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X- WARNING: (U) THIS IS AN INFO REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE. REPORT CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL NOFORN UNINTEL.~~

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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SUMMARY: (C/NE) THIS IIR FORWARDS INFORMATION ON THE POLITICAL PROGRAM THAT WILL BE INITIATED IN RWANDA, IF THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT FORCES ARE DEFEATED BY THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF). ENCLOSURE.

X- TEXT (C/NE) THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS RECENTLY RELEASED ITS STRUCTURED POLITICAL PROGRAM. THE PROGRAM REFERS TO PREVIOUS RWANDA PROBLEM AREAS AND SETS FORTH A SEVEN PART PROGRAM TO

MSGNO 8 (MIIR) ALL \*19/10/90\* \*00:29\* \*\*\*A 02\*\*\*  
ESTABLISH A VALID GOVERNMENT DEDICATED TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER.

(C/NE) ENCLOSURE ONE DESCRIBES SEVEN DISTINCT AREAS OF CONCERN FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF RWANDA. THE SEVEN AREAS ARE AS FOLLOWS - 1. CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL UNITY. 2. DEMOCRACY. 3. BUILDING AN INDEPENDENT, SELF SUSTAINING NATIONAL ECONOMY. 4. CORRUPTION AND MISUSE OF PUBLIC OFFICE. 5. RESETTLEMENT OF REFUGEES WHO NOW LIVE IN CAMPS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. 6. PROVISION AND EXPANSION OF SOCIAL SERVICES. 7. SECURITY.

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RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT  
POLITICAL PROGRAMME

**POOR ORIGINAL**

Introduction:

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Rwanda is a former colony of Belgium. It has an area of about 26,338 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of about 6.6 million inside the country and over 2.0 million outside its borders - especially in refugee settlement camps in neighbouring countries of Zaire, Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda. The problems of Rwanda, like problems of other former colonies are problems originating from its colonial history - of domination in all aspect of social life. But there are certain differences in details that make Rwanda's case unique. For example, Rwanda is expected to have more opportunities for national unity and cohesion because it is one of the very few countries in Africa with a common language and culture. Yet its post-independence outstanding characteristic is internal strife and hundreds of thousands of its people in exile. To understand such anomaly it is befitting that we draw briefly on the history of our country and people. Under the three significant phases: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

Pre-colonial:

Preceding colonial rule, Rwanda's society was characterised by several advances in, especially, state management. Because of this, the strong - emerging monarch had managed to control a kingdom which was rapidly expanding to cover areas of now southern Uganda, areas around Kivu region of Zaire, and some parts of now north western Tanzania. This was possible because of organisational

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techniques which had evolved in the state arrangement and management. For instance, the institutions of college of Abiru or "Ubwiru" and that of "Itorerero". The college of Abiru at the palace was acting as an advisory body to the king on matters of succession and administration, and on other administrative matters. This college was guided by what the society required at any time especially on succession. If the kingdom felt like capturing territory, then a warrior leader was necessary; and if the kingdom required consolidating, then the college would nominate a leader from the king's sons who was efficient in matters of administration and control. On the other hand 'Itorerero' could be likened to modern administrative and military academies where young men of chiefs and other sons of the dominant class, Datutsi would go at the palace to learn among other things administration, history of Rwanda, prose and poetry, moral values, sports and military training. These were the two institutions which ensured efficient and capable leadership in the monarch. Therefore the technique of leadership training had developed already in pre-colonial Rwanda.

Another technique in military organisation was that of stabilising a regular and well structured army organised along administrative units of the nation. Each administrative unit of a selected chieftainship had a military unit well trained and combat ready any time, likened to a modern battalion. It constituted of graduates from the "Itorerero" at the palace. They would serve for a period of time after which they would be retired into the economic life - until the need for war arose. Each military unit was under "umutare w'ingabo" otherwise the military chief.

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Apart from the chief of the army in each administrative unit, there were also chiefs responsible for the major economic occupations that reflect the lives of the people. In the South of the country mostly there were the chief for pasture land (umutare w'umucyenke) because the most important means of

making wealth was dominantly the cow. It was also the status symbol in the whole country just as it was a measure of wealth. There was also the chief of land (umutwara w'ubutaka) responsible for arable land; and finally the chief responsible for administration (Umutwara w'intebe) in all administrative units. All these were answerable to the king.

The above examples give some of the organizational know-how which were employed to build an independent economic base that had propelled Rwanda's society into manufacturing of iron tools, weapons, shoes (sandals), salt processing (using papyrus plants), wooden equipments like stools, spoons, plates and drinking utensils, bracelets from locally mined minerals. The evolution of such know-how was natural and national in character because it evolved a functional technology relevant then to Rwanda's conditions. For instance, the locally made curved panga of the northern Rwanda was a product of that technology. It was more functional and multi-purpose than the flat modern panga because the former panga was multi-purpose and more material saving in the manufacture of pangas. This is because it can be used to clear land for cultivation of all vegetation - from grass, creeping plants to big trees - at the same time be used as sickle and a scythe. It was handy and more effective to the manufacturer who also used it in some cases.

As can be seen from above, the most important means of making wealth then was land for both pasture and cultivation. The north which was predominantly agricultural developed class differentiations along land relations where land was entrusted into the land of chiefs and other Bakonde (land lords). The terms of paying rent varied from place to place and from time to time. But it ranged from paying in labour to payment in terms of foodstuffs. That is the Umugenerwa (the tenant or peasant) would use the landlords land in turn, for he would also cultivate another piece of land for

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his landlord. Therefore he would run two gardens at once. Alternatively he would use the man-hour labour in one garden and instead pay later in foodstuffs. This was the form of property relations known as 'ubukonde'. In the southern, central and eastern part of the kingdom, however, the property relations established known as "Ubugake" was based on patron-client relationship and the cow was at the centre of this system. Each of the chief had landlords answerable to him. There were the patrons of the serfs and peasants. The latter two would take care of the patron's cows or arable land completely and only be responsible to maintain the patron in terms of food and milk. Also the patron would send the client in other errands or duty as would arise from time to time. In turn the patron would ensure "social security" to his clients.

The property relations indicated were necessarily exploitative, and hence human economic relations were not in harmony. But with them technological advancement was also manifest as tools were being invented to continuously ease labour and better organized methods were being evolved. Opportunities were being expanded. For instance, handcraft people like those making baskets, trays and those exchanging goods with people of Karagwe in north Tanganyika were growing - an indication of expanding economic base. Also the mobility from one social strata to another depended on wealth one was capable of accumulating. Therefore it is clear that the economy was developing independently and the surplus thereof accumulated was utilized within the national borders albeit the fact that it was undemocratically distributed. Nevertheless the Rwanda's society had all opportunity to expand its level of management of its own affairs, and improvement on its tools and method of production. These are pre conditions for technological advancement and necessary conditions for social development. It is this important aspect of society that colonialism denied our people for more than a century now.

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Colonial period:

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The 1884, Berlin Conference allotted Rwanda to Germany. Later when Germany caused trouble in the world, culminating into first world war, Rwanda was handed over to Belgium. Belgium was the most crude in its method of colonial rule compared to other colonial powers. Because of this it was very repressive that it employed the most primitive means of enforcing law and order in its colonies comparable only to Portugal. This is not to choose between one type of plunder from another but this simply highlights the extent of plunder that Belgian colonial policies exerted on our country.

The first major policy was that of establishing cash economy. This was done through introduction of cash crops like coffee, tea and later on pyrethrum to boost the supply of raw material needs of the Belgian industries and needs of the Belgian people. The people resisted such ununderstood policies because coffee and tea never meant anything on the lives of people who were still under backward patron-client/. To force it further the Belgian imposed a tax which forced people to grow the cash crops. Where still tax could not coerce people to grow the crops, forced labour was employed. This resulted into three important social dislocation effects

- (1) Loss of fertile land for food production to cash crop production
- (2) Diversion of more productive labour from food production to cash crop production
- (3) Since people did not have any use value for coffee and tea, they were liable to being cheated by the marketing authorities so long as they fulfilled demands of colonial tax. In short the worth of the man-hours put in coffee and tea production was not paid for in full. In any case money was little understood by the colonised people. Naturally there was resistance to this capitalist market economy. The colonised people were not ready for it.

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This is what constitute the pre-colonial economic exploitation and plunder. In our country the social implications manifested themselves in the following ways:

- (1) endemic famine
- (2) mass exile out of the country as early as 1920s fleeing from colonial whip and other forms of human degradation like stripping naked grown up men in front of their children and wives.

(3) The imposition of a capitalist market economy did not alter the 'buhake - bukonde' socio-economic formations. So although people were coerced into producing for external markets, they continued to be organised along the old pre-colonial social formations plus the element of force. So capitalism blanketed the social formations but did not penetrate the systems to transform them into more advanced social formations.

The colonial rule utilised the pre-colonial chiefs indirectly to carry out these infamous policies. This polarised quickly the pre-colonial internal conflicts minus internal utilisation of national wealth which was this time going out. This served to perpetuate the conflicts in increasingly worsening conditions. The colonial authorities could not trust Banyarwanda to the extent of recruiting them into the army especially when the kings were in constant conflict with the governor resident in Kigali. So they employed foreign troops from Congo (now Zaire). The purpose of these troops was to suppress any resistance against colonial order. This put to an end the process of building a well disciplined and committed national army that had characterised pre-colonial army of Rwanda. It was replaced by a repressive and foreign army to protect foreign interests in Rwanda.

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The monarch therefore lost its sovereign power since it no longer controlled the economic base and political power. The appointment of the successor to the throne was influenced by the resident governor and the king was answerable to him. Therefore contrary to what is said among common scholars and popularised by succeeding regimes in Rwanda, foreign interests had emptied, with the

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consolidation of colonial rule, the real content of Rwanda's social formation. This is why it became easy to exile or easy to organise the masses against the monarch heads that followed up to independence time. It is because both kings Musinga and Rudahigwa had been rendered to exercise an authority without both economic and military power that their pre-colonial predecessors had grip on. They were exercising power in foreign-oriented socio-economic situation. Therefore, the question of the monarch should not have been a major issue at independence time to warrant social violence which has gripped our country upto day. The major issue should have been freedom from colonial domination and the issue of the monarch would have been swept in that broader wave of democratic change; at the same time the unity of our people would have been upheld. The social and political persecutions that continue to characterise our country are therefore colonial creations. In their hurry to "give" independence they had to choose incompetent and weak leadership that would protect first and foremost traditional foreign interests and methods of colonial administration - division and redivision of the people. It is along these interests that our people were organised at independence time. For instance, the Parti du Mouvement et de l'émancipation Hutu was initiated and organised by Roman catholic church leaders under the guidance and supervision of Mgr Perraudin. As the name of the organisation states it was meant to emancipate only the Banyarwanda of Hutu group. Therefore it had to survive on whipping narrow group consciousness. It was led by backward elements from the Hutu elites. Union Nationale Rwandese was a monarchist nationalist constituting of some progressives, reformists and outright monarchists but the latter taking a stronger influence of matters at the time. Other small parties included Rassemblement Democratique Rwandese (RADER) and Association pour la promotion sociale de la masse (APROSOMA). Rader was talking of civilisation based on christianity. Aprosoma was talking about social progress for the masses. Both of these had small following from the masses.

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Complaints against  
Extractive Industries

They had the following from elites. All the parties above had  
secterian linings that limited its capacity to harness energies  
of the people for authentic decolonisation. So although UNAR  
had people's support, it could not organise them for a serious  
progressive and democratic change. Mgr Perraudin exploited the  
weakness of leadership of these parties/propell Parmahutu into  
independence leadership. This is the type of leadership that  
took charge of state matters of our country; a leadership with  
arian animosity as its political guideline but lacking in  
concrete programmes of action to consolidate national independence.  
It is the same leadership which continue to survive on the back  
of our people along narrow lines of region Hutu, Tutsi, Twa  
groupings in the face of even increasing poverty of the people.

Post-colonial period

As seen from the preceding, Rwanda inherited an economy  
geared at producing for foreign demand that is constant or falling  
and also importing what majority of the people do not need in  
their lives. The post-independence leadership took over the  
role of supervising such economic relationship with outside  
"friends". The leadership continues to supervise an economy  
where the majority of our people are expected to give greater  
quantity of their mental and physical labour into the production  
of coffee, tea and pyrethrum using the most fertile part of  
our land, at the expense of food production. These are diverted  
resources to serve foreign interests not national interests.

The establishment of such economy served to extract resources  
and not to construct the economy of Rwanda, into independent  
viable entity. The result was that we inherited a top-sided  
economy characterised by dominance of backward agriculture reliance  
on narrow cash crops for foreign earnings. In turn the foreign  
earnings are used to import consumer goods since we were left  
with almost no industries capable of meeting our needs. Even  
the few processing plants do not use local resources. So we have  
to import material inputs and spare parts before  
plants can operate. Worse still because of poor maintenance

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and incompetence in management of the economy much of the imports are of no value considering the needs of the people. They range from useless articles like toys, cosmetics to luxurious cars that are for status symbol of the few having connection with state power.

The economy therefore depend on foreign markets because of lack of local industries. But these exports have unexpanding or even declining demand on the world market. Moreover these export constitute of non-essential beverages and stimulants whose demand is unlikely to increase even if their prices fell. This problem is exacerbated by ever increasing technological advance in traditional buyers who continue to discover artificial substitutes and raw material saving technologies hence rendering a further fall in demand for raw materials from a host of rival producers from the third world. Therefore the same traditional buyers who have a better hand in the world market influence the price set and quotas for poor countries like Rwanda. Such unfair and unequal exchange relationships is responsible for ever declining foreign earnings and permanent deficit in the trade balance of countries of the third world resulting into ever increasing debt burden. According to UNICEF statistics on the state of the world's children 1987, the debt service as percentage of exports of goods and services for Rwanda had increased from 1.2% in 1970 to 3.3% in 1984. This implies that the amount paid every year for servicing previous debts had been increasing from 1970 to 1984. Meanwhile, 90% of the rural population in our country live under absolute poverty, while 30% of the urban population live under the same conditions. On average 1 child out of 5 children borne annually die before the age of 5 years, one of the cause being malnutrition which was suffered by about 37% of the children born between 1980 and 1985. Only 26% of the population has access to health services. 60% of urban dwellers have access to health services and only 25% of the rural population has access to the same services. Majority of deaths among children come from preventable diseases like whooping cough

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polio and measles.

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Despite the appalling conditions of the people, the regime of Nabyalimana continue to attempt to explain off the misery by whipping up all forms of sectarian images as the fundamental causes of the people's problems. The regime is treading on well-trodden path of its predecessor. It is such backward politics that has characterised Rwanda's political life since formal independence resulting in death of about 100,000 Banyarwanda and many others running into exile in neighbouring countries. While the first independence regime was more fascist and open in its methods, the present regime of Nabyalimana is more lethal in its social economic political persecutions. It has entrenched and perpetuated the pass identity cards indicating whether one is Hutu, Tutsi or Twa and regional origin. This is the card which determines one's access to education, job opportunities and with whom one will be expected to marry. The regime has started messing itself into marriage issues intended to prevent intermarriages between Batutsi and Bahutu among army officers, something one is interested in national unity would have encouraged. Therefore whereas the regime sings and dances "ubumwe" (unity) in public forum and rallies, it actually practices the worst form of sectarianism in independent Africa; only preceded by South African apartheid policy but more primitive because it is used to divide people with a common language, culture and territory, an asset a clear-headed leadership would use to build a strong united nation. It is because of the fore-going problems in our country that Rwandese Patriotic Front proposes the following 8-point political programme around which a minimum a coalition can be built comprising of all political, social and economic trends that are concerned with wellbeing of our people and nation: consolidation of national unity; strengthening of democratic institutions; building an independent and self sustaining national economy; elimination of all forms of corruption and misuse of public office; ensuring of security of person and property;

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resolving of the refugee problem and lastly cooperation with all African countries, support liberation movements in southern Africa struggling against South African apartheid regime, and co-operating with all countries of the world on exclusively mutually beneficial terms, and furthermore we shall offer moral support to all liberation movements fighting all forms of human oppression and degradation since we consider these as democratic struggles and therefore have legitimate causes. We shall deal with each of these in more details.

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1. Consolidation of National Unity:

The leadership that took-over the reigns of independence in our country is wholly responsible for failing to consolidate unity of our people and uphold cohesion of our nation. Although fundamental causes of artificial divisions were a colonial creation, the continuation of conflicts along the same lines was, and still is, as a result of failure on the part of both post-independence regimes to handle properly internal crises. For instance the regime of Kayibanda totally messed up the ethnic divisions at the time when it required a reconciliatory leadership to handle the explosive ethnic strifes. He stuck to his ethnic politics and ordered death of several of Unar Batutsi followers even when it was clear that Parmohutu had won the elections of 1961. The politics that had preceded these elections were sectarian and political parties had been formed along those lines. Parmohutu was Bahutu political organisation and Unar was predominantly Batutsi led. These were the major political parties that had the majority of the masses following by independence time. The whole independence campaign were characterised by bloodshed, burning of houses which were ordered from both leaderships of the political parties. After the election in 1961, the regime started killing leaders of defeated political parties on a mere provocation of refugee dissidents. This killing sparked off a series of massacre from a child of 8 years to an old man of over 60 years, raving of women of human degradation, motivated by sectarian sentiments fanned by the

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segregation, motivated by sectarian... state machinery and functionaries. What this division of our people has resulted into, is to fragment the energies of people and weaken them in the face of a common enemy. - backwardness resulting from almost a /of colonial exploitation and plunder which is continuing to be perpetuated by the incompetent, corrupt and opportunistic leadership of people like Kayibanda and now Habyarimana. We do not see any enmity between a mututsi peasant, naked and hungry in Gitarama and a muhutu peasant, under similar conditions in Gisonyi or a mututsi peasant in refugee settlement outside the country. But this backward elements in positions of leadership has completely diverted the energies of these peasants into fighting and nursing hatred against each other. On the contrary the Habyarimana and other cohorts around him who exchange products of these peasants for whisky, luxurious cars and later on evict them from land to establish personal ranches constitute the common enemy of all the peasants.

The regime continue to perpetuate these divisions a long even narrow lines; peasants inside against peasants outside in refugee camps without however explaining to them how these differences cause hunger, disease to their counterparts inside the country or why those outside are denied a right to come back home. The regime has futher continued to entrench disunity of our people through the use of the pass identities which reflect whether you are tutsi, hutu or twa. One is expected to be identified a muhutu, mututsi or mutwa not as a munyarwanda. Such identity determines one's socio-economic opportunities in the national life.

The Rwandese Patriotic Front is very much concerned with this backward method of dividing our people along undemocratic lines. This is why we shall welcome, and we are ready to forge unity with all political, ethnic or religious groups whoever they are, as long as they are opposed, genuinely, to division of our people on behalf of the common enemy of the people and nation.

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We regard any one who, consciously or unconsciously, works for disunity of Banyarwanda as the enemy of Rwanda. All forms of sectarianism, therefore, constitute our principle enemy. This is one of our point of conflict with the regime in power in Rwanda under Nshyamba, which has preferred to protect foreign interests at the expense of unity of our people. The people therefore should be made aware of their rights and be organized to defend them through honest political education geared at arousing people's vigilance against real causes of their backwardness. This is the only way the people can be able to identify a clear-headed leadership capable of steering them through all the obstacles with a clear political line.

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2. Democracy:

We believe in democracy that is deeply rooted in the welfare of all the people if democratic institutions are to be strong and respected too. That means that all opportunities accruing from national resources are fairly utilized on acceptable terms popular among the citizens. Because of this, democratic channels and institutions will be effective in encouraging people to participate in both national policy formulation and implementation. The people should be able to appreciate this participation as their national obligation not as state-imposed compulsory duty that has no bearing on their welfare. The latter case in point is the type of democracy practiced in Rwanda. For instance, the self-reliant programmes based on occasional communal work, the umuganda, is as a matter of policy good. But as long as its benefits are not realized by the people it becomes oppressive and exploitative by state bureaucrats who benefit from it. This is the type of umuganda started and maintained by MRND (Mouvement Revolutionaire Nationale pour Development) government. The persistent socio-political coercive means by the state functionaries to reinforce the policy continue to estrange the people away from the policy rendering it unpopular. Cases are known where seedlings of coffee

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and tea have been withered using hot water to destroy them; an indication of divergence between state policies and conduct and people's needs and interests. It bred apathy and discrepancy between policy formulation and policy implementation on the part of the government, rendering the latter to misuse democratic process in Rwanda. For instance, the MRND secretariat no longer respects people's choice of their leaders. They represent to them a closed list of names from which they are supposed to choose their deputies, who should represent them in the parliament, the National Development Council. Meanwhile the people are organised occasionally into cells which they use for nothing else other than singing and parroting of Habyalimana's praises and condemnation of "Ubuhake" and the monarch, 30 years after people had unanimously rejected the latter system and its remnants together with colonial rule. We reject this habit of diverting people into past hubbly of their ... past as mask to hide the present misery.

We therefore understand democracy in three levels. The first one is the popular democracy where people are organised in small cells based on socio-economic units. These would be the small democratic units where national affairs will be discussed. At higher level there will be branch committees, and region committee. These various committees will be able to deal with local cases involving law and order; together with government personnel would also participate in discussing local development projects and programmes; they would, importantly, be political forums for discussing national issues, corruption and misuse of public office, screening of people to join both police and the army. They will be the most reliable communication channels from top and the bottom. Secondly, we believe people should have a chance to constitute a national assembly periodically elected. Such election must be free of prejudice by the government or any other political tendency, manipulated or rigging as is now done in Rwanda. We therefore

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look at democracy within the broader context of liberation of our people from all forms of social, economic and political oppression. It is during this process that we can be able to have a government of the people by the people and for the people, which implies the final tenet of democracy, the establishment of a decent 'living' of all people in our country.

3. Building an independent, self sustaining national economy:

The nature of the economy is always at the centre of any socio-political character of a given society. As indicated in the introduction, Rwanda took over a weak economy at independence time. There were two unrelated sectors: one constituting of consumption-based modern sector with no industries but with consumption modes reflecting the western style of life. Modern buildings containing civil and public offices of colonial administration, shops containing industrial consumer goods, few packaging plants packing small items like plastic items, bicycle assembling, radio assembling plants etc. and a small elite middle class eager to take control of state apparatus, most likely, to be in supervision of several-decades old outflow of national resources to the metropole countries of Europe. This modern sector is the collecting centre for cash crops like coffee, tea and pyrethrum for export. On the other hand the subsistence sector with about 97% of the population involved in this production of food stuff for subsistence purposes. Agricultural methods of production reflecting primitive levels of management of national resources.

The economy inherited reflected nothing but underdevelopment which had involved and continue to be perpetuated through outflow of resources in several forms; cheap raw materials like coffee, tea, pyrethrum, tungsten, tin walfrom, repatriation of profits on investments which perpetuate dependence instead of halting that dependence; dependence on importation of consumer goods which are highly priced due to large market from the third world countries exposed to the manufacturers in western industrial

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 of luxurios goods like whisky, lipstick, perfumes, sodas and
   
 foods which we produce locally; the gross embezzlement of hard-
   
 earned foreign exchange reserves by state officials and capital
   
 flight associated with hazy political future on the part of those
   
 officials as they keep the money in foreign banks. This does
   
 not include loss of manpower especially well qualified technical
   
 manpower, which has been forced to flee the country because of
   
 security situation. These constitute those who fled as refugees,
   
 immigrants and those encouraged by the government to seek
   
 citizenship or live elsewhere with Rwandese travel documents.
   
 We consider that manpower drain through "export" a very primitive
   
 way of solving national problems reminiscent of "export" of slaves
   
 by the 19th century African chiefs. It is the last scheme a
   
 serious African leadership can undertake. This is the type of
   
 leadership praised by some sources for bringing harmony in our
   
 country.

The solution to these economic problems will be by begining
   
 on the road towards building an independent self-sustaining national
   
 economy. This will be an economy which creates the neo-colonial
   
 export-import sector into well intergrated economy where agricultur
   
 sector feeds industries that utilise local raw materials. That is,
   
 diverting raw materials hitherto exported raw to being processed
   
 into final products which could be exported in their final forms
   
 ready for consumption. This also saves us from importing of
   
 finished products. For instance Rwanda would be able to manufacture
   
 pesticide out of pyrethrum which is now exported as a raw material
   
 while on the other side other import companies are bringing into the
   
 country foreign manufactured pesticides. This would also offset
   
 the effects of a fall in price of pyrethrum on the world market
   
 as traditional buyers get substitutes from artificial material.
   
 Other agro-based industries can be established to offset the
   
 heavy bill on importation of manufactured foodstuffs. Also this
   
 would alleviate hunger in the countryside which is likely to worsen
   
 as neighbouring countries from which food is obtained through
   
 smuggling closely tighten their borders. These industries are

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are capable of being supported bearing in mind the potential of the country for growing such crops as beans, peas, groundnuts, soya sorghum, maize, wheat, paddy rice, sweet potatoes, yams, fruits and vegetables. Yet Rwanda imports 20% of its cereal requirements.

Furthermore, this would diversify our export sector from relying on export of beverages only but would extend it to non-traditional crops like beans, maize etc. This would be an important source of foreign earnings. Although the regime cries of shortage of land, it should be pointed out that none of the country's food farms uses fertilizers or utilisation of even hybrid or rationalisation of crops and using them in improved methods. In short, even these rudimentary methods of modern farming are not utilized signifying more available agricultural potentials for our country.

Having intergrated agriculture and industries, then it becomes to establish industries that can save us from importing materials like soap, salt, toothpaste, brows etc.. This would help in earning or even saving on foreign exchange at the same time avail us with cheap consumer goods. The construction of such industries also open up opportunities to evolve relevant technology especially when we use local inputs in the industries. It is from such industries that a serious attention will be drawn on our own resources and technology for purposes of ensuring self-reliance. Research institutes hybrids, medicine and scientific techniques of production are to be established to find out more on local products, manufacturing processing and preserving or packaging for our own consumption and for exports.

There will also be a need later on to establish basic industries like iron and steel which are the backbone of industrialisation process. We believe that cooperation with neighbouring countries can be useful on such industrialisation drive to render it more viable for each of the member states. This is why we uphold

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such projects like Kagera Basin project, Preferential Trade Area Authority which encourages and protects such projects which benefit several of African states. With this industrialisation drive we believe we can grow the necessary capacity to propel into modern manufacturing where machines process other machines, and continue into computer technology.

There is no other path towards economic development unless we build such self-sustaining economy. This does not mean that the economy has nothing to do with other economies elsewhere but it only means that the economies will be inter-dependent of each other exclusively on mutual and fair terms. This way, we shall be sure of emerging out of backwardness. That is the only way even our present political problems can be eliminated once and for all. The state mismanagement of political issues in our country is simply a manifestation of a poor and narrow economy. Although we need first to resolve political issues in order to have peace and democracy so as to build the economy, we recognise that the only long lasting solution to Rwanda's problem is the construction of a strong self-reliant economy based on the appropriate modern technology. We plan to achieve all this through a strategy of mixed economy, which employs both rational private enterprises, cooperatives and public sector on the basis of competence and efficiency.

The crucial solution to Rwanda's problem lie in how feasible it is to generate wealth using local resources as much as possible. This is possible only if resources can be reversed from export in raw form and utilised internally in Rwanda to produce more wealth. The Rwandese Patriotic Front will support any instrumental programme geared at this goal whether it is carried out by private enterprises, cooperative or public sector. The government will concentrate on leading sectors which will stimulate other related industries and enterprises. This will cover control of banking system, services sectors, electricity and other selected big projects that are of socio-economic importance in economic development of Rwanda. The Rwandese Patriotic Front further

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appreciates the lack of managerial manpower in our country. That is why the government should confine itself to as few leading enterprises as possible. At the same time there is no need to socialise the small productive unit who in most cases produce under capacity. Further more the importance of private enterprise, in promoting opportunities for creativity, inventiveness and evolving of both functional managerial and technical skills could be usefully tapped by allowing small, medium and long term productive units to private enterprises with the assistance of banks and import-licencing departments of the government. To check on the outflow of resources from our country, the government should control these import and export business to halt on the apparent chronic export of value for no value. The government should, however, avoid the burdensome policy of nationalising every small enterprise in the economy in the absence of adequate technical and ideological manpower. We shall employ all means that are useful to us depending on what is to be done as related to the means at our disposal in the most economical manner. All modes of economic production, in advanced economies has alot to offer to a backward economy like that of Rwanda. We should therefore work with them and accept each technique borrowed according to what we are expected to pay for it and its appropriateness to our situation.

4. Corruption and misuse of public office:

One of the manifestation of narrow economic state of Rwanda is rampant corruption ranging from taking bribes to gross embezzling of public funds by government officials. As the economy continue to be narrow, the struggle to have access to small outlay of resources intensify taking political dimensions of consideration on the basis of tribe, religion, clan while distribution such opportunities as employment, schooling etc. This has led to gross abuse of public office. This has been exacerbated by corrupt leadership which because of its historical character adapted in

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insatiable tastes that drive it to live beyond its means. This has rendered the leadership dishonest and morally weak to combat corruption. Yet it would be difficult to build a strong economy so long as corruption continue unhalted.

The long term solution will be to widen the economy. But in the short term corruption will have to be administratively and organisationally dealt with. Through explanation to the people the nature of our economy, and establishing of a people's committees to act as the watch dogs against corruption and misuse of public office in the short-run provide appropriate effective check and finally elimination of corruption.

5. Resettlement of refugees who now live in camps in neighbouring countries:

The problem of refugees have been watered down as if it is not a serious issue by Habyalimana's regime. He claims Rwanda is too small to accept its nationals. In another round about turn he disowns them as non-Rwandese. Then he swings back and requests countries of asylum to naturalise them. He goes ahead in his inconsistent statements to claim that he has brought unity, peace and progress in Rwanda. This is sheer lie because no serious leader can claim prevalence of peace when over 2.0 million of his nationals languish in exile camps. There will be no lasting peace in Rwanda as long as a section of Banyarwanda continue to be prevented to go back home. Neither will there be a meaningful development without genuine national reconciliation embracing all Banyarwanda. This is necessary if the nation's wounds are to be healed. We in the Rwandese Patriotic Front regard the past events in our country unfortunate but at the same time consider the future more important than the past. Therefore we regard the unconditional return of Rwandese refugee back to their country as one of the import reconciliatory step in the process of building our nation. On the claim of over-population as the reason for barring refugees to go back home,

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Habyalimana is trying to appeal to out-dated Malthusian theory of population explosion which has been disapproved by advances in technology. When other areas of the world are advancing into genetic engineering, the president of Rwanda is crying that his country is over populated with an area of 23,338 Km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 6.6 million. Yet the population is capable of adequate food for itself without even using the slightest modern method of cultivation beyond terracing not even application of fertilizers. Any shortage of food is simply because of poor management of the economy by the regime not the nature of soil and smallness of the country.

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It is legitimate therefore that Banyarwanda refugees go back home. We do not mean that these refugees have a right to claim their property left behind about 28 years ago. These assets have gone under serious economic transformation that their values and ownership must have changed also. In redressing such loss of property, the government will have to resettle the the returnee refugees in available free land meanwhile making arrangements to render assistance that will expedite the necessary settled life.

**6. Provision and expansion of social services:**

The provision of social services by any government is the primary responsibility. But it is common in all poor countries to find that either these services are scanty or non-existence in certain parts in these countries. This is another indication of underdevelopment. If they do exist they are just a reflection of a skewed form of unequal benefit from colonial economy. For example, roads and railways run to raw material producing areas or urban collecting centres.

In Rwanda the wide prevalence of such diseases like worms, tiggers are simply manifestation of the level of illiteracy among our people, and also point at the degree of backwardness that

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embraces our people. The fact that only 25% of the population has access to health services, show how scanty the facilities to health services, show how scanty the facilities to health are. Moreover these diseases are preventable. If the people were properly organised, basic extensive social services would be enough to stop the widespread of these diseases. Extensive services like primary health care, child malnutrition educational programme would reduce remarkably the common killer but preventable diseases in Rwanda and indeed in Africa.

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On the question of schools and education in general, the régime in Kigali has completely stuck to their archaic method of extending education on the basis of Hutu, Tutsi, Twa or regional balances. This relegates capability and competence to the second position. This is unacceptable because it has caused brain drainage from our country. It is common now to expect an exodus of young men flocking into neighbouring countries after primary education in search of secondary school education. There must be concerted efforts to revise education curriculum so that it is practice oriented to encourage and impart appropriate technical skills on the part of the student after every level of education. This will be a component of the overall manpower planning covering both training and employment.

Every citizen has a right to a decent housing. We have adequate resources and skills to construct decent houses for ourselves using completely local materials. Our people has a long history of clay industry like pottery and large deposits of clay available in almost every part of the country. There should be a policy geared at encouraging brick and tile making industries to have adequate materials to begin supporting national housing policy to enable every Nuyarwanda a decent shelter. We believe this is cheaper than utilisation of corrugated iron sheets with their associated inconveniences in a tropical type of climate.

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...to facilitate building of an independent self-sustaining national economy as discussed above, we have to expand the network of roads from the existing narrow ones connecting only urban centres, to reach even the remotest economic parts of our country. We believe this to be within the means of our national resources if this is taken as a priority. This would break the subsistence production and propel it to market economy. This would encourage intensive and extensive increase in production which is the prerequisite to improvement in the method of agricultural production.

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7. Security:

The impending crisis in Habyalimana's regime has rendered it more fascist. Its hypocritical cover under which it has hidden and survived for long is on the verge crumbling. The intelligence department locally known as maneko has resorted to bandity activities geared at destabilising "undesired people" of either opposed political views or "undesired" social group. They attack residents, rob and/or threaten to kill so that some one is scared out of the country. The freedom of press has been tramped upon. For example of the Kinyamateka, Father Semisambi was publically humiliated when a bucketfull of human dung was poured on him under the "master plan of the intelligence personnel from the Presidents' office. His only crime was being critical of the government. There are worse reports of prison tortures which are themselves filled beyond original iminate capacity. Infact the regime has made it a policy to arrest en mass only to release but a few people during anniversary celebrations to claim airs of reconciliatory gesture to cover up gross abuses of human rights. There is a wide spread use of preventive detention act on innocent and defenceless citizens. This has reduced people to silence to and submission. This is unacceptable violation and interference with the course of justice. The security of person, of every munyarwanda is, as a matter of right, not to be discussad; neither is this denial of security conducive to economic development.

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Therefore people should be organised to participate in provision of security along side with a well discipline police force. On matters of defence the Rwandese Patriotic Army will constitute the nucleus of the national army which will be charged with defence against external aggression.

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8. Foreign Policy and Consolidation of National Independences.

The reason for persistent backwardness of african people has a correlation with minimum or no cooperation at all among the african countries. This fragments the enormous potential african resources which are utilised either undercapacity or not utilised at all due to limited capacity of each country. For example, the exploitation of methane gas deposits under the Lake Kivu would be easily exploited jointly with any other countries in the region. This would benefit both countries. At the same time it would generate related industries like nitrogen fertilizers plant necessary to improve agricultural production. Alternatively, if there was trade and other economic co-operation among african countries, we would be in position to get cheap source of either raw materials or consumer goods free of taxation across our borders. For exapple it could be cheaper to import fertilizers from Uganda which has large deposits of phosphates and an industry to manufacture the fertilizers. This would boost our agricultural potential. If we guenuinely talk of defeating backwardness, then we shall be mindful too that without utilising our resources first we shall continue to be manipulated by foreign forces opposed to african unity. Furthermore the process of development is likely to halt unless we expand the outlay of africa resources by intensifying regional co-operation based on viable programmes. The larger the territory the greater the horizon for economic development.

The advantage of expanded market through regional cooperation is an important prerequisite to technological advancement since it encourages specialisation and large scale production for the

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23 expanded market. This should emphasise on indigenous industries using local raw materials. This way, national independence will be consolidated. It is not enough to single-handedly offset several decades of dependence. This process would be easy and speedy with co-operation of all African countries. The democratic question in each country would be resolved through regional cooperation, because people would find that they need as many other people even across their borders than simply spending all the time quarrelling amongst fellow nationals.

6 We also recognise the right of South African people to self-determination. The persistent apartheid policy of South African regime against the majority Africa is a case of gross violation of basic human rights. Moreover its continued policy of destabilisation of neighbouring African countries undermines the p.p. of non-interference in affairs of other states. It is an abuse of an independent african states and a continuation of economic disruption. We therefore give unwavering support to liberation movements in Southern Africa to free Africa of all forms of human degradation. As long as apartheid racist regime remain in South Africa, then African independence will continue to be in serious jeopardy. Furthermore we disagree with all forms of dictatorship. Dictatorship retards progress because people are not free to exert all their energies in activities that promote their welfare. They are not free to participate in the lifeline of their nation. It is the democratic participation on national life by all citizens that constitute the fundamental premise for development. This is the only means and ways that we can consolidate national independence.

The fore-going discussing will be the cornerstone of our struggle to consolidate and defend our independence. Rwanda and indeed Africa has the capacity to choose its own leaders.

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Every time our people have suffered from actions of foreign powers and regional interests which have supported and continue to support the regimes in Kigali. We subscribe to the policy of non-interference but we believe that conspiring with undemocratic regime against the people of a member state is worse than interfering directly. We think that foreign friends should be sought on the basis of how people of all countries involved gain from that friendship not how leaders will gain. So people should be left free in their democratic struggle to establish leadership without any jeopardy from foreign interests. Each time, the successive regimes in Kigali have had support and praises from the foreign powers who are only interested in entering into business transactions with their regimes but not the welfare of our people. Nevertheless the problem is the weakness of these leaders who lack confidence in themselves and in their people. They resort to repressive means to divert attention from their inherent weaknesses. It is this weakness that foreign interests have exploited and utilised to perpetuate unfair exchange, and such weak leadership make up a good ally of these profit - motivated foreign friends. Therefore by building an independent, self-sustaining national economy we shall have this problem of foreign dependence; but the prerequisite must be to develop a competent, broadminded leadership that is capable of choosing friends on the basis of Rwanda's interests and not any other considerations.

The front firmly believes these constitute a minimum points on which a coalition of all political tendencies can crystallise for action against backwardness in our country.

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