

Wars in Africa: the final stage of globalization

by Uwe Friesecke

The following speech was delivered to the Schiller Institute President's Day conference, on Feb. 14, 1999, in Reston, Virginia.

Sometimes the truth about current history is strikingly revealed when events of past decades come to public light. Such is the case with the ongoing policy of the West vis-à-vis Africa.

The *Times* of London on Jan. 7 of this year published a report under the headline, "Monty Saw Africans as 'Complete Savages,' Secret Documents Reveal Grand Imperial Design." In 1948, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, then Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, toured 12 African states. Afterwards he wrote a secret report to the British government, of which only ten copies were prepared, advocating a master-plan to develop Africa with its vast resources of labor, minerals, and food to ensure the survival of Great Britain. In this report, Montgomery dismisses the African as a "complete savage" who is "quite incapable of developing the country himself."

As the London *Times* editorial from Jan. 8 of this year assures us, this is the essence of British Africa policy orientation still today. They write: "That bluntly contemptuous and, to modern eyes, blatantly racist, verdict on the capacity of Africans for self-government, delivered 50 years ago by a British Chief of the Imperial General Staff, long dead, but only now made public, should in the normal course of history have no more than curiosity value in 1999. Yet so badly have Africans in fact ruled themselves that, were Monty alive today, he might be claiming that he saw the future more clearly than the decolonizers who were to pull Britain out of Africa as precipitately as it had scrambled in the 1890s to get in. . . . He demanded a permanent intensive British engagement in Africa, dictated not by altruism but by ambitions to build Britain's, not Africa's, prosperity. Had Monty won, Britain would have imposed an indefensible, and unsustainable, version of apartheid. Britain could have ruled Africa better and left it better. But the sobering fact remains that Africans today are poorer than they were when Monty sought to make of the socialist [Clement] Attlee an improbable second Cecil Rhodes."

This report by Montgomery, and the London *Times's*

comments, reveal the truth about the inner thinking of the British establishment about Africa and Africans. These are the convictions of the British royal family. And it was the guiding principle of Britain's Africa policy for the last 50 years, including under Labour governments such as the current one of Tony Blair. Because, as the London *Times* writes, the proposal of Montgomery in 1948 was not rejected by the Attlee government on moral grounds, but simply as impractical. "The then colonial secretary rejected his plans not on moral grounds but because he thought Africa too poor to be worth a 'great expense of money and effort.' "

Today's British Empire

The plain truth of the matter is, British Africa policy all along to this day is guided by a deep racist contempt for Her Majesty's subjects of black or colored skins. The African continent counts not because of its people, but because of its mineral and agricultural raw materials. It is obviously no longer the British Empire of the 19th century, which Britain tries to preserve, but the British Commonwealth, the new imperial entity which needs to exploit Africa's wealth. The direct rule of the British colonial empire was unsustainable after World War II, so Britain shifted to proven methods of indirect rule, corrupting existing elites, using outright puppets, and manipulating conflicts for the purpose of divide and rule. These are the methods that we are seeing at work today in Africa's endless suffering. While wars of unspeakable barbarity are raging in all parts of Africa, the business entities of the British Commonwealth are prospering on the loot of diamonds, minerals, and petroleum.

Since the middle of the 1990s, we have seen in this looting of Africa a new phase of globalization. The structures of states and nations are being destroyed and abandoned because they are too much of a cost-factor. Instead, power is exercised directly through warlords and mercenaries. The social institutions of entire areas such as Central Africa are disintegrating, and multinational companies are trying to make their deals, especially for raw materials extraction, with the dominant warlord of the region. Or, as in the case of Britain's favored villain in Africa, Uganda's dictator Yoweri Museveni, they equip him with the means to go and occupy new territory suitable for looting.

‘Immense possibilities for development’

Montgomery was right in one thing. He was impressed with “the immense possibilities that exist in British Africa for development.” The implications of this are, and have always been, the key strategic issue for Africa’s position in the post-World War II world, which unfortunately, most of the African leaders to the present day refuse to face. The material wealth of the continent, the huge energy resources, the most favorable climate for abundant food production in large parts of the continent, and the people, give African nations the potential to become economic powerhouses, if a political leadership would come together to realize it.

This defines the historical nightmare for the British oligarchy. After they lost the North American colonies at the end of the 18th century, and India in the middle of the 20th century, in their view, the loss of Africa must not happen. Therefore, the most effective way of eliminating African nations as potentially independent powerful factors in world politics is to send them into wars against each other. If enough Africans kill each other in fratricidal wars and endless orgies of violent revenge and counter-revenge, such as is currently happening in the Great Lakes region and in Angola most prominently, the imperial order of the British Commonwealth can be preserved. To use an expression of Bertrand Russell, this method of imperial geopolitics may be disgusting, but it is effective.

Before turning to today’s wars in Africa, let me quote to you some more passages from Montgomery’s report, because you need this as a political weapon. Whoever follows British Africa policy — such as Susan Rice at the U.S. State Department, officials and former officials of the Pentagon, or members of the “Black Caucasians,” as our friend Godfrey Binaisa [the former President of Uganda] calls those traitors to the black man’s cause in the U.S. Congress — no longer has any excuse that he did not know what he was supporting. Already 50 years ago, Montgomery clearly stated Britain’s racist view of the African people.

In November-December 1947, Montgomery took a tour of the following territories: French Morocco, The Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Belgian Congo, Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Egypt.

Under the heading “Development in Africa,” he writes: “It is impossible to tour Africa without being impressed with the following points:

“a. the immense possibilities that exist in British Africa for development.

“b. the use to which such development could be put to enable Great Britain to maintain her standard of living, and to survive.

“c. the lack of any ‘Grand Design’ for the development of British Africa and consequently the lack of a master plan in any Colony.

“d. because of a lack of a grand design, and master plans, no real progress is being made.”

Montgomery was impressed with the wealth of the conti-

ment, and says: “These lands contain everything we need. Minerals, Raw Materials, Labour: These exist in almost unlimited quantities.

“Food: can be grown to any extent desired.

“Power: can be developed economically, since coal is unlimited and can be obtained very cheaply. The market is the Commonwealth and Empire. And the market exists especially in the United Kingdom.”

Montgomery demands in the first stage to establish three “federal systems,” in Central Africa, East Africa, and West Africa. The second stage should be a linkup between the Union and the British Central African Federation. After this, the third stage should involve much closer cooperation between the British territories and those owned by the other Western powers. But Monty does not forget the Americans, and says: “And generally we should welcome U.S.A. assistance, capital, and capital goods.”

What an affront to Franklin Roosevelt’s plans for the post-war period! What an insult to the American tradition of President Lincoln! And yet, too many Americans in influential positions are stubbornly following the British lead in Africa.

Britain’s World War II hero Montgomery displays a most blatant racism when he argues against his critics: “There will be many people in the U.K. who will oppose such a plan on the grounds that the African will suffer in the process; there is no reason whatever why he should suffer; and in any case he is a complete savage and is quite incapable of developing the country himself. The analogy of India would seem to apply; we developed India because the Indians were quite incapable of doing so; we benefitted ourselves greatly thereby; we finally handed it over to the Indians themselves. In the development of Africa we must adventure courageously, as did Cecil Rhodes. We must face up [to] the problems now. The plain truth is that these lands must be developed in order that Britain may survive.”

Wars and unspeakable suffering

Today, Africa is being devastated by numerous military conflicts, some of which have escalated into full-scale conventional warfare. Whoever spoke of the imminent African renaissance is now confronted with the fright about Africa’s descent into chaos and unspeakable human suffering, to which apparently no end is in sight. African people are fighting each other mercilessly, such as in Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Rwanda, and Burundi. Neighbors who were allies yesterday begin full-scale warfare against each other today, such as Eritrea and Ethiopia. So-called revolutionary movements are ripping countries such as Sierra Leone apart, and threatening the stability of all of West Africa. Senegal faces a revolt in its southern districts. Nigeria is being shaken by violent clashes among different ethnic groups in the Niger delta. Southern Sudan and northern Uganda are the sites of a more than decades-long war between Sudanese government forces and the Uganda-backed forces of John Garang’s Sudanese

People's Liberation Army. The population of northern Uganda is also victim to the most brutal military oppression by its own government. Somalia, where the international community at the beginning of the 1990s abandoned about 1 million people to starve to death, has since fallen apart as a country. And finally, the second-largest country of Africa, the Congo, is the theater of a conventional war with thousands of regular troops from altogether nine different countries deployed: Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Chad, and the Central African Republic on the side of Laurent Kabila's government, against the invading forces of troops from Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi, and the so-called rebels against Kabila.

So, in reality, Central Africa is burning, from Angola in the south to Sudan and Eritrea in the north, and from Cabinda [in Angola] and Congo-Brazzaville in the west to Rwanda and Burundi in the east, with the threat of more countries being drawn into the conflict.

In view of these facts, how can anybody assert, that Africa is advancing? How can anybody claim, that a new generation of more effective leaders is moving Africa forward toward "free markets," "democracy," and respect for "human rights"? This is the utmost cynicism.

At the recent World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, South African President Nelson Mandela gave his farewell address, about his hope for the future of Africa. According to press reports, the assembled businessmen and financiers were deeply moved. These lackeys of the international oligarchy are the biggest hypocrites. Because their Commonwealth raw materials companies are the largest beneficiaries of Africa's conflicts. Some of their companies are paying the mercenaries and weapons traders directly that help foment the wars.

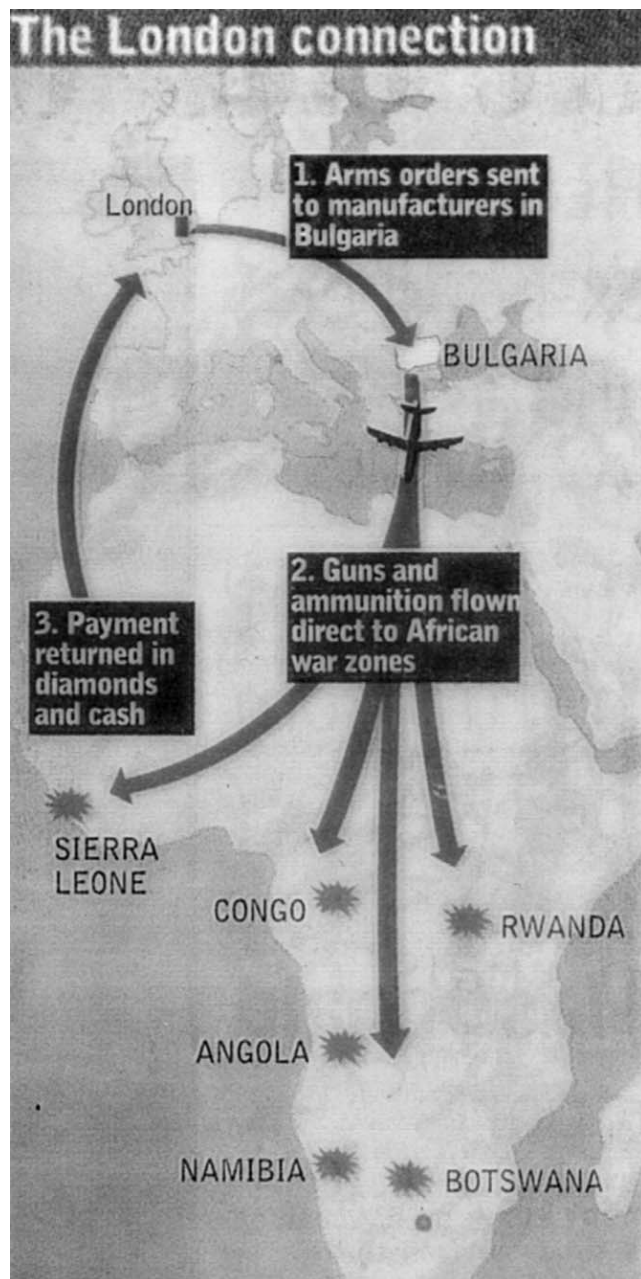
Africa was robbed twice

Africa's wars painfully remind us that the continent was robbed twice of a unique historical chance in this decade.

First, after the end of the Cold War in 1990 and 1991, not a single dollar more was spent by the Western countries to help Africa in its economic development. Rather, the opposite was the case. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) increased its demand for more austerity and more stringent Structural Adjustment Programs. In many countries, this ripped apart the social fabric and laid the basis for violent conflicts.

Second, the peace dividend of the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 still needs to be paid to the rest of the continent. So far, the South African Commonwealth companies, such as Anglo American Corp. and its shareholders, benefitted from it, rather than any country to the north of South Africa.

The truth about the heart of Africa is, that over the last 10 years, between 5 to 6 million people have perished as victims of warfare. Politics in Europe and in the United States is ignoring this disaster, which is nothing less than full-scale genocide. The public in our countries has lost almost all pas-



The London Observer depicts the weapons-trafficking of a British company, Air Atlantic Cargo.

sion for the endless suffering of our African brothers and sisters. The hearts of our fellow citizens have turned into stones, when it comes to Africa. Otherwise, long ago, we would have had an outcry against the injustices that the policy of our governments are inflicting with impunity upon the people of Africa.

Today's wars in Africa are, first of all, caused by decades of economic devastation through the IMF-World Bank policies of brutal Structural Adjustment Programs. This policy meant that debt payments to the international creditors

come first, and people last—if at all. This has destroyed the economies of many countries, and devastated the standard of living for the vast majority of the people in most of the countries.

Second, parallel to former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's and former President George Bush's first war against Iraq, Britain's favorite villain in Africa, Yoweri Museveni, was more than encouraged to invade Rwanda in October 1990 and start a series of war campaigns, which would kill three Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, unleash a genocide against both Tutsi and Hutu in the region, bring the fanatical Tutsi extremist Paul Kagame to power in Kigali in August 1994, bring Kabila to power in Kinshasa in May 1997, and start a new war in August 1998 to now remove the same Kabila from power in Kinshasa.

This latest round of warfare met the unexpected resistance of Congo's neighbors Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, and blocked the advance of the Uganda-backed rebel forces for the time being. But, it also reactivated the bloody civil war between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-led government and Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) forces, and thereby led to a war of attrition, where the countries involved bled each other to death.

Furthermore, Museveni was used to back the forces of Garang in southern Sudan against the Khartoum government to destroy the possibility for peace, which the Sudanese government had created in 1997. Unfortunately, this British policy has been underwritten by Madame Albright and Susan Rice at the U.S. State Department, and by other officials at the U.S. Pentagon.

Third, once the conditions for war have emerged, British-organized mercenaries and weapons traders, with the cooperation of Israeli and U.S. networks, come in to supply often both sides of the conflict. This map of the "London Connection" (p. 53) refers to a British company, Air Atlantic Cargo, with offices in Kent. Planes of this company have been seen unloading weapons for UNITA in Angola, and for both sides of the war in Congo. Other British companies that have been reported as supplying weapons to rebels in Sierra Leone, are Sky Air Cargo and Occidental Airlines.

During the 1990s, a number of mercenary companies were set up to carry out operations in Africa. Sandline International was organized by one Tim Spicer, who served as a British officer in the Malvinas war in 1982 and the Kuwait war in 1991. He then became the spokesman during the Bosnia war for UN Protection Forces chief Gen. Sir Michael Rose, before he moved to Sandline. Sandline has its office in London's King's Road in Chelsea. Another British company is Defence Services Ltd. (DSL), organized by Alistair Morrison, a former British Special Air Services member. Another London-based company is Saladin Security. Executive Outcomes is a joint South African-British company that became infamous in Angola and Sierra Leone. And finally, there is Military Professional Resources Ltd., based in Alexandria, Virginia.

The case of Angola

Angola is one of the most tragic cases among those wars in Africa. It is one of the richest countries of the continent, with oil reserves possibly larger than those of Nigeria, 11% of the world diamond reserves, and abundant agricultural potential. But all this wealth is being wasted in a never-ending fratricidal war. For three years, there was hope that peace would eventually prevail. After the 1991 peace accord had broken down during and following elections in October 1992, the country was, until the end of 1994, plunged into the most devastating war between Savimbi's UNITA and the government of José Eduardo Dos Santos' MPLA. About 100,000 people died.

In May 1993, the Clinton administration recognized the MPLA government and put its weight behind the peace process. In November 1994, a new peace deal was signed in Lusaka, Zambia's capital. The United Nations deployed a 7,000-man peacekeeping force. Savimbi and Dos Santos reaffirmed the deal in a personal meeting in May 1995, where they declared: "Never again war. We will prove the skeptics wrong!" It took until April 1997 to form a government of national unity, but Savimbi refused to come to Luanda to be part of the government for fear of his safety. At the beginning of 1998, the Clinton administration engaged in efforts to pressure both sides for the full implementation of the peace accord, but in vain. Clinton could not follow through on it because of his troubles at home, and in August, Museveni's new war set off a dynamic in the region which thoroughly destroyed all options for peace. Also, in the summer, the capable UN mediator Alioune Blondin Beye of Mali was killed in a plane crash. By September 1998, the government declared the coalition with UNITA and the 1995 peace accords ended. In the meantime, war is fully back on.

Angola is the clearest case where the gigantic wealth of the country is being used with the complicity of the West to finance the war. UNITA has access to about \$400 million worth of diamonds a year, which they are selling directly to De Beers or smuggling to the market in Antwerp. (This used to be done through Mobutu in Zaire.) This money finances UNITA's war budget. It pays for the most modern weapons and mercenaries. According to various press reports, UNITA, right now, is operating advanced artillery with Ukrainian mercenaries. The MPLA government, on the other side, earns \$4.5 billion from petroleum exports every year. Right now, Angola produces 800,000 barrels a day. The American firm Chevron and the French Elf-Aquitaine are the largest producers in Angola. More than half the production goes for the American market. One-third of Angola's export earnings is used by the government to buy weapons. Angola is the biggest importer of weapons in Africa. In 1993-94 alone, the government bought \$3.5 billion worth of weapons.

The war goes on, but the fighting has no effect on the extraction of oil or diamonds for the global market, which truly is another "triumph for the free market and globalization." In the meantime, there is no hope for the population,

who continue to live in ever-worsening poverty.

Where, then, is there any hope that this cycle of wars can be broken and stopped?

These wars will not be stopped by Africans themselves. This would be a dangerous illusion far from reality. Some Africans are certainly complicit culprits in these wars, but their actions are not the causes of the continuing warfare. The cause of Africa's destruction is the combination of Western imperial economic policy of the IMF, and the related geopolitical manipulation of conflicts. The wars in Africa originate from the power-structure of the British-American-Commonwealth empire faction in today's world. This structure has to be destroyed.

And who can do it?

First and foremost, the American people, if they mobilize America's spirit of 1776. Then America can emerge, along with the new strategic alliance around China, Russia, and India, as the most important power in the world to shift the

strategic policy orientation.

How can you get lasting peace and reconciliation between men like Dos Santos and Savimbi, who both have their justified suspicions against each other? You need a power with moral authority, to create a strategic framework in which the policy dynamic is shifted toward peace and development rather than war and destruction.

As long as we allow London to say, as did Montgomery, "Africa has everything we need," there will be wars in Africa. At last the world must say: "Africa has everything that its nations need for their prosperous development." For this we must create the strategic framework of a new, just economic world order to replace the structures of globalization.

For this, Lyndon LaRouche's proposal for a New Bretton Woods system must become U.S. government policy. If the American people are truthful to their own history, and serious about the fate of Africa, the home of many of their ancestors, they will fight for this.

Blair is acting like Hitler, says historian

What Prime Minister Tony Blair is now doing in Britain, is like what Adolf Hitler did in Germany in the 1930s, British historian Lord Max Beloff wrote in the Feb. 9 London *Times*. Beloff's article was headlined, "Third Way, or Reich?" with the kicker, "Tony Blair's Style of Government Is Chillingly Reminiscent of Germany in the Thirties."

Beloff wrote: "The advent of new Labour has produced a steady stream of books explaining its victory in terms of the personalities involved, and the strategems they employed. Since they are unlikely to contain much that is new, they make boring reading. Even less useful are the efforts of Downing Street's tame sociologists to give some meaning to the empty concept of the 'Third Way.' One does better reading books that add to one's general understanding of politics. High on the list should be the first volume of Professor Ian Kershaw's magisterial biography, *Hitler*.

"The tale he has to tell is chilling—the violence involved in Hitler's march to power was the prelude to the much greater violence which will feature in the second volume. Yet if one excludes the political violence and racism of Nazism, which one must, there are still telling parallels between then and now. The similarities between Adolf Hitler and Tony Blair's path to power are hard to dismiss.

"Ian Kershaw explains how Hitler rose to power, and then having achieved office, he led the Nazi Party to com-

plete domination in every aspect of German life. It is that second aspect of the story which is particularly helpful in explaining the unfolding agenda of new Labour."

Beloff noted that Hitler's dictatorship was achieved in a system of universal suffrage. To obtain power, they co-opted dupes to their side, "to push through the constitutional changes which then entrenched their own dominance." So, Blair's new Labour "has followed the Führer in using dispensable allies to lend its project (of assaulting Britain's historic constitution) an extra legitimacy. . . . The use of political figures from other parties to camouflage new Labour's purposes is directly reminiscent of Hitler's tactics."

Beloff drew a number of parallels between the Nazis and new Labour today, such as the prominent role of party "Gauleiters" in carrying out national policies, and the creation of "Mr. Blair's own Albert Speers and Leni Riefenstahls" in the House of Lords, who are like those who populated Hitler's "court," to popularize his regime.

According to Beloff: "It is not clear where the constitutional ambitions of Mr. Blair and his coterie stop. Hitler became Führer—the sole embodiment of the German state. We still have a monarchy. But the blow to the hereditary principle in the Lords has revived Labour republicanism. It is not yet clear if Mr. Blair wants to include the Royal Family in his 'project,' or if he wants to present himself and his family as a kind of ersatz royalty."

In conclusion, Beloff accused Blair of a project to "create the illusion that Europe belongs to him," seeking a domination of Europe without Hitler's Wehrmacht. This last point is an interesting departure from the usual British propaganda, that Germany is the new "Fourth Reich," seeking to dominate Europe.—*Mark Burdman*