



**IMISHYIKIRANO-HURIRO NYARWANDA**

**DIALOGUE INTER RWANDAIS HAUTEMENT  
INCLUSIF (DIRHI)**

**HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER RWANDAN  
DIALOGUE (HIIRD)**

**PLEA FOR THE SET UP OF A HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER-RWANDAN DIALOGUE (HIIRD)**



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## HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER-RWANDAN DIALOGUE (HIIRD)

### Presentation:

Sixteen years after the Rwandan tragedy that claimed the lives of countless innocent people, the Rwandan population is still suffering aftermath of a very bloody war which began in October 1990 and the Rwandan genocide that followed. The social framework is ripped out since faces a highly contested process of reconciliation initiated by the regime. Rwandans continue to be disenfranchised and flee their country.

Several tests lead to the same conclusion: **the main problem is power.**

The globalization of negative ethnicity and lack of dialogue leads to the recurring pattern of logic to gain power by using violence as springboard ethnicities. This explains the absence of the rule of law, elections undemocratic, unfair and not transparent periodically organized, and the cyclical conflicts which regularly marred Rwanda. Therefore it is more obvious and imperative to hold Highly Inclusive Inter-Rwandan Dialogue (HIIRD) for:

- give voice to the oppressed people so he can decide about governance that suits him ;
- Helping Rwandans to establish viable democratic institutions, secure and reassuring everyone to stop the flow of refugees and various forms of rebellions arising there from ;
- Finding solutions to the problem of security guarantees for a peaceful coexistence with neighboring of Rwanda , especially the Democratic Republic of Congo, because in many ways, Rwanda is at the root of crises in the region of African Great Lakes.

This dialogue is the only framework conducive to building trust among ethnic groups, essential for effective reconciliation, peace and sustainable development in the Great Lakes.

To do this, the HIIRD must also be a space of expression available to all victims of the Rwandan tragedy. It must involve not only the various political actors, armed or unarmed, but also civil society with the participation of observers.

This process should lead to a democratic renewal of a reconciled nation where citizenship is a reality in the institutions and all sectors of national life, and where people see themselves first round of political ideas they share and not based on ethnicity, clan, regional or otherwise.

Chairman of the Coordinating Committee-Initiative HIIRD





## **1. Introduction**

The current situation in Rwanda reveals many signs and conditions similar to those which led to previous conflicts that culminated in the Rwandan genocide. We encourage Rwandans and friends of Rwanda to do everything possible to prevent and stop the recurrence of a new conflict.

## **2. Context Analysis**

Sixteen years after the Rwandan tragedy that claimed the lives of countless innocent people, the Rwandan population is still suffering from the aftermath of a very bloody war which began in October 1990. The social framework which was ripped out since has created tension between the two main ethnic groups, Hutus and Tutsis. This deserves a very deep and urgent restoration.

Since the time the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) took power in Rwanda in 1994, acts of violence continue to proliferate. Rwandans have been prevented from their rights and continued to flee their country. Today, the increased frequency of these acts of violence in the city of Kigali, the denial of the opposition Political Parties not backed by the RPF, the arrest of lawyers, leaders of opposition political parties, killings and arrests of journalists, the banning of independent newspapers, increasing defection of diplomatic representatives and senior Rwandan military officers as well as many other Rwandans who continue to flee their country including parliamentarians, governmental ministers, and senior officers reflect the fragility of security in the country. The country is likely to explode with the worsening of socio-economic problems of the population that is facing with a serious food crisis that Rwanda has ever been recorded before.

Political legitimacy depends on the level of respect for human rights and freedoms of individuals and how elected officials are accountable to their electorate for the mandate entrusted to them. The free exercise of political activities, by independent political parties, plays a major role in a democratic system. Freedom of opinion and expression, the independence of the judiciary, as well as political pluralism, are also strong pillars of a democratic system. Also, there can not be true democracy without multiparty that recognizes the existence of the opposition; which is expected to create an environment conducive to political tolerance, peaceful competition for the power and for voters to hold accountable their elected officials who in turn have the mandate to govern through a process of free and transparent elections.

There is an urgent need for solving internal political conflict in Rwanda that became the main source of instability throughout the Sub-region of the Great Lakes of Africa. Letting this situation to persist does undermine peace and security in the entire Great Lakes region. The persistence of refugees and various forms of rebellions are indeed a result of the political and economic marginalization of a segment of the Rwandan population.





### **3. Objective**

The lasting solution to the Rwandan conflict can only be achieved through a Highly Inclusive Inter-Rwandan Dialogue (HIIRD) between all components of the Rwandan society. Through this dialogue, the representatives from the various components of the society will agree on mechanisms of constitutional and institutional arrangements for managing and securing power that would reassure everyone. The process should lead to a restoration of democracy and true reconciliation. All citizens would enjoy equal opportunities in all sectors of national life and will be recognized on the basis of their common ideas that they politically share rather than on the basis of ethnicity or region. Only through this framework could the country restore an environment of trust amongst its peoples, peace, security and sustainable development in Rwanda and the Great Lakes region of Africa.

### **4. Participants**

The HIIRD is the most appropriate framework for national reconciliation that may lead to the best way of ensuring respect for human rights and individual freedoms. It is the best way to end the vicious circle of exclusion that led to a cyclical violence. This framework will provide an ideal platform for key players in the Rwandan society to participate in determining the constitutional framework that will determine the future governance of the country. To do this, this dialogue must take place under good conditions to guarantee an open discussion where different views can be expressed without fear and under the auspices of international observers. Indeed, this dialogue must include all stakeholders, including all actors, both inside and outside the country, armed or not, as well as representatives of religions and those of civil society. All will participate in determining ways and means to reach a pact that would guarantee political stability without which reconstruction and socio-economic development are doomed to failure.

### **5. Expected results.**

#### ***5.1. Reaffirmation of Rule of Law***

The Protocol on the Rule of Law signed at Arusha, Tanzania on August 18, 1992 between the Government of the Second Republic and the RPF is very clear about the essence of a State of rights and the principles on which it is based. It was stressed in particular that both parties recognize that the democratic society would certainly be based on pluralism, which is the expression of individual freedoms and the respect of the national unity as well as the fundamental rights of the citizen; and that the multiparty system also implied the legitimacy of existence of a democratic opposition, and consider the legitimate aspiration of all Rwandans to gain power by democratic means. The agreement in which the International Community has also actively participated, still serves as a framework to trace the contours of the rule of law to establish in Rwanda.





## ***5.2. The Institutional Framework and Reassuring Institutions.***

The principles of the rule of law are intrinsic elements to ensure the equal and inalienable rights of all Rwandans, with a primary focus on the flawless respect of human lives. In order of priority, the fundamental right to life is followed directly by the political rights. Indeed, it is the politics that makes the laws, determines the scope of social fairness and creates the environment necessary for the fulfillment of other rights. Therefore, the interference with the exercise of political rights leads almost automatically to a violation of other rights.

These rights must be actively pursued and not remain a dead words to appear only in texts. The institutions responsible to serve as their guarantors, to ensure monitoring and evaluation should be independent in exercising their role of observatories and ensuring that citizens can enjoy and actually flourish in life everyday.

The following main questions should therefore require the attention of HIIRD:

### **a. Democratic and Political Guaranties:**

***Instauration of a new fundamental law and the creation of new institutions that would reflect the legitimate aspirations of all sections of the Rwandan society.***

It would guarantee among others:

- The full and unhindered political pluralism, to ensure effective participation and effective political opposition and civil society in the political activities of the country;
- The real and effective separation of powers (legislative, executive, judicial);
- Creating conditions for effective exercise of citizenship.

### **b. Security Guaranties:**

***This fundamental law must also define the context of:***

- The creation of conditions ensuring the security and socio-economic development of the Rwandan population;
- The reform of defense and security in accordance with principles of rule of law;
- The elimination of parallel security bodies;
- The establishment of an independent detection and prevention of crises.





### ***5.3. For the Truth - Justice and Reconciliation commission and the fight against Impunity.***

The reconciliation of Rwandans is impossible with a constitution that enshrines impunity and lack of a fair trial. The HIRD should define the conditions for establishment of the Commission for Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda to help Rwandans move toward genuine reconciliation. This Commission would be responsible, among others:

- Study mechanisms to eradicate the culture of impunity;
- Establish a commission of inquiry to investigate the Rwandan tragedy;
- Investigate and qualify all crimes committed in Rwanda before , during and after 1994 whether perpetrated inside or outside Rwanda;
- Establish a fair trial of all crimes committed by Rwandans regardless of their ethnicity;
- Establish conditions conducive to forgiveness and reconciliation;
- Create a non-political committee responsible for writing and interpreting the history of Rwanda.

### ***5.4. Accompanying measures***

The biggest failure of the Arusha Peace Agreement has been due to the lack of implementation of appropriate accompanying measures. The deployment of international forces, like what was done in Burundi to ensure the establishment of prerequisites for the establishment of the rule of law and pluralist democracy is inevitable.





## **6. Funding:**

This HIIRD should be held in an African country, preferably in Tanzania whose proximity may allow a wide participation of Rwandans from the inside to lower costs, and given its positive history in the search for negotiated solutions to conflicts in the sub-region.

The requested budget will cover travel and hospitality for government officials and its forum of political parties, Rwandese political organizations of the democratic opposition, civil society and religious leaders. This dialogue should take up to 30 days. The costs of international observers should be carried by the respective countries that they will be representing.

Funding must also provide a pre-organizer team in charge of logistics ad-hoc. The pre-financing of the Secretariat would be ideal for this purpose. This team would consist of a secretariat of two people full time for a period of one year.





**Appendix 1.**

LOGICAL FRAMEWORK (SMART): HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER-RWANDAN DIALOGUE

	<b>Logic Of intervention</b>	<b>Objectively verifiable Indicators (OVI)</b>	<b>Sources of check</b>	<b>Hypotheses/ Risks</b>
<b>Goal</b>	The Rwandans come to an agreement on ways and means to find lasting resolutions in Rwandan political crisis	HIIRD took place	Report of HIIRD	
<b>Specific objectives</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. All components of the Rwandan society participate in HIIRD;</li> <li>2. The Rwandan people are reconciled, rights and freedom of the human person are respected</li> <li>3. The international Community supports the process of lasting resolution of Rwandan crisis</li> <li>4. Institutions which reassure and ensure everyone are set up</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Seven hundred and fifty Rwandan representatives of different protagonists, of inside as outside, armed or not armed, representatives of religious confessions and of civil society participate in DIRHI</li> <li>2. The number of refugees and political prisoners diminishes; multiparty system is in effect</li> <li>3. The international observers participate in HIIRD</li> <li>4. A period of transition with institutions from HIIRD is launched</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- List of the participants in HIIRD</li> <li>- List of the liberated political prisoners</li> <li>- The recorded political parties of opposition</li> <li>- HCR report on voluntarily returned refugees</li> </ul>	Crystallization and refusal of FPR to participate in HIIRD
<b>Results</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A new draft constitution reaffirming the rule of law, is developed</li> <li>2. Safeguards Policies and guarantees of security are defined</li> <li>3. Truth Commission - Justice - Reconciliation is set up.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The draft to submit for referendum is available</li> <li>2. The forum of political parties is phased out;</li> <li>3. The law on political parties, the ideology of genocide is amended</li> <li>4. Members of the Committee V.J.R (<i>Truth Justice &amp; Reconciliation</i>) are designated</li> </ol>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Report of the offices of HIIRD</li> <li>- Presidential decree on concerned laws</li> </ul>	







	<p>4. The fight against impunity is guaranteed</p> <p>5. The measures of installation of the new institutions are taken</p> <p>6. Accompanying measures are determined</p>	<p>5. The roadmap for new institutions is defined</p> <p>6. The international observers for launching and implementing the new institutions are present</p>		
<b>Activities</b>	<p>1. Mobilization of members of the Security Council as well as EU,&amp; AU</p> <p>2. Inventorying of non-profit organizations, political parties and opinion leaders</p> <p>3. Signature of the motion of support to HIIRD by political parties and organizations of civil society</p> <p>4. Mobilization of mediators and Funders</p>	<p><b>Means</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Experts</li> <li>- Secretariat Staff</li> <li>- Secretariat Office</li> <li>- Financial resources</li> </ul>	<p><b>Costs</b></p> <p>estimated budget</p> <p>4,100,000€</p>	
<b>Prior Conditions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The budget for the preparation of HIIRD and implementation of required activities is available to the Secretariat;</li> <li>• The sponsors of the RPF to lead it to accept the dialogue;</li> <li>• The budget required for the holding of HIIRD is mobilized;</li> </ul>			



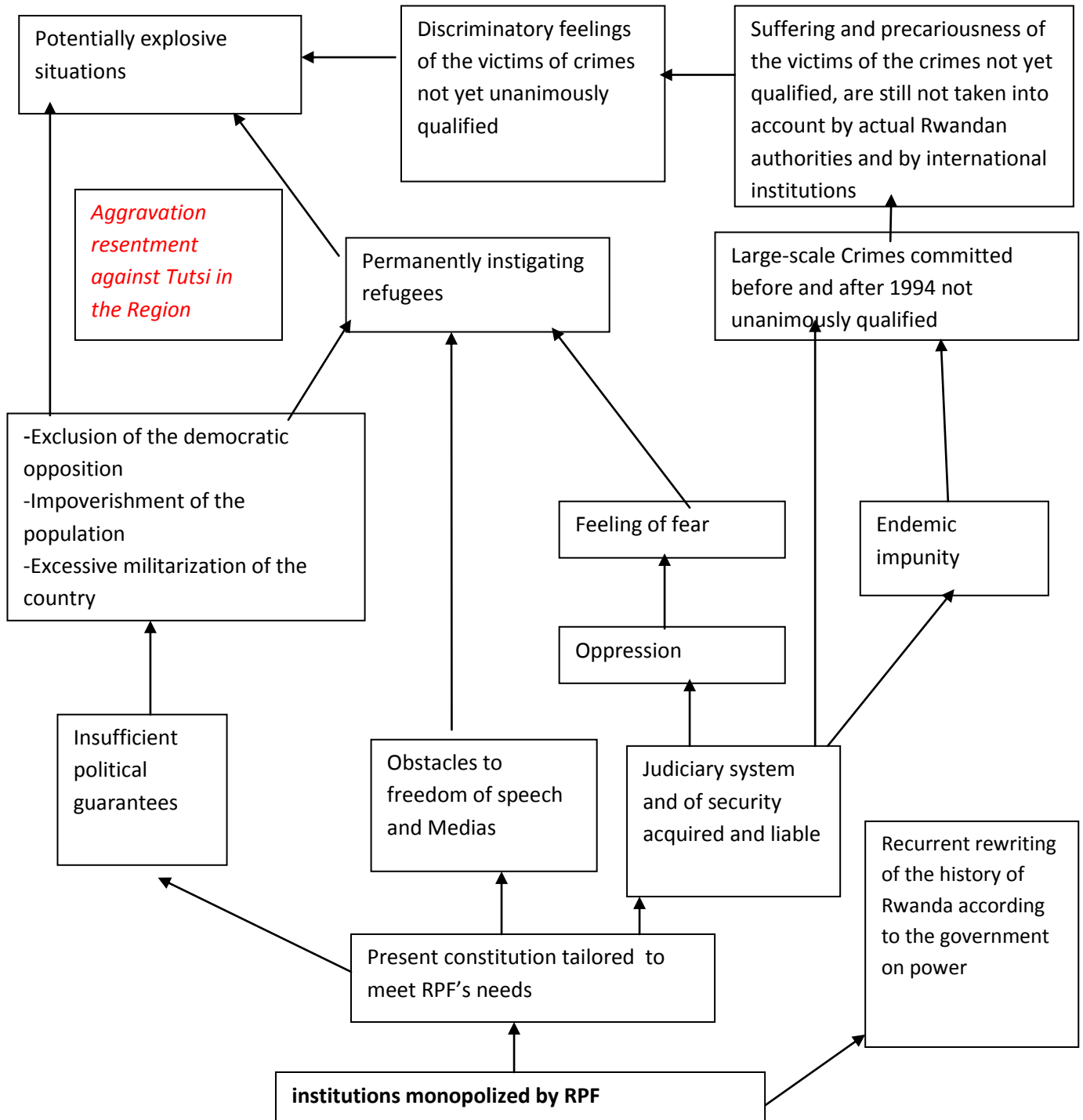


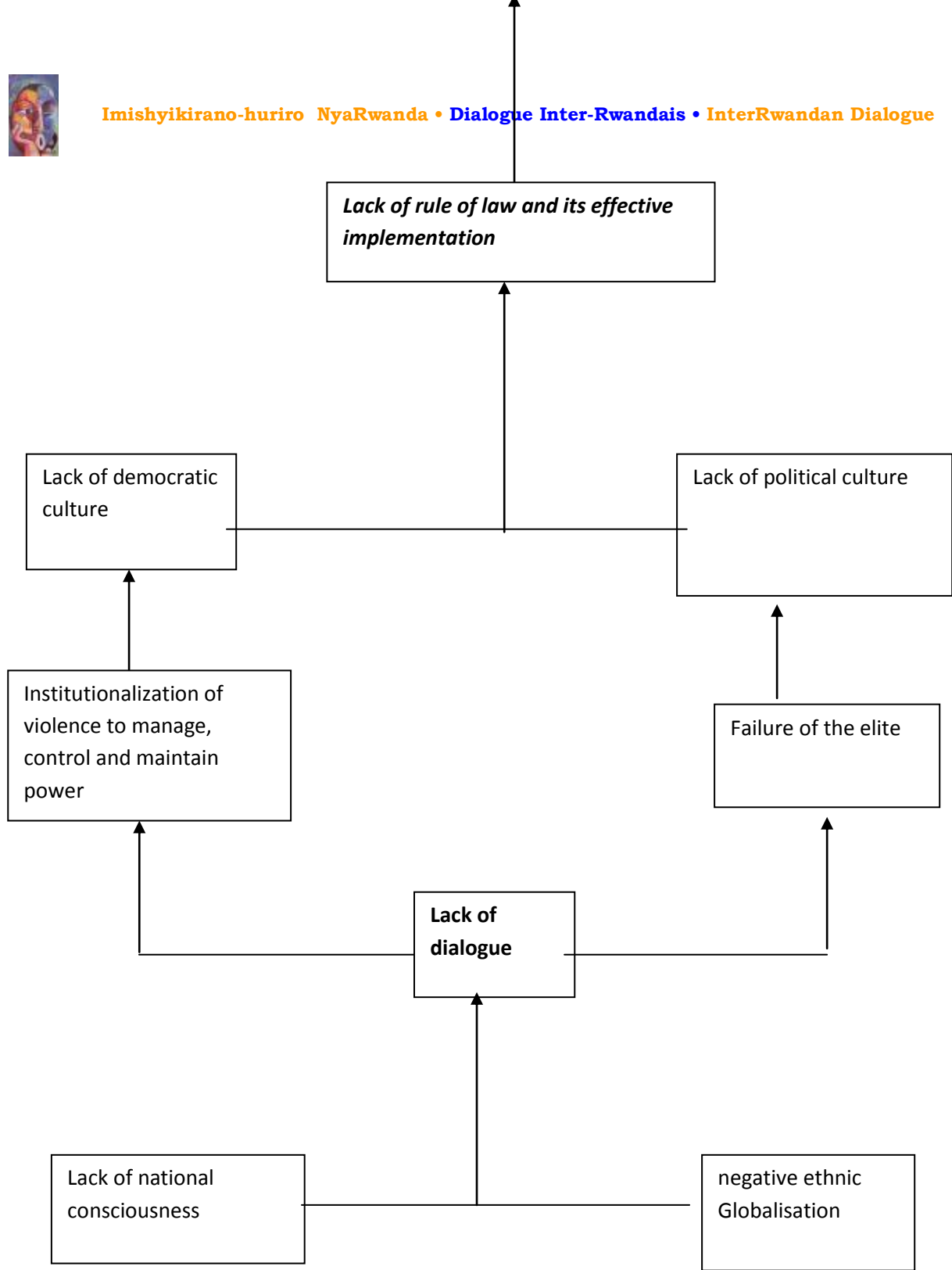
Annex 2:

POLITICAL CRISIS OF RWANDA: DIR BARCELONA June 2006

SUMMARY OF FACT OF RECURRING PROBLEMS

The central problem is the lack of an effective rule of law due to: the absence of political guarantees, security and equal justice. Nobody can honestly say that this would be linked to any ethnic group.







### Annex3

## FROM INTRA-RWANDAN DIALOGUE WITHIN RWANDA "IRD" TO HIGHLY INCLUSIVE INTER-RWANDAN DIALOGUE "HIIRD"

### Introduction

Sixteen years after the Rwandan tragedy that claimed the lives of countless innocent people, the Rwandan population continues to suffer from the outcome of a very bloody war which began in October 1990. The social framework is deeply ripped out and faces a highly contested process of reconciliation initiated by the regime. Rwandans continue to be prevented from their rights and flee their country.

#### 1. History

##### 1.1. Setting:

Under the initiative of a number of Rwandans who, beyond the academic controversy, note and accept the existence of the Hutu-Tutsi-Twa as a socio-political reality of Rwanda, several meetings were attended by 120 Rwandans between 2004 and 2009. The initiative group has defined the framework as an **Intra-Rwandan Dialogue (DIR)** to establish contacts for a genuine dialogue leading to a true reconciliation among Rwandans from all sides.

##### 1.2. Participants:

The first exploratory meeting was held in 2004 in Estellencs, Mallorca, Spain (**DIR-04**). While acknowledging that there were differences in interpretation of the history of Rwanda, the participants agreed that this should not be an obstacle to the construction of a common destiny to the benefit of all Rwandans.

Continuing this momentum, a second edition of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue (**DIR-06**) was held in Barcelona, Spain in June 2006. Participants came from two main ethnic groups in Rwanda (Hutu and Tutsi), members of the main political and civil society organizations of the Rwandan Diaspora from Belgium, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and the USA. Three participants from Rwanda were invited but only one person was able to participate. It is worth to emphasize that each participant had been personally invited by taking into account his/her own commitments on the search for lasting peace in Rwanda.

At the end of this edition, one of the recommendations emphasized the expansion of dialogue to all levels of the Rwandan population. It urged all participants to strive for more support to Inter-Rwandan dialogue. It is in this spirit that in 2007, were organized Platforms for Dialogue (**DIR-07**) Washington DC (USA), for participants from the USA and Canada, Amsterdam (Holland) for participants from Holland, Belgium and Germany, and





Orleans (France) for participants from France and Italy. Two other Dialogue platforms for Women (**DIR-08**) took place in 2008 in Barcelona. The choice of participants followed the same approach as in 2006.

These different platforms have designated representatives who were to meet in a sitting representative. It is in this context that a new edition of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue was held in Palma de Mallorca from May 1<sup>st</sup> to May 3<sup>rd</sup> 2009. This important meeting brought together 30 representatives from all ethnic Rwandans (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) from political organizations and civil society through Intra-Rwandan Dialogue (**DIR-09**) and representing platforms which took place from 2007 to 2008 in various countries. It was closely followed by 14 international observers accompanied by 3 mediators including two professionals. Participants discussed the problems that Rwanda faces and that are obstructing the true reconciliation.

### 1.3. Key findings of the various sessions of the Intra-Rwandan Dialogue (DIR) 204-2009

Participants noted that the main problem in Rwanda was the power. Participants noted a recurring tendency of using ethnic violence as a springboard to power, which explains the cyclical conflicts in Rwanda. Therefore it is more obvious and imperative that the Dialogue at the national level meaning a Highly Inclusive Inter-Rwandan Dialogue (HIIRD) is more than necessary for:

- Giving back the freedom of expressions to the oppressed people so that they can have a say on governance that suits them;
- Helping Rwandans to establish viable democratic institutions that reassure and secure everyone;
- Finding solutions to the problem of guarantying security for a peaceful coexistence amongst Rwandans and their neighboring countries, especially the Democratic Republic of Congo, since in many ways, Rwanda is at the root of crises in the Africa's Great Lakes region.

This dialogue should involve not only the different political actors but also civil society, and must also be a space of expression available to all victims of the Rwandan tragedy. The HIIRD will therefore affect all strata of Rwandan society and achieve an effective reconciliation among Rwandans.

Participants proposed that the following issues be placed on the agenda of the Inter-Rwandan Dialogue Highly Inclusive namely:

- The identity crisis in Rwanda and the constitution of a team of independent historians experts to write the history of Rwanda that could serve as benchmarks for the interpretation of events in Rwanda;
- The necessary guarantees that will reassure and secure all components of the Rwandan society;
- Establishing a fair and impartial justice for all victims of crimes committed in the region, and the establishment of a collective memory of all victims without exclusion;
- The creation of a truth and reconciliation commission;
- The problem of social fairness and equal opportunity;





- The establishment of an independent mechanism of promotion, protection and monitoring of human rights;
- The role of women and education in the prevention of conflicts;
- Respect for the sovereignty of the countries of the region and relationship of good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence;
- The transnational projects of economic development and the free movement of people and goods within the region;

Therefore, participants recommended, among others, the mobilization of all means possible to hold a **Highly Inclusive Inter-Rwandan Dialogue (HIIRD)**. This HIIRD in which will participate various representatives of civil society and political organizations from inside and outside of Rwanda with the participation of observers, is the only framework conducive to building trust between different ethnic groups and essential to effective reconciliation, peace and sustainable development in the Great Lakes region. To this end, it was put in place a steering committee in charge of contacting all key stakeholders of the Rwandan society, of presenting the project and setting the proper planning of the HIIRD.





## 2. Session 2010 Special Representatives

From 11 to 13 June 2010, it was held in Soesterberg, the Netherlands, a special session gathering representatives of civil society from inside and outside Rwanda, as well as representatives of Rwandan political parties in the Diaspora. This session was aimed to analyze the ways and means for holding the Highly Inclusive Inter- Rwandan Dialogue (HIIRD). All representatives of political parties inside Rwanda were also invited. Some were excused and others have not responded.

The session participants noted that Rwanda is experiencing an explosive situation characterized among other facts by:

- The continuing violations of human rights;
- The repetition of acts of violence that have been increased in the city of Kigali;
- Increased defection of diplomatic representatives of Rwanda and military of senior ranks;
- The arrest of senior military officers and political opponents;
- Imprisonment of U.S. lawyer Peter Erlinder to intimidate other lawyers to defend the opponents;
- The sentencing of journalists to heavy penalties and the prohibition of newspapers;
- The barriers created simply to block the path of registering political parties of the opposition to protect the regime and ensure its hegemony;
- Harassment and destabilization of the exiled Rwandan community by forging wild lists and arrest warrants for political reasons...

This observation reflect a fragile security situation in the country which is likely to explode, with the worsening of socio - economic problems of the population that is enduring a serious food crisis that Rwanda has ever recorded in post-independence era.

Participants have reaffirmed that the most viable way to defuse that tension is through HIIRD, creating an environment conducive to effective reconciliation of Rwandans, peace and sustainable development in the country and the Great Lakes region.

Participants did set up a coordinating committee composed of members of civil society to continue the work begun by the steering committee established during the session in May 2009, namely, exploring the pre-requisites for holding the HIIRD.

