



Imishyikirano-huriro NyaRwanda • Barcelona DIR'06
 Diàleg IntraRwandès • Barcelona DIR'06

INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE Imishyikirano-huriro Nyarwanda Diàleg IntraRwandès

**TIME AND SPACE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
 THE RWANDAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC WEAVE**



**Barcelona (Spain)
 June 2006**

Xarxa Internacional per la Veritat i la Reconciliació a Rwanda
 International Network for Truth and Reconciliation in Rwanda

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Preliminary thought

A corn farmer who had won the top award at a government fair used to distribute his best seeds among the other farmers of his village.

When they asked him why he did this, he answered:

« There's actually nothing extraordinary about it. It's in my own interest. The wind blows the pollen across neighbouring fields. If my neighbours grew bad-quality corn, pollination would lower the quality of my own corn. It's in my interest that my neighbours grow only the best-quality corn ».

A. D'MELLO



INTRODUCTION

The idea of an Intra-Rwandan Dialogue that brings together Rwandans of the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups results from an initiative taken by Mr. Isidore MUNYAKAZI and Mr. Elysée NDAYISABA. The first one is a Tutsi resident in the United States of America and former United Nations diplomat during the regime of Paul Kagame. Mr. NDAYISABA is a Hutu who lives in Belgium, president of the Belgian association AVICA (Assistance aux Victimes des Conflits en Afrique Centrale). Their discussions on the subject started on the internet and subsequently, Isidore and Elysée decided to abandon their internet pseudonyms in order to give true form to a sincere dialogue.

They agreed to extend their initiative to involve other Rwandans, who, like them, were intent on finding by peaceful means a lasting solution to the Rwandan problem which had in time become an endemic one.

The first meeting took place in Estellencs (Spain) from April 29 to May 2, 2004. This was possible thanks to the support of Fundació S'Olivar, headed by Mr. Juan Carrero¹, the Associació de Drets Humans de Mallorca and other public institutions². One of the recommendations made at this first meeting was to enlarge the scope of this type of exchanges and increase this initiatives of dialogues for peace.

Thanks to the assistance provided by the Government of Catalunya³, Catalan and Mallorcan organisations⁴ as well as to the support of Nobel Peace laureate Mr. Adolfo PEREZ-ESQUIVEL, it was possible to hold a second meeting of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue, which took place in Barcelona from June 4-7, 2006 with the theme "Time and Space for the Reconstruction of the Rwandan Socio-Economic Weave"

PRINCIPLES OF DIR (INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE)

Elysée NDAYISABA set the stage for the meeting in his introductory address, reminding that dialogue seeks to create true mutual understanding. In this pursuit, participants need to make sure they understand each other in order

¹ Juan Carrero Saralegui, candidate to the Nobel Peace Prize and president of Fundació S'Olivar of Mallorca, director of the International Network for Truth and Reconciliation in Rwanda and president of the International Forum for Truth and Justice of the Africa of the Great Lakes Region.

² With the support of the Fons Mallorquí de Solidaritat i Cooperació and the City Hall of Palma de Mallorca and the organisation AEQUITAS-Center for Mediation and Alternative Conflict-Solving of Barcelona.

³ Through the Agència Catalana de Cooperació per al Desenvolupament as well as with the support and attendance of the Minister of Institutional Relations and Participation of the Generalitat de Catalunya, Honourable Counsellor Mr. Joan Saura, at the Closing Session of DIR'06.

⁴ Fundació S'Olivar, Associació de Drets Humans de Mallorca, the Fundació Privada Ficat and the Associació Grup Empordanesos i Empordaneses per la Solidaritat.



to join forces in arriving at common interpretations of a given matter. He underlined, though, that arriving at a common interpretation doesn't mean that the parties involved in the dialogue always have to agree with each other; rather, they need to have the same interpretation of the matter they disagree on. He further stressed that dialogue differs from reconciliation because the latter implies re-establishing harmony among the people who have previously been divided by conflict, harmony that has been regained by asking for and granting forgiveness.

WHY SPAIN WAS CHOSEN

In order to launch this initiative of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue, it was necessary to find a neutral country which had no prior involvement in the geopolitical stakes of Central Africa. In addition, it was necessary to find people of good moral character and with credibility in the area of conflict mediation to facilitate this dialogue. Mr Juan CARRERO, since 2000 candidate to the Nobel Peace Prize, and Mr. Jordi PALOU-LOVERDOS, mediator and consultant in the area of pacifist conflict-solving and at the same time Facilitator-in-Charge of DIR Barcelona, both Spanish nationals and members of the International Net for Truth and Reconciliation in Rwanda, accepted this role. They also agreed to help organise and raise the funds for the event to take place.

CHOOSING THE PARTICIPANTS OF BARCELONA'S DIR'06

Participants at the Barcelona DIR'06 Intra-Rwandan Dialogue belong to the two main Rwandan ethnic groups –Hutu and Tutsi-; they are members of the main political parties and of Rwandan civil organisations from the Diaspora in Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and in the United States of America⁵. Three participants from the Rwandan hinterlands were invited to the event, yet only one was able to attend the dialogue. Participants were invited as private individuals in light of their personal involvement in the pursuit of a lasting peace in Rwanda.

MESSAGE FROM JUAN CARRERO TO THE DIR'06 PARTICIPANTS

At the opening session of the event, Juan CARRERO set out to remind participants that every person has his own sacred nature and that a strong sense of compassion towards the suffering of the Central African people

⁵ See Appendix # 1: list of participants with a selection of their personal and/or institutional involvement. People from Germany, Norway and the United Kingdom were not able to attend for several different reasons. The Rwandan participant coming from Norway sent the contents of his participation to DIR'06 organisers and participants (See Appendix #2).



motivated his involvement in organising the DIR. As a follower of Gandhi, he expressed his commitment to working toward brotherhood among human beings. He maintains that the suffering and alienation in Rwanda are not a thing of the past, but rather still continue. He also asserts that large organisations and big powerful nations have shown a great deal of indifference towards this situation, a fact that can generate a sense of helplessness among those organisations fighting for freedom and against impunity. Juan CARRERO's message provided participants at the meeting with words of empowerment along the following lines: *"...there are many things you can do even if you are a small group. The example set by Rosa Park, a woman who on her own sparked the struggle for Human Civil Rights in the USA, as well as by Gandhi and scores of others, are at hand to illustrate my stance. There are just twenty of you - but you are capable of bringing about change. History shows that it's always the smallest ones who have managed to bring about change. As Gandhi said, you need to remain faithful to your inner voice!. It's this madness about remaining faithful to self inner voice that allowed me -in light of the tragedy of Rwandans being massacred in the Democratic Republic of Congo- to collect the signatures of 20 Nobel Prize laureates and of the world's leading international figures after my hunger strike in front of the European Parliament in Brussels. The message I want to give you here is that you can change things even if you don't have a lot of means."*



FOCUSING TASKS OF THE DIR'06 INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE

At the outset, participants wanted to be clear about the framework in which the dialogue was to take place. There was a long discussion about defining the scope of the agenda and on what name to give their meeting for the “Dialogue.” Everyone agreed that this was not an Inter-Rwandan Dialogue, but rather – and evidently - an Intra-Rwandan Dialogue, since not all components of Rwandan society were represented and participants had been invited as private individuals in their own right even though they had come from different regions, organisations and ethnic groups (Hutu and Tutsi).

Participants asked Jordi PALOU-LOVERDOS⁶, who had been in charge of organising the DIR, to act as facilitator and moderator of the event. Following a theoretical and practical introduction to the non-violent martial art of Aikido which served as departure point of the discussion and sequel of the workshops already held at DIR'04 in Estellencs, Jordi PALOU-LOVERDOS suggested to the participants some issues which could serve as starting point for DIR'06. These issues were mainly inspired on the Arusha Peace Agreement of 1993 between the incumbent Rwandan government at the time and the Rwandan Patriotic Front-RPF, as well as on other matters related to past, present and future of Rwanda outlined in the internal work paper “NEW HORIZONS FOR RWANDA”.

The participants came to the agenda and agreed to examine the following points:

- Analysing the root causes of the Rwandan plight
- Analysing the present situation
- Suggesting ways and means to solve the plight as it had been defined.

⁶ Jordi Palou-Loverdos, co-director of the Æquitas Center for Mediation and Alternative Conflict-Solving.



A. ANALYSING THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE RWANDAN PLIGHT

After brainstorming the first point on the agenda, namely “Analysing the root causes of the Rwandan plight,” participants recognized the following factors:

1. MAIN PROBLEMS

- Absence of Rule of Law and of its effective implementation
- Absence of political and judicial guarantees
- Absence of security guarantees

2. ROOT CAUSES

- Absence of a democratic culture
- Absence of a political culture
- Absence of a national conscience
- Institutionalised violence in order to generate, control and retain power
- Impunity and trivialisation of crime
- Fear
- Absence of a dialogue
- Inefficacy of the country's elite
- Negative interference of foreign powers, international institutions and the Church
- Absence of respect for human life coming from the population

3. CONSEQUENCES (EFFECTS):

- Political exclusion (oligarchy - akazu)
- Confrontation and deadlock between two opposing ideological-ethnic blocks
- Absence of peace and security
- Bad governance
- Bad distribution of the country's resources
- Political repression

We should underline that some participants deplored the fact that the meeting had focused on Rwanda's problems without having emphasized the positive aspects of the country's system of governance and current situation. Following this remark, participants devoted time to listening to the accounts of the present state of affairs given by those who currently live in Rwanda or who had recently spent time there.



B. REPORT OF RECURRENT PROBLEMS

Participants focused on jointly identifying the problems which keep recurring in Rwanda and in Rwandan society. They summarised them as follows:

1. Seriously deficient Rule of Law

- Past and current system is non-inclusive
- Shortage of political guarantees, increasing numbers of refugees
- Current Constitutional Law tailored to serve government interests
- State apparatus and institutions monopolized by the party in power (currently RPF)
- Security system sold out and subordinated to interests at stake
- Obstacles to freedom of expression and press

2. History of Rwanda continually re-written to suit the ruling power.

3. Endemic impunity.

4. Heightened anti-Tutsi sentiment in the region (in addition to the anti-Hutu sentiment since 1994).

5. Potentially explosive situations and issues:

- Exclusion of a democratic opposition
- Impoverishment of the population
- Excessive militarization of the country

6. Oppression which generates fear.

7. Large-scale crimes committed before and after 1994 which have not been unanimously typified legally.

8. Widespread sentiment of deep discrimination among the victims of crimes that have not yet been unanimously typified legally, victims whose suffering and precarious situation are not always taken seriously by either current Rwandan authorities or international institutions.

After making these statements, participants embarked on a long discussion raised by a participant who spoke about the existence of a double genocide in Rwanda. The people who escaped the Tutsi genocide unequivocally expressed their disagreement with this statement. They pointed out that up to date only the genocide of the Tutsis has been officially recognised as such, but without excluding the fact that other large-scale crimes took place with



the Hutus as victims. At the end of the discussions on this subject, which proved to be the DIR'06's most sensitive issue, participants reached the following consensus:

“Acknowledging the Rwandan Genocide as defined by the U.N. Security Council’s ad hoc resolution, as well as the existence of other large-scale crimes committed in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo before, during and after 1994 and which have not yet been unanimously typified legally as such, the participants recommended setting forth these discussions within the framework of a broader Inter-Rwandan Dialogue.”



C. SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Participants made a joint effort to offer constructive proposals which they believed should help solve the problems recurrently afflicting Rwanda in the last decades. They outlined specific proposals regarding the following issues: the Rule of Law system, holding an Inter-Rwandan Dialogue and establishing a Commission for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation, as follows:

I. REGARDING THE RULE OF LAW

The participants ascertained that the situation which has been described and analysed above is characterized principally by a Rule of Law system that exhibits serious deficiencies:

In order to attain stability, peace and lasting development, they (participants) considered that any serving Government of Rwanda should effectively implement the principles of a Rule of Law system and take care to respect the right to human life which in turn embraces other fundamental rights (political, economic, social and cultural rights).

On the subject of the principles of a Rule of Law and of Democracy, they remarked that the previous and imperative requirements to implement a lasting system of peace, security, justice and development are a Rule of Law system and a pluralistic and participative democracy based on free elections. These principles constitute the intrinsic elements of a Rule of Law State which has to guarantee equal and inalienable rights for all Rwandans.

II. REGARDING THE INTER-RWANDAN DIALOGUE (HIGHLY INCLUSIVE)

The participants proposed that the Inter-Rwandan Dialogue, should pose and address the following fundamental questions:

a) Political and democratic guarantees:

- An Integral Multiparty system, and without hindrances, which guarantees the real and effective participation of the political opposition and of civilians.
- A real separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.
- Creation of a new Constitution and of new institutions which reflect the legitimate aspirations of all components of Rwandan society.
- Creation of the conditions that allow citizens to effectively enjoy and exercise their rights.



b) Security guarantees:

- Reforming the defence and security systems according to the principles of a Rule of Law.
- Abolishing parallel security bodies.
- Establishing an independent agency responsible for detecting and preventing crises.
- Creating of the conditions that will guarantee security and socio-economic development for the Rwandan population.

III. REGARDING THE COMMISSION FOR TRUTH, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION

This Commission that would arise from the Inter-Rwandan Dialogue would be responsible for the following tasks:

- Creating a commission to investigate the TRUTH about the Rwandan plight.
- Establishing a system of equitable JUSTICE for all the crimes perpetrated by Rwandans, independently of their ethnic group.
- Acknowledging the Rwandan genocide as defined by the *ad hoc* resolution of the U.N. Security Council, the participants required an investigation of all large-scale crimes committed in Rwanda before and after 1994 both inside and outside the country in order to legally typify these crimes as such.
- Studying the means needed to eradicate the culture of impunity.
- Acknowledging all the victims of the Rwandan plight.
- Creating a non-political commission in charge of writing and interpreting the history of Rwanda.
- Establishing the conditions that would lead to FORGIVENESS and RECONCILIATION.

Condo Gervais, Dukuze Augustin, Gahigiri Gervais, Hakizabera Christophe, Umuhoza Victoire, Karangwa Charles, Makuza Victor, Matata Joseph, Mberabahizi Jean B., Munyakazi Isidore, Munyandamutsa Naasson, Ndagijimana Jean M., Ndahayo Eugène, Ndayisaba Elysée, Ndereyehe Charles, Rusesabagina Paul, Ruzindana Emmanuel J., Rwanyindo Pierre R., Turikubwigenge Jean B., Twagiramungu, Joseph.



FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Despite the efforts all participants made to reformulate the points discussed in a way that were accepted by them all, at the end of DIR'06 three participants expressed their disagreement with the fact that the event had solely focused on Rwanda's problems. They insisted that the agenda had not taken stock of Rwanda's current situation to point at the country's accomplishments and progress before elucidating its eventual shortcomings. Even though this point of view was only shared by a minority of the people attending, the participants recommended to the organizers of the event to include this matter in the agenda of the next DIR edition.

The Intra-Rwandan Dialogue DIR'06, the first of its kind since 1994, unfolded in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. Discussions were held in an open and frank way, and no issue was regarded as taboo. Indeed, the road ahead is still long, but a meeting of this kind had the merit of addressing the real problems afflicting Rwandan society without a trace of censorship or exaggeration during the sharing among participants.

At the end of the DIR'06 Intra-Rwandan Dialogue⁷, participants encouraged themselves to continue the path that this Dialogue has opened towards delving more deeply into the ways to attain peaceful solutions to the Rwandan situation. At the same time, the second edition of DIR was considered as a high-impact step that should allow a highly inclusive dialogue.

⁷ The following people also participated in the Closing Act of DIR'06 : Mr. Joan SAURA LAPORTA, Minister of Institutional Relations of the Generalitat de Catalunya (Government of Catalonia); Mr. Adolfo PEREZ ESQUIVEL, Nobel Peace Prize winner; Mr. Carles CAMPUZANO CANADES, Congressman, Congress of the Spanish Government. His Excellency Maître Abdoulaye WADE, President of the Republic of Senegal, who had also been invited to the Closing Session of DIR'06, sent a letter apologizing for his inability to attend and expressing his congratulations on this initiative (see Appendix # 5).



APPENDIXES



Appendix 0: Dialogue and Closing Act of the DIR'06 (I)





Appendix 0: Dialogue and Closing Act of the DIR'06 (II)





Appendix 1

**EXCERPTS OF THE CURRICULUM VITAE OF THE
PARTICIPANTS OF THE INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE 2006
“TIME AND SPACE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
THE RWANDAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC WEAVE”**

All DIR'06 participants expressed their commitment to the Rwandan cause and to the importance of respecting human rights and justice. They all decided to participate in an open dialogue based on the principles of truth, justice and pluralism, acting as a consolidated driving force aimed to accomplish the goals of the above-mentioned activities and at helping create reconciliation and lasting peace for Rwandans.

Participants of DIR'06 are Rwandans who have come from Rwanda, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, the United States and Canada. They constitute a representative sample of present and past Rwandan society. All of them are victims of the Rwandan conflict. They were selected on the basis of their current involvement in establishing a dialogue, but also on their ability to form a nucleus for the reconstruction of the Rwandan socio-economic weave within a context of peace, stability and democracy.

The following summarizes the main areas of activity of the DIR'06 participants:

- Former and current members of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the political party founded in Uganda by Tutsi exiles and Hutus opposed to the Habyarimana regime. At present, this is the governing party in Rwanda and is led by Paul Kagame.
- Former members of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), the RPF army. It is the current government army, now called Rwandan Defense Forces.
- Former members of the Rwandan Armed Forces (RAF-FAR), consisting mainly of Hutus within the Rwandan government until July 1994.
- Former and current members of the Rwandan Democratic Liberation Forces (RDLF-FDLR).
- Former members of the Rwandan Socialist Party (RSP-PSR).
- Former congressmen in the Transition National Assembly (TNA-ANT).
- Former and current representatives of the Republican Democratic Movement (RDM-MDR).
- Former ministers during the government formed after the RPF takeover of power (July 1994), as well as members of the Cabinet of Ministers.
- Members of the Union of Rwandan Democratic Forces (URDF-UFDR) which groups the following parties: Republican Assembly for the Return of Democracy in Rwanda (RDR) and the Forces of Resistance for Democracy (FRD).
- Members of the Rwanda National Forum - RNF (EUA).
- Members of the Rwandan Democratic Alliance (RDA-ADR), Rwandan political party founded in exile in 2002 and involved in the struggle against impunity, the struggle against ethnic discrimination, for the establishment of a non-ethnic democracy and the re-establishment of security and peace in Rwanda and Great Lakes Region.



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- Ambassador/Deputy of the United Nations (New York) during the RPF (FPR) government
- Ambassador of Rwanda in Spain, and in other African and European countries.
- Assessors of public prosecutor and lawyers at the (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda).
- Members representing diverse Rwandan civil associations: Association Umuntu (Switzerland); ADL, organization for the defence of human rights in Rwanda; Association Suisse contre l'impunité (TRIAL- Switzerland); Ralliement pour l'Unité de la Démocratie Urunana (RUD-Urunana); Organization for Peace, Justice and Development in Rwanda (OPJDR) ; Center for the Centre de Lutte contre l'Impunité et l'injustice au Rwanda (CLIIR), association for the defense of human rights, based in Belgium and founded in 1995; FEDAR (Fédération Européenne des Associations Rwandaises); Fondation Pont Nord-Sud ; AVICA (Assistance aux Victimes du Conflit des Grands Lacs) ; Association "Zambia-Rwanda friendship association", founded in 1995 with the aim of following the Zambian example on tolerance and pacific interethnic coexistence; Centre de Gestion des Conflits (CCM) in Rwanda; ; Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix (IRDP), Rwanda-based institution involved in the peace process via Dialogue undertaken since 2001 with the objective of creating a democratic spirit and consolidating the social-regulatory order; Collectif AJIIR (Action pour une Justice Internationale Impartiale pour le Rwanda); Hôtel Rwanda Rusesabagina Fondation (HRRD) which supports and aids orphans and abused women during the Rwanda conflict.
- Representatives of several African refugee associations in the Netherlands which fight for Human Rights, for the Rule of Law, as well as for justice and democracy in Africa, especially in the Region of the Great Lakes (CODAC, URAHO, PROJUSITIA - Rwanda, HARAMBE).
- Professors at the National University of Rwanda and at other American and European universities.
- Members of the National Commission of Union and Reconciliation (NCUR-CNUR) in Rwanda, an organization which aims to eradicate the negative effects of the discrimination and exclusion policies which have characterised Rwanda's repressive regimes.
- Authors of several publications dealing with the socio-political, economic and judiciary situation in the Region of the Great Lakes and especially in Rwanda.
- Priests
- Activists in the following areas : human rights in Rwanda, rights for exiles and foreigners, defenders of peace, tolerance and non-violence in Rwanda, and who have been actively involved in the peaceful resolution of the Rwandan conflict and in the process towards reconciliation.
- Members of the International Forum International for Peace and Justice in Rwanda, as well as members of the International Network for Truth and Reconciliation in Rwanda.
- Participants of the first edition of the Inter-Rwandan Dialogue which took place in Estellencs, Mallorca, in 2004.



Appendix 2: Letter from Abdul Ruzibiza on occasion of DIR'06 (original)

À l'attention des organisateurs et des participants dans le Dialogue intra-rwandais à Barcelone,
Espagne

Juan Carrero (Président Fond. S'Olivar)
Bernat Vecens (Président Ass. Drets Humans)
Albert Parés (Président. F. Ficat)
Josep M^a Bonet (Président. Ass. GEES)
Jordi Palou (président Æquitas)
Chers participants
Distingués invités,

Je suis désolé que je ne serai pas à mesure de participer physiquement au dialogue pour des raisons indépendantes de ma volonté. Néanmoins, grâce à la technologie, je participe à distance. Soyez en sûrs, mon esprit est maintenant avec vous à Barcelone. Je salue particulièrement les efforts déployés par les organisateurs de ce dialogue sous le thème : « **Temps et espace pour la reconstruction du tissu socio-économique rwandais** », à eux je dis : « veuillez accepter mes remerciements. »

Chacun parmi nous a une importance capitale dans ce projet, qui consiste à trouver voies et moyens pour amener les Rwandais et amis du Rwanda, tous épris de paix durable, de justice pour tous, d'égalité, de fraternité, de respect de la vie humaine et de stabilité politique, à s'asseoir et dialoguer pour le bien du Rwanda et de ses voisins. Chacun parmi nous a un proche membre de famille, un ancien camarade, un collègue, un voisin, un confident, qu'il peut rallier à notre cause. Chacun parmi nous connaît au moins deux personnes, un méchant et un gentil, il peut rallier le gentil et transformer le méchant en homme raisonnable. Dans cette logique, on peut constituer un grand réseau, qui avec le temps, changerait la mentalité de notre peuple. De toutes les façons, au Rwanda, on n'aura pas où jeter nos méchants, nos criminels ; ils sont là et y resteront aussi longtemps que le Rwanda existera. Ils font partie de notre société, nous avons plus d'intérêts à les transformer qu'à les exterminer. Comment y arriver ? Peut être par la sensibilisation, l'éducation et surtout par la justice réparatrice. Ce qui est totalement intolérable, c'est que ces criminels soient des dirigeants qui décident pour nous. Nous ne continuerons pas indéfiniment à donner ce privilège aux leaders criminels.

Chers organisateurs
Chers participants
Distingués invités,

Si la propagande de la haine a duré plusieurs décennies, si habituer les gens à verser le sang des innocents a pris plusieurs années, si l'enracinement de l'impunité a pris du temps, il nous faut également assez de patience pour arriver à changer le cours des choses au Rwanda. Nous faisons face aux adeptes du diable, nous affrontons les génies du mal. Ils ont plus de moyens que nous, ils sont plus organisés que nous, ils ont plus d'alliés puissants que nous. De parts et d'autres, dans les deux ethnies, on a des extrémistes, capables de tout, prêts à déchirer notre société davantage.



Même s'il y a eu des crimes innommables ailleurs dans le monde, ce qui s'est passé au Rwanda reste unique : On a vu des gens tuer leur voisins, des parents massacrer leur propres enfants, des hommes assassiner leur propres épouses bien-aimées. On a impuissamment assisté au génocide des Tutsis orchestré, supervisé et encouragé par tout l'appareil étatique du Rwanda. On a vu une poignée de dirigeants Tutsis sacrifier toute leur ethnie pour conquérir le pouvoir. On a malgré nous vu les équipes de tueurs de profession s'emparer des enfants, femmes et personnes âgées pour les tuer dans l'humiliation, côté rebelles du FPR. Bref, au Rwanda ,ce que l'on ne peut même pas faire à ses pires ennemis d'un autre pays, on l'a fait à son propre peuple, on l'a fait à son voisin, à son prêtre, à son médecin, son ami favori, on l'a fait à son propre enfant ou à son époux(se), c'est une horreur absolue, une folie inimaginable ! Il faut impérativement en parler. Il faut absolument dialoguer pour trouver un compromis sur un avenir meilleur de ce peuple tellement traumatisé par les événements du passé. Qui a intérêt à ce qu'on n'en parle pas ? N'est ce pas le gouvernement Rwandais et certains extrémistes Hutus exilés ou conscients des crimes qu'ils auraient commis ?

Pour moi, ce serait une erreur de croire que c'est seul le gouvernement actuel qui pourrait organiser ce dialogue, comme on le fait tous les deux ans dans le cadre de la réconciliation .Ce que l'on fait selon mon entendement, est une façon de gérer une situation de non-guerre, mais qui n'est pas non plus une paix durable. C'est une autre façon de nous forcer à l'oubli. Nous persuader qu'il faut regarder l'avenir et se méfier du passé. Quel jeu d'enfant ! Si le gouvernement actuel ne veut plus entendre parler de notre passé tragique et chaotique, ou du moins de le comprendre, et que le présent est un état de terreur, de brutalité, d'intimidation, de corruption, de perfidie, de manipulation et de machiavélisme, comment pourrait on alors prétendre avoir un futur certain ? D'ailleurs, il serait naïf si non absurde de penser que ce régime à la tête duquel se trouvent les gens qui ont activement participé dans,(ou largement contribué à) la tragédie rwandaise soit à mesure d'organiser ce dialogue. On ne peut pas demander aux gens irresponsables de prendre une responsabilité de cette importance.

Personnellement, je suis certain d'une chose : la terreur, l'intimidation, l'usage de la violence pour arriver ou se maintenir au pouvoir, sont des denrées particulièrement périssables. Ils ne sont là que pour quelque temps, pas pour toujours, l'histoire est là pour nous le montrer. C'est ça mon secret. C'est ça la source de mon inspiration et de mon optimisme. Je suis conscient que l'on a une seule vie, que l'on doit la vivre correctement. Personne ne devrait indéfiniment profiter de l'ignorance du peuple, abuser de sa confiance et le conduire tout droit vers une mort atroce et certaine. On a droit à revendiquer nos droits les plus fondamentaux, à commencer par le droit à la vie et à la dignité. Ce n'est pas une chose à quémander, non ! Même pendant les dialogues à envisager dans l'avenir, il faut toujours le rappeler à ceux qui pensent qu'ils ont le plein pouvoir sur notre sort (la vie ou la mort), qu'ils devraient arrêter de persister dans cette folie.

Chers organisateurs
Chers participants
Distingués invités,

Si pendant plusieurs décennies ,on nous a appris à haïr autrui, nous avons la mission de prêcher l'amour de l'autre. Osons le faire en public et en privé. Si on nous a appris à tuer, il nous faut encourager les autres à sauver les vies. Si on nous a habitué à être égoïstes, il est grand temps que nous prêchions qu'il faut partager le peu que nous avons. Si on a pu mobiliser tout un peuple



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pour commettre des crimes graves, on peut également le mobiliser pour faire le bien. L'important est d'abord d'y croire, avant de l'enseigner aux autres. Si on a fait appel à la population à obéir aux ordres de mauvais dirigeants, on peut également faire appel à la désobéissance à de tels ordres

et à de tels dirigeants. Faire le mal demande plus de risques, plus d'énergie, plus de moyens, plus d'engagement que de faire du bien. Donc, quiconque peut faire le mal, peut également faire le bien ; Dieu nous a créé ainsi. Moi et vous qui comprenons ceci, aidons les autres à changer de comportements. Nous pouvons faire mieux, il nous faut seulement être patients, efficaces et clairvoyants.

Chers organisateurs

Chers participants

Distingués invités,

Pour terminer, j'aimerais partager avec vous comment je pense que nous pourrions arriver à réconcilier le peuple Rwandais avec lui-même, les Hutus et les Tutsis, les Twa et les deux premiers :1) accepter de dialoguer, d'analyser objectivement et d'assumer notre passé tragique ;2) militer pour une justice équitable et pour tous ;3) militer pour la bonne gouvernance, la démocratie et la stabilité politique ;4) promouvoir la réconciliation.

La réconciliation est selon moi, l'aboutissement de tout un processus, et non pas son début. C'est d'ailleurs la 1^{ère} erreur que commet le gouvernement Rwandais. Sans les trois premières étapes, la réconciliation serait impensable au Rwanda. Prétendre qu'il y a démocratie, justice et bonne gouvernance au Rwanda, c'est insulter mon peuple.

Que cette initiative marque le début du combat contre les préjugés ;

Qu'elle ne soit pas du tout une occasion de s'accuser mutuellement ;

Qu'elle soit une bonne opportunité pour s'attaquer aux mauvaises pratiques du passé et du présent, combat contre les politiques criminelles ;

Qu'elle ne soit pas au service des politiques irresponsables et de la propagande pour des fins inavouables de certains ;

Qu'elle ne soit surtout pas une façon de comparer les crimes commis par les uns et les autres, ni de les définir, ou pire encore de banaliser les uns car il y a eu d'autres crimes semblables. Ce serait une façon de tuer l'initiative dans l'œuf.

Enfin, je prie qu'on envisage que dans l'avenir, plus de gens participent dans les initiatives de dialogue intra-rwandais.

Merci à tout le monde

Ruzibiza A.Joshua



Appendix 2 : Letter from Abdul Ruzibiza on occasion of DIR'06 (translation)

Oslo, June 4 2006

To the Organizers and Participants of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue,
in Barcelona, Spain

Juan Carrero (President, S'Olivar Foundation)
Bernat Vecens (President, Assoc. Drets Humans)
Albert Parés (President. F. Ficat)
Josep M^a Bonet (President, Assoc. GEES)
Jordi Palou (President, Æquitas)

Dear Participants,
Distinguished Guests,

I am sorry that I won't be able to personally attend the Dialogue, for reasons independent of my will. Nevertheless, thanks to technology, I can participate from far away. Please be assured that my spirit is now with you all in Barcelona.

I especially salute the efforts that the organizers have put into hosting this dialogue on the theme "**Time and Space for the Reconstruction of the Rwandan Socio-Economic weave**". To them I say: "Please accept my thanks."

Each one of us plays a major role in this project which seeks to find the ways and means to lead all Rwandans and friends of Rwanda – all of whom are committed to lasting peace, justice for everyone, equality, brotherhood, respect for human life and political stability – to sit down and engage in a dialogue for the good of Rwanda and its neighbors. Each one of us has a close family member, a former friend, colleague, neighbor or confidant whom we can win over for our cause. Each one of us knows at least two persons, a kind one and a wicked one: we can win over the kind one and change the wicked one into a reasonable man. Following this rationale, we can grow into a big network which, in time, would change the mentality of our people.

In any case, we have no place in Rwanda where we can get rid of our wicked ones, our criminals; they're there and will stay there for as long as Rwanda exists. They are part of our society – and we are better off changing them than extinguishing them. How to do this? Perhaps by teaching them compassion, by educating them, and, above all, by restoring a state of justice that heals. What we absolutely cannot tolerate is that these criminals be the leaders who make decisions for all of us. We will not continue giving this privilege indefinitely to criminal leaders.

Dear Organizers,
Dear Participants,
Distinguished Guests,

If the propaganda of hate has lasted for decades, if people have taken several years getting used to shedding the blood of innocent ones, if impunity has taken long to spread out its roots, then by the same token it will take us a great deal of patience to manage to change the course of things in Rwanda. We are dealing here with followers of the devil, we are facing the masters of evil.



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They have more resources than we do, they are better organized than we are, they have a larger number of powerful allies than we do. Here and there, in both ethnic groups, there are extremists who are capable of anything, ready to tear our society asunder more and more.

Even though there have been unnameable crimes in other parts of the world, what has happened in Rwanda is in a class of its own: we have seen people kill their neighbors, parents massacre their own children, men murder their own beloved wives. We have been helpless witnesses to the genocide of the Tutsis, one orchestrated, supervised and encouraged by the entire Rwandan state machinery. We have seen a handful of Tutsi leaders sacrifice their own entire ethnic group in order to grab power. In spite of our presence, we have seen teams of professional killers seize children, women and elderly people to kill them in the midst of great humiliation, alongside rebel parts of the RPF. In short, in Rwanda, what you wouldn't do even to your worst enemies from another country, you have gone ahead and done to your own people, to your neighbor, priest, doctor, your best friend, you have done it to your own child or spouse, it's sheer horror, an unimaginable madness! It is imperative that we talk about it. It is imperative to engage in a dialogue in order to strike a compromise that will allow a better future for those people who have been so terribly traumatised by the events of the past. Who can show interest in something that is not mentioned? Aren't the Rwandan government and certain exiled Hutu extremists aware of the crimes they have committed?

I believe it would be a mistake to think that only the current government is able to establish that dialogue, as it's doing every two years within the context of reconciliation. In my opinion, all they're doing is just creating a non-war situation, one, however, which is not of lasting peace. It's just another way of forcing us to forget, of persuading us of the need to only turn our eyes towards the future and mistrust the past. What child play! If the current government no longer wants to hear us talk of our tragic and chaotic past, or at least understand it, nor hear us say that our present state is one of terror, awash with brutality, intimidation, corruption, perfidy, manipulation and macchiavellic acts, how then could you aspire to have a certain future? Besides, it would be naïve – if not absurd - to think that this regime, and its leaders who actually took part in (or greatly contributed towards) the Rwandan tragedy, are in the position to organize this dialogue. You can't ask irresponsible people to take on a responsibility of such import.

There is one thing I personally am certain about: terror, intimidation, and the use of violence in order to seize or retain power are all particularly perishable commodities. They just exist for a given time, but not forever - history is there to show us that. That's my secret. That is the fountain of my inspiration and optimism. I am aware of the fact that we only have one life to live, and that we have to live it righteously. Nobody should be able to profit from the ignorance of the people, misuse their trust and lead them straight on to a horrible and certain death. We have a right to claim our most fundamental rights, starting by the right to life and dignity. This is something we don't have to beg for, no! Likewise, in the dialogues planned for the future, it is necessary to remind those who have absolute power, of our fate (life or death), remind them that they must stop insisting on this madness.

Dear Organizers,
Dear Participants,
Distinguished Guests,



Imishyikirano-huriro NyaRwanda • Barcelona DIR'06
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Even though for decades we have been taught to hate others, our mission is to preach love for one another. Let us dare do it in public and in our private moments. If they have taught us to kill, it is necessary we encourage others to save lives. If they have made us selfish, it is high time that we start preaching the need to share the little that we have. If they have been able to mobilise an entire nation to commit serious crimes, we can mobilise them just the same to do good. The important thing is to believe in this before teaching it to others. If they have summoned the population to follow the orders of bad leaders, we can summon them just the same not to pay heed to those orders. Committing evil requires more risks, more energy, more means, more effort than doing good. Thus, whoever can commit evil can do good just the same; God has created us that way. Let us, you and I who understand this, help others change their behavior. We can do better, we just need to be patient, efficient and visionary.

Dear Organizers
Dear Participants
Distinguished Guests,

Finally, I would like to share with you how I think we could succeed in bringing about a reconciliation among Rwandans, the Hutus with the Tutsis, the Twa with the two latter ones.
a) agreeing to establish a dialogue, making an objective analysis and coming to terms with our tragic past; 2) militating for equitable justice for all 3) militating for good governance, democracy and political stability 4) fostering reconciliation.

In my opinion, reconciliation stands as the outcome of a process, not at its outset. This is moreover the first mistake the government is making. Without the first three stages, reconciliation in Rwanda would be unthinkable. Claiming that there is democracy, justice and good governance in Rwanda is an insult to my people.
That this initiative mark the beginning of the struggle against prejudice;
That it by no means be an opportunity to make accusations against each other;
That it provide a good opportunity to fight the wrong practises of the past and of the present, and struggle against murderous policies;
That it not serve irresponsible policies and propaganda for the shameful goals of some people;
Above all, that it not be used as a way to compare the crimes perpetrated by the two sides, nor to define them, nor, worse still, to make some crimes seem commonplace because there were other similar crimes. That would be a way of killing the initiative before it hatches.

Finally, I ask you to envision more and more people taking part in the initiatives of the intra-Rwandan dialogue in the future.

My thanks to all of you.

Ruzibiza A. Joshua



Appendix 3

FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE IN BARCELONA

At the end of their meeting held within the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue in Barcelona (Spain) from June 4 to June 7, 2006, which has been made possible by the members of the International Network for Truth and Reconciliation in Rwanda, the participants of the INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE, who have come from Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Rwanda, Switzerland and from the United States:

Acknowledging the accomplishments attained in Rwanda despite the difficult conditions, conclude nevertheless that certain problems notably subsist and that the principles of a Rule of Law system are not being implemented adequately, thus threatening to stir violence as a result.

Recognizing the Rwandan genocide as defined by the U.N. Security Council's ad hoc resolution and the existence of other large-scale crimes which haven't yet been legally typified legally, the participants recommend setting forth the discussions within the framework of a broader Inter-Rwandan Dialogue.

The participants of the INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE in Barcelona **express** their heartfelt thanks to the Catalonian Government, to the organisations and individuals who, both from close-by or from afar, have facilitated and contributed to the hosting and success of this INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE in Barcelona.

Barcelone, June 7, 2006

01. Condo, Gervais
02. Dukuze, Augustin
03. Gahigiri, Gervais
04. Hakizabera Christophe
05. Ingabire Umuhoza, Victoire
06. Karangwa, Charles
07. Makuza, Victor
08. Matata, Joseph
09. Mberabahizi, Jean Baptiste.
10. Munyakazi, Isidore
11. Munyandamutsa Naasson
12. Ndagijimana, Jean Marie Vianney
13. Ndahayo Eugène
14. Ndayisaba Elysée
15. Ndereyehe, Charles
16. Rusesabagina, Paul
17. Ruzindana, Emmanuel
18. Turikubwigenge, Jean Berchmans.
19. Twagiramungu Joseph



Appendix 4

Words of thanks to the host and organizers of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue – Barcelona, June 4 – 7, 2006

At the end of our meeting held within the framework of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue in Barcelona, the participants who have come from Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Rwanda, Switzerland and the United States of America, express their gratitude to the Catalan Government and to the organisations which have sponsored this gathering financially - a meeting which was very much desired and recommended by the first event which took place in Estellencs, Mallorca, from April 29 to May 2, 2004, under the patronage of Mr Juan Carrero.

The participants in the INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE of Barcelona express their warm thanks to the Honorable Mr. Joan Saura, Minister Institutional Relations of the Generalitat de Catalunya, Catalan Government, whose attendance has enhanced the closing ceremony of this Intra-Rwandan dialogue.

The participants are deeply touched by the involvement of Mr. Adolfo Pérez-Esquivel, 1980 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, who, despite his very busy agenda, has been able to devote to us a very precious time, evidencing his special concern for the suffering of the people of Central Africa, overall, and of Rwanda, in particular. His presence gives all of us – participants of this intra-Rwandan dialogue, victims of the Rwandan genocide as well as to the victims of other large-scale crimes – a renewed hope to live and the courage to continue fighting this impunity that has become endemic to our region, so that we may be able to say “never again.” Thank you infinitely, Mr. Adolfo, for being with us today. We dare hope that you will remain at our side during this long journey towards lasting peace.

The participants in the INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE of Barcelona express their warm thanks to the organizers and facilitators who have enabled this dialogue to take place within very fraternal and hospitable conditions. More especially, we address our sincere thanks to Jordi Palou and Juan Carrero, since 2000 Nobel Peace Prize nominee, for their wisdom as they accompanied and managed the work for the INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE; as well as to Bernat Vincens, for his support. We cannot miss also thanking Irma Rognoni, Anna Renom and Judith Pujol for the verve and skill they exhibited in their preparatory work, hospitable reception as well as in many other tasks at times invisible, but which have proved of great help.

Finally, may all those people who have contributed closely or from afar to the success of this INTRA- RWANDAN DIALOGUE in Barcelone, be assured here of our great gratitude. On behalf of the participants of the INTRA- RWANDAN DIALOGUE,

Our thanks to you all.

Elysée Ndayisaba



Appendix 5

12/06 2006 10:47 FAX -221 8232840

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Republique du Sénégal
Une Démocratie - Une Paix - Une Prospérité



PR/MEDC/SG/MHCDHP/MBN/mand

Présidence de la République

*Haut Commissariat aux Droits de l'Homme
 et à la Promotion de la Paix*

Dakar, le

09 JUIN 2006

Le Ministre Haut Commissaire

No - 0321

Monsieur le Président,

Son Excellence Maître Abdoulaye WADE, Président de la République a bien reçu votre lettre envoyée par télécopie en date du 30 Mai 2006, et il a pris bonne note de son contenu. :

Monsieur le Président de la République regrette de ne pouvoir répondre à votre invitation à cause d'importants engagements pris depuis longtemps.

Le Chef de l'Etat vous transmet ses sincères excuses et vous adresse ses vives félicitations pour les initiatives de recherche de Paix dans la région des Grands Lacs.

Veuillez croire, **Monsieur le Président**, à l'assurance de mes sentiments de considération distinguée.

Maître Mame Bassine B. NIANG

Monsieur Juan Carrero Saralegui
 Président de la Fondation Solivar
 Fax : 0034.93.459.09.51

ESPAGNE

