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SURVIE (France)

Give legal expression to the obligation of saving the living

Our Imperatives:

COMBAT FRANÇAFLRIQUE**STOP THE MILITARY AND DEVELOPMENT SCAMS IN AFRICA***BREAK WITH FOUR DECADES OF NEOCOLONIAL INTERVENTION*** SHUT DOWN THE MILITARY BASES***END IMPUNITY FOR MERCENARIES AND ALL OTHER HUMAN RIGHT'S VIOLATORS**

PREVENT GENOCIDE AND REFUSE THE TRIVIALIZATION OF GENOCIDE

PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC GOODS AND SERVICES

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THE UNBEARABLE IN AFRICA IS NOT THE HORROR WE ARE SHOWN BUT ITS CAUSES ... CAUSES, WHICH ARE FIRST AND FOREMOST POLITICAL..... THEY CAN AND MUST BE REVERSED!

Survie's STAND ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUES:

RESOURCES AND FAMINES - Historically speaking great famines have never been simply the result of crop failure, drought, erosion or flooding, not in India, China, Brazil, Ireland or Russia. In Africa as anywhere else famines are also not fatalities of climate or geography but the concomitant result of prolonged starvation in societies that have been uprooted through forced displacement and subsequently de-vitalized by destruction of livelihoods. Decades of dictatorship, civil war and foreign, military intervention (the 1967 French military intervention in Biafra for example) have laid to waste whole regions in sub-Saharan Africa, depriving their populations of natural resources and ruining their efforts of development.

MULTIMILLIONAIRES AND PAUPERIZATION- Mobutu (Zaire, estimated Bank fortune upon death in 1997.... 6 billion Euros), Omar Bongo (Gabon), Denis Sassou Nguesso (Congo-B), Paul Biya (Cameroon) to name just a few, were and are multimillionaire heads of states, rich in exploitable resources (oil, minerals, wood). They lord over populations whose economies over the last thirty years have joined the bottom ranks of the world's poorest. What is the origin of their colossal bankrolls? Development loan misappropriation, graft, corruption compounded with natural resource scams (diamond

traffic, illicit wood concessions, hidden oil royalties, etc.) continue to dilapidate public treasuries. All international human development indicators show that the revenues generated by pillaging natural resources are not reinvested to create or maintain needy infrastructure. They do however insure presidential staying power by financing hordes of clients including cooperative French multinationals and political parties over here in France. In the process most of the population is deprived access to education, health care, drinkable water, sewage systems, housing, decent labour, elementary legal rights...in short divested of the basic right to develop a viable society for themselves.

DICTATORS AND SPONSORSHIP- Millions of households in French neo-colonial Africa have to manage in states ruled by Françafrique sponsored presidents, seemingly “elected” for life. From Charles de Gaulle on through to Nicolas Sarkozy France cultivates her particular brand of *r e a l p o l i t i k* by sponsoring collections of dictators with long standing records of criminal, human rights violations. The rogue roster includes the well known Chadian torturer Hissène Habré, eventually replaced by Idriss Deby , first Togo’s Eyadema Sr. then Eyadema Jr., Blaise Campaoré in Burkina Faso, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Ben Ali in Tunisia and last but not least, the sinister Ismael Guelleh in “our” military republic of Djibouti.

By furnishing arms equipments and police instruction, as well as by validating fraudulent elections Françafrique keeps these dictatorships in place, and makes it unlikely for opposition groups with any sort of democratic agenda to emerge and survive.

MASSACRES AND COMPLAISANT SILENCE- Just as in the heyday of colonialism the massacre of populations continues. In contemporary African politics, dictators do not preclude physically attacking the population base of their real or potential rivals if by such tactics they can remain in power. Why? How? Because given the continuing flux of arms provided by complaisant foreign sponsors, and given their immune status wholesale slaughter of populations obviously seems the most straightforward "option" for winning their adhesion. A part from the occasional human rights plea, usually at some ceremonial occasion, France has never opposed such criminal tactics to promote or maintain an official friend in power.... quite the contrary! Had the French government done so recently in the Congo or Rwanda, *SURVIE* might not be such a thriving, critical think-tank today!

Towards the end of the 1990s a heinous civil war opposing different political factions in Congo-Brazzaville left an estimated 80,000 dead and thousands (tens of thousands?) of women and young girls raped and mutilated. What was the reason behind the slaughter? When the fighting ebbed, and the victor emerged France was able to reinvest the presidency with her old friend, Denis Sassou Nguesso thereby preserving Elf’s control over the oil concessions. Back home in France big time media coverage of these events amounted to blackout.

In 1994 the Mitterrand executive, very much attached to Juvenal Habyarimana, “France’s friend” in Rwanda, never ceased to officially and ostensibly accompany the extremist Hutu faction of the Interim Government even after it became clear to all foreign observers in Kigali that the first hundred or so targeted murders subsequent to the assassination of President Habyarimana on April 6 were just the bloody prelude to an agenda of genocide against the entire Tutsi population of Rwanda. One day after its hasty set up, the Interim government composed only of Hutu military extremists plus a few civilian factotums received accreditation by France via its Kigali embassy, and within one hundred days one million Rwandan Tutsis were hacked to pieces. **France was the only foreign power present in Kigali with the military and diplomatic capacity to counter the Hutu extremist command operation and stop this genocide from the very outset.** So why did our government “let it happen”? One of the reasons is most certainly the defence of a French geo-strategic position in the midst of the Anglophone Great Lakes region next to

the giant Congo. The vast majority of French news coverage during this period either refused to admit the fact of genocide or cranked out lurid “Heart of Darkness” descriptions of Africa thereby lulling the average reader into accepting the patently cynical point of view of Mitterrand himself, namely that they were bearing witness to “just one more inter ethnic massacre.”

What about France’s present attitude towards the massacres in Dar-four more than a decade after the debacle in Rwanda? Our official position towards Sudan’s Warlords flip flops between soft pleas for some ill defined “right of humanitarian intervention” espoused by our Foreign Affairs minister, Bernard Kouchner and the hard nosed realpolitik of President Sarkozy who is most unlikely to sacrifice his aggressive commercial agenda in the Middle East to the altar of human rights.

Survie’s position on North-South development politics:

The problems of development and poverty in the Southern hemisphere are above all of a political order: they are Western and G-8 executives who continue to back up dictatorships that ride roughshod over their own citizens and in the process rip-off natural resources thereby compromising the future development of generations to come.

Survie’s awareness campaigns in France have made growing numbers of fellow citizens realize that the so called enigma of failed development in the former French colonies is no enigma at all...**the problem of French relations with African states since the 1960s is no longer France-in-Africa but above all Françafrique in Africa. *Survie* strives to make our citizens and parliamentary representatives aware of the distinction!**

What will stop Françafrique ?

Survie’s Engagements:

* ***Reform*** of France's foreign policies in Africa. In partnership with other African organizations and NGOs in France, ***Survie*** coordinates a citizens platform, "France-Africa" which has recently published a ***White Book for Responsible and Transparent Policies in Africa*** (Harmattan/Paris 2007). The White Book makes specific proposals for parliamentary legislation which if adopted would finally allow our elected representatives to control executive foreign policies and praxis.

* ***End of "dictator friend" sponsorships!*** France's long lasting and embarrassing liaison with some of the most decrepit executives in Africa has made us the laughing stock of authentic, human rights diplomacy. ***Survie*** campaigns against these unsavoury partnerships especially when our President leaves the Elysee to review his troops in Africa or invites his "dictator counterpart" to dinner over here on the taxpayer's tab.

****The truth and nothing but the truth about what France's top civilian decision makers and military commanders did and did not do in Rwanda before the genocide, during the genocide and immediately afterwards!*** Unlike academic research on sensitive national issues we seek the TRUTH NOW and are obviously unwilling to wait out the 50 or 75 years it takes IN FRANCE for defence archives to "drop into" the public domain in order to verify the correctness of our allegations. ***Survie’s*** active participation in

the 2004 non-official but independent "Citizen's Inquiry Commission" (CEC) led to the publication in 2005 of one more major report in French on the crucial question of France's executive and command responsibility in the accomplishment of the genocide by the Hutu extremist Interim Government (*L'Horror qui nous prend au visage*, under the direction of Laure Coret and François-Xavier Verschave/Karthala-Paris 2005). Slowly but surely our painstaking investigations and legal actions have begun to attract attention to our repeated calls since the Rwandan genocide for judicial proceedings against ALL persons, including French persons, accused of crimes against humanity or complicity to commit genocide.

****The battle against tax havens and tax evasion.*** In a number of monographs and open debates *Survie* has consistently exposed the morally unacceptable and deleterious consequences of unregulated global finance (the erosion of public tax budgets for instance and massive off shore money laundering). *The White Book for Responsible and Transparent Policies in Africa* includes proposals for legislation from ATTAC-France, *Survie* and another citizen's platform, "Fiscal and Judicial Paradise," all of whom call for complete disclosure of revenues generated outside of France by petroleum and extractive industries with headquarters in France (Total, Areva, Bolloré, Thanry, Pallisco....) .

****Drop the debt for IMF development loans:*** *Survie* together with other associations like the citizens' platform, "Debt and Development" has often reconstructed the sinuous paths of development aid scams which in fact cannot operate without involving many elected officials and simple employees at all levels of government. These reoccurring, big time frauds are regularly lost to judicial manoeuvrings and cascading acquittals before dropping out of sight forever. In the meantime precious tax resources evaporate within a growing climate of corruption and resignation, which in turn undermines our judiciary and discourages civic reaction. Therefore, alerting public opinion to the counterproductive effects as well as the questionable fundamentals of international debt payments still remains a priority for *Survie*.

ACT UP WITH SURVIE!

Survie is a non-profit association of concerned citizens created in 1984 following upon an international appeal against worldwide hunger signed by 123 Nobel Prize recipients. Our work is made possible thanks to the mobilization of our members and sympathizers, be they ordinary citizens or specialists. *Survie* bases its actions on the legitimacy shared by all citizens to require our elected representatives to account for their policy choices in all public and private domains open to legislation.

Our sources of information stem from daily press reports as well as prodigious amounts of general and specialized literature. A progressively worldwide network of contacts and correspondents have considerably enhanced the quality and relevance of our fact finding activity allowing us to cross examine most news reporting for viability. In short we have become a collective think tank that thinks differently about North-South relationships.

What Survie does:

****Analyses and deciphers*** all types of information from government commissioned reports to people magazine blurbs in order to understand the economic motivation, social connection and political logic underlying Françafrique and to identify their networks

***Informs and averts the public** through

- information campaigns and the distribution of brochures and documentary videos
- conferences, debates and targeted counter-summits
- publication of books many of which have become basic reference material, like François-Xavier Vershave's *La Françafrique, Noir silence, Noir Chirac* and others
- publication of a series of *Black Reports of France's African Politics* which deal with specific aspects of Françafrique
- a monthly subscriber newsletter, **Notices from Africa and other places**

***Acts up:** writes letters to economic policy makers and elected officials, launches petitions, organizes public gatherings, holds press conferences and monitors information stands at cultural events.



What You Can Do: Join us, Support us, Help us to grow!

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I want to become a member of SURVIE and include my yearly dues of 52 Euros or 15 Euros for students. My dues amount to.....EUROS

I want to subscribe to SURVIE's monthly French newsletter, *Billets d'Afrique (Notices from Africa)* for 25 euros in France or 30 euros outside of France. My payment amounts to..... euros

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