



*Orderly Discourse
Transition to Democracy in Eritrea*

Objectives of Change - Draft Proposal (Short version)



“The future belongs to those who prepare for it today” Malcolm X

**“Eritrea is pariah state and fast approaching
the horrible designation of a Failed State” ESSG**

***ESSG co-ordination committee
Performing research & advocacy concerning topics of national
interest.***

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1. Executive Summary

The document is prepared to shed light on the prevailing Eritrean political, social and economic situation and to highlight the growth opportunities for the future. To eliminate biases and ensure neutrality and credibility of the report, data gathered for analysis are mostly collected from UN, IMF, World Bank and research institutes and State of Eritrea official documents.

“The Status Quo or the Current State of Affairs in Eritrea”, is presented and explained in a concise and consolidated format as follows. It describes **WHO determines WHAT?** in the day to day life of the Eritrean people in “liberated” Eritrea.

POLITICAL SPHERE

PFDJ Leadership NOT the people decide the political life of the nation. Political Power Elite define the state role.

- The fate of the people, destination of the nation and history itself are determined to a substantial extent by policies of political leader.
- Citizens have no right to participation in the establishment or administration of the government as well as in the formulation and enactment of Laws, Policies etc.

SOCIAL SPHERE

PFDJ Cadres NOT the people decide on social policies without regard to the rich traditional values of the Eritrean society. Political Power Elite define the social interactions in society.

- Citizens have no freedom of action within the limits of law.
- Citizens has no right to participate in public affairs of society and to determine their future.
- People are not at the center of development agenda, hence low Human Development Index (HDI).

Disparities in access to basic social services and, therefore, uneven human progress

ECONOMIC SPHERE

Political power elite NOT market-forces determine the economic life of the nation. Political Power monopolized the market and all sectors of the economy, including construction and agriculture.

- PFDJ owned businesses and their supporters.
- Limited participation of private small-scale farmers agriculture.

In conclusion, the government and the single political party failed to share POWER and to show RESPONSIBLE governance.

- Everything is dominated and controlled by the PFDJ - Political Power Elite.
- The implementation mechanism is like a political “VIOLANCE WHEEL” - **Divide and rule, Coerces and threats, Intimidation, Isolation, and Emotional abuse** etc.
 - Act like the Master of the Castle
 - Make all decisions alone
 - Use people like servants or slaves
- Failed to be a positive, non-violent role model for the people.
- Instrument employed is **Hegemony**.

2. Analysis of Political Situation in Eritrea

2.1. Qualitative Analysis: Deliverables of a focus group discussion - ESSG.

- The country is governed **not by constitutional democracy** through elected officials but by presidential decrees through cronies handpicked by the president whose mandate expired in 1997 when he failed to implement the newly ratified constitution.
- **No political competition** for public offices. Lack of transparent policy on civil servant administration has created disparity on distribution of public offices among the different Eritrean ethnic groups. A clear dominance of highland Eritreans in post-independent Eritrea¹ is evident today, in contrast to the situation in the years during and post-Federation².
- **Institutional State Capture** by a political elite group - a systemic political corruption in which state's decision-making processes are manipulated by the state captors to significantly benefit their own/cliq **private interest and advantage**, through illicit and unobvious channels.
- **Security apparatus** operating as a **state within a state**. The country is nowadays described as the most repressive state without the rule of law and malfunctioning institutions. As a result, systemic widespread human rights abuses become the order of the day.
- **Political Corruption**: The state is in unrestrained political corruption known as kleptocracy- literally meaning "rule by the thieves". The government is engaged in bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, parochialism (such as placing local or vanity projects ahead of the national interest), patronage (such as favoring supporters with government employment), influence, peddling, graft and embezzlement.
- **Poor management of supply and delivery of political goods** to citizens of the nation (such as human security, rule of law, political and civil freedom, medical and health care, schooling and higher education, communication network, money and banking system, sharing of environmental concern (Extremely low level of public services).
- **Absence of shared political culture**.
 - Not all-inclusive transitional government established in 1993 (see Footnote #2).
 - Not all-inclusive national charter was developed to govern the transitional period
 - Eritrea ratified a constitution in 1997, but never implemented.
 - The Eritrean Assembly met in February 2002 but never met again.
 - Isaias Afewerki holds the dishonor of being ranked 10th (2008) and 8th (2009) worst dictators³ in the world.
- **Unpredictability** of the institutions and policy environment.

¹ Ahmed Raji, 2009. The Lost Rainbow: Issues of equity in Eritrea (II). Published in www.awate.com on August 15, 2009.

² Ahmed Raji, 2009. The Lost Rainbow: Issues of equity in Eritrea (III). Published in www.awate.com on August 24, 2009.

³ David Wallenchinsky -Contributing editor for PARADE Magazine and founder of AllGov.com.

2.2 Quantitative Analysis: Assessment employing international standards.

- Based on the indicators of the *Fragile States Index 2018 Annual Report* presented by the **Fund for Peace**⁴ Eritrea is categorized as a fragile state/Failed State. It stands on the scale among the first 20 countries in the world, notably ***19 out of the 178*** states in the world.
- According to the **Marshal's Political Risk Map 2017**⁵, which uses the independent analysis of BMI Research⁶, Eritrea is on the very high risk -indicating instability, that is, 143 out of 146 nations.
- On the **World Press Freedom Index**⁷ **Report for 2018**, which assesses countries' press freedom records in the previous years, Eritrea stands last in the rank 179/180 since 2001 and second only to North Korea from the bottom.

2.3 Findings

Political risk refers to the complications business and government find as a result of what are commonly referred as a political decisions. The indicators show that there is extremely low level of political freedom as well as the existence of state monopoly in the political space. This is a best early warning system of conflict accessible to policy makers and the public at large.

Eritrea is not only experiencing a permanent political pressure both from within its citizens and international communities but also this pressure is pushing the state towards the brink of failure.

- Eritrea is a pariah state and is approaching the horrible designation of a *failed state*.
- Eritrea is ranked the 7th poorest country alongside a few war-torn states of the world.

3. Analysis of Social Progress in Eritrea

3.1 Qualitative analysis

The main problems are summarized below:

- **Old fashioned view** of grow first and worry about human development later.
- **Chronic and sustained social rights abuse.**
- **Considerable social damage** caused by illegal economic activities committed by individuals or groups of individuals in collaboration with party officials to obtain financial or professional advantage. In such **cases**, the offenders' principal motives are **economic** gains.
- **Poverty Trap:** 66% of the population in Eritrea in 2003 were living below the poverty line⁸. It's even worse in 2018. Human insecurity and widespread

⁴ Fragile States Index - <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2018/04/24/fragile-states-index-2018-annual-report/>

⁵ Marsh's Political Risk Map - <https://www.marsh.com/us/campaigns/political-risk-map-2017.htm> |

⁶ BMI Research - **Business Monitoring International** - a leader in providing multinationals, governments, and financial institutions with impartial forecasts, data, and analysis to guide critical strategic, tactical, and investment decisions.

⁷ World Press Freedom Index - <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>

⁸ Poverty Reduction strategy paper by the State of Eritrea (SOE).

vengeance seeking group grievances coupled with massive displacement of refugees- creating sever humanitarian crisis. While the state barely provides services and resources to the population, there is grievance on the low and uneven access to basic resources and services among the regions⁹.

- **Deficiency in Social Capital:** absence of factors of effectively functioning social groups that include such things as shared sense of identity, shared understanding, shared norms and values, healthy relationship between state and society. These are more evident in newly arriving Eritrean refugees in the Diaspora.
- **Environmental degradation:** Terrible deforestation and soil erosion. According FOSA¹⁰ reports (Forestry Outlook Study for Africa) of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN presently, the vegetation cover of Eritrea is about 13.5 % of the total land area, a substantial drop from estimates made about a century ago of 30 %.
- **Gender inequalities.** Women in Eritrea have limited access to and control over resources. They are often excluded from decision making. They are also under threat of violence from male relatives. Inequality in education at child hood is also prevalent.
- **Inadequacy of Change Agents:** Negligible ability of a person/group to change the circumstances of peoples' life by creating and exercising power. The fate of people, destinations of nations and history itself are determined to a substantial extent by policies of unelected political leaders.
- **Widespread inequalities** in income, wealth and opportunities.
- **Lack of protection of local cultures** such as respect for elders, kindness to the young and women, telling the truth, sacrifice and tolerance.
- **Lack of early warning system for natural disaster**¹¹ that can cause loss of life or damage property,^[1] and typically leaves some economic damage in its wake, the severity of which depends on the affected population's resilience, or ability to recover and also on the infrastructure available.
- **Water Stress and loss of biodiversity is prevalent** and causes deterioration of fresh water resources in terms of quantity (aquifer over-exploitation, dry rivers, etc.) and quality (eutrophication, organic matter pollution, saline intrusion, etc.}. The extinction of plants and animal species reduce eco-system adaptability and leads to the loss of genetic resources.

3.2 Quantitative Analysis of Social Progress

3.2.1 Social Progress Index 2018¹²

- Eleven countries, Eritrea included, are in the lowest Social Progress Tier (Tier 6). Many of them are fragile states where instability has hindered social progress. Some, like Yemen and Afghanistan, are also active conflict zones. While most of these countries are lower-income, one is a middle-income country – Angola.

⁹ Ahmed Raji, 2009. The Lost Rainbow: Issues of equity in Eritrea (IV). Published in www.awate.com on October 1, 2009.

¹⁰ FOSA Country Report for Eritrea: <http://www.fao.org/docrep/003/x6782e/X6782E00.htm#TOC>

¹¹Natural Disaster - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natural_disaster#cite_note-1

¹² 2018 Social Progress Index - <https://www.socialprogress.org/>

Eritrea ranks 143th and the Central African Republic (26.01, 146th) ranks last on the 2018 Social Progress Index - 164 out of 178 countries.

3.2.2 Human Development Index 2018 (HDI-2013,2014 & 2018).

- The Human Development Index¹³ (HDI) presented by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living. The HDI is the geometric mean of normalized indices for each of the three dimensions.
- Eritrea's stands in the HDI Reports for the following three years is shown below:
 - 2013 - 185/188 (0.390) - Third from the last.
 - 2014 - 186/188 (0.391) - Second from the last.
 - 2018 - 186/188 (0.391) - Second from the last.
- Eritrea's HDI values in the categories of Life Expectancy, Years in School and per capita GNI (Gross National Income) as compared to the first ranking nations, Sub-Saharan Africa and Least Developed Countries (averages in each category) are shown in Table 1 below.

Description	2018				
	HDI (value)	Life expectancy At birth (Years)	Years in schooling (Years)	Mean Years in schooling (average # of years education received)	Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (2011 PPP\$)
First in the Rank	0.953 (Norway)	84.1 (Hong Kong)	22.9 (Australia)	14.1 (Germany)	\$ 116,816 (Qatar)
ERITREA	0.440	65.5	5.4	4.0	\$ 1,750
Sub Saharan Countries (SSA)	0.537	60.7	10.1	5.6	\$ 3,398
Least Developed Countries (LDC)	0.524	64.8	9.8	4.7	\$ 2,506

Table 1: Eritrea's HDI values in the categories of Life Expectancy, Years in School and GNI per capita as compared to the First ranking nations in each category (Source: HDI 2018)

Key: Cut off points for human development

- Less than 0.550 Low HD
- 0.550 – 0.699 Medium HD
- 0.700 – 0.799 High HD
- 0.800 or greater Very high HD

Average annual HDI growth for 2010 - 2017 (%) was:

- Eritrea - 0.79
- SSA - 1.09
- LDC - 1.14

As indicated above, the performance of Eritrea comparing to both averages of Sub-Sharan countries and Least Developed Countries leaves much to be desirable.

¹³ Human Development Index - <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

3.2.3 Gender Development Index (GDI) 2018 Report.

The GDI¹⁴ measures gender gaps in human development achievements by accounting for disparities between women and men in three dimensions of human development - **health, knowledge and living standards** using the same component indicators as in the HDI (Table 2).

		Life expectancy at birth (Years)	Years of schooling Expected	Estimated National income per capita - USD	Pop. at least secondary educ. % ages 25 & older.	Labor force % ages 25 & older
ERITREA	Female	67.7	4.9	\$ 1,451	-	75.4
	Male	63.4	5.8	2,048	-	87.4
SSA	Female	62.4	9.5	2,763	28.8	57.4
	Male	59.0	10.6	4,034	39.2	79.6
LDC	Female	66.5	9.4	1,744	25.0	54.4
	Male	63.1	10.4	3,272	34.3	73.3

Table 2: GDI Values for Eritrea, SSA and LDC based on three categories – Life expectancy, Years in School and GNI per capita. (Source: UNDP-GDI 2018)

Comparison of current health expenditure % GDP (2015):

- Eritrea - 3.3%
- SSA - 4.8%
- LDC - 5.0%

As indicated above even though the performance in mortality rates (infant mortality rate, mortality rate under five years and adult mortality rates) are relatively better than the average of the SSA countries and the LDC countries, the performance in child malnutrition and public health expenditure is far below the average rate of the two categories.

3.2.4 Assessment of environmental sustainability

The table below (Table 3) shows comparison of environmental degradation in Eritrea and SSA in terms of forest cover (% area) and % of population living in degraded areas.

Description	Forest cover % total area	Population living in degraded Area
Eritrea	15.1%	58.5%
Sub-Sahara Africa	28.2%	22.3%

Table 3: Comparison of environmental degradation in Eritrea and SSA countries (Source: HDI 2018)

¹⁴ Gender Development Index - <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-development-index-gdi>

Soil Erosion¹⁵

Annual rate of soil loss from cropland is estimated at 12–17 tons/ha and crop yield are declining at the rate of 0.5% per annum owing to soil erosion (35-70-million-ton fertile soil per year).

3.2.5 Assessment for inflation

Low (as opposed to zero or negative) inflation reduces the severity of economic recessions by enabling the labor market to adjust more quickly in a downturn and reduces the risk that a liquidity trap prevents monetary policy from stabilizing the economy.

	95-04	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Eritrea	14.1	12.5	15.1	9.3	19.9	33	12.7	13.3	12.3	12.3	12.3	12.3
SSA	16.4	8.7	7.1	6.4	12.9	9.4	7.4	9.3	9.0	6.9	6.3	5.5

Table 4: Comparison of inflation between Eritrea and SSA for 1995 -2015

3.2.6 Assessment of regional balance development

	Gash Barka	Maakel	Southern Red Sea	Anseba	Northern Red Sea /Gash Barka	Debul	Total
Health Outcome							
Infant Mortality	66	39	122	37	77	58	
Mortality under five	123	160	182	73	154	111	
Source: Health & Demography Survey 2002 (SOE).							
Net School Enrolment							
Primary 7-11 age	37.8	81.2	52.5	59.4	33.2	67.5	47.1
Middle 12-14 age	23.5	67.8	27.5	35.1	23.7	47.7	31.5
Secondary 15-18 age	12.0	54.7	20.1	21.0	13.6	31.6	18.4
Source: Population & Health Survey -2010 (SOE)							
Clean & Safe Water supply Coverage							
Clean water supply coverage 2006	46 %	53 %	26 %	34 %	27 %	34 %	32.33 %
Source: Water Resource Department (SOE) Plan of Action (2007)							

Table 5: Comparison of regional development data on health, education and clean and safe water supply in Eritrea (Source: State of Eritrea Surveys).

Comparison of Public Expenditure to GDP (%) average of 2005-2014

Eritrea	-	2.1%
SSA	-	5.1%
LDC	-	3.4%

¹⁵ Source: NEMP-E - National Environmental Management Plan for Eritrea 1995 (SOE).

3.3 Findings

Every Eritrean citizen, irrespective of its sex, age, economic status, ethnic background, religion, etc. has a right to provisions of social services and is entitled to a fair share of the national resources with equitable distribution. Nevertheless, there is a wide variation in access to social services among the administrative zones. How did this happen - by default or by design? It could be a subject to debate, but one thing is crystal clear. The government in power has failed to effectively discharge its responsibilities.

4. Economic Perspectives

4.1 Qualitative Analysis

- Development for whom? The economic dominance by the party in power enabled it to become hegemonic and influenced the national policy for its own interest.
- From the historical perspective, there was an average rise of national GDP per capita over the past two decades in Eritrea
- The extreme inequalities in the distribution of income nationally and at regional levels, coupled with the sounding negative effects associated with higher levels of income disparities, made us to question the current development approach (and the need to place equity at the center of the development agenda. The economic dividends of the country's modest growth are not broadly shared outside the few party-owned businesses.
- Economic marginalization and systems exclusion are also characterized by:
 - Massive youth unemployment
 - High public debt
 - Rising inflation
 - Shortage of foreign currency.
 - Absence of business-friendly environment
 - Excessive anti-business bias.
 - Absence of regular and independent audits (financial and management) of government and parastatal organization.
 - Absence of labor protection

Finding the right combination of instruments and policies to deliver both growth and equity remains the key to our development agenda.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis

4.2.1 Economic freedom Index 2018.

The Index of Economic Freedom¹⁶ indicates the power of economic freedom in boosting growth and increasing prosperity in a country. The 2018 Economic Freedom Index has the following Economic Freedom Scores:

Free	-	89-100
Mostly Free	-	70-79.9
Moderately Free	-	60-69.9

¹⁶ Index of Economic Freedom - <https://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2018/book/highlights.pdf>

Mostly Unfree - 50-59.9
 Repressed - 0-49.9

In the 2018 Report of the Index of Economic Freedom Eritrea has a Score of 41.7 out of 100 and a Rank of 176 of 180 countries. Therefore, Eritrea's economic freedom is classified - **Repressed**.

4.2.2 Assessment of the macro-economic situation.

- The 2018 annual average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) change of Eritrea for the last decade was 3.82. It's much lower than the annual average of Sub-Saharan Africa which is 4.36, as shown in Table 6 below.

Year	2009-09	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Eritrea	-0.9	2.2	8.7	7.0	4.6	2.9	2.6	1.9	5.0	4.2
SSA	5.7	7.0	5.1	4.4	5.3	5.1	3.4	1.4	2.8	3.4

Table 6: Comparison of Real GDP Annual average Change of Eritrea and SSA.

(Source: World Economic Outlook Database Report, July 2018)

- The Gross National Income (GNI) per capita comparison of Eritrea and SSA for 1994 and 2011 reflects poor performance of the economic growth rate (Table 7 - left). Similarly, the GDP per capita (PPP – purchasing power parity) for 2017 was US\$ 1,434.00 (IMF estimate) and 1,400.00 (WB estimate), reflecting extreme poor performance (Source: World Outlook Report 2018). (Table 7 – right).

	GNI PER CAPITA		GDP per Capita (PPP) 2017		
	1994	2011		IMF	WB
ERITREA	236	450	In USA	\$1,434.00	1,400.00
SSA	236	584			
LOW-INCOME	522	1,345	Rank	180 out 187	190/198

Table 7: GNI per capita for 1994 and 2011 (Eritrea and SSA) and GDP per capita (PPP) for 2017 (IMF and WB Reports). (Source: World Outlook Report 2018)

- Comparison of Real GDP Annual percent Change from 2009-2018 between Eritrea and SSA (Table 8 – upper half) and Eritrea's current account balance in Billions UD Dollars (Table 8 – lower half).

	2009-09	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Eritrea	18.7	11.2	8.9	6.0	6.5	10	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
SSA	10.3	8.1	9.4	9.2	6.6	6.3	7.0	11.3	11.0	9.5
Current Account Balance (Billions of US dollars)										
Eritrea		-6.1	3.2	2.7	3.6	4.0	-1.4	-2.1	-2.4	-1.5
SSA		-2.7	-1.8	-5.6	-7.5	-14.0	-26.5	-18.4	-11.0	-11.8

Table 8: Comparing Eritrea's Real GDP Annual % Change with that of SSA and Eritrea's Current Account Balance. (Source: "World Economic Outlook Database" Report, July 2018)

- **Table 9** shows Eritrea’s external debt stock in comparison with that of SSA and LDC countries (in percentage of GDP)

	2010	2011
Eritrea	49.7%	40.8%
Ave. Africa	28.7%	26.6%
Ave. LDC	27.2%	25.3%

Table 9: External Debt of Eritrea and SSA countries compared.
(Source: State of LDC Report, 2017 by UN-OHRLS)

- According to WB/IMF reports Eritrea is among nations with the highest debt to GDP ratio (Table 10 below). Eritrea is also among few countries that have very high military expenditures % of GDP according to 2013 CIA Report (Table 10 below).

Public Debt to GDP ratio			Military expenditure as per GDP		
	Countries	Debt/GDP ratio	Countries	% of GDP	Year
1	Eritrea	126 %	Eritrea	6.3 %	2006
2	Cape Verde	122%	Israel	7.4 %	2012
3	Gambia	97%	china	2.6 %	2012
4	Sao Tome	92%	Norway	1.9 %	2012
5	Congo	79%	Ethiopia	0.9 %	2012
6	Ghana	74%			
7	Malawi	73%			
8	Angola	70%			
9	Seychelles	65%			
	Key: 1. Average of SSA= 52%				
	2. Generally seen as manageable = 40 %				

Table 10: Eritrea among ten countries with high debt to GDP ratios and among highest military budget % of GDP.
(Sources: WB and IMF and CIA 2013 Report, respectively).

4.3 Findings

Finding the right combination of instruments and policies to deliver both economic growth and equity remains the key to Eritrea’s development agenda.

5. Development Objectives

Creating a **synergic effect** by combining

- individual and shared interests.
- Reciprocity an incentive for cooperation and mutual benefits

The development objectives covered in this topic include:

- Nation Building
- Peace Building
- State Building
- Institutional Capacity Building
- Sustainable Development, and
- Good Neighbor Policy.

The specific objectives addressed in each of these categories are described as follows:

5.1 Nation Building

National Harmony

- Collective action to fight division
- Collective action to enhance Eritrean identity, patriotism and inclusion of political elites.

1. Social Capital Formation

A path to political settlement geared towards establishing a consensual framework for governance - moving from an authoritarian political system to a constitutional representative democratic governance.

- A shared sense of identity
 - Shared norms and values
 - Trust and cooperation
- A shared understanding
 - Relationship between state and society
 - Reciprocity

2. Social Contract

- A rational individual voluntarily consents to give up their natural freedom to obtain the benefits of a fair political order.
- Social justice by distributing wealth and other resources equitably among citizens
- Equalizing the conditions of all citizens
- Change in attitude and values towards environmental management to combat drought, desertification, air and water pollution.

3. Individual Freedom

- **Political Freedom**
 - Citizens' meaningful participation in public affairs and the destiny of their future.
 - He freedom to vote to elect and be elected for public offices at all levels
- **Economic Freedom**
 - On richness of human life rather than simply the richness of economics (economic growth)

- Build and develop economy by ensuring the full and meaningful participation of citizens. The right to:
 - own property and make business.
 - to free contract and voluntary exchanges.
 - of free and fair competition among business enterprises
 - of free choice of employment and the right to strike.
 - to social security benefits for those unable to work
 - equitable distribution of national wealth, resources and services

- **Social Freedom**
 - Foster peaceful, just and inclusive society free from fear and violence
 - Generate growth in human development - a prerequisite for long-term sustainable economic growth.
 - Protected rights which are necessary for an individual to lead a HAPPY, COMFORTABLE and PROGRESSIVE life in society.
 - Citizenship is the common thread that connect all Eritreans and the nation is bound not by ethnicity or religion, but by shared values of freedom, liberty and equality for all.
 - Equality before the law and for the due process of the law
 - Reduce poverty and hunger-in all their forms
 - Protect the land from degradation, the air and the sea from pollution so that they can support the needs of the present and future generations.

5.2 Peace Building

1. Peace and Reconciliation

- A path to political settlement geared towards establishing a consensual political framework for durable peace - a precondition for sustainable socio-economic national development
- Encourage the establishment of an “Eritrean Justice Group” to compile the records of injustices committed in Eritrea.

2. Spotlight Initiative

- A multi-year initiative focused on eliminating all forms of violence in society, in general and against women and girls (VAWG), in particular.

3. Substantive Reform on the Eritrean Defense Forces and Security Apparatus

- This is driven by the need to make these two national bodies loyal to the Eritrean people and its constitution, and not to any individual, party or groups.

- Foster friendship with all neighbors and minimize defense and security expenses. Focus on diplomacy rather than brute force.
- In the long run, Eritrea should look for a different strategy other than a standing army, may be emulate the Swiss example as relates to national defense?

5.3 State Building

1. Reform on the System of Government – comprehensive and substantive “change of government”

- A civic government system (centralized political institution) that allows active and meaningful engagement of citizens in the formulation of national policies and programs.
- Political regime (decentralized system of governance).
- Governance framework (National Charter)
- Set of state institutions.

2. Construction of a functioning state

- A clear legislative division of labor that matches the executive branch - allowing for specialized oversight of executive activity.
- A judicial system that matches those of the executive and legislative branches of government and having competent staff and adequate financial resources.

3. Prohibition of state from doing anything that curtails the political and civil rights

- freedom of speech,
- freedom of religious and
- right to vote and to ran for offices at all levels etc.

5.4 Institutional Capacity Building

1. Put people at the center of capacity building

- Expand their freedom
- Improve their capabilities
- Enlarge their choices (provide maximum opportunity to use those capabilities)

2. Institute professional standard practice

- Improve professionalism of the governance, internal control apparatus, toward the implementation of good governance.
- Improve government transparency and accountability performance.

5.5 Sustainable Development

1. Make development matter for all people for now and in the future

2 Safeguard the preservation of economic equality and freedom

- The state shall not enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens; nor shall it deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

3. Capacity building program for all farmers, nomads and fisherfolk

- Aimed at increasing productivity and production;
- Achieve aggregate average annual growth rate of 10% in agricultural and industrial output.
- Allocate an adequate percentage of the annual government budget for this program

4. Improve education and health standards

- Moving beyond quantity to the quality in education
- Focus more prevention than curing diseases.

5. Effective management of water resources

- Systematic data collection
- Reduce run off (terraces, gully rehabilitation, biological conservation etc.)
- Recharge ground water
- Recycle and/or reuse water

6. Effective implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)¹⁷

- Revise the current implementation institutional set-up and modality/mechanism; involving all main stakeholders and come up with recommendations on how to improve efficiency and effectiveness of the ongoing programs.

7. Gender policies that guarantee equal access for women in society, education, work place and politics

8. Association of political nature

- Should be established exclusively by Eritrean citizens and open to all Eritreans without discrimination based on ethnicity, religious, and region of origin. Therefore, any political party founded on a religious, linguistic,

¹⁷ UNDP – Sustainable Development Goals - <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>

ethnic or regional basis, in general, or any motive that is discriminatory or contrary to human rights shall have been declared null and void.

5.6 Good neighbor policy

1. Work for good relations with our neighbors in all spheres based on the following principles:

- Sovereign Independence
- National interest
- Peace and stability in the region determined by:
 - Domestic considerations.
 - Policies or behavior of other state or states.
 - Plans to advance specific geopolitical design.

Conclusion

In this shortened version of the report we have seen that:

- Following thirty years of liberation struggle our people have not seen the peace, justice, political/economic/social freedom that every Eritrean was looking for and fought for.
- Everything in Eritrea's life during the past 28 post-independence years have been dominated by a single party and a one-man rule.
- We have seen what happened to those who dared challenge or even seem to challenge the status quo from within or even from far.
- What everyone of us as citizens know from individual personal or familial experiences is confirmed by reports from reliable and credible international organizations of all types.
- The report indicates that there is abundant evidence for us to decide further on what, why and how to plan a strategy towards changing, once and for all, this intolerable status quo towards alleviating the plight of our people and saving our nation from further falling into the abyss of the list of Failed States.