

PART I

A REGIME OF FREEDOM, IN WHICH THE PEOPLE CHOOSE THEIR OWN FUTURE AND A DEMOCRATIC, REPRESENTATIVE, MODERN AND EFFICIENT STATE, BASED ON THE PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

1.1 Political democracy

Political democracy, although intimately articulated with economic, social and cultural democracy, has an intrinsic value. It is therefore necessary to safeguard and guarantee it as an integral and inalienable element of the Rwandan society. Having been deprived of freedom during the 51 years of fascist dictatorship, corrupt regimes, and sectarian governments, having won short lived freedom following the end of 1994 genocide, the Rwandan people know the value of freedom and never want to lose it again. Freedom belongs to the people and to each individual, and as such is an essential element of the democracy proposed to the Rwandan people by the **RPP - IMVURA**. Pre-requisites for a regime of freedom are: the existence of material and cultural conditions for the exercise of freedom, equal rights, duties and opportunities for all citizens, without any discrimination - specifically those based on sex, race, political opinions, trade-union affiliations, religious beliefs or economic or social status.

It is a principle as well as a political and legal value necessary for defining the system of government, the basis of authority and method of decision making.

The modern practical implementation of democracy, as a basis for the political and constitutional system, does not lack concepts, as it is well enshrined and affirmed in law. However, the real barriers are the lack of framework and institutions that can give expression to these concepts which can be capable of being developed and inherited.

The **RPP - IMVURA** is to work persistently to entrench this concept of democracy and to develop its institutional and organisational forms so that it can give expression of our civilisation uniqueness and so that citizens can feel a sense of belonging to, and ownership of, it.

1. Entrench the values of democracy in all aspects of life as well as making it fundamental to the system of education and culture so that the social system can compliment the political system in affirming the practice of law.
2. Provision of the basis which are necessary for establishing and broadening democracy in society.
3. Adoption of popular referenda as a means of resolving all issues of fundamental national interest which apply to the whole society.
4. Adoption of rule of law as the basis of establishing authority and change of government, in a peaceful way, with all this means in terms of enabling the people to practice their rights in deciding their general affairs.

5. Strengthening the constitutional institutions of the state and accepting the parliamentary institution as the practical tool which represents the wish of the people and the embodiment of the principle of democracy.
6. Developing and strengthening local government institution and the adoption of centralised administrative structure of government as a practical mean of widening the practice of democracy.

1.2 Political pluralism

The **RPP - IMVURA** programme seeks the establishment of a political system that guarantees the realisation of the principle democratic values. It protects these rights and freedoms and channels efforts to the building of the institutions of governance - in a way that lends it effectiveness and honesty. Such a system should guarantee impartiality and freedom of the election process and good monitoring of the elected, during their term of tenure, relying upon constitutional basis that controls the conduct of government and guarantees its soundness, and the peaceful transfer of power. A political pluralism that represents the firm foundation for rotation and safe transfer of authority between organised political groups. It is also the most effective means of maturing political awareness in society, strengthening it and reinforcing its immunity in order to prevent dictatorship, protection of rights, sanctity and liberty of individuals.

The success and soundness of the political system which is established on multi-parties depends on two main issues:

1. Adherence of political parties and organisations based on principles of law, and the start from a unified view of the shared, unchangeable, national principles as well as the areas of consensus, on which disagreement is acceptable.
2. Differentiation between political parties by individuals is based on clear and responsible programmes that abide by society's affairs, with all the necessary detailed views that this entails in order to face the existing problems as well as the methods of achieving the aspiration of society. On this basis it can be made clear for the individual to make a formal choice, as to which party deserves the support and can be trusted.

Based on this, the **RPP - IMVURA** will work resolutely and consistently towards the following:

1. Consolidation of the principle of political pluralism, and transforming it to be one of the deep-rooted facts in Rwandan Society. Opposing any tendency from whichever quarter, to return Rwanda society to singular political opinions which lead to dictatorship that relies on the army and security forces to subjugate society to its desires and wishes.
2. Guaranteeing the establishment of political pluralism on the basis of noble competitive views within the framework of adherence to the faith of society, so that it becomes possible for all members of society to exercise preference between political parties according to its programmes without being influenced by any other factors.
3. Guaranteeing the running of general elections regularly and according to time specified by constitution through an election system that is impartial and through which the people will be able to exercise this say on the conduct of affairs according to its wishes, whether directly or indirectly.
4. Guaranteeing equality of opportunity in political work, entrenching it and embodying it in practice.

1.3 Political pluralism

Peaceful rotation of authority is the essence of justice and democracy and the best process for overcoming conflict over authority - on all levels.

To embody this principle, work has to be under taken to provide a number of guarantees. The most important amongst which is the following.

1. Ensuring the neutrality of the military, security and judicial establishments in party-politics, by considering this as the most important requirement for a multi-party- based political system and what it entails for the peaceful transfer of power during time- expired periods.
2. Ring-fencing authority with guarantees that will safeguard it against misuse, by those in power, and to dedicate it for the achievement of the objectives of society.
3. Deep-rooting political pluralism in society and establishing it on solid ground represented on people's wish and national constants that makes pluralism a way to complementarily, co-operation and consolidation.
4. Deep-rooting the administrative and legal system in the state and making it subject to criteria and basis that do not get affected by the peaceful change in authority, which should be limited to the higher political levels.
5. Sound political nurturing of members of society to grow accepting the results of elections and the peaceful transfer of power.
6. Reducing presidential terms from 7 to a-5 year term, which is renewable once. And conducting both presidential and parliamentary elections on the same day.

1.4 Pluralist, democratic and responsible mass media

Pluralist, democratic and responsible mass media are essential in a regime of freedom. In genuinely free conditions the mass media are indispensable in helping to form citizens' opinions and in encouraging them to civic participation. They can contribute to transparency in political affairs, to democratic control of administration actions, to a genuine expression of the people's will through elections, to knowledge of reality and to the collective effort to solve the nation's problems, to improve the people's cultural level, and to friendship and understanding among peoples.

Important factors for a pluralist democratic and responsible mass media include:

1. The existence - side by side with privately owned media - of a public sector including the different media (television, radio, press) which by virtue of its constitutional and legal status will be independent from the Government and political parties and explicitly bound to guaranteeing pluralism and the expression and clash of different trends of opinion;

2. Protection of mass media independence from economic powers, specifically by preventing monopoly concentration of mass media enterprises;
3. Guaranteed rights for journalists and other mass media workers, and their respect for ethical and professional standards;
4. Guaranteed broadcasting rights, as well as the right to political rebuttal and to reply;
5. Protection of the national identity, language and independence, particularly as concerns the audio-visual media and telecommunications;
6. Support for regional and local media;
7. Media management free from government control, and State financial support for the media without any discrimination;
8. Impartial and independent criteria in the licensing of media, whenever the law requires it;
9. The existence of diverse constitutional bodies to preserve the freedom of information and guarantee pluralism.

In the free society proposed by the **RPP - IMVURA** to the Rwandan people, elections are the direct basis of political power and of the legitimacy of its institutions.

This component of a regime of freedom requires that elections be held according to rules that ensure the democratic nature of the whole process and the representativity of those elected, with the effective elimination of economic, social and moral pressure or coercion, as well as of methods of manipulating public opinion and of misrepresenting the people's will.

The democratic nature of an election does not depend solely on the conditions under which voting or the election campaigns are held. It also depends on the situation prevailing outside electoral periods, on the effective exercise of rights, and on citizens' continuing participation and involvement in national affairs.

In the same way as political power is legitimatised by the people's will, expressed in truly democratic elections, those who exercise political power lose their legitimacy when they do not respect democratic legality or act to destroy the democratic regime

The regime of freedom proposed by the **RPP - IMVURA** implies that the State and other entities respect each citizen's right to political freedom. It also implies guaranteed freedom and right to social participation, guaranteed economic, social and cultural rights for workers and their organisations, and for other social strata and organisations.

The Rwanda democracy which the **RPP – IMVURA** proposes and advocates seeks to increasingly extend the scope and exercise of personal and collective freedoms, and to effectively guarantee workers' and citizens' rights.

1.5 The State

The State, its characteristics, the criteria used in defining its institutions, the extent to which, and the direction in which, it exercises its functions, its inclusiveness of the peoples' participation and intervention in the political and administrative decision-making process, are

both in themselves goals of the Programme and pre-conditions for the implementation of other programmatic goals.

In the monopoly capitalist system the State, given its class nature, is part of, and guarantees the operationally and survival of the capitalist modes of production, even through violence and coercion. It is in essence and in general terms, a tool of capital. In the democracy which the **RPP - IMVURA** submits to the Rwanda people (including an economic set-up based on a mixed economy, not dominated by the monopolies, a regime of freedom, a democratic election system), the State must be structured and operate so as to correspond to the people's and the country's requirements, in strict compliance with democratic law.

The following are component aspects of **a democratic, representative, participatory and modern State, serving the people and the country:**

1. **An organisation of the political power structure** based on universal, direct, secret and periodic suffrage for the elected institutions and on the separation and interdependence of State institutions;
2. **Constant participation** of the people in the exercise of power;
3. An independent, democratic, speedy and affordable **legal system**;
4. A decentralised, spatially distributed, de-bureaucratic and **open public administration**;
5. **Essential public services**, guaranteed by the State;
6. **Armed Forces** serving the nation's independence and sovereignty and the territory's integrity;
7. **A security and public order system** based primarily on prevention and on effective respect for, and guarantee of, the individuals' and the workers' rights and freedoms.

1.5.1 The structure, organisation and scope of the political power

The structure, organisation and scope of the political power system will ensure the stability, continuity and development of the democratic regime, as well as the work of the institutions in accordance with their regulations and specific role, and with the Rwanda people's interests.

The following are essential traits of the **political power set-up** in the Rwanda democracy proposed by the **RPP - IMVURA**

1. **Separation and inter-dependence of the State institutions:** President of the Republic, Parliament [Assembly of the Republic], Cabinet and Courts;
2. **Legislative and monitoring powers of Parliament**, opposing all factors which curtail such powers;
3. **Compulsory respect for Constitutional principles** and for the law, guaranteed through the intervention of law courts - which are sovereign institutions whose independence must be protected - and through the people's control and vigilance;

4. **Democratic Local Government** with effectively guaranteed autonomy of decision within its scope of action, and in particular with administrative and financial autonomy , and provided with the means to tackle and solve community problems;
5. **Recognition of the role of political parties** as one of the essential organisational elements of various social interests and bodies of opinion and of democratic participation in the power structures.

1.5.2 Constant people's participation in the exercise of power

Constant people's participation in the exercise of power will be ensured not only through the modes characteristic of representative democracy, but also through forms of direct and participatory democracy.

1.6 Public Administration

Public Administration will be geared toward development, and be decentralised, spatially distributed, de-bureaucratised, modern, efficient, and open, in close touch with the population and serving community interests. It shall operate with honesty, without bias, with fairness and impartiality, be held accountable for its operation, comply and enforce compliance with democratic laws. It will ensure that all decisions are well grounded and that all requests of individuals and the public in general are always speedily dealt with, and that all have access to their respective files. It will guarantee respect for the rights of public employees as well as motivate and encourage their participation, using merit and competence as criteria for access to Administration posts, for promotions and appointments to management posts and to posts at all levels, and will reject favouritism and partisan appointments. Judicial overseeing of administrative legality will be guaranteed, as will the implementation of law court sentences.

The State will take responsibility for, and guarantee essential social services such as social security, health care and education, as well as housing for the less well-off strata, urban public transport and emergency services, without precluding the existence of private activity in these spheres as long as it participates in the State's democratic policies. The State will also guarantee basic infrastructures and social equipment.

1.7 Defence

The Armed Forces, loyal to the Constitution and to democratic values, will be fully dedicated to defending the nation's independence and sovereignty and the territory's integrity against all external threats. This entails the priority of missions on national territory and equipment in accordance with those missions and their defensive nature. Without affecting military defence, they will collaborate in tasks of community interest. With a specific defence doctrine, they must be endowed with autonomous military capability, and be based on compulsory service conducted in dignified conditions for young people. The Armed Forces will be subordinated to political power, but with an appropriate measure of autonomy. The Armed Forces, at the same time as they require political impartiality in the exercise of functions, will refuse all political and

ideological discrimination in their internal operation. They will guarantee the civic rights and dignity of military personnel and they must be an institution identified with all that is most patriotic and progressive in the past, in particular its decisive role in overthrowing the fascist regime and putting an end to the 1994 genocide era.

Hence, the **RPP- IMVURA** will work to build, strengthens and reform the defence policies on the following basis:

1. Defence of the homeland, preservation of its security and its protection from any internal or external threat is the duty of every Rwandan citizen.
2. The armed forces are the preventative shield of unified Rwanda, and on it is the prime responsibility of defending the country, preserving its unity, safeguarding its wealth, protecting its values, traditions, civilisation, political system and national and constitutional unity.
3. The army and security forces are national institutions that must be kept aside from political conflicts and allegiances political parties, regions, ethnicity or any other conflicts or narrow allegiances that distract it from its responsibilities.
4. Society is the main support for the armed forces and its on going supply. Soldiering is an honour and a social and culture duty for which society must be trained to undertake, for the army to be for the people and from the people.
5. Obligatory National Service is a right for all able, and duty on every entrusted, and is considered as one of the most important popular participation in the armed forces and the achievement of the balance of powers in society.
6. The armed force contains an important proportion of the lively elements and effective energies of society which must be directed during peace towards, construction and development, realising the principle of "the army is for development and construction".
7. The complementary roles of the army and security institutions are a fundamental pre-requisite for its success in undertaking the assigned tasks in the best manner.

1.8 Public Security

Public security and order will be ensured by the State and guaranteed by adequately co-ordinated and organised forces and services which are non-partisan, institutionally controlled solely by national authorities, within the judiciary and under the Public Attorney , guided and trained to respect the Constitution, the law, the freedoms, rights, equality, security and peace of citizens. The security forces and services will be institutions which serve the community and are engaged in preventing and dissuading crime, thus assisting in curtailing the use of repressive measures. They shall fight crime, and specifically criminal organisations, drug trafficking, crimes against the environment and the economy, corruption and violence.

Hence, the **RPP - IMVURA** shall work to build, strengthens and reform the security policies on the following basis:

1. Security is a broad notion and an associate of rule of law, the precondition of development and justice is one of its bases, so is the consolidation of internal unity of society.
2. Modernising police systems, improving their abilities and raising their awareness is a fundamental pre-requisite for the establishment of the state of law and order.
3. Fighting crime is a social responsibility undertaken jointly by the state and society.
4. The complementary roles of the army and security institutions are a fundamental pre-requisite for its success in undertaking the assigned tasks in the best manner.
5. The security forces are national institutions that must be kept aside from political conflicts and allegiances political parties, regions, ethnicity or any other conflicts or narrow allegiances that distract it from its responsibilities.