our fellow citizens to recognize that as a *moral* issue, not a moral issue in the sense of shibboleths—don't do this and don't do that, you get spanked if you don't, and praised if you do.

But, a sense of: What is your identity? You are all going to die, we are all going to die. And when you have passed this course called life, what will you have done which will make your having lived, worthwhile? What have you contributed to humanity, that you can carry into the grave with you? Have you helped to uplift humanity? Have you made the human race a better place to be part of? Have you improved this planet? Have you brought freedom where it was lacking? Have you helped to bring growth where it was wanted? Have you helped to increase life-expectancy where it was denied? Have you done something which might qualify you as an angel? Have you done something good for humanity, so that you can say, "Well, this person was born as a gift of Providence to all humanity." Do you want to be that kind of person?

If you can do that, you can live and die with a smile on your face. And, if people can discover in the hideous problems which afflict us now, a challenge, and find in that challenge something they can do to help make this planet less ugly and better, then they can walk and die with a smile on their face.

And that's morality. Morality is not avoiding a spanking, or getting praise. Morality is doing something which you know inside makes you good, and makes you a gift of Providence to humanity. And, I think it's only in that sense, that we can do that for Africa, only in that sense is there hope for Africa, people who have that view.

And, we Americans can get that view, can discover it in ourselves, if we will face the problem of Africa, and understand what there is in our national history, that would tend to block us from recognizing the moral issues so posed. We will recognize that, when we say, "Why do we allow that Gingrich in there at all? What's the difference between Gingrich and Hitler?" As far as we're concerned, we're not concerned what the difference is. There are no differences of any importance, to us. Why do we allow politicians, why do we allow policies, why do we allow HMOs? Why do we allow these things? What is so rotten in use that we are not revulsed by this? What is so rotten in us that we are not revulsed by the fact that a former President of the United States, otherwise known as a thug and a gangster, could be engaged in playing a game of genocide in northern Zaire? What's wrong with us?

So, I think that we Americans have not merely got to respond to the facts of the situation: We've got to find in ourselves that chord, that moral chord within us, which gives us the inspiration, and the energy, to meet the challenge before us. Because, if we don't, then the President will not find the morale, or the support, political support, to do what he must do in the months ahead, and the weeks and months ahead. And, if he doesn't do that, this whole planet goes into a Dark Age. That's the issue.

Africa is a test case for mankind's survival

by Jacques Bacamurwanko

Jacques Bacamurwanko, Burundi's former ambassador to the United States, addressed a forum of the FDR-PAC in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 11. An edited transcript of his speech follows.

I would like, by way of an opening statement, to state a few things, by jumping from the base which I have mastered the most: Burundi.

No country is truly hopeless. But, Burundi is the closest thing to a country and a society without hope in all of Africa. No continent is truly hopeless; but, Africa is the closest thing to a continent that holds no future for its rightful heirs. No civilization is truly doomed; but, Western European civilization, the very one that has been responsible for sealing the fate of the dark continent, is doomed. It is doomed, because in the high places of the so-called civilized world, genocide has been condoned. It's been allowed to go on and on, through a systematic implementation of dismal policies deliberately designed to blot out the life-sustenance of Africa. . . .

Western civilization is doomed, because the mandate of Heaven once enjoyed by the legitimate governments, can no longer be valid for governments whose leadership and intelligentsia so heartily hail the disintegration of nation-states, while welcoming, at the same time, the phenomenal rise of an imperial world government, run by a select Privy Council of oligarchical financiers, who deploy their deadly operations from high places in London, in New York, in Washington, in Paris.

Ask the average American, even the Afro-American, to mention five things he or she associates with Africa, and the answer is likely to be jungle, heat, pygmies, chimps, tribes. That's what's in print. That's the picture. I mean, we're not blaming this fellow, this average person, because that's what's in print. That's what they read, that's what they consume. That's what the press presents.

Those who have some degree of sophistication will answer, perhaps, "Well, game parks. Africa is synonymous with game parks, with safaris, for those who travel." Mineral resources: That's also one of the things that's typically associated with this continent. Pyramids, referring to Egypt.

A third category, still, of respondents, will most likely say—and I suppose this category is very much our category

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here in this room today—that Africa is the cradle of mankind, that it's synonymous with a great economic potential. That it's the victim of a colonial scramble, but that it's possible that Africa can well emerge out of this victimization status.

We are faced, regarding the problem of Africa, with a very, very tough test case for the survival of mankind, really. And, we are faced with a truly perplexing test case for the chances of civilization's survival. Not just Africa, but civilization altogether.

So, we, who happen to be in this category of respondents to this very vexing question, would further inquire, and earnestly do so, by asking this question: Why, then, are people killing one another in Africa? This is a mind-boggling question. Why is it that Africa, being so rich, having such an enormous economic potential for development, why is it that yet, it is, paradoxically, so poor, so devastated, so hopeless, reduced to the status of a beggar?

The destabilization of Africa

Why is Burundi targetted? This small nation of Africa, is right in the heart of the African continent, together with its sister country, Rwanda, to the north, both former Belgian colonies, together with Zaire. Why is it that for decades, and especially since the early 1990s, this area has been targetted so much for genocide, which is tantamount to the total elimination of human beings in that area? Not just for the sake of it, but for the sake of reaching further across the border, into this land area, which is more significant, and which is economically more viable—Zaire.

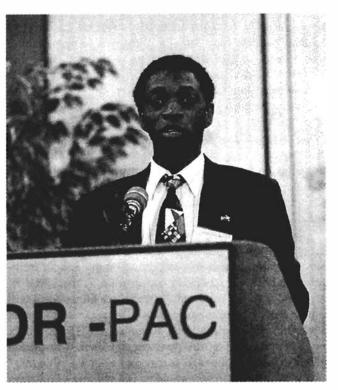
Once you get at Zaire, you are also reaching out to a great chunk of the African continent, both slightly north of the equator and slightly south of the equator. Africa occupies 20% of the Earth's land surface? That is close to 12 million square miles of the Earth's land space; more precisely, 11.7 million square miles. Only Asia is larger.

Africa is 5,000 miles long, from the North to the South, from, say, Cairo to Capetown, and 4,600 miles wide. Africa's coastline, if you sail around it, is presently 19,000 miles, slightly shorter than the coastline of Europe, because Europe has inlets and bays, which make it slightly longer.

It would take the destabilization of four African countries, maybe three, to bring about the collapse of the entire continent. Those are Nigeria, Sudan, South Africa, and Zaire. That would do it. For the time being, Nigeria and Sudan are already targetted.

It is often believed, that the real problem in most of these African countries, is population, that population growth is such a danger, that there is no way we can imagine that the scanty resources that this continent has, can possibly be enough for this fast-growing population.

But, if such a thesis were tenable, how come we could fit in a country like China, a country like India, right into the land area of Africa? In terms of population, we know, defi-



Jacques Bacamurwanko, former Burundi ambassador to the United States.

nitely, that there is no direct correlation between population and area for those particular countries. So, what is lacking in Africa, which is available in huge quantities in India or in China?

All that is needed, is, therefore, for us to believe in this thesis of population versus resources theory. All that is needed, is just to plant the seeds of chaos. If you plant the seeds of chaos, strategically, in this particular case that we are dealing with in Central Africa, in the Great Lakes region, and in the Greater Horn of Africa, that's it. Africa is gone.

A potential breadbasket

Would you believe that it would take, perhaps not more than 10,000 American farmers, with all their equipment, the modern tools of agricultural production that they have, to transform the face and the future of the African continent, as surely as they transformed the face of their own country? That it's so easy to transform Africa into the breadbasket for the world, certainly for itself, and for other parts of the world as well. Just 10,000 American farmers.

Now, I mean American farmers, farmers that would have the same kind of equipment, the same kind of resources as the American farmers would have, or perhaps not even that much. Something of a developed way of farming, farming methods that are used in Western countries.

But, what is the reality today? Africa is a beggar. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund insist that

the countries of Africa must be given foreign currency, to be able to import food from the West. We've been reading in the news, in the mainstream press recently, since the upheaval in Zaire, that the millions of refugees that we saw being herded like cattle in the eastern province of Zaire, where they had fled after the rounds of interlocking genocide in 1994, and they crossed over into Zaire, and they had been living there for approximately two years; that these millions of refugees, during all this while, for two years, had been "fattening on food aid," and that it was high time, therefore, that they go back, so that the Rwandan government could take care of them, perhaps with the help of the international community.

That was one of the reasons which justified the humiliating policy that was implemented by one of the UN system's most genocidal institutions, the High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). A stratagem was devised by the UNHCR, of course with the collusion of the British oligarchical networks, with the collusion, certainly, of some of the most powerful nations in the West, to have the UNHCR mount an operation called repatriation, whereby there would be an invasion staged, but which would not be shown as an invasion. What we would see, would be just millions of refugees starting to run back to the homelands. You would take a look at your TV screen, and you would not see anybody, you would not see any agents behind these people. We saw them, not even running, but walking back toward the border of their country; some of them, at least, as though nothing had happened, which removed them, forcefully, from the refugee camps. Back to a country, Rwanda, which we know very much today, to be not only illegitimate, but also to be very much a living case of a country in which there are daily violations of human rights.

Rwanda is ruled by the RPF, Tutsi military, which invaded Rwanda, back in 1990, with the help and assistance and collusion and equipment, military equipment, of Museveni's Uganda, with the backing, of course, of the British from London, of Lady Lynda Chalker, the lady in charge of the Ministry of Overseas Development, so-called, whom we have seen visiting with Museveni more than a couple of times since 1990. When this invasion was launched in October 1990, the government was under tremendous pressure from the World Bank and the IMF to accept the conditionalities which would make Rwanda one of the recipients of structural adjustment policy loans, which, up to that time, the Rwandan government had never acceded to, because it didn't see any point of running into debt.

Rwanda, up to 1990, when this invasion by the Ugandabacked RPF occurred, had always been able to feed its own people. Food security, food self-sufficiency, had always been one of the model examples that was put forward, including by the World Bank and the IMF. They would point to Rwanda and Burundi as the rare countries in sub-Saharan Africa, to attain a remarkable level of food self-sufficiency. But this onslaught, this invasion, and this genocidal domino effect that has rumbled on from Uganda down to Rwanda and into Zaire recently, has not only brought about the death of this million people, and the displacement of hundreds of thousands more in the area of the Great Lakes region, but also made it impossible for Rwanda to continue sustaining itself, for Burundi to continue sustaining itself.

The 'democratization' project

This brings me to another interesting policy: the democratization project.

In Burundi, for decades, for centuries perhaps, you have had an oligarchical group, which, ethnically, is referred to as Tutsi, which represents less than 15% of the entire population. That was the case, also, by the way, in Rwanda. They had been ruling these nations for centuries, for decades, and they had been in control of virtually everything: the army, the other sectors of modern economy, the civil service, virtually everything.

At a Franco-African summit in 1990, President Mitterrand of France declared that any African country that would not be willing to move toward democratization, to move to a multi-party democracy, would not receive any foreign aid. And, that speech was really a key to whatever happened later on, not only in Francophone Africa, but virtually in the rest of the continent. From that point, we started seeing countries holding elections, so-called democratic elections, and some leaders being changed, some others remaining.

Now, this led Burundi, in 1993, to have, for the first time, free and fair democratic elections, which resulted in the election and then the inauguration of the first-ever Hutu President, somebody who emerged, not ethnically, but as the result of a democratic movement which was cutting across the ethnic divide. The political party that was the majority, that won the elections in 1993, did have elements from both major ethnic groups, and its victory was clear. That was very unusual in Africa, that a President be elected by 60% of the vote, and that the incumbent who was defeated got 32% of the vote. And, that was democracy as it had been encouraged by such groups as the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs, which was very much on the ground, in addition to other international monitors, to ensure that this democratic process would get what they wanted it to get.

But, incidentally, the President who was elected, was not the one whom the people who controlled the media, the people who controlled all the oligarchical institutions, had expected. No sooner had he been inaugurated, than we began to see manuevering, not only inside the country, but outside the country as well, to have him removed. And, sure enough, three months later, exactly 100 days after he had been in office, this President was assassinated. Guess by who? By the military, the Tutsi minority military, which had been controlling everything for decades.

And, we didn't hear much from the international community to try and restore our democracy. We did hear lots of condemnation speeches; but, no action.

And, we didn't read much in the mainstream press [to explain the situation in Zaire today]. To this day, it's still being argued that Laurent Kabila "spontaneously emerged" as a key player on the ground in Zaire.

And, that's what we heard. We were not told that Zaire was a clear case of invasion. However, we do have evidence, that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees operations on the ground in that area, that were doing their job in the Kivu province in eastern Zaire, were actually the ones who were moving the Tutsi military from Rwanda and Burundi into Zaire, in the UNHCR trucks.

My movement, the National Council for the Defense of Democracy, has alerted the world. We have put this forward. We wrote to the head of the UNHCR. We wrote to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali a few times, presenting this evidence we had, and nothing has happened.

The face of neo-colonialism

The problems that Africa has been undergoing, may be presented very much as partly stemming out of the internal dynamics of the social and political realities in the post-colonial era. But, an even worse reality is that the former colonial masters, while they may not still be there politically, are still there when you look at the economic interests, the vested economic interests.

If you look at the sources of supply of the weaponry that is plaguing that very area—and all the traces lead primarily to the former colonial masters. Let me tell you, for instance, that there are five major suppliers of weaponry that are nurturing that area, militarily. That's Belgium, of course, that's China, there is Israel, there is South Africa, and, to a great extent, Britain.

But, the point I've been trying to make, is that we truly have a big task. We have a big challenge. And, the challenge is not in terms of identifying the enemy any more. The good news is, we now know who the enemy is. The enemy is not somebody from these ethnic groups or these tribal groups which have been killing one another.

It is more important to know that there is an even greater enemy who is out there, for whom we can only see tentacles that are coming to grab and to loot. We can tell from the presence of corporations that carry on major economic interests, and that are located in that area. We can tell, in Zaire, by looking at the evidence of the Barrick Gold Corp. oppression, which is located precisely in that area of Zaire where this humanitarian tragedy is evolving. If we follow diligently this trail, it will lead all the way to George Bush, who happens to be sitting on the board, on the international advisory board, of this corporation.

But, not only that: We can tell, because we know that, in that very area, which is mineral-wealthy, you have the Anglo American Corpration, which is, again, one of the major conglomerates of mining companies in the world. It is there. It covets the second-largest nickel deposit in the world in Burundi—we know that. What has been done in Burundi, with killing all these people and sending many more on the run, is all about clearing the land, creating a "safe corridor" so that this operation can move without being "impeded" by any factors whatsoever.

Because, what is interesting, is that all of this valley, in the entire eastern Africa, all the way from the Horn of Africa down to Zaire and Burundi and Tanzania, this is a huge mineral-wealthy region, which has a huge potential. If you allow any group, national or multinational, to control this area, then, automatically, they would have attained such a level of strategic control over the minerals, and over the raw materials, that it would be very hard to be unseated or defeated economically by any other power. And, at this time, that power is the British, who are very much present there.

We know, because in Burundi, shortly before the elections, there was this company called Afrimet, which is a conglomerate of Belgians and Israelis, very small, which was established there in the name of a policy that was inspired by the World Bank, to create a free trade zone in that country. So that, once they had this free trade zone, it didn't really matter what is on the territory where this free zone area is. If it's strategically located, of course, it provides a very good channel for moving anything else in that area. And that was Burundi, my country, where this company was established. And, within less than 30 days of operations, for instance, it had already moved more than 1,100 pounds of gold.

If you look at the official statistics, in terms of raw materials in Africa, Burundi has been officially reported as exporting not more than 30 kilos of gold a year. But, in a matter of less than 30 days of the establishment of Afrimet, that company was able to move 503 kilograms—of course, without paying any taxes.

So the idea was not to make Burundi a prosperous nation, but to make Burundi a conduit for looting in the region. The only way of doing that, was to ensure that, first of all, you put in place a leader who would be carrying out this policy, who would be very much in collusion with this British oligarchical network system of looting. And, that was the guy who had lost the elections, who thought he was going to win them. And, that's why he gladly instituted this free trade zone.

So, today, what we see, is very much the result of these networks working like that, not to allow democracy to thrive, when democracy had been encouraged as one of the remedies to the so-called long-standing ethnic problems in that region; not to allow people to thrive, the national economies to be run by the governments, because the government should be reduced to a minimum, because *people* should be reduced to a minimum. "There are too many for the few resources." That's the problem that we have.