

all about. But when I grew up and wanted to understand, I started to do research. I said: "My father was a policeman, why was he accused of inciting a coup against the king?" When I was older, I started to look into the question, to get it documented. I wanted to understand what had happened, but, in looking at that time period, we could not find anything implicating these people.

In 1993, I was an actor in political events in Burundi. And I thought, for the sake of my children, I do not have the right to tell them in 10 or 15 years, if I'm still alive, that I didn't know what was going on. So I went to work. From that point on, I filed, I indexed, I got my hands on anything I could that had to do with Burundi. I am telling you this, because during the three years I have been doing this, I have piled up a lot of documents, which show that the world is informed about what is going on in Burundi. International organizations, Amnesty International, human rights rapporteurs—they have all written about this. But what is happening to this pile of papers? Absolutely nothing!

During the La Baule conference in 1990, we were told to democratize our countries in order to receive aid. As Mr. William Munyen Babazi said, Burundi was a model for this. But when democracy was endangered, nobody, but nobody, came to help us.

So, we should ask ourselves the question: What is the use of democratizing? What can we gain from following this example, if those who propose it do nothing when it is in danger? This is serious.

You remember that just after the putsch in Burundi, a government was installed in Kigali, Rwanda, with the support of the whole world. Their first demand was: Help us, send us an international force to face down the military power, so that we can restore democracy, establish stability, and give a new start to the country. We have the text. As for Burundi, we were asking for only 800 men; 800 men to protect the President, the government, the television broadcasting station, the central bank, the prisons. No more. The first response came from Africa, which sent 200 men—but Africa has no money. If the United Nations had granted our demand, at that time, we might possibly have avoided those events which spread like wildfire throughout the Great Lakes region. But even those 800 men that Burundi requested were too many. After all, what is this international community? Does it really exist? Every Burundian is bitter when he remembers the indifference we met up with, not only since 1993, but for more than 30 years now.

That is why we now think that the future of our country will depend on what we want it to be. I will conclude on this note: If we do not mobilize in Burundi, in Rwanda, in Zaire or Uganda, we cannot expect manna to fall from heaven. This will not happen, as the facts have proven. The future of our country depends on us. Either we can cross our arms and wait, which means we will disappear, or we can decide to unite, to lay the basis for stability in the region of the Great Lakes.

Jean N. Gahururu

Rwanda needs peace through development

Jean Gahururu, of the Bonn-based Forum for Freedom and Democracy in Rwanda, presented this working paper on "Rwanda: Peace through Development and Regional Integration" to the conference on April 27. It has been translated from the French.

1. Brief review of the socio-political context in Rwanda

After the summit of French-speaking countries at La Baule in June 1990, but especially after the collapse of the communist system in 1989, processes of political reform were launched in French-speaking Africa. In Rwanda, with the promulgation of the democratic constitution in June 1991, more than 15 political parties were registered, during the course of this process. There was a rather remarkable liberalization of individual rights and freedom, above all in the press and private enterprise. I was myself General Inspector of Trade at the time, and I noticed a flowering of the private sector. This was done in spite of the atrocious civil war, that had been launched from Uganda on Oct. 1, 1990 by the RPF.

One can never repeat enough: That war not only devastated the country's economy (Rwanda's GDP reportedly dropped by half from 1990 to 1994), but it has also caused tremendous psychological and human damage. I am among those people who speak out about genocide in Rwanda, and we have called upon the United Nations to go and attest to this reality. I was then head of relief operations for the International Committee of the Red Cross. I stayed in Rwanda during the entire war, and was an eyewitness to many of these aspects of extermination.

The signing of the Arusha peace agreements on Aug. 4, 1993 led the two parties to abandon, at least on paper, their uncompromising positions. A large part of the population was relieved by that agreement, which included, in terms of socio-economic measures, the following points:

Cessation of war.

Formation of a new national army of 19,000 men, of which 60% and 40% respectively were to come from the RAF [Rwandan Armed Forces] (then numbering more or less 35,000 men) and from the ranks of the RPF (more or less 15,000 men).

Demobilization, over a period of nine months, begin-



Four children from among the estimated 1 million Rwandans who fled the wrath of the Rwandan Patriotic Front to Zaire, where they are now being hunted down and butchered by the death squads of Laurent Kabila. Gahururu offers a development strategy for his country and the Great Lakes region: to create a counterpole, "life squads" with the training and technology to rebuild, "a cause that will benefit humanity as a whole."

ning in November 1993, of the 31,000 soldiers who would not be in the new army, and their integration into civilian life (with payment of subsidies totalling 3 to 6 billion Rwandan francs).

Reconstruction of economic and social infrastructure destroyed by the war, as well as the resettlement of 900,000 displaced people and close to 600,000 former refugees.

We know what has become of that agreement since April 1994. A tragedy such as, relative to the population and the geographic extent of our region, humanity has never before experienced.

In a document which has become famous: "Goma/Bukavu: Eyewitness, January 1997," we read, with emotion, that grave violations of human rights, including genocide, continue to be committed in Zaire against Burundian and Rwandan refugees, and against Zaireans displaced by the war, most of whom are Hutus. Some 450,000 alone, out of the 1,450,000 Burundian and Rwandan refugees in Goma, Bukavu, and Uvira have been forcibly repatriated. We have still not been told where, exactly, the rest are, except for the 100,000 refugees presently being hunted down near Kisangani. You can imagine what that does to us psychologically, because these are our relatives. Personally, I have two sisters who died, and when my aunt heard that, she had a

heart attack and died. The young men went there to mount the guard, as is traditional, for one week, and the army came and exterminated 20 youths from the village, saying they were preparing to attack the government. This is the kind of thing that is happening.

International and Zairean human rights organizations reportedly have proof of systematic massacres of Burundian and Rwandan refugees, and of several thousand Zaireans displaced by war. Unfortunately, the UN special envoy Mr. Garretton could not deny the overwhelming evidence of the genocide being perpetrated by the soldiers of the butcher's army,¹ which threatens over 150 million inhabitants within a 5,863,000 square kilometer area in Central and East Africa . . . i.e., more than half of the area of the United States (9,363,123 square kilometers). This is 85 million people in eastern Africa, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Kenya. Zaire is now hit, but also the Congo, Gabon, Equato-

1. The account says that these soldiers "speak Kinyarwanda among themselves, and either speak Swahili very poorly (then, they come from Rwanda) or speak it too well for Zaire, with sophisticated words that people do not understand (then, they come from Tanzania and Uganda). . . . At Goma and Bukavu, the troops come from Rwanda; farther to the south, they come from Burundi; farther to the north, they come from Uganda."

rial Guinea, Cameroon, and the Central African Republic are threatened, which adds up to 59 million more people.

2. Economic causes of the tragedy: in the beginning was poverty

In order to understand the development of this tragedy, it is important not to lose sight of the socio-economic context in Rwanda, which was the spearhead of regional destabilization. Rwanda, a landlocked country of 26,338 square kilometers, is dependent on agriculture, which represents about 40% of its GDP and 90% of its exports.

In the course of the 1960s and '70s, the Rwandan government was able to manage its resources well, thanks, on the one hand, to sustained growth of agricultural production and, on the other, to a favorable economic situation for exporting coffee and tea, our main cash crops. That favorable situation allowed continuous growth of per-capita income (4.7% average per year), at a time when indebtedness of the national economy was still relatively low. Rwanda, which was one of the rare African countries whose agricultural production increased more rapidly than its population (3.5% per year from 1966 to 1982), was not able to maintain that rate after 1983.

The collapse of coffee prices meant a decline of more than 40% of Rwanda's annual export income, so that the authorities had to begin rationing foreign currency and adopting restrictive budgetary measures. That led, of course, to the decline of almost all economic activity. Thus, the GDP decreased by an average 0.5% per year between 1985 and 1990. In real terms, the population became poorer, as the GDP per capita dropped from \$280 to \$245 between 1986 and 1990. Some figures will give you a more concrete idea of that tragedy: Forty percent of family farms were less than three-quarters of a hectare, and were neither technologically nor economically viable. An annual deficit of 4 million cubic meters of firewood led to the deforestation of more than 8,000 hectares per year and, with it, the erosion of more than 12 tons per hectare of arable land. . . . Only 50% of the land is arable in Rwanda. Population density is said to be 350 people per square kilometer, but if you only count usable land, it is about 800. The neo-Malthusians have exploited this fact to spread scare stories about the dense population that must be reduced. I was the Rwandan government's representative in New York during preparations for the [1994 UN] Cairo population conference. I felt so awful! I could make a list of all those NGOs at the UN who terrorized me, treating me like a wild animal, because I could not understand why we should accept the genocide program that was being imposed.

In this context, the Rwandan government was obliged to accept having family planning dictated to it, as well as the famous "Structural Adjustment Program" (SAP) concluded in September 1990 with the Bretton Woods institutions. Is it by chance that this was just on the eve of October 1990 war? I should hardly think so! The combined effects of the shocks

from abroad because of the SAP and the war launched from Uganda, had dramatic results:

A decline of over 8% per year of per-capita GDP after 1991.

An increase in consumer prices, hitting farmers, farm workers, and the urban wage-earners.

Cuts in social spending to below average levels.

Rise in security and defense spending to above average because of the war.

Thus, in 1991, eighty percent of the citizens were living below the acceptable poverty threshold of 10,650 Rwandan francs, as established by the FIDA (International Agricultural Development Fund). Among the most dramatic facts, we should note :

"The feminization of poverty": Families headed by women are poorer than those headed by men. The number of these was increasing because so many men had to migrate to find a job; and, at the same time

The deterioration of food rations, in a situation of chronic food scarcity.

In this context, and parallel to the SAP, Rwanda implemented a National Program to Fight Poverty in 1993, with support from the United Nations Development Program. I was part of the staff of this program, since I was director general of the Ministry for the Family and Promotion of Women. As an economist, that is where I learned the strategic nature of social factors that are crucial for the development of a nation. This program was meant to be long-term. We were aware of the fact that the consolidation and income-generating strategy that this program favored would take a long time to produce significant effects in terms of covering the costs of basic social services, such as access to primary health care, family planning, reducing the impact of HIV/AIDS, help for food centers and orphanages, aid for those displaced by war, increasing the number of students and improving the quality of education. The Bretton Woods institutions did not support this long-term program.

It is also true that part of Rwanda's political elite was not aware of what was happening. The deteriorating economic situation had created a certain despair, especially among the youth (more than 50% of the population). They were better educated, but reduced to observing the growing gap between their very difficult living conditions, and the wealth stored up by a small minority close to political power. They became frustrated and easily vulnerable to all kinds of extremist youth movements, like the famous "Interahamwe."

What then occurred, as you already know, is where I began: violence and chaos.

3. 'Entschlossenheit' is needed to break the vicious cycle of poverty!

Jacques Cheminade stated it very clearly: It is after empires and myths undergo crises, that humanity progresses.

Under the shock of such crises, humanity can question the false hypotheses which up to then have served as the basis of their ideology.² One of these diabolical hypotheses is the materialist conception of man! We are in a situation where, having been taught the Gospel of Christ by the West, we are beginning to doubt the sincerity of the western “missionary.” Was man created in the image of God, and is the individual sacred, yes or no? What has become of the song of love found in I Corinthians 13, or the prohibition of revenge found in Romans 12:19?

Mr. LaRouche, who finds in these verses a deep source of motivation, has made major economic revelations about what is happening in our African homeland. I will state it as simply as he does, on the basis on his now famous “Triple Curve Function.” He has said many times that the monetary system, will, from one moment to the next, cease to exist. In that case, as our region of the great African Graben is the leading producer worldwide of cobalt, the second-largest producer of diamonds, and the fifth-largest of copper, and since we are very rich in tin, zinc, boron, gold, manganese, methane, petroleum, tantalum, nickel, iron, and other strategic and precious metals, that means it must be taken over! Operational fronts are set up with recruits coming from the world of the warlords: Kaguta, Kagame, Kabila, Buyoya, without forgetting their allies, Executive Outcomes, other mercenaries—I won’t go on.³

The wars that these forces are waging are mainly supported by a mafia of political and corporate men (and women!), organized from Washington and London, into interest groups that are federated into the famous transnational criminal organizations (TCOs). They include narco-traffickers, illegal arms dealers, gem smugglers, etc.⁴ The political watchword used as a cover by the warlords in our sub-region, has a persuasive façade: “Africans must find solutions to African problems themselves.” But the deeper motivation behind this is evil, genocidal, and destructive for our young nations in the sub-region.

The investment of “dirty money” into the mining wealth of the region is one of the major reasons for the support given to these military-political lords who have made their ties of allegiance. The truth is that the genocide and counter-genocide in the Great Lakes region is a blatant example of an newly opened beachhead by that “brotherhood of corporations” which is criminalizing political and economic life worldwide (Anglo American Corp., De Beers, Barrick Gold,

Christian Solidarity International, National Christian Breakfast, etc.).

4. What to do: economic development and regional integration equals peace

According to Mr. and Mrs. LaRouche, strength can only come from ideas. That is what we have been doing this weekend. We have to have ideas to motivate us, and strength enough to resist these transnational criminal organizations. In our small association, Forum for Freedom and Democracy in Rwanda, based in Bonn, we are aware of what is at stake, and we have decided to fight against the evil operations taking place in our country. In the early phase of our work, committed to peace and striving to meet those qualities of a good combatant that Clausewitz describes as *Beharrlichkeit* (steadfastness), *Ausdauer* (stamina), or *Entschlossenheit* (determination),⁵ we have already developed certain theses, some of which are the following:

The deeper causes of our catastrophe, of the genocide and counter-genocide, are essentially of a socio-economic nature, and the basis for a lasting solution is to be sought in human development.

It is not surprising that Kabila has already recruited more than 100,000 fighters. Society, and, above all, the youth, will always easily become won over to violence, as long they have no education or training, and are frustrated by the failure to meet (qualitatively and quantitatively) certain basic essential needs, both material and immaterial, such as clothing, food, housing, medicine, clean drinking water, communications, infrastructure, and the technology to produce these material goods, but also, individual and family security, and other human rights (non-material needs), as those are defined by the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man of Dec. 10, 1948.⁶

A proposal for new shared prospects, in an approach of regional political and economic integration, especially as concerns individual and collective economic survival, can serve as a means of overcoming present antagonisms.

Our action, which has already started, aims at finalization of what we call the ZIS-Strategie (a Plan for Integrated Restructuring in Central Africa).⁷ This is a structured and integrated strategy to be introduced in phases. We propose a *Gestaltungspolitik*, a policy of organizing sectors, rather than just an adjustment of economic structures in our sub-region, taking into account certain major, multi-dimensional variables (time, space, different economic sectors, con-

2. Jacques Cheminade, “Time To Destroy the Mythology of Bonapartism,” *EIR*, Oct. 18, 1996.

3. cf. Lyndon LaRouche, “Sir George Bush: On Her Majesty’s Service,” *EIR*, Jan. 10, 1997, p. 10; and “FDR-PAC Holds Forum on U.S. Africa Policy,” *EIR*, Jan. 24, 1997.

4. For more information, consult Prof. Michel Chossudovsky of the University of Ottawa, for example, his article: “How the Mafia Took Over the World Economy,” in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, no. 513, December 1996.

5. cf. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, New York: Knopf, 1993.

6. cf. Jean N. Gahururu, “Möglichkeit von Direktinvestitionen in einem Entwicklungsland, dargestellt am Beispiel von Ruanda und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,” Fachhochschule Köln, 1985.

7. cf. Ignace Murwanashyaka, “Bedeutung der Strukturpolitik für die regionale Wirtschaftsintegration in zentralafrikanischen Ländern,” University of Bonn, 1995.

straints to globalization, etc.). Our objective is, precisely, human development through economic growth, just distribution of profits, and stability in our region.

5. Some concrete prospects, modeled on the 'Trans-African railways' network

5.1. Brief report

If we take the most concrete, strategic example of transportation in Africa, we find the following:

The lack of existence of interconnected road systems is one of the essential causes of the low level of inter-African trade, which only represents 5% of all transactions.

Africa has not been able to further build the network inherited from colonization: Ninety percent of the present network dates from before independence; it is very old and obsolete, the gauges are those of the imperial era; only 40% of the network is the standard gauge (1,435 mm).

For every one million inhabitants, Africa has 150 kilometers of railways, as against 700 kilometers in Europe.

5.2 What to do, for example

If Africa were to set an objective of building 320,000 kilometers of railroad, with double tracks, over the next 20 years, our rural areas would suddenly be opened up, and we would have a far more modern urban network, and, above all, a regional African economy open to the world. A group of

scientists has proposed a four-phase plan to this effect:

1. Conversion of the old system and construction of large national systems (Trans-Gabon, Trans-Cameroon, etc.);

2. Construction of regional networks, opening onto the ports (for example Kigali-Bujumbura-Kigoma-Dar Es Salam, or Kigali-Kasese-Kampala-Mombasa);

3. Strengthening the regional and international network, doubling tracks;

4. Expanding the international network, improving the network between the satellite towns.

To build 320,000 kilometers of railways over 20 years, local industries will have to learn to produce the materials needed; for each kilometer of rail, the program will need 120 tons of steel, 180 cubic meters of wood, 400 cubic meters of reinforced concrete. This represents more or less \$1 million per kilometer of rail, for a total investment of about \$600 billion.

Beyond that, Africa will gain more than 20 million jobs per year (counting 70 man-years per kilometer) and, in the same conditions that the Chinese did in constructing the TAN-ZAM, more than 60 million jobs per year!

Could the international community not help us, and, as opposed to the death squads of Kabila, to mobilize and create "golden souls," a cadre force and manpower, "life squads," for a cause which will benefit humanity as a whole?

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