

United Democratic Forces

UDF-INKINGI



*'For the rule for
law,*

democracy and equal opportunity'

POLITICAL PROGRAM

Preamble

The United Democratic Forces (UDF-INKINGI) are a political party formed by citizens united around shared ideals and a common conviction for a vision of promoting the social welfare of all citizens and their country's development.

The UDF are determined to offer to Rwandans a credible and democratic solution, and a peaceful coexistence with neighbouring populations and countries. A country where the law prevails is characterized by the rule of law, prevalence of the judiciary, equality before the law, fairness, respect and human treatment of every individual. As the population is the ultimate holder of a country's sovereignty, the government has an obligation to work towards promoting its well-being and protect each citizen against arbitrariness and discrimination.

Rwanda is sinking every day into a socio-economic and political disaster. The non resolution of internal conflicts in Rwanda is the main factor of hatching and development of regional insecurity. Genocide, serious crimes against humanity, war crimes and the establishment of a totalitarian sectarian and money hungry regime have reinforced the ethnic and social cleavages within the Rwandan society, thereby undermining reconciliation and national cohesion and continuing to generate a constant stream of refugees never seen in the country's history, even of the African continent.

Rwanda has become a source of structural tension and political conflicts and instability for all countries of the Great Lakes. This insecurity may spread in the medium term to countries in East Africa and Central Africa, and beyond. Peace and security of the Great Lakes does not depend solely on disarmament and repatriation of the only members of Rwandan armed groups present on the territory of a neighboring country of Rwanda, but mostly on the global settlement of internal political conflicts in Rwanda. Regional peace and security will remain threatened until a suitable solution to the complicated inter-Rwandan litigation will not be found.

The FDU-INKINGI bases its policies on opportunities for every Rwandan, to invent a new resolute future abolishing divisions and exclusions that undermined the Rwandan society and prevented the emergence of the rule of law. They want to make each Rwandan to become responsible for their own individual destiny in solidarity for the future of all their countrymen. The FDU-INKINGI is ready to bring profound political changes to establish political institutions that reassure each and everyone. That will result from abolishing the existing political system characterized by totalitarianism, exclusion, profiteering, military adventurism and expansionism policies.

In summary, FDU-INKINGI have the ambition to establish the rule of law and democratic institutions that respect everyone, reconcile and heal the nation that is indelibly marked with the horror of genocide, crimes against humanity and massive violations of human rights. And, in full agreement with other countries, they are willing to work for African political and economic integration to the highest level.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, defending fundamental values such as democracy, freedom and respect for human rights by what was then called the "Free World", has become secondary and has been replaced by globalization forcibly led by high finance and big multinationals.

Control of resources, especially energy resources, containment of Islamism and fight against terrorism have become the new strategic challenges. In the new conception of international relations, the use of direct force (Iraq, Afghanistan) or by proxy armed groups (Liberia, Rwanda, Congo), is again the major paradigm, recalling strangely the State - nature according to Hobbes where man would obey his instinct and disregard the rights and freedoms of others.

In this context, the rediscovery of African strategic wealth has prompted a sudden and sustained resurgence of interest from World powers and multinationals. Africa is indeed the region where, out of 80 liters of new oil discovered in the world, 70 are today listed from there not to mention natural resources of primary importance such as uranium, cobalt, and niobium, platinum. Also, the proximity or the porosity of its borders with countries that maintain Islamist movements and international terrorism which it is referred to reinvigorates interest in Africa.

For an informed observer, the civil war in Rwanda, its regional contagion in the Great Lakes in particular, is a perfect illustration of the new repositioning of the Great Powers and the emergence of armed conflict supported by multinational firms. The control of Rwanda is

strategic in that it is a pivotal country between Francophone and Anglophone worlds, ideal gateway to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The latter being a country without strong structural foundations, with vast natural resources, sharing borders with 9 countries, Sudan in particular, labeled as one of the major strongholds of Islam in Africa.

The current Rwandan regime, finding its own political and socio-economic interests in the new international configuration, namely the consolidation of totalitarian power, the complete renewal of the elite, the drastic reduction of the population and virtually free access to the resources of the Congo, was beholden to certain powers to serve their strategic interests in the region at the expense of social welfare and economic development of its own people and peaceful relations with neighboring states, in particular the Democratic Republic of Congo.

However, the maps are being redrawn again. The emergence of China as a new political and global economic power, the early return of an inhibited Russia who recovered its military power, the major seriousness of the problems of global warming and the worsening financial and economic crisis which put an end to the self-regulatory certainties of neo-liberalism, all these repositioning strategies and problems require more cooperation, joint efforts, more sharing of responsibilities and greater discipline than the only seeking greater calm and multilateralism in international relations can help solve.

The new U.S. Administration aligns with this perspective and will provide the impetus for a new era of peace. It says it wants to build international relations rather than on policy of "missiles and tanks," but on building strong alliances and values that emphasize the "rule of law and human rights." The FDU-Inkingi are very pleased with this new positioning of the United States of America, which fits perfectly with our vision of international relations and the rule of law.

2. Political, economic and social fabric of Rwanda

Politically, the fact is that since taking power in July 1994, the Rwandan Patriotic Front - RPF – has strengthened the militarization of political institutions, public administration, political parties and civil society. The presidential elections of 2003 and legislative elections of 2008 established the excessive concentration of power in the hands of an absolute monarch, the President of the Republic on one hand and the hegemony of one dominant party, the RPF, on the other hand. A business oriented dictatorship, militaristic, sectarian which does not tolerate political opposition or free press, has managed to lay hands on the state and the economy, discriminating ethnically all along and shattering the independence of the judiciary and the political power of Parliament. The lack of a wider popular support of the political system perpetuates a deep sense of political insecurity and this leads to fighting any proposed real democratization of public space and political participation of the population.

Regionally, it should be noted that since almost 1990, the Rwandan people live at war almost continuously. Mainly for illegal economic exploitation¹ and management of its huge army motives, the Rwandan regime has brought the conflict in neighboring states, particularly the Democratic Republic of Congo. The number of Congolese dead, according to the concurring

¹ Coltan, a strategic mineral, is mainly extracted from the Democratic Republic of Congo. This makes Rwanda an important world exporter. See Central Bank of Rwanda, Third Quarter 2007.

opinion of many experts, would exceed 5 millions and the displaced would be in hundreds of thousands.

Right to life and human rights

In terms of humanitarian law, until now only those who have lost the war were judged by international justice. But conversely, it is clear that for 14 years, no members of the new system, who are nevertheless guilty of the alleged war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, has been concerned. Criminals in the new government therefore enjoy incomprehensible complete impunity. The investigation into the terrorist air attack that triggered the genocide has been ultimately classified by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda - ICTR. Equality before the law, whether it protects or punishes is the very basis of sound justice. It is clear that unfortunately this essential principle of the rule of law has been superbly ignored by the ICTR.

Economy²

The rate of growth which was 6% in 2007 is now annihilated by an inflation rate approaching 22%. A careful analysis of statistics from the Central Bank suggests that, given the ongoing decline in foreign exchange earnings, balance of payments in 2009 will record a deficit of 47.4 million U.S. dollars. The deficit would widen further if Rwandans living abroad, mainly composed of refugees who became the first funders of the regime ceased or diminished drastically transfers. For a country with more than 90% people living from farming, it is noteworthy highlighting a decrease rate of 0.6% in the agriculture sector. Food production fell by 3.3% with a dramatic decrease of 13.2% and 10.8% respectively for tubers and cereals (sorghum). The production of coffee, main product for export has experienced a decrease of 44.2%. Public spending continues to widen the budget deficit from -6.6%, to -11% and -27% respectively for the years 2005, 2006 and 2007.

The UDF also find that the economy benefits a very small urban minority. Add to that the vital capacity of thriving economic sectors is based on the plunder of war; it is therefore easy to understand that the fate of the peasantry and lumpen urban proletariat, main productive forces, inevitably disintegrate. The profiteering commercial activity not embedded in structural development, found unusual in the capital Kigali, and highlighted by the regime as the showcase of the country's economic dynamism, hides ultimately deep poverty of rural and peri-urban areas.

Social and judicial aspects

Inequalities in education, health and employment continue to increase and accelerate the impoverishment of the majority of the population and almost all youth is left without prospects. Indeed, nearly 30% of the population lives in conditions of famine close to endemic levels. 35% of children leave school before the end of the 4th year of primary schooling because of poverty among families they come from. Rwanda, formerly presented as a model for community health, is now ranked in the bottom group of countries that spend less on health. Just \$ 10 per capita per year!

² Central Bank of Rwanda, Annual reports 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007

The popular justice system known as Gacaca which must be said loudly and clearly that its design and conduct has nothing culturally Rwandan, because the crimes of killing, as far as we go back in Rwandan history, were never part of the field of competence of Gacaca. Normally designed and lived in the Rwandan culture as instances of mediation and reconciliation, the Gacaca introduced by the current regime amplifies rather injustice; heighten ethnic hatred and tearing the social fabric and family, postponing indefinitely the reconciliation issue. Marred by faulty procedures, judicial corruption, and false testimony and not enabling the right to a fair trial, the "Gacaca" system must be abolished. Overcrowding of prisons which are rotting more than 70,000 inmates of working age, or nearly 2% of the population, many of whom without a judiciary dossier for more than 15 years, is another factor that aggravates the social deprivation and lack of justice.

The refugee issue remains a key structural problem which has been ignored. Rwandans from all ethnic groups continue to flee political persecution and take refuge in several countries on all continents. While some manage to integrate into new host countries and lead a decent life, others more numerous, especially those living in neighboring countries, experience situations of personal hopelessness, social and collective unworthy of a human being. These are intolerable situations.

The search for solutions to this nagging question to date have focused on regulating the return of refugees to the terms of the Kigali regime so that the forced repatriation, the non-granting of political asylum in some countries, mainly African have become the main mode of management of the refugee issue. However, for Rwandan refugees, the political dimension is considered paramount. And when we know that the regime has no desire to negotiate with his opponents and continues to close all avenues of political dialogue, it is easy to understand that such government system favors the use of force.

Public administration

The State and entire social system are in a situation of general decay manifested particularly by administrative instability. The territorial administration is constantly changing and instead of bringing the government authority and structures close to the population, the adopted "decentralization" has established the local authority far away from it since the communal entity, once the base unit for policy of decentralization has been replaced by an administrative one more distant: district.

3. Purpose, vision, values, principles and objectives of the United Democratic Forces "FDU-INKINGI"

3.1. Purpose and Vision

The purpose is :

Promoting a vision of society where people, through democratic, consensual, and participatory institutions, reconciliation and solidarity with present and future generations, fully assume their individual and collective destiny.

The vision of FDU-Inkingi reads as follows:

Become a credible democratic political movement and known for its ability to fairly administer public affairs, fight against poverty, eradicate social inequalities and all forms of discrimination, to strengthen sustainable development.

3.2. Values

a. *The rule of law*

Basis for management of a city, the rule of law that our political party seeks to promote includes and promotes the principles of legality, rule of law, equality before the law. It rejects the arbitrary. In a country like Rwanda which has seen a succession of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, the FDU-INKINGI fight for political institutions that defend the fundamental rights of the human person and based on political pluralism.

a. *Equality and Freedom*

Also, the UDF-INKINGI adhere wholly and perfectly to the ideals of equality and freedom which justified the struggle against racism, slavery and colonization suffered by the Black People. In particular, in a country like ours which, on the one hand, has experienced genocide and massive crimes against humanity and, on the other hand, continues to carry the stigma among its citizens, the attachment 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 on human rights ratified by Rwanda shouldn't suffer any exception in their application. Ensuring equality before the law, equal opportunity and fundamental freedoms against the oppression from the regime must be the daily struggle of our organization.

Individual autonomy

It is the ability and human right to unleash creativity, to take charge and solve own problems, to identify and pursue own destiny, to decide responsibly on own actions and be accountable. Individual autonomy considers democracy as an institution for all, because as equals, people participate to the management of their society. Faced with a political culture of centralization and authoritarian which induced generalized conformism and blind obedience to authority 'Ilivuze umwami,' our organization recognizes as a right to resist against oppression which pushes the individual to report any State, any policy, any leader who violates the humanity of the human person and the fulfillment of citizens while exercising their rights.

d. *Solidarity*

Solidarity means recognizing and taking into account ongoing interdependencies that link different social classes, rich and poor, families, generations, or people to each other. Solidarity leads to social justice. We are not born with the same fortune and life does not always ensure equality of opportunity; this is the reason why our organization is fighting for fairness and advocates that each person has the right, whatever their circumstances, to a decent life based on adequate resources and their equitable distribution.

e. *Right to remembrance*

The Rwandan genocide and crimes against humanity committed in Rwanda left an indelible mark on people's memory. It is a criminal offense to deny or undervalue the absolute tragedy undergone by victims and their surviving relatives. For FDU_INKINGI, they now constitute a specific category to which we must recognize a particular suffering, justice and reparation, even if it is only partially compensated for experienced prejudice. To stop such a humanitarian catastrophe from happening again in Rwanda, the UDF-Inkingi commit to defend against all odds the absolute right to life and to keep the candle lit in memory of all victims.

f. *Population's participation*

Ownership and trust of citizens in democratic institutions require people to directly control and inspire actual exercise of power. It is essential that each individual at all levels of society is aware of their rights and duties. To that end, our organization commits to recognize and incorporate into the Constitution the people's initiative as a constitutional right. This is the right given to citizens to exercise directly next to the Parliament and Government, their share of sovereignty.

g. *Decentralization*

Another manifestation of the success of a democracy is that decisions are taken in different spheres of local citizens so that they feel fully participating fully in public life. Decentralization is the reduction of decision-making levels within reach of the citizen in what is called the local authority level where central government agrees and provides space for the initiative and creativity of regional and municipal authorities. Decentralization will also allow free expression of some cultural identities and emancipation of economic and social dynamics.

h. *Sustainable development*

Our organization puts great importance to sustainable and equitable management of natural resources and environmental conservation, and rehabilitation of balance of ecosystems degraded by human activity. This means that because of our solidarity with future generations to whom we must safeguard resources for their own life, all political decisions must be subject to an assessment of their effects in the medium and long term on ecological balances, the collective good and the future of human societies, of the Rwandan society in particular.

3.3. *Main objectives of FDU-INKINGI*

a. ***Establishing a multiparty democratic political system.***

The United Democratic Forces make every effort to establish a democratic political system based on a constitution in which the process of development and validation will be conducted on a highly inclusive participatory process.

The FDU-Inkingi political system will be characterized by a democratic renewal of a reconciled nation where citizenship is a reality in the institutions and all sectors of national life, and where people recognize themselves first around ideas or political options, social, economic, cultural, environmental they share and not on the basis of identity such as ethnicity, clan, religious, region.

b. ***Creating the conditions for the holding and concluding of a highly inclusive Rwandan dialogue.***

The United Democratic Forces should make every effort to achieve the necessary optimum conditions for acceptance by all parties involved in the Rwandan crisis, of holding, conducting and concluding a positive inter-Rwandan dialogue highly inclusive. This dialogue will bring together representatives of actors in political circles and civil society from inside and outside, representatives of public administration and security forces, the business community and representatives of refugees.

This meeting will take all preventive measures (Guca inzigo No Kwunga) required at all levels: institutional, socio-economic, political and cultural. It will be the guarantor of Rwanda once again a tolerant society able to manage a socio-economic development better shared for the well-being of everyone. It will be utmost the question of discussing firstly, without taboos, major national issues and challenges, then establish a political process and rules for participation in public life that can ensure a hospitable country for all Rwandans to finally agree fundamental elements of an institutional framework for sustainable management of the state.

c. ***Ending impunity and ensuring fair and impartial redress to victims.***

The United Democratic Forces should make every effort until it is established in the country impartial justice, independent and fair. If the need for justice to achieve reconciliation is crucial, a fair and equitable justice requires that it is not a tool for eliminating the political opponent and it does not discriminate between victims, or favor a category of criminals.

The urgency for FDU-Inkingi will be to put an end to the travesty of justice through such institutionalized people's courts "gacaca", which misrepresent the Rwandan culture, reinforce a culture of ethnic hatred and work to make reconciliation impossible between all components of the Nation. The United Democratic Forces will release all political prisoners and prisoners of conscience and all prisoners without files.

They will ensure that justice researches the truth about the Rwandan tragedy, establish individual responsibility; punish effectively the real culprits without discrimination and attributes of fair compensation to relatives of victims. They will install in everyday life the principle of

presumption of innocence, individual criminal responsibility and ensure the end of the presumption of collective guilt of a national group, situation which has become the norm for the regime RPF.

d. *Ending discrimination and ensure equal opportunities for all Rwandan citizens.*

The UDF-Inkingi will establish constitutional arrangements, institutional frameworks and programs that provide prevention and radical treatment against all forms of discrimination between citizens and providing guarantees to various components of the Rwandan society so that each feels safe and reassured in participating in institutions, to the exercise of civil rights and political participation in the process of production and distribution of national wealth.

e. *Repatriating refugees and reintegrating them*

The United Democratic Forces will do everything possible to create conditions for an effective repatriation of all Rwandan refugees without discrimination on the basis of voluntary return and ensure their effective reintegration into the economic, social, political and cultural life. The FDU-INKINGI commit to establish a governance system and all necessary measures likely to end the never ending exile of Rwandans which occurs with each change of political regime.

f. *Restructuring and revitalizing the national economy*

The United Democratic Forces will create the conditions for a profound restructuring of the national economy to allow citizens equal access to productive resources, credit, training and employment, sources of effective and continued creation of individual and collective wealth.

The FDU-INKINGI will create the conditions for fair and equitable distribution of the fruits of the national effort, respectful and supportive of the right to undertake in respect of employees' rights and national solidarity. They will finally create the conditions of a profound economic integration beneficial to Rwanda in the regional, African and international economy.

g. *Putting an end to the expansionism and help restore peace and regional security*

The United Democratic Forces will end the violation of territorial integrity, national sovereignty and looting of natural resources in neighboring states. They actually respect the principles of inviolability of borders, non-interference in internal affairs of States and the damage that may result from their violation. They will create the internal conditions and contribute to achieving the favorable external conditions for the free movement of persons and goods within the region and their settlement in countries, in compliance with laws and regulations of each State and political agreements freely negotiated and made.

In conclusion, the purpose, vision, values and objectives of FDU-INKINGI reflect a desired image of Rwanda as a state of law where justice, democracy, republican values, freedom and

solidarity, and scrupulous respect of life are guaranteed and constitute the basis of reconciliation, national cohesion, peace and sustainable development.

Beyond public participation they want to characterize institutions by, FDU-INKINGI are aware of Rwandans' high capacity to recognize differences and manage them, benefit from their many individual and collective experiences to create and facilitate a franc dialogue and effective reconciliation.

4. POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Our country is experiencing an unprecedented political crisis, humanitarian, economic, social and institutional crisis. Today we have reached a point in history where Rwanda is deeply scarred by violence, poverty, exile and death. The national economy is a disaster, famine rages in the country, national education has collapsed, public health and national development, particularly rural, are idle.

To prevent the risk of a new confrontation, Rwanda urgently needs strong democratic institutions and the rule of law, these being the single institutional framework which will rebuild the society and work towards its socio-political stability and to economic growth.

Through this program, FDU-INKINGI provide a better living together in our country and a policy of good neighborliness in our sub-region. Far from being immutable, this program will simultaneously generate debate. Only the confrontation of ideas may in fact allow the search for scalable solutions tailored to the needs of our time and the fluid political situation of our country.

However, in order to champion in Rwanda another policy, it must establish a political, social and economic system must be established that prevents our society from disintegrating definitively by deadly and endless clashes. In fact, ethnicity and regionalism are not a destructive product of the history of Rwanda. They are the result of power struggles between the ruling elites whose greedy strategy is often to "divide and conquer" using ethnicity and / or regional origins of Rwandans.

To stop the evil that is corrupting Rwanda, FDU-INKINGI committed courageously to hustle some taboos and lead a significant change of mindsets to achieve:

- An embodiment in people a mindset that refuses to submit to the reign of tyranny; civil society pledge of democracy and civic responsibility;
- A removal of, in social relationships, behavior and reflexes that remind the hierarchy of feudal monarchical and colonial social categories of the past.

No offense to all fires and artifices fighters, the FDU-INKINGI are convinced that the solid construction and cultural history of our country has made a homogeneous people of Rwanda a nation-state with very clear outlines in terms of national identity and will to live together.

4.1. Political area

a. Democracy

Rwandan society can not live indefinitely under the bracket of a handful of extremists whose only motto is the exercise of repressive power and undivided. Powerful groups hidden within the army, the RPF and the local administration have set themselves above the law and corrupt our national life. This then installed a military and totalitarian regime. The widespread impunity, corruption, the silencing of political parties, lack of freedom of opinion and popular participation in decision making and cronyism characterize the current situation.

The FDU-INKINGI denounce those who have worked to ruin our country and commit to remove effectively the heavy prejudice which hamper good relations between Rwandans. The FDU-INKINGI intend to be a reference that encourages new generations to make it their mission to continue to correct the mistakes and serious errors committed by the regimes of violence that ruled Rwanda each one after the other.

Peace and security are not possible in a political system where power considers much of its own people as an enemy to knock off. Tolerance, respect for others, the right to life, are all universal principles that Rwandans should definitely subscribe to.

It is therefore necessary to put an end to ethnic, regional, clan discrimination and of all other kinds, to establish democratic institutions securing all components of the Rwandan society. Institutions will be based on the principles of the rule of law, equality, civil liberties, and political pluralism, the holding of regular free and fair elections, respect of the popular verdict, participation, separation of powers and respect for human rights, dignity and freedoms. The FDU-INKINGI are resolutely committed to fight to assert that democracy beholder of hope for people, without which sustainable development and any chance of social peace would be doomed to failure.

We are aware that democracy is not reducible to discourse of intentions and timely organization of elections. This is more of a process which people must constantly be involved in, especially at local levels. The power must indeed be politically accepted by the community it is supposed to serve. The power derives its legitimacy from a wider participation of the population, its fairness and accountability. In this perspective, local government units must also be sustainable and have at their disposal the financial and human resources to enable them to effectively perform their functions. In this perspective, FDU-INKINGI are determined to work for:

- Effective integration of the whole population, particularly those in rural areas, to make decisions by particularly establishing the right of popular initiative.
- Prevention but also the active intervention in the causes of exclusion from society, giving everyone the means of freedom and responsibility.
- Freedom of association and political pluralism.
- Recognition of rights of political opposition, whether national or local, at all political levels

- Absolute prohibition of overlapping functions and mandates that lead to concentration of power in the hands of a few oligarchs.
- Freedom of the press and the development of an active civil society.
- Equal opportunities for all citizens.
- Establishment of a transparent framework for public financing of political parties based on their representation.

b. Separation of powers

Rwanda has long been a vertically organized society with a highly centralized state where political leadership has not always been sufficiently promoted. People have often suffered orders from above, unable to give their point of view on running the country and without necessarily recognizing themselves in the political interests put forward. It is this fact that keeps the fighting groups within the elite who are fighting against each other to keep or gain power without institutional safeguards and without control of any power balance.

THE FDU-INKINGI intend to rebuild the unity of the Rwandan people around a republican state, democratic and free and clearly separating the three powers. An executive who leads the government action, a legislative body that passes laws and effectively controls the action of the executive, an independent judiciary which attests to the constitutionality of laws, does justice to the litigants and resolves disputes between the two first powers. We need the power checking of the power to ensure the civil liberties of citizens and the regular functioning of institutions.

To do this, in that perspective, FDU-INKINGI defend a semi-presidential Rwandan regime based on the correlation, the separation and independence of powers.

b.1. The executive power assured by the President of the Republic

The President of the Republic, who is the head of State, will be elected by direct universal suffrage by an absolute majority for a term of five years renewable once. The President of the Republic is the guarantor of national unity. He determines the country's political line and leads the government action. He is assisted in his duties by a vice-president acting as Minister of State, from a group of national diversity, other than his own and, if possible, a different region. He is the supreme commander of armed forces and police. He appoints the ministers of the coalition of parties that obtained the most votes in parliamentary elections. He cannot dissolve Parliament without this being delivered simultaneously with his own mandate and vice versa.

The Government has, with Parliament and the people, the initiative to make legislation. The Council of Ministers discuss obligatorily on the decisions of government's political agenda, bills, decrees and ministerial and presidential orders. Regarding the draft law, they may not be admissible by the Parliament if they have not previously been submitted for consultation among various sectors of civil society or interest groups affected by this issue.

b.2. The Legislature

Legislative power is exercised by a parliament composed of two chambers: the National Assembly and Senate. Members of the National Assembly are elected by the citizens by way of proportional representation, direct universal suffrage and secret ballot for a term of five years. The electoral representation is proportional to its population.

A second chamber, the Senate will be created to enable further consideration of bills and to fill any imbalance caused by the voting for the election of Members of the Lower House (National Assembly) whose composition reflects only the actual weight of various national political sensibilities but not from the national diversity. The Senate will consist of elected representatives from the 3 / 4 of active political parties at regional level and 1 / 4 appointed by the President of the Republic according to procedures taking account of national diversity. The number of senators by region is identical for all regions. Former heads of state are automatically entitled to being senators, according to the provisions and criteria defined by the Constitution.

The Senate discusses in first reading all initiatives of laws on national unity or the partial transfer of national sovereignty in the framework of an association between states. For other items of legislation, the Government may decide to submit for discussion first, indiscriminately in one or the other parliamentary chamber. For law initiatives first introduced in the Senate, their adoption is subject to the acceptance of the two Chambers. For others, in case of four attempted conciliation without success, the vote of the lower house prevails.

If at the national level, Parliament consists of two chambers: the National Assembly or Lower House and the Senate or Upper House, at the decentralized level, there is a single Chamber.

The National Parliament has wide powers of: approval of the government program, initiative and adoption of laws, voting the budget and approval of State accounts, control of government action, agreement of full powers in a state of siege or emergency, approval of the declaration of war, determination of the military contingent, approval and ratification of treaties, conventions, agreements, covenants, agreements or protocols involving the Rwandan state.

b.3. The Judiciary.

The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature. It is exercised by the Supreme Court, Courts and Tribunals. To ensure its independence, the judiciary has a Superior Council of Magistracy in lieu of disciplinary council for judges. The President of the Supreme Court is the President of the Superior Council of Magistracy. He is elected, with his Vice-Presidents, for a term of 7 years renewable once, by the Parliament convened in Congress. They are irremovable during their term, except for gross negligence. The law defines what it means by gross negligence. The other members are elected for three quarters by and among the judges for a term of 6 years renewable. The other quarter to avoid the corporatism of judges is appointed in Cabinet Ministers meetings, on proposal of the Minister of Justice, by the President of the Republic for a term of 3 years renewable twice among non-judges. The Presidents of Courts of Appeal and the Councilors are appointed by the President of the Republic in Cabinet Ministers meetings, on proposal of the President of the Supreme Court and with the assent of the Superior Council of Magistracy. The presidents of courts of first instance and the other judges are appointed by regional assemblies.

The Supreme Court is the highest court of the state in the domains of administration, justice and public accounts. It is competent in respect of litigation about regional and municipal elections. The decisions of the Supreme Court cannot be appealed against and are binding on the executive, legislative, judicial, mediation and physical and moral entities.

b.4. The local authority

The concentration of power at the central level leads to overdevelopment of the central government to the detriment of regional and local authorities. In the case of Rwanda, access to power is seen as a gateway to scarce resources, creating tough competition and fratricide between elites and gives rise to conflicts of regionalism and ethnic type. Regionalism couldn't have done much havoc among the elite if it had been initially able to thrive in multiple responsibilities at the local level before going national. Decentralization, by its greater proximity to the middle, allows governments to better understand the problems and find their most appropriate responses.

Decentralizing and granting broad autonomy and new prerogatives and competencies to the regional council, regional assemblies and local authorities, not only expand the areas of power, but also become an intelligent and positive contribution to the resolution of regionalism and ethnicity. As if it were a political filter system in order to climb the central level, elites must first prove their involvement in local public life and service to the public interest. The FDU-INKINGI expect decentralization, not only the participation and taking more political responsibility by citizens and local communities, but also the revitalization of regional economies and the explosion of initiatives and creativity of civil society. It is there that original experiments on conciliation, not litigated settlement of conflicts, alternative measures to imprisonment and of revival of tradition and local customs will be explored.

Without this transforming the new institutions into corporations, the regional council and regional assembly will have broad powers in the domains of public education, health, local development, public finance, culture, social action and police. The government and the central parliament, which retain their generic competencies, of course, continue to lay the framework of conditions and general guidelines for the proper functioning of public institutions, economic competition and social protection. They leave the regions the freedom to imagine the specific combinations and beneficial to their people. Through a system of equalization negotiated during each term, depending on the demographic and economic weight of regions, the central government will allocate additional resources to the operating budget and program of regional public investment. It is understood that a region can develop a policy of economic and cultural cooperation with States or other international private or public institutions, in full compliance with the law on decentralized cooperation.

The Regional Council, elected by universal suffrage and proportional representation, will put in place the local government and ensure that all mainstream political opinions are represented in the local executive. This will be a regional government of consensus. At the municipal level, the Mayor and his executive team will be elected by the councilors in proportion to their political weight within the Municipal Council. The latter is directly elected by the population. An

executive team of the municipality is formed by the Mayor and approved by the council. The region or municipality may establish, as appropriate, taxes and fees.

b.5. Political rights

Popular participation is, after the separation of powers and decentralization, the third pillar of a democratic citizen. People normally perform their sovereignty through their elected representatives. However, it may happen that the politicians 'ring fence' public life and corrupt political system. Popular participation can control the action of "professionals" of politics and constantly reminds them who the real holder of sovereignty is, namely the citizen. The right given to a number of citizens to legislate in a particular area or oppose a law or an order of general application, require the government and parliament to remain attentive to the people, find answers and explanations to problems. More people will use the right of initiative, more authorities will understand that they are disconnected from the real concerns of people, the more they will feel the need to rectify, to better explain their decisions to survive politically.

b.6. The Ombudsman of the Republic (Ombudsman)

The Ombudsman of the Republic's role is to monitor and correct the omissions, errors, injustices and abuses of departments and agencies of Government. It will receive and process complaints from individuals, companies or associations it will receive and may also intervene on its own initiative.

The Ombudsman of the Republic and its staff will not be part of the public and will be independent of Government. The staff of the Ombudsman of the Republic will be specialists: lawyers, social workers and other professionals and technicians, having certified training in mediation. Elected by members of the National Assembly, the Ombudsman of the Republic will report its actions to the National Assembly.

A law on the Ombudsman of the Republic shall be enacted to give the necessary powers to conduct investigations. If the investigation reveals that the citizen has been unfairly treated by the Administration, the Ombudsman of the Republic may request a review of the administrative decision or, where appropriate, revision of a procedure, a policy, government program, regulation or law. It will act by way of recommendations. If the investigation reveals no unfairness, the Mediator of the Republic shall close the case and notify the citizen.

The Ombudsman of the Republic, through its mandate, will speak thus both on the protection of human rights; guarantee public freedoms and the correction of dysfunctional institutions. He will thus contribute to strengthening the rule of law and national cohesion.

c. The question of national diversity and access to power.

Playing down Rwandan tragedy to "ethnic" rivalry is showcasing a naive supposition of homogeneity of the country's "ethnicity". The real problem is that of political oligarchies and

military clashes with the mass people interposed. Everyone knows, Hutu cannot benefit from concentrating power wholly in the hands the Hutu elite. Similarly, no one can say that all Tutsi enjoy privileges from a Tutsi power that may claim to represent their interests. The proof of this is that now terrible, cynical criticism of having escaped to the massacres at the price of betrayal is weighing on the survivors, widows and orphans Tutsi. And everyone can witness today that, alongside a disarray of Hutu, Tutsi leaving the country in mass in exile. This is a result and demonstrates the futility of sitting on power any ethnicity, any clique who manipulate social antagonisms, for the sole purpose of staying there for life.

The FDU-INKINGI recognize that through tragic logic of manipulating people and social antagonisms for political purposes, political and military oligarchies take place and acquire importance that in the reality they should not have in every day of life of Rwandan people. "The ethnicity", "regionalism" and other differentiations fabricated in the narrow minds of Rwandan politics are a result of a system of patronage, exclusion, corruption and of nepotism that has been established, in contempt of the rule of law, to ensure political longevity and a pool of financial security to successive cliques on power. They result from the lack of thinking and vision to guide people towards progress instead of plundering and low mentality. The FDU-INKINGI will endeavour to eradicate all those elements that lead our people to the tragic disaster, witnessing the intellectual and moral decay of its elite.

Exterminating part of the population deemed undesirable does not protect the ones valued in favour or followers. Only democratic institutions that respect human rights and obligations of each and everyone can guarantee protection owed to every Rwandan whatever his or her origin, gender, wealth, profession, his or her political, religious, sexual and other orientation and opinion.

We firmly believe that it is by recognizing and guaranteeing the inalienable right of each of Rwandan to be protected - individually or collectively - by institutions and to participate in public life in the manner of his or her choice in the respect for public order, that set free everyone, especially minorities, from fear of individual or collective disappearance simply by unilateral act of government.

In order to allow every Rwandan to participate in and be recognized by the state institutions and by the state system that FDU-INKINGI recommend among other things the creation of the Senate and the electoral system with proportional representation. To correct some distortions in the popular vote and thus enabling each Rwandan to be represented, the FDU-INKINGI is committed to submit lists of candidates, representative of national diversity in parliamentary, provincial and municipal elections

And in the event of victory by the FDU-INKINGI, the same proportionality principle will guide the designation of senior executives of the Central Administration (Ambassadors, Secretary Generals, Director Generals, Directors of Public Institutions, Directors) and territorial administration (Mayors, Local leaders), the high command of the Army, national police and security services. All of these appointments will also be subject to Senate approval.

4.2. Area of Justice

The question of a fair trial as a factor in reconciliation and reconstruction of Rwandan society is a priority for FDU-INKINGI. If we are talking about banning the impunity, this shall apply to all perpetrators of crimes against peace, genocide crimes and crimes against humanity and other violations of human rights committed by Rwandans on the national territory and outside the country.

Democracy can only become a reality only if there is a judicial system to protect it. In this regard, breaking the vicious culture of impunity requires a good judicial system, adequate legislation and support to organizations of human rights.

The FDU-INKINGI approach is to establish a fair and impartial justice, independent and accessible to all. But the required change cannot just be declared. It must be accomplished within the overall framework of this program. To this end, some urgent measures will be taken to create the prerequisite conditions for this change:

- To repeal laws in contradiction with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international conventions;
- To ensure the implementation of existing legislation and procedures, too often hampered for political reasons and opportunism;
- To end the influence on appointments of judges by political power. To this end, the personnel portfolio of all judges must be under the sole responsibility of the Superior Council of Magistrates;
- To simplify civil proceedings and increase powers allocated to the Justice Department;
- To better guarantee the citizens' rights through:
 - Scrupulous respect for the presumption of innocence;
 - Strengthening of the contradictory nature of the investigation procedure;
 - Revision of the Code of Criminal Procedure to allow the establishment of independence and separation of the judge from the office of public prosecutor
 - The revised code of criminal procedure to allow victims or their representatives, to initiate criminal proceedings, even if the prosecutor refuses, by direct appeal to the court of inquiry or trial;
 - Creation of a free and independent Bar;
 - Limiting the use of preventive detention to cases where a doubt about guilt is no longer allowed.
 - Compensation to victims of wrongful detention and punishment of those responsible for detention so that they adequately reflect on the reasons for the decision to remand.

4.3. Area of human rights

Having been misunderstood and often abused for long, these rights must be enshrined in the Constitution so that the human person is the central concern of the state and its institutions.

To effectively fight against the culture of arbitrary decisions and disregard for life, FDU-INKINGI are committed to protecting human rights by:

- The development of a Rwandan Charter of Rights and Freedoms, duties and responsibilities of the individual;
- The creation, in all municipalities and sectors in the country, information and training services on rights and duties of citizens;
- Support for civil society to create an observatory of human rights;
- Promoting and supporting independent Human Rights Defence associations;
- The dismantling of networks of political and paramilitary organizations of terrorist or violent character and of the local defence militias of political parties;
- Conducting thorough and objective investigations into violations of human rights, including arbitrary detentions, killings, political assassinations, barriers to freedom of the press and compensation for victims of such violations;
- Mobilization of international aid to assist in justice and compensation for crimes against humanity so that Rwanda recovers its credibility in compliance with the law.

For FDU-INKINGI, Rwanda must necessarily enter into an era of strict respect of fundamental rights of human beings. Thus it needs a new generation of leaders who defend the weak and the oppressed, and who are determined to build a genuine rule of law. The trivialization of crime, arbitrary arrests, denial of justice, theft, poor conditions in places of detention, in this context, are a matter of concern and of major preoccupation for FDU-INKINGI. These rights must not only rely on the articles of the Constitution and other legislation and regulations, but they must also be real and be put into practice daily.

To this end, the FDU-INKINGI are committed to supporting the creation of an observatory of human rights and encourage the work of human rights activists to make effective:

- The affirmation and implementation of basic principles from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- The realization of the principle of equal rights between men and women both in law and in practice;
- Legal guarantees for all persons accused or convicted as a right of appeal and the right to legal assistance.

4.4. Defence and security

The FDU-Inkingi are resolved to implement mechanisms to ensure the safety of citizens, the return of refugees and protection of democratic institutions through a security force publicly controlled.

Democracy, national independence, political institutions as well as civil liberties must be defended. The army and police are important elements of this defense. In our context, where the forces of defense and security have ceased to serve the people to become instruments of repression at the service of the dictatorship, their structure and their role must be redefined.

Therefore, defense and security forces will therefore be under the control of civil authority. In a democratic state, the army and the police are under the control of the government to serve the people. It is the Government that makes, among other things, the defense and security policy. The defense and security forces will have to play their role fully without interfering in politics. Military personnel are professionals, technical experts and not politicians. Major reforms must be made to provide the country with defense and security services, in service of the people, which do not use weapons at their disposal to take the people hostage and enslaving them.

The FDU-INKINGI will proceed with a restructuring of both services and will initiate a recruitment method based on competence, civic sense, love of country, political neutrality. Members of armed forces who are not currently pursued by international justice for their alleged involvement in crimes against humanity and who believe that these forces must remain effectively in service to the people and institutions and under the control of civil authority, will not have to be worried.

Thus the army will be exclusively responsible for external security and the police will handle internal security. Protecting democratic institutions, guarantees of civil and political rights and safety of different components of the Nation is the first mission of the police. The mission of the army is to ensure external security and defense of territorial integrity as well as assisting governmental organizations in case of emergencies and disasters.

Given the climate of suspicion that has settled, to ensure that each national group has a sense of security, the army and police should be reflective of the population they are supposed to reassure. Particular attention will be given to key command posts. The intelligence services will also follow the same principles. For all these different security forces, centres will be provided for training and for initiation to human rights, to the Geneva Conventions and to civic education with the help of civil society. The law defining the organization of the army, police and intelligence service will be swiftly developed. In all cases, all civil and paramilitary militias will be immediately disbanded.

4.5. Economy domain

Economic reconstruction will be built within both the national development plan and the perspective of regional integration.

The FDU-Inkingi want to work towards an economy based on free enterprise and combined with social rights related to employment, corporate social responsibility and sustainable development.

The causes of poor economic performance of our country are indeed numerous. Some are related to the international market, lack of natural resources, the small size of territory of the country, its landlocked location, low productivity and a significant population growth. Others are the result of a poor national management, of unproductive and overpriced equipment that increase the indebtedness of our country, the absence of a political creation of external economies of scale, lack of administrative flexibility for new business start-ups, misappropriation of public funds and of international aid.

The skilled workers fled the country continuously since 1994. The forced resettlements of peasants into strategic hamlets abusively called "Imidugudu" and the illegal squatting of the land have disrupted the land and agrarian structures. The falsified official economic indicators conceal a growing impoverishment of sub-urban populations and extreme poverty of rural populations.

The state will withdraw from purely commercial enterprises but will promote their corporate social responsibility. Sufficient public participation will be provided in companies deemed strategic. The organization of the collection of taxes will be enhanced by the generalization of the statement of income and wealth both within and outside the country. Structures to fight against corruption and embezzlement of public funds will be put in place. Better parliamentary control over government expenditure will be achieved through training of MPs of the Parliamentary Budget Committee.

Economic development must include a strong response to the impoverishment of rural sector and socio-economic integration of the youth: two major vectors of exclusion and social violence. The training of young into professions that meet both the demands of the local economy, mobility and the evolving nature of the needs of domestic, regional and international business sector should be a priority. Decentralization in vocational training should demonstrate its adaptation and creativity.

Economic policies have paid little attention to the rural economy. On the other hand, investment capacity of the rural areas have been reduced by stripping off of its savings and transferring it to the urban sector, by wrongly fixing prices of agricultural products and the imposition of prohibitive taxes, (example: tax on coffee and tea export). Through their ingenuity, the peasants continued to finance their own rural sector and have managed to survive.

It is now time to initiate a land reform that will put an end to the current system of inheritance and the progressive fragmentation of land through the introduction of indivisible farming plots managed by family land organizations in agreement with local authorities.

The current policy of resettlement of people into designated villages will be banned. In fact, it kills private initiative and deeply jeopardizes the right to property of individuals and families. Our political organization will develop long term land secured credit systems with the potential to enhance productivity, compensation to legal successors and to safeguard the unity of the plots.

Agricultural policy will also emphasize high intensive labour investment programs such as investment in the sustainable management of natural resources (water, soil, vegetation), particularly the development of marshes and plains into irrigated agriculture in East, Bugesera, Rusumo and Mutara regions.

Will also be promoted development strategies based on:

- Participatory popularization where the researcher, outreach/advocacy worker and the peasant become partners and work together and where the cost of the popularization is gradually absorbed by local communities or through private organizations;
- Combination of agriculture to livestock activities;
- Accelerated ease of congestion of the agriculture sector: promotion of urban and rural non-agricultural employment as a priority (various crafts, services, industry ...);
- Regionalization of cultures, but avoiding anything that might appear as supporting monocultures, to enable the exchange between regions and promoting production chains will be encouraged.

In the secondary sector, agro-pastoral products processing, crafts and relocation of industries, which can benefit from comparative advantages at the regional or global levels, will be preferred, for purposes of export. In terms of services, Rwanda will take full advantage of its favorable geo-linguistic situation: geographic position at the centre of the continent at the crossroads of Francophone and Anglophone worlds. The promotion of tourism, development of communications and information technology-based enterprise, and the development of financial institutions (banks, insurance) are promising areas of Rwandan economy at the regional and African levels.

An energy policy based on hydropower, solar, geothermal, wind and to some extent gas will be developed and implemented. The State will reorganize transport services, telecommunications, water and electricity production and distribution. A national environmental plan of action to address ecological restoration, conservation and management issues of the environment will be developed and implemented.

Overall, private investment will be encouraged with guarantees of security based on political stability, neutrality and promotion of peace in the sub-regional area and Africa. A new more attractive code of investments facilitating and accelerating approval procedures for enterprise start-up will be established, among other things, for the exploitation of local resources with the aim of job creation, technology transfer and industrial innovation and in favour of all companies with value generating activities. The State will ensure that fair social partnership between the entrepreneurs and workers organizations is established

Being a small-sized country, Rwanda, regionally and internationally, is better off working for a perfect freedom of movement of persons, goods and services, export, receiving a skilled workforce and becoming a hub of economic relations in the region.

While it is clear that the accumulation of capital and the creation of external economies (basic infrastructure such as good roads, rail and air networks, a good national communication network, a good legal environment, an effective system against corruption) constitutes the basis of the economic boom of countries, FDU-Inkingi yet remain of the view that human capital, i.e. investment in education, is the comparative advantage that our country can sustain at the regional and African level. The Rwandans are indeed recognized everywhere as a young population, diligent at work and integrating easily into organized structures that require some discipline.

The FDU-INKINGI note with interest that there is political will at the continental level under the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) framework to bring Africa out of its economic decline. They believe that Rwanda can play a major role and can provide a workforce with expertise in the development of communication infrastructure (road, rail, telecommunications) of regional and African dimension as well as in the services industry (banking, insurance, tourism).

4.6. Environmental domain

Natural resources constitute a key element of the prosperity of a society and the long-term stable quality of resources is indispensable to assure welfare and good standard of living. Nowadays, too much pressure is put onto the resources without taking care of future generations, or their use generates huge emissions and nuisances, be it at production levels, during processing, consumption or wastes disposal. A society which does not manage to resolve its environmental problems cannot survive in the long term.

FDU INKINGI aim to pay a particular attention to this sector by setting up a National Environmental Plan in line with the evolution of the International Convention on Climate safeguard.

The main objectives of his policy are to:

- stabilise, in the long term, the quantity and quality of natural resources at an appropriate level;
- protect humans and valuable property against extreme nuisances, natural and technical dangers;
- safeguard and durably use natural resources and repair damages happening to them;
- carry out a policy of environmental management, which guarantees a moderate use of the soil and the protection of natural resources;
- reinforce the international harmonization and international regulation in the interest of natural resources and in a fair competition.

So, in a particular way, FDU INKINGI will watch over:

- the safeguard of biodiversity with a particular attention to the protection of the natural forests of Nyungwe, Gishwati and Birunga;
- the protection of the Fauna and the Flora, in particular the protection of endangered species (especially the mountain gorillas) and National Parks;
- the campaign against deforestation and soil erosion;
- the campaign against cities spreading out, especially the Capital City;
- the urban planning and management in favour of walking, soft mobility and public transport;
- the incorporation of topics on resources and environment into education and training curricula as well as strengthening of information to the consumers;
- the orientation of the fiscal system in line with the moderate use of natural resources;
- the assessment of the impact on the environment from goods and services produced by industries as well as by the public sector;
- the research for alternative solutions to ease off the constraints which Rwandan populations are subjected to, namely the insufficiency of the firewood, problem of packing material, the access to pasture, the chores of terraces and stamp, farming in marshes and valleys, environmentally-friendly habitat, maintenance and protection of tourist places.

4.7. Public health domain

A population in good health is a population fit to work and, consequently, able to take its destiny in hands. Besides, it is upon the quality of the public health and the effectiveness of the system of social foresight that can be judged the state of national solidarity and cohesion. It is therefore rightly that FDU-INKINGI will make the policy of health for all a priority.

Demography control, the permanent effort of adaptation to demographic evolution and the policy of medical prevention are the three major axles of FDU-INKINGI action in the health sector. To this effect, the health sector will be given first-class choice in programming human development. Thus, our major concern will be to build medical and health centres as closer as possible to the target populations and provide them with staff and adequate equipment, as well as the rehabilitation of those already in operation.

Our goal is to contribute to the improvement of health conditions of the population and noticeably reduce the mortality rate, especially that of new-born babies. We shall achieve this, namely by:

- a. setting up a system, efficiently coordinating the campaign against malaria, the AIDS and other endemic diseases;
- b. developing systematic health education, training and information for the whole population;
- c. giving priority to simple, but efficient measures, such as delivering, 'on site', basic medicines and protection tools to create a less favourable environment to the spread of AIDS by sexual way,
- d. restarting and equipping the mobile teams of diseases detection and control of pandemic spots with medicines, vaccines and all other forms of treatments;

- e. developing preventive medicine, traditional medicine and mass medicine;
- f. sensibly increasing health budget to attain WHO (World Health Organisation) standards as well as to rehabilitate and promote health infrastructures and equipments;
- g. setting up University or Hospital Centres for top and targeted applied researches by endowing them with highly skilled personnel and with appropriate equipment in order to deliver to the population quality health services and to develop new preventive or remedial approaches to diseases or infections.

4.8. Education.

FDU-INKINGI consider education as a mean of emancipation and social justice. Education and professional training must be rightfully regarded as tools for reduction of social inequality. FDU-INKINGI thinks that, for its development, Rwanda first needs citizens endowed with necessary expert competences for the country's economic dynamism and for the social and cultural emancipation of every single Rwandan. It is, indeed, the whole issue of individual self-governance that is played down.

From this perspective, FDU-INKINGI remain convinced that:

- Basic education is a fundamental right of every Rwandan;
- Education is one of the main factors that contribute to health improvement, security and prosperity. It contributes to the maintenance of a viable environment for people, favours social, economic and cultural development as well as freedom, tolerance and capability of cohabitation;
- So called traditional education is the starting point to all forms of modern education and can equally contribute to the development of the society, like any other form of education;
- Professional training and its general implementation constitutes a priority.

Considered this, any policy in the education field must tend to meet the fundamental educational needs. These needs include essential apprenticeship tools, as well as the fundamental educational contents which the human being needs to survive, to develop all his capabilities, to live and work with dignity, to fully participate into the development, to improve life quality, to make wise decisions and keep learning.

The specific objectives which FDU-INKINGI want to achieve in this sector are to:

- Make primary education compulsory and free;
- Re-think and implement family education aiming to protect early childhood and transmit traditional values of community way of life and basic knowledge which the child needs in his everyday life;
- Make compulsory the access to a basic quality education build on the possibility to acquire the knowledge and to exercise self-governance and responsibility;
- Promote gender equity and equality among other national categories;
- Improve the quality of education by setting up management systems and educational governance which are reactive and participative;

- Guarantee functional literacy to the whole population;
- Insure a leading to qualification training for every young person;
- Make education and professional training of the youth the spearhead of African integration.

Besides, as no country can develop without applied research, though very expensive, FDU-INKINGI will draw to scientific and technological research all the attention it deserves by engaging into regional and international partnerships in targeted area, such as information and communication technologies, bank insurance, health and civil engineering.

With regards to present deficit Rwanda is plunged in at human resources level, our country needs in the medium term more of businessmen, of skilled workers, highly qualified technicians and engineers.

This goes along with:

- Speedy training of supervision staff and highly qualified technicians on field and in schools;
- Creation and rehabilitation of professional training schools and generalisation of professional apprenticeship;
- The creation of engineering societies able to mobilize specialists in various disciplines and to export their expertise to the whole Africa and beyond.

In face of an education system which was for a long time marked by a lack of transparency in the admission of the pupils and students in both secondary and higher institutions, and given the discontent and inequality generated by this system within the population, FDU-INKINGI provision consists of area program, based at one and the same time on:

- The increase of the reception capacity at primary, secondary, higher and university levels;
- The democratization of general and professional education at both public and private levels.

If the access to training and culture is to be offered to a greater number of people, FDU-INKINGI do not conceive it in a frame other than the one which guarantees the equality of chances for all candidates in order to acquire a training leading to qualification. In this order, FDU-INKINGI intend to set up a better loan policy and grants to deserving candidates, as well as subventions to private educational institutions to favour the access of a higher number of young persons to the institutions of higher education or university.

Also, decentralisation will have to play a preponderant role in this education area, all the more so as the education up to secondary level will be the responsibility of provincial and communal entities.

Parents will also be closely involved into the scholar education of their children from young age and will have to be made aware of the importance of education, because there still remain some reluctance in certain parents to send their children to school.

FDU-INKINGI are fighting for a society where teacher's function will become the motor to attaining education quality in both public and private sector. One of priority measures FDU-INKINGI is taking to this effect is the revalorisation of teaching profession, not only by improving material status and working conditions of the civil servants in state education, but also by working more to re-assess their place in the society and to restore the respect they deserve. The wages ladder will have to be enlarged progressively. The counterbalance to this revalorisation will be a systematical dedication of at least 1 month of school vacation to practical exchange training sessions and pedagogical refinement, to catch-up courses or upgrading standards.

At the level of curricula in secondary schools, FDU-INKINGI opt for general courses, be it in professional and technical orientation, and for the introduction of subjects corresponding to fundamental cogitation starting from level two(level II) of the secondary education.

Thus:

- Lesson of citizenship education will be introduced at primary education level to induce the emergence of a true culture of community life and to prepare the young persons to actively participate into democratic life and to exercise their fundamental rights and responsibilities.
- The history of philosophical, moral, religious, economic or scientific ideas will appear in a good place within programs.
- Confrontation and experience sharing will be favoured to allow the emergence of new forms of mutual respect and to avoid people's falling-back on own identity. That will be achieved by developing traditional art of debate and dialogue which is the art of getting into someone else shoes, equal with him; by getting out of the automatism of our thoughts.
- National education will revive in every child the major events of our history and will have to avoid that this education be inspired by a move of tooling it for selfish gains but, instead, by seeking recognition of the recent or distant past, its tragedies and its advances, to scoop out from it the seeds and healthy forces to build the future.
- The openness towards the outside world will be guaranteed by the diversification of teaching other languages, cultures and the history of the humanity.

4.9. Culture.

Regarding the cultural sector, FDU-INKINGI intend to put Rwandan culture onto the service of national reconciliation and pride, to promote the Rwandan cultural objects inside and outside the country, so that Rwanda could achieve a cultural excellence at regional and continental levels, or even worldwide.

Cultural identity is a precondition for any national identity. Rwandan culture is one of the major trumps to earn the bet of national reconciliation. All Rwandans vibrate to the rhythm of singing and dancing carried out with exuberance and joy of life across the whole country.

By sharing Kinyarwanda language as a same means of communication, Rwandans enjoy a certain advantage which must consequently constitute a factor for rapprochement and cohesion. Beyond the school, Rwandan culture will go along with national education. It is the State's duty to promote citizen interest into culture and its diversity, which has developed since pre-colonial period up today, to promote it and to protect cultural and historical heritage.

To make the culture play its role of catalyst in coming-together in a spirit of brotherhood, FDU-INKINGI offers to implement actions as below:

a. Culture promotion by:

- Kinyarwanda is to occupy an important place in education, beside Swahili and of other foreign languages, such as French and English
- Organisation of regular competitions such as dances, drum-beating, wrestling at national and regional level
- Creation of an institution for the promotion and coordination of cultural activities
- A policy of opening of our culture towards the outside world
- A lasting policy of making Rwandan culture one of the forefront tourist attractions
- Support and inclusion of cultural products acquired from outside by our fellow-countrymen with regard to our history

b. Making Rwandan culture plays its role of national cement.

To this effect, it is imperative to achieve the steps below:

- Democratisation of culture: to accept the expression of cultural identity in every aspect of the national culture such as it got enriched throughout the history of our country (art, music, literature, dance, drama...).
- Promotion of artistic creation in order not to root the culture to any past spot, controversial or immobile past.
- Culture modernization and export.
- Creation of museums, libraries, archive houses, historical monuments and architectures at the level of every province for purpose of conservation and promotion of regional and cultural heritage.
- Creation of the National Academy of Kinyarwanda language.

4.10 Foreign affairs and cooperation domain

FDU-INKINGI are willing to develop diverse political, cultural, economic and social relations between Rwanda and the rest of the world and especially promote regional and pan-African integration. This last will allow to definitely anchor Rwanda into a perspective of peace, to resolve ethnic problems by casting them into a vaster socio-cultural world and to ensure country economic development within a wide viable economic group.

FDU-INKINGI reaffirm that Rwandan crisis and the subsequent destabilization of the Great Lakes region, must be considered in a much broader international context in order to be able to find an appropriate global solution to it. Rwanda, together with Uganda and Burundi has to become again a strategic crossroad and the heart of the revival of a democratic, stable and secure Africa.

FDU-INKINGI remain very concerned about the persistent war in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and promise to do whatever possible to respect the inviolability of borders inherited from colonization. Congo has got an absolute right to its security and any present or future solution for Rwanda must be built upon this credo. For this purpose, FDU-INKINGI request the international community, especially the United Nations Security Council, to reinforce the UN forces with mission to impose and maintain peace in our region.

At the same time, FDU-INKINGI support initiatives and process of international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in countries of the Great Lakes. For the FDU-INKINGI, the highly inclusive inter-Rwandan dialogue remains an inevitable stage in order to set up the milestones of such a regional peace. FDU-INKINGI are determined to work for political solution of the Rwandan crisis and definitely put an end to the war and criminality in the Great Lakes region.

With regards to regional cooperation, FDU-INKINGI view is that the reactivation of CEPGL (Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes) and that of OBK (Organisation of the Basin of the river Kagera), the admission into the East African Community would all allow to work more for the political stability of the sub-region countries and for economic, social and cultural development of all concerned populations. Of course, due to its national particularities and geo-linguistic position, Rwanda must aim at the highest economic and political integration among communities of States of Central, as well as Austral and Oriental Africa. Regional integration must make of Rwanda, together with other interested neighbouring countries, the inevitable crossroad as part of numerous initiatives undertaken for the political union and the economic development of Africa.

FDU-INKINGI commit themselves to develop and to diversify relations of solidarity, brotherhood and reciprocity with other nations, and to work for peace and security in the world. Our country must, indeed, stop being a fire place and a springboard for economic and geo-strategic interests of mafia circles, regardless of legitimate aspirations of populations and African States.

In order to do that, the role of regional or even African trooper, that foreign powers would like to see devolved to Rwanda for their geo-strategic stakes (control of natural resources, fighting against Islamism, demography control) will have to be deeply revised because it puts public finances under heavy pressure and generates an overdevelopment of security forces, detrimental to the development of civil society and the rooting of democracy. This role will have to be renegotiated with aforementioned foreign powers and the countries of the region, so that it becomes a mission of collective security whose leading role would rather be entrusted to another country of the sub-region that could be justified by the immensity of the territory, the great number of the population, the abundance of resources or by its economic development.

Rwanda must be, indeed, a home centre of dynamism and peace.

5. CONCLUSION

FDU-INKINGI political agenda, worked out on basis of general orientations, does not go into details of execution of projects and chosen programs. In respect for the principles of decentralization, initiative will rather be left to responsible authorities involved into the organization at regional and communal levels to refine and to adjust them to the real needs and to the possibilities of execution on ground.

FDU-Inkingi seek not only to change the system of government, but especially to deeply transform Rwandan political culture, to exorcise Rwanda of his old demons that are the ethnism, regionalism, favoritism, intrigue and autocracy...

These lecherous behaviors have developed and are perpetuated across a closed, introverted and stratified society, that it has become urgent to open up in order to release creative energies contained for such a long time and to build a new society, democratic, inclusive, dynamic, turned to the future and opened onto the world. FDU-INKINGI are committed to work unceasingly in favour of the coming of this new society.

The present political program aims at offering practical answers and alternative elements in order to bringing back trust between all national components and guaranteeing the stability of institutions, rooting down a viable economic, environmental and socio-cultural development and to working in favor of the profound possible African integration.

FDU_INKINGI remain convinced that proposed program of society is able to contribute to the consolidation of civil society organizations and political participation, the only guarantors of the rooting of democracy and responsible citizenship.

By emphasizing on the emergency to operate institutional reforms so profound as within defense and security bodies, FDU-INKINGI subscribe into a move definitely democratic and anxious about everyone's security and property as well inside the country as the strengthening of peace and collective security of the countries of the Great Lakes region and that of Africa as a whole.

Recalling to mind Rwandan socio-cultural beacon values, namely solidarity, tolerance and wisdom, FDU-INKINGI express themselves as a social force of cohesion and are meant to bring together all those who want to participate in the edification of a Rwandan society, free, democratic, proud of its culture, opened to dialogue, respectful of everyone and preoccupied by the improvement of the welfare of all our fellow-compatriots. FDU-INKINGI want, by their approach, to show that it is possible to make of Rwanda a State of Law and of inclusive democracy, a home to all Rwandans.

To get there, we showed that it is necessary to draw lessons not only from events so happy as unhappy as Rwanda has known throughout its history, but also and especially to offer to Rwandan citizens and to the international community a new border which puts in the centre of the very foundations of Rwandan Nation the right to life and civil liberties in general, the duty of memory for all, national cohesion as well as peace. Thus, FDU-INKINGI stand up for the human being and throw the bet on humanism.

Approved provisionally in Brussels by the Political Council of democratic unified Force FDU-INKINGI, on this June 13th, 2009