

Will Clinton end Anglo-French genocide in Eastern Africa?

by Linda de Hoyos

The United Nations Security Council is expected to give approval Nov. 15 for the dispatch of a multilateral force, with Canadian General Baril as the chief, to go into Eastern Africa for the purpose of delivering urgently needed food, water, and medicines to more than 1.2 million Rwandan and Zairean refugees who have been uprooted by the Oct. 21 invasion of eastern Zaire by the combined forces of the Ugandan, Rwandan, and Burundi militaries.

The death toll for the refugees—although the fate of many who bolted further west into the volcanic forest region of Zaire is not known—had risen to 1,000 per day by Nov. 15, with expectations that the toll would quickly rise to 10,000 a day, especially given the outbreak of cholera among the refugees, if emergency relief does not begin to arrive.

For more than a week, the delivery of aid has been stalled by diplomatic maneuverings involving London, Paris, and Washington. In the United States, the Schiller Institute, led by American statesman Lyndon LaRouche, has called upon President Clinton to dispatch a U.S. force to deliver aid, unilaterally, in coordination with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, which force would also work to ensure the national sovereignty of Zaire.

Instead, with National Security Adviser Anthony Lake apparently at the helm, the United States has been in negotiation at the United Nations to determine the precise mission and duration of a multilateral force. This force will reportedly deliver aid using the Kigali airport and Rwanda as its principal base of operations—not Zaire.

Meanwhile, on Nov. 14, the combined forces of the Ugandan, Burundi, and Rwandan militaries assaulted yet another refugee camp—this one the Mugunga camp directly north of Goma, to which 250,000 people had fled from earlier attacks on Goma, Bukavu, and Uvira—the major Zairean cities rim-

ming the border of Rwanda and Burundi. In this case, the assault resulted in the refugees taking to the road to walk back to Rwanda.

The forced repatriation of the refugees has long been a demand of the British Foreign Office and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata. Ogata, the woman whose job is to protect refugees, demanded that repatriation and disarmament become a precondition for aid delivery.

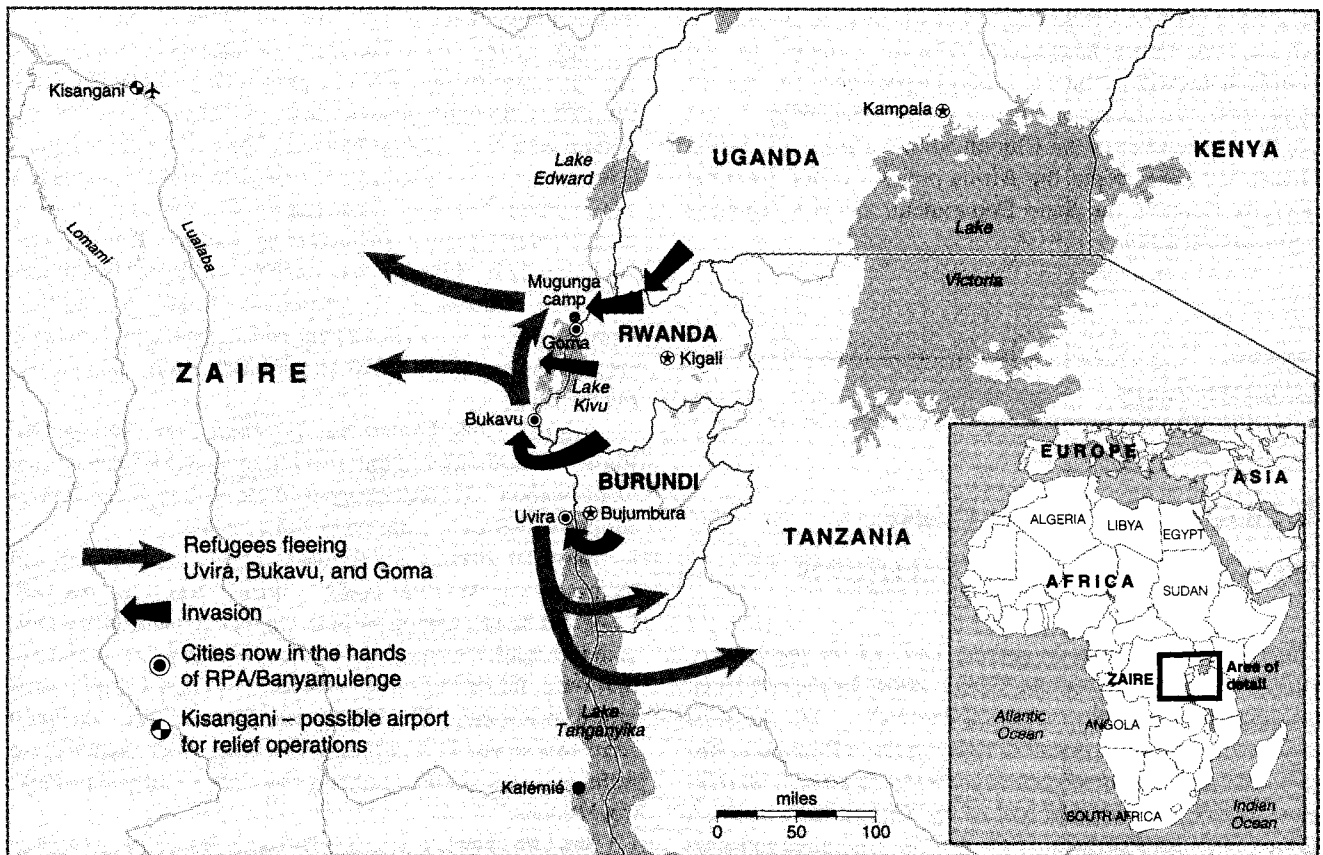
However, there are no guarantees for the safety of refugees inside Rwanda—as the chronology that follows and the Nov. 8 press release of the Rally for the Return of the Refugees and Democracy in Rwanda make clear.

The line-up

France and Canada have both insisted that the United States is the key to the success of any aid mission. However, neither France nor Britain is prepared to take any responsibility—morally, politically, or economically—for their own “killer diplomacy,” which has resulted in so many deaths in eastern Zaire over the last month.

The linchpin for British operations in the region is Uganda, under President Yoweri Museveni, whose mentor, according to herself, is British Minister of Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker, who visited Uganda and Rwanda in August. Museveni, a member of the Hima subgroup of the Tutsi caste, is in a strong alliance with Rwandan Defense Minister Paul Kagame, the strongman of Rwanda, and with Burundi's new military dictator Pierre Buyoya, also a Hima. This Tutsi-Hima alliance has been cultivated by the British as a marcher lord force against the Hutus, or Bantus, who comprise the vast majority of Uganda, Zaire, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi. Under Museveni, the British have revived their financial-colonialist grip on Uganda, which has

FIGURE 1
The British-backed invasion of Zaire



become a paradise for foreign private interests. The British aim is to extend this recolonization to Rwanda and Burundi and parts of Zaire.

With British backing, the Rwandan Patriotic Front invaded Rwanda in September 1990 and again, successfully, in April 1994—the military action that precipitated the series of bloody events the world has witnessed there. British sponsorship is also behind the recurring reports that the private mercenary force Executive Outcomes, believed to be a military wing—several entities removed—of the Anglo-American Corporation, is involved in the current invasion of Zaire.

The French, meanwhile, according to sources, are backers of the Hutu militias through Zaire. Burundian and Rwandan sources describe French interest as “cultural”; they want to ensure that there is no further encroachment against “Francophone” countries. Under Kagame, French-speaking Rwanda has been turned into an English-speaking country.

At no point, has the French government or its press outlets ever exposed the British recolonization of Uganda and its plans for a satellite Tutsi empire—since in practice, France adheres to the same recolonization policy.

In this configuration, the United States, said one knowl-

edgeable source in Washington, has disastrously entered into an alliance with the Tutsis. There are unconfirmed reports from Rwanda that 180 U.S. military advisers were in Rwanda, at the time that the Rwandan Army invaded Zaire in late July. The United States, it is known, has delivered military equipment to Uganda, which is used both against Sudan and also transferred to Rwanda and Burundi. Furthermore, the United States is known to have financially aided and boosted the international prestige of Burundi’s President Buyoya, who came to power in July 1996 via a military coup against the elected government.

As long as such a chessboard of foreign powers remains in place, there will be no peace in Eastern Africa. To the extent that the United States also follows British-originated plans to destabilize the Sudan government of President Omar al-Bashir, it is lending itself to a scenario of “a terrible genocide in this entire region,” as one knowledgeable African put it.

The set-up is there to blame the American White House for the coming conflagration. During the week of Nov. 11, France blamed the United States—not London—for its failure to agree to the French initiative for a multilateral force. Reports of American military operations in Rwanda and

Uganda are regularly surfaced, primarily by British outlets.

Unless the Clinton administration breaks with the recolonization gameplan of the Anglo-French Entente Bestiale in Africa, then Henry Kissinger's African "tarbaby" for the United States will become a reality. To prevent such a human catastrophe for Africa and a consequent death-blow to the political credibility of the Clinton administration, the White House will have to put the Africa policies of the National Security Council, the State Department, and the Pentagon under investigation.

Chronology

Under the UN's nose: assault against refugees

The fullscale invasion, beginning Oct. 13, of the refugee camps at Uvira, Bukavu, and Goma, Zaire, by the combined armies of Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, marks the most aggressive assault on the more than 2 million Rwandan refugees who fled Rwandan in summer 1994. The assault on refugees, under the complicit eye of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, is the reason why many refugees have feared to return to their home-countries in Rwanda or Burundi.

Here are some of key events in the military campaign against the refugees, which has been publicly backed by London:

April 23, 1995, the Kibeho Massacre: In April 1995, the Rwandan army began a forced dismantlement of refugee camps that existed in southwest Rwanda. These camps had been established by France as a "safe haven," but French troops left in September 1994. On April 22, Rwandan soldiers supervising the dismantling murdered 8,000 Hutu men, women, and children at the camp.

The Rwandan government claimed that only 300 people were killed, but aid agency workers put the figure at 8,000. Only British Overseas Development Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker accepted the RPF figure, and defended the action, telling the BBC on April 25:

"It was in trying to empty these camps that some breakouts took place organized by Hutu extremists and that's what started the stampede. The government troops panicked, undoubtedly, over the weekend, which added to the deaths and the injuries. . . . I'm afraid we have a long way to go and probably some more tragedies on the way."

Mid-January 1996: The Burundi military expelled 16,000 Hutu Rwandan refugees from a camp in Burundi, forcibly removing them to Tanzania. The camp was burned.

July 20-25, 1996: The Burundi military, working with the Rwandan Patriotic Front, expelled Hutu Rwandans from Burundi to Rwanda, sending back 15,000 refugees. The deportees were crammed into containerized trucks; three people at least were reported to have died of suffocation. Their camps were burned. The forced repatriation was also supervised by the UN High Commission on Refugees officer Paul Stromberg. Already by this time, the number of refugees in Burundi had been reduced from 135,000 to 50,000. In addition, through 1995, Tanzania complained that the Burundi military crossed the border to attack the 750,000 Hutu refugees living there.

August 1996: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees case officer Paul Stromberg launches "census and identification" of Hutu refugees in Goma and other Zairean camps, which was protested by the refugees.

Sept. 18, 1996: Rally for the Return of the Refugees and Democracy to Rwanda issued a release reporting that U.S. Congressmen Harry Johnston and Peter Peterson, during their visit to Kigali, Rwanda, reported on Nairobi radio, suggested that food aid be cut to the refugees, in order to force their return to Rwanda. The RPR release states: "The statement from two senior U.S. officials cannot be taken lightly, as it followed other similar utterances by other equally high-ranking officials."

Sept. 25, 1996: According to Radio France International, troops of the Rwandan Patriotic Front opened heavy weapons fire on the Rwandan refugee town of Bukuvu in eastern Zaire, as the RPF announced that it had exchanged eight hours of gunfire with Zairean troops.

Sept. 28, 1996: Assistant High Commissioner for Refugees Sergio Vierira de Mello left Kigali, Rwanda, for Geneva for meetings to discuss declassification of the Hutu refugees as "legitimate refugees." If it is determined that they are not "legitimate," then the Cessation Clause can be invoked, he said, and food supply to the refugees would be cut off. De Mello told reporters that he had met with RPF ministers in Kigali, and, "We all agree that the non-resolution of the refugee problem is a major factor in the instability of the region. We need to take a different approach to the problem; implementation of the Cessation Clause is a possibility."

Oct. 13, 1996: The Rwandan, Ugandan, and Burundi militaries opened an attack on Goma, Zaire, site of the world's largest refugee camp. Refugees stream first to Bukavu, and after that refugee city falls, they bolt westward, where they have no food and water, and are, as of Nov. 15, still without aid of any sort. Other refugees go northward to Mugunga refugee camp.

Nov. 7, 1996: UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata demanded that a "neutral force" designated by

the international community be sent into eastern Zaire to arrest and disarm any Rwandan Hutu militias. "I would like to see them empowered to do that, that should be one of their functions if such a force goes in," she said. While she failed to condemn the military attacks on the refugee camps, in violation of international law, she demanded that aid only be disbursed through corridors which would screen the refugees.

Nov. 13, 1996: Rwandan, Ugandan, and Burundi militaries open attack on Mugunga. Refugees begin forced march back to Rwanda, where all refugees are to be screened.

Documentation

The refugees can be peacefully returned

The following are excerpts from the press release of the Rally for the Return of the Refugees and Democracy to Rwanda, issued on Nov. 8, 1996, in Kinshasa, Zaire. The RDR is the semi-official organization representing the Rwandan refugees.

1. A new emergency appeal

The RPR army attacked Zaire under the pretext of a rebellion of the so-called Banyamulenge. Today, it has been clearly established that this invasion is the doing of the monoethnic Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) army and its aims are several:

- Redrawing the Zaire-Rwanda border to create a Hima-Tutsi Empire in the Great Lake Region,
- Exterminating the Hutu population,
- Massacring the autochthonous Zairean local populations,
- Destabilizing and humiliating Zaire.

This invasion has caused great affliction to the local populations and Rwandan refugees, who have been on the road for several days, isolated from the rest of the world, with no food aid, no medical care, no assistance of any kind. Many are encircled, at the mercy of the RPF monoethnic army.

The RDR, representing millions of Rwandan refugees and other voiceless people in Rwanda, issues an urgent new appeal for emergency humanitarian relief—food, water, shelter, and medical care—to be brought to these millions of people. *Killer diplomacy must give way to international solidarity, to the call of compassion, and to the sense of*

aiding people in danger.

In this context, the RDR salutes the decision taken by the Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko to permit arrival of an international force able to guarantee the security of the refugees as well as of the relief to be shipped to victims of the RPF government and army barbarism, murderous insanity and cynicism.

In this view, the RDR sends an urgent appeal to American President Bill Clinton, asking the United States of America to realize the scope of the humanitarian catastrophe ongoing in eastern Zaire and in Rwanda and to lift its reservations on initiatives taken by other countries to quickly relieve the millions of people threatened with extermination. *The American President should understand that this emergency help is meant to save human lives, and not to bury the dead, whose numbers are already in the thousands.*

The RDR supports setting up a multinational force to protect zones where refugees are concentrated and Zairean populations are displaced, as well as roads for transporting emergency humanitarian help. The RDR encourages and thanks those who took this initiative and who support it. . . .

2. The refugees have always wanted to return

The RDR has never stopped working toward a quick and peaceful return of Rwandan refugees.

2.1 The RDR has always taken initiatives for return of the refugees.

On several occasions, the RDR has approached the [UN] High Commission on Refugees to discuss the conditions for their return, but often found itself in front of a closed door. Political and diplomatic contacts were made with different countries and organizations to invite them to take initiatives for the return of the refugees and for seeking a lasting, overall political solution to the Rwandan crisis, which the refugee problem is only one aspect of. Several memos and letters were sent to the Secretary General of the UN, to the President of the UN Security Council, to the European Union, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (HCR), to the Organization of African Unity and different African countries, but they were never able to agree among themselves on a way to positively influence the process towards a lasting, overall solution.

Debates have focused on humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem, without considering the political realities behind the exodus. Certain countries and political figures, who are unfamiliar with our region's history, but exert influence, were counting on a hypothetical, artificial stability of the RPF regime.

Meetings and gatherings on the Rwandan crisis were organized, but representatives of the refugees were not invited, in spite of our insistence. These meetings did not give any tangible results.

The RDR issued many calls to the ruling power in Kigali,

proposing a dialogue in order to create a climate of confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees and to discuss political conditions to establishing peace. . . .

2.2 The RPF and its government have never supported the return of the refugees to their country.

Indeed, while the refugees are being pressured into returning by force, the RPF and its government continue to dissuade them from doing so by acts of terror, illustrated by the following cases:

- Massacres such as those of Kibeho in April 1995, in Kanama in September 1995, in Ngororero on April 28, 1996, in Bayi, town of Ramba, on July 15, 1996, in Nyakinama on August 8, 1996, and in Kibilira on Aug. 13, 1996, to name only a few. These constitute, with many others, operations of ethnic cleansing and systematic elimination of the Hutu population and elite.

- Massive, arbitrary arrests to allow eliminating those people in death prisons and other places of clandestine incarceration.

- Illegally taking over refugees' goods, land, buildings by dignitaries of the RPF regime, and distributing refugees' goods to members and supporters of the RPF.

- Terrorist acts carried out by the RPF abroad.

3. Perspectives for a rapid return

The RDR reaffirms the refugees' willingness to return rapidly and definitively to their country. As has been emphasized, *a massive, definitive, organized return requires a strong, credible, structured, responsible organization that the refugees trust in. The RDR has accepted to play this role.*

The RDR is ready to participate, with all other partners, especially the Zairean government and the Tanzanian government who shelter most of the refugees, with concerned countries and international agencies, in the search for a rapid solution to the refugee problem and for an overall, definitive solution to the crisis of the Great Lake countries in general, and of Rwanda in particular.

Rwandan refugees and countries in the region will never have confidence in a minority regime whose monoethnic army fires on helpless refugees in their camps, and invades its neighbors. They will never find peace with a government demanding the borders inherited from colonial times be revised. If such a government remains, it would come down to posing a permanent danger for the Rwandan population and the populations of neighboring countries, because it could break, at any time, the fragile balance in the region. . . .

3.1 Adopting measures to gain confidence of the refugees:

3.1.1 Recognizing the rights of Rwandan refugees in different countries where they are exiled, as defined by the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Organization of African Unity Convention of 1969.

3.1.2 Active participation of the RDR, as representative

of the refugees and other voiceless Rwandans within the country, in all processes concerning return of the refugees and the conditions for their security and their representation in different national institutions.

3.1.3 Explicit condemnation, by countries and agencies involved in the refugees' return, of the attack launched against the Rwandan refugee camps and the autochthonic Zairean populations by the monoethnic army of the RPF.

3.1.4 Stopping pressures and harassment of the refugees designed to destabilize them and force them to return.

3.1.5 Canceling measures taken by the RPF government to distribute new identity papers and change national passports.

3.2 Implementing objectively controllable security measures within Rwanda.

3.2.1 Creating within Rwanda, as a transitory measure, security zones guaranteed by international security and run by the RDR. These security measures should be such that RPF incursions will no longer be possible, so as to prevent massacres like those in Kibeho in April 1995.

3.2.2 Rapidly forming a large National Consensus Government able to guarantee the rule of law, the security of each and every citizen, and peace with neighboring countries.

3.2.3 Adopting a transitional constitution that guarantees the rights and security of each and every citizen as well as an impartial justice, and that allows for creating representative institutions, legitimized through elections to be held within a certain period of time earlier agreed upon.

3.2.4 Forming a National Army the population trusts.

3.2.5 Restituting refugees' possessions to their owners and respecting the right to private property.

3.2.6 Opening an investigation into crimes committed by the RPF and its leaders since 1990, at the time the RPF started the war from out of Uganda and with the support of Uganda, and legal prosecution of those involved in these crimes.

3.2.7 Opening an international investigation into the assassination of President Juvenal Habyarimana and other political figures.

3.3 Changing the attitude of the international community, which must be firmer and include:

3.3.1 Condemning the aggression against Zaire by the RPF army.

3.3.2 Ending military assistance to the RPF monoethnic army, especially by the United States.

3.3.3 Having the UN Security Council reimpose an arms embargo against the RPF government.

3.3.4 Suspending all aid to the RPF minority government, until such time as the Large National Consensus Government is installed.

3.3.5 Diplomatic, political, and financial support for the Large National Consensus Government, until the conditions for a moral and physical reconstruction are fulfilled.