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International Symposium
‘Why are Conflicts in Africa Prolonging?
—From the Perspectives of Superpowers’ Roles—’

Rikkyo University
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Organisers: Rikkyo University, Meiji University and International University of Japan
Human Resource Development Program for International Cooperation

Rwanda, DRC, South Sudan, Uganda, Somalia, Darfur, Central Africa Republic, Nigeria, Mali....Africa has been repeatedly experiencing 'wars', 'genocide', 'ethnic cleansing' and 'wars on terror', especially since the 1990s. As a result, millions of innocent people have been victimized through death, displacement, sexual violence and kidnapping etc.

Why has Africa remained unstable for a lengthy period despite various efforts made by 'international community'

to solve conflicts?

Before we discuss how the 'international community' can stop these atrocities to bring peace, it is important to have a correct understanding of the nature of the conflicts in Africa. Based on his extensive investigation, Mr. Pierre Péan, a renowned investigative journalist specialised in international politics, will analyse this. In particular, he will reveal superpowers' roles and intervention, whose aspects of African conflicts remain mostly unknown in Japan.

*'Conflict' used in this symposium signifies 'armed conflict'.

Difference between conflict and war

Conflict refers to all the clash or fight from individual level to state level regardless of use of force. The domain of armed conflict, which indicates armed clash between opponent forces, is wide and includes from civil war to inter-state war.

Cover photo

(left) : Congolese army preparing for the battle in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (photo : Yasuyoshi Chiba)

(right) : Local residents fleeing from conflict zone in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (photo : Masako Yonekawa)

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Message from Rikkyo University, and Human Resource Development Program for International Cooperation

Hisashi Harada, Vice President, Rikkyo University

This international symposium ‘Why are Conflicts in Africa Prolonging? —From the Perspectives of Superpowers’ Roles—’ was hosted by the Human Resource Development Program for International Cooperation at Rikkyo University. This program was co-hosted by six international agencies and three universities (namely Rikkyo University, Meiji University, and International University of Japan) aiming to train university students to acquire the skills, knowledge, and perspectives necessary to tackle world-level problems dealt with by the international community.

Masako Yonekawa, the coordinator of the symposium, is responsible for courses such as conflict and peace, forced migration and displacement, and humanitarian aid. And based on her extensive working experience with refugees in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, South Sudan, and Tanzania etc, she focuses her research and education on conflict and peace. This symposium, which gave an opportunity to explore both deeply and critically the views on conflict and peace, which is an important component of international cooperation, turned out to be a highly valuable opportunity, meeting the objectives of the Human Resource Development Program for International Cooperation.

I would like to offer my gratitude to Mr. Pierre Péan for coming to Japan for this occasion, as well as Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa and Mr. Makoto Katsumata. Let me also offer my sincere appreciation to the supporter organisations, namely the Japan Association for African Studies and Global Peace Academy, for their cooperation over publicity for the symposium.

Objective of Organising the Symposium

Masako Yonekawa, Specially Appointed Associate Professor, Rikkyo University

The International Symposium ‘Why are Conflicts in Africa Prolonging? —From the Perspectives of Superpowers’ Roles—’ was organised with the aim of promoting greater understanding of the nature of conflicts in Africa. On a more personal level, there are two motives for why I have decided to organise this symposium.

First, in my previous work with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees office (UNHCR) in countries including Rwanda and DRC, I was engaged in protecting refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), who are the victims of conflicts. This led me to explore how we could stop conflicts, rather than just managing their effects.

Using this experience, I am now conducting research on conflict and peacebuilding, in which the so-called ‘international community’ including governments, the United Nations (UN) and NGOs are expected to stop and prevent conflict in (post-) conflict areas. Through this process, I have realised that there is little understanding, including on my own part, of the nature of conflict. Indeed, it is important to understand the root causes of conflict at the micro level, such as ethnic tensions, and local competition for land, power, and natural resources, but at the same time, it is essential to analyse the conflict at the macro level, across the regions and continents, and identify the larger trends.

It is thanks to Mr. Pierre Péan’s *Carnage: Les guerres secrètes des grandes puissances en Afrique*, that I became aware of the importance of analysing conflict at the macro level. I encountered this book in 2010 when it was published. I myself do not have a strong comprehension in French, yet I fully understood that the superpowers are waging conflicts at their convenience, and it was indeed an eye-opening experience. Through this book, I wanted to deepen my understanding of the relationship between conflict and the superpowers, and for years, I have been thinking about inviting him to Japan.

My second motivation for organising this conference is that now, more than ever, an understanding of contemporary conflict is indispensable for the Japanese people. This is because understanding the nature of conflicts in Africa is not unrelated to the security bill, which was discussed at Japan’s Diet in June 2015, at the time of this symposium.

Currently, there is growing concern that the Abe administration, in the name of international engagement and making a proactive contribution to peace and collective self-defence, is thinking about sending the Japanese Self Defence Force abroad — including to Africa — in order to support the U.S. military with force and logistics. Many citizens are opposing war, and expressing their resolve to not repeat the same war which took place 70 years ago.

With these motives, in order to promote our understanding of the whole context of conflict and the relationship between conflict and superpower, I had requested Mr. Pierre Péan to give the keynote lecture. The work of Mr. Péan, a renowned and highly experienced investigative journalist, has enormously inspired me and many other people in the world. It was truly an honour to be able to invite him from France.

In addition to Mr. Péan, Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa, the moderator, who has worked with UN for a long time as a senior manager in the field of development and peacebuilding in Africa and Asia, has an extensive experience. Mr. Makoto Katsumata, the commentator, has for many years conducted valuable research on development economics, politics and peace in Africa. They cooperated with this symposium and also meticulously corrected their manuscripts of the symposium. Let me take this opportunity to offer my gratitude.

Without Ms. Seiko Takano’s excellent interpretation in French, this symposium could not have taken place. I

would like to express my sincere appreciation to her. Let me also offer my gratitude to the supporter organisations which contributed in attracting participants, as well as those people who checked the translation and proofread this proceeding report. Finally, I would also express my appreciation to the management and to my colleagues at the Center for Global Human Resource Development and the Media Center of Rikkyo University for their understanding and cooperation, as well as to some students and others who helped by acting as the MC, serving as receptionists, summarising questionnaires, and audio-typing.

One participant, a practitioner who has worked in Africa for years, was fascinated with the content of the symposium, which was never heard in other seminars. At the same time, she was concerned that the undergraduate students, who may be unfamiliar with global debate, may not have truly understood the importance of this symposium. I totally agreed with her as it is highly rare to hold seminars focused on the roles of superpowers. It is regrettable that, as Mr. Péan's book *Carnage* is not translated even into English, his valuable knowledge is not widespread in Japan. Therefore, I hope that this proceeding report will help to diffuse his research and provide an opportunity for the participants to review this material in the future.

Main Actors and Organisations, Glossary

U.S.A.

- **Bill Clinton**

Former President (1991-1998) .

- **Madeline Albright**

Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN (1993-1996) , former Secretary of State (1997-2001) .

- **Susan Rice**

Current National Security Advisor (2013-). Former Director for international organisations and peacekeeping (1993-1995), Special Assistant to the president and senior director for African affairs (1995-1997) , former U.S. Ambassador to the UNs (2009-2013) .

- **Roger Winter**

Former Director of US Committee of Refugees, former American State Department envoy to Sudan

- **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**

An intelligence service that gathers and analyses national security information of other countries, monitors anti-U.S. organisations, and provides information to National Security Council.

- **Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)**

An intelligence service of the U.S. Department of Defence, specialised in collecting defence and military information.

- **National Security Agency (NSA)**

An intelligence organisation of the U.S. Department of Defence. While CIA specialises in human-source intelligence gathering, NSA specialises in intelligence-gathering by interception of signals.

- **United States Agency for International Development (USAID)**

U.S. Government agency primarily responsible for administering almost all non-military foreign aid.

Israel

- **Avi Dichter**

Minister of Interior Security (2006-2009).

- **Israel Security Agency ('Shabak')**

An internal security service, known as Shin Bet before 1960.

- **Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations ('Mossad')**

An external intelligence agency responsible for information collection by Jewish scattered in the world.

- **Six Day War**

Israel launched preemptive airstrikes against Egypt on 5 June 1967, and completed its final offensive on 10 June. Israel seized Sinai Peninsula, Gaza strip, West Bank and the Golan Heights. Many Palestinian refugees were produced.

- **Likud**

Israel's ruling political party. Its fifth leader today is Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu.

Uganda

- **Yoweri Museveni**

Current President (1986-). As the leader of NRM, he was involved in rebellions that toppled Ugandan leaders Idi Amin (1971-1979) and Milton Obote (1980–1985).

- **National Resistance Movement/Army(NRM/A)**

Former rebel group established by the current President Museveni in 1981, which seized power in 1986. One of NRM's deputy was Mr. Kagame of Rwanda (current Rwandan president).

(Eastern) Democratic Republic of Congo

- **Joseph Kabila**

Current President (2001-). He took office ten days after the assassination of his father, President Laurent-Désiré Kabila. He internally led the AFDL together with Rwandan official in 1996-1997 in eastern DRC.

- **National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP)**

A 'Congolese' rebel group which was active in 2006-2009.

- **M23 (March 23 Movement)**

A 'Congolese' rebel group which was active in 2012-2013.

- **Laurent Désiré Kabila**

Former spokesperson of AFDL who self-declared as President(1997-2001). Former leader of rebel group since 1960s.

- **Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD)**

A 'Congolese' rebel group which was active during the Second Congo War in 1998-2003.

- **Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL)**

A 'Congolese' rebel group which overthrew the Mobutu regime in 1996-1997.

* AFDL (1996-1997), RCD (1998-2006), CNDP (2006-2009) and M23 (2012-2013) were all created by the Rwanda government army, often assisted by the Uganda government army.

Sudan

- **Omar al-Bashir**

Current President (1989-) In 2009, he became the first sitting president to be indicted by the International Criminal Court, for allegedly directing a campaign of mass killing against civilians in Darfur.

- **Hassan al-Turabi**

A religious and Islamist political leader, who may have been instrumental in institutionalising sharia Islamic law in the northern part of the country.

South Sudan

- **John Garang**

Chairperson of SPLM (1983-2005). Died from helicopter crash.

- **(SPLM/A)**

Former rebel group established by non-Arab Secularists in 1983. Since South Sudan became independent in 2011, the SPLM/A is the ruling party and national army.

- **Sudan People's Liberation Movement / Army**

Rwanda

- **Paul Kagame**

Current President (2000-), and former Vice President and Ministry of Defense (1994-2000). Following the 1959

Social Revolution, he had lived in Uganda as a refugee for 30 years. Former General of RPF who is said to have stopped the genocide in 1994.

- **Interahamwe**

It means 'those who stand together' in Kinyarwanda language, mother language of Rwanda). A Hutu radical militia organisation which instigated Rwandan genocide in 1994, rebel group Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). They and the former Rwanda army fled to eastern DRC after the genocide and established the FDLR. Due to this background, *Interahamwe* is sometimes used to refer to the FDLR.

- **Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army (RPF/A)**

A political movement established in 1987 by the second generation of Rwandan refugees who fled to Uganda in 1959-early 1960s. Led by Tutsi, the RPF seized power during the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

Others

- **Apartheid (South Africa)**

A policy of racial segregation regulating the relation between whites and non-whites in South Africa.

- **African Great Lakes region**

It includes Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

- **Operation Restore Hope (Somalia)**

The first US military-led operation in the United Nations Operation in Somalia II, which took place in 1992–1993.

- **International Criminal Court (ICC)**

An intergovernmental international tribunal that sits in The Hague and has the jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, considering international law.

- **Bandung Conference (Asian-African or Afro Asian Conference)**

A conference, which took place in 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia, participated by 29 Asian and African states. It

- **International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)**

An international court established in November 1994 by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 955, prosecuting those considered most responsible for the gravest crimes committed in Rwanda.

*Rwandan ethnic or social groups are divided into majority **Hutu**, minority **Tutsi** and the remaining Twa.

adopted ten principles for peace including national independence, and respect for fundamental human rights.

- **Waffen-SS (Nazi Germany)**

Nazi armed organisation established to protect Adolf Hitler from the treason of Army or domestic riot after he seized power.

- **Boko Haram (West Africa)**

An Islamic extremist group based in northeastern Nigeria, also active in Chad, Niger and Cameroon.

- **Cold War**

A state of political and military tension after World War II between powers in the Western Bloc as capitalism and liberalism camp (U.S., its NATO allies and others) and powers in the Eastern Bloc as communism and socialism camp (the Soviet Union and its allies in the Warsaw Pact). Berlin Wall which was constructed by German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in 1961 became the symbol of German division and of Cold War.

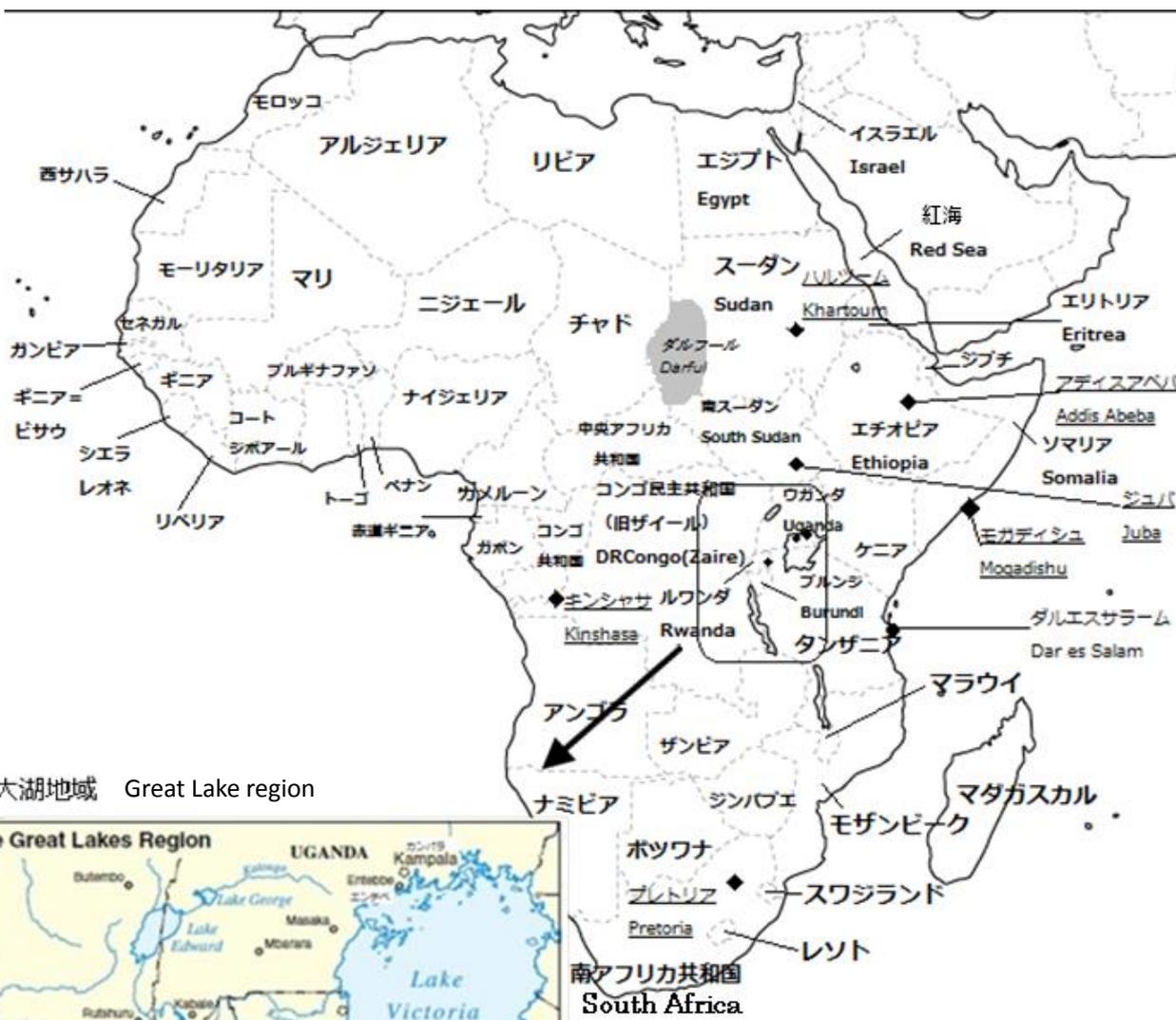
Chronology on conflicts in Africa

PM=Prime Minister, MFA= Minister of Foreign Affairs, VP=Vice President, Sec=Secretary, Amb=Ambassador, SG=Secretary General, Rep=Representative,

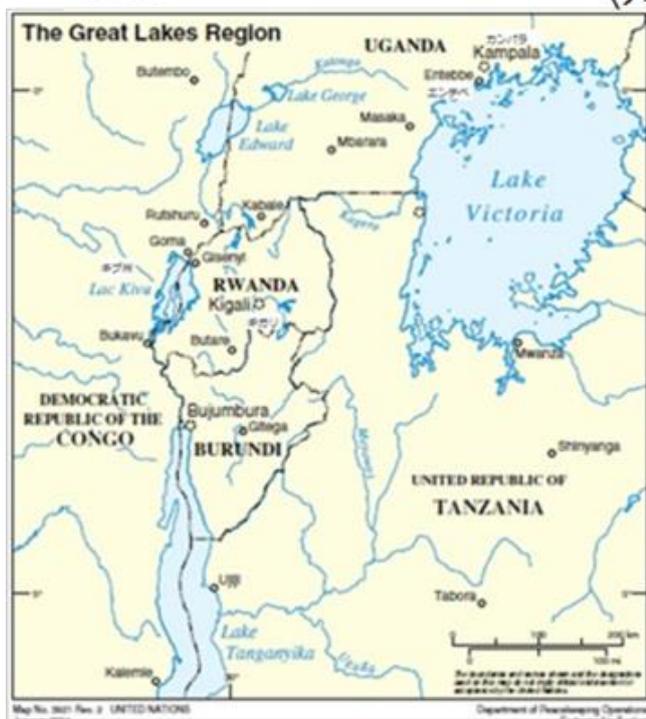
	DRCongo	Rwanda	Uganda	(South) Sudan	Adminis- tration
1950s				55~72 1st Sudan civil war	
		59 Social Revolution/outflux of massive refugees			
1960s				64 <u>H. al-Turabi</u> named himself SG of National Islamic Front	
1970s	65~97 <u>Pres. Mobutu Sese Seko</u>	73~94 <u>Pres. J. Habyarimana</u>	71~79 <u>Pres. I. Amin</u>		
1980s			80~85 <u>Pres. M. Obote</u>		
			81_ Some Rwandan refugees, including <u>Kagame</u> , join the <u>Museveni</u> -led NRM. Civil war	83~05 2nd Sudan civil war- <u>SPLM</u> leader <u>J. Garang</u>	Carter Admin 77-81
			86~ NRM seize power <u>Pres. Y. Museveni</u>		
			87 some Rwandan refugees form RPF	89~ <u>Pres. O. Al-Bashir</u> , <u>Speaker of the National Assembly al-Turabi</u>	Reagan Adm 81-9
End of Cold War (89/11 fall of Berlin Wall)					
1990s		90/10 RPF's invasion into Rwanda, RPF leader F. Rwigema killed			
		90~94 civil war			
		92~3 <u>J. Gasana</u> Min of Defense			
		93 Arusha peace accord			
1994		4/6 Shooting down of presidential plane; assassination of <u>Pres. Habyarimana</u> and <u>Burundia</u> <u>Pres. C. Ntaryamira</u>			
		4/7~ genocide for 100 days			
	Interahamwe and ex-government soldiers who are involved in Rwandan genocide crossed into DRC with massive refugees	7/3 capital Kigali falls under RPF			
		7/19~ <u>VP/Min of Defense P. Kagame</u>			
	96/10 invasion of Rwandan/Ugandan armies & rebel AFDL in Kivu				
	97-01 AFDL spokesperson L. Kabila declared Pres				
	98/8 Occupation of eastern DRC by Rw/Ugandan armies & RCD (2nd Congo War)			98/8 US destroys a pharmaceutical manufacturing facility in Khartoum	
2000s	99-02 Rwandan/Ugandan armies clashed in Kisangani	00~ <u>Pres. P. Kagame</u>		03~ Darfur conflict	
	01 Assassination of <u>Pres. L. Kabila</u> , <u>Pres. J. Kabila</u>	04 AU sent Rwandan troops to Darfur		05 1st VP of SSudan <u>Garang</u>	
	06-12 Rebellion in Kivu by rebel CNDP			05/7 death of <u>VP Garang</u> from helicopter crash	
			07 AU sent Ugandan troops to Somalia	09/3 <u>Pres Bashir</u> indicted by ICC	
2010s	12~3 rebellion by rebel M23			11 Independence of SSudan	
		14/1 ex-intelligence chief <u>Karegeva</u> assassinated in Safrica		13/12 civil war in Ssudan	
		14/3 attempted assassination of ex-RPF chief of staff Kayumba in Safrica			
		14/11 ex-RPF sergeant <u>E. Garifita</u> disappears in Kenya			

U.S.A		France	Other countries and United Nations	Israel
Key persons and main events	Roger Winter		Angola, Burundi, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, S.Africa	
			54~8 <u>PM/Pres. G.A.Nasser</u> (EG)	
			57~66 <u>PM/Pres. K.Nkrumah</u> (GH)	56~66 外務大臣 <u>MFA G.Meir</u>
				67/6 Six-Day War
				69~74 <u>PM G.Meir</u>
			30~74 <u>Emperor H. Selassie</u> (ET)	73~ Likud ruling party
	81~ Director, US Committee for Refugee			
		81~95 <u>Pres. F.Mitterrand</u>		
	88 supports World Congress on Rwandan refugees in Washington D.C		87~93 <u>J. Aferwerki SG of EPLF (ER)</u>	
End of Cold War (89/11 fall of Berlin Wall)				
			92~96 <u>UNSG B.B. Ghali</u>	
92~3 Operation Restore Hope in Somalia			93 <u>Pres. Ndadave</u> assassinated (BR)	
93/2 Bombing of World Trade Center			93~ <u>Pres. I.Awewerki</u> (ER)	
<u>Sec of State C. Warren</u>			48~94 (ZA) End of apartheid	
UN Amb M.Albright			94-99 <u>Pres. N. Mandela</u> (ZA)	
<u>Asst Sec. of State for African Affairs G. Moose</u>				
<u>Director for intl.orgs& peacekeeping, special assistant to the pres. and senior director for African affairs</u> (at National Security Council) <u>S. Rice</u>		6/22-8/21 France's Operation Turquoise in Rwanda		
<u>Sec. of State M. Albright</u>		95-07 <u>Pres. J.Chirac</u>	95~12 <u>PM M.Zanawi</u> (ET) died in 2012	
UN Amb. G.Moose				
<u>Asst Secretary of Stae for African Affairs S. Rice</u>				
98/8 Bombing of US Embassy in Kenya & Tanzania				
01/9/11 September 11 attacks	01 Director of Foreign Disaster, USAID		02 <u>rebel UNITA leader J. Savimbi</u> killed (AN)	00 Director of Security Agency (=Shin Bet) <u>A. Dichter</u>
	04 Special Rep of State of Department for the negoatiation Khartoum - SPLM			
08 establishment of AFRICOM (US Africa Command)	08 Honary Advisor of government of SSudan			08/09 <u>Minister of Interior Security A. Dichter</u>
09-13 <u>UN Amb S.Rice</u>				
11/5 US killed <u>Bin Laden</u>				
12 US troops sent to Uganda				
13~ <u>National Security Advisor S.Rice</u>				

Map of African continent



大湖地域 Great Lake region



南アフリカ共和国 South Africa

Summary of Keynote Speech by Pierre Péan

After the end of Cold War, African Great Lakes region has become a region of death and tragedies amidst the world's indifference. Millions of Rwandan, Congolese, Sudanese, Ugandans and Angolans have been killed alongside four heads of state as well as hundreds of Ministers and officials. This region has had the misfortune to have experienced more damage than those accumulated by all the wars the world has gone through since the end of World War II. In general, it is known that many Tutsi became victims during the genocide in Rwanda, but in fact, many Hutus also became victims, and this fact remains largely unnoticed. In the story of Rwanda, most of the media focuses only on the Tutsi victims, while denouncing the Hutu as the only directly responsible actors of massacre, with the accomplice of France. What can explain the selective silence and double-standard of this story?

In fact, Rwandan President Paul Kagame bears a heavy responsibility for the successive massacres and genocide in Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 1990s, but thanks to the support provided by his Anglo-Saxon protectors, he has become the idol of the West, especially the United States (US), which has a strategic interest in central Africa. In order to overturn the Habyarimana regime in Rwanda in 1994, then Major Kagame, a former rebel RPF leader who had worked with the then Ugandan rebel leader Yoweri Museveni since the 1970s, received enormous support from Uganda. Since Museveni became the president in 1986, he had the ambition to conquer the Great Lakes region, which was gradually implemented since the early 1990s with then Major Kagame playing a crucial role. The Rwandan genocide led to then General Kagame and his RPF accession to power in Rwanda. Then in the mid-1990s, an invasion, disguised as a rebellion, was launched in the eastern part of the DRC by then Vice President Kagame. Both the Rwandan and Ugandan armies have been occupying eastern DRC until now, where unprecedented death tolls have been recorded.

Turning to the network behind the Great Lakes' tragedies, it should be mentioned that since the 1994 Rwandan genocide, apart from Uganda, then Vice

President Kagame also received support from Eritrea and Ethiopia as well as other rebel groups. Eventually, these heads of states, all former warlords, were named as the 'new generation of African leaders' by the US. Boosted with impunity from their responsibility in atrocities in their respective wars, these African leaders mobilised the black continent under the name of Pan-Africanism to 'counter the Islam subversion'. Particularly, Uganda was geostrategically important, especially for Israel, as it shares a lengthy common borderline with Sudan, which was used as the entry point to Khartoum. This is partially why Uganda also hosted the ultimate base for South Sudanese rebels (Chairperson John Garang's SPLM). Sudan, being the largest country on the African continent and an Islamic regional power, has been a threat to Israel, due to its potential support to Israel's enemies. Therefore, Israel was obliged to constantly destabilise Sudan so that it would not become influential among other African and Islamic countries. The Bill Clinton administration also became interested in the importance of Sudan from the perspective of the Middle East conflicts. In addition to Uganda, Israel has been a strong ally to mineral-rich DRC, and an arms-supplier to South Africa.

Behind all these conflicts and the rebellions in the region, Roger Winter, officially the Director of US Committee of Refugees was constantly present on the ground since the 1980s. He planned and coordinated the logistics of various operations with the Rwandan Tutsi diaspora in the US, leaders of RPF, SPLM and Congo, as well as with his close friend, a Mossad chief.

In sum, after the end of the Cold War, the US and its allies decided to remodel the African continent in order to counter the influence of Islamist nations and that of France. Thus, the US politics in the Great Lakes region is directly linked to that in the Middle East, and in addition, a secret war between France and the US has been ongoing since 1993. In order for the US to restructure the continent, parts of rebels, African states, mercenaries, multinational companies, NGOs, human rights organisations and media were used in different strategic and economic operations, including the conquest of Congo and its rich natural resources.

Keynote Speech by Pierre Péan



Pierre Péan

He published more than 30 books in the fields of international politics, security and conflicts (Africa, Gulf and Kosovo). His main publication includes *Carnage: Les guerres secrètes des grandes puissances en Afrique* (2010) ('Carnage: Secret War of Superpower in Africa'), *Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs* (2005) ('Black Furies, White Liars'). He studied political science at Institute d'études politiques de Paris. French national.

It is a great pleasure to give this lecture today.

To introduce myself briefly, my name is Péan, I am 77 years old, and I went to Africa for the first time in 1962 when I was the attaché of cabinet at the Ministry of Finance in Gabon. I have always had a strong interest in Africa, but especially those 14 former colonies of France,¹ which continue to have strong influence with France. Today, I would like to talk about how I got interested in Africa's Great Lakes region, and in particular, Rwanda.

Two Keys in Understanding Post-Cold War Africa

It has been 25 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, and I would like to speak about what has happened in Africa during this time. I will begin by mentioning two keys to understanding this period, but of course, these are only two among many.

The first key is that, after the fall of Berlin Wall, the structure of geopolitical influence in Africa was remodelled, and the US started to possess more power. Before World War II, President Roosevelt had decided to put an end to the colonial empires of France and Britain. Obviously, the US wanted to eliminate those countries' influence against Africa. However, one major incident took place, which halted the US' wish; it was the Cold War after

1947. Therefore, during the Cold War, although the so-called allies shared the common objective of confronting the Soviet Union, thus although there was competition among the so-called allies, they avoided waging major conflicts in Africa. This kept the conflicts in Africa at a relatively low intensity, even though they sometimes erupted, such as during the independence movements of the Portuguese colonies, in particular the conflict in Angola.

The second key, which is one of the most important points in my research, is the reintroduction of Israel as an essential actor in Africa. In order to understand what is taking place in African continent, it is important to explore the agendas —secret or not—of certain powers—France, United Kingdom (UK), US, Israel, Belgium and sometimes Germany. My research started when I noticed the incredible scale of chaos that began taking place in Africa after the fall of Berlin Wall.

There are two other major incidents which took place at the end of Cold War period in 1989-1990. First, Mr. Omar al-Bashir became President of Sudan in 1989, and Mr. Hassan al Turabi, a key person, became his adviser. Let me speak about this later. Second, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) started to play a major role as the proxies of the superpowers. The major actors in the 'international community' before the end of Cold War were states. When states did not wish to be directly involved on the ground, so-called 'proxies' which are either state or mercenaries were mobilised to implement their policies. NGOs, which include human rights defence

¹ These countries include Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo in West and Central Africa, which all use CFA currency. Guinea-Bissau and in Equatorial Guinea were not formerly French colonies. CFA stands for 'African Financial Community' and 'Financial Cooperation in Central Africa'.

organisations, started to play major role as proxies. Due to this change, the situation on the African continent became more problematic.

Tragedy in the Great Lakes region

Today, I would like to speak in particular about the Great Lakes region, the tragedy of Rwanda, the genocide of Tutsi, its victims, which is said to be about 1 million people, and the death of 100,000 or 1 million in eastern Congo in 1996-1997. In addition to this dreadful number, hundreds of thousands of people were also killed in Sudan, Uganda and Angola, and millions more were forcefully displaced. Moreover, in this region, four heads of states² and hundreds of Ministers were assassinated, tens of thousands of women were sexually abused, and many lootings took place. This region has experienced more damage than those accumulated by all the wars the world has gone through since the end of World War II.

Yet, the majority of the media reported and highlighted only about the Tutsi who were killed, implying that the only directly responsible actors of the genocide were Hutu. Has the media been silent due to the difficulty of obtaining information? No. Since 1994, many reports have been published.³ The latest of these reports include the UN 'Mapping Report',⁴ which cited the possibility that Rwanda (RPF) was involved in another crime of 'genocide' in eastern DRC. In fact, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Susan Rice, attempted to prevent this report from being published.

The typical media narrative portrays President Bashir of Sudan as a monster, France as an accomplice in the Rwandan genocide, former French President Mitterrand as someone similar to Hitler, and the French army as the equivalent of the Waffen-SS of Hitler. On the other hand, President Kagame of Rwanda, who is the darling of the media, is characterised as a knight on a white horse in the Great Lakes region, and receives honorary doctorates from universities. Many heads of states including former Prime Minister Blair and former President Clinton consider

President Kagame as a saviour. This political admiration by the media is based on the claim that President Kagame stopped the genocide in Rwanda.

In order to explore in depth the reason why this chaos has taken place, I proceeded with my investigation. It is not sufficient to understand this chaos only with the software which many people, including myself, had been programmed with in relation to Africa. It is important to remind you that the fall of Berlin led to many ruptures in international relations —in the world and in Africa. To analyse one of the main factors, for example, globalisation and IT has rapidly advanced after the end of Cold War. This advancement of IT not only led to production of transparency, as many people believe, but also allowed for the easier manipulation of information.

Shooting down of the presidential jet

Now, let me speak about some of my investigations on the shooting down of the presidential jet of Habyarimana. As other citizens of the world, I was shocked to watch the images of genocide appear after 6 April, 1994. The Rwandan Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who was assassinated, became the first victim of the Rwandan tragedy, and as a world citizen, I was involved in saving her children.

Due to my frequent travels to Africa, I have made friends from various sectors. In 1996, one Rwandan friend of mine told me about the shooting down of the Rwandan presidential plane without thinking about being disclosed. Before I began my investigation in 2004, I had spoken with many friends of mine, some of whom are Pan African revolutionists and some who are close to the RPF which seized power.

As everyone agrees, the shooting down of the Rwandan presidential plane was the trigger of the genocide, and thus it is important to know who shot the missiles. This can have an enormous impact on the whole analysis. According to the extensive campaign organised by the media at that time, the perpetrators of the genocide were the Hutu extremists, those who shot down the presidential jet was Hutu, and France was an accomplice. I became tired of this campaign, and asked myself whether it could be correct, but I did not start my full investigation

² President Ndayaye of Burundi in 1993, Presidents Habyarimana of Rwanda and Ntaryamira of Burundi in 1994, and President Laurent Désiré Kabila of DRC in 2001 were assassinated.

³ See Annex 1.

⁴ See Annex 1.

yet. I decided first to investigate only the shooting down of the plane and to publish my results.

As I proceeded with my investigation, however, it extended to the whole problem of Rwanda, and led to many surprises. After some months, I ended up with a totally different analysis from what was reported in the media. I realised that in order to understand the whole context, it was important to explain the civil war of Rwanda in 1990-1994, caused by the Rwandan Tutsi. In fact, these Tutsi who was in exile in Uganda since the 1960s, returned to Rwanda in 1990 with the intention to seize regime.

The civil war started in October 1990, and the leaders of the RPF already understood the growing importance of the human rights organisations and NGOs since the year before, 1989. Before the civil war even began, the RPF was able to convince these organisations that the Tutsi were not aggressors but victims. Although the RPF was about to attack, they manipulated the situation, and portrayed themselves as victims. Indeed, by using the NGOs, the Tutsi succeeded in this effort.

This realisation led me to challenge the view of the mainstream media that 'Tutsi are the good people and Hutu, the *genocidaires*, are the bad people.' As most of war has shown, it is hardly the case to be able to distinguish between good and evil. As time went on, I started to gradually understand the important role played by Ugandan President Museveni. He provided arms to Rwandan Tutsi who were in exile in Uganda, and assisted them to repatriate to Rwanda in order to seize power. In addition, I was able to trace the presence of US' secret service.

What shocked me most was the discovery of the incredible disinformation that surrounded the seizure of power by RPF, led by Mr. Kagame. I myself was used to investigating sensitive and complicated cases in which organisations such as the secret services were involved. But this was the first time I was faced with such a sophisticated manipulation of information. The RPF's actions were so cunning that they deserve to be studied in military schools.

Eventually, I was able to learn how difficult it is to oppose the mainstream view of President Kagame, the proponents

of which use terms like 'revisionist' and 'negationist' to describe their detractors. Naturally, anyone rejecting Kagame's version of events (such as shooting down the presidential jet and genocide in 1994) is accused of anti-Semitism and holocaust denial.

When my book *Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs* was published in 2005, I experienced how violent these terms were, which were used to oppose my views and to attack me personally. Most of the mass media and French media used these terms to slander me, and I was sued in court under the pretence of being a racist and anti-Tutsi. Among those who sued I was an organisation called SOS Racisme,⁵ of which I was one of the founders, and a French Jewish student union. Apart from them, I was also criticised by Elie Wiesle, the Nobel Peace laureate, who was very important person in the 'international community'. I went through what can be described as a violent trial that lasted for five years. The trial had three steps, from the county court, to the district court, to the highest court of appeal, and I won them all. In order to deepen the understanding of my lawyers and of my own, I had to further pursue my investigation, particularly in order to understand why I had been criticised even by the Jewish community.

Cover up of US

The US, assisted by its ally, the UK, was in the middle of deploying various operations, and I realised that there were many facts related to these that were not being disclosed. In particular, this became clear with the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Two prosecutors revealed crimes committed by Hutus, as well as crimes committed by Tutsi, when the RPF seized power and Mr. Kagame became the president. When Chief Prosecutor Carla del Ponte decided to investigate crimes committed by the Tutsi, the RPF objected, and when she attempted to indict the RPF suspects, she was removed from her post.⁶ The US further prevented the ICTR from investigating the RPF and Mr. Kagame.

⁵ A NGO which was first founded in 1984 in France in order to fight racial discrimination.

⁶ The ICTR had hoped to hand down the first indictments against RPF suspects in 2002 but the ICTR Prosecutor was replaced by the UN Security Council under heavy pressure from the US and the UK, that were strong allies of Rwanda. Carla Del Ponte, *Madame*

To explain briefly, the U.S. has been assisting the RPF since the 1990s, especially when the Clinton administration started in 1993. This is when the then UN Ambassador Madeline Albright and the then Director for international organisations and peacekeeping Susan Rice became in charge of this issue. This is also when the US secret service strengthened its aid to Mr. Kagame.

American involvement was reinforced in 1995, and in particular in 1996. Mr. Kagame and the RPF repatriated from Uganda to Rwanda in 1990 and took power in 1994. Then, one million Hutu escaped to eastern Zaire (present DRC). Among them were the so-called 'genocidaires' who ran away from the Kagame regime. With the pretext of finding them, then Vice President Kagame, together with Uganda, decided to intervene in eastern Zaire.

The Rwandan Patriotic Army, the military wing of the RPF, invaded Kivu in eastern Congo in October 1996, and a massacre took place. France gathered information on this massacre through various secret services, satellite images, aerial photographs and local informants, and considered intervening to stop the massacre. However, France instantly understood the highly complicated situation, because it was then clear that any unilateral French intervention would lead to an inevitable confrontation with the RPF, Uganda, and American Special Forces. Then French President Jacques Chirac proposed the establishment of a multinational intervention in order to stop the massacres. Given the geopolitics involved, he well understood that the French could not lead the intervention and proposed that the American General head the multinational troops.

According to a document written by the French military, which was preparing the multinational troops at that time, French, American, and British troops toured around Rwanda and Uganda together. The document suggests that the US had no will to undertake the intervention and instead left the work (clearing the massacre) to Uganda and then Vice President Kagame, and that the US troops undervalued completely the humanitarian tragedy in the Great Lakes region. It is also clear that the US arranged

things so that the Great Lakes region would be under their influence.

Role of Roger Winter

I will later discuss the response of the U.S. in more detail, but here let me focus on one person, that even the Western nations do not speak about: Mr. Roger Winter, an American, who was working for US Committee for Refugees in the 1980s. He started to show up in Uganda in 1980s when Mr. Museveni, the then rebel leader of NRM (National Resistance Army), and who became the President in 1986, overturned the then President Milton Obote. The top management of NRM was occupied by Tutsis who were in exile from Rwanda, and since the early phase, Mr. Winter approached both Mr. Museveni and the Rwandan Tutsis. And both Mr. Museveni and Rwandan Tutsi attempted to assist John Garang, the leader of the rebel SPLM in South Sudan. As Uganda and Sudan (the present South Sudan) share a common border of 435km, Uganda was able to use its geostrategic position, and its connections with the Rwandan Tutsi to assist SPLM in South Sudan.

I learned that Mr. Winter accompanied Mr. Kagame since his repatriation to Rwanda in 1990 until his seizure of power. And after Mr. Kagame's victory in 1994, Uganda and Rwanda designated the Congolese Mr. Laurent Désiré (L.D.) Kabila to accomplish a duty to extend their power to Kivu in eastern Congo and to overthrow Congolese President Mobutu. The fact that Mr. Winter again accompanied Mr. Kabila was also confirmed.

Mr. Winter had worked officially with the NGO for a long time, but at the same time, I was able to confirm that he had been very close with the American secret service and Dani Yantom, who later became the head of the Israeli Mossad. I also gradually confirmed Israel's intervention next to Mr. Kagame and Israel's involvement everywhere in the Great Lakes region.

Israel's enemy, Sudan

As I previously said, Mr. Bashir became President of Sudan in 1989, and Mr. al Turabi, a key person, became his adviser. Since then, various Islamic fundamentalists –

Prosecutor: Confrontations with Humanity's Worst Criminals and Culture of Impunity, (New York : Other Press, 2009) 231.

especially Al Qaida, the terrorist Carlos⁷ and other extremist movements – were invited to Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, and Sudan became close to Iran and Hamas. As this Islamic extremist influence was emerging, there emerged throughout the whole of east Africa and the Great Lakes region, a sort of substitute of the Cold War relationship, and a clash of civilisations started to take place. Israel was quick to react to these events, as were the surrounding countries of Sudan dominated by Christians and the US.

Often without understanding much, I had no choice but to imagine the presence of Israel and the presence of something like Front Khartoum around Khartoum. Due to fluid information, I decided to go to Sudan to meet with the adviser of President Bashir in Khartoum.

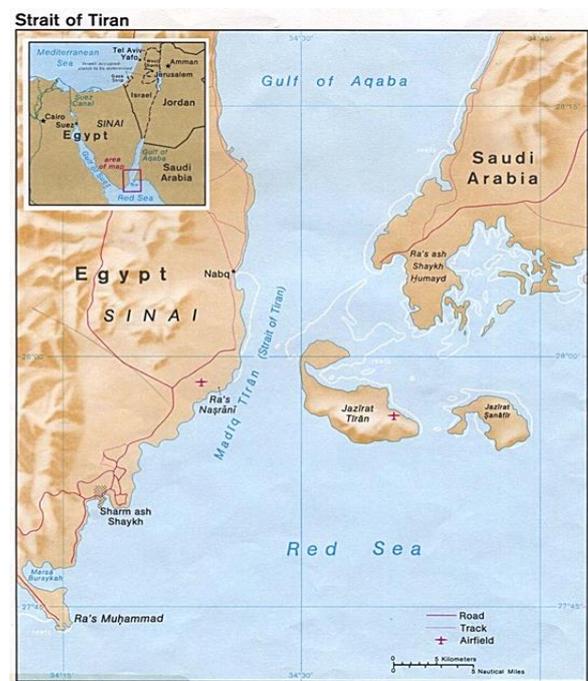
During the meeting with the adviser of President Bashir, we talked about Israel and Uganda. I was given documents in Arabic on Israel. It was a speech given by Israeli Minister of Interior Security Avi Dichter at a conference in September 2008. Minister Dichter explained that Israel regarded Sudan as a dangerous country because of its potential assistance to Palestine. Therefore, Israel was obliged to destabilise Sudan by maintaining the conflict for 30 years in South Sudan, which extended to western Sudan. This intervention of Israel was necessary so that Sudan would not become a regional power in Africa and the Arab world.

Since then, I renewed my reading in order to update my understanding of the events occurring in Africa, and I have realised that since its creation in 1947, Israel has always been a very important actor in Africa. I was able to understand this first thanks to the document on Israel shared with me by the adviser of President Bashir. For Israel, Africa is a ‘matter of life and death’, a position that has also been mentioned for years by various Israeli leaders. Since its creation, Israel has had a global and consistent policy in Africa, which is very rare.

⁷ He is a Venezuelan terrorist with his real name Ilich Ramírez Sánchez. He achieved notoriety for the 1975 raid on the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) headquarters in Vienna.

History of Israel and Africa

To briefly explain the history, let us begin with the violent confrontation between Israel and Egypt under the Gamal Abdel Nasser administration (1956-1970). President Nasser blocked Israel’s access to the Strait of Tiran, which was the entry point of the Suez Canal and a strategic point of access to Africa from the Gulf of Aqaba. If this strait were blocked, Israel would lose its important access to Africa through the Red Sea. This is why Israel had some conflicts little by little, and in 1956 a big war against Egypt erupted (Second Middle East War). It is generally known that Israel, which associated with Britain and France, lost the war. This is because the U.S. and the Soviet Union intervened and prevented the victory of Israel, Britain and France, which attempted to overthrow President Nasser. However, in reality, it was a victory for Israel, as it gained freedom to access the Strait of Tiran, and ensured its access to eastern Africa through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea.



Source:U.S.Central Intelligence Agency

Similarly, Israel renewed its extremely intimate relationship with France, which was the superpower in Africa. At the time, France still had its colonial empire and had been implanted in Maghreb countries for a long time. Another reason that Israel and France associated with each other was that they both had a common enemy, the

Egyptian President Nasser, who had assisted the Algerian rebels against the French.

Therefore, Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion (1948-1954, 1955-1963) did everything to convince French General Charles de Gaulle—who became the Prime Minister in 1958, and then served as the President from 1959-1969—not to abandon Algeria. In contrary, Israel decided finally to divide Algeria into two, leaving the southern part of Algeria to Algerians, and inviting one million of French to implant themselves in the northern part. Therefore, Israel tried to influence the French policy towards Algeria.

In 1956, Sudan became independent from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Soon after, Israel considered that Sudan would potentially become an important enemy, so Israel encouraged the South Sudanese rebels to create a permanent revolt in south Sudan. Israel started establishing its diplomatic relations with all the neighbouring countries of Sudan, starting with Ethiopia under the Haile Mariam Mengistu regime,⁸ and Uganda, which shares the same borderline of 435km with Sudan. Gradually, Israel established its relationship with almost all the African nations. One of the often ignored details is that Israel was one of the most important—if not the most important—supporters for President Mobutu of Zaire, and became an extraordinarily close ally to South Africa under the apartheid regime.

This development of Israel establishing its close relations with the surrounding countries of Sudan coincided with the independence movement of African nations since the 1960s. During this independence era, African leaders turned their eyes to Israel's principal enemy, President Nasser. It required an important diplomatic action in order to block the influence of

⁸ 'Ethiopia was the first country on the African continent, save for South Africa, to set up diplomatic ties with Israel (in 1956). Both Emperor Haile Selassie (overthrown in 1974), who had an affinity with the Jewish state and regarded it as a key pro-Western ally in the Cold War politics of the region, and the Marxist Mengistu (overthrown in 1991) were interested in Israel's common concern in countering the political influence and/or military power of Ethiopia's Arab League neighbors, who, with the exceptions of Libya and South Yemen, gave continued support to the Eritreans in their fight for independence and to Somalia over its claim to the Ogaden region.' Michael B. Bishku, 'Israel and Ethiopia: From a Special to a Pragmatic Relationship,' *Conflict Quarterly*, spring 1994.

President Nasser. Back then, many African nations were in contact with each other through various communications networks. From Israel's point of view, African countries could potentially and totally fall under the influence of President Nasser, who was their main enemy.

Regarding the security issue, Israel tried to ensure that the new African states and its leaders remained close to Israel so that these leaders would not vote against Israel at the UN as much as possible. However, the priority for Israel was to keep its eyes on Khartoum, and on Kampala, the capital of Uganda. The most important actions against Khartoum, notably the covert actions, took place from Kampala. Israel ensured that Mr. Museveni seized power in Uganda, assisted by the Rwandan Tutsi and John Garang, the SPLM's leader. That's why Israel has been constantly around these people and involved in all the military actions and all the harassment against Khartoum.

Israel's Security Policy

Regarding the Middle East, Israel always establishes the so-called 'peripheral pact'⁹ among the neighbouring countries, in order to guarantee its security. Hence, Israel attempted to renew its relations with Iran, Kuwait which destabilises Iraq, Lebanon's Druze,¹⁰ and all those which could also destabilise the potential enemies around Israel.

This is really an essential key in understanding what is largely taking place in Africa, since Africa is an integral part in this peripheral pact. This has a consequence when analysing what is taking place in the Great Lakes region. Israel's security policy was restored, supported by the US and is being gradually reinforced by the US, which completely adopted the Israeli's vision after September 11, 2001. This has led to an important policy, which is the war against the terrorism, led by the US and Israel.

To get into details, after the emergence of the Bashir regime in Sudan and his demonstration of radical engagement, the anti-Islamist Front around Sudan was set up with the Christian leaders, supported by Israel and the US. These leaders are from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Uganda,

⁹ The objective of this policy is to strengthen the cooperation with Middle Eastern countries.

¹⁰ Druze is a religious sect living mostly in Lebanon, with smaller communities in Syria, Israel and Jordan.

and have the objective to overthrow Khartoum so that Sudan will not become superpower and will always remain occupied with domestic issues. Furthermore, again with the same logic, Israel and the US, which figured out that the SPLM rebellion was not enough to weaken Sudan, decided in 2003 to create another front, apart from that of South Sudan, in western Sudan, which is Darfur.

There are two regional leaders who completely oppose the Islamist movement and who are completely supported by Israel and by Washington. These two leaders, Presidents Museveni and Kagame when the latter seized the regime in Kigali (capital in Rwanda), are playing the role of military proxy. These two replaced the former military proxy —important or small— who were President Mobutu, whose government was largely created by the CIA, and President Habyarimana, at a lower level. Presidents Museveni and Kagame are indeed the key persons in a new vision against Khartoum.

To have a flashback, Kagame and the Rwandan Tutsi supported Museveni to seize power, and they also supported Museveni to launch the action against South Sudan. Museveni, South Sudan, Israel and the U.S. helped to strengthen the anti-Islamist Front, and they also supported Kagame to seize power. To analyse the situation since 1994, it is important to keep in mind these factors, although this is only part of the story.

After September 11, the importance of Neoconservative factions around President George W. Bush became clear. Theories held by these factions reinforced the security strategy, which I just explained. Especially, the question of security in Israel, which is presently essential as I earlier explained. This brought a new front in Iraq, but also in Africa in terms of Sudan, particularly in Darfur in 2003. In the meantime, events accelerated with the assassination plan of President Bashir being provisionally abandoned since the failure of US' Operation Restore Hope in Somalia in 1992-1993.¹¹ At the same time, the US strategy of asking its friends to do the work was questioned, and therefore, the plan to overthrow Bashir was provisionally halted and the Anti-Islamist front was winded down. Also, Ethiopia and Eritrea were in war, and the new leader in the

DRC, L.D. Kabila had other security concerns, so the front did not function. Therefore, Israel and the U.S. relaunched Darfur and South Sudan. This is why South Sudan became independent in 2011, while Darfur remained a troubled zone for Khartoum.

Regarding Darfur, it was presented as genocide to mobilise the world opinion. Thus, as soon as the term genocide was used, the question on the US' obligation to intervene was raised and all the NGOs prepared for their work. The Darfur problem was launched by the pro-Israeli lobbying associations in US such as AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) and other major organisations. In order to push the intervention, major demonstrations started to take place since 2006-2007 led by the Jewish organisations.

I am saying this based on the source from Israel, as explained by Minister of Interior Security Avi Dichter, that the Darfur problem was an operation planned by Israel.

A Third key in Understanding Post-Cold War Africa

I am perfectly aware about two things which are contradictory. On one hand, I have only given a slight overview of this history, and at the same time, the overview is very complicated.

Since many of the audience today are students or researchers, I would like to share my third essential key for the comprehension of post-Cold War Africa, which should be kept in mind. After the fall of Berlin Wall, in the African continent, more than anywhere else, one should not trust merely from the appearance. Try to go behind to find out the secret agenda, which is not obvious. It is even more necessary to look behind the appearances whenever the term 'genocide' is involved. Even if the genocide is a reality, the use of this term can prevent in-depth research, since some people can exploit this term for a political or strategic purpose; making it hard to uncover the truth. Hence, the use of this terrible word may prevent researchers from advancing further.

There was one phrase which I did not mention. The Rwandan tragedy and its extension into the DRC, which has produced millions of death in 1996-1997, and since then until today, where terrible things continue, cannot be understood without looking at its links with another secret

¹¹ The US led a UN multinational force in Somalia between 1992-1993 with the objective of humanitarian intervention.

war, aimed at Khartoum. So it is terrible to say that these tragedies are actually the collateral damage of a strategy designed by some invisible hands.

Thank you for your attention.



Comments by Masako Yonekawa



Masako Yonekawa

After having worked with UNHCR in several countries in Africa, including Rwanda, DR Congo, Sudan etc, she joined JICA and Utsunomiya University. She holds a M.Sc in international relations from University of Cape Town. Her main publication includes *A Critical Analysis of South African Peacemaking: how can deadly conflict in the African Great Lakes region be prevented in the future?* (2011).

I would like to share three comments: nature of conflict, variety of actors, and influence of impunity

Nature of conflict

Although this does not necessarily apply to all the conflicts, conflict, as is generally believed, is not necessarily a battle between enemies — in other words, between government army and rebels, or between rebels, who are recognised as enemies. The relationship between actors who are recognised as enemies is, in fact, very ambiguous.

To give the example of Rwanda and the DRC, the Rwandan army and the Rwandan rebel group (FDLR) have been recognised as enemies for many years. In the 1990s, the Rwandan army used the reason of security — FDLR's threat — to intervene in eastern DRC, however, this rationale has faded. And the Rwandan army, using the excuse of FDLR's presence, has often intervened into eastern DRC, and thanks to that, has been able to take de facto control of eastern DRC. This has become known from the following testimony of an *Interahamwe* combatant (FDLR) :

'We haven't fought much with the RPA (Rwandan army) in the last 2 years. We think they are tired of this war, like we are. In any case, they aren't here in the Congo to chase us,

like they pretend. I have seen the gold and coltan¹² mining they do here, we see how they rob the population. These are the reasons for their being here. The RPA come and shoot in the air and raid the villagers' houses but they don't attack us anymore. If you are lucky, and you have a big brother in the RPA, he might be able to get you some food and ammunition.'¹³

It was also reported that the 'Congolese' rebel group M23 (March 23 Movement)¹⁴ which was said to receive support from the RPF, recruited FDLR ex-combatants who are recognised as the RPF's enemy.¹⁵ Moreover, it is also officially said that FDLR and the Congolese army are fighting each other, but they are in fact cooperating with each other through looting natural resources and sharing arms.¹⁶

So have these actors been in such relationship from the beginning? Although the actors may have been enemy at the initial phase, it can be said that this relationship has changed as time passed by. Even if the actors are not allies

¹² Coltan is a rare metal dispensable for electronic devices such as mobile phones, computers, gaming hardware, digital cameras and video cameras etc. It is said that 80% of its reserve worldwide is located in eastern DRC.

¹³ UN Group of Experts, S/2002/1146, 16 October 2002, para. 68.

¹⁴ It is said that M23 was 'defeated' by the Congolese army in November 2013, and many combatants are still seeking refuge in Rwanda and Uganda. Human Rights Watch, 'DR Congo: War Crimes by M23, Congolese Army: Response to Crisis in East Should Emphasize Justice', 5 February 2013.

¹⁵ UNSC, S/2012/843, 15 November 2012, para. 16.

¹⁶ UNSC, S/2008/773, 12 December 2008, para. 27, 29, 30, 102.

politically, they can use each other's presence to their mutual benefit, or even cooperate for economic reasons.

Some superpowers and leaders have prolonged the state of confusion *intentionally* in order to attain political and economic objectives such as controlling land and residents, and looting natural resources. And to attain these objectives, various actors have often played 'farce.' Superpowers have supported different actors and waged conflicts through different means such as providing arms and manipulating information. The prolonged 'conflict' in eastern DRC is indeed a farce, and some Congolese even call it a 'comedy'. Researchers such as Professor David Keen, who is specialised in the conflicts of Sierra Leone and Sudan, points out that the nature of conflict is 'sell-game'—a football match that had been fixed in advance.¹⁷ In other words, it refers to 'the image of war and a contest between two sides which seemed to serve as a smoke-screen for the emergence of a wartime political economy from which rebels and even government-affiliated groups were benefiting'.¹⁸

Use of various actors by superpowers

Second, as Mr. Péan pointed out, one of the means to prolong conflicts by the superpowers is the use of many actors. Today, I would like to highlight in particular the roles of humanitarian and human rights NGOs, peacekeeping operations (PKOs), the UN Security Council (UNSC), and the South African government.

These days, when we discuss security bills in Japan, some of us tend to compare the situation of 70 years ago and today, but it is important to note that the actors in the conflict area have been multiplied today. 70 years ago, there was no presence of PKO and there were only a few NGOs, but in the post-Cold War era, the number of these NGOs and PKOs has drastically increased, and the scope of the activities of both organisations have expanded.

¹⁷ David Keen, *Useful Enemies: When Waging Wars is More Important than Winning them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 12.

¹⁸ David Keen, *Complex Emergencies* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 32.

The fact that the humanitarian aid offered by NGOs can promote the possibility of a war economy¹⁹ has been pointed out many times.²⁰ In addition, especially after September 11, NGOs have a higher tendency to act on behalf of the governments.²¹ For example, when human rights NGOs condemn the perpetrators of conflict, if those perpetrators happen to be influential actors supported by superpowers, these perpetrators will not be condemned, which can mislead the public. It is not clear whether this action is done intentionally or otherwise, but as a result, NGOs are supporting the superpowers.²²

How do the PKO and UNSC contribute to the prolongation of conflicts? To use the example of the PKO in eastern DRC, it was reported that the Indian peacekeepers did not demobilise the Rwandan rebel FDLR and instead exchanged gold and UN food rations.²³ Thanks to such 'cooperation' by the PKO, the FDLR has been able to continue surviving and the conflict has been prolonged. In 2009, the Congolese army led an infamous military operation intended to neutralise the FDLR. This PKO-supported operation was led by Congolese army General

¹⁹ Philippe Le Billon describes a war economy as 'the production, mobilisation and allocation of economic resources to sustain a conflict (eg. taxation, commerce or looting).' UN and NGOs working for humanitarian assistance deal with a large amount of aid materials in order to save refugees etc., but these aid materials could be looted by armed groups. Through its illegal sale, armed groups could purchase more arms, which helps to prolong conflict. Philippe Le Billon, 'The Political Economy of War: What Relief Agencies Need to Know,' Humanitarian Practice Network, July 2000, 1.

²⁰ Jean François, 'Aide Humanitaire et Économie de Guerre', Jean François and Jean-Christophe Rufin eds., *Économie des guerres civiles* (Paris: Hachette, 1996); Sarah Kenyon Lischer, *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War, and the Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2005).

²¹ In October 2001 following the September 11 and US's intervention into Afghanistan, the then US Secretary of State Powell called the NGOs 'who are such a force multiplier for us, such an important part of our combat team.' He instructed the government officials to make every effort to work with NGOs, and the intention of this cooperation became clear that the NGOs were to collect information on behalf of the government.

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/sept11/powell_brief31.asp

²² David Hulme and Michael Edwards (eds.) in association with Save the Children, *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1997).

²³ Martin Plaut, 'Congo spotlight on India and Pakistan', BBC, 28 April 2008.

Bosco Ntaganda (UN report) ,²⁴ who had been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in 2006 for the war crimes of enlisting and conscripting children.²⁵ The PKO denies the fact the military operation was led by Ntaganda, as this would mean that the PKO was indeed cooperating with a war criminal. This was reported as a scandal.²⁶

As stated above, in the first place, the FDLR and the Congolese army are not enemies, but cooperating with each other through the looting of natural resources and the sharing of arms. Therefore, this military operation led by the Congolese army against the FDLR is indeed a meaningless action. At one time in 2009, the Rwandan army also participated in this military operation against the FDLR, but if the FDLR were actually neutralised, the Rwandan army could have lost its excuse to invade eastern DRC as mentioned above. Therefore, the Rwandan army had to perform a military operation *in order not to neutralise* the FDLR. The PKO also cooperated in this operation, though it was not clear whether they truly understood its significance. The PKO will continue its cooperation, which is clear from the fact that the first-ever 'offensive' combat force, 'intervention brigade', was created within the PKO in 2013 to carry out targeted operations to neutralise and disarm the armed groups.²⁷ In the middle of this confusion, a large number of civilians have become victims.²⁸

The state of conflict in eastern DRC has been revealed several times by the UN Group of Experts since the early 2000s,²⁹ however, serious crimes committed during this conflict have never been discussed at the UNSC led by the U.S. and the U.K. When the Rwandan army and the

Ugandan army battled in the DRC, and when the rebel CNDP, which was supported by the Rwandan army, invaded Goma, the provincial town in eastern DRC, in 2008, both the PKO and the UNSC never condemned these countries by naming and shaming.³⁰ Since this silence by PKO and UNSC continued, the Rwandan and Ugandan armies were able to continue committing their crimes.³¹

South Africa, which is the proxy of superpowers, since 1990s after apartheid, intervened in conflict areas in Africa, including DRC, as a peacemaker, and deployed multiple PKOs. On the other hand, South Africa sold arms to Rwanda and Uganda, provided mercenaries, and never condemned the two countries. The ceasefire agreement in the DRC in 1999 was a legal 'trap' in order to weaken the authority of President L.D. Kabila who was inconvenient for the U.S.³² In fact, this agreement was drafted by the South African government under the instruction of the U.S.³³

In other words, both NGOs and PKOs, which are under heavy influence of the superpowers, lack neutrality, and

³⁰ In 2000, when Rwanda and Uganda were fighting in the Congo's third largest city Kisangani, before the UNSC demanded that Rwanda and Uganda withdraw their forces from Kisangani, the UNSC was unwilling to name those two countries for few months. UNSC, S/RES/1304, 14 June 2000, para.3; UNSC, S/RES/1332, para. 10.

³¹ Human Rights Watch, *DRC, Reluctant Recruits: Children and Adults Forcibly Recruited for Military Service in North Kivu, May 2001*; UNSC, S/RES/2076, November 20, 2012, para.8.

³² During the First Congo's War in 1996-1997, companies such as Americans and South Africans made a deal with L.D. Kabila, then spokesperson of AFDL. American Mineral Field was one of those, whose headquarter is located in Arkansas where then President Clinton was from. L.D. Kabila gave a monopoly of diamonds to these companies in exchange of providing fund for the war. However, as L.D. Kabila later changed his status from spokesperson of rebel group to a President, he attempted to remake legal contracts with these companies but American companies rejected. Therefore, President L.D. Kabila abolished these contracts, and made a deal with Asian countries such as Malaysia and China. It was not clear whether North Korea was also included, but North Korean army certainly provided military training to the Congolese army and received minerals in return. The US, which has been utilizing Africa, was betrayed by President L.D. Kabila. It is not clear whether his assassination in 2001 was coincidental.

³³ International Crisis Group, 'Storm Clouds over Sun City: The Urgent Need to Recast the Congolese Peace Process' 14 May, 2002; Mark Malan and Henri Boshoff, 'A 90-day plan to bring peace to the DRC? An analysis of the Pretoria Agreement of 30 July 2002', Institute for Security Studies, 2002; Ludo Martens, *Kabila et la révolution congolaise: Panafricanisme ou néocolonialisme?* (Kinshasa: EPO, 2002).

²⁴ UNSC, S/2009/603, 23 November 2009, para.183.

²⁵ In 2012, the ICC issued a second warrant of arrest for Ntaganda due to his charge of war crimes and crimes against humanity. The arrest warrant stated that Ntaganda 'was believed to be "Rwandan"'. In March 2013, Ntaganda fled to Rwanda and surrendered himself to the ICC possibly for his own protection.

²⁶ BBC, 'Congo Ex-Rebel "Working with UN",' April 29, 2009.

²⁷ The UNSC adopted with its Resolution 2098 in March 2013.

²⁸ Human Rights Watch, *"You Will Be Punished" Attacks on Civilians in Eastern Congo*, 2009.

²⁹ See Annex 1.

there is a need to sufficiently analyse the roles played by each organisation and government.

Impact of Impunity

The third aspect of conflict that I would like to draw attention to is the long-term influence of impunity. Due to the silence of the 'international community' for many years, serious criminals were not punished. In that case, what will happen then?

Since 1996, the influential 'Congolese' rebel groups AFDL (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo), RCD (Rally for Congolese Democracy), CNDP (National Congress for the Defence of the Congolese People) and M23, were all created, led and supported by RPF, one after another in eastern DRC. And although the fifth newly-created rebel group MCRC (Christian Movement for the Reconstruction of the Congo) just intervened in eastern DRC this April-May, which was condemned by the local governor, the PKO still remains silent. As a result, the local innocent people will be more and more victimised.

According to a Canadian journalist, RPF officers who were involved in death squads and massacres during and after the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 were deployed to Darfur and Mali as PKO commanders;³⁴ one of them was arrested in London on June 23.³⁵ Can someone with such background really be engaged in 'peace' keeping? In other words, impunity has a negative impact not only locally, but also elsewhere that PKO troops are deployed.

In summary, conflict and peace cannot be distinguished. Enemies which are believed to be battling are in fact cooperating; 'peace' keeping operations, humanitarian and human rights NGOs do not maintain neutrality; and superpowers keep silent on serious human rights violations committed by influential leaders supported by superpowers. Furthermore, 'peace' agreements reinforce

the power of leaders, which prolong conflicts. Superpowers, the donor countries, do not only give funds for peace processes and peacebuilding as peacemakers, but also play a contradictory role of selling arms to conflict actors.

³⁴ Judi Rever, 'Rwandan Generals Accused of War Crimes in UN Employ', *Foreign Policy Journal*, 10 December, 2013.

³⁵ BBC, 'Rwandan spy chief Karenzi Karake arrested in London', 23 June 2015

Comment by Makoto Katsumata



Makoto Katsumata

After having worked at Université Paris 3, Dakar University, École des hautes études en sciences sociales and Montreal University, he joined Meiji Gakuin University as Professor. He holds a Ph.D from Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. His main publication includes 'Rewriting contemporary Africa's Place in the world: An Afro-Asia Perspective', *JCAS Symposium Series 14*, National Museum of Ethnology (2001)

I am a former professor at the Faculty of International Studies of Meiji Gakuin University, and am currently a research fellow of the International Peace Research Institute at the same university.

When media and university waver

When I was asked to be a commentator at today's symposium 'Why are Conflicts in Africa Prolonging? —From the Perspectives of Superpowers' Roles—', I was not certain whether I was the appropriate person. As we have heard in the keynote speech, there is so much that we are not aware of. However, I have decided to undertake it as I felt honoured to be part of such a discussion at the university.

I happened to teach at a university, and I believe that the most important thing is to think and to get to know what the truth is and what is happening. For this, there are two important systems that modern society has established. One is media. What Mr. Péan discussed today is the result of his investigation. I believe that lack of freedom of speech is the most dangerous thing. Equally, the second system, the university, should be the same, where freedom of studies, free education, free curriculum, liberal remarks by professors, and discussion with students should be guaranteed. When media and universities lose independence, then public opinion is wavered. When public opinion is wavered, it can be politically used. What happens afterwards is what lessons from the history have

taught us.

Decipher rather than solution, and observing from various angles

There are many young participants today who are thinking about how Japan can contribute in international armed conflicts in order to bring peace. Therefore, as someone who has been associating with Africa, I would like to humbly point out few methodologies which should be known.

First, 'decipher' rather than 'solution', which is generally said. Today's keynote speech by Mr. Péan was quite fascinating, but when we speak about conflict resolution in general, there is a tendency to make manuals on conflict resolution based on activities in conflict areas. Of course it is essential to work in the field, but before that, deciphering the types of problems that exist, and the context whereby conflict is produced and prolonged, is necessary. Deciphering work is an intellectual work. 'Veritas liberabit vos' which seems to be the words of The Bible means that 'truth liberates you'; in other words, we should not be afraid of truth, and it is not good not to face the inconvenient truth. When I was working at Meiji Gakuin University, the Rector made one paragraph of the Bible 'serve for others' as the motto of the university. But before we serve for others, I think that it is indispensable to have an ability to decipher what is happening, which can be called as intellect or intellectual power.

Second is 'deciphering from plural dimensions'. Don't

look at things only from where you can see the most, but as Mr. Péan said at the end of his lecture, think what is behind there. It will be limitless if you doubt everything, but I believe it is very necessary to think deeply and more deeply. And try to connect with various factors. Just because your speciality is one certain area or field, it does not mean that you can only focus on it, but try to connect it in a multidisciplinary manner.

Third, 'listen humbly to the opinions of the persons concerned.' Today, there were not any persons concerned, for example, from the Great Lakes region—Rwanda and neighboring countries which have been involved in armed conflicts—, but at least the journalist Mr. Péan is speaking today. It is necessary to listen humbly to the opinions and the research conducted by these people. Speaking without the presence of persons concerned is similar to what European countries had done at Berlin Conference in 1884-1885,³⁶ when they decided to rule the local area without consulting with the local residents in Africa.

Reading context and knowing motives of international politics

It will be a repetition to what I have just said, but I would like to make three more comments on the lecture of Mr. Péan.

First, as Ms. Yonekawa already said, it is highly necessary to read the context of the conflicts in Africa. Reading context will not be understood with the so-called short phrases. It is a tiresome work as it requires an amount of intelligence. You must know the local, regional and international dimension of the context or complexity of the conflict area. Unfortunately, in the present Japanese society, the efforts to read the context has been omitted in many cases, and intellectual deterioration is taking place whereby a situation is explained in high speed with plain words. What university students should do is to raise intellectual confusion, and then to think why armed conflicts have been prolonging. Armed conflict which destroys human lives is such an important issue, which

³⁶ This conference regulated European colonisation and trade in Africa during the New Imperialism period.

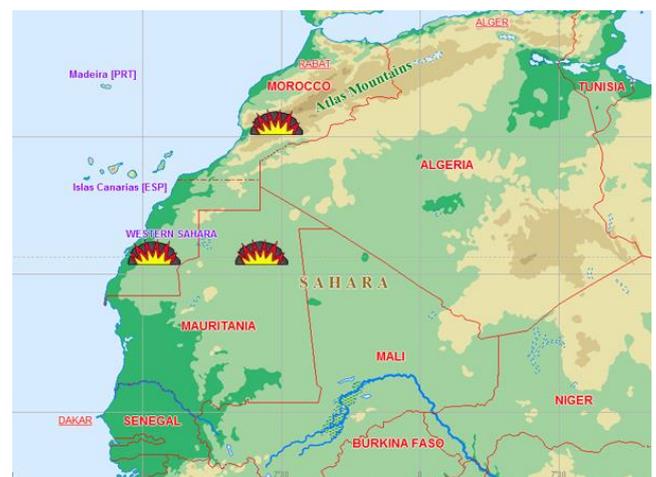
cannot be left only to the experts. As Mr. Péan said, we should always take into consideration that eastern DRC cannot even identify a death toll, although many human beings have died, and genocide has possibly taken place there.

Second is external intervention—today, we had the example of PKO—. Instead of speaking merely about techniques on how to react in the field, we should decipher why such a background helps to prolong armed conflicts in Africa. As Ms. Yonekawa briefly said, it is important to keep in mind that the will of superpowers function well. What the permanent members of the UN Security Council wish to do the most appears on the top of their agenda, but those with the least will appears on the bottom of their agenda, in spite of a resolution.

Africa and UN Security Council

Despite the fact some UNSC resolutions were adopted on conflicts in Africa, conflicts have prolonged in some countries and region in Africa, but the UNSC resolutions have not been implemented. That is the Western Sahara conflict.

The homepage (HP) of United Nations Information Center³⁷ has a page of 'Non-Self-Governing Territories', and Western Sahara appears on the 'Territories to which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries continues to apply'.



西サハラ紛争の地図 Map of West Sahara conflict
出典/source :Special Warfare Net

³⁷ In English, it is available on United Nations Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, (New York: United Nations Publication, 2014), 113.

Western Sahara is the last colony in Africa, which needs to ask residents' intention through referendum on whether it should be independent or not, though it does not have to be independent. Curiously, 'administrative country' of Western Sahara remains blank.³⁸

Why is it? This is because the neighbouring Morocco illegally occupies it in defiance of the UNSC Resolution. This was same as the long-time illegal occupation by Indonesia of the former Portugal colony East Timor in spite of a UNSC Resolution. The Personal Envoy from the US for Western Sahara has been dispatched until now by the UN Secretary General. However, the Kingdom of Morocco does not yet have the intention to withdraw and the permanent members of UNSC consider that West Sahara is not an urgent problem for the time being. Therefore, there is a note saying that:

'On 26 February 1976, Spain informed the Secretary-General that as of that date it had terminated its presence in the Territory of the Sahara, and deemed it necessary to place on record that Spain considered itself thenceforth exempt from any international responsibility in connection with its administration, in view of the cessation of its participation in the temporary administration established for the Territory. In 1990, the General Assembly reaffirmed that the question of Western Sahara was a question of decolonization which remained to be completed by the people of Western Sahara.'³⁹

UN General Assembly Resolution 2229 in 1966 had called on Spain to hold a referendum on self-determination and immediately after 1975 when Spain abandoned the colony, the referendum of self-determination had to be organized for the people of the Western Sahara. However, the UNSC permanent members have not yet seriously pressed this implementation to

³⁸ See <http://www.un.org/en/events/nonselfgoverning/nonselfgoverning.shtml>

³⁹ *Basic Facts About the United Nations*, 114

Morocco. Such attitude to ask the Western Sahara people to remain quiet in refugee camps for 40 years is incomprehensible to me as a citizen of Japan, whose country has supported the UN. Because of such background, it is important to know the official and formal position and the hidden agenda which motivates of the real international politics on why conflicts are so prolonged.

Finally, I have a question to Mr. Péan. Why are African states easily bombarded by superpowers? Being independent means that nationals make decisions of their own country. Governments of the political parties chosen democratically are to demonstrate what they want or they do not want through international negotiations, but their negotiation ability do not seem to be strong enough. Therefore, what kind of condition is required in order to avoid the superpowers' bombarding into the armed conflicts in Africa?

Let's read materials to learn more

Finally, let me introduce four materials for those who wish to study more including the junior and high school students.

First is the UN Information Center, whose documents can be easily downloaded in Japanese. There is precious information in this HP (<http://www.unic.or.jp/>), and I myself read it in order to reconfirm in Japanese.

Second is International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which has a branch office in Japan as well as a web site in Japanese. I visited for the first time this year the hospital and museum in Switzerland of Henry Dunant (1828-1910) who founded the ICRC. After having seen the reality of the battlefield in Europe, he himself said that the situation was terrible, and saved the wounded of both armies together with the villagers. How can we react when killings which are not supposed to occur, take place? We must imagine this kind of vivid scene. To put it briefly, after having seen this inhuman reality, he asked himself how this could happen, and founded ICRC at least to 'humanize' war. Mr. Durant received the first Nobel Peace prize in 1901 after having founded the ICRC.

Third is Ms. Yonekawa's translation of *God Sleeps in Rwanda: A Journey of Transformation* by Joseph Sebarenzi with Laura-Anne Mullane, which deserves reading. The author is a Rwandan Tutsi who could not remain in his country, and was the Speaker of Parliament in the 1990s, the third position in Rwanda after President and Vice President. He wrote not only about the dictatorship in the present regime but also about how to forgive. I read this book at a breath, and would like to recommend it the most to the students.

Finally, regarding my book *New Introduction to Contemporary Africa: Continent whose People Change* (in Japanese; 2013), it has a chapter 'war and peace' where I did not write anything new. As an African researcher who has been watching Africa, I only intended to write something normal, which should be understood as an introductory book. Why conflicts prolong, why businessmen and private companies who get an exorbitant profit survive thanks to prolonged conflicts, and how uncertain truces, ceasefires, and peace are all written, so please have a look as the most basic of basic.

Comments by Pierre Péan

First, let me appreciate Ms. Yonekawa as I did not mention many things during my keynote speech, including the importance of wealth in Kivu in eastern DRC, and the role of the RPF to capture this wealth. I spoke about the chaos but not one of the main reasons, which are to have a stronghold on the natural resources in Kivu.

Regarding the ambiguous role of NGOs, which can act to fuel and further extend the conflict, let me read one note dated 19 August 1994 written by the secret service:

‘The report notably mentions a quadrangular traffic of arms delivered in Entebbe (where international airport is located in Uganda) by one Swedish humanitarian aid organisation based in Uganda.This Swedish humanitarian organisation transported the cannon from Entebbe to Umulu, where four of its members, three Israelis and one American, put them into action to strike the Sudanese military.’

Next, Professor Katsumata was right in pointing out the importance of freedom of expression. I was pleased about this possibility in Japan, as it is not obvious that this type of symposium can be organised in France. Even if the university president agreed to hold the symposium, it can be disrupted by the Rwandans or their friends who are French. To give you one example, I was invited at one symposium in Berlin two years ago but it eventually did not take place because of the pressure.

What I keep emphasising to everybody is that for analysis, one needs to doubt, doubt and doubt. To remember that most situations, which were true before and remains so now, are even more complex now. I earlier gave you some simple keys as a tool. To explain briefly, the difficulty to reveal the truth is the near impossibility for witness to appear in courts such as ICTR or even a French court. To give you two examples, there were two persons who were supposed to give testimony in France (related to

the shooting down of Presidential jet in 1994). One was Patrick Karegeya, who was strangled in South Africa before his arrival in France.⁴⁰ Another Rwandan was to give testimony some months ago, but hours before his movement to France from Kenya where he was in exile, he disappeared and may be dead now.⁴¹ So it is very difficult. I would also like to add the fact that there exists an incredibly industry of false testimony as well.

⁴⁰ Former chief of external security, Colonel Karegeya was found dead on 31 December 2013 in a hotel in the Johannesburg area, where he had gone to attend a meeting. He grew up in Uganda as a refugee, and joined the NRM in 1980s with other Rwandan refugees, including the current President Kagame. After being twice thrown in jail over alleged indiscipline, he was stripped of his rank of Colonel by a military tribunal in 2006. In 2007, he went into exile in South Africa, where he co-founded a new political organisation, the Rwanda National Congress (RNC).

⁴¹ Mr. Emile Gafirita, a former bodyguard of President Kagame, helped transport missiles that were used to shoot down the presidential plane of Habyarimana, He was seized on 13 November 2014 in Nairobi where he was hiding, by a group of unknown individuals. Judi Rever, ‘Witness in French inquiry into 1994 Rwanda plane crash disappears’, Digital Journal, 20 November 2014.

Questions and Answers

Q: Position of residents

International NGOs and superpowers were raised as conflict actors, but I think residents in conflict areas also have an important role in prolonging conflict. How do these residents position in this situation?

Péan: You are absolutely right to raise question about the people, which I did not mention during my keynote speech because my lecture was not to cover the internal causes but rather the external causes. However, the role of people on the ground is clearly important.

Regarding the question of Rwanda, even if there was external intervention, there has been historical conflicts between the Hutu and the Tutsi for the past four hundred years. For a long time, Tutsi has been the cattle owners whereas the Hutu were farmers. Since the early 1960s, following the independence of Rwanda, the political environment became favourable for the majority Hutu which consist of 85% of the whole population. The UN introduced the electoral system with one vote, so during the free election, it was the Hutu who won. Since this started to take place, you can imagine that all the conflict which existed between the Hutu and Tutsi, which was ethnic-based, did not cease, even if there was external change. The first matrix is clearly the tribal antagonism.

Q: Role of Japan

- Today's lecture highlighted the superpowers' role, and we have learned at university that Japan is highly involved in Africa in terms of the amount of foreign aid provided. How can Japan deal with conflict issues in Africa through the provision of aid in the future?
- The security bill is being discussed in Japan today. Do you have any opinion on the deployment of the Self Defence Forces to Africa?

Yonekawa: Instead of answering these questions, I would like the students to think about the following points. Mr.

Péan pointed out how important Sudan and South Sudan are for the U.S. Then what is the reason that Japan prioritised the deployment of the Self Defence Forces to South Sudan? There is also a high concentration of Japanese NGOs in South Sudan; part of these NGOs and the Self Defence Forces are launching a joint development project called the 'All Japan Approach'.⁴² Students need to think why this is taking place.

So what can Japan do? Since today's symposium is organised by the Human Resource Development Program for International Cooperation, I would like to speak from the perspective of international cooperation. In general, the image of international cooperation is that superpowers and rich countries provide aid materials and technical assistance to poor countries, but I believe that exploring truth as Mr. Péan is doing is also an important aspect of international cooperation. Mr. Péan said that he was sued and criticised by various organisations and people, but in fact, he is a hero among the victims such as refugees, internally displaced persons, residents and families of the deceased. The reason why the residents in (post-) conflict areas suffer is not only because they have lost their families and belongings, but also because they can not speak any controversial fact, such as 'those people who are believed to be victims are in fact perpetrators' etc. If you do speak out, you can be killed; this is what has been reportedly happening with some Rwandans and foreigners. Mr. Péan is advocating on behalf of these voiceless, and I hope that the importance of this type of

⁴² In 2003, following the then Prime Minister Koizumi's far-fetched argument on 'humanitarian and reconstruction assistance' of deployment of Self-Defense to Iraq, humanitarian and reconstruction assistance was adopted locally in partnership with Official Development Assistance. Since then, reconstruction development assistance which Government of Japan, Self-Defense, enterprises and NGOs are integrated under the so called 'All Japan Approach' has been implemented in East Timor, Haiti and currently in South Sudan. The objective of this Approach is said to 'raise visibility of Japan'. Yuji Uesugi, 'All-Japan Approach to International Peace Operations', *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 18, Issues 3-4, 214 – 235.

international cooperation will be more understood and promoted.

Q: Role of U.K.

I always thought that U.K. was behind the genocide in Rwanda, and I would like to ask you about it. Since the death of British General Charles Gordon in 1885, it took 10 years for U.K. to build Kampala, then U.K. built Kenya as its support base, Christianised residents and provided money in South Sudan, and took control of Khartoum. I think this is totally the same operation as the genocide, and I was not amused to see Rwanda and Mozambique joining the Commonwealth. What do you think of the role of UK?

Péan: Not highlighting the role of U.K. can be a serious mistake. It is true that U.K. played an important role in creating Kenya. The reason why I did not speak about U.K. is because both the Americans and the British are included as Anglo Saxon in my mind. Certainly, Museveni has been assisted by Israel, but he has also been assisted by U.K. on the run. Since he seized power in 1986, Museveni was cherished by U.K., including their aid to Rwanda. One French military who was involved in the (defense) operation of Habyarimana told me that with a pair of binoculars, he was able to see the presence of the Special Air Service (SAS) of U.K. in Rwanda. Therefore, it is clear that U.K. also played a strong role in South Sudan and in this region. U.K.'s presence is heavy in East Africa— Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda etc. where they played a clear role—, however, its presence is not visible in the Kivus in eastern DRC.

Q: Death of SPLA leader

Who killed John Garang, the leader of SPLA?

Péan: Garang is essentially important, having been the leader of the most important rebel SPLA in South Sudan, which also has other acronyms. In his life, he was often well regarded, but in other times, he was not. In the 1980s, after Museveni's victory, aided by the Rwandan Tutsi (refugees), the Rwandan Tutsi supported Garang to conquer South Sudan. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were

new attempts to conquer South Sudan, and afterwards, we did not hear his name much until 1995-1996 when he became a key person to fight against Khartoum thanks to Roger Winter and his entourage. Garang is like Museveni, protected by Tanzanian President Nyerere (1964-1985), and Garang was close to Nyerere.

How did Garang die? He died in 2005 in a helicopter crash, which belonged to Museveni which flew him to South Sudan from Uganda. I do not have the definitive version, but what I can say is that there is a version of the accident that supports the idea that it was Museveni or his group who exploded the helicopter. However, I do not have the certainty.

Q: Internal factors of DRC conflict

You pointed out the external factors, namely the masterminds (Anglo Saxon group) in the war in the Great Lakes region, including the Ugandan government and Kagame's group in Rwanda. However, there is also internal factor, in other words, the endogenous people who are on the ground. You also highlighted the connection with wealth in the Kivus. So what is the role and responsibility of the Congolese in contributing to this chaos?

Péan: Regarding the internal factor, Ms. Yonekawa spoke about role of the Congolese army, associations and multiple actors, participation of looting etc. I just want to inform you that Kagame and Museveni found a puppet called L.D. Kabila. They created a fictitious movement, the AFDL, to conquer eastern Congo, and went up to Kinshasa to seize the power and overthrow Mobutu. Since that time, DRC had become the product of Rwanda because even the Chief of Staff of the Congolese army in 1997-1998 was Rwandan, James Kabarebe (present Rwandan Minister of Defense). So the whole structure of the state in the DRC is composed of Rwandans. Therefore, today, it is complicated to analyse the state structure in the DRC, due to the impact and power of Rwanda.

Regarding L.D. Kabila, before the conquest of Kivu, he probably signed an agreement with the Rwandans to give the latter the Provinces Kivu and (northern) Oriental in

eastern DRC. Due to his personal reasons, which I do not know well, L.D. Kabila stopped acting as a puppet, rebelled against Rwanda and he chased the Rwandans from the Congolese territory. This is how he invited his own death. Even if it was probably not done by the Rwandans, Rwandans played an important role to assassinate Kabila. By some ingenious manipulation, the successor of L.D. Kabila was Joseph Kabila, who is in fact the adopted child of L.D. Kabila, and in addition, a Rwandan in reality. This fact is not well known, and it is not the official version. I myself met the former RPF officer who engaged in the training of Joseph Kabila in Rwanda. After Joseph Kabila became the head of state, it became very difficult to follow the politics in DRC because it keeps changing significantly.

In 2008, President Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo revealed something to me. When Presidents Kagame and Joseph Kabila were together in an official meeting at UN, they pretended as if they did not know each other well. However, in the evening, participants were surprised to witness that these two became very intimate. President Sassou Nguesso said that it is the night time which is important in Africa. In brief, in all the administration in the DRC, there are relatives and personnel who are Rwandan, and even if I cannot say the level of influence, the Congolese also participate in the chaos in eastern DRC.

Q: Leadership of African states

According to your keynote speech, the conflicts seem to concentrate only in Central and East Africa, but in West Africa, there is Liberia, Sierra Leone and Mali etc. As you said, African problems can be understood in darkness. It is not easy to understand in the daytime. I want to know what the interest of international actors is, the so called 'development partners'? What is their role and interest? What is the role of African presidents to protect Africans?

Péan: It is a remarkable question to raise the role of African leaders and presidents in protecting their own nationals, although I did not take this point of view to deal with this issue. That deserves to speak about the

governance, democracy, and ways to avoid corruption so that Presidents will focus not on their own profit but the progress of their people. It is a vast area but I am perfectly conscious that it is essential.

Q: Shooting down of presidential jet of Habyarimana

Who shot the presidential jet FALCON?

Péan: Not only with conviction but also with certainty, I can assure you that it is Kagame who was the mastermind for the shooting. The so called the 'white liars', who are the defence of Kagame's military has made attempts to hide this fact. I have been very interested in this issue because I had met those who directly participated in this shooting down. In particular, I became close to Kagame's immediate entourage who gave me as many of the details as possible.

Q: Expansion of China

China's expansion is getting highly visible, especially in the natural resources area such as in DRC. What is your prospect in this regard?

Péan: When I almost completed writing my book *Carnage* to deal with the external factors, I could not avoid including one small chapter on China, otherwise people would criticise me that I have forgotten something important. When analysing Africa, one needs to get used to integrate this actor (China) which is becoming more and more essential. For a long time, Chinese intervention was strictly limited to commerce, however, since some years ago, they became interested in politics, particularly in Sudan where China has been playing an important role to defend Bashir by helping him with the possibility of resuming his country's economy using oil revenues. The Chinese are also interested in countries which have great resources —minerals or oil— particularly in DRC, and especially Katanga Province⁴³ where they signed huge

⁴³ Katanga Province, which is situated in southeast in the DRC, is rich with uranium and cobalt. The nuclear bomb dropped in Hiroshima contained uranium, 80% of which was mined in Katanga.

contracts in exchange of infrastructure development. China is also interested in Gabon, and they are extraordinarily active in all the countries. One sees the traces of their construction, such as the number of football stadiums, presidential palaces, and parliaments. So the nature of the relationship that China creates with the local elites is very clear.

Q: Evolution of Boko Haram

Boko Haram has been active in north-eastern Nigeria, and as soon as the regime changed recently from President Jonathan to a Muslim, the suicidal terrorism has reduced. This is because, according to the media, Boko Haram has escaped to Cameroon to wait and see. I am concerned how they will evolve in the future. As you pointed out the conflict between U.S. and France in Africa, there is also same conflict in Nigeria. Since 10 years ago, France has had intention to make Nigeria a francophone country, and reportedly French education was introduced in some parts of the country. Moreover, according to the press, French arms were discovered from the area where Boko Haram was attacked and escaped.

Péan: You seem to have information which I do not have. My children and my grandchildren live in Cameroon, so I am interested in this country, and I heard that Boko Haram has taken hostage in Cameroon but I have not heard about the arms. You said that the power of Boko Haram has been weakened because of the intervention of President Jonathan but this still needs time to be proven. Until recently, the Nigerians army was unable to attack Boko Haram whereas the Chadian intervention seemed to be efficient while Boko Haram operated a kamikaze-style in Chad. I have not studied much about Boko Haram but I believe their presence is still very strong as Boko Haram has been active in hostage incidents. Unfortunately I cannot foresee the future of Boko Haram. They are super powerful, and nobody seems to know how to reduce their aggressiveness.

The tension between France and the Anglo-Saxons has been going on for a long time. The well-known incident is

Fashoda Incident.⁴⁴ France's growing influence in Nigeria is true but one needs to look at the statistics. France was a powerful colonial power. In 1957, 40% of France's external commerce was exported to Africa. Today, it is 0.5%. Yes, France still has the influence in those 14 countries in Africa, but it is not equivalent to the claims of media and that of military.

We can refer this French influence to the Middle East, Libya and the peripheral pact. Especially the pressure of France with the back support of U.S., had overthrown Kaddafi. Concretely, we exploded Libya. Today, the same French are obliged to do 'after-sales service' as a consequence of this explosion in Libya, Sahel, Mali etc.

Q: PKOs in Africa

I would like to ask you about the neutrality of the PKO. You mentioned that the PKO personnel in the DRC are in reality working with the objective of business, and the UN has supported military operation led by a Congolese general who was indicted by the ICC. I understand that Africa hosts the largest number of PKOs, but does this problem of UN's neutrality apply only in Africa, and not in whole?

Yonekawa: As I am not conducting research on PKO out of the DRC, I cannot reply this question, but I think there is high possibility.⁴⁵

Final comments

Katsumata: Let me point out two issues.

First, today's symposium was held in French, and by chance I used to work in Dakar University in Senegal, a Francophone country in West Africa. Whenever I said that I had conducted research in Francophone countries, I have been regarded as a French connection who cannot detect the conspiracy of France. And when you go to East Africa where U.K., U.S., and English's influence is strong due to

⁴⁴ This was the climax of imperial territorial disputes between Britain and France, which took place in the present South Sudan in 1898.

⁴⁵ Similar incidents were reported in West Africa. Barbara Crossett, 'UN Chief Faults Reluctance of U.S. to Help in Africa', *New York Times*, 13 May, 2000.

being former colonies of British Empire, you are told to be careful due to U.K. and U.S.'s involvement. Certainly, it is necessary to investigate the motives of superpowers including former colonial powers and the U.S. However, as Ms. Yonekawa said today, if you wish to know the truth—at least to know Africa—, it is important to study both French and English so that you can analyse both worlds and grasp the situation more, although it may be challenging to learn the local language. If you understand Portuguese, it can be more beneficial in some countries. With these plural languages, we should require text reading ability and communication ability so that we will not be twisted with simple foreign conspiracy theories.

Second, what I have relearned from Mr. Péan today is that the UN should be given more power for peace mediation, and I think that Japan has such influence. What does it mean? Let me provide one example of Israel. Israel's present territory map looks abnormal no matter how you look at it. I have been knowing UNSC Resolution

242 of 22 November 1967 since I was a university student. At the time of Six-Day War of 1967, the UNSC had a plan to bring peace between Israel and Palestine. However, the effort to implement this kept postponing due to the motives of superpowers.

And what I have rethought after having listened to Mr. Péan's lecture is that Israel may be doing according to their wish. What is taking place in Palestine is virtually apartheid. Israel built the wall of 8 meter height in the occupied territory, preventing Palestinians from moving and working. This incident reminds us of the previous night of the apartheid. What is happening behind this is the obvious fact that the UN resolution has not been implemented. This implementation is not easy. However, as a citizen and a researcher, I have felt the need to move the government so that superpowers' motives can be returned to the original peaceful principle of the UN charter.

Moderator's closing remarks (Sukehiro Hasegawa)



Sukehiro Hasegawa

He served with United Nations for more than 30 years, including the UN Resident Coordinator in Rwanda, and Director of Policy and Planning in UNOSOM II in Somalia. Visiting professor of United Nations University and Hosei University. He holds a Ph.D. in international relations from Washington University. His main publication includes *Primordial Leadership: Peacebuilding and National Ownership in Timor-Leste* (2013).

Thank you. Although I should normally summarise the discussion, due to shortage of time, I would like to point out two factors.

First, as Ms. Yonekawa and others spoke, how to take into account of truth? There is no such objective truth. Western philosophy started with the objective truth mentioned by Socrates, Platon and Aristotélēs. This research has been conducted for 2000 years, and what all the philosophers agree these days is that there is no objective truth, and each and every individual merely apprehend the phenomenon in their own way saying this is what happened. Therefore, if such truth happens to exist, many of us tend to think that one thing has happened, and we only share that this is the kind of truth which has taken place after compromising. This is what had been said all by Descartes from France, Emmanuel Kant from Germany and De Spinoza. Therefore, what is important for us is to have an open mind suggested by Dogen, who started Zen in Japan, and to confirm the truth.

Second, regarding how Africa will become in the future, I think this is what is missing in today's symposium. I used to work in Somalia and Rwanda for three years in total, and I also met President Kagame. Before I left Rwanda, I told him the following: 'African leaders, as Asian leaders had accomplished, you should

not be dragged about by former colonies and superpowers. I hope you can build your own country and a prosperous continent in Africa with independence.'

Since then, President Kagame through Rwandan embassy in Tokyo has been inviting me several times to return and see today's Rwanda. I have not been there yet. I have heard so much about Rwanda that it has built a modern nation, and it is a dictatorial state. So what is the truth there? Today I learned a lot, and I wish to go there and confirm with my own eyes. I would also kindly ask the audience to go to Africa and see what is taking place on the ground.

I think African leaders with their independence are gradually using the US, France, UK and others, instead of being twisted around by them, are working for their interest. I think African leaders have begun to realize that they have responsibility to build their country and protect their interests and people. And I am very pleased that some of them, one of them is my friend and my former UN colleague, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia. She is making progress but having a lot of challenges. But I think we have now more African leaders who care about their countries and their people. We learned a lot today from Mr. Péan. Let us applaud and thank him. Thank you.

Student's comment

Kosuke Inoue, freshmen, Department of Law, Rikkyo University

I participated in the symposium due to its appealing sub-title of 'superpowers' roles' and my interest in international relations. Throughout the event, I was shocked several times, and I would like to point out three points among them.

First, regarding the Rwandan Genocide, Mr. Péan mentioned that we can not generalize that Tutsi are victims and Hutu are evils. I recall watching the Hollywood movie 'Hotel Rwanda' during my junior high school days, which made me hurt by the massacring scene of the minority Tutsi. It was shocking to learn that the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) mostly consisted of Tutsi, killed at least 20,000-40,000 Hutu during the genocide (UN report), and the mass media manipulated the information that Tutsi are victims. As Mr. Péan described this manipulation in his own book, he has received criticism even from Jewish, but it was not clear why Israel was related with this problem. This Rwandan Genocide is just one of the few examples, but the fact that superpowers have strong connection to conflicts in Africa was well understood; and Mr. Péan's statement 'we need to take into account these problems not only from the appearance but also from behind' was convincing.

Second, I was surprised to learn about the involvement of the US, France, and even Israel in the conflicts in Africa. Their interference is to seek their own benefits, which makes the conflicts prolonged. And the people in the world lose their sight of the nature of the problem due to the manipulation of information. How disgusting! After listening to Mr. Péan's lecture, I tried to think how Africa can avoid the intervention and instability brought by superpowers but almost nothing came into my head due to multiple actors involved with the conflicts and complication of the problem.

Third, I was very interested in the ambiguity of the independent role of NGOs, pointed out by Mr. Péan and Ms. Yonekawa. In principle, NGOs are to be independent

from governments and will be the actor of New Civil Society, but some NGOs are not independent from governments. To make it worse, the fact that humanitarian aid promotes a war economy demonstrates the difficulty to solve conflicts in Africa and the darkness of conflicts. Even the UN cannot solve the conflicts due to the motives of superpowers. I think NGOs should play a more important role in conflict resolution and the maintenance of security Africa. Therefore, I have decided to study the function of NGOs.

One participant questioned whether undergraduate students were able to understand the importance of this symposium. Indeed, I, unlike the graduate students, researchers and practitioners who have longer experience in this issue as an undergraduate student, do not have deep knowledge on African issues, and therefore did not understand how innovative Mr. Péan's lecture was. His research and engagement in the conflicts in Africa, however, gave me a new viewpoint of the conflicts in the Great Lakes region. Moreover, his journalistic attitude to seek truth despite of being constantly indicted, as well as his action and courage to disseminate his message, whose theme is so sensitive that it can be blocked in France, gave me courage to struggle against power.

Finally, it should be noted that citizens continue to receive tremendous damage by the conflicts that are prolonged by the motives and manipulation of African governments, capitalists and superpowers. While keeping in mind the comments made by Mr. Péan and other speakers, I said to myself that I should make efforts to save such people. I am grateful for the speakers who gave me this idea and for the organisation of this symposium. Next time, as a continuation of this symposium, I would like to organise an event with the students to explore solutions for the conflicts in Africa.

What the participants learned at the symposium

(based on the 68 sheets of questionnaires and interview)

Motives of superpowers behind conflicts in Africa

(many opinions)

- One cannot understand the conflicts in Africa with the knowledge of only one country due to implication of several countries.
- Important to look at the whole context such as superpowers' motives and agendas though there is tendency to expect that conflict means relationship between two actors. It is equally important to understand the view of France.
- Very alarming that NGOs which need independence and neutrality work under motives of superpowers.

Role of Israel (many opinions)

- The fact that African leaders are creating and prolonging conflicts with the motive of Israel (graduate student).
- Fascinating to learn the relationship between Israel and Africa, which is very rare. This lecture gave me opportunity to look at the conflict from the perspective of in and out of Israel (NGO responsible for Palestine).

Mr. Péan's experience and investigation (many opinions)

- Need the capacity to assess the truth and comprehensive view for conflict resolution. Very convincing lecture.
- In spite of being sued and harassed, he investigated and wrote sufficiently. He is a real journalist.

Truth on Rwanda and South Sudan

- First time to hear about the genocide in Rwanda and independence of South Sudan from the superpower's perspective.
- Fresh to listen to analysis on superpowers' role and human network of Rwanda which tend to stress on successful stories only.

Meaning of organising in Japan

- Very precious to organise such a symposium in Japan thanks to the fact Japan has not intervened in conflicts in Africa.
- Impressive to learn about the difficulty to organise such a symposium in France. Very meaningful to organise it in Japan (undergraduate student).

Others

- I felt a strong courage and inquisitive mind in this symposium which cannot be observed in other seminars. Highly appreciated (retiree).
- Wondered whether the undergraduate students, who are not yet exposed to global debate on the conflicts in Africa, truly understood the significance of the symposium, which is very rare in Japan (practitioner).

Annex 1

Main UN/NGO Reports and Indictments which Point out Serious Crimes in Rwanda and DRC

Year	Source	Content of report	Response by Concerned States
1994	UNHCR (Gersony Report)	The RPF army killed 20,000-40,000 people during the genocide.	The report was embargoed by the UN.
1998	UN Investigative Team (Garreton Report)	Some of alleged massacres committed by the Rwandan army and AFDL in 1996-1997 could constitute acts of genocide. Many of 210,000-230,000 Rwandan refugees were assumed to have been killed.	The investigation was interrupted due to US and Rwandan pressure.
2002	Human Rights Watch	The RPF and Ugandan armies clashed in Kisangani, killing 1,200 civilian in 1999-2002.	Both states denied the allegations.
2001-2003	UN Group of Experts	Government armies in Congo's neighboring countries and Congolese rebel groups illegally exploited natural resources.	The accused states denied the allegations.
2006	French Judge	Indictment issued for 9 RPF members, including Kagame, accused of shooting down the presidential plane in 1994, thereby triggering the massive killings.	Rwanda denied the allegations and cut off diplomatic relations with France.
2008	Spanish Judge	An indictment was issued for 40 RPF members for crimes against humanity and terrorism in Rwanda and Congo.	Rwanda denied the allegations.
2008	UN Group of Experts	Rwanda supports the Congolese rebel CNDP in DRC, and DRC supports Rwandan rebel FDLR in DRC.	Rwanda and DRC denied the allegations.
2010	OHCHR (Mapping Report)	RPA and AFDL were involved in an act in Congo in 1996-1997 that can be characterized as genocide.	Prior to its leaked publication, Rwanda threatened to withdraw its peacekeepers from Darfur.
2012	UN Group of Experts	Rwanda, assisted by Uganda, commands the Congolese rebel M23.	Rwanda and Uganda denied this allegations.

(compiled by Masako Yonekawa)

Annex 2

Manuscript note of keynote speech (in French)

« Carnages »

Quelques clés pour mieux comprendre guerres, massacres et génocide qui endeuillent l'Afrique...

Mr. Pierre Péan

Depuis la fin de la guerre froide, la région des Grands Lacs est devenue celle de la mort et du malheur dans une indifférence quasi générale. Avec deux millions de Rwandais exterminés en 1994, à l'intérieur du Rwanda, plus de six millions de morts rwandais et congolais dans l'ex-Zaïre, des centaines de milliers de Soudanais tués, de nombreuses victimes ougandaises, plus d'un demi-million de morts angolais, des millions de déplacés, quatre chefs d'État et des centaines de ministres et autres dirigeants assassinés, des dizaines de milliers de femmes violées, des pillages éhontés, cette zone a le triste privilège d'avoir subi plus de dommages que ceux additionnés de toutes les guerres intervenues de par le monde depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Et pourtant les médias, dans leur très grande majorité, n'ont parlé, ne parlent et ne pleurent que les centaines de milliers de victimes tutsi du Rwanda, dénoncent les Hutu comme seuls responsables directs de ces boucheries. Ce silence s'explique-t-il par la difficulté à obtenir des informations ? Nenni. Les rapports de l'ONU se succèdent depuis vingt ans pour dénoncer le rôle du Rwanda et de l'Ouganda dans le Kivu. Le pré-rapport du dernier, dénommé « Mapping », connu en octobre 2010, décrit les crimes commis en RDC entre 1993 et 2003 et évoque, comme déjà en 1998, un probable génocide. Sous la pression de Susan Rice, alors ambassadrice des Etats-Unis auprès du conseil de sécurité, « Mapping » ne fut pas publié. Et, avec ses mercenaires du M23, Kagame continuait la déstabilisation du Kivu, sans que la communauté internationale n'intervienne vigoureusement. Toujours grâce à la protection de Susan Rice, qui, comme en remerciement des actions de son protégé, a imposé le Rwanda comme membre permanent du conseil de sécurité pendant deux

ans...

Une situation extravagante

Jusqu'à Soljenitsyne et *L'archipel du Goulag*, beaucoup croyaient au paradis soviétique, intoxiqués par une propagande moscovite relayée en Occident par des « idiots utiles ». *Mutatis mutandi*, la *storytelling* sur les changements intervenus au Rwanda depuis une vingtaine d'années et par ricochets dans les Grands Lacs est, pour une bonne partie de la communauté internationale, du même type. Les médias louent le paradis rwandais et son « dieu » Paul Kagame, devenue la coqueluche de l'Occident. Et pourtant la situation apocalyptique succinctement décrite au début de mon intervention trouve son origine, en octobre 1990, avec l'intervention armée de Paul Kagame contre le Rwanda pour conquérir le pouvoir. Et, alors qu'il porte donc une responsabilité très lourde dans les massacres et génocides qui se sont succédés, il a, grâce au soutien sans failles, de ses protecteurs anglo-saxons, imposé une version officielle des événements qui l'exempte complètement. Cette version qui fait des Hutus un peuple de génocidaires et les Français, les complices de leur horrible besogne. Transformant ainsi François Mitterrand en une réincarnation de Hitler, et les soldats français, en Waffen SS.

Extravagant et extrêmement troublant de constater que Paul Kagame soit devenu « l'enfant chéri de l'Occident », y compris de nombreuses et importantes organisations de défense des droits de l'homme. Il s'est vu décerné nombreux prix honorifiques, genre doctorat *honoris causa* de l'Université de Glasgow, de l'Université du Pacifique aux Etats-Unis, de l'Université Catholique d'Oklahoma, le prix « Andrew Young Medal for Capitalism and Social » de

l'Université de Géorgie, le prix « Global leadership », le prix de la solidarité des femmes africaines, celui de l'abolitionniste de l'année 2007, celui de la citoyenneté globale, décernée par la Fondation Clinton... Extravagant de constater que la presse ne fasse pas ses devoirs, ne lance pas de campagnes virulentes contre un régime qui utilise des méthodes dignes de la Corée du Nord, et n'hésite pas à tuer ceux qui veulent témoigner devant la justice... A titre d'exemples récents, ce qui est arrivé à deux Rwandais avec qui j'avais noué des liens amicaux. Patrick Karegeya, l'ancien chef du renseignement extérieur, qui voulait témoigner à Paris dans l'instruction judiciaire sur l'attentat du 6 avril 1994, a été étranglé dans la nuit du premier de l'an 2013 et le général Kayumba, ancien chef d'état-major du Rwanda a fait l'objet de trois tentatives d'attentat en Afrique du Sud. Ou encore ce qui est arrivé à Emile Gafirita, un ancien caporal rwandais qui, après avoir décidé de témoigner à Paris, a été enlevé le jour de la réception de sa convocation. Je pourrais continuer à dérouler la liste des manquements les plus élémentaires aux règles démocratiques jusqu'à la fin du temps qui m'est imparti pour cette intervention...

Extravagant aussi de constater que les protecteurs de Paul Kagame sont souvent récompensés. Susan Rice n'a-t-elle pas, le 1^{er} janvier 2013, été nommé à la tête du conseil de sécurité nationale des Etats-Unis, un poste stratégique dans la définition de la politique étrangère américaine ? Après avoir été ambassadrice des Etats-Unis au Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU...

Première enquête sur le drame rwandais

En 2004, déjà convaincu que Paul Kagame avait commandité l'attentat qui, le 6 avril 1994, avait coûté la vie à deux présidents dont Juvénal Habyarimana, son prédécesseur, et qui déclencha le génocide des Tutsis et des massacres de Hutus, je décidais de mener une grosse enquête sur le drame rwandais. Je découvris rapidement l'incroyable désinformation qui avait accompagné la conquête du pouvoir par Paul Kagame, et les moyens mis en œuvre pour décourager ceux qui tenteraient de s'opposer à la doxa. Des moyens qui ressemblent fort à des

armes de destruction massive: grâce à une analogie abusive entre le génocide des Tutsis et la Shoah, les gardiens de la vérité officielle traitent les contrevenants de négationnistes, de révisionnistes, de racistes, voire d'antisémites. En dépit de cette menace, je continuai mon enquête et exposai en 2005 dans *Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs* que la tragédie rwandaise s'analysait d'abord comme une guerre lancée par le Front patriotique rwandais (FPR), composé quasi exclusivement de Tutsis recrutés dans la diaspora en exil, soutenu par l'armée ougandaise et protégé par les services secrets américains contre le gouvernement régulier du Rwanda. Lequel avait été aidé par la France jusqu'en 1993. Constatais également qu'il n'y avait ni bons ni méchants dans cette tragique histoire traversée par des massacres de masse de Hutus et un génocide des Tutsis.

Deuxième enquête plus approfondie

Dès la sortie du livre, et pendant quatre ans, j'ai été l'objet d'attaques d'une rare violence dans la presse et devant la justice. Plutôt que de me consacrer à la seule préparation d'un très lourd procès, je décidais de reprendre mon enquête et de l'étendre en l'insérant dans l'histoire de la région des Grands Lacs et de l'Afrique centrale, pour comprendre comment et pourquoi avait pu ainsi s'installer une version tronquée de l'histoire de la tragédie rwandaise. Au début, j'ai essayé de retracer et d'analyser les manœuvres destinées à empêcher l'ONU de mener une enquête sur l'attentat contre le Falcon 50 du président rwandais Habyarimana et à bloquer les tentatives du TPIR de poursuivre les crimes commis par le FPR1. Il m'est vite apparu que Washington avait été le chef d'orchestre de cette conspiration du silence. À partir de cette constatation, je me suis efforcé de comprendre pourquoi l'administration américaine déploya une telle énergie, depuis 1994, pour organiser l'impunité du soldat Kagame. Il m'a alors sauté aux yeux que ces manœuvres s'inscrivaient simplement dans une logique de protection des «intérêts stratégiques» des États-Unis en Afrique centrale. Dès lors, j'ai travaillé à mettre au jour les actions –« ouvertes et clandestines »– des États-Unis, depuis les

années 1980, dans la région des Grands Lacs, visant à un nouveau partage des zones d'influence sur le continent africain, et le «scandale géologique» que constitue le fabuleux sous-sol du Zaïre, redevenu aujourd'hui Congo et convoité par tous. Et à l'éviction de la France de ce qu'on appelait son « pré carré ». De grandes personnalités politiques françaises s'étaient déjà posé ces questions-là. Édouard Balladur, premier ministre de 1993 à 1995, avait fait remarquer que la question se posait de savoir qui avait voulu évincer la France de cette zone géographique, et au profit de qui. François Léotard, ancien ministre de la Défense, parla d'une campagne de dénigrement scandaleuse dont il réclama que les tenants et aboutissants soient dégagés et éclairés afin de débusquer qui en étaient les véritables bénéficiaires. Alain Juppé, ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères (1993-1995), après avoir confirmé la réalité de l'implication américaine, estimait que la France avait peut-être sous-estimé la volonté de certains d'agir autrement que par la voie politique et diplomatique, c'est-à-dire en recourant à la force.

D'emblée, mon enquête fut difficile, car, à notre époque –celle qui a débuté après la chute du Mur de Berlin, le 9 novembre 1989–, qu'on dit à tort plus «transparente», les faits les plus importants sont escamotés: traduisant des stratégies plus ou moins avouables qu'il importe de cacher, ils relèvent bien souvent du domaine du clandestin, dans la mesure où ils sont l'œuvre de Forces spéciales, d'agents de services secrets, d'États agissant pour le compte d'autres États, de mercenaires... Ces jeux de l'ombre sont, de surcroît, encore obscurcis par des agences spécialisées, publiques ou privées, qui produisent à jet continu de la désinformation, puisque la guerre est désormais continuée par des batailles de communication. Même quand ils ne sont pas emprisonnés dans un militantisme trop contraignant, les journalistes, coincés par les exigences de productivité et donc par le manque de temps, ont de plus en plus de mal à approcher la vérité.

Une Sainte Alliance contre Khartoum ?

«La stratégie américaine contre l'islamisme soudanais

sacrifie les Rwandais.» J'avais bien lu cette affirmation dans le livre de James Gasana, ancien ministre rwandais de la Défense, quand je travaillais à l'enquête pour *Noires fureurs, blancs menteurs*, mais je n'en avais pas tiré toutes les conséquences. L'œil rivé sur Washington, je n'avais pas assez regardé vers Khartoum. À partir du moment où j'ai découvert que les Israéliens avaient eux aussi aidé Kagame à conquérir le pouvoir, mon champ de vision s'élargit soudain et je compris que le Soudan, allié du Hamas et de l'Iran, était un ennemi important de l'État hébreu et des États-unis. Gasana n'affirmait-il pas aussi qu'Habyarimana allait être remplacé «par quelqu'un qui scellerait une alliance anti-islamiste avec Museveni», et que le soutien militaire et diplomatique au FPR, via l'Ouganda, faisait partie de la stratégie globale de soutien au SPLA de John Garang, intime de Museveni; que l'Ouganda servait de tremplin aux *covert actions* dans le Sud-Soudan et que Museveni était le seul allié stable contre l'intégrisme islamiste?

Pour développer sa thèse Gasana s'appuyait notamment aussi sur un article de Marc Yared datant de 1994: «Sous le leadership vigoureux du président Yoweri Museveni, au pouvoir depuis 1986, l'Ouganda est redevenu un "acteur" incontournable en Afrique orientale. Museveni, qui fut un camarade d'université de John Garang à Dar es Salam (Tanzanie), a fait de l'Ouganda l'ultime base des maquisards sud-soudanais qu'il entraîne et qu'il alimente en armes et munitions. [...] Issus d'ethnies chrétiennes dans des pays où l'islam ne cesse de recruter des nouveaux adeptes, Aferwerki, Zenawi et Museveni –ainsi que John Garang– tentent de mobiliser le continent noir, au nom du panafricanisme, pour "contrer la subversion islamiste".

A partir de ce début d'analyse mettant en avant la constitution d'une Sainte alliance anti-islamiste, composés de trois leaders africains parrainés par Washington et Tel Aviv, j'ai orienté mon enquête en réintégrant Israël comme acteur très important en Afrique depuis sa constitution en 1947.

Alors que je commençais à réunir une documentation importante sur les liaisons entre la question soudanaise et

les tragédies des Grands Lacs, j'apprenais par la presse qu'Israël venait de bombarder un convoi d'armes au Soudan. Le Time du 30 mars 2009 rapportait en effet que, à la mi-janvier, des F15 et des F16 avaient attaqué dans le désert soudanais un convoi de 23 camions transportant des roquettes et des explosifs en provenance d'Iran et destinés au Hamas. Bombes sur les chargements d'explosifs, l'opération avait fait de nombreux morts. L'article soulignait que «l'attaque était un avertissement à l'Iran et aux autres adversaires, montrant la capacité des services secrets israéliens et leur volonté de monter des opérations bien au-delà de leurs frontières pour se défendre contre toutes les menaces». Ce succès aérien monté à plus de 1800 kilomètres de Tel-Aviv montrait, s'il en était encore besoin, l'importance du Soudan dans la vision stratégique de l'État hébreu. Je décidais d'aller à Khartoum. Le conseiller de Bachir me remettait un document en arabe qui se présente comme la traduction d'un discours qu'aurait tenu en hébreu Avi Dichter, ministre israélien de la Sécurité intérieure, début septembre 2008, lors d'une conférence à l'Institut de la Sécurité, qu'il me résumait: «Israël considère le Soudan comme très dangereux, parce que potentiellement très fort et capable de soutenir ses ennemis; et il faisait dire à Dichter: «Nous devons faire en sorte que le Soudan soit constamment préoccupé par ses problèmes intérieurs.»

« Il faut déstabiliser le Soudan »

J'ai fait ensuite traduire ce texte qui avait déjà trouvé des échos dans plusieurs journaux arabes. Dans le septième point Avi Dichter explique l'intérêt de l'État hébreu pour le Soudan, plus précisément pour le Sud-Soudan et pour le Darfour. «Pourquoi cette ingérence?» interroge l'ancien patron du Shin Bet. «Parce qu'il y a un lien avec la question palestinienne», dit-il d'emblée. «Il est important que le Soudan n'arrive pas à se stabiliser durablement. Important qu'Israël ait maintenu le conflit au Sud-Soudan pendant trois décennies, et qu'il le maintienne maintenant à l'ouest du Soudan. Il faut éviter que le Soudan devienne une puissance régionale exerçant une influence en Afrique et dans le monde arabe.» Avi

Dichter expose longuement l'importance du Soudan, qui confère à l'Égypte sa «profondeur stratégique». «Il faut jouer sur les conflits ethniques et confessionnels et prolonger ainsi la profondeur stratégique d'Israël. C'est ce qu'a résumé Golda Meir quand elle s'est saisie du dossier en 1967: "Il faut affaiblir les pays arabes dans leurs potentialités."» Pour y parvenir, le patron de la Sécurité intérieure explique qu'il convient d'alterner les moyens, «tantôt la force, tantôt la diplomatie, tantôt les moyens de la guerre secrète». La nouveauté, c'est le déplacement de la zone du Sud-Soudan au Darfour: les troubles dans cette région doivent empêcher toute stabilisation du Soudan désormais, et ce pendant une bonne trentaine d'années, comme cela fut fait au Sud-Soudan. La façade politique de cette guerre: soutenir le droit à l'autodétermination des Darfouris. La société israélienne et les ONG doivent être mobilisées, la condamnation du génocide doit être relayée à tous les niveaux: «Il faut que nous parvenions à ancrer l'idée que le Darfour, comme le Sud-Soudan, a droit à l'indépendance, ou du moins à l'autonomie; et ainsi mettre un terme à la capacité d'influence de Khartoum. Nous devons à cet égard mettre à profit le rôle des États-Unis, lesquels exercent une influence efficace.»

L'Afrique, une question de vie ou de mort pour Israël

Depuis sa création, l'État hébreu porte une très grande attention à l'Afrique, laquelle lui confère la profondeur stratégique qu'il n'a pas au Moyen-Orient, entouré qu'il est par des pays hostiles à l'est. Et qu'Israël est le seul État à avoir une vision globale, cohérente et stable de l'Afrique, vision qui assure à sa politique africaine – sujet très méconnu – une grande continuité.

Un rapide *flash back* permet d'appuyer cette affirmation. L'étroitesse de son territoire dans un environnement hostile a conduit ses dirigeants à chercher à compenser cette faiblesse existentielle à la fois par une quête d'alliance militaire avec la France, elle-même puissance africaine, et par une recherche d'alliances politiques en Afrique, visant à créer artificiellement la «profondeur stratégique» qui lui fait si cruellement défaut par ailleurs, et à l'aider dans sa lutte contre ses ennemis arabes. Ainsi,

dès les années qui ont suivi sa naissance, Israël a-t-il tout mis en œuvre pour devenir une puissance nucléaire, d'une part, et, de l'autre, pour faire du continent africain cette réserve d'espace essentiel à sa survie –deux objectifs intimement liés pendant longtemps. Il faut se rappeler que l'Égypte, puissance arabe et africaine, devint sous Nasser à la fois l'ennemi n°1 d'Israël et la figure emblématique de la lutte anti-colonialiste et anti-impérialiste.

Les stratèges israéliens vont progressivement dégager plusieurs lignes de force destinées à construire une ceinture de sécurité autour de leur pays: contrecarrer la politique arabe en Afrique, retarder l'unité politique arabe en luttant contre la décolonisation du Maghreb et du Proche-Orient, sécuriser d'abord la mer Rouge, son accès à l'Afrique, et s'allier avec les nouveaux et futurs États africains. Le continent africain va ainsi faire partie intégrante de la stratégie géopolitique de survie élaborée, qui prend le nom de «pacte périphérique» ou «stratégie de la périphérie». L'idée principale de ce plan consiste à nouer des alliances avec les nations non arabes situées sur les flancs ou à la périphérie du Proche et du Moyen-Orient. Israël va ainsi chercher à nouer des rapports étroits avec l'Iran et la Turquie, mais aussi, en Afrique, avec l'Éthiopie et l'Ouganda.

Les succès africains d'Israël vont être marqués du sceau de l'ambiguïté. Les dirigeants de l'État hébreu se rapprochent des Africains, en train de se libérer du joug colonial, en mettant en avant la communauté de souffrance entre Juifs et Noirs, tout en formant avec la France impériale, puis néo-coloniale, une «alliance tacite», avant de faire front avec les États-Unis, Israël devenant progressivement le fer de lance de l'Occident et donc de la lutte anti-communiste en Afrique.

Après l'échec de Bandung, la fin du blocus des détroits de Tiran et l'entrée du golfe d'Aqaba dans les eaux internationales, c'est vers l'empereur Haïlé Sélassié, roi des Rois, Lion de Juda et, selon la légende, descendant direct de la reine de Saba et de Salomon, que diplomates et espions israéliens se tournent pour compléter leur sécurisation de la mer Rouge.

Il appert déjà que le Soudan, de par sa position

géographique au sud de l'Égypte et du fait de ses 716 kilomètres de côtes sur la mer Rouge, constitue pour Israël un allié potentiel, dans le cadre du «pacte périphérique», mais aussi bien une grave menace; et qu'il est donc important d'avoir constamment les yeux rivés sur ce pays dont la séparation d'avec l'Égypte est récente: elle remonte à 1956.... Dans le but d'aider les rebelles sud-soudanais, Israël porte une attention soutenue à tous les pays limitrophes de la zone: l'Éthiopie, l'Ouganda, le Congo (futur Zaïre), la Centrafrique et le Tchad, à partir desquels le Mossad et les forces spéciales pourront acheminer armes et conseillers. La percée africaine d'Israël ne se limite pas à l'Afrique de l'Est; dès le début elle vise aussi l'Afrique noire, à commencer par le Ghana de Kwame N'krumah, qui est, dans les années 1950, la figure emblématique du continent. Israël va devenir également le premier soutien de Mobutu.

Israël soutient le pays de l'apartheid

Après la guerre des Six Jours, quand le général de Gaulle parle du «peuple d'élite, sûr de lui-même et dominateur», et interdit l'exportation de matériel militaire vers Israël, l'état hébreu se tourne vers l'Afrique du sud. Cette dernière devient alors une alliée déterminante, à la fois pour l'aider à construire le volet le plus important de sa sécurité, la bombe, et pour renforcer sa position dans le conflit qui l'oppose aux États arabes et à tous ceux qui les soutiennent, pays et mouvements progressistes. Une association qui va être maudite par toutes les bonnes consciences de la planète, mais qui constituera le fer de lance de l'Occident en Afrique contre l'URSS et ses affidés. Cette nouvelle alliance avec Pretoria est cependant peu compatible avec les valeurs affirmées par Israël. Et il faudra attendre l'arrivée du Likoud au pouvoir pour que le gouvernement israélien l'assume ouvertement; pour qu'au nom de la *realpolitik* Israël accepte de s'allier avec un pays qui prône l'apartheid. Les deux États avaient conscience de la similitude de leur destin. Israël, face à l'hostilité arabe; l'Afrique du Sud, face à celle des Noirs. Et cette convergence de vues était plus forte que tout.

Ouganda, l'allié africain privilégié d'Israël

Mais c'est surtout l'Ouganda qui va faire l'objet de toutes les sollicitudes d'Israël à cause de sa grande frontière avec le Sud-Soudan, lui permettant de harceler Khartoum. Sans remonter aux origines, relevons que l'état hébreu a été longtemps un allié très fidèle du sanguinaire Idi Amine Dada, avant de devenir celui de Yoweri Museveni. Il n'a cessé de faire la guerre depuis plus de trente ans, d'abord pour prendre le pouvoir en Ouganda. Et, c'est très important pour la suite de notre propos, son succès est largement dû aux exilés tutsi rwandais qui étaient à ses côtés. L'importance de ceux-ci se traduira par les postes officiels que ces derniers auront dans le nouveau régime. Fred Rwigema sera le ministre ougandais de la Défense, et Paul Kagame, le patron du Renseignement militaire. Les Rwandais s'engageront d'autant qu'ils projetaient d'aller ensuite prendre le pouvoir à Kigali grâce à l'aide de l'armée ougandaise. Museveni était proche de John Garang qui lui-aussi voulait prendre le pouvoir à Khartoum. Il mit ainsi la National Resistance Army, y compris les rebelles tutsis, pour aider Garang à conquérir dans un premier temps le Sud-Soudan. Les Israéliens et les Britanniques aidèrent également Museveni dans ces combats.

Ensuite pour étendre son influence au-delà des frontières ougandaises, qu'il trouve manifestement trop étroites. Après Kampala, ses yeux se sont portés sur Juba, capitale du Sud-Soudan, puis sur Kigali, ensuite sur Kinshasa et bientôt sur Khartoum.

Dès la fin des années 80, Museveni commença à revêtir les oripeaux du «croisé africain» qui, avec ses chevaliers tutsi, défendait l'Occident chrétien contre les impies; et qu'important ses mises à sac sanguinaires, il lui serait pardonné, comme à ceux qui avaient défendu le Saint-Sépulcre.

Une fois parvenu à la tête de son pays, Museveni, admirateur du Che, de Bismarck et d'Hitler, estima que l'Ouganda était trop petit pour ses ambitions et s'était mis à rêver tout haut d'un Lebensraum englobant le Rwanda, le Burundi et la région congolaise du Kivu... Un Museveni devenu le «chouchou» des États-Unis,

de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Israël, alors que la chute de Mobutu paraissait inéluctable... Et il devint également le «parrain» de la conquête de Kigali par les rebelles tutsi: sans les armes et les soldats de l'armée ougandaise, Fred Rwigema puis Paul Kagame ne se seraient en effet pas lancés dans cette guerre. L'Ouganda est devenu à la fin des années 80, la base arrière des guerres de conquête du Soudan et du Rwanda. Les différents acteurs du front anti-Khartoum estimèrent qu'un changement de régime à Kigali était nécessaire pour le rendre plus cohérent et plus fort.

L'Homme-orchestre des Grands Lacs pour Washington et Tel aviv

Pour mieux comprendre les trames secrètes de ces bouleversements il est intéressant de suivre Roger Winter qui a été à l'articulation de tous les conflits et de toutes les rébellions de la région. Dès le début des années 1980, sous la casquette officielle de directeur de l'US Committee of Refugees, on le trouve dans le maquis aux côtés de Yoweri Museveni, qui se bat aux côtés des Tutsis exilés pour renverser Milton Obote, le président ougandais; il devient très proche des rebelles tutsi qui se préparent à partir à la conquête militaire du Rwanda, très proche également de John Garang, le leader de la rébellion au Sud-Soudan, dans sa lutte contre Khartoum. Il devient également très proche de Paul Kagame et il est à ses côtés quand celui-ci livre ses derniers combats pour prendre le pouvoir; enfin, il accompagnera Laurent-Désiré Kabila dès que Museveni, la CIA et Paul Kagame décidèrent de faire de l'ancien chef rebelle leur cheval de Troie pour renverser Mobutu au Zaïre. Un ancien acteur de l'affaire Contragate me révéla que Roger Winter avait été l'homme-orchestre de tout ce qui s'était déroulé dans la région des Grands Lacs à partir du milieu des années 1980, et que ledit Winter, ami de Dani Yatoum, qui serait plus tard patron du Mossad, coordonnait sur place les actions des services américains et israéliens.

Déstabilisation du Soudan, conquête du Rwanda et remodelage de la carte des influences sur le du continent

noir au détriment de la France

Dans un premier temps, Washington et ses alliés ont aidé prudemment le FPR, avant de s'engager complètement à ses côtés au cours de l'année 1993; son offensive visant à contrôler le Rwanda coïncida alors parfaitement avec les visées américaines sur l'Afrique centrale. Après la chute du Mur de Berlin, les États-Unis et leurs alliés avaient en effet décidé de remodeler la carte du continent noir afin d'y réduire notamment l'influence de la France. Guerre secrète par procuration, par proxies («mandataires»), puisque les parties en cause ne pouvaient s'affronter directement, trop liées qu'elles étaient au sein d'alliances multiples, dont l'OTAN. Mouvements rebelles, États africains, mercenaires, sociétés multinationales ont été largement utilisés dans ces différents combats stratégiques et économiques, la conquête du Congo et de ses inestimables richesses étant le corollaire évident de la guerre menée au Rwanda.

En janvier 1993, l'arrivée de Bill Clinton à la Maison-Blanche raidit en effet les positions américaines dans la région. La nouvelle administration épouse la conception géostratégique israélienne sur le Soudan, ce qui creuse plus encore le fossé avec Paris. Clinton a placé en tête de ses priorités, dans son agenda, le règlement de la question palestinienne, et il n'entend pas être gêné par quelques interférences qui pourraient venir de Khartoum, c'est-à-dire par le soutien du régime soudanais aux Palestiniens, et notamment au Hamas. Le 18 août 1993, le Département d'État inscrit le Soudan sur la liste des États soutenant le terrorisme, ce qui fait de lui un «État-voyou». Le plus grand pays africain fait son apparition dans l'inventaire des pays qui s'opposent frontalement à Israël depuis sa création; il trouve ainsi sa place parmi les États du champ proche-oriental.

Samuel Huntington remarque dans son fameux livre, *Le choc des civilisations*, que, après la prise de fonctions de l'administration Clinton, un front anti-islamiste s'est formé et que, dès le début, Madeleine Albright, nouvelle représentante des États-Unis auprès des Nations unies, s'est intéressée à l'importance du Soudan dans la perspective du conflit moyen-oriental. Celle-ci s'interroge

sur l'opportunité de renverser le régime Bachir/Tourabi au profit d'un gouvernement Garang. Le bénéfice serait immédiat, un tel changement à la tête de l'État soudanais sécuriserait la politique de pression exercée sur les Palestiniens. La politique américaine dans la région des Grands Lacs va désormais se trouver directement liée à celle menée au Proche-Orient. C'est dans cette optique que le «soutien de basse intensité» à Paul Kagame va se transformer avec Clinton en engagement ferme pour l'aider à prendre le pouvoir et, de la sorte, faire plaisir à Museveni, plus que jamais l'homme-clé du système qui se met en place, et rendre par là plus cohérente l'association des «guerriers» africains chrétiens autour de John Garang. Deux événements contribuent encore à accélérer la constitution du front anti-islamiste destiné à en finir avec Khartoum. Le premier survient peu de temps après l'attentat contre le World Trade Center de New York perpétré le 26 février 1993, qui avait pour objectif de faire basculer la tour nord sur la tour sud et de tuer des milliers de civils. La bombe tua 6 personnes et en blessa 1042. La National Security Agency (NSA) réussit rapidement à décrypter les écoutes téléphoniques entre la Mission soudanaise à l'ONU et le ministère des Affaires étrangères à Khartoum. Le 24 juin 1993, le FBI arrête huit personnes, dont cinq possédant un passeport soudanais. Les interceptions indiquent clairement que Khartoum est derrière l'attentat...

Le fiasco de l'opération Restore Hope, début octobre 1993 (18 Rangers et des centaines de Somaliens meurent à Mogadiscio), pousse Washington à ne plus vouloir engager directement ses boys dans des conflits africains; la deuxième est la mise en place de voies et de moyens pour continuer à exercer une forte pression sur Khartoum. Les États-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne et Israël interviendront par procuration sur le terrain, par proxies interposés: ces États «mandataires», il faudra les choyer, les conseiller et leur fournir de quoi. Un pont aérien est organisé entre Mogadiscio et Entebbe (Ouganda) pour transférer de très grandes quantités d'armes qui seront mises à la disposition de Museveni. Pour protéger Kampala contre Hassan al-Tourabi...

«Un des signes précurseurs d'un changement de politique fut le désintérêt grandissant pour la démocratisation en Afrique centrale et de l'Est. En effet, une pression sur Khartoum ne pourrait s'exercer que par des États entourant le Soudan. Or ces États avaient tout intérêt à maintenir leurs régimes militaires qui se basaient sur des minorités ethniques. Une sorte de deal fut conclu. Contre l'abandon de la pression démocratique [...], les chefs d'État se déclarèrent prêts à exercer une pression sur Khartoum.» Les responsables américains attribuent à ces «seigneurs de la guerre» le titre honorifique de «new generation of African leaders». Et le conflit au Sud-Soudan devient le terrain d'essai de la nouvelle alliance dirigée par Yoweri Museveni. Ce sont ses membres qui aident Paul Kagame dans la phase finale de sa conquête du pouvoir. L'ambassade américaine à Addis-Abeba recrute même des soldats en provenance de Somalie, d'Érythrée, d'Éthiopie et du Sud-Soudan pour appuyer le FPR après le 6 avril 1994.

Pour aider Paul Kagame, l'administration Clinton, parfaitement au courant de ce qui se passe au Rwanda par les «sources humaines²», par la CIA, la DIA et la NSA, décide de faire évacuer les Casques bleus après l'assassinat de dix d'entre eux, le 7 avril 1994, le lendemain de l'attentat qui a coûté la vie à Juvénal Habyarimana. Boutros-Ghali, secrétaire général de l'ONU, a prévenu à plusieurs reprises Bill Clinton des risques de génocide; la Maison-Blanche, ajoutait Boutros-Ghali, en était d'ailleurs parfaitement informée par ses services secrets: «Si les satellites-espions américains peuvent lire les plaques d'immatriculation des voitures, ils savaient certainement ce qui se passait au Rwanda.» La NSA avait même fourni un téléphone crypté à Paul Kagame, qui lui permettait d'échanger en toute discrétion avec des responsables américains. Le code de ce téléphone aurait d'ailleurs été décrypté par les services français⁴. Bref, les États-Unis portent une lourde responsabilité dans le génocide des Tutsi et dans les massacres de masse d'Hutu pour avoir privilégié la victoire de Paul Kagame.

Une guerre secrète entre Washington et Paris

Pour les Trois et leurs proxies, dans le plan qu'ils ont formé, il n'y a donc que la France pour poser problème du fait de son rapprochement avec Khartoum et de son soutien de Habyarimana. Début 1994, George Moose, le «Monsieur Afrique» américain, fait part de son irritation³ aux autorités françaises. Le départ des soldats français du Rwanda, en décembre 1993, a certes été une bonne nouvelle, car il laisse le champ libre à Kagame et à ceux qui l'aident: il n'y aura plus de témoin embarrassant, notamment de l'attentat en préparation contre Habyarimana, qui donnera le signal de la phase finale de la conquête du pouvoir.

Pour comprendre ce qui s'est passé au cours de cette période en Afrique centrale, d'Addis-Abeba à Kinshasa, il faut donc garder constamment à l'esprit les visées de l'alliance contre Khartoum, mais aussi les ambitions de Museveni, nouvel homme fort africain soutenu par Washington, ainsi que le projet de l'administration Clinton d'en finir avec le pré carré français et avec le partage de l'Afrique en zones d'influence. Il y a bien eu, à partir de 1993, une guerre secrète entre Paris et Washington. Concrètement, Washington ne voulait plus entendre parler de Mobutu, qui avait pendant longtemps endossé la fonction de «gendarme» de l'Occident pour défendre ses intérêts. Devant la commission des Affaires étrangères du Sénat, le nouveau secrétaire d'État américain, Christopher Warren, affirme tout de go: «Le Président et moi-même sommes d'accord: Mobutu au Zaïre, cela ne peut continuer.» Parfaitement conscient de cette évolution, le vieux «Guide» va donc renforcer ses liens avec Khartoum et tenter de renouer avec Paris pour contrer le nouveau cours de l'Histoire.

Depuis la fin des années 1980, Mobutu est mis à l'index par la troïka constituée des États-Unis, de la Belgique et de la France. Le Zaïre est sous embargo et tente de renouer avec Paris qui entrouvre la porte. Cette agitation indispose Washington et ses alliés, qui soutiennent Kagame, à l'heure où le génocide fait rage et alors que le FPR entre dans la phase finale de sa conquête du pouvoir. Honoré Ngbanda, ancien ministre de la Défense de Mobutu, affirme qu'elle déclenche l'alerte rouge au sein des

services secrets américains pour «contrer ce qu'ils appelaient le "Front français", qui venait de se constituer dans la région et qui, à leurs yeux, était composé de la France, du Zaïre, du Soudan et du Hutu Power [entendez, les ex-FAR et les Interahamwe]. En effet, les experts des services spéciaux américains opérant dans la région avaient reçu mission d'étudier les voies et moyens de contrer par anticipation toutes les actions menées par la France».

Dans ce contexte, la décision française, mi-juin 1994, de lancer l'opération Turquoise est perçue comme une véritable déclaration de guerre. Les protecteurs de Kagame sont tout à fait convaincus que Paris a décidé d'intervenir à nouveau au Rwanda pour empêcher le chef du FPR de prendre le pouvoir et pour sauver le «régime Habyarimana». «L'opération Turquoise sera surveillée à la loupe par tous les services secrets américains engagés dans la grande bataille de la région des Grands Lacs: la CIA, la DIA et le NSC», affirme encore Honoré Ngebanda.

Alors que, au lendemain de l'attentat contre l'avion d'Habyarimana, le génocide des Tutsi et des Hutu modérés bat son plein, que Paul Kagame ne fait rien pour l'arrêter et que ses soldats se livrent à des massacres de masse sur la population civile hutu des zones qu'ils traversent, nombre de combattants de l'alliance en cours de formation contre le Soudan (érythréens, éthiopiens, sud-africains et évidemment ougandais) se trouvent dans les rangs de l'APR pour la phase ultime de la conquête: la prise de Kigali. La capitale tombera aux mains de l'armée du FPR le 3 juillet 1994.

Dès lors Rwandais et Ougandais ont les mains libres pour piller le Kivu, tuer par centaines de milliers ceux qu'ils appellent les «génocidaires», renverser Mobutu et installer Laurent-Désiré Kabila. La France va tenter à deux reprises à l'automne 1996 et au printemps 1997, de lancer une opération militaire pour arrêter les massacres de Hutus dans le Kivu. Washington va réussir à briser ces deux tentatives. Grâce à une incroyable désinformation, la communauté internationale ne réagit pas à ces pillages et massacres.

Mais le front anti-Khartoum explose parce que deux des

membres, l'Erythrée et l'Éthiopie, entrent en guerre et Laurent-Désiré Kabila se retourne contre ses parrains ougandais et rwandais. Plus question d'expédier des supplétifs africains jusqu'à Khartoum. Faute d'aller renverser Omar al-Bachir, Susan Rice obtient qu'un sérieux avertissement lui soit adressé. Après les explosions sanglantes, le 7 août 1998, de voitures piégées en Tanzanie et au Kenya, attribuées à al-Qaïda, la Maison-Blanche décide de frapper, le 20 août 1998, l'usine pharmaceutique Al-Shifa avec des missiles de croisière, prétextant que cette usine fabrique des armes chimiques de destruction massive, et que sa direction est liée à Oussama Ben Laden. De nombreux témoignages montreront rapidement que cette usine fabriquait vraiment des médicaments. Et le clan Winter cherche désormais d'autres voies pour harceler Khartoum. En 2001, l'arrivée de Bush junior à la Maison-Blanche ne ralentit pas le combat de Roger Winter, ni ne réduit son entente. Le 6 juin, Winter intègre l'USAID au poste de directeur de l'Office of Foreign Disaster et pénètre un peu plus dans les rouages officiels de l'administration américaine, puisque l'USAID maintient «une étroite relation de travail avec la CIA, dont les agents opèrent souvent à l'étranger avec la couverture de l'USAID»...

Après le 11 septembre

Après le 11-Septembre, la nouvelle administration Bush a fait de la lutte contre le terrorisme sa principale priorité stratégique, un terrorisme défini comme visant non seulement l'Amérique, mais embrassant aussi les actions et manifestations hostiles à Israël. Déjà perçue comme le réservoir vital de matières premières nécessaires à son développement, l'Afrique est devenue un champ de bataille crucial dans la lutte contre les nouveaux ennemis de l'hyperpuissance américaine. Dans ce contexte, Washington a fait totalement sienne la vision israélienne du monde, et notamment sa conception géostratégique de l'Afrique, acceptant par là qu'une partie du continent soit intégrée dans le champ de la confrontation moyen-orientale. Les stratèges US ont ainsi inclus le harcèlement du régime de Khartoum (ou le renversement de son

régime) et l'éclatement du Soudan dans leurs propres objectifs. Pendant la guerre froide, Israël avait déjà servi de gendarme de l'Occident en Afrique; la nouvelle donne géopolitique a conduit Washington à réinstaller l'État hébreu dans son ancien rôle, persuadé que les Israéliens disposaient des meilleurs spécialistes en matière de contre-terrorisme.

Avec l'aide des lobbies pro-israéliens, Roger Winter va non seulement mener son combat pour faire éclater le Soudan, mais aussi ouvrir un deuxième front contre Khartoum avec le Darfour. Une campagne de propagande monstrueuse est menée contre Omar al-Bachir ,le président soudanais, qui aboutit à sa mise au ban de la communauté internationale. Faisant d'un des grands principes des relations internationales, l'intangibilité des

frontières, le Sud Soudan fait sécession le 9 juillet 2011.Khartoum est désormais très affaibli...

Le génocide des Tutsi, les massacres de masse de Hutu et de Congolais sont en quelque sorte les dégâts collatéraux des menées de ces apprentis sorciers dans des pays où les tensions ethniques étaient déjà très fortes. Et ceux-ci ne tiennent évidemment pas à ce que soit dénoué l'écheveau de leurs agissements dans la région des Grands Lacs. Ils ont tout mis en œuvre pour désigner les Hutu et leurs alliés français comme étant les seuls responsables du génocide des Tutsi, et se sont efforcés d'inscrire les massacres du Congo dans le cadre d'actions légitimes, perpétrées contre les Interhamwe, les génocidaires hutu.

Annex 3

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