## Box 5: Political parties and organizations officially registered in 1991

In June 1991, a new constitution enshrining multiparty was adopted. At first, five political parties were registered and their articles of association were published in the *Journal Officiel*. The MDR (Democratic Republican Movement) was the first to announce its birth in March 1991, followed a few days later by the PSD (Social Democratic Party), the PL (Liberal Party), the PDC (Christian Democratic Party) and the PSR (Rwandan Socialist Party). Almost immediately, these groups established among themselves rules for consultation to impose a redistribution of the roles with the MRNDD (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development).

Then new creations appeared, in the registration order: the RTD (Labor Rally for Democracy), the PDI (Islamic Democratic Party), Peco (Green Party), PPJR-Rama Rwanda (Progressive Party of the Rwandan youth), Parerwa (Republican Party of Rwanda) and Pader (Democratic Party of Rwanda), mostly raised by the MRNDD.

Twelve parties were thus reported in February 1992 and by April 1994, the existence of six others had been officially recognized: the PD (Democrat Party), the CDR (Coalition for the Defense of the Republic), the UDPR (Democratic Union of the Rwandan people), the MFBP (Women and Lower people Movement), the PRD (Party for Democratic Renewal, close to the MRND and MDR Power trend), and Unisodec (Social Union of Christian Democrats). The RPF wasn't included because of its armed component. Awaiting the integration of its military agents in the new Rwandan army, they considered themselves as a "political organization". All these parties could be schematically grouped around three major alliances:

## 1. ADS, ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENING (created on November 12, 1992 and gathering, in the order of their importance, the MRND, the CDR, Peco, Parerwa and Pader):

- MRNDD (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development, former NRMD, single party from 1975 to 1991, reindorsed on July 31, 1991), President: Mathieu Ngirumpatse (Hutu, rural Kigali);
- CDR (nicknamed "Akazu MRND"), President: Martin Bucyana (Hutu, Cyangugu), killed in Butare February 23, 1993 and replaced by Théoneste Nahimana (Hutu, Gisenyi).

Both groups maintained "youth movements", respectively:

- The *Interahamwe* ("those who work together"), 1991, President: Robert Kajuga (Tutsi, Kibungo), see Chapter 6;
- The *Impuzamugambi* ("those who share the same goal"), 1993, President: Stanislas Simbizi (Hutu, Gisenyi).

Many political groups, often explicitly set up, helped to broaden the political base of what was then called the "presidential move", including:

- Peco, President: Dr. Jean-Baptiste Butera (Hutu, Kibungo);
- Parerwa, President: Augustin Mutamba (Hutu, rural Kigali), and Vice-President: Augustin Semucyo (Hutu, rural Kigali) as Vice-President;

Pader, National Secretary: Jean-Baptiste Ntagungira (Hutu, rural Kigali);

Moreover, although not belonging to the ARD, the following parties could be considered as part of the presidential camp:

- MFBP, chaired by Gaudentius Nyirahabimana (Hutu, Gisenyi);
- PDI, presided by Omar Hamidou (Hutu Kigali) and coordinated by André Bumaya (Hutu, Cyangugu);
- PRD, President: Alexis Nsabimana (Hutu, Gitarama);
- Unisodec, President: Celestin Mutabaruka (Hutu, Gikongoro);

## 2. FDC, DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF CHANGE (involving the MDR, PSD, PL, PDC and PSR):

- MDR, President: Faustin Twagiramungu (excluded on July 23, 1993), Senior Vice President: Dismas Nsengiyaremye. From mid-1993, the MDR was divided into a pro-RPF trend called "*Amajyogi*" led by Faustin Twagiramungu and a tendency called "*Abapawa*" lead by Frodouald Karamira (Hutu, Gitarama) and Donat Murego (Hutu, Ruhengeri).
- Young Democrats Republicans (*Inkuba*), established on 6 July, 1993, Responsible: Bernardin Ndayishimye (Hutu, Gitarama).
- PL, President: Justin Mugenzi (Hutu, Kibungo), first Vice-President: Lando Ndasingwa (Tutsi Kigali), second Vice-President: Stanislas Mbonampeka (Hutu, Ruhengeri), Secretary General: Agnes Ntamabyaliro (Hutu, Kibuye). Inside the PL, the same cleavage as inside the MDR appeared, leading to a split in December 1993.
- PSD, President: Frédéric Nzamurambaho (Hutu, Gikongoro), first Vice-President: Félicien Ngango (Hutu, Kibungo), second Vice-president: Théoneste Gafaranga (Hutu, Gitarama), Executive Secretary: Félicien Gatabazi (Hutu, Butare).
- PDC, President: Jean-Népomuscène Nayinzira (Hutu, Gisenyi), first Vice-President: Théobald Gakwaya Rwaka (Hutu, Cyangugu).
- PSR, President: Dr. Antoine Ntezilyimana (Hutu, Gikongoro), first Vice-President: Médard Rutijanwa (Tutsi Kigali).

The PL, PSD and PDC had also created their own youth movements: without a specific name for PL; "Abakombozi" for PSD, and Young Christian Democrats for the PDC.

## 3. "INDEPENDENT" PARTIES: Democratic Party, PPJRRama Rwanda, RTD and UDPR:

- PD, President: Ildefonso Nayigizente (Hutu, Byumba).
- PPJR Rama Rwanda, first Executive Secretary: André Hakizimana (Hutu, Gitarama).
- RTD, Chair: Emmanuel Nizeyimana (Hutu, Byumba).
- UDPR President: Vincent Rwabukwisi (Hutu, Gitarama).

The first three parties kept close relations with the ARD, while the UDPR was closer to the FDC (the UDPR chairman was assassinated in April 1994).