ever since I started my undergraduate studies. They include Prof. A.T. Dalfovo, Mr. P. Kaboha, Mr. S.A. Mwanahewa, Mr. Zubairi'b, Nasseem and Mr. A.R. Byaruhanga.

In a special way I would like to express my profound gratitude to Dr. J.K. Kigongo, senior Lecturer and my supervisor, who devoted his precious time to offer me a lot of academic guidance and advice.

My course-mates, Fr. G. Ezatirale, Mr. C. Choda, Mr. C. Amulala, Mr. H. Kavuma, Mr. L. Nyeko, and Mr. P.M. Wandawa, also deserve a lot of thanks, because the discussions which I held with them were academically enriching.

Great thanks go to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for the grant of US \$2500 in relation to the writing of this thesis. This was a great financial relief which I was very grateful to receive.

I would like also to extend my appreciation to Mr. A.S. Farah the then Representative of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Uganda, and Mr. C. Twesigomwe of Ministry of Local Government for the assistance which they rendered to me during my research.

All those who provided assistance in one way or another are highly appreciated especially my sister Miss L. Kembabazi, who provided financial assistance and typing services. Great thanks also go to Rev. Can. B. Mugarura Mutana, and his wife Mrs. J. Mugarura, members of St. Francis Chapel, Makerere University, the Makerere University Christian Union, and the Refugee department of Church of Uganda.

May God reward everyone accordingly.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a case study of Rwandese refugees who came to Uganda and stayed in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement in Mbarara District from 1959 up to 1994. The fundamental problem tackled is that of treating refugees as people of low esteem. This resulted in a strained relationship between the local people and refugees.

So the hypothesis given in this thesis is that there is a need to enlighten both the refugees and the local people so that they are in position to behave well towards one another and to honour each other's human dignity. Each individual needs his due recognition-as a person. So in addition to catering for the material needs of refugees the non-material aspect also needs to be attended to especially the moral virtue of reconciliation, and carrying out rational actions rather than emotional actions which are geared by suspicion and prejudice.

Under the scope of the study, emphasis is put on the actions that have moral implications and values. Four concepts are used to provide the basis for the development of the thesis, that is, freedom, human rights, the person and identity. Some observation is also made on circumstances under which both refugees and the local people were acting under compulsion due to hard conditions of living. The context of the study is the relationship between the refugees and the local people.

The main purpose of this thesis is to point out areas that need attention whenever refugees are given asylum. Another purpose is to

prescribe pragmatic ways and means through which refugees and local people ought to live optimistically without being myopic and inward looking.

Whereas Chapter One gives the introduction to the study, Chapter Two offers clarification of the key ethical concepts that form the basis of the study. They are clarified with the aim of applying them to the real life experience of Rwandese refugees in relation to local people.

Chapter Three gives a descriptive approach to the experience of Rwandese Refugees in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. Chapter Four tackles the moral implications of the Rwandese refugees' experience in relation to the local people.

Evidence shows that in every situation where Rwandese refugees and the local people were hurting each other, to some extent there had been an oversight on the significance of morality.

Chapter Five is the synthesis of the whole study. Social, economic and political recommendations are given in this chapter. Emphasis is put on the fact that the refugees require long-term attention that ought to enable them to smoothly get integrated among the local people. Emergence assistance offered to refugees is essential but it is not enough when it is not coupled with conscientisation of refugees and the local people.

All in all, this thesis aims at contributing pragmatic views. So all the assistance given to refugees ought to bear a holistic approach.

Note:

Throughout this thesis the pronoun "he" is used to refer to the person as a human being regardless of his sex.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION OF THE THESIS

1.1 Preliminary remarks

This study is an ethical examination of the refugee problem. The background to the study shows that the problem of refugees is widespread. It shows that refugees face similar hardships, but most of these hardships have never been given ethical attention from the academic perspective. This ethical study about refugees is the first of its kind in the department of philosophy of Makerere University.

Under this study it has been evident that due to the fact that ethical principles have been neglected by refugee policy makers, refugees live in settlements while being tormented by the uncertainty about their basis of existence, and without any hope for the future. They are regarded as being of low esteem, and as such they are not sure about their destiny.

The study was carried out in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement in Mbarara District, Western Uganda. (Refer to Map 1 on page 91.) The area of study is found in Isingiro County. (Refer to Map 2 on page 92.) Rwandese in Uganda are in three categories: The first is the one of Rwandese who remained in Uganda after being separated from their kinsmen by the colonial boundary between Rwanda and Uganda. The second includes those who came to Uganda before 1959, either in search of employment or through ordinary migration. The third is comprised of refugees who came to Uganda as the result of political turmoil in Rwanda in late 1950s and early 1960s.

This thesis concentrates on Rwandese refugees who were living in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement, because they form a typical example of refugees who were regarded as being of low esteem.

1.1.1 Background to the study

Refugee problem is a world-wide phenomenon especially in low developed countries and more so in Africa. Refugees have been rampant in the Eastern part of Africa as shown on the graph on page 99, and there has been an increasing trend of refugee population year after year. In the majority of cases, being a refugee means that one has to feel the stigma of being an alien. It means living in difficult conditions which are not conducive for human existence. As such most refugees in Africa lead miserable lives full of suffering and pain. The kind of pain which they experience is not so much physical as such, but it is a pain which results from being baseless, and being mocked by other human beings who are not undergoing such pain.

To a great extent what refugees have been undergoing has had a negative effect upon their lives. For instance according to the report which was given by All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in Djibouti in 1988, many refugees were harassed while others were expelled by Djibouti authorities. In theory the government of Djibouti claimed that refugees were not supposed to be discriminated against in employment, but in reality it was

¹ AACC.: "No time to say good bye". Report 1987 -1988. Nairobi, March 1988, p.41.

impossible for refugees to obtain employment. The difficult conditions of refugees were promoted by two factors. The first was cruel government policy and the second was the indifference of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR) office in Djibouti towards refugees. UNHCR office abdicated its responsibility thus refugees remained unprotected. 2

Mozambicans who fled to South Africa also faced the problem of harassment according to AACC report of 1990 - 1991. In spite of the peace talks which were going on between the government of Mozambique and Renamo, the refugee flow from Mozambique into South Africa continued unabated. They continued to cross the Kruger National Park on foot into the South African homelands of Gazankulu, Kangwane, Lebowa, and Kwazulu. Mozambicans were regarded as "prohibited aliens". They could be deported if they were caught. Due to the fact that they were unable to be accorded official refugee status, they continued to lead the life of fugitives.³

Whenever Mozambican refugees would be crossing the border of Mozambique and South Africa, through the Kruger National Park, they could not only be at the mercy of being killed by wild animals, but on entering South Africa, they would also be

¹ AACC.: "Helpless I come ...!". Report 1988 - 1989. Kinshasa, March 1989, p.39.

² Ibid., p.39.

³ AACC.: "Voluntary repatriation is the answer". Report 1990 - 1991, Nairobi, March 1991, p.96.

attacked by South African defence force which could shoot at every refugee they would come across.

The experience faced by Mozambican refugees is a good example to show the dilemma in which most refugees would find themselves. They would leave their original homes in confusion, only to seek asylum in countries which were in turmoil. In short, refugees are often exposed to hard conditions of living. Usually they do not have alternatives because they are too poor to transfer themselves to better places than their immediate neighbouring countries.

Usually refugees satisfy their conscience by running to neighbouring countries for asylum but in reality they live under insecurity, anxiety and fear. In such moments of facing difficult conditions, refugees often lose their moral norms. What they need is survival regardless of how they find means of it.

Refugees are often settled in areas which have hostile physical environment which also affect their behaviour and attitude. For example, in Ethiopia, refugees were living in the dry places of Itang, Fugindo, Dima and Assosa. In most cases the social integration of the refugees and the local people is difficult because it is not encouraged by the countries of asylum.

¹ AACC.: "Helpless I come!". Report 1988 - 1989, Kinshasa, March 1989. p.46.

On the other hand, there are countries in Africa where refugees are allowed to stay and they do not suffer so much because the citizens care for them. A case in point is Ghana where approximately 6,851 refugees were staying in Buduburam camp which is 20 miles west of Accra while over 2,000 refugees were being hosted by Ghanian families in 1992.¹

The government of Ghana has a policy that aims at preserving the dignity of refugees and to cater for their well-being. This implies that it is possible for the citizens of any country to have a positive perspective about refugees.

Many scholars have tried to identify causes of the refugee problem in Africa and they have categorised them as political, social and economic factors.

Politically scholars hold the view that when different political parties have divergent political ideologies there often begins a guerrilla war like in Mozambique and Angola in 1992.

For instance, in Angola when elections were held in 1992 Jonas Savimbi could not accept defeat. So he withdrew to his headquarters in Huambo and continued with the war while leading his party of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) against the government of president Jose Eduardo dos

¹ AACC.: "Voluntary repatriation is the answer". Report 1990 -1991, Nairobi, March 1991, p.56.

Santos, the leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Other causes for the existence of refugees have been strikes and boycotts led by politicians, like in Zaire. Some countries have been facing political upheavals like in Western Sahara. Such political atmosphere causes strife and insecurity which force people to flee from their countries of birth.

Social factors which have caused the refugee problem include tribal or ethnic strife, for instance in Somalia, religious wars like in Sudan where the rebel leader John Garang of Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has been fighting against the government of president Omar Ahmed Al Bashir.

Persecution, segregation, and intolerance have caused many people to leave South Africa in order to get refuge in Lesotho, Swaziland. Zambia and other countries.

Due to economic hardships many people have been compelled to leave their home countries in order to get better income than what they have been receiving under the economic systems of their countries.

One can enumerate as many causes as possible according to what various scholars have pointed out, but the major underlying factor is that the existence of refugees is a result of the clash

¹ The New Vision.: V.7, n.267, 10th Nov. 1992, p.12.

of interests between two counter-parts. Clash of interests leads to war and disharmony which begins in the mind and is manifested in actions through physical force aiming at protecting one's egoistic needs which may be social, economic, or political.

Before the coming of colonialists Africans used to move from one territory to another depending on their needs. Different tribes used to relate to each other with the "spirit of brotherhood"; but the demarcation of state boundaries restricted movement. One needs a travel document in order to move from his home country to another. On the part of refugees when they cross boundaries they immediately assume the status of being alien even if they are staying in a place which has the people with the same ethnic origin as theirs.

Attempts have been made by many government and non-governmental organisations to assist refugees by providing shelter, food, clothing, medical care and establishing income generating projects, but the problem of negative attitude of the citizens towards refugees has not been successfully eradicated. People have only maintained the idea that staying in a foreign land is very difficult but there has not been sufficient attempt to address this problem.

This thesis holds the view that it is high time humanity realised that being a refugee is not a crime, but it is a moral crime for humanity to create conditions which force people to become

refugees, or to mistreat people because they bear a refugee status.

Having examined the situation of refugees in Africa, it is worth to undertake a brief look at the background of refugees in Uganda. Later on we shall examine Rwandese refugees in Uganda particularly in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement.

Uganda started hosting refugees even before she received her independence in 1962. The first major influx of refugees was from Sudan which took place after Sudanese had attained their independence in 1959 following the outbreak of civil war between Northern and Southern part of the country. Since then Uganda has continued to receive groups or individuals as asylum seekers from various countries.¹

There were 142,000 refugees in Uganda at the beginning of 1990. At the end of 1991 the population of refugees in Uganda was 176,000 of whom 175,750 were rural refugees, majority of whom were of Rwandese origin, followed by Sudanese, and others were Zairians, Somalis and Ethiopians.²

1.1.2 Description of Rwandese

The noun "Rwandese" is the English version of the term "Banyarwanda" in vernacular.

¹ AACC.: "Voluntary repatriation is the answer". Report 1991 - 1992. Jinja, March 1992, p.113.

² AACC.: "Am I my brother's keeper?". Report 1986-1987. Harare, March 1987, p.110.

Rwandese are.

Zaire, Western Tanzania and South Western Uganda. The term 'Banyarwanda' embraces three subgroups: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.¹

In culture, Rwandese are closely related to the Bakiga in Kabale District, in Uganda, Bafumbira in Kisoro District and Banyankole in Mbarara District.

1.1.3 Causes of Rwandese refugee influx into Uganda in late 1950s.

Before 1959, Rwandese had been living under the social system that promoted segregation, bitterness and oppression. The Tūtsi were nobles while the Hutu were serfs. The Hutu were subjected to forced labour, they were compelled to give their cattle to the Tutsi, and in some instances the Hutu were forced to deny their clan origin. The Tutsi painfully exploited the Hutu whom they regarded as a minor clan.

When Belgians colonised Rwanda, they also promoted Tutsi/Hutu differences. The Tutsi enjoyed privileges while the Hutu were subjected to utmost injustice. The Hutu intellectuals wrote a manifesto advocating for the end of Tutsi supremacy, employment of the Hutu in public offices, and recognition of the value of the Hutu clan. In 1959, Rwanda's first political party was

¹ Catherine Watson.: <u>Exile from Rwanda. Background to an invasion</u>. The U.S. Committee for Refugees, February 1991, p.2.

formed and it was known as the Union National Rwandaise (UNAR). In reaction the Hutu formed Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu (PARMEHUTU). 1

On 1 November (1959) an attack on Hutu Chief provoked a wide spread and spontaneous Hutu peasant uprising involving some bloodshed and much looting and burning of Tutsi homes. The Tutsi responded with the killing of various leaders.²

The fight between the Hutu and the Tutsi eventually spread throughout the country. Catherine Watson reported that,

The Belgians, whose colonial policies did much to foster these bitter divisions, did little to contain the violence; when they finally did act, they cracked down on the Tutsi: arresting 919 compared to 312 Hutu.³

The Tutsi fled to the neighbouring countries such as Zaire, Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda. Rwandese who entered Uganda in 1959 were received at Kamwezi in Kabale District by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. They were later

¹ Ibid., p.4.

² Ali Mazrui and Michael Tidy.: <u>Nationalism and New States in Africa from about 1935 to the Present</u>. Nairobi, Heinemann, 1984, p.220.

³ Catherine Watson, op.cit., p.4.

transferred to Oruchinga where they were staying until 1994, when they decided to return to Rwanda, after Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) had won the battle against the government of Juvenile Habyarimana.

Some Rwandese had stayed in Uganda for 35 years but they did not go through the process of obtaining Ugandan citizenship because they held the view that Uganda was a strange country where they were tired of being aliens.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Being a refugee is a phenomenon that demeans the freedom, human rights, and identity of a person.

1.3 Scope and purpose of the study

This is a case study of Rwandese refugees who were staying in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement from 1959 up to 1994. It includes the experience which they faced while staying in Uganda and particularly their relationship with the local people who were living in the vicinity of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. While examining the actions and reactions of Rwandese refugees and the local people, emphasis was put on identifying the moral values which were neglected and pointing out what ought to have been done in problematic situations.

Assessment is done on the actions that were carried out freely without compulsion. While clarifying key concepts, the author

dwells mainly on the dimensions that are related to the experience of Rwandese refugees.

The whole purpose of this thesis is to prescribe pragmatic ways and means through which refugees and local people ought to have good interpersonal relationships in order to live peacefully while respecting each others' human dignity.

In short this thesis calls for a fundamental change in actions, attitudes and perceptions among refugees and the local people, while utilising measures that are feasible.

1.4 Review of literature¹

While undertaking a study about refugees in Uganda, Robina Gureme found out that international laws and national laws of Uganda which were governing refugees were obsolete, and they did not cater for the welfare of refugees. She points out that the most important problems faced by refugees in Uganda include: land shortage, feeling unwanted, insecure and humiliated.

She also observes that although the most common way of solving the refugee problem was through local integration of refugees with the local people, most Rwandese refugees were not interested in becoming Ugandan citizens because they were feeling insecure.

¹ Refer to the Bibliography for the titles of the works written by the authors under this section.

G. M. Robina Namusisi also endeavours to elaborate on the plight of Rwandese refugees in Uganda. She emphasizes that more often than not, refugees are discriminated against, they experience military attacks and their human rights are abused by the local people.

She specifically points out that the ethnic bias against Rwandese refugees in Uganda is very deep. In her dissertation she is aiming at examining how effectively Uganda government has accorded protection to refugees, with reference to Rwandese.

Odora Obote asserts that the causes for the existence of refugees in society, include poor political leadership, which is characterized by lack of accountability, failure to find democratic means of changing government, which consequently leads to violation of human rights, and influx of refugees.

Other writers who are concerned about the rights of refugees include Roxanne Dubur-Oritz and E. Barbara Harrell-Bond. They assert that refugees live in a hopeless situation. They do not have the right to make a choice even in what one would call a trivial decision, like choosing a diet. Their article clearly shows the absurdity of maintaining international laws which-are inadequate and irrelevant to the refugee situation in the whole world.

The writers above point out that very few citizens or local people take the trouble to care about refugees' suffering.

Instead the citizens are the ones who contribute some problems towards refugees. Refugees form a community of neglected people who are regarded as too insignificant to attract people's attention and sympathy.

Furthermore, most international laws and national laws governing the refugee situation are obsolete and little has been done to rectify this situation, yet such laws are oppressive and unjust.

The writers also stress the fact that refugees abhor the circumstances in which they live especially when they are marginalized and treated as people who do not deserve human dignity.

The writers of the literature under review have contributed a lot towards the clarification of the plight of refugees, and their major idea is that there is an urgent need for change, especially in the way in which refugees are treated, and in eradication of the problems faced by them.

Most of the writers of the literature under review write while fixing the blame on ordinary people, organizations or governments, while explaining that refugees are neglected, but they do not give any idea about the role which ought to be played by the refugees themselves.

Some of the ideas which have been given by the writers are in a report form, which gives an impression that the writers are

concerned about refugees who had recently left their home countries, but they do not seem to realize that even those who spend many years in specific refugee settlements also face a lot of problems.

Undertaking this study has revealed that there is little written information about refugees in Uganda. So, this thesis contributes some knowledge about the fact that the refugee problem has not been given the right treatment it deserves, and people should be made aware that the refugee problem is not something that is far from Uganda, but it is within the social, economic and political problems of the country.

There is an observation that the way refugees are treated is derived from the idea that they are people of low status who need to be kept below the level of the poorest citizen. This attitude needs to be completely changed, because every person has the moral right to be recognised as a human being by other people in society. So the society is morally responsible for all its individuals and the individuals are responsible for the common good of society.

1.5 Hypothesis

Given that the underlying problem faced by Rwandese refugees was lack of moral perception in their interaction with the local people, there ought to be a provision for enlightening, both

¹ There is no book review about Oruchinga Refugee Settlement because no publication was found by the author.

local people and refugees (who are still in Uganda) in moral principles and values so that whenever they come into contact they may know how to behave towards each other with the right attitude.

1.6 Methodology

The following methods of research were utilized during data collection and subsequent examination of relevant issues; they include: interviewing, recording, observing and reading.

The researcher prepared questions before hand and visited the homes of Rwandese refugees and the local people around Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. People were interviewed at random because some were willing to offer information while others were not willing. (Refer to the categories of people interviewed in Appendix 6, pages 107 to 110.)

Each respondent would give information on behalf of his family regardless of his age. The response received from the oral interviews was recorded on the sheets which were prepared in form of questionnaires. (Refer to Questionnaires on pages 101 to 106.)

Oral interviews were meant to find out the respondents' perception of life. During the interviews, the researcher observed the way respondents were reacting, commenting or answering the questions. For instance, on many occasions refugees expressed their bitterness through their speech, or they

expressed emotions showing that they were hurt. Very few refugees were happy.

The attitude of the people was seen in the frequency of the occurrence of the similar views from different people. The data was summarised in Tables Three and Five. (Refer to Appendix 2, on pages 96 and 98.)

In data analysis three methods have been used. The first one is conceptual clarification of key terms. This method is mainly used in chapter two where the four key concepts of freedom, human rights, the person and identity are considered to give the working definitions for the whole thesis.

Other concepts that occur in conjunction with the above ones are: motive, attitude, moral values, duty, responsibility, obligation, choice, alternative and moral conduct. These concepts frequently occur in the thesis. They form a basis for moral appraisals which have been given.

The descriptive method has been used in chapter three for the purpose of bringing out a clear understanding of the refugees experience.

The normative method is used in the last two chapters. Under this method causal explanations of moral behaviour are given. In chapter five recommendations are given after considering the consequences of the actions taken by Rwandese refugees and local people.

Not all the information which was given by people qualified to be included in this thesis because after careful scrutiny it was realized that some people had given information when they were biased. So objectivity was one of the criterion for compiling and assessing the research findings.

1.7 Significance of the study

This thesis is designed to caution policy makers in Uganda and beyond that the policies concerning refugees ought to protect them so that refugees are not molested because of their social status. Through this thesis one can understand that refugees also have something positive to offer towards human society because they also have value like any other people. This thesis also offers an ethical contribution towards finding solutions for some of the problems which refugees face so that they can receive a positive change in their lives.

CHAPTER TWO

2. CLARIFICATION OF KEY ETHICAL CONCEPTS IN THIS THESIS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on freedom, human rights, the person and identity. These are the four key concepts which have been identified as the ones which are involved in the day today experience of refugees. Refugees have suffered because the above mentioned key concepts have either been misunderstood, neglected or some people have been completely ignorant about the meaning of these key concepts and how they apply to human life. The clarifications given in this chapter are used as working definitions for the whole thesis.

2.2 Definition of freedom

P.H. Partridge defines freedom as the absence of constraint or coercion. He has pointed out that according to the traditional European individualism and liberalism,

... freedom refers primarily to a condition characterized by the absence of coercion or constraint imposed by another person; a man is said to be free to the extent that he can choose his goals or course of conduct, (he) can choose between alternatives available to him and is not compelled to act as he would not himself choose to act, by the will of

another man, of the state or of any other authority.¹

Coercion is defined as.

... the deliberate forceful interference in the affairs of human beings by other human beings. 2

Most thinkers hold the view that freedom means the absence of coercion. For instance, John Stuart Mill asserts that the only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing one's good in his own way so long as he does not attempt to deprive others or impede their efforts to obtain it.³

Those who advocate for positive freedom sometimes define freedom as,

... the ability to act in terms of one's interests, desires, and tastes. ... the ability to act in order to realize one's aims whatever they may be.4

¹ P.H. Patridge.: "Freedom". <u>The Encyclopedia of Philosophy</u>. Paul Edwards (Ed. in. C.), London, Collier-MacMillan Limited, v.3, 1967, p.222.

² Joel Feinberg.: <u>Social Philosophy</u>. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973, p.7.

³ A.J.M. Milne.: <u>Freedom and rights</u>. London, Allen and Unwin Ltd., p.18, 1968.

⁴ Martin Golding.: <u>Philosophy of Law</u>. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975, p.53.

Positive freedom enables the person to make his own initiative, so as to fulfil his goals according to his interests socially or individually.

2.2.1 Clarification of freedom vis-a-vis coercion

When one says that he is free because he can choose his own goals, such an assertion gives an implication that belittles the strength of freedom. The concept of freedom does not just apply to making choice regarding trivial decisions, but it applies to the individual in relation to the society in which he lives. Each society has a moral system which no body ought to claim to be his own. The moral system of the society exists before an individual is born.

So nobody ought to think that he has his own way of choosing a moral goal. He ought to consider his interests in relation to other people's needs. Also "one man's meat is another one's poison" which means that what one chooses to do and he regards it good can irritate others or it can affect their well- being. So the definition of freedom ought not to be limited to the subjective interests of an individual. Otherwise, the concept of freedom can be manipulated by a few individuals to achieve their own egoistic goals which are detrimental to the rest of the society.

Some people have the tendency of regarding coercion as an unnecessary evil. However, there is a need to realize that coercion is not always wrong. As Martin Golding has observed,

... in an organized social setting, one cannot be free to do whatever one wishes ... organized society is by its very nature coercive and the potential for compulsion to act against one's wishes is ever present.¹

There ought to be a distinction between coercion which is malevolent and coercion which is benevolent. For instance, a person may choose to behave in a way that he is likely to hurt himself. Such a person ought to be assisted to change his behaviour. When he fails to comply, the people can even force him to take heed of the advice which they are giving him.

The term coercion ought to be understood as having both positive and negative connotations according to different contexts and circumstances that surround the actions which a person has chosen to take. Each individual case ought to be judged on its merit. There is a need to assess both negative and positive aspects of coercion which are involved in a specific action.

Here it means that when one wants to take an action and another one wants to coerce the same action, the observers ought not to judge the one coercing the action as wrong before understanding the reason why both of them are acting as they are doing. Coercion as a check on "abnormal" excessive freedom is very necessary for human control.

¹ Ibid., p.53.

2.2.2 Choosing between alternatives

It is not always right to affirm that when a person has many alternatives to choose from in order to fulfil his own interests, then it means that he has enough freedom. The word alternative is relative and sometimes ambiguous. For example one can be having alternatives when all the chances he has to make a choice from cannot satisfy him because all the alternatives he has are not suitable. Sometimes all the alternatives may be very good and the person who is supposed to make a decision may get confused or the alternatives may be illusive and very frustrating.

So when a person says that he has freedom because he has many alternatives he must clearly mention the exact alternatives. In addition the source of alternatives need to be clarified and the means of getting the desired alternatives. It is not right just to focus on the goal and forget about the ways through which that goal is going to be achieved. The criteria for examining the source of alternatives and the means for achieving what is desired ought to be whether such alternatives can prove that they measure up to the moral standard of the society in which the person who is making a choice lives.

It is true that due to moral degeneration society sometimes may have wrong trends of thinking and may develop wrong moral judgements; but all the same there has to be a few individuals who can remain with sound moral judgement; which means that

Let. us examine an example of making a choice between For instance if a refugee from Rwanda has the alternatives. desire of acquiring a Ugandan passport, he has to follow the right procedures of changing his nationality. He has the alternative of passing through the normal procedure of filling application forms and if he is staying in a rural settlement, he has to travel to the city centre several times in order to complete the exercise.

Another alternative is that the same refugee can decide to hide his original nationality and get a passport illegally. What we need to note is that both alternatives eventually lead a refugee to the point of getting a passport. The first alternative is long and tedious, but it is right. While the second alternative is short and quick but it is morally wrong. Therefore when people are dealing with moral matters the idea of scrutinising the source of alternatives, and means of getting those alternatives ought not to be overlooked.

Partridge holds the view that knowledge is the most important guiding factor for one to make a choice. He asserts that,

.... literacy or education enlarges the capacity or faculty of choice and decision making. (Knowledge) is an important precondition for the existence of freedom. Knowledge extends the capacity for acting freely.¹

¹ Partridge.: op.cit., p.223.

The view advanced by Partridge is almost similar to what some thinkers have termed "the Socratic paradox". According to Socrates when a man knows what is good, he will always act in such a way that he tries to achieve it. Thus evil is regarded as the product of ignorance.¹

Socrates adds that, if anyone should act in a way which is not conducive to his own good, his action must result from a failure to recognize what is good in those circumstances. It follows from this that immoral action is always due to lack of knowledge... virtue is knowledge.²

The views advanced by Partridge and Socrates can apply in some circumstances but not to all moral situations. In some situations even knowledgeable people misuse their freedom. A case in point is where people misuse their freedom because they have been over-ridden by emotions such as anger, hatred, fear, love or joy.

Freedom is not how much one knows but how one is able to use his knowledge wisely in order to behave correctly. A person who knows that he has little knowledge and is able to ask for counsel and advice is more free than a person who has much knowledge and he uses it wrongly.

¹ Avrum Stroll, Richard H. Popkin.: <u>Introduction to philosophy</u>. New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979, p.263.

² Ibid., p.263.

Freedom goes hand in hand with truth. Sometimes it is not easy for a person to understand whether what he knows is true. Therefore freedom is an assurance of the "quality" of ideas which one has rather than having excessive ideas which are false.

2.2.3 Free will and free action

Every person has free will. This means that he can cause something to happen or he can abstain from doing something. Therefore a person is only responsible for the actions which he willingly chooses to undertake.

The soft determinists say that,

if an action issues from our own wants and desire, it is free. A free agent can do otherwise, ... if there is nothing which prevent the exercise of an alternative choice.

On the other hand, the hard determinists hold a different view.

The real issue, they argue, is not whether some one can act differently if a different choice is made. The real issue is whether someone can choose differently. Freedom of action must be distinguished from freedom of the will.²

¹ J. Arthur Minton.: <u>Philosophy Paradox and Discovery</u>. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976, p.328.

² Ibid., p.328.

Be this as it may, it is important to note that each action has origin and purpose. So it is when the cause for an action has been known that a person is to be held responsible for his action. In the final analysis both free will and action ought to complement each other.

2.2.4 The author's perspective of freedom

Having looked at freedom from the perspective of other thinkers, the author of this thesis has this to say: Freedom does not flourish in circumstances where there is discrimination. In such circumstances some individuals in society are denied their freedom and they are oppressed.

In a situation where a group of people or individuals are depending on others for survival and existence, the dependants often fail to enjoy their freedom because they are under other peoples' control. Freedom becomes meaningful when people practice the virtue of care and they respect each other through genuine leadership that works for the common good of everybody irrespective of human differences based on social, economic or political status.

2.3 Human rights

Various thinkers have similar understanding about the essence of human rights, but sometimes they leave some statements hanging. This thesis attempts to bridge some of the gaps that have been left by some thinkers, such as M.A. Gonsalves, C. Andrew Varga and John Locke.

According to Gonsalves,

Human right is defined as moral power over what is one's own or more expressly moral power or inner freedom to do, omit, hold or exact something of value ... it may be some object due to a person in question. Object as used here is not necessarily physical substance but may be actions, goods, services, or omissions. Having a right implies that one has a legitimate claim over a certain object.¹

Varga offers a definition that is quiet similar to the view held by Gonsalves as shown above, but he adds that,

> Right, as a moral power, works by appeal to the intellect and will of another person who should respect our right.²

According to Varga a right has four elements: the subject, the term, the object and the title of right.³

¹ M.A. Gonsalves.: <u>Fagothey's right and reason</u>. <u>Ethics in theory and practice</u>. St Louis, The C.V. Mosby Co., 1981, p.228.

² C. Andrew Varga.: <u>On being human</u>. <u>Principles of ethics</u>. New York, Paulist Press, 1978, p.117.

³ Ibid., p.117.

The subject of a right is a person who has the claim to something. The term of a right is another person who is obliged to respect the right or satisfy the claim. The object of a right is a thing to which a person has a claim. The title of a right is the reason that justifies the claim of a person to the object of a right.¹

The essence of the above quotation is to indicate that human rights thrive in society. When one person has a claim over something another person or group of people in society have obligation to respect his claim.

Another perspective of understanding human rights according to other thinkers is that each person has rights by virtue of being human. So whether others are available or not, all the same he is by nature entitled to his rights. For instance a person has the right to follow his conscience whether others agree with him or not. A human right is something that one claims possession of without being embarrassed.

Human rights are never an end in themselves but instruments which facilitate social justice and lead to the respect of the integrity of a person as an individual.

¹ Ibid., pp. 117-118.

2.3.1 Assessment of the views advanced by M.A. Gonsalves and C. Andrew Varga

Gonsalves and Varga hold a similar view that right is the moral power to claim what is due to a person but both do not clarify the origin of that moral power, the qualification of getting that power, and the criteria for receiving it. They also do not explain how much moral power a person ought to have in order to receive what he claims.

They seem not to be clear about the source of a right. Varga's assertion that right is based on the law is quite misleading. One first needs to understand what precedes the other. Human right or law?

The right of a human being begins as soon as he is created in his mother's womb. He gets the moral power to utilize his right as soon as his conscience begins to function. When an individual reaches a stage of rationalizing, he finds out that in society there are other individuals who have rights.

As a person begins to realize that he is responsible for other human beings he also realizes that he needs to carry out his duties as an individual. In the course of fulfilling one's duty one is able to give to others what is due to them, and others are able to give him what he is supposed to receive. Every person's rights are fulfilled through mutual agreement without necessarily applying any force. A person qualifies to receive what is due to him by virtue of being human.

When individuals fail to fulfil their duties either due to mistrust, failure to respect one another, disagreement, wrong judgement, negligence, discrimination, incompetence or because of other egoistic motives, the result is that some individuals are denied their rights.

Human right is that aspect of a human being that gives him the mandate to receive what belongs to him naturally, and to give to others what belongs to them. When such a mandate is threatened by others, then the law has to assist an individual to get what is due to him. So long as individuals are carrying out their duties as they ought, the society can continue functioning without reference to the law at all.

The view that right is based on law as advanced by Varga is quite inconsistent with what goes on in the day to day living. For instance, Varga asserts that right as a moral power works by appeal to the intellect and the will of another person who should respect our right. This is not always the case because in some circumstances one gets what he deserves not because he has appealed to somebody's intellect but because he has the right to use what he has been naturally endowed with. For example a person has the right to claim freedom of speech because he naturally has the capacity to speak by virtue of possessing the organs that can function and produce speech. This is not just a matter of appealing to another person's intellect but it is an

issue of using one's ability as a necessity not in form of an appeal.

Also there are certain rights which every individual is entitled to and he receives them without mentioning any word just because of his social belonging. For example, a child does not need to fight for his right to share in the meals prepared in his own family. Which means that although in some circumstances one has to appeal to another's intellect before he receives a right, it is not always a rule to accept such an idea that right works by appealing to another person's intellect.

2.3.2 Theory of natural rights

Natural rights are entitlements that belong to the human being without basing their origin upon the law. For instance a person ought not to be imprisoned without trial, he ought not be subjected to slavery, torture or any other kind of inhuman treatment. Another natural right is protection against slanderous attacks upon one's reputation. In addition, every person has the right to provide for his own basic needs that he requires for daily living.

According to Locke natural rights were to be controlled by God, who gave people the ability to rationally understand His law.

Locke holds that the freedom to exercise one's rights largely depends upon the control by the law. He says that,

... absolute freedom has no meaning, it must be defined where there is no law there is no freedom. It is the law of nature which sets the bounds of natural freedom ... ¹

The above view implies that the law of nature is the one that facilitates people to receive their rights in a fair manner and in a just way. Otherwise people end up misusing their personal freedom and they infringe on one another's rights.

For Locke, one of the most important rights is to own property. As he asserts that,

... every man has a property in his own person so that the labour of his body and the work of his hands are his. Therefore whatsoever he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left in it, he hath mixed his labor with, ... and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property.²

Julius K. Nyerere also holds views which are closely related to those of John Locke. He asserts that ...

¹ Peter Laslett.: <u>John Locke. Two Treatises of Government</u>. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1963, p.107.

² Ibid., p.114.

Every individual has an equal right to inherit the earth, to partake of its joys and its sorrows and to contribute to the building of the sort of society which he desires for himself and also for his children.¹

2.3.3 A comment on John Locke and Julius Nyerere's view about natural rights

Locke and Nyerere show a very significant element pertaining to individuals. Rights belong to individuals but not to society as a corporate whole. The combination of the value of individuals is the one that brings rights of society into existence. When majority of individuals do not have rights, it means that society does not have rights. As a result people just live in confusion and chaos.

Also labor is not a proper justification for one to claim property because he is the one who has worked for it. Such an attitude encourages grabbing and it is not fair. It means that a person who has great energy can labor very hard and grab as much property from those who are weak as he can. This means that he will be depriving the weak of their own right to property.

Whatever view one holds concerning natural rights, it is important to note that a person has right by virtue of being

¹ Julius K. Nyerere.: <u>Freedom and Unity</u>. Dar-es-Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1966, p.146.

human and he does not need any special qualification to claim what he ought to have. As long as a person is in a state of being he deserves natural entitlements which form a basis of his human rights.

2.3.4 Differences between freedom and human rights

Some human rights can be exhausted, but freedom is inexhaustible. This means that as long as a human being is alive, he has freedom, though some people might coerce him, some conditional rights are sometimes exhaustible. For instance, when a person is working on a contract, his employers have the moral obligation to pay him as long as he is still on contract, but when his contract is over, it means that he has exhausted his right to receive payment from his employers.

Another example is that of refugees in the country of asylum. As long as they are officially staying in the country of asylum, they have the right to claim protection in the country of asylum, but they still have the freedom to go back to their original country.

After repatriation the people concerned still have freedom by virtue of being human, but they will have exhausted their right of protection by the country of asylum after returning to their original country.

Some objects of rights are tangible while freedom is intangible and invisible. For example, when a person has the right over

land as his property, that land is physical and tangible, but the freedom to use it is intangible.

2.4 The person

According to Battista Mondin, the global concept defines the person as

... a subsistent gifted with self consciousness, communication, and self transcendence. ... through self consciousness he recognizes himself as unique and unrepeatable 1

On the other hand, St. Thomas Aquinas defines the person in relation to the soul and body. He explains that the soul is,

the form of organised matter, (it) is immaterial and incorporeal as (it) is the very humblest of forms.²

The soul operates in all organic living things and it has properties of existence. However, a human soul makes a person capable of doing many other activities such as thinking and choosing freely which other creatures are incapable of doing. He maintained that,

¹ Battista Mondin.: <u>Philosophical Anthropology</u>. Rome, Urbaniana University Press, n.d. pp.256-257.

² Etienne Ailson.: <u>The Christian philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas</u>. New York, Random House, 1956, p.187.

In a human being there was only a single substantial form: the rational soul. ... it was that soul which made a human body the kind of body it was \dots ¹

However, Aquinas does not mean that the soul and body are one and the same unit. He distinguishes the two from each other. He concludes that.

though the human soul survives death, it is not strictly speaking a human person when it is in a state of separation from the body. For the word "person" signifies a complete substance of rational nature.²

2.4.1 An overview of St. Thomas Aguinas' doctrine of the soul

In essence Aquinas mainly emphasises that a person has a special position that he occupies in comparison with other creatures. A person is the only being that has the intellect and the ability to reason.

Another area which Aquinas emphasises is that a person has the non material substance that is essential for his existence.

Therefore the interpretation of the doctrine of the soul may not be the same as the interpretation offered by the contemporaries

¹ Anthony Kenny.: <u>Aquinas</u>. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980, p.47.

S.J. Fredrick Copleston.: <u>Thomas Aquinas</u>. London, Search Press Limited, 1955, p.160.

of Aquinas, but one understands that Aquinas gave the person a very significant value.

2.5 Identity

Identity is the worthiness of a person. Identity consciousness is the process that develops in a person as he grows from childhood up to maturity. The person undergoes the process of reflection and he rationally perceives himself in light of other people, in relation to the surrounding phenomena. He slowly develops the desire to be recognized by the society in his right as a human being.

At every stage of human growth, identity is related to moral behaviour. For example, in the process of growth, when a person fails to fit in the structure of the society due to cultural, racial, religious or ethnic differences he feels defeated and he fails to think uprightly. He feels alienated and embittered by the prevailing social structure.

When there are many people who are affected by such discrimination, the society faces moral degeneration. The people who are affected react in a negative way. This has mainly been the cause of identity crisis in many societies which have ethnic differences.

Whereas the identity of the person does not depend on the approval of other people, there are factors which encourage the person to delight in his identity. They are: mutual

trustworthiness, sharing cultural values, and proper control of social institutions by those who are in authority.

2.5.1 The identity of a person in relation to other creatures in the universe

The identity of a person has some link with the position which he occupies in the universe. A person thinks, reasons, and shares some characteristics with some creatures, yet he is above all other creatures. A person occupies a special place in the universe and he has more relationship with the maker of the universe than other creatures. The unique level on which a person has been placed in the universe is the one that makes his identity very precious.

2.5.2 Identity as a relationship between the individual and society

The aspect of identity is the one that makes a person desire to link himself with the unique values fostered by the unique origin of his people. Identity expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others.

At one time it appears to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity ... and sometimes as an inner solidarity of a group's ideals.¹

The relationship between individuals within the same society gives rise to culture. According to Ralph Linton,

¹ R. Maurice Stein, J. Arthur Vidich, et.al. (Eds).: <u>Identity</u> and anxiety. (USA), The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, p.38.

a culture is the configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.¹

The word "shared" is taken to mean that a particular pattern of behaviour, attitude, or piece of knowledge is common to two or more of the society's members.²

It should be noted that not every culture encourages every person to identify with it. A person who is ready to maintain his good reputation and his moral principles is not likely to identify himself with a retrogressive, barbaric, hostile culture which does not care about the preservation of moral norms. Even if a person is born in a society with such a culture, he will always feel ashamed to identify himself with the culture of his people; because such a culture is not well respected by the people in other societies.

However, the individual judgement passed upon a certain culture of people depends on what an individual regards as of value to him. What is called a barbaric culture by one person can be regarded as civilized by another person who is promoting it. So an individual's identity is manifested in the way he asserts

¹ Ralph Linton.: <u>The cultural background of personality</u>. London, Kegan Paul, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1947, p.21.

² Ibid., p.23.

himself. Sometimes self assertion is a result of the way a person is brought up by his parents. Parents have an influence upon the behaviour of their children. More often than not a person develops his character in relation to his family background according to the instructions he has received from his parents and other elders.

This means that balanced instruction which aims at imparting wisdom into the person who is growing up is the one that makes an individual cherish his own identity and respect other people's identity.

Through the need for linking up with others as part of culture, an individual always wants to identify himself with the people who speak the same language like him. According to Joseph Vendryes,

in any social group whatever its nature and however large it may be, language plays a role of primary importance. It is the strongest of the bonds uniting the members of a group and it is at the same time the symbol and safeguard of their common life. 1

The way identity relates to verbal language is that a person is encouraged to speak the language when he feels that he is secure and the hearers are not likely to attack him, because he has

20>

¹ Joseph Vendryes.: <u>Language</u>. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1931, p.24.

spoken a specific language. An atmosphere that allows a person to speak his language is the one that encourages him to reveal his identity. One uses his language to identify himself with people who appeal to him, and such people often play a big role in his personality.

2.5.3 The search for identity

According to E.A. Ruch, the

Africans of the first half of this century have began to search for their identity, because they had rightly or wrongly, the feeling that they had lost it or that they were being deprived of it. The three main factors which led to this feeling were:

- 1. Slavery,
- 2. Colonialism,
- 3. Racialism. 1

Most African thinkers saw racialism as a major cause that prompted the colonialists to undermine the blacks to the extent of exploiting their resources, while using the African labour. Africans felt inferior because of the way they were treated.

John S. Mbiti also asserts that.

with the undermining of traditional solidarity has come the search for new values. Identity

¹ E.A. Ruch, & K.C. Anyanwu.: <u>African Philosophy. An introduction to the main philosophical trends in contemporary Africa</u>. Rome, Catholic Book Agency, 1984, pp. 184-185.

and security which, for both the individual and his community were satisfactorily supplied or assured by the deeply religious background The search seems, however, to be concentrated more in the religious sphere than in the ideological areas.¹

In her thesis, Virginia Bond also holds the view that,

If others think of one as having a negative identity this is necessarily detrimental to one's identity. Negative identity is a label given to a group by others and arising from the actions, background and status of the "accused" ... Also identity never remains fixed but changes as the conditions of life change.²

Ruch and Mbiti have something in common, in that they think that Africans are searching for identity. Ruch does not specify where the search is taking place but Mbiti specifies that the search is in the religious sphere. There is a difference between dignity and identity. As long as a person is alive there is no force or authority that has the capacity or the means to take away his identity. He who exists has identity. Even a slave has identity as long as he is alive.

¹ John S. Mbiti.: <u>African religions and philosophy</u>. Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers, 1994, p.262.

² Virginia Bond.: Identity Crisis: Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda. (M.A.), University of Edinburgh, 1988, p.4.

When a person is a slave it means that he is living under coercive conditions. He is not allowed to do what he wants. Even if the master chains a slave and imprisons him, he has not imprisoned the slave's identity because the slave is still in existence.

When a person considers, or thinks about the other as inferior, such kind of thinking is in form of attitude but it is not an action. So if the colonialists had a low opinion of Africans and they undermined the dignity of Africans, they did not undermine their identity.

Africans who are searching for identity need to know that searching for identity is a fruitless exercise. Africans need to arise and take pragmatic action that can prove that blacks are not as inferior as the colonialists thought. All the efforts directed to the search for identity need to aim at revitalizing the capacity of Africans to cater for their holistic needs as human beings in order to improve on their social, economic, political and spiritual needs instead of wasting time lamenting about the past. In this way Africans will be in position to prove their worth.

Africans have never lost their identity. Before colonialism Africans lost the people who died as slaves, and thereafter the

material resources which the colonialists plundered and took to their home countries, but the African identity remained intact. When a person is labelled or accused of being inferior, the "accuser" does not change the fact that the "accused" is a person.

2.6 Conclusion

Freedom may be understood as a way of making a choice regarding what one prefers to do or to omit, It may mean acquiring a chance of using something without paying, or to interact with others as one wishes; but in essence, freedom is the inner ability to act wisely for the sake of one's character building and for the common good of others.

Human right is an aspect of a person that gives him the mandate to receive what is due to him. Fulfilment of people's rights is a group effort. It demands mutual agreement, and respect for one another. Individuals also need to resolve to get rid of their egoistic motives so that they can consider the needs and significant value of others in a fair manner. In this way the dignity of a person is preserved by all the people. This has been emphasised by St. Thomas Aquinas who asserts that the person occupies a special place in the universe because he is a rational being.

The phenomena surrounding a person may change, but his identity does not change as long as he is alive. Under all circumstances, a person will always find a way of linking up with people who

have the same identity like him, whether they are living in hard conditions or not.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE EXPERIENCE OF RWANDESE REFUGEES IN ORUCHINGA REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at showing what Rwandese refugees experienced while staying in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. They faced a multitude of problems, but for the purpose of the scope of this thesis, this chapter describes the type of life which was led by Rwandese refugees, for the purpose of giving the foundation for the moral implications shown in chapter four.

What Rwandese refugees experienced was related to the land in which they were given to stay, their struggle for survival, their relationship with the local people, and their relationship with the authorities in Uganda in relation to the political atmosphere that would vary with the change of government leadership since independence up to 1994.

3.2 Assistance received from Uganda as a country of asylum

During field research when the homes of some elders were visited, especially the homes of Rwandese refugees who came from Rwanda directly, they were grateful that the asylum which they received from Uganda enabled them to live longer than they would have done if they had remained in Rwanda in 1959.

They were giving credit to the government of Uganda under the National Resistance Movement (NRM) for allowing them to stabilize

after being made to feel insecure by the 1982 political problems.

Concerning education, the Ministry of Local Government had offered some books to some primary schools in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement.

The Ministry of Local Government had also assisted the people in Oruchinga to solve the outstanding problem of shortage of water by providing boreholes. The same ministry was offering assistance in conjunction with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

The above were some of the positive factors that Rwandese refugees could cherish about their stay in Uganda but to a great extent Rwandese refugees were lamenting about their conditions of living. They could only summarise their condition in one word; "suffering".

3.3 Commencement of alien life in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement

Some of the events which could haunt Rwandese refugees were embedded in the process through which they settled in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. When they arrived in Uganda they were meant to settle in the area which was infested with tsetse flies. Their cattle died of nagana and some people died of sleeping sickness. To make matters worse, they had to clear the land which had been a habitat of wild animals like hyenas, lions, foxes and Uganda cobs.

At first they used to rely on food which was being supplied by UNHCR, but with time UNHCR assumed that Rwandese refugees had settled and were able to sustain themselves. What made refugees lament was that UNHCR had been supplying maize flour and beans but not maize seeds. They did not have maize seeds to plant and the beans which they received could be consumed immediately.

Worse still, the land which was given to Rwandese had poor soils. This can be confirmed when one takes a close look at Map 3, in the Appendix on page 93. Oruchinga Refugee Settlement has loam sandy soils. Even if Rwandese had seeds, the land which they were given was barren and it could not give good yields. So Rwandese resorted to the method of looking for survival by moving to the land of the local people, to work for food.

The local people would give Rwandese portions of land to dig and after completing those portions at the end of the day they would be given some food. The amount of food which each refugee would be given would depend on the generosity of the local people. They would receive the food after working and there was no room for negotiation.

Some Rwandese refugees would be given little food which could not even satisfy their families for a single meal, but there were under compulsion to work for food. So they did not have any alternative since they did not have freedom to change their residence. So whatever Rwandese refugees would receive as a wage for their labour just depended on the mercy of the local people.

Another hurting experience was that Rwandese refugees would work the whole day on empty stomachs. They would return to Oruchinga Refugee Settlement when they were very exhausted and very hungry but under compulsion to go back the following day and work for more food. The whole exercise was energy consuming yet there was no prospect for independent future production of food.

As a result some families would go for many days without food and those who did not want to work or those who feared to be abused would resort to stealing food from the gardens of the local people.

Incidents were reported among Rwandese refugees where some young boys would go to work among the local people as shepherds and the local people would make contracts through mutual agreement that the shepherds would work for two years and afterwards receive a cow or a bull after one year. To the surprise of many shepherds, after completing their contracts they would be denied the right to receive what they had worked for. Some of them reported incidents where they were beaten and labelled lazy, unfaithful, and cunning and they were chased away empty handed.

Another problem was that before the Ministry of Local Government assisted Rwandese refugees to get water in the Settlement through boreholes, they used to go to River Kagera to fetch water. Those who had cattle used to move to the lands of the local people to water their cattle. On many occasions some refugees who had cattle would fight with the local people over the water in the

wells, because local people thought that the foreigners were not supposed to water their cattle from the same troughs where their own cattle used to be watered.

The enmity engendered at the well would spread to the refugee and local communities because the individuals who would fight at the well would go back and report to their respective local and refugee families and some of them would plan to revenge against each other. Some refugee families were known as "perpetual enemies" of the local people.

3.4 Social discrimination among the young people

Some young people reported that when they were at school in Kinoni Girls, Ibanda Secondary School, and Mbarara High School (in Mbarara District), they used to hide their origin because whoever used to be identified as a person of Rwandese origin would be hit with an "iron rod" especially in Mbarara High School.

A young girl by the names of Bonabaana revealed that when she was studying in Kinoni Girls School she hid her origin and her language until she had completed her senior four examinations. After her examinations she declared that she was a person of Rwandese origin whose home was in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement, and she received a very hostile response from her fellow students whom she used to call friends. She said that she will live to remember the stigma of living as an alien.

Other young people (both boys and girls) declared that although they had never been to Rwanda, all the same they were not interested in Ugandan nationality; because every where they would go they would be harassed because of being Rwandese.

The young refugees admitted that it was painful to be homeless and baseless. The attitude which the young people in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement displayed completely refuted the report which was given by All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) that,

the old refugees (first generation) have always harboured hopes that they will one day return home. However, the young refugees (second generation refugees) most of whom either were very young when they came to Uganda or were born in Uganda do not harbour their parents' hopes. Many of them regard themselves as Ugandans and would be content to continue to live in the country.¹

There was little evidence to show that most of the young people wanted to remain in Uganda. According to the frequency table showing the response of refugees on page 96 no refugees between the age of 15-30 wanted to stay in Uganda; they all advocated for repatriation.²

¹ AACC refugee service.: "Report of the evaluation of refugee programme of the Church of Uganda". Nairobi 1987, p.5.

² Table 3, Column iv, p.96.

During research it was also observed that many youth had left Oruchinga Refugee Settlement to join Rwanda Patriotic Movement (RPM). If the youth did not have a strong desire to go to the land where their parents were born, they would not have risked their lives exposing themselves to the dangers of guerrilla war. This shows that they had a cause for fighting and it was a stronger riding force than the desire to stay in Uganda.

Patrick Luganda observed that,

the RPF victory in Kigali sparked off an exodus of Rwandans back to their home land in their hundreds. Reports from Western Uganda indicated that the flow (was) not easing and they were said to be leaving refugee camps ... ¹

Even the photograph taken from one of the leading news papers in Uganda showed that all refugees of all ages returned to Rwanda as evidenced by Figure 1, page 100, where a young child being held by the mother in the middle foreground followed by a young boy carrying a luggage tied in a cloth, followed by an old man carrying the saucepan.²

If the young people had not wanted to go to Rwanda, as reported by AACC, then it would be a contradiction to see them among

¹ Patrick Luganda: "Rwandans return home quietly in large numbers". <u>The New Vision</u>, Thursday August 4, 1994. Vol.9, n.183, p.15.

² Photograph adopted from <u>The New Vision</u>, Ibid., p.15.

Rwandese who were going to Rwanda. They would have opted to stay in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement even when their parents were returning to Rwanda.

Rwandese had maintained their identity as individuals and that is why they were able to arise and return to Rwanda in broad day light without fear, but their identity in relation to their ethnic group was the one which they felt was very threatened.

So Rwandese refugees did not return to Rwanda mainly because of land disputes, starvation, disease and death, but because they wanted to regain their ethnic security.

This was confirmed by Catherine Watson when she observed that, after the invasion in 1982 when Rwandese were evicted from Western Uganda,

... it became difficult to find a refugee who would admit wanting Ugandan citizenship. Most emphasized that they would still feel insecure. A 60 year-old refugee in Oruchinga said: "Even if I was turned into a citizen under this ... (government) I might not be under the next".¹

¹ Catherine Watson: <u>Exile from Rwanda: Background to an invasion</u>. The U.S. Committee for refugees. February, 1991, p.9.

3.5 Economic uncertainty

Rwandese refugees feared that if they did something to contribute towards their development, it would be snatched away by the local people. Many refugees held the view that it was not beneficial for them to develop the land which was not theirs. As such a number of refugee families lived in abject poverty. Some of the refugees who could not endure the hardships in the Settlement would force their way out of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement.

Many Rwandese refugees would go to urban areas, but due to the difficulties in getting employment, some of them would resort to jobs like: being gate-keepers, sanitary cleaners, and young ones would be stewards in people's homes.

According to the information gathered from the Ministry of Local Government.

all land in the refugee settlement is government land. At any time government can change the use or the user of the land.

So most Rwandese refugees felt that they lacked ownership over the land in which they were staying and they believed they were not obliged to improve on their conditions of living.

Another issue was that even if Rwandese refugees were interested in producing crops for sale, they were discouraged by the fact that Oruchinga Refugee Settlement was in a very remote area. It

¹ Table 4, Column H, p.97.

was difficult to market any produce because of the inaccessibility of the Settlement area.

Rwandese refugees strongly believed that they were a community which was neglected and isolated from the rest of the people. They thought no body was interested in their well being.

3.6 Administrative problems

When research was carried out in 1993, the Settlement Commandant had absconded from duty. The Settlement Headquarters was being administered by the Headman, assisted by a Copy-typist, a Messenger, four Night Watchmen, and an Assistant Community Development Officer. The people who held the above mentioned posts were all Rwandese refugees. The local people who had been working at the Headquarters of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement had not been on good terms with Rwandese refugees, so they slowly escaped from Oruchinga Refugee Settlement Headquarters.

The staff members of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement Headquarters had spent a long time without salaries. Staff members who were refugees thought that their salaries were being utilized by the staff members who were nationals. There arose a dispute over salaries. In actual fact the salaries had delayed at the headquarters of the Ministry of Local Government in Kampala. The administrative staff who were nationals could not contain the pressure which they were receiving from Rwandese refugees and most of them felt threatened, so they absconded from duty. Other

administrative problems arose out of the difference between Local Councils (LCs) and Refugee Welfare Committees (RWCs).

When Local Councils started operating in Uganda, the local people could elect their leaders from level one up to level five. Refugees were allowed only to elect their leaders for Refugee Welfare Committees (RWCs) from level one up to level three.

RWC III was at Oruchinga Refugee Headquarters. RWCs were responsible for refugees and LCs were responsible for the local people. However, when a problem would arise where the local people would be in conflict with Rwandese refugees, LCs would favour local people and RWCs would favour refugees so there would be a lot of disagreement.

In the absence of the Settlement Commandant, there was real anarchy. Land grabbing intensified; some refugees and local people were always at logger heads. New refugees would enter Oruchinga Refugee Settlement without official registration, and there was always an influx of refugees who would sneak in unnoticed; their presence would be felt whenever there was conflict due to land disputes between refugees and local people.

3.7 Political problems

The most disastrous event that took place was in 1982 when the Rwandese were evicted from Western Uganda. According to the research which was carried out by G.M. Robina Namusisi, the

Rwandese in Western Uganda were forced to flee their homes and they took refugee in other settlements and others fled into Rwanda. About 75,000 people were forced to flee their homes. It was believed that the factors that led to this eviction were sparked off in September 1982 when the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) Youth Wingers were shot dead in Isingiro County, Mbarara District. It was alleged that the murder had been carried out by the Rwandese. Directives were given by the government ministers during political rallies in Mbarara District and one of the ministers said that all the people of Rwandese origin were supposed to quit Ankole (present day Mbarara, Bushenyi and Ntungamo Districts) irrespective of when they settled in Ankole; whether before the 1959 civil war in Rwanda or later.

He also warned that all those who came as refugees should voluntarily go to the camps. By 30th September, the UPC Officials in Mbarara District were announcing that all the Rwandese in Uganda should leave Uganda regardless of their status.

The Youth Wingers together with local chiefs started to sweep through Mbarara and Rakai Districts evicting the Rwandese from their homes.

The cause for the eviction included the accusation that Rwandese had committed all sorts of atrocities. Rwandese were alleged to have harassed people in the past government regimes, that they

had participated in 1980 political elections and that they were collaborators with guerrillas.

During the eviction, many Rwandese died and others lost their property through looting and many houses were burnt. Rwanda government closed her boarders and prevented her nationals from returning home. Some of the victims returned to Uganda and they camped at Mirama Hill in Ntungamo District.¹

3.8 Attitude of local people towards Rwandese refugees

According to the interviews which were carried out among the local people revealed that apart from offering cheap labour Rwandese refugees did not contribute constructively towards development in Mbarara District.

Many local people looked at Rwandese refugees as intruders. As shown on page 98, Table 5, 90% of the local people who were interviewed affirmed that they held this attitude. 70% were completely against Rwandese stay in Uganda. When Rwandese refugees returned to Rwanda in July 1994, many local people rejoiced and commented that it was a good riddance and a great relief to Uganda as a whole. Few local people could sympathize with refugees. Some local people revealed that whenever they would be passing through Oruchinga Refugee Settlement they could be attacked by the youth. Through such attacks some people lost

¹ G.M. Robina Namusisi.: The plight of Rwandese refugees in Uganda. (LLB), Makerere University, Kampala, May 1988, pp.41-45.

² Table 5, Column 1 and 2, p.98.

their property through robbery, others were raped, while others were injured.

The attitude of local people towards Rwandese could even be seen in the way they did not want to inter-marry with Rwandese refugees. Some local families could not allow their daughters to marry Rwandese because their worry was that their grand children would take on the lineage of Rwandese and that would mean that Rwandese refugees would be growing stronger than local people. That is why it was regarded as an abomination for the ladies among the local people to marry refugees. At least Rwandese ladies could get married among local people and the local people could not worry so much about that because they were sure that their children would remain in the lineage of the Banyankole -due to patrilineal inheritance.

Local people and refugees had illusive integration. They could only meet in market places to buy commodities, or whenever a government official would visit their area they would all gather together physically but within their minds they would be on tension. Parents among local people and refugee communities would sternly instruct their children to disassociate form each other.

3.9 Conclusion

Most problems which Rwandese refugees were facing were due to abrupt change of conditions of living and change of their status.

The local people were also in dilemma because they were uncertain about how they were supposed to relate to Rwandese refugees.

As time went on Rwandese refugees and local people were compelled to come in contact with one another, but they did not like each other. So the atmosphere between Rwandese refugees and the local people remained tense because they were not relating together to achieve the common good, but they were forced by negative circumstances.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIENCE FACED BY RWANDESE REFUGEES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to critically analyze the moral implications of the actions and reactions that occurred among refugees in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement and the local people who were living in the vicinity of the settlement. It also aims at pointing at the underlying causes and effects of the experience faced by Rwandese refugees with the view of making recommendations in the final chapter.

4.2 The morality of being a refugee

There is a need to understand whether it is right or wrong to become a refugee. To respond to this issue, the following facts need to be known. There is no person who has the moral right to terminate, or to contribute to the termination of his life or the life of others. This is mainly due to the fact that a person belongs to the higher being or to the maker. Another factor is that a person is valuable and he ought not to be destroyed in any way.

One of the criteria for assessing the goodness or the badness of an action ought to be through judging the motives behind the action to find out whether the person or the group taking an action is aiming at protecting or preserving the existence of a person. When one considers the person or a group of people who create conditions that make others feel persecuted, distressed or insecure, one finds that the person who chooses to flee makes a

better decision than the one who causes him to flee. The person or group of people who cause others to flee take a deontological action in that they act without considering the consequences of their actions. However, the person who flees prevents himself from dying. Thus a refugee ought to be respected more than the person who causes him to flee.

4.3 Restrictions on land use

If Rwandese refugees were given the land to stay on without restrictions which were prohibiting them from developing it, their stay in Oruchinga would have been more meaningful than it was by the time they left to return to Rwanda. For instance, Rwandese refugees were not given any alternatives for making their choice regarding where they were meant to dwell. They were not allowed to buy land outside the Settlement even if they had The authorities responsible for land allocation to money. Rwandese refugees showed an implication that their decision was made with little moral sense of care, and without being foresighted. They anticipated that Rwandese refugees were going to stay in Uganda for a short time and they overlooked the fact that suffering is not proportional to the period a person spends in problems. Poor conditions of living inflict pain and they are harmful to a person, whether a person is staying in such conditions for a short period or not.

Another alternative which Rwandese refugees were deprived of was to find ways and methods of improving on the quality of the land which was allocated to them. After realising that they had no

ownership over the land, the attitude which they developed prevented them from making any further attempts to carry out activities like irrigation, or fertilization of land which would have enabled them to reap much from the land. Thus refugees were prevented from being innovative. As a result they became redundant and got involved in certain vices such as stealing.

The process of giving the land to Rwandese refugees had some moral shortcomings, because there was little consideration regarding how beneficial the land would be to the refugees economically and socially. Therefore some of the refugees developed hard characters because that was their behavioural response towards the prevailing deficiencies. Moments of feeling pessimistic would compel Rwandese refugees to behave very rudely. This was evident in their speeches and actions.

On the other hand, we need to consider what the Ugandan authorities considered as priority at the time. Due to the fact that Rwandese refugees came to Uganda abruptly, there had not been any provision to prepare a place where they were supposed to stay. At that time the immediate need was to ensure that Rwandese refugees settled somewhere, and the immediate land available was near the border with Rwanda, as it was the only place which was not populated.

The major weakness was that there was no further attempt to revise the policy concerning land use, so as to suit the needs of refugees. There was some degree of negligence on the part of

Ugandan authorities and that made Rwandese refugees feel unwanted.

4.4 Work ethics among Rwandese refugees and the local people

Another issue of concern among Rwandese refugees was that they would work very hard among the local communities but they would receive little pay in return.

We cannot outrightly condemn local people for giving little food in exchange for the work which was done by refugees. We need to know the factors which were involved.

The first question which we need to answer is whether it is right or wrong to work for food. To answer this question one needs to know why Rwandese refugees used to leave their Settlement against the government rules to go and work for food among the local communities.

It should be noted that normally when a person lacks something he gets it by purchasing it when it is available. Purchase has to be done through the exchange of monetary currency with goods demanded.

Most Rwandese refugees did not have money to purchase food so they were compelled to work in exchange for food. They had the right to demand for food from the local people only when they had laboured for it. Labouring for food was a pure and noble thing to do. Rwandese refugees were labouring for survival.

However, a number of moral issues related to work need to be examined. The first issue was that of discontentment and complaint regarding the amount of food which Rwandese refugees would receive after their work.

The problem would begin at the time of assigning duties to Rwandese refugees. Before Rwandese refugees would start working on the assignment for the day they would not negotiate with the local people concerning how much they were going to receive after working. There was more of dictatorship than discussion. The local people would give the food to the refugees according to their wish and refugees had no say. Rwandese refugees would only complain along the way as they were returning to their refugee settlement.

Another issue to consider was the nature of the tasks which Rwandese refugees would be assigned. Some of the domestic duties which they would be assigned were degrading. So they would work with grumbling hearts knowing that they were compelled to do such work against their wish.

It should be noted that to some extent the way Rwandese refugees behaved was due to their ethnic origin and their attitude towards manual work. Most of the Rwandese refugees in Oruchinga were Tusti. According to their custom when they were still in Rwanda before 1959, they were not used to manual labour. They would delegate their work to the Hutu whom they regarded as servants. What hurt the Tutsi was that working for local people needed self

denial. They felt that their reputation was being ruined. Sometimes the complaint against the food which they were given was just a reaction which was exposing what was happening in their sub-conscience.

The thoughts and attitudes which some Rwandese had in their sub-conscience sometimes affected their output in relation to the work which they were assigned to do. Some of the local people gave the food to Rwandese refugees in appreciation of the work done while considering the honesty or the dishonesty of Rwandese refugees in their work.

Some local people would consider how much food to give to the refugees who had worked for them while bearing in mind how much the they had to remain with in their stores. In some instances the local people would employ Rwandese refugees but they would be insincere because some of them would not be having enough food to give out. As such they ended up giving meagre quantities to the refugees.

This means that in some instances the giver of the food and the recipients of the food had different intentions and as such they would clash.

4.5 Factors underlying the hostility of Rwandese refugees

Some people held the view that Rwandese refugees were hostile because they had accumulated many bad things in their memories. So their behaviour was only a reaction depicting their unhappiness. On the surface one can be convinced by such a view but in reality one finds that the young people were more hostile than the old generation.

Since the old generation had experienced more bitter life than the young generation, one would have expected the former to be more hostile than the latter.

As shown in Chapter Three, some young people would attack local people who would be passing through Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. They were more hostile to the local people than their fellow refugees. They had developed a criteria for selecting whom to attack and whom to leave. One of the criteria was language, and the other was physical appearance. This shows that Rwandese refugees would not attack the people with whom they were identifying, but those whom they regarded as strangers. Such kind of behaviour was somehow due to lack of social control. Some of the young people were orphans and they were living on their own, so they did not have elders to punish them for their multi-practices.

Another reason for attacking passers-by was that many young people used to be idle. They would spend a lot of time in idle conversation, drinking beer and in prostitution. Many young

people were not involved in productive work. As a way of releasing their energy they got involved in attacking people along the road. It was as if they were "designing" their programme through idle talk and "implementing" it through fighting.

Some of the young people had developed peer groups or people with whom they could share many things in common because of being of the same age. Due to peer pressure some of the young people found themselves forming gangs and they behaved according to gang leaders' directives without taking time to reason out and determine whether what they were doing was right or wrong.

The young people had reached a point where they could not listen to the elders' advice. Some of them held views against the elders and they claimed that the elders had not defended their human rights by fighting to return to Rwanda earlier than 1990s. There was a generation gap between the young people and the elders. The elders thought the young people were planning too fast to achieve anything, and the young people thought that the elders were planning very slowly. As the result the young people developed deviant behaviour.

One of the observations made is that sometimes local people would find it difficult to cope with refugees because of the inherent weaknesses in the social structure of the community of Rwandese refugees.

4.6 Repatriation

After staying in Uganda for two decades some of the Rwandese refugees had settled and adjusted their lives towards the conditions in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement which had almost become their home. However, to their surprise in 1982 the local people together with the leaders of some government authorities under Uganda People's Congress, attacked them as shown in chapter three. Most Rwandese who were in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement remained there and others who were citizens of Uganda were compelled either to return to Rwanda or to go to other refugee settlements.

The eviction of Rwandese had an impact upon all refugees even those who were not attacked. They realized that even though they had the right to return to Rwanda as their home country, their freedom to return was hampered. In Rwanda the government claimed that returnees did not have where to stay because the country was small. In Uganda, the people insisted that Rwandese were occupying their land, that they were intruders who had no share in Ugandan resources. Rwandese refugees were just "hanging in a balance".

If Rwandese refugees had returned to Rwanda before 1990s through well organized peaceful repatriation they would not have failed to fit in their country. They would share resources with their fellow kinsmen. What should have been the right thing to do to the Rwandese who had remained in Rwanda is to conscientize them to appreciate the fact that they had the same identity and the

same needs, in spite of their clan differences. The problem was that even after the civil war of 1959, the leaders within the government of Rwanda continued to promote division rather than reconciliation.

Instead of gathering Rwandese and encouraging them to be united as the people of the same ethnic origin, government leaders were scattering them by promoting egoistic interests, without considering the plight of those who were living in foreign countries. As such Rwandese refugees were denied the right to return home.

All the peace talks which were held between refugees and Rwanda government were fruitless because whatever they discussed was influenced by selfish interests. Those who were in authority in Rwanda felt that refugees were a threat to their political positions. Refugees also seemed to demand much through the voice of the RPF. Each side was rising as a political force and whenever they would meet they clashed because there was no side that was willing to bend and provide a stepping stone for the other to prosper.

Refugees who were in Uganda decided to plan a forceful repatriation because negotiations had failed. Although RPF had the right cause for fighting, the people who belonged to it, and those who were in Rwanda Patriotic Army, focused more on the goal of returning to Rwanda. They did not care about how the citizens of Rwanda were going to survive amidst gunshots.

Although it was not clear who exactly was involved in genocide what was clear was that neither RPF nor Rwanda government made a provision to pave the way for the ordinary people to escape the snare of death which claimed millions of people.

4.7 Critical examination of 1982 event

The most disastrous event that Rwandese refugees could not get rid of in their memories was the mass eviction of Rwandese from Western Uganda in 1982.

The act of evicting Rwandese from Western Uganda was ethically wrong. It was a wrong assumption to believe that all Rwandese who were staying in Western Uganda were wrong characters. If there was suspicion that some Rwandese could have been involved in the act of killing the youth wingers of Uganda People's Congress, it would have been necessary to carry out thorough investigation to find out who was responsible for that and be dealt with according to the laws of Uganda.

A punishment given to the person for the wrong he has done serves a better purpose than killing or use of force. Normally a punishment fulfills two major objectives: deterrence and retribution. A deterrent punishment is meant to assist a person to know that he has done wrong. So after receiving the punishment he can stop doing evil. A deterrent punishment does not only have an impact on an individual who is directly affected, but on the whole society because others also learn from it and try to avoid evil.

A retributive punishment is meant to show that every wrong act deserves punishment. Such a punishment is meant to prevent people in society from behaving negligently. One good thing about the retributive punishment is that the one who misbehaves is the one who is meant to suffer and not the innocent. So what was wrong with the eviction of Rwandese was that it was done on the massive basis and the innocent suffered and faced the problems they did not deserve. That kind of "mob justice" was not necessary. It created more problems than it solved.

The authorities that evicted Rwandese were working on the basis of heresy. They did not take time to rationalize and find ways of creating security in Mbarara District. The "evictors" interfered with the human rights of refugees like the right to privacy, the right to own property, the right to human dignity and the right to life.

4.8 Superficial interaction between Rwandese refugees and the local people

There was no physical demarcation between Oruchinga Refugee Settlement and the land which belonged to the local people. There seemed to be some social interaction between Rwandese and local people but the interaction was very superficial. Rwandese felt segregated because the local people held the view that Rwandese refugees were not worthy of living with in Uganda. Anything evil was attributed to them. They felt rejected everywhere they went.

Rwandese refugees were not so much affected by physical isolation but by the harsh language which they felt was abusive, unfriendly and unfavourable whenever they would be verbally attacked. Sometimes they were abused as if they did not have feelings or any sense of wisdom. Such kind of experience made them feel the real intensity of the problem of being baseless. Segregation of Rwandese refugees was mainly due to the negative attitude which local people had towards them.

Such negative attitude was promoted by the fact that Rwandese refugees and local people had no dialogue whenever there was a problem between them. The way of communication between Rwandese refugees and the local people was through quarrels and exchanging blows.

Rwandese refugees and local people maintained such a relationship all the time the former remained in Uganda because there was no organized programme in which Rwandese refugees and local people were brought together for the purpose of reconciliation. Having failed to realize a harmonizing forum, refugees tried to prove that they were not as unworthy as they were being regarded. As a result Rwandese refugees would clash with the local people because the latter held a view about refugees which was different from what Rwandese refugees knew about themselves.

4.9 Conclusion

Most of the problems which Rwandese refugees faced were related to the idea that Rwandese had limited alternatives through which they could exercise their freedom to choose what they wanted. They felt that their identity as an ethnic group was threatened because they were not free to associate with others. All the time they felt insecure and expected to be attacked any time, which made them develop a defence mechanism that would sometimes compel them to be violent.

On many occasions there were misunderstandings between Rwandese refugees and the local people because they were not reasoning from the same human perspective. Local people thought they were superior to Rwandese refugees and refugees also wanted to prove that they were people who were worthy of respect. Such difference in attitudes brought a lot of clashes and conflicts between Rwandese refugees and the local people.

It was natural that Rwandese and the local people were at logger heads because they were compelled to live in the vicinity of each other against their wish. Neither the refugees nor the local people received any explanation to justify the cause for their hostile relationship.

They started questioning the meaning of life and the purpose for their existence but there was no body to provide an answer. In the final analysis Rwandese refugees were compelled to take action by joining those who were planning for war in Rwanda.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter contains the highlights of what has been mentioned from chapter one up to chapter four. In this chapter we get the significant lessons that this thesis offers to humanity and recommendations of what ought to be done in order to address the refugee problem which is escalating year after year in many countries all over the world.

5.1 Conditions faced by refugees all over the world

Refugees face various conditions of living depending on the country of asylum in which they are staying, but the most outstanding characteristic which is similar among all the refugees is that they are harassed by ordinary citizens, government authorities, economic systems, legal instruments, and physical conditions such as drought and floods.

From the first chapter we observe that there are many factors that account for the existence of refugees in the whole world, but the problem of "clash of interests" because of egoistic needs among politicians has proved common in most countries especially in underdeveloped countries which do not have systematic ways of changing government leaders.

The number of refugees all over the world is likely to continue increasing year after year if the international community does not take stern measures to prevent politicians from fighting anyhow. Guerrilla wars which are started because of civil strife

have led to the increase of refugees more than any other types of wars.

5.2 Key concepts that influenced the relationship between Rwandese refugees and the local people in Mbarara District

There has been a general belief that after a person has become a refugee, it means that he has no more freedom and human rights, and it means that he has lost his identity. Such a view has even been held by some officers who handle refugee matters, such as security men and social workers. This view has made many people think that when a person becomes a refugee it means that he has lost some degree of normality.

In actual fact when a person becomes a refugee he remains normal except that he is sometimes scared because of leaving his home abruptly. This can dis-stabilize his mind for a short while but after sometime he recovers. Being a refugee does not change the nature of a person.

Every person has freedom, which is deeply and intrinsically embedded in his personality. Freedom is the internal ability of making a choice of what one wants, or the ability to reject what one does not like. Freedom entails making a choice while considering the interests of others.

Therefore every person whether he is a refugee or a local citizen so long as he bears the status of a person, has freedom. Except that sometimes people do not live in similar circumstances. Some

people are surrounded by conducive circumstances while others are surrounded by unconducive circumstances. It is the circumstances that limit how much one is able to enjoy his freedom. For a person to enjoy his freedom, he needs to be living in suitable circumstances.

The ideas which apply to freedom also apply to human rights. A right is the aspect of a human being that gives him the mandate to receive what is due to him. Every person's right is fulfiled through mutual agreement with others. When a person fails to fulfil his duty he denies others the right to receive what is due A person gets his right while utilizing his freedom. When a person is prevented from receiving his right, that does not mean that his ability to claim what is due to him has been thwarted. It means that there is an impediment that is stopping that person from receiving what he wants. Therefore, a person exercises his right properly when impediments have been removed. So when a refugee is prevented from getting what he needs it does not mean that he has lost his human rights. It only means that he has been subjected to harsh conditions that do not allow him to reach the goal which he is aiming at. Being denied a human right is different from losing a human right. A human right is part and parcel of a person; he does not lose it as long as he is alive.

He who exists has identity. Identity is the core of the person that makes him what he is and not what he ought to be. Man's

identity is deeply embedded in his soul. The soul is the personification of the quality of a human being.

A person can hide his origin, his status or his language but he cannot hide his identity. When a person considers, labels or thinks about the other as inferior, such kind of thinking cannot deprive the other of his identity.

However the person who thinks of the other as inferior can tarnish the name of the other person and discourage him from realizing his potential as a human being. This is exactly what happened to Rwandese refugees. The local people ridiculed them and attributed all sorts of evils to them. Rwandese refugees also became demoralized because nobody was interested in supporting them in order to assist them to realize their self image.

Nevertheless, the negative attitude which local people had towards Rwandese refugees did not prevent them from combining their efforts as people who had the same identity; to fight and return to their homeland in broad day light.

If they had lost their identity, they would have been too shy to return to Rwanda. Therefore, being denied one's identity does not mean that a particular person whose identity is being denied by others has actually lost it.

5.3 Positive and negative aspects of Rwandese stay in Uganda from 1959 - August 1994

Some Rwandese refugees appreciated their stay in Uganda. They expressed their gratitude to Uganda as a country of asylum for offering them a chance to stay alive. Some also appreciated the way UNHCR assisted them to start their new life in Uganda after they had left Rwanda in fright. All the assistance which was given to them by UNHCR in terms of food, beddings, clothing and building materials was appreciated by some of them.

Some of the local people also appreciated the cheap labour which Rwandese refugees were offering. Some local people even commented that Rwandese refugees were good shepherds. At least that was the positive side that both Rwandese refugees and local people could recall.

On the other hand, to a great extent the Rwandese refugees were lamenting about their stay in Uganda. Some of the refugees even thought that there was no any other place in the whole world that was as worse as Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. The land was not conducive to food production, there was shortage of water, the place was inaccessible, and conflict between Rwandese refugees and local people was the order of the day. Land disputes made some people lose their lives.

Rwandese refugees felt they needed some alternatives for proper survival, but on leaving the Settlement they would receive hostile reception from the local people who regarded them as intruders who had no right to share in the Ugandan resources. In their endeavour to protect their resources, the local people would find themselves fighting with Rwandese refugees.

For instance, many times Rwandese refugees fought at wells while struggling to water their cattle from the same troughs which the local people were using.

Many families in Oruchinga refugee settlement used to starve. Those who would manage would have one meal per day but those who could not manage to go and work for food among local communities went many days without food.

Local people also sometimes exploited Rwandese refugees by giving them little food in comparison to the tasks which they had accomplished. This was in order to force them to return to the local communities and work again. Rwandese refugees could grumble amongst themselves but they could not compel local people to give them more food than the latter were willing. Working for food was energy consuming, demoralizing and retrogressive. Rwandese refugees only "worked for their stomachs" but they could not work for developmental purposes. Through labouring for food local people and Rwandese refugees developed a master/servant relationship.

What used to hurt Rwandese refugees most was social discrimination, for instance in boarding schools, students of Rwandese origin would be bullied. As a way of escape they would

change their names and get the names of Banyankole; but sometimes their language accent betrayed them. It is this aspect of discrimination that made Rwandese refugees resolve that even if they were given Ugandan citizenship and a lot of material wealth they would not remain in Uganda. All the time Rwandese refugees were filled with remorse; because they felt that nothing would substitute for their human dignity and security. They felt they needed to be listened to, to receive some consolation from other people, but they did not receive any attention.

Discrimination was not so much in terms of physical isolation-but in inter-personal relationships. For instance, some local people would tell false stories which were intended to imply the foolishness of Rwandese refugees. Sometimes, when a person behaved badly, or when he made a mistake some local people commented that somebody has done something badly as if he was a Rwandese refugee. Such comments hurt Rwandese refugees more than physical blows.

What made Rwandese refugees very afraid was the eviction of all people of Rwandese origin from Western Uganda and they were forced to return to Rwanda in 1982.

In actual fact some Rwandese in the settlement were not physically attacked, but the 1982 event made them realize and confirm that their future was at stake and they became anxious. When NRM government came to power in 1986 President Yoweri K. Museveni assured Rwandese refugees that they were not going to be

attacked again. However, Rwandese refugees realized that they would not base their future on President Museveni as a person; because changing his government would mean that their lives were exposed to danger.

What surprised most Rwandese refugees was that even the local people whom they thought were friendly to them also joined the side of enemies during the eviction period. They believed that it was disastrous to stay in a foreign land.

5.4. Issues underlying positive and negative aspects of Rwandese refugees' stay in Uganda

Rwandese refugees' stay in Uganda was enhanced by the principle of non-refoulment. This principle simply means that when people leave their country to seek protection in another country, they are not supposed to be forced back when their country of origin is still insecure. This principle was advanced by the United Nations and it is the one that helped Rwandese to gain something positive from Uganda.

However, many countries follow the principle of non-refoulment because they have ratified the rules of United Nations concerning refugees; but they do not have the sense of concern for refugees in a way of being sympathetic to them. Rwandese refugees were in this category. Uganda was compelled to accept Rwandese refugees because she would not send them back, but her citizens were not encouraged to love, care and interact with them as people who

needed attention. They felt that they had lost their social equilibrium and they were frustrated.

Many local people in Mbarara District were ignorant about the way they were supposed to live in the neighborhood of Rwandese refugees. So they continued discriminating against them because local people held the view that Rwandese were foreigners whose intrusion in Uganda was unnecessary.

Also there was no attempt to assist Rwandese refugees to live in harmony with the local people. The negative attitude which Rwandese refugees and the local people held towards each other made them live in conflict with one another for a long time. There was no systematic procedure through which Rwandese refugees and local people would solve their conflicts. In most cases they would hurt each other. Local people were protecting their interests, and refugees were feeling deprived. Refugees felt that their human value was "eroded" by the way they were treated. Nothing would be substituted for their dignity which they felt was greatly underrated.

Rwandese refugees did not enjoy their freedom and human rights. Many times they were living in conditions that were hindering them from reaching the level of "self realization and self assertion" as people who had the identity of Rwandese ethnic group. This greatly affected their performance because they became demoralised and they failed to think uprightly. Consequently their actions always had negative connotations.

The problems which Rwandese refugees were facing in relation to the local people were not too hard to solve; but they were given inadequate attention; especially by the officials who were handling refugee matters. The inter-personal relationship between Rwandese refugees and the local people was not streamlined very well. There was a general belief that after settling in Oruchinga for sometime, Rwandese refugees became self reliant. On the contrary, they did not even know how to cope with life after UNHCR had stopped offering assistance to them.

5.5 Recommendations

The recommendations given under this section take their background from a case study which has been carried out about Rwandese refugees in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. These recommendations offer some considerations that ought to be applied to refugee situations.

5.5.1 Social recommendations

After refugees have been registered at the reception centers, they very much need personal attention as individuals. Yet refugees always move in masses which means that the few social workers and security men who are always at reception centres can not attend to each refugee as an individual. Therefore, whenever refugees enter a country of asylum, there ought to be an organized way through which some people who have humanitarian concern can go to the Refugee Settlement and visit refugees so that they can stabilize their minds and appreciate that even after they have gained the status of refugees they are still

respectable. They need an assurance that becoming a refugee is not the end of life.

Therefore all the people who handle refugees directly, ought to be able to conscientize refugees, and to encourage them to learn how to adjust to the new conditions of living. Refugees need to know that the world is full of changes, and to become a refugee is one of such changes.

Refugees need to learn the culture of the people in the country of asylum. For the purpose of proper interaction, the local people also need to learn the language of refugees as refugees endeavour to learn the language of local people, so that they avoid creating superiority/inferiority complex.

One of the aspects of culture that needs to be emphasized during the orientation of refugees is the understanding of moral values. Both citizens and refugees need to learn each other's moral values so that they learn to appreciate that there are varieties of moral values according to different cultures, instead of despising each other's moral values and they end up clashing against each other.

The contemporary generation ought to utilise the traditional oral method of teaching. Under this method the young people are

¹ Moral value is the the social dimension which is cherished by the society and it is protected from extinction. For example, in moral conduct, most virtues such as honesty, respect, and compassion are regarded as moral values.

taught by their parents to learn how to behave and most importantly to respect other people's dignity regardless of whom they are. The oral methods work through story telling, proverbs, riddles and cultural songs.

Therefore after refugees have settled, their leaders and elders in their clans ought to be conscientized to know the importance of good moral conduct, the need for cultural adjustment, the significance of breaking social barriers by learning local language, the value of positive thinking, learning how to appreciate various new phenomena of life, cherishing other people of different origins and background, tolerating hard conditions without being emotional in a negative way and solving problems rationally and pragmatically. After the elders have been taught, they need to be encouraged to teach others especially their children and relatives. After conscientisation, refugees ought to be allowed to interact freely with local people.

Other avenues of conscientisation ought to include long term programmes such as preparing young children in school to know how to interact with people of cross-cultural differences and how to respect other people's freedom and human rights. Educational syllabi in schools ought to include refugee studies in social studies, and some concepts like freedom, human rights, identity, law, justice, duty and responsibility. These should be taught in schools from elementary level up to the advanced level. Pupils in schools ought to grow up knowing how they can interact with people who bear the name "foreigner". In Uganda the study about

foreigners in social studies has mainly been about Indians, Arabs, and Europeans and their impact on the people's ways of life. There has not been an attempt to adjust the study about foreigners to suit the post - colonial era, in which the refugee problem has become rampant.

Social studies as a subject ought not to aim at equipping the pupils with "head knowledge" only, but teachers ought to aim at making the pupils find out how the syllabus applies to their daily living so that it can be relevant enough to change their negative attitudes; some of which originate from the way they are brought up in their homes.

Another issue of concern is that refugees need to be listened to. It is not enough for refugees to settle in a camp and they have no way of sharing their problems with responsible people who can assist them to find a way out. All measures need to be taken by those in authority to ensure that refugees do not live as if they are a forgotten community.

Refugees are the ones who face problems practically so they ought to be listened to so that they can give suggestions of how they can contribute to solve their own problems.

Refugees also have their own ethnic culture which is rich in social and economic values. Instead of being suppressed, they

¹ Ministry of Education and Sports.: "Syllabus for Primary Teachers' College". Social Studies Education, Kampala, 1994, p.18.

ought to be allowed to learn the culture of the local people so that local people can also learn something from refugees. There are also some artistic designs which can be shared like basket weaving, mat making and pottery. Local people and refugees can only benefit from each other when they are encouraged to overcome prejudice against each other so that they are free to interact.

There ought to be a fixed duration of time beyond which a person should not maintain the status of a refugee. For example when a person has stayed in a country of asylum for 5 years he ought to be allowed to become a citizen so that he can settle and develop himself instead of living in suspense, under limitations and rules that prevent him from improving his human status.

5.5.2 Economic recommendations

The harmful restrictions against refugees need to be revised in order to prevent them from being disadvantaged people. When the government authorities set out to assist local people to raise their economic standard, refugees also need to be given due consideration so that they can eventually be integrated among the local people instead of remaining in isolation and in poverty. This will enable each refugee to regain his self image.

Refugees who have money also ought to be allowed to purchase land outside the refugee settlement so that they can have alternative ways of living instead of being confined in one place which does not meet their demands.

5.5.3 Political recommendations

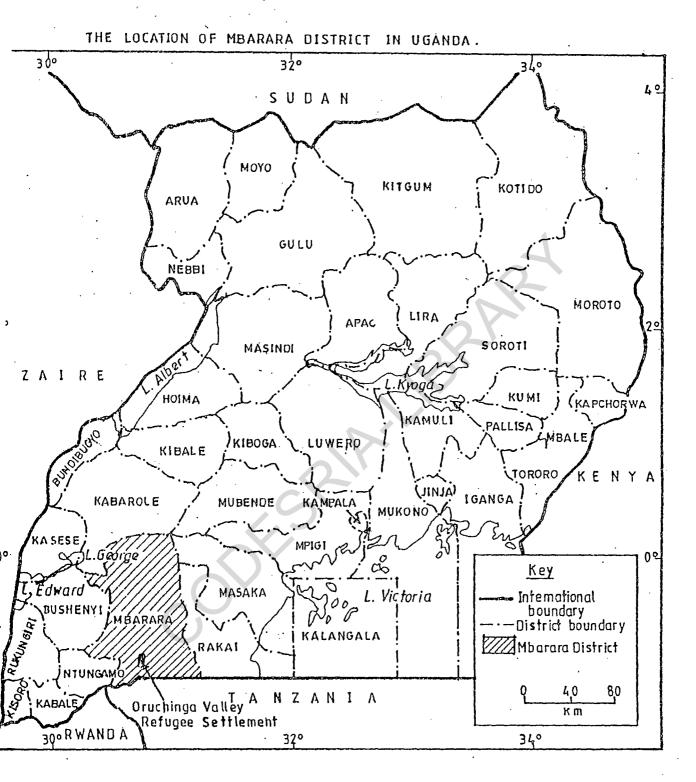
In order to avoid the massive attack upon refugees due to political problems like the ones which occurred in Mbarara district when Rwandese refugees were evicted, refugees ought to be screened on arrival so that the country of asylum may know-the categories of people being allowed to settle.

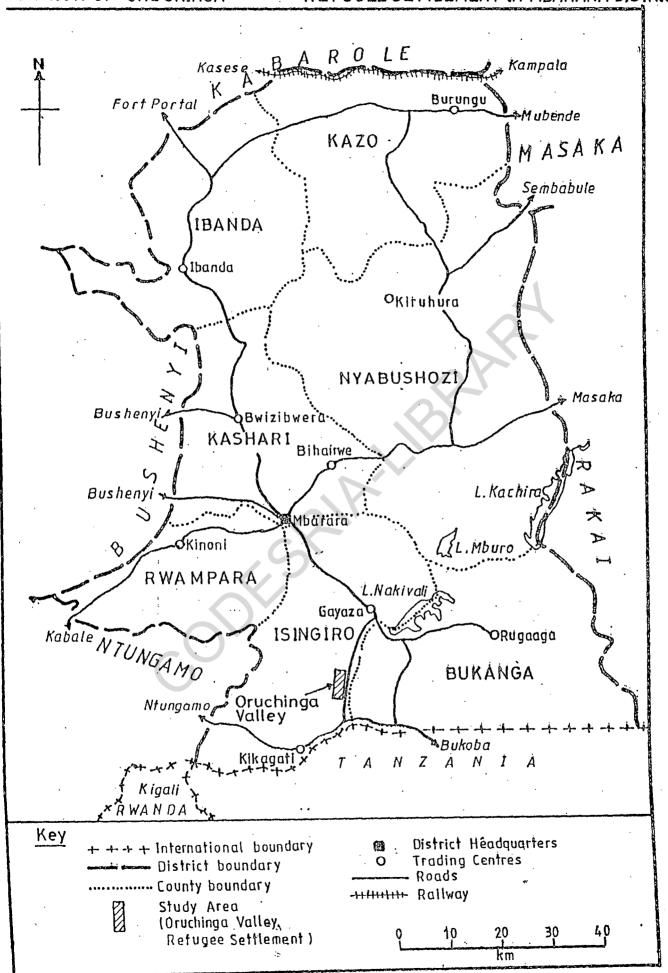
Those who are likely to be politically active need to be given careful attention to prevent them from being idle. For instance they ought to be facilitated to write their political views, so that they are assisted to transfer their views to the ruling government in their country of origin.

Instead of keeping refugees for many years, hoping that in one way or another they will be repatriated, the country of asylum need to be aware that the leaders in the country of origin are morally obliged to pave the way for refugees to lead a normal life through immediate repatriation.

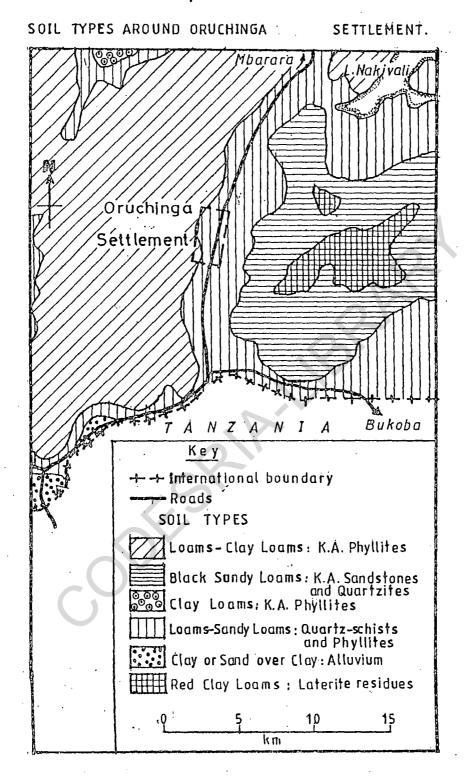
Finally, in case refugees misbehave after being given asylum, each person who is responsible for such moral conduct ought to be disciplined according to the laws of the country of asylum instead of victimising the whole refugee community, when it is only a few individuals who might be causing disturbances.

Map 1





Мар 3



APPENDIX 2: TABLES

Table 1 REFUGEE POPULATION IN SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES YEARS

COUNTRY	1987	1988	1989	1991	1992	1993
Angola Botswana Burkina Faso Burundi Djibouti Egypt Ethiopia Gabon Ghana Kenya Lesotho Liberia Morocco Mozambique Rwanda Senegal Sierra Leone South Africa Swaziland Tanzania Togo Uganda Zaire	600,000 5,500 - 267,772 18,000 - 85,700 1,000 119 - 11,500 - 19,000 5,200 400 150,000 10,700 212,900 2,000 130,000 500,000	2,000,000 5,225 300 270,000 12,000 1,100 247,000 1,000 10,000 4,000 289 200 2,000,000 20,000 5,500 138 200,000 25,000 304,265 3,000 116,000 400,000	91,000 2,382 300 270,000 22,500 1,100 700,000 1,000 - 10,585 4,000 253 100 3,300,000 69,500 5,000 117 250,000 28,350 266,200 89,000 385,000	3,000 785 300,000 1,500 1,600 770,000 - 9,000 13,500 4,000 200,000 200,000 250,000 250,000 29,850 265,184 580 142,000 400,000	1,072 300,000 63,400 2,000 680,000 10,500 100,000 4,000 189 1,000 32,287 200,000 29,550 324,000 550 176,000 400,000	300,000 150,000 2,100 425,000 - 400,000 4,000 - 1,000 - 1,000 260,000 29,000 324,000 168,000 246,000 12,700
Zambia Zimbabwe	62,800	140,000 67,320	150,000 166,000	151,364 83,660	142,439 97,091	140,000 187,000

Key:- The above were countries which were hosting refugees from their neighbouring countries.

⁻ Blank spaces show that some countries did not submit their statistics. The data was taken from the reports submitted to All Africa Conference of Churches by Refugee Workers in various countries from 1987 - 1993.

⁻ The data for the year 1990 is embedded in the data for the year 1991, as 1990 - March 1991.

POPULATION GROUPING FOR SOME SELECTED COUNTRIES IN AFRICA¹

Eastern region

Western region

Uganda

Sierra Leone

Tanzania

Senega 1

Ethiopia

Togo

Southern region

Central region

Zimbabwe

Burundi

Zambia

Zaire

South Africa

Rwanda

Table 2:

REGIONAL STATISTICS FOR REFUGEES IN AFRICA

YEARS

Regions in Africa	1987	1988	1989	1991	1992 	1993
	000	,000	,000	'000	,000	,000
Eastern Western Southern Central	428 7 212 786	667 3 407 690	1055 5 566 724	1177 300 485 722	1180 200 501 732	995 845 587 312

¹ The above grouping does not follow the official regional political boundaries for African Countries.

TABLE. 3
-----FREQUENCY TABLE SHOWING THE RESPONSE OF RWANDESE REFUGEES AT ORUCHINGA REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

	!	REPATRIATION					17	PROBLEMS FACED BY RWANDESEREFUGEES										¦Ε	VICTION	OF R	OF RWANDESE		
	AGE	for	ocates atriation	ì	Skeptic	s ; s	Stayees"	- ; -					Land disputes			10	Desease	sil	Death	lw	efugees ho were victed	who	-
ī	1-15	;	3 .	;	0		1	;	3	;	1		1	1	2	;	1	<	0	!	0	;	3
Ŋ	15-30	!	8	1	2		0	;	9		2	;	2	!	4	1	2	-	2	1	0	¦	7
Т	30-45	1	12 .	:	3		1	;	11		5	;	5	;	8	1,	5	1	6	;	7	;	9
s ¦	45-60	;	8	;	1	1	0	;	3	- - -	1	1	1	:	1	-	2	:	5	1	2	;	12
1 ;	60+	1	2	;	1	 ¦	0	!	1		0	{	0	1	1	1	1	1.	1	;	0	;	2
Percentage;		:	78%	 !	17%		5%	;	64%		24%	;	21%	1	38%	;	26%		33%	;	21%	: :	79%
Column Numbers	(i)	:	(ii)	:	(iii)		(iv)	!	(v)		(vi)	1	(vii)	(·	viii)	!	(i×·)	;	(x)	;	(xi)	¦ (xií)

NOTE

42 Families of Rwandese Refugees were visited.

Each family was represented by one respondent.

Each problem was considered as outstanding on its own, that is why columns v-x show independent percentages.

TABLE. 4

DATA OBTAINED FROM MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Α	В.	С	; D	; E	¦ F	; G	Н.
		REFUGEE STUDENTS	PRIVILEGES OF REFUGEES	•	HOW TO DISTINGUISH REFUGEES FROM NATION	TORT TENTON FOR BEBEGG	LAND INHERITANCE
remain a refugee in spite of the length of time which he has spent in luganda	stances, if they { are authorised by { the Minister of { Local Government. {	studies is given to very needy cases. Those who have stayed in Uganda for a long time are	supposed to enjoy all human rights like any other national.		having special ider	ntity of a diploma in social many studies.	All land in a refugee settlement is government land. At any time government loan change the use or the user of the land.

FREQUENCY TABLE SHOWING THE RESPONSE OF LOCAL PEOPLE WHO WERE LIVING IN THE VICINITY OF RWANDESE REFUGEES.

1	! .	2	<u> </u>	3		1	4	:	.5	1	6		7	7	
AGE BRACKET	T	NEGATIVE ATTITUDE FOWARDS RWANDESE REFUGEES' CONTRI EU- TON TO ULFNIPAN LEO NORWY	TOWARD	DS F	WANDESE'		RWANDESE		S INTER-	Positive TOWARDS MARRIAGE	INTER-	RWANE		RS¦NC	
1-15	!	0	1	ó		¦ '	o .	1	0	;		; 0)		0
15-30	;	4	!	3		:	1	 !	3	!		1 3	3	!	2
30-45		3	;	2		: 2	2	: ·	3	1 ()	; 2	!	;	1
45-60	;	2	;	2		; ()	;	3)	.1	. -		1
50+	;	0	1	0		; (-	 	0	()	, 0		;	0
PERCENTAGE	= =¦	90%	; 7	0%		302	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ę ;	0%	10%	,	60	%	:	40%
=======	==		==	===		=======	-=======	=====				==		==	

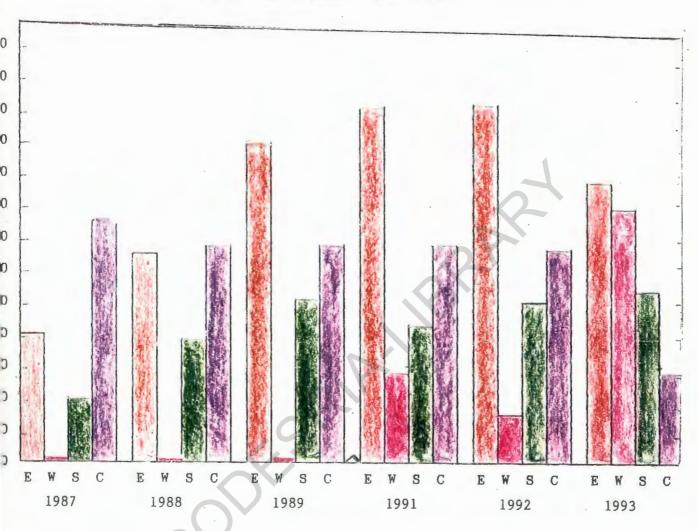
NOTE

TABLE.5

11 Families of Local People were visited.

Each family was represented by one respondent.

GRAPH SHOWING REFUGEE POPULATION IN SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN EASTERN, WESTERN, SOUTHERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA



Eastern

- Central

The above gragh is constructed from the data shown in tables 1 and 2 page

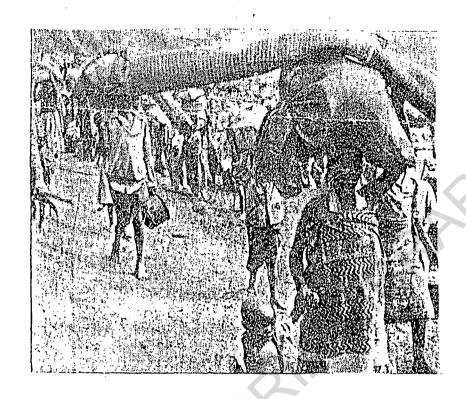
Western

⁻ South

APPENDIX 4 : FIGURE

FIGURE 1.

RWANDESE LEAVING UGANDA IN AUGUST 1994



APPENDIX 5: QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

TO BE ANSWERED BY OFFICIALS OF MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SECTI(ON A:PERSONAL PARTICULARS.
Name .	······································
Sex .	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
Marita	al Status
Age 1	-15, 15-30, 30-45, 45-60, 60 and above
0ccupa	ation
Distr	ict of birth
	nality
Quali [.]	fications
<u>Secti</u>	on B :QUESTIONS.
1.	What is Uganda Government's policy concerning refugees' stay in the country?
2.	According to the government policy, are refugees allowed to move from settlement camps?
,	
0	
3.	What is the Ministry of Local Government's policy concerning sponsorship of refugee students/pupils?
	·
4.	What rights and privileges do refugees possess?
	-

J.	by the government?
6.	Do all refugees possess identity cards which distinguish them from Uganda citizens?
	•
	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
7.	What is the criterion for selecting a Camp Commandant?
8.	Do refugees pay their taxes on the same scale as citizens of Uganda?
•	
9.	If a man died when he is a refugee, is he allowed to leave the land which he acquired in the Settlement to his heir?
10.	If there is voluntary repatriation of refugees, are they allowed to go along with the property which they have acquired in Uganda?
	· ····································
11.	What factors led to the displacement of Rwandese refugees from South Western Uganda in 1982 ?
•	
12.	What consequences followed from that event since 1982 up to 1993?
13.	What future plan does the Ministry of Local Government have for Oruchinga Refugees Settlement?

OUESTIONNAIRE. 2

TO BE ANSWERED BY LOCAL PEOPLE SECTION A : PERSONAL PARTICULARS. Name Sex Marital Status Age 1-15, 15-30, 30-45, 45-60, 60 and above Occupation District of birth Nationality <u>SECTION B</u> : QUESTIONS. When did you first come into contact with refugees from Rwanda? 1. 2. Why do you think Rwandese refugees came to Uganda? 3. What problems have refugees caused in Mbarara District? What positive contribution have refugees from Rwanda made to the 4. development of Mbarara District? 5. Would you like Rwandese refugees to remain in Uganda? Give reasons 7. Is intermarriage between Rwandese refugees and local people very common? 8. Why do you think Rwandese were displaced in 1982?

9.			Rwandese	stay	in	Uganda ,	particularly	in	Mbarara
	District	•							-

QUESTIONNAIRE. 3

TO BE ANSWERED BY RWANDESE REFUGEES

<u>SECTI</u>	<u>ON A</u> : PERSONAL PARTICULARS
Sex	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Marita	al Status
Age 1	-15, 15-30, 30-45, 45-60, 60 and above
Оссира	ation
Date o	of arrival in Uganda
SECTI(ON B: QUESTIONS
1.	On your arrival in Uganda, did you get some assistance or disturbance from the local people?
2.	Where do most of your relatives live?
3.	Were you also displaced in 1982?
4.	If so where did you flee to?
5.	If your country of origin was peaceful, would you prefer to go back?
6. ·	What problems do you face in your day-to-day living?
7.	Give reasons which would make you opt to remain in Uganda.
8.	Give reasons which make you opt to return to Rwanda.

9.	Is inter-marriage between local people and Rwandese very common?
10.	If it is not common what do you think is the cause?
11.	Comment on your stay in Uganda i.e what have you learnt from your stay in Uganda?
	······································
12.	Do you speak Runyankole fluently?
13.	Do you have children who are studying?

APPENDIX 6: RESPONDENTS FOR ORAL INTERVIEWS

Refugees

Three categories of people were interviewed as refugees. The first category was that of Rwandese refugees who originated from Rwanda and they were staying in Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. These were interviewed as a major group which comprised of people who were facing problems as refugees. The summary of their response has been given in Table 3 on page 96 and other ideas have been incorporated in the whole of chapter three.

The second category was of Ethiopians who were refugees in Uganda. The third category included Ugandans who had ever been refugees in Sudan and Zaire. These were interviewed for the purpose of comparison. They contributed towards the information which was written under the background to the study on page 2.

Local people

The local people also included two categories. The first category comprised of people who were living directly in contact with Rwandese refugees by virtue of being in the vicinity of Oruchinga Refugee Settlement. Their responses have been included in chapter three and in table 5, page 98.

Other people who were grouped in second category of local people were Makerere University students and other ordinary people who had ever been in contact with Rwandese. They offered complementary data to the local people in category one. The information received from them has been embedded in chapter three.

Ministry of Local Government and UNHCR officials

Other respondents included officials from the Ministry of Local Government and UNHCR. The data obtained from the Ministry of Local Government has been summarised in Table 4, page 97. Ministry of Local Government and UNHCR follow the same policy.

Names of respondents have been recorded following the procedure indicated below:

- * Name of the person interviewed
- * Title of the person interviewed (if any)
- * Theme
- * Place of interview
- * Month and year of the interview

Ethiopian refugees

Mamo Yohannes Ethiopian refugee Refugee experience in Uganda Mengo March 1993

Tamirat Tom Ethiopian refugee His experience as a refugee in Uganda Mengo February 1993

Tafe Solomon Ethiopian refugee His experience as a refugee in Uganda Tafe Solomon Ethiopian refugee His experience as a refugee in Uganda Mengo February 1993

Ugandans who had been refugees in Zaire and Sudan

Ezatirale George Post Graduate Student His experience as a Ugandan refugee in Sudan Dag Hammarshkjold Hall April 1993

Galenga Gladys Teacher Her experience as a Ugandan refugee in Zaire Arua May 1993

Makerere University Students

Akankwasa Justus Student Attitude towards refugees Makerere University February 1993

Bazageza Amos Student Culture of Rwandese Makerere University February 1993

Byamugisha Jimrex Student Relationship between Rwandese Refugees and Local people Makerere University February 1993

Byaruhanga Immy Student Attitude towards refugees Makerere University February 1993

Kamugisha Joseph Postgraduate student Attitude towards refugees Makerere University February 1993

Others

Muhwezi Joab Teacher Eviction of Rwandese Mbarara May 1993

Nagaba Ben Accountant Relationship between Rwandese Refugees and Local people Mbarara March 1993

Kyomugisha Eunice Teacher Rwandese refugees and local people Mbarara April 1993

UNHCR and Ministry of Local Government officials

Ahmed Farah Saidi UNHCR Representative Refugee' welfare UNHCR Officer March 1993

Mulumba Deborah Protection Officer Refugee welfare Kampala

Twesigomwe Carols
Deputy Director of Refugees
Uganda's Policy on refugees
Kampala
March 1993

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ailson, E.: Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas

Aguinas. New York, Random House, 1956.

Bath. J.L.: Applying Inquiry Method to Teaching Social

Studies. Thinking starts with inquiry. Nairobi Africa Social Studies Programme.

1986.

Bronislaw, K.: Sex Culture and Myth. London. Repert Hart

Davis. 1963.

Thomas Aguinas. London, Search Press Limited, Copleston, S.J.F.:

1955.

The History and Origin of Language. Methuen and Co. Ltd.,1957. Diamond, A.S.:

Dias. R.W.N.: Jurisprudence. London, Butterworths, 1976.

The Ethics of War and Peace. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1989. Douglas, P.L.:

Downie, R. S. & Elizabeth, T.: Respect for Persons. London, George

Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969.

Edel. A.: Method in Ethical Theory. London, Routledge

and Kagan Paul, 1963.

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Eight vols, London, Collier Macmillan Limited, 1967. Edwards, P. (Ed).:

Feinberg, J.: Social Philosophy. Englewood Cliffs. New

Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1973.

A Dictionary of Philosophy. Macmillan Press, 1979. Flew. A.: The London.

Gerald, E.: Ethics for a Shrinking World. London. The

Macmillan Press Ltd., 1990.

Golding, P.: Philosophy of Law. Englewood Cliffs, New

Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975.

Fagothey's Right and Reason. Ethics in Theory and Practice. St. Louis, The C.V. Mosby Gonsalves, M.A.:

Company, 1981.

The Refugee in International Law. Oxford. Goodwin, G.S.:

Clarendon Press, 1983.

Great Britain, The World's World a Flame. Graham. B.:

Work (1913) Ltd., 1965.

Hanfling, O.: Fundamental Problems in Philosophy. London.

Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1972.

Personal, Social Kellock, J.: Ethical Studies.

Religious. Bangalore, Bangalore Press, 1959.

Kenny, A.: Aguinas. Oxford, Oxford University Press,

1980.

Lamont. W.D.: Principles of Moral Judgement. Oxford.

Clarendon Press, 1946.

Laslett. P.: John Locke: Two Treaties of Government. New

York, Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Lemarchand, R.: Rwanda and Burundi. London. Oau Mau Press.

1970.

Background of Linton, R.: Cultural The Personality.

London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubenr & Co. Ltd.,

1947.

Dictionary of Christian Ethics. Philadelphia, Macquarrie, J.(Ed).:

The West Minister Press, 1967.

The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1967. MacVicker, H.:

Mazrui, A & Michael, T.: Nationalism and New States in Africa, from

about 1935 the Present. to Nairobi.

Heinemann, 1984.

Mbiti. J.S.: African Religion and Philosophy. London.

Heinemann, 1971.

Milne. A.J.M.: Freedom and Rights. London Allen and Unwin

Ltd., London, Humanities Press Inc., 1968.

Minton, J.A.: Philosophy Paradox and Discovery. New York.

Mc Graw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

Mondin. B.: Philosophy Anthropology. Rome. Urbaniana

University Press, n.d.

Moussali. M.: The Challenge of the Nineties. Zurich, Swiss

Institute of International Studies, 1990.

Njoroge, R.J. & Bennaars G.A.: Philosophy and Education in Africa. Nairobi, Trans-Africa Press, 1986.

Consciencism. London, Heinemann Educational Nkrumah, K.:

Books Limited, 1964.

Nyerere, K.J.: Freedom and Unity. Dar-es-Salaam, Oxford

University Press, 1960.

Odera Oruka, H. & Masolo, D.A. (Eds).: Philosophy and Cultures. Nairobi, Bookwise Co. Ltd., 1983.

Okullu, H.: Church and State in Nation Building and Human

Development. Nairobi, Heinemann, 1987.

Patridge, P.H.: "Freedom". Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Paul

Edwards (Ed. in.C.), London, Collier-MacMillan

Limited. v.3. 1967.

Peacock, H.L.: A History of Modern Europe 1789-1981.

Heinemann Educational Books, 1984.

Plamenatz. J.: Man and Society. New York, Longman Inc.,

1963.

Problems of Political Philosophy. London, The Raphael, D.D.:

MacMillan Press Ltd., 1990.

Ruch, E.A., and Anyanwu, K.C.: African Philosophy. Rome,

Catholic Book Agency, 1984.

A History of Western Philosophy. Russell, B.: London.

Unwin Paperbacks, 1979.

Anxiety and Neurosis. Rycroft, C.: London, Allen Lane,

Penguin Press, 1968.

Problems of Ethics. Publications, Inc., 1962. Shillick, M.: New York. Dover

Stein, R.M. Arthur J.V. et. al (Eds).: Identity and Anxiety.

(USA) The Press of Glauces, 1963.

Stroll, A.V, & Popkin, R.H.: Introduction to Philosophy. New York,

Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979.

Sven, H. (Ed).: Refugee Problem in Africa. Uppsala, the

Scandinavian Institute of African studies,

1967.

Principles of Ethics. Varga, C.A.: On Being Human. New

York. Paulist Press. 1978.

Vasily, V.: Neocolonialism. Methods Manoeuvres. and

Moscow, Progressive Publishers, 1975.

Language. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner Vendryes, J.:

and Co. Ltd., 1930.

Human Experience. A Study of its Structure. Viscount, H.:

London, John Murry, Albemane Stress, 1926.

Watson, C.: Exile from Rwanda: Background to an Invasion.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees, Febraury,

1991.

Wesley, E.B.: Teaching Social Studies in High Boston D.C., Heath and Co., 1950. Schools.

Philosophy and an African Culture. Cambridge University Press, 1980. Wiredu. K.: London.

A Preface to Philosophy. Belmont California, Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1988. Woodhouse, M.:

ARTICLES

Bazatsinda, J.: "What's special about Rwandese refugees in Uganda". **Weekly Topic**. n.34, August 1990.

Dominique, D.: "Human rights democracy and development". **The Courier**. Brussels n.128, July-August, 1991.

Dubar-oritz, R and Harrell-Bond. B.: "Africa rights monitor: Who protects human rights of refugees?". **Africa Today.** v.34, n.1 and 2, 1987.

Kawamara, S.: "Seminar divided over refugees". The New Vision, v.8, n.212. 1993.

Kigongo, J.K.: "Ethical values in African traditional education". Makerere University, 1990.

Luganda, P.: "Rwandans return home quietly in large numbers". The New Vision, Thursday August 4th 1994, v.9, n.183.

Muhwezi, B.: "The role of migration in African development: Issues and policies for the 1990s". The New Vision. v.8, n.152.

Obote, O.: "Politics of refugees and human rights seminar on democracy, and human rights in East Africa". Vaxjo University, 1991.

Owiredu, D.V.: "African Social Studies Programme". **Education** innovation in Africa. The Hague Institute of Social Studies, 1972.

Pentzer, S.W.: "Refugees after the cold war: Rethinking the definition from the Roman Catholic Perspective". **United States Catholic Conference**. Washington D.C., Migration and refugee services, April, 1991.

CONVENTIONS. CONSTITUTIONS AND ACTS

The Control of aliens refugee Act, Chapter 64, Laws of Uganda.

The Constitution of Uganda 1962. Kampala, Uganda Constitutional Commission.

United Nations.: Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees, 1967.

DISSERTATIONS

Bond, V.: Identity crisis: Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda. University of Edinburgh, 1988.

Engorit, C.: The impact of International law on the internal conflict in Uganda. (LLB) Makerere University, Kampala, May 1988.

Gureme, R.: Refugees in Uganda. (LLB) Makerere University, May, 1988.

Kasfir, N.M.: Controlling ethnicity in Ugandan politics. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September, 1972.

Katsikano, W.: Evaluation of methods of teaching social studies in primary school in Kabale District. (M.ED) Makerere University, September, 1991.

Namusisi, R.G.M.: The plight of Rwandese refugees in Uganda. (LLB) Makerere University, Kampala, May 1988.

JOURNALS

Annick, R (ED).: "Refugees". **Africa refugee day**, Namibia: Africa's newest nation. Geneva, Rotosadag, n.75, 1990.

Birindelli, M.A.: "Refugees". The Courier, Brussels, Dieter Frisch, n.121, 1990.

PAPERS

Dalfovo, A.T. et al.: "Readings in African Philosophy". Makerere University, Kampala, 1990.

Kiapi, A.: "The legal status of refugees in Uganda". A critical study on Uganda and refugee problem. Makerere University, 1993.

Nabuguzi, E.: "Refugees and politics in Uganda". MISR Workshop on Uganda and refugee problem, Makerere University, 1993.

REPORTS

AACC.: "Am I my brothers keeper?". Report 1986 -1987. Harare, March 1987.

AACC Refugee Services.: "Report on the evaluation of refugee programme of the Church of Uganda". Nairobi, 1987.

AACC.: "Review of 1985 activities". Programme proposal for 1987.

AACC.: "No time to say good bye". Report 1987 - 1988. Nairobi, March 1988.

AACC.: "Helpless I come ...!". Report 1988-1989, Kinshasa, March, 1989.

AACC.: "Voluntary repatriation is the answer". Report 1990-1991, Nairobi, March, 1991.

AACC.: "Voluntary repatriation is the answer". Report 1991-1992, Jinja, March, 1992.

SYBLLABUS

Ministry of Education and Sports.: "Syllabus for Primary Teachers' Colleges". Social Studies Education, Kampala, 1994.

FILE INFORMATION

File No. MCD/SZ/SFW at Oruchinga Headquarters.