

PARTY FOR DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA



SOCIAL PROJECT

PEACE - JUSTICE - DEVELOPMENT

PREFACE

On October 1, 1990, the rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) started out what was at the time a very deadly war of power conquest against their home nation of Rwanda. Today, this war has grown into a major regional conflagration with significant cross-border ramifications, leading to over five million victims in the Democratic Republic of Congo alone, and before that to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda in which more than 800,000 people were killed.

The aerial terrorist attack on April 6, 1994, which killed among others the heads of state of Rwanda and Burundi, and on which all experts agree that it was the trigger element for the genocide, so far has not been adequately investigated by the Rwandan government to identify those responsible, and lay the foundations for a genuine reconciliation between the three ethnic groups of the Rwandan people. Rather, the RPF government has chosen to primarily engage in an all-out commercialization of the genocide and used it as a potent oppression and personal enrichment tool, including the stealing of aid earmarked for genocide survivors, the stifling of all possible opposition, the violation of the people's basic human rights, and the muzzling of independent media. As if this were not enough, the RPF regime has put in place police, military and judicial structures - including the Gacaca courts which public opinion unanimously condemns as irregular and arbitrary - with the sole purpose of controlling Rwandans and confining them in a garrison-like country. Obscure laws on "*the ideology of genocide*", "*divisionism*" and "*negationism*" have been passed to legalize the elimination of those deemed undesirable. In the process, the regime has found a way to make the capital Kigali an eyewash modern city while at the same time condemning rural populations to a level of poverty not seen in Rwanda.

The PDR-Ihumure finds this situation absolutely unacceptable, and proposes to Rwandans a nation building project that addresses all our problems without detours, lies, fear, shame or taboo. It also offers a forward-looking alternative vision capable of uniting all Rwandans in a collective national effort to resolve our political and ethnic disputes once and for all, and improve our overall socio-economic perspective.

The ultimate hope of our leadership within the PDR-Ihumure is for this project to receive the full backing of all Rwandans and all friends of Rwanda, so that finally truth may triumph over propaganda, justice over injustice, peace over violence, national reconciliation over ethnic rivalry, and the Rwandan people may live in perfect harmony with their brothers and sisters across the African Great Lakes region.

Jerome Nayigiziki
General Secretary
PDR-Ihumure

INTRODUCTION

« There is an extremely subtle and dangerous temptation to mistake peace for the mere lack of war, just as one might be tempted to equate good health with the apparent lack of illness, or freedom with non-incarceration. » Dominique Pire, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

One key feature of the Rwandan people is their long-running existence with their ethnic, clan and regional diversity. Unfortunately, this diversity has been continually exploited for very narrow political ends of taking power and keeping it at all costs. Such a strategy has caused millions of Rwandans to be killed and others to be confined in exile, some in conditions of abject destitution. Because of myopic policies by opportunistic leaders, Rwanda remains mired in a vicious circle of institutional violence, ethnic hatred and mass poverty.

The Party for Democracy in Rwanda (PDR-Ihumure) honors the memory of all innocent victims of bad policies past and present, and considers that this situation cannot continue. That's why it strongly condemns the current Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) which has erected terror, ethnic discrimination and the arbitrary into a system of government.

Like all other people across the globe and as expressed at different intervals in its history, the Rwandan people harbor deep aspirations of social justice, equality before the law, freedom and democracy. They hunger for real peace that is not synonymous with the absence of war or the so-called "stability" anchored in a macabre balance of terror such as the one the current RPF regime is so proud of offering. They know that true peace is that which eliminates the grounds for hostility, creates a positive feeling of solidarity between citizens and is based on international law in relations with other nations.

The PDR-Ihumure takes on the mission to provide the people of Rwanda a viable democratic alternative reliable and genuine peace, equitable justice, and economic development based on improving the living standards of the poorest, and to promote genuine reconciliation among the different components of the Rwandan society through the actions outlined in this social project.

I. VISION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PDR-IHUMURE

The Party for Democracy in Rwanda (PDR-Ihumure) has for the people of Rwanda the vision of a country with strong democratic institutions, which favors dialogue and consultations in conflict resolution and is based on the principles of social peace, equitable justice and equal opportunity for all.

The PDR-Ihumure is firmly convinced that these values together will allow Rwandans to work fully for the country's social, economic and cultural development, channel their creative energies to fight hunger, ignorance, poverty and disease, and build a country where life is truly good for themselves and for future generations.

To realize this vision and to achieve total peace in the true meaning of the Rwandan term "IHUMURE", the PDR-Ihumure sets itself the following objectives:

1. effectively achieving national unity, peace, social justice and respect for human beings based on republican values of liberty, equality and fraternity of all members of the Rwandan community;
2. fighting against the practice of using the 1994 genocide for the purpose of generalization and demonization of the slightest political opposition in order to discredit it and make it vulnerable in the eyes of public opinion;
3. combatting on-going mass poverty that is deepening more and more in favor of an ethnic, political, military, business oligarchic clique that has concentrated in his hands all the tools of wealth production;
4. fighting for the establishment and consolidation of democracy, a real multiparty system, good governance, justice, equality, freedom, social peace, and tolerance for the benefit of all members of the Rwandan community;
5. fighting against ethnicity, nepotism, clan loyalties, clientelism and regionalism;
6. leading the people of Rwanda to a high level of civic consciousness and morality, based on the primacy of the general interest and respect for private property;
7. providing practical answers to the multifaceted problems facing Rwandans, taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the people to a better life from a human, economic and sociocultural perspective, and prepare the country for the third millennium challenges such as globalization ;
8. promoting the politics of regional, African and international cooperation based on mutual complementarity and respect for international law.

«Words are the most efficient weapons that man has in his arsenal. But they can also be very potent tools to save life. Often times, they are the only ones available». - Paul Rusesabagina, An ordinary man, 2006

II. THE MAIN AREAS OF INTERVENTION

Achieving the objectives outlined in this project involves targeted action, mainly in the following areas:

A. POLITICS

DEMOCRACY AND THE PRIMACY OF LAW

1. The rule of law based on compliance with the principles of legality, primacy of law and equality before the law

The rule of law is the best guarantee for national unity and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The PDR-Ihumure reaffirms its commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other instruments of human rights ratified by Rwanda.

The state must guarantee to all citizens at all levels of government and in all sectors of national life, the respect for the principles of freedom and equality of persons before the law. Thus, the politics of exclusion that seeks to criminalize, exile, or hunt down as game animals a part of the Rwandan population must be eradicated from the general conduct of political affairs of the state.

Particular attention will be placed on the guarantee of fundamental freedoms which are being trampled by the authoritarian and militaristic RPF, namely:

- ♦ the freedom of movement
- ♦ the freedom of association, especially in political matters;
- ♦ the freedom of opinion
- ♦ the freedom of expression
- ♦ the freedom of the press
- ♦ the free enterprise
- ♦ the freedom of assembly

*«Africa does not need strong men; it needs strong institutions.»
President Barack Obama, Accra, July 11, 2009*

2. A democracy that favors competence and competition

The current RPF regime claims it runs a democratic government based on a multiparty system while in reality it has forced opposition parties, as directed by the Constitution, to enter into a "consultative forum" and has limited the number of their "leadership seats at the national level both in the province and the city of Kigali" to better control them (Articles 52 and 56 of the Constitution). Any member or leader of a political party that tries to bring to light the reality of the political system of the RPF is immediately accused of peddling genocide ideas or divisionism.

The PDR-Ihumure considers that the existence of a free and independent democratic opposition ensures that there will be progress, social and cultural well-being of the people, as well as continuous monitoring of government action. Therefore, the PDR-Ihumure

- a) resolves to introduce a genuine multiparty system complete with legal protection of the opposition, an effective representation at all levels of power, free media access and the right to hold meeting without any hindrance;
- b) considers that the era of the so-called "strongmen of the regime" is over. Political leaders must be chosen in free, transparent, and multiparty elections;
- c) is committed to promoting participatory democracy by increasing citizen participation in making policy decisions;
- d) believes that there must be not only term limits, but also office title limits, to avoid the monopoly of power and its abuses.

«Despite the façade of occasional elections, Rwanda essentially is a single party state. Ironically, it is genocide that has provided the alibi for repression.»
Kenneth Roth, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, The Los Angeles Times, April 11, 2009

3. Good democratic governance at all levels

The RPF regime is essentially characterized by the lack of a popular base due to its politics of exclusion and discrimination against the majority of the population. Instead of consultation and consensus, the RPF government resorts to coercion and repression to impose policies that go against the interests of the majority of the population. For example, in agriculture, local authorities destroy food crops that ensure the survival of the population and require that they be replaced by export crops whose marketing methods benefited the ruling elite.

Similarly, regarding language, the use of French has been banned in education and public administration in favor of English spoken by the ruling minority, without any consultation with the people and in stark violation of the constitution.

The PDR-Ihumure considers that, at any level whatsoever, power must be exercised by and for the people. It believes that the ruling elite must be representative of different components of Rwandan society, that coercion and repression must give way to consultation with the people, and that public affairs should be managed for the well-being of all people in conformity with the following principles:

- ♦ respect for law and human rights;
- ♦ transparency and efficiency
- ♦ fairness and honesty

At all levels of government, equality of people before the law and in public services delivery must come first. Any abuse must be condemned and prosecuted in court.

B. ECONOMY

ECONOMIC POLICY BASED ON PEACE, FIGHT AGAINST MASS POVERTY, AND OPENNESS TO THE WORLD

As the 21st century begins, Rwanda ranks among the poorest countries in the world and in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite massive support of all kinds received from foreign countries after the 1994 genocide, Rwanda's population has become much poorer today than before the war and per-capita income is lower than in most African countries south of the Sahara. Similarly, while in the mid 80s Rwanda was among the countries with the least inequalities between the rich and the poor, today it is ranked among the countries with the most such inequalities in the world. While a handful of privileged people (businessmen, government officials, army officers) who live in cities have accumulated substantial wealth that is spent on high-end constructions and luxurious cars, the peasants who account for 90% of the population are decimated by famine, malnutrition and disease in the countryside.

This situation of high and growing social inequalities is fraught with serious consequences not only in strengthening the state of poverty for the majority of the population, but also in threatening social peace: first, it maintains the majority of Rwandans in the vicious cycle of poverty because they are unable to fund their children's education or to invest in economic activities more profitable than subsistence farming. Secondly, it may cause ethnic tensions because the inequalities between urban and rural areas are in fact a reflection of ethnic inequalities. Indeed, with Hutus representing 85% of the Rwandan population and living mainly on agriculture, they are the ones who are mostly poverty-stricken in the countryside. Additionally, since the RPF government does not consider Hutu widows and orphans as survivors of genocide and the war of the 90s, they are left out of funding by the Genocide Survivors Assistance Fund (FARG). Finally, tens of thousands of Hutus have been languishing in prisons for a very long time, most of them without an open case, and others are condemned to slavery through the infamous "General Interest Labor" (TIG). They are no longer able to support their families and even see their property confiscated for the benefit of Tutsi families.

«Dig under secondary causes that have led to major conflicts in the world and you will almost invariably find the root cause to be social inequalities. Either the poor have tried to plunder the rich, or the rich have tried to enslave the poor. If there ever could be a way to found a State or society where each person owns something and needs little from others, it would be a significant contribution to peace in the world.» Alexis de Tocqueville (1805 - 1859)

This social project of the RDP-Ihumure offers the Rwandan people the choice of building an economy based not on discrimination, confiscation and slavery, but rather on principles that promote social peace and the fight against mass poverty.

In addition to good governance as discussed in the preceding lines, the principles dear to the RDP-Ihumure in economic matters include:

1. Fighting against mass poverty through development and mitigating over-crowding in rural areas

The overwhelming majority of Rwanda's poor post-1994 is concentrated in rural and lives in abject poverty comparable to that which existed before the independence of Rwanda. This is due to a deliberate plan by the RPF regime to impoverish the population in rural areas through underfunding

of agriculture coupled with a range of other shameful policies. Thus, forced villagization and relocation of many people away from their farms has considerably decreased productivity in the agricultural sector. Similarly, the imposition of certain crops without consulting the people and the destruction of other crops without compensation has thrown the rural population in abject poverty.

Strategies for deliberate impoverishment of rural areas by the RPF sectarian regime have not targeted production alone. They have also targeted distribution channels through the destruction of trade centers in rural areas and the control of marketing channels for agricultural products.

The PDR-Ihumure is convinced that this fight against mass poverty requires not only short and medium term measures to quickly raise productivity in agriculture, but also a long-term strategy that aims to relieve over-population in the countryside. The PDR-Ihumure believes the government must not only make funding available for agriculture in its budget priorities, but also support and provide tax incentives to companies and businesses which decide to invest in rural areas. It also believes that younger generations must receive quality education that will enable most of them to work in non-agricultural sectors. Finally, the PDR-Ihumure believes that land reform is necessary, but must be developed after extensive consultation with the population and implemented with their consent.

-Rwanda is among the 15% of countries with the highest inequalities in the world.

- The richest 20% hold 51.4% of the gross national product while the poorest 20% have only 5.4%.

- 62% of the population live on less than 250 Frw per day.

- 92% of the poor live in rural areas and nearly one third of the population is stricken by food shortage. UNDP, Turning vision 2020 into reality, 2008 and GOR, Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008-2012, 2007

2. Developing human capacity and making good use of it

The current situation where much of the Rwandan Hutu elite is either arbitrarily detained, forced into exile, or continually harassed is a terrible waste of human capacity and a major handicap to economic development in Rwanda.

From that perspective, the prohibition of French in education and government is very detrimental to the Rwandan economy in several ways: first, it is a terrible waste of an important input in Rwandan human capacity development, and it slows down economic growth, for it deprives future generations of a language tool to exploit thousands of scientific records written in French on their country for nearly a century. Secondly, it worsens the problem of brain drain in Rwanda, since French-speaking skilled workers on lay-off are forced to seek employment outside Rwanda to meet their needs and those of their families. Finally, the way this decision was taken in complete violation of the procedures for amending the provisions of the Constitution, shows how very unpredictable Rwandan leaders are, which in itself is a source of uncertainty detrimental to economic growth.

The PDR-Ihumure believes that, with scant natural resources, Rwanda has little choice but to rely on human capacity for sustained economic growth. Therefore, the PDR-Ihumure is determined not only to promote quality education, but also to enable the country to reap high productivity from all its skilled workforce.

3. Respect for property rights

One of the scourges ravaging the Rwandan economy is the stealing of property belonging to others, particularly through the shameless exploitation of the genocide of 1994 by the RPF regime. False accusations are invented every day to appropriate personal estate and property belonging to people who allegedly played a role in the genocide.

The PDR-Ihumure is resolved to put an end to all forms of violation of property rights. It believes that acquiring, using and disposing of all forms of property (land, buildings, financial assets, etc....) must be transparent, honest, the same for all and not tainted with uncertainty. Lack

«Rwanda has a poor performance record in matters of freedom of investment, financial freedom, respect for property rights, and corruption. Foreign investment is needed, but political instability remains a major obstacle, and the government meddles significantly in the financial sector. The justice system lacks both independence and capacity, and judicial actions are generally marred with corruption» 2009 Index of Economic Freedom, The Heritage Foundation & The Wall Street Journal

of protection for property rights discourages savings and investment, and inhibits economic growth because it undermines the enjoyment of the fruits of the labor.

4. Promoting competition in business

In all sectors of the Rwandan economy, markets have been monopolized by a handful of businessmen who are also RPF members and part of the regime's inner circle. As explained in the preceding lines, the ruling clique has gone as far as taking over even the marketing of such basic food crops as bananas, taking away from farmers the hard-earned fruits of their labor.

The PDR-Ihumure wants to liberalize markets and put an end to this monopoly which, not only is very taxing in terms of poor quality for products, steep prices, and limited quantities in supply, but also hinders local entrepreneurship and foreign investment. It considers that public authorities must steer clear of any intervention in markets except in the interest of the general well-being.

5. Building an open and competitive economy that attracts foreign investment

In addition to the breach of property rights and market monopoly by those in power circles, the Rwandan economy is further handicapped by political risks rising from the RPF regime's politics of oppression and warmongering. The absence of democracy coupled with the permanent state of war with neighboring countries raises the possibility of a sudden political crisis and an explosion of violence, with the potential to trigger at any moment the collapse of political institutions and the consecutive plunder of private property. This is a situation that discourages foreign investment while it also inhibits local private investment.

In order to put an end to this situation, the PDR-Ihumure believes there is a crying need for:

- ♦ a democratic political system reliable for both nationals and foreigners;
- ♦ prioritization in training skilled workers, especially in technical fields;
- ♦ fighting corruption and favoritism, and easing administrative procedures for starting a business;
- ♦ an investment code which provides attractive tax and economic incentives;
- ♦ a good neighborliness policy that promotes free movement of people, as well as free exchange of goods, services, and capital

The PDR-Ihumure also believes that restoring French-English bilingualism in education and public administration is a necessary condition for economic development in Rwanda in an increasingly

integrated world. Indeed, bilingualism allows the development of all human resources from different backgrounds in post-1994 Rwanda, and provides the opportunity to take advantage of Rwanda's geographical location as a bridge between its French-speaking (DRC, Burundi) and English-speaking (Uganda, Tanzania) neighbors.

6. Protecting the environment

The RPF regime's lack of long-term vision has caused a sharp deterioration of the environment and unchecked deforestation, leading to a significant reduction in water levels for lakes, problems of electricity generation by power dams, as well as arid soils.

The PDR-Ihumure considers that environmental protection must be an integral part of Rwanda's overall development strategy.

*«Between 1990 and 2005, Rwanda lost 50.2% of its forest and woodland habitat»
PNUD, Turning vision 2020 into reality, 2008*

C. JUSTICE AND INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

EQUITABLE JUSTICE AT THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

Whichever way one examines the judicial system of Rwanda under the RPF regime, it is the worst that Rwanda has known since independence. Instead of being a tool for protecting citizens' rights and social peace, it has become a powerful instrument of oppression, persecution and discrimination by the ruling clique. All the great principles of equitable justice, such as independence, equality before the law, the rights of the accused (presumption of innocence, right to counsel, right not to be tried twice for the same case, the right not to be tortured, etc. ..) are completely trampled for the majority of the Rwandan population. This abuse affects not only law enforcement, but how laws are designed as well. Laws without precise contours such as those against the "ideology of genocide" and "divisiveness" have been passed for the sole purpose of silencing dissent, and they are an attempt to institutionalize ethnic discrimination under the pretext of preventing other genocides.

«The human rights record of the Rwandese government is characterized by the denial of freedom of expression and association, arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions and other violations of human rights », Rwanda Gacaca: a question of justice, 2002

One of the most formidable instances of legal oppression and ethnic discrimination is the people's "Gacaca" courts presided over by judges with no legal training and sometimes even illiterate. Charges are made in these courts against Hutus only on forged evidence, and conviction is handed down - sometimes for life imprisonment and only after thirty minutes of trial - without any possibility of real defense. It's in this fashion that many Hutu families lose their own to imprisonment or the infamous "Public Interest Labor (TIG) ", and often times are also robbed of their property as damages for their sentence. Consequently, in every village in Rwanda, social

harmony has been shattered by denunciation, lies and slander among neighbors who accuse each other before these Gacaca courts at the instigation of RPF officials.

The PDR-Ihumure vehemently condemns this manipulation of justice by the RPF regime and sets the goal of completely eradicating any form of injustice and practice that deprives Rwandans of the full enjoyment of their rights. Our party believes that the principle of “divide and rule” perfected by the RPF in sowing discord among Rwandans is highly detrimental to peace and heavily hampers national reconciliation. That’s why the PDR-Ihumure deems that:

- ♦ Human rights must be strictly respected.
- ♦ The separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary powers must be real in practice.
- ♦ A clear law must govern the control of the legislature over the judiciary.
- ♦ The judiciary must be independent and able to enforce the law rather than dispense justice according to the whims of political leaders.
- ♦ All special jurisdictions as well as Gacaca courts must be abolished.
- ♦ The politics of lies and impunity must be fought against at all costs.
- ♦ All persons detained without trial or file must be released.
- ♦ The current system of “Public Interest Labor -TIG” sentences, which are nothing but a throw back to slavery, must be abolished. Any kind of work, except when voluntary, must be paid.

D. PUBLIC SAFETY

POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES SERVING THE ENTIRE POPULATION

Rwanda is among the countries where the army and police are not only a far cry from being representative of the population, but also against it. Additionally, the RPF regime is one of only a limited few which, in the 21st century, is forced to resort to a militia to keep under its boot the same population it claims voted it into power. Finally, the RPF regime is one that has exterminated the most people since World War II: more than 5 million victims.

*« Sometimes Rwanda is described as “an army with a state”, and at other times the army is described as “soldats sans frontières”, or “soldiers without borders” »
Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative,
Rwanda’s Application for Membership of the Commonwealth, 2009*

The PDR-Ihumure considers that this situation cannot continue. The current system of an armed militia euphemistically referred to as "local defense forces" must be done away with. The security services must be trained and educated for homeland defense, protection of citizens and the law, rather than to defend and maintain the regime in place as is the case now. In addition, competence, professionalism and non-discrimination should be the key criteria for recruiting and promoting members of the police and the security forces, as well as all other public services.

E. SOCIAL HARMONY

A REAL POLICY OF SOCIAL PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

The Rwandan society is currently at a critical juncture. Indeed, the entire population has been deeply traumatized by a war it never wanted and whose underlying motives have never been understood. The Rwandan people have been victims of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. All Rwandan families have been tested; they have lost members, friends or neighbors. There are other families whose relatives have not been lost definitively, but who have been rotting in prison for fifteen years without trial or an official indictment.

When the RPF attacked Rwanda on October 1, 1990, it claimed pushing to solve the refugee problem. Ironically, since the time the same RPF took power by force and installed a dictatorship, the number of Rwandan refugees has steadily gone up, not down. Alarming, these refugees are not just from the Hutu ethnic group, but many among them are Tutsis who continue to flee the country, including family members and friends of influential personalities of the current regime.

The population is traumatized by omnipresent armed militias and special security services. No one trusts anyone any longer, with people completely terrorized by ubiquitous state spies. The right to peaceful protest does not exist.

The RPF government constantly brags about having put in place a good social security policy. Yet many people are still dying from endemic disease such as malaria, AIDS or tuberculosis because medical care is simply either unavailable or inadequate.

The PDR-Ihumure believes that a new brand of genuine politics of national reconciliation cannot be implemented soon enough to give people the peace and tranquility needed to do their work and fight poverty.

The Rwandan refugee problem can only be solved by installing a democratic government that respects the principles of legality and respect for human rights.

The government must constantly bear in mind the improved well-being of the entire population rather than categorize it into "a group of victims" and "a group of criminals."

Emphasis must be placed on civil society organizations operating in the social field, such as NGOs, associations, religious denominations, etc.. A private, public, and independent press and whose members are sufficiently trained is required to report and analyze all social facts in all fairness.

Given that the Rwandan social fabric has been completely shattered, the PDR-Ihumure recommends the introduction of drastic remedial measures in all areas, and they include the following:

1. An education program for competitiveness in an increasingly integrated world

Currently, performance scores of the Rwandan education sector are well below the average for other countries in sub-Saharan Africa and the vast majority of Rwandan youth are completely idle and have no clue about their future orientation.

This is due to the RPF regime's deliberate plan to maintain the majority of the population in ignorance because it knows that, in addition to being a sure path to economic and socio-cultural well-being, education also teaches people about their rights and how to resist oppression. The RPF regime has put in place policies that not only have excluded the majority of Rwandan children from receiving education, but also have significantly reduced the quality of education.

«The completion rate for elementary school is below 45% (against an average of 62% for sub-saharan Africa); the rate of promotion from elementary to secondary school is 45% (in relation to 60% for sub-saharan Africa). The overall attendance rate in secondary school sits at 17% (compared with 28% for sub-saharan Africa)». World Bank, Report No. 37860-RW, 2007

Indeed, while Rwandan families have all been stricken by the horrors of war which has left orphans across all ethnic groups, the RPF regime's institutionalized ethnic discrimination only allows Tutsi orphans to receive financial assistance for education, health and housing through the Genocide Survivors Assistance Fund (FARG). Thus, the majority of Rwandan children can no longer afford education, with tuition and other school fees being at an unsustainable high level for most families.

Similarly, while the Rwandan constitution enshrines Kinyarwanda, French and English as official languages, the current president of Rwanda who is also chairman of the RPF, has unilaterally banned the use of French in education and in the administration. This is very detrimental to the quality of education because it not only allows for the arbitrary layoff of French professors, but it also forces those lucky enough to keep their jobs to dispense lower-quality courses in broken English. Additionally, by depriving future generations of a key linguistic tool to capitalize on research work and other writings available in French on Rwanda, this irresponsible decision will lead to the disappearance of an important input in the development of human capacity, with much the same effect as the burning of libraries in ancient wars.

«The contribution of the private sector to the economy and to poverty reduction remains limited: there is only about 400 private enterprises in Rwanda, half of which employ less than 50 people. The development of this sector continues to lag essentially due to the perception that the country presents major political risks». World Bank, Country File, 2009

The PDR-Ihumure believes that the Rwandan people are entitled to their full development and a better standard of living, both of which cannot be achieved without education. Rwanda is not rich in natural resources, and so its economic development must be based on productivity by a quality-trained workforce. Educational institutions must be able to produce professionals and technicians capable of taking advantage of opportunities offered by increased economic integration. The Rwandan youth must be adequately equipped to meet the challenge of opening up new paths to employment in order to relieve the agricultural sector. The quality of Rwandan workers must also be an asset to attract foreign investment in search of a superior workforce. Also, the PDR-Ihumure considers that:

- ♦ as previously mentioned, French and English must both be re-instated as teaching languages in Rwanda. Due to the makeup of Rwanda's population post-1994, its history and its geographic location, English-French bilingualism in Rwanda is not only a development tool, but also a factor for peace and national unity as well.
- ♦ partnership between private and public institutions must enable education to align with market needs and boost the private sector.
- ♦ the teaching profession must receive incentives to attract and retain high quality professional staff and reduce the number of students per teacher.
- ♦ financial assistance for orphans should be granted without any discrimination.
- ♦ basic education must be guaranteed for all until the age of 15.

- ♦ freedom of school choice and field of training must be respected.
- ♦ school fees should not be a barrier to secondary and higher education for young people who succeed in school. The poorest must receive financial assistance.
- ♦ a quality technical and professional education program must be put in place and receive enough material, human and financial resources.
- ♦ a system of vocational training for adults must be established, especially for those who have not had the chance to attend or complete their studies in mainstream education.
- ♦ High school and university enrollment must be based on objective criteria such as results obtained in various examinations and competitions and graded in a transparent manner.

2. Health services that are efficient and accessible for all

Life expectancy in Rwanda is among the lowest in the world. In addition, infant mortality is at record levels in rural areas. This is mainly due to deliberate impoverishment of the majority of Rwandans by the RPF regime, the underfunding of the health sector at below average levels compared to developing countries and other African countries south of Sahara, and the settling of the vast majority of medical staff and health professionals in urban rather than rural areas.

Life expectancy for Rwandans is 44 years; a child born in a poor family has twice the risk of dying before age 5 than a child born in a rich family; 83% of medical staff live in the city and only 17% live in rural areas; government spending for health care is \$10 per inhabitant when the average for developing countries is \$34, and \$12 for African countries south of the Sahara. UNDP, Turning vision 2020 in reality, 2008

For the PDR-Ihumure a healthy population means a population in full bloom, highly productive and ready for development. Therefore, our party advocates a radical change in the current situation. The PDR-Ihumure finds outrageous and unacceptable the current inhumane practices of sequestering in hospitals and maternity wards patients who are not able to pay their medical expenses in full. A truly national health service must be developed and work towards achieving the goal of "HEALTH FOR ALL". Large funding must be allocated to the health sector and incentives given to health professionals who settle in rural areas. Efficient management and proper coordination among different stakeholders will reduce administrative costs in this sector and make prices affordable.

3. Respect for human dignity and equity for certain social groups

One of the distinctive traits of the RPF regime is subtle ethnic discrimination against some vulnerable social groups. While the war has claimed victims in all parts of the Rwandan population and generated widows and orphans in all ethnic groups, the RPF regime has chosen to give assistance only to Tutsi genocide survivors and abandon to their plight all other widows and orphans. Worse yet, while the RPF regime boasts of having stopped the use of ID cards bearing ethnic references, the regime has introduced other cards that are handed out based on ethnic criteria and can be equally dangerous in the event of another ethnic confrontation. In fact, by singling out Tutsis as the only survivors eligible for assistance entitlement cards, the RPF regime has introduced a different model of categorization that allows for easy ethnic identification of the bearer, since no Hutu can have such a card. Similarly, by allowing the formation of Tutsi-survivors-only organizations, the RPF regime allows for automatic ethnic identification of the member card bearers in such organizations.

The PDR-Ihumure strongly condemns this kind of discriminatory policy by the RPF regime that makes it impossible for social peace and reconciliation to take hold in Rwanda. All widows and

orphans of genocide, of crimes against humanity, of war crimes and other heinous crimes deserve to be equally comforted and assisted regardless of ethnicity. Granting assistance must be solely based on the needs of the person in hardship. All discriminatory practices and organizations formed along ethnic lines must be banned.

The PDR-Ihumure also believes that targeted national policies must be implemented in particular with regard to groups and cooperatives operating in rural areas, childhood, youth, the advancement of women and the elderly.

F. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COOPERATION

RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW

Rwanda is currently regarded as a structural source of tension and political conflict as well as destabilization for all countries of the Great Lakes region. Indeed, instead of resolving the inter-Rwandan conflict, which in reality is a product of terrible domestic policies, the RPF government has exported it to the Democratic Republic of Congo under the pretext of hunting down and disarming opposition armed groups.

The PDR-Ihumure remains convinced that the Rwandan refugee issue is political, and therefore cannot be resolved other than through negotiations involving all political forces both internal and external. This issue will remain as long as its underlying causes namely injustice, blind repression as well as discrimination against a part of the population will not be addressed.

The PDR-Ihumure is of the view that internal problems must be solved within Rwanda's borders and all the basic principles of the United Nations, including the inviolability of borders and the peaceful resolution of conflict must be respected. The Rwandan government should instead promote a policy of good neighborly relations with neighboring countries and promote a policy of cooperation and real regional economic integration.

The PDR-Ihumure also considers that all foreign aid must be managed properly and transparently for the development of the country, which is far from being the case today.

CONCLUSION

From the various elements described above about the current situation in Rwanda a sad reality emerges: the Rwandan people are currently living under the yoke of one of the worst regimes in history. Through a model of Machiavellian exercise of power, the RPF regime exploits the genocide of 1994 to violate the most fundamental rights of the people in Rwanda and in neighboring countries. Thousands of people fleeing injustice and discrimination of all kinds continue to run away and swell the ranks of millions of other Rwandan refugees afraid to return home despite the harsh conditions in which they live. The vast majority of Rwandans live in abject poverty while a tiny ruling minority is splurging in scandalous opulence. All power checks and balances as well as warning mechanisms have been sidelined by the closure of political space and the persecution of independent press. In the area of crime, with over five million victims of its wars in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, the RPF regime has broken all toll records since World War II. Its senior officials have so little regard for human life that they do not hesitate to make an apology for their criminal activities in public speeches.

The Rwandan people must no longer endure the oppression of a sectarian regime that has nothing to offer except a litany of misery, humiliation and injustice. The PDR-Ihumure is determined to open a new era for Rwandans and is asking them to endorse this vision of society on a backdrop of reconciliation, not only between different components of Rwandan society, but also with the people of our neighboring countries. Our party believes that true reconciliation based on the complete elimination of the profound causes of social conflict and backed by strong democratic institutions is the only guarantee for peace and development for the Rwandan people. Power must be exercised in strict respect for dignity and human life, and must allow every citizen the full enjoyment of civil, political, economic and social rights. The economic and diplomatic relations with other countries must be conducted in accordance with international law and should focus on maintaining peace between people and the establishment of mutually beneficial exchanges.

Through this social project, the PDR-Ihumure invites the Rwandan people to proudly stand tall and resolutely march forward to conquer all their rights.