

Ghana's constitutional reforms in jeopardy ①

STAR 2/1/92

Star Africa Service

ACCRA — Ghana's early return to constitutional rule is being threatened by a letter which the Consultative Assembly wrote to the government asking for an extension of time for the drafting of a new constitution.

The Consultative Assembly, which began deliberations in August in Accra, was expected to complete its work by the end of this month. However, saying it had "too much to do for the country and wanted to do it well", the 235-member assembly asked for an extension.

If the request were granted, the ban on polit-

ical parties would remain in force.

Obeng Manu, a leading member of one of the emerging political parties, said that if the ban on political parties were lifted late, "we should have to ask for an extension of time to organise ourselves properly because we cannot be in a situation where the head of state, Jerry Rawlings, has all the time at his disposal to play politics at the expense of the whole country".

The Consultative Assembly has also asked that it be given the power to form a constituent assembly to promulgate the constitution.

Aids, in the end, may be largely Africa's horror

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ONE thing is becoming clear in the Aids pandemic — the world's advanced nations are shaking it off. I doubt Aids will have much effect on Britain or Germany.

The people of the West are obviously showing some sort of sexual restraint and, most importantly, they understand Aids.

According to the World Bank 90 percent of all known Aids cases are in the developing world — three quarters are in Africa.

One does not have to be clairvoyant to realise that the thought of Aids tearing through Africa's population will not evoke much sympathy in the West.

The thought might even satisfy many who regard Africa as terminally backward and its youth as inedible when it comes to sexual behaviour.

It is possible that the populations of Africa's more backward nations could be massively reduced leaving this continent vulnerable to renewed colonisation — maybe by Asians this time.

Jill Armstrong, World Bank economist who works in the Population and Human Resources Division of the bank's Eastern Africa Department believes Aids could seriously hamper Africa's already slow development. In some countries, she says, one in 10 are HIV-infected and the gains made in reducing child mortality are being reversed.

Greenpiece
① ② ③
JAMES
CLARKE



Agricultural productivity is dropping. One reason is illness in the villages — HIV precipitates TB and other potential killers long before Aids develops — and people become too weak to farm. Money needed for fertiliser is being taken up by medical treatment.

Ms Armstrong expects school attendances to drop as children stay home to look after Aids-stricken families. In some regions, she says, Aids has affected more women than men and it is women who raise crops — and families.

She speaks of 10 million orphaned children by 2000 in Africa — many will have to be supported by the elderly because the middle generation will be gone. But the elderly will be financially and physically unable to cope.

Aids in Africa is no longer just a health problem — it now an economic problem too. Africa needs money.

I wonder how it might affect tourism — Africa's one easy way to earn foreign exchange?

Will people be put off coming here?

Algeria faces fundamental Muslim victory

A FRENCH junior minister said this week that the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) which won last week's first-round elections in Algeria would spark revolution if it tried to impose fundamentalist laws.

"The day this regime, when it wins, tells women 'you will wear veils, you can't do this or that'... there will be revolution. It's obvious," Kofi Yamgnane, minister for social affairs and racial integration, told French television.

Yamgnane's comments were the strongest government reaction so far on the prospect of a fundamentalist state on France's doorstep.

The Front's victory, likely to open a new chapter in Algeria's history after 30 years of one-party rule by the socialist National Liberation Front (FLN), has alarmed members of France's rightwing opposition and the media who fear a re-run of Iran's 1979 fundamentalist revolution.

The Front hopes to impose a state guided by Koranic law. Many women fear they will be forced to wear veils and be denied jobs and education.

Women's rights activists charged the fundamentalists with planning to return the country to the Dark Ages.

The Independent Association for the Triumph of Women's Rights, the country's largest such organisation, in a communique urged Algerians to block the FIS from taking power.

CIPREP 5/11/92 **Middle Ages** ①

"Will the FIS voters, just 25 percent of the electorate, be allowed to impose the Middle Ages on all of Algeria?" the group asked. "Will they be allowed to bury women alive?"

The women warned that a FIS-run parliament could provoke civil conflict. They urged voters who abstained last week to turn out for the second round of elections on January 16 and "block the road to the FIS".

Only 58 percent of Algeria's 13.3 million registered voters cast ballots in the first round. Many who abstained are believed to have been women.

The staggering fundamentalist victory came in the freest parliamentary election ever held in the Arab world, featuring 49 parties and 5 712 candidates representing every point on the political spectrum.

Losing parties have contested the results in about 50 seats out of the 430-seat National People's Assembly, mostly charging the fundamentalists with irregularities.

Allegations include pressuring voters outside polling stations, filling in ballots for illiterate voters, and distributing consumer goods to voters in exchange for their support.

Shiites

Algeria's Sunni Muslims are more moderate than the Shiites running Iran. Acting FIS leader Abdelkader Hachani, considered a moderate, has said that Iranian-style people's courts will not be imposed, and that women will not be confined to their homes.

But hardliners contend that women take jobs away from men and spend their money on makeup.

Much of the party's popular support comes from poor unemployed young men. About 75 percent of Algeria's 25.7 million people are under 30, and unemployment stands at 23 percent.

Meanwhile, French journalists and academics have ascribed the election result more to disillusion with the National Liberation Front (FLN) than enthusiasm for an Islamic state.

Many have predicted a flood of immigrants will head for France, but Yamgnane said he thought they would rather stay and rebel in their own country!

"I can't believe Algerians are ready to live in total despotism. It's not possible," he added.

Earlier the Foreign Ministry said France was committed to strengthening ties with Algeria.

France retains important economic and cultural links with the country it relinquished in 1962 after a bloody eight-year war of independence.

French politicians believe the rise of the FIS is bound to have reverberations at home, where the number of immigrant Algerians, many of them naturalised, runs into the millions.

Public intolerance of foreigners is growing and the far-right National Front has demanded an urgent repatriation programme. - Sapa-AP

Steve Kirby reports from Algiers on opposition to Islamic fundamentalism

Preventing a return to the dark ages

STV 2 6/11/92

HUNDREDS of thousands of Algerians marched through the streets of the capital in the first public display of the strength of the opposition to Islamic fundamentalism since the stunning success of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in the country's first multiparty national elections.

Democrats, trade unionists, employers' organisations, women's groups and the parties of the still influential communist Left joined together to show the other face of a country which is among the most Westernised in the Arab world.

The government was taking no chances that violence might interrupt the electoral process before the second round run-offs planned for January 16. Before the march thousands of police with water cannons and rifles took up positions in the streets of Algiers.

The FIS leaders have been adopting a moderate and conciliatory tone over the past week and deliberate confrontations between the marchers and fundamentalist militants were always unlikely.

The march was a crucial test, too, of the cohesion and unity of purpose of the fundamentalists' opponents, and of whether, in the

face of what many are describing as the imminent parliamentary dictatorship of the FIS — which gained 3 250 000 votes from a 13 250 000-strong electorate — they will adhere to the law and the constitution.

Divided at the polls between the old one-party National Liberation Front (FLN), the myriad democratic parties and a boycott, the far Left, who urged a boycott, the fundamentalists' opponents have remained divided until now, even in the face of an almost certain fundamentalist victory in the second round.

The whole of the opposition has been aware that the FIS Islamic programme will entail a radical reversal of the country's growing Westernisation, but it has been divided on how to react to the prospect of the next government being led by a party which has displayed such an ambiguous attitude towards democracy.

On New Year's Eve Sadi Said, the leader of the secular and social democratic Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), which polled 200 000 votes in the first round and still has four candidates left in the second, called for strikes and demonstrations to pre-

vent a second-round ballot which could only plunge Algeria back into the dark ages.

One of the loudest advocates of democracy in Algeria over the past decade and a half, he said that this was no time for electoral "formalism" which could please only the chattering classes of Europe. The country was faced with a crisis as grave as Germany's in the 1930s or France's in the 1940s.

But in the view of the Socialist Forces' Front (SFF), which emerged from the elections with 25 sure seats, the democrats' best hopes rest with the constitution.

"It is vital that we don't lose our heads," said the party's leader, the veteran FLN commander and opposition politician, Hocine Ait Ahmed.

"We must work legally and constitutionally to build a groundswell of support for democracy that will minimise the seats the FIS gains in the second round and make it impossible for them to step outside the constitution if they are to be the next government," he said.

On Monday night, after the Constitutional Council finally confirmed that, barring appeals against the conduct of the ballot,

the FIS would need just 28 of the 199 seats to be contested in the second round to have an absolute majority in parliament, trade unions and employers' organisations representing most of the country's civil servants and the bulk of its modern economic sector joined the Communist Avant Garde Socialist Party (PAGS) in a Committee for National Protection. The committee urged the cancellation of the second round and the calling off of the whole electoral process.

The PAGS's hostility to the electoral process had always been known, but it was the first time that bodies associated with the old FLN had spoken out against the elections.

These organisations have the power to cause the sort of disruption to the country's administration and modern economy that might still interrupt the election.

The massive participation of even the country's communist-influenced trade unions suggests the Socialist Forces' Front has for the time being succeeded in rallying the opposition to fundamentalism in Algeria around it and the path of constitutionality. — The Independent News Service. □

STAR 8/11/92

New 12-party govt in Comoros⁽¹⁾

MORONI — The Comoros has formed a government made up of 12 political parties, but dominated by supporters of the Indian Ocean island archipelago's President Said Mohamed Djohar.

Mohamed Taki Abdoukarim, who ran in 1990 national elections as a presidential candidate against President Djohar, leads the 13-member Cabinet announced late on Monday.

The new government was formed in line with a pact of national reconciliation between the political parties agreed on a week ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa must increase food production, says World Bank

Technology can avert a nightmare

SMR 9/11/91

A senior World Bank official has called for a doubling of food production in Africa to avert a "nightmare scenario" brought about by population pressure, environmental destruction and the stagnation of agriculture.

At a meeting of the Special Programme for African Agricultural Research (Spar) held in Rome, Edward Jaycox, regional vice-president for Africa, said food production must increase by an average of 4 percent a year to meet the region's needs.

Production is currently increasing at only 2 percent a year. Something has to be done about population growth in Africa, he

said, "but the rate of change in agricultural technology has also to be speeded up enormously".

To meet these goals, Spar representatives agreed to move ahead with a comprehensive plan of agricultural research, and environmental protection in the countries of the Sahel region.

Research efforts are to be concentrated in Mali, Burkina Faso and Senegal to help boost production of sorghum.

A similar plan has been drawn up to assist war-torn Mozambique and Angola work out their agricultural research priorities. Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swazi-

land and Zimbabwe will collaborate on the research.

Over the last 30 years, agricultural growth in sub-Saharan Africa has averaged only 2 percent annually, while the population has grown at about 3.1 percent a year.

Most of the growth in agricultural production has come from expanding cultivable areas. But cultivable land is increasingly limited, and future growth will depend on increasing production on available land, requiring improved farming techniques and modern technology.

According to a Spar statement, Africa's technological base is in-

adequate to meet the region's needs.

Some progress has been made in the last decade, but Africa needs to develop new crops and farming systems which reduce deforestation and reverse the declining fertility on croplands.

Representatives of 20 multilateral and bilateral aid agencies, 12 African countries and 18 regional organisations participated in the Rome meeting.

Spar was established in 1985 by a group of aid donors concerned about the failure of African agricultural production to keep pace with the region's rapid population growth. □

Rich states blamed as Third World starves

STAR 9/11/92

A former Oxfam director has accused the European Community of putting up trade barriers to exclude the Third World, reports NICHOLAS SCHOON.

THE ENORMOUS support payments that Europe's taxpayers and consumers make to EC farmers are a major contributor to poverty and famine in the Third World, the recently retired director of Britain's leading foreign aid charity said this week.

Lord Judd, director of Oxfam until the end of last year and a Labour Party peer, told the Oxford Farming Conference that farm policies in Europe and the United States were ruining the livelihood of poor farmers in the developing world. They had led to crop surpluses being dumped on world markets at low prices, often undercutting the prices Third World farmers needed to make a living. The EC and other wealthy

nations had also put up trade barriers which made it difficult for developing countries to export to the West.

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was set up to prevent farmers deserting the countryside and ensure Europe grew enough food to give it security, said Lord Judd. "But the impact of subsidised exports discourages agricultural production and undermines food security in Third World countries." An example of this was the dramatic fall in international sugar prices in the mid-1980s, caused, he said, by protectionist farm policies in the US and

EC. This price collapse had led to calls to Oxfam for emergency aid to the cane sugar regions in the Philippines.

"At the time Oxfam was heavily involved in the famine relief effort in Ethiopia. It was hard to accept that there could be a parallel problem of widespread starvation on an agriculturally fertile tropical island — hard to believe that our trading system was so distorted it could force almost prosperous farmers into starvation," Lord Judd said. This kind of hardship followed from the CAP's one undoubted success — enormous-

ly boosting food production in Europe. The 12 nations now in the EC imported nearly 4 million tons of sugar a year in 1967, he said. Guaranteed high prices, intervention purchases and import levies changed all that. By the mid-1980s, when the international market collapsed, the Community was a net exporter of nearly 4.5 million tons of sugar.

Lord Judd said there should be one law for the poor and another for the rich. While developed nations should no longer be allowed to protect their home markets, developing countries should. "Third World countries should be al-

lowed to protect their fragile food production industries until they also achieve food security."

At present, one in three people in developing nations did not have enough to eat, he added. "The gap between rich and poor is growing. But famine will not be ended without more accountable, democratic governments with the will to tackle poverty."

Professor David Harvey, of Newcastle University, said reforms that attempted to keep high food prices in Europe were doomed to failure. "If the electorate wants to support farmers on small farms, they should be subsidised directly, not by giving them subsidised prices for their produce," he said. — The Independent News Service. □

Africa, like the globe, is divided into north-south, writes James Clarke

Regional focus delays progress in Africa debate

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(1) (10)

WHEN it comes to solving Third World problems can one look at Africa as a whole? From what I gather from Daniel Ntsala of Rustenburg — a young man who has been pitched into the global debate on environment — the task is impossible. It may be pointless too, a bit like trying to visualise Asia holistically.

Mr Ntsala (26) recently returned from Paris where he found himself in an all-Africa debate which set out to identify common African problems.

The conference — a global one — was organised by the UN to enable hundreds of non-government organisations to refine their ideas for presentation to this year's UN World Summit in Brazil.

The Africa lobby simply failed to gel.

"We discovered a 'north-south' situation within Africa itself," said Mr Ntsala. "It was not a conflict. It was simply that North Africa has a different set of problems from the southern half."

It emerged that while southern Africa was concerned with land apportionment, community involvement in decision-making and wildlife as a resource, northern Africa was concerned with severe population pressures and Aids — although not all delegates were prepared to admit these were problems.

"We really failed to find topics which were relevant to all of us," said Mr Ntsala.

"But they tried ... the four-day conference was supposed to have ended at 6 pm but Africa's delegates argued on and on. At 7 pm the organisers turned off most of the lights. At 8 pm the interpreters went home. At nine all the lights went off and we had to stop.

"We learned only that we were

all human beings with problems. But they must be tackled regionally. Africa is too big to be considered as a single region."

Mr Ntsala's life over the past 18 months has moved with bewildering speed.

The quiet and modest man who has just joined Bophuthatswana National Parks as a community affairs liaison man, was educated near Rustenburg where he became interested in environmental concerns. In 1990, at Wits Technikon studying computer science, he joined Aisec, a French-based youth movement for students interested in economics and management.

Out of the blue Aisec chose him to speak on behalf of South Africa's youth at a world environment congress in Tokyo: his first flight; his first speech. He handled it so well he was invited to speak in Taipei and Hong Kong on the way home.

Last year he was invited to Harare where he spoke at one of the many congresses associated with this year's UN Earth Summit. Then he was off to Belgium for another.

In March he is off to another World Summit preliminary, in Costa Rica. Then it's Kenya. After that, the World Summit itself.

Apart from discovering the north-south divide in Africa, he was confronted with the global north-south dichotomy — the growing rift between the developed northern hemisphere and the under-developed southern.

As Mr Ntsala put it: "The delegates from the industrialised north were very concerned about the ozone layer. The southern delegates were not at all concerned by that. Many had immediate survival problems." □

Pana ruined by debts

Sowetan 10/11/92
By MATHATHA TSEDU

AFRICA seems destined for the biggest collective political embarrassment with the imminent closure of the Pan African News Agency.

Pana, created in 1979 as part of the continent's fight against biased Western coverage which emphasised negative events, owes over R2,8 million in Dakar.

In turn the Agency is owed over R50,4 million in arrear contributions by members of the Organisation of African Unity, most of whom have not paid their dues for years.

Central to the problems that plagued the agency since its inception has been the shortage of foreign currency in many African states, which makes remittances to the agency difficult.

EAU secretary general, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, said that the collapse of PANA would "seriously undermine the credibility of Africans because Pana enshrines the spirit of Pan Africanism and Africa's attempt to break from foreign monopoly in the sector of information".

Pana's formation lay in what came to be known as the New World Information Order.

This meant that the domination of the flow of information in the world by western agencies such as Reuter, Agence France Press, United Press International and Associated Press, reflected badly on the image of the continent.

Western agencies only sent their reporters to cover major disasters such as droughts or the fall of a dictator.

To counter this, states had to have national news agencies which would exchange homegrown news so that the news are not only restricted to droughts, coups and civil wars.

The linkup of the national agencies is through Pana, which then sends to all affiliated countries and to the Non Aligned Movement News Pool in New Delhi, India.

Madagasscan nightmare dissipates

STAR 11/1/92

AFTER resisting popular efforts to oust him for more than eight months, Madagasscan President Didier Ratsiraka has virtually thrown in the towel — but without vacating his palace.

A compromise deal hammered out last month has resulted in the formation on the island of what is called a government of national consensus.

President Ratsiraka keeps his post, but has been stripped of all executive powers.

"The president is now just a protocol head of state — like the Queen," one political observer said this week.

President Ratsiraka has pulled his Arena Party out of government and is understood to be preparing it for elections, which are expected to take place in 18 months.

Influx

The deal brought to an end a nightmarish year for Madagascar.

Last year began on an optimistic note, with scores of South African businessmen descending on the island to scout for investment and trade opportunities.

The influx followed a visit by President de Klerk in August 1990.

A year later the Department of Foreign Affairs was warning South Africans not to venture to the island unless absolutely necessary.

Mr. de Klerk's visit was the first concrete signal that Madagascar was turning over a new leaf in its diplomatic relations since President Ratsiraka acceded to power and Madagascar simply turned its back on the West.

However, this spirit of optimism was short-lived.

Political instability intensified, with undercurrents of dissatisfaction, apparent even as Mr. Ratsiraka shook hands with

BARNEY MITHOMBOTHI

Mr. de Klerk, exploding into strikes and demonstrations.

Major cities were completely paralysed.

Government ground to a halt as civil servants joined demonstrators calling for the president's resignation and a national conference to draw up a new constitution.

The president, cooped in his palace about 25 km outside the capital, Antananarivo, decided to sit it out.

The peaceful nature of the demonstrations, which attracted thousands each day, made it easier for him to ignore them.

However, the killing of about 50 demonstrators by the presidential guard in August raised passions and attracted serious international attention for the first time.

Two developments finally helped bring the situation to a head.

President Ratsiraka's appointment of former Antananarivo mayor Guy Razanamasy as prime minister, with a mandate to form a government of his choosing, split the Forces Vives.

The 16-party coalition had, until then, presented a united opposition front.

Some within the opposition felt they should accept appointments to a Cabinet headed by Mr. Razanamasy, a respected opposition figure and seen as the Mr. Clean of Malagasy politics.

The conflict had dragged on for too long, and many people wanted to see it ended.

But it was the threat of military intervention which was to prove decisive, forcing President Ratsiraka to contemplate either stepping down or taking a back seat in government.

The head of the army, General Philippe Ranaivoelo, warned that a coup would be carried



STRIPPED OF POWERS: Madagasscan's President Didier Ratsiraka is now little more than a figurehead.

out by the military unless their differences and pulled the country out of crisis.

The warning had the desired effect.

Government and opposition immediately found common ground, although President Ratsiraka's future role remained a sticking point.

Opposition leader Albert Zafy wanted President Ratsiraka not only out of office, but to be charged for the killing of protesters during demonstrations in August.

Negotiations between Mr. Razanamasy and Mr. Zafy's opposition pro-

duced the cumbersome and complex tricephalous governing arrangement.

While President Ratsiraka remains in office, shorn of all powers, Mr. Razanamasy and his Cabinet run the government. However, major decisions are taken by the High State Authority headed by Mr. Zafy.

The High State Authority seems to have taken over all the functions which were previously the president's responsibility.

Amid the confusion, parliament seems to have been forgotten.

It has not sat for some time, and its role during

the transition seems to be unclear.

"To a stranger the whole thing is very confusing, but all the parties seem to be satisfied with the arrangement," one diplomat said from Antananarivo this week.

"There has been no constitutional change.

"In theory the president still has all the functions given to him by the constitution, but that's not how it works in practice. The High State Authority is in charge."

The accord seems to have succeeded in stabilising the country. Workers are back in their jobs, and govern-

ment services, which ground to a complete halt at the height of the demonstrations, are functioning normally.

Fuel is again available and the markets are buzzing. Air traffic has resumed.

Last weekend Mr. Zafy, a university professor, introduced members of his High State Authority and mapped out its programme in front of a rally in Antananarivo.

The diplomat said: "The new year looks more promising than the old one.

"Things have calmed down dramatically."

The High State Authority, which is dominated by the opposition, has been charged with the responsibility of drafting a new constitution and preparing the country for a general election.

A referendum will have to be held to approve the constitution before the elections are held.

Restless

Observers say deadlines will be difficult to meet as the country will need some time to recover from the paralysis of the past year.

"Things look calm on the surface, but the country will remain restless and a bit unstable until all these elections have been held and a new government is in place to tackle serious economic problems," said the diplomat.

A South African businessman based in Antananarivo said things were working a lot better than many people had expected. "This country is now ready for investment."

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said this week it was safe for South Africans to visit the island without fear, as political stability had been restored.

A tour operator said tourists were filtering back to Madagascar.

Algerian govt cancels elections

STAV 13/1/92 (1)
ALGIERS — Algeria's powerful High Security Council cancelled the general election which swept Islamic fundamentalists close to power in the first round and clamped a security cordon on the north African nation.

After a night of crisis meetings following the resignation of President Chadli Benjedid, troops and tanks ordered in by Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali were guarding government buildings and other strategic points in the capital today.

Late last night, three tanks painted in the colours of the national gendarmerie headed towards Martyrs' Square, a known rallying point for Islamic militants.

Warned

One Western diplomat said doctors in military hospitals had been put on alert, prepared for possible violence if the elections were cancelled.

The fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which won 188 of the 232 seats in the first round of elections last month, warned it would not allow "the people's choice" to be thwarted.

Temporary FIS leader Abdelkader Hachani said it insisted the electoral process continue.

"Beware the professionals of despotism who want to steal your Jihad (holy war), your struggle and your ambition for an Islamic state," he told supporters in a statement.

Two other parties which won seats, the Socialist Forces Front (FFS) which took 25, and the former ruling National Liberation Front (FLN), humbled with just 16, also called for the



Alert . . . an armoured vehicle takes up position in Algiers yesterday after President Chadli Benjedid (inset) resigned.

Pictures: AFP

elections to go ahead.

But there was strong military opposition to the prospect of the FIS gaining parliamentary power.

Diplomats said Mr Chadli, who resigned on Saturday night, was forced out by the military opposed to his appeasement of the FIS, which has sworn to put Algeria's 25 million people under Islamic Sharia law.

Abdelmalek Benhabyles,

chairman of the Constitutional Council that oversees general and presidential elections, took over as acting president after Mr Chadli resigned and last night called the High Security Council into urgent session.

That body later announced that the second round of elections next Thursday, in which the FIS was poised to win a parliamentary majority, could not go ahead.

It also said it was taking charge of all security questions likely to threaten public order and safety.

Two key figures, Defence Minister Khaled Nezzar and Interior Minister Larbi Belkheir, are members of the High Security Council.

Mr Nezzar has effectively run the country twice before, under states of siege imposed after riots in 1988 and Islamic unrest last June

which forced Mr Chadli to postpone the original poll.

Major-General Belkheir has wide experience of both security and political matters, liaising between security forces and the military, and holding the post of secretary-general to the presidency.

As Algeria's Arab neighbours kept a close watch on events, Egypt warned its Muslim militants that secu-

rity forces would not tolerate any attempt to sow instability.

France, former colonial ruler of Algeria, was also watching carefully. Some 720 000 Algerians officially live in the country and Interior Minister Philippe Marchand said: "Incidents that occur in Algeria must not be allowed to cause disruption in France." — Sapa-Reuter.

The fundamental ^① mistake of winning

STAR 14/1192

AROUND THE walls of the Museum of the Martyrs, beneath the massive concrete wings of the memorial to more than a million Algerians who were killed in the war of independence against the French, the stranger to Algiers can see all he wants of cruelty and oppression.

There are shackles, whips and guns. There are monochrome photographs of Algerian "marchers" and tortured men, their faces shattered or running with blood at the hands of General Massu's 10th Parachute Division. There is a showcase filled with the paraphernalia of the French military police, of bullets and cartridges.

Take a taxi from the memorial down to the Rue Larbi ben M'Hidi and you will find another exhibition. This display of much more recent history provided by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) — the putative winners in the Algerian general elections — contains some chilling parallels with the Museum of the Martyrs.

Here, again, are the broken faces of dead and beaten men, yet they are victims not of the 1954-62 war against the French but of their own army, of the Algerian showdown in the streets of Algiers in June 1991.

It is as if the French bequeathed not independence but military force to the Algerians.

Under the National

The military takeover has shown that the real seat of Algerian power has been the barracks, writes

ROBERT FISK.

Liberation Front's post-independence dictatorship, the Algerian secret police practised many of the same tortures as its French predecessors — "electricity with Oriental refinements", as one victim put it. For its part, the Algerian army controlled society even more thoroughly than the French.

No wonder the largest Islamic party was so silent at the weekend in the aftermath of President Chadli Benjedid's resignation. His prime minister had called upon the army — "always an asset to our nation" — to "protect" the people.

In effect, he was telling Algerians that the army would protect them from the FIS, whose 3 million votes in the first round of national elections last month was to be consecrated in a victorious second round on Thursday. For once, there was no talk of "democracy" from the government.

The FIS had taken part in this dangerous process and had made the mistake of winning.

Of course it was not that simple. The FIS sought power without responsibility. Its repeated demands for an Islamic republic alienated the

22 million other Algerians whom it would have to represent once it achieved power. And its assumption of "rightness" — its unquestionable faith in the Islamic path — could be breathtaking.

However, in reality, the "body politic" of Algeria was not threatened in the way it first appeared. The Algerian constitution is so cleverly devised that even if the FIS had dominated parliament, the party would not have been able to take over the government. For it is the president who chooses ministers — and the ministers who draw up a political programme. If that programme is twice rejected by parliament, there are new elections. In other words, the government itself — for which, read the army — would continue to control events.

For despite the grey civilian suits and the gaudy bow-tie which Algeria's Prime Minister, Sid-Ahmed Ghazali, likes to flaunt, it is the army which has run Algeria since the French left in 1962.

Hitherto, the army's sway was almost omnipresent. The Algerian officer corps arranged that the military should control local councils through the gendarmie nationale, and that a senior army officer — invariably the regional military commander — would always be represented on the executive of each national governorate. Scarcely a political or social decision could therefore be taken in Algeria without the involvement of the army.

However, the Algerian army's quiet coup d'etat is, of course, popular in the West. The French will see the weekend's events in Algiers as an opportunity to avoid the nightmare of an Islamic "catastrophe" on the southern shores of the Mediterranean — and Washington has, as a rule, always felt happier with generals in control of Arab states. — The Independent News Service. □



Fundamental victory . . . an Algerian chuckles over a story of resigned President Benjedid.

Backlash looms over halted Algerian poll

STAR 14/1/92

ALGIERS — Islamic fundamentalists, accusing Algeria's new rulers of treason, called yesterday for a nationwide struggle after being robbed of victory through the ballot box.

The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), appealing to all Algerians, including the army, "to take a stand against this giant of power" — the newly installed High Security Council.

"Faced with this serious situation, no individual can remain neutral today," the FIS said in its first response to the scrapping of Algeria's first multiparty general elections and President Chadli Benjedid's shock resignation.

The statement was drawn up at a secret meeting of the FIS leadership as Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali and military strongmen tightened their grip on the country after cancelling Thursday's second round of polling.

The FIS, which vows to transform the north African country into an Islamic state, won 188 seats in a first-round landslide on December 26 and needed just 28 more to control the 430-member parliament for the next five years.

Tanks and troops guarded key buildings in Algiers yesterday. The city appeared to be calm but political sources said they expected that the High Security Council would take further measures soon.

A Western diplomat said: "I don't think this state of affairs and uncertainty can continue. They are going to have to do something — probably declare a state of emergency." Under a state of emergency the constitution can be suspended and political activity frozen or parties dissolved.

The FIS statement said the High Security Council was an "illegitimate giant" that had usurped the peoples' choice.

Constitutional Council chairman Abdelmalek Benhabyles, who accepted Mr Benjedid's resignation on Saturday as head of the country's highest legal body,

took over as head of state but within 24 hours appeared to have relinquished the post.

The Security Council, which includes Mr Benjedid and a group of senior military and security force officers, spoke of a "vacuum in the presidency".

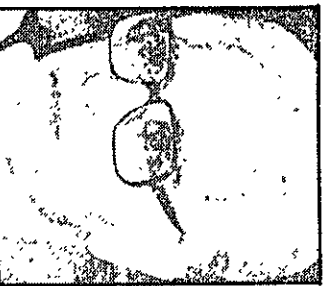
"I assume they have done it because they don't want presidential elections in 45 days," said a senior Western diplomat.

Under the constitution, an acting head of state has to call presidential elections within 45 days.

The High Security Council said late on Sunday that it was "in permanent session" because of the "vacuum in the republic's presidency".

Diplomats said Mr Benjedid was apparently forced to go because of military and top officials' anger at his termination for all the elections to go ahead. — Sapa-Reuters.

● Fundamental mistake of winning — Page 13



Abdelmalek Benhabyles... acting head of state for less than 24 hours.

... by NOVEMBER ... Sapa | ... bankrupt in May ...

More exiles come home from Africa

Swetor
14/1/92 . By ISAAC MOLEDI *(3/2/92) (1)*

ANOTHER 172 exiles returned to the country from Botswana and Tanzania under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees programme yesterday.

The exiles, most of whom have been out of the country for more than 10 years, arrived in different parts of the country on planes chartered by the UNHCR.

Mr Michael Keats, public relations officer for UNHCR, said the first UNHCR-arranged flights from Zambia and Zimbabwe should arrive in South Africa within the next 10 days.

He said the UNHCR funds the activities of the International Office for Migration which arranges air transport for the exiles, and the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles. This committee organises the immediate needs of the refugees.

Private enterprise 'vital to Africa's economic progress'

B1 Day 14 1192
LONDON — Private enterprise was vital if the crumbling, debt-ridden economies of Africa were to make progress, speakers at a London conference said yesterday.

Despite \$105bn in development assistance in the 1980s, average standards of living had fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden had grown.

"Quite simply, without private sector development, the road to recovery leads nowhere," International Finance Corporation head Sir William Ryrie told a seminar with the title Africa 2000: The Road to Recovery.

Delegates agreed that to promote the private sector, suitable infrastructure had to be in place.

"Financial markets and structures need to be made more competitive," said African Development Bank president Babacar Ndiaye.

Speakers praised current efforts towards structural economic reform, and moves away from state control which characterised many African states.

"The old philosophy which held that developing countries ... are different and that the normal principles of market economics do not apply there, is discredited," Ryrie said.

Oxford University's Percy Mistry said private investment remained far too low.

"Foreign exchange generated through diversified export earnings, private domestic and foreign investment flows, repa-

triation of flight capital and savings are nowhere near the levels necessary to make the economic reforms ... self-sustaining."

Ryrie said governments should switch their efforts to creating conditions for free and fair competition with a minimum of controls over business decisions.

He said a key area was the financial sector. "A healthy private sector requires a healthy, market-based competitive banking system and capital markets system."

Mistry said Africa's debt had doubled to \$280 since 1982, and that African countries paid more than \$200bn in debt service between 1983 and 1991, more than the whole debt burden in 1982.

British Trade Minister Tim Sainsbury urged African nations to carry out political as well as economic reform in their bid to end poverty.

He told the conference that developed nations could help with debt relief and introduce measures to help investment and trade.

"Africa's problems are well-documented," he said. "The burden of debt is immense. The infrastructure of many African countries has broken down. In many places, there is a struggle to maintain even basic standards of living."

Africa needed "more than economic recovery programmes". There was growing recognition that it also required good management of national affairs. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Africa tops '91 disaster list

STAR 14/1/92 ①
GENEVA — The Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies said yesterday that 1991 had been a record year for its disaster relief activities, with Africa topping the list of regions which had received its aid. The Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies said the upsurge had been the result of famine and war in Africa, the Gulf conflict, natural disasters in Asia and upheaval in former communist countries. Sapa-Reuter.

By James Clarke

While Aids statistics re-

main sketchy, the picture appears to be getting more and more serious in central and southern Africa, according to WorldAids, journal of the Panos Institute in London.

The bimonthly journal, funded by the Ford Foundation and the World Health Organisation (WHO), reports that in South Africa there are

African Aids figures don't give full picture

STAR 15/1/92



19 people with full-blown Aids for every million of the population.

South Africa up to May last year reported 764 cases of full-blown Aids and had between 74,000 and 102,000 with the Aids virus. It had also found 1,469 blood donors — out of 4.3 million — to be infected with the Aids virus.

Zimbabwe reported 7,411 cases of full-blown Aids — 558 for each million — compared with South Africa's 19 for every million.

But Zimbabwe believes 48 percent of its sexually active population is infected. The Aids virus (known as HIV) becomes full-blown Aids in about 10

years but it often renders the infected person open to other diseases, such as tuberculosis, which kill sooner than that.

Zimbabwe's infection rate shows that almost one in five of its sexually active population will die prematurely and four out of 10 of their offspring will die in childhood of Aids.

Malawi comes off as the worst case: it reported up to October 1990 12,074 cases of Aids, which is 1,284 for each million. One in five sexually reproductive people have the virus.

South Africa is among the most up-to-date in supplying data to the WHO (although Aids is not yet a notifiable dis-

ease and therefore exact figures are not known). But many countries have failed to supply figures for years because most have very poor statistical services.

Angola last reported to WHO in 1988 when it said 104 had Aids. But the WorldAids journal says unofficial estimates show that about a fifth of

its sexually active population is infected. Botswana has 166 for every million with full-blown Aids, and about 6 percent of its sexually active are infected.

Kenya has recorded 19,725 with Aids, but estimated in August that 7.5 percent of its population was infected. Mozambique says 8 percent of its sexually active population is infected, and Swaziland says 4 percent is.

...my told me to tell... news?" an excited Hoffa
ello and Trafficante asked. "They killed the son
had to kill the presi- of a bitch."

5-man presidency to rule Algeria ① until end of 1993

STAR 15/1/92

ALGIERS — A five-man presidency took control of Algeria from former President Chadli Benjedid yesterday but kept silent on holding elections cancelled when fundamentalist Muslims took a landslide lead.

The cancellation angered the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) which called its militants to prepare for "all eventualities" and the Algerian people to struggle against the new rulers.

In setting up the collective presidency, known as the High Committee of State, the authorities said the "exceptional situation which the country was going through could not continue without risks for the state and republic".

Commentators had ex-

pressed widespread fears of a violent reaction from thwarted FIS militants who were blamed for riots last June when 55 people died.

The new High Committee of State was given a mandate to rule until December 1993, a move seen by at least one foreign diplomat as a means of avoiding the risk of a presidential poll which the still-legal FIS might have won.

A former dissident, Mohamed Boudiaf, who has lived in exile since 1964, was named head of the committee.

But one Western diplomat said its makeup was weak and could be dominated by the military member, strongman Defence Minister Khaled Nezzar. — Sapa-Reuter.

Algeria braces for war

①
Sawfian 15/11/92

ALGIERS - Algerians yesterday braced for military rule and possible violence after Muslim fundamentalists denounced as treason the takeover of the country by an army-dominated council.

"Within the government, they are waiting to hear whether the FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) will ... take the historic chance of accepting compromise which could guarantee its legal existence," the daily newspaper *Le Matin* said.

"Otherwise its dissolution will be not far off."

Foreign diplomats expected the authorities, acting in the High Security Council, to declare a state of emergency which would enable them to suspend the constitution and dissolve political parties. - *Sapa-*

Reuter

Muslims ease fears of riots in Algeria

STAR 16/1/92

ALGIERS — Muslim fundamentalists, denied an election victory, say Algeria's new leaders are an illegal junta but that the march towards an Islamic state can continue without violence.

Their leaders' careful statements in response to five days of government upheaval eased fears of riots.

Today should have seen the conclusive round of voting in Algeria's first democratic general election. The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which won 188

seats, in December, seemed sure of the additional 28 it needed to take power.

Instead, the day will see the return from 27 years of exile of Mohamed Boudiaf (72), a former National Liberation Front dissident, to head a five-man collective presidency.

He was chosen by a committee of top military and political leaders to replace President Chadli Benjedid who quit on Saturday night, leaving the election unfinished. — Sapa-Reuter.

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UN sees weak SA economic recovery

STAR 16/1/92

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — South Africa's recovery from a recession "largely driven by domestic considerations" is expected to be weak, but the African continent's output is projected to grow by 3 percent in 1992, about the same as in the past two years, according to the United Nations.

An updated report on the world economy issued by the Economic and Social Council placed South Africa among "the smaller developed market economies" that were in recession last year. Finland, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand were named alongside South Africa.

Referring to Africa at large, the report said that as the continent's population grew at about the same rate as the economy, "per capita output will remain unchanged for a third consecutive year, following almost a decade of decline".

The threat of food shortages remained primarily in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan.

"The output decline in these countries and in the Ivory Coast and Zaire largely offsets the modest growth in some of the other oil-importing countries."

"Attempts at economic reform and diversification in Africa have yet to be translated into sustained increases in income," added the report.

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Army HQ surrounded

STAR 16/1/92

BRAZZAVILLE (Congo) — Soldiers surrounded the army headquarters of this central African nation yesterday and issued a series of demands to the interim government set up to lead Congo from military to civilian rule.

Troops surrounded the radio station and an unidentified officer broadcast their demands that interim Prime Minister Andre Milongo reinstate officers sacked this week and fire his Secretary of State for Defence, Colonel Michel Gangouo, before the end of the day.

The soldiers rejected new officers, friendly to

the civilian administration, who were appointed to lead the armed forces on Tuesday.

Mr Milongo had 10 days to name a new military leadership, the soldiers ordered.

They said they would not be held responsible for their actions if Mr Milongo refused, but did not say what they planned.

Troops from the parachute regiment that guards the airport led the protest, surrounding the army headquarters in downtown Brazzaville, capital of this former French colony, and the radio station. — Sapa-AP.

Spur for Egyptian fanatics

STAR 17/1/92

By NEIL MOORHOUSE of The Star Africa Service in Cairo.

THE OVERWHELMING victory in the first round of elections in Algeria by the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) has repercussions throughout the Arab world where fundamentalists are pushing for power.

In a statement, the Egyptian Interior Minister has warned its Muslim militants that security forces would not tolerate any attempt to sow instability.

The Islamic electoral sweep in Algeria has brought a much-needed boost to local fundamentalists of the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, whose influence, partly owing to a severe crackdown by State security, had been waning.

In a message of congratulation to a jailed FIS leader, a local Muslim leader, Sheikh Abdul Nasr, described the elections as "a good omen that speeds the victory of the Islamic movement in all our beloved Islamic countries".

A debate last week at the Cairo International Book Fair posed the question: "The State in Egypt: Civil or religious?". It was packed with thousands of supporters of the Islamic cause.

The spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood, Ma'amoun El-Hodeibi, called for the establishment of an Islamic State in Egypt. "If people want their affairs run according to their beliefs, it is only natural that the State should be Islamic."

In answer to accusations by secularists that an Islamic State would discriminate against Christians and other minorities, Sheikh Mohammed el-Ghazali, an influential writer and speaker on Islamic affairs, said no religion was more tolerant of minorities than Islam.

The opposition press in Egypt has been highly critical of the Western and, in some cases, Arab response to the fundamentalist victory in Algeria.

The banner splashed across al-Shaah, the weekly organ of the opposition socialist Labour party, announced: "A flagrant plot by Western countries and their subordinates against democracy in Algeria."

The news of the fundamentalists' victory in Algeria will not have been welcomed by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Mr Mubarak has been characteristically evasive in his reaction to events in Algeria. Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said Egypt was following events closely, pointing out that Algeria was a sisterly state. He said: "Cairo wishes stability and welfare for Algeria's people."

At the Cairo Book Fair, Mr Mubarak was noncommittal when questioned by secularists on the fundamentalists' power

surge. He finds himself in a dilemma. While not wanting to give the impression of discomfort over the Muslim victory, at the same time, he should not be seen to fully support it.

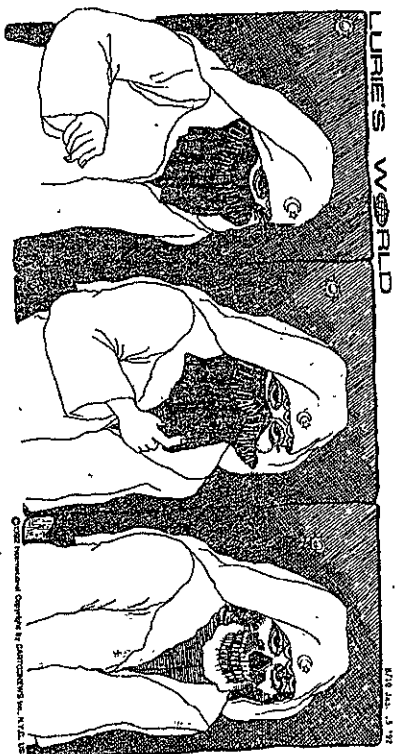
The FIS victory in Algeria can be attributed largely to the inability of the ruling National Liberation Front to come up with answers to the economic crisis and huge unemployment in the country.

One leading Egyptian secularist commented: "The source of political fundamentalism is failure of the establishment when the individual feels that rational policies have not fulfilled his basic needs."

Egyptian fundamentalists will once again be tempted to play on popular discontent as prices of basic commodities increase. Mr Mubarak has spent the last years trying to ensure that voters do not turn to fundamentalists as disillusionment with his policies grows.

Egypt's warning to extremists comes as no surprise. Mr Moussa told parliament's defence and national security committee that security forces were closely following contacts between Egyptian militants and foreign fundamentalist groups in Algeria, Iran and Sudan.

He said: "Our commitment to democracy does not limit our movement to confront any bid to break the law or destabilise security whether by religious extremists or others." □



Radical Muslim poll win unnerves Arabs

CAIRO - The overwhelming victory in the first round of elections in Algeria by the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front has repercussions throughout the Arab world, where fundamentalists are pushing for power.

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"If people want their affairs run according to their beliefs, it is only natural that the state should be Islamic. The confusion is a product of cultural imperialism," he said.

Sowetan 17/1/91

FOCUS

Sowetan Africa
News Service

In answer to accusations by secularists that an Islamic state would discriminate against Christians and other minorities, Sheikh Mohammed El-Ghazali, an influential writer and speaker on Islamic affairs, said no religion was more tolerant of minorities than Islam.

Critical

The opposition Press in Egypt has been highly critical of the Western and, in some cases, Arab response to the fundamentalist victory in the first round of elections in Algeria. The banner splashed across Al-Shaah, the weekly organ of the opposition socialist Labour party, announced: "A flagrant plot by Western countries and their subordinates against democracy in Algeria".

The article went on to criticise Western nations who failed to accept the validity of the democratic victory of the fundamentalists as only valuing democracy within the confines of their own borders.

The news of the fundamentalists' victory in Algeria will not have been welcomed by the

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Egypt is already greatly perturbed by radical Sudan on its southern border.

It expressed alarm at the visit of Iranian President Rafsanjani to Khartoum in December. Rafsanjani told a rally that Sudan could have influence on the Islamic movement. A Mubarak confidant, Mahfouz Ansari, of the daily al-Ghomouri, asked: "Could what has happened in Algeria be transferred to its neighbours? The possibility is clearly there."

Mubarak has been characteristically evasive in his reaction to events in Algeria.

Foreign minister Mr Amr Moussa said Egypt was following events closely, pointing out that Algeria is a sisterly state. He said: "Cairo wishes stability and welfare for its (Algeria's) people."

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The FIS victory in Algeria can largely be attributed to the inability of the ruling National Liberation Front to come up with answers to the economic crisis and huge unemployment in the country.

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larist commented: "The source of political fundamentalism is failure (of the establishment) when the individual feels that rational policies have not fulfilled his basic needs."

Egyptian fundamentalists will once again be tempted to play on popular discontent as prices of basic commodities increase. Mubarak has spent the last years trying to ensure the electorate do not turn in fundamentalists as disillusionment with his policies grows.

Members of the Muslim Brotherhood complain about the violent suppression they have suffered. "The government has hit us hard," says Mahmoud, "most people are in prison, and the ones who are not are afraid to show themselves in public."

The group itself, however, is often connected with violence. Gun battles between militants and police are common.

Extremists

Egypt's warning to extremists comes as no surprise. Moussa told parliament's defence and national security committee security forces were closely following contacts between Egyptian militants and foreign fundamentalist groups - in Algeria, Iran and Sudan.

He said: "Our commitment to democracy does not limit our movement to immediately confront any attempt to break the law or destabilise security whether by religious extremists or others."

SCAK 17/1/92
Congo's rulers ①

warn dissidents

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Congo's ruling council held an emergency meeting yesterday to discuss mutinous troops' demands for the return of officers fired by an interim government to end military rule, State television reported.

The meeting came after a tough government statement on Wednesday night ordered protesting soldiers back to their barracks and said those who disobeyed would be considered coup plotters, a charge that carries the death sentence.

"The army is and must remain de-politicised. It no longer has the right to indulge in politics in the place of the people," the government said.

Its statement was broadcast on Congo State radio — monitored in Abidjan — which was earlier seized by rebel soldiers who also surrounded the army headquarters in Brazzaville.

After several hours, the soldiers abandoned their posts, saying interim Prime Minister Andre Milongo had to appoint a new military leadership.

Groups of dissident troops blocked some roads on Wednesday night, barring people from areas around the airport and a government building where the Army High Command was discussing the crisis. — Sapa-AP.

Algerian leader ^① warns ^{stan} Muslims ^{7/1/92}

ALGIERS — Algeria's new leader, Mohamed Boudiaf, yesterday returned home from exile to take power and warned Islamic fundamentalists a state of law would rule and religion must not be abused.

Mr Boudiaf addressed the nation within hours of arrival from Morocco to a red-carpet welcome, 27 years after being sentenced to death for political activity.

He told Algeria's 25 million people: "It is not permitted to anyone, individual or group, to monopolise religion for unholy interests. Islam is sacred, and no one must abuse it."

His statement was seen as a clear warning to the Islamic Salvation Front, which planned to make Algeria an Islamic state after taking an apparently unassailable lead in a general election.

President Chadli Benjedid resigned at the weekend. Diplomats say he was forced out by military and senior officials angered at his determination to see the general election through.

On Sunday, Algeria's interim rulers cancelled the unfinished poll. — Sapa-Reuter.

WORLD



Imminent crackdown ... Government troops move into Algiers

Photo: AP

Uneasy

① *W/Week* 17 11-23/92
BY KIM MURPHY

ALGERIA'S government forces and Muslim fundamentalists settled into an uneasy standoff on Tuesday as a new five-member council of state was appointed to fill the void left by President Chadli Bendjedid's resignation last weekend.

Islamic leaders warned their militants against taking any action that would provoke a crackdown as machine gun-equipped government troops moved into the main roads leading to the capital city, Algiers.

In an apparent attempt to fill the constitutional vacuum left by Bendjedid's abrupt resignation, reportedly at the behest of Algeria's senior army generals and defence minister, the council of

Stalemate prevails in Algeria

state was appointed to take over the executive functions of the country.

The council, presided over by a hero from Algeria's war of independence, Mohammed Houdiaf, is an apparent attempt to cloak the government's actions in constitutionality, following the nominally appointed interim head of state's refusal to take on the job.

Benjedid's resignation followed his own order dissolving the national assembly, preventing the speaker of the assembly from succeeding to the presidency. The matter got even more complicated when Abdelmalek Benhabyles, chief of the country's constitutional council, refused to act as interim head of state.

17/11 - 23/1/62

A high security council headed by Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali announced over the weekend that it was taking over the job of running the country. But diplomats said the council had no constitutional authority to take significant actions to govern, including a reported plan to declare a "state of exception" that would expand the government's powers in the present crisis.

The security council's most important move was to announce the cancellation of this week's scheduled national elections, which were expected to guarantee the Islamic Front a large majority in the national assembly. The fundamentalists won a total of 188 seats in the 430-seat parliament

during initial balloting on December 26. The front dismissed the new government on Monday as "traitors" and called on the public to resist its directives and prepare for "all eventualities".

The new council of state also includes Minister of State Khaled Nezzar; Ali Kafi, president of the National Organisation of Freedom Fighters; Tidjani Haddam, rector of the mosque of Paris; and Ali Haroun, Human Rights Minister.

Diplomats said the new council, by bringing in a broad cross section of the public, in addition to the minister of defence, attempted to assert public legitimacy for what remains essentially a military-backed government.

Several leading politicians and journalists continued to appeal for calm and warned of the imminent danger of civil war between the government and the fundamentalists.

Islamic leaders, meanwhile, remained split over how to proceed. A moderate faction headed by the current Islamic Front leader, Abdelkadir Hachani, has apparently prevailed so far, winning approval from the governing Majlis al Shura to issue a statement that called for resistance without specifying any measures to be taken.

A more militant faction has called for the fundamentalists to begin huge peaceful demonstrations to protest the cancellation of the scheduled elections. — Los Angeles Times

Ghana gives nod to reformed SA

STAR 18/1/72
①
ACCRA — Ghana's left-wing government said yesterday that travel restrictions between it and South Africa would be lifted and a direct air link might be established.

Foreign Minister Obed Asamoah told visiting Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen that Ghana's new policy was in line with the decision by other Commonwealth members to lift sanctions gradually in step with political changes in South Africa.

But in remarks quoted by the official Ghana News Agency he added:

"Ghana will not invest or encourage investment in Pretoria until all aspects of apartheid are removed and majority rule established".

Since independence from Britain in 1958, Ghana has consistently been in the forefront of black African nations opposing apartheid policies.

But the rapid pace of reform in South Africa has led many African governments to seek trade and cooperation agreements with Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter.

Sudan holocaust begins to unfold

Sowefan 20/1/92 (1)

BOR (Sudan) - Under a boiling sun, the bodies scattered around Bor decomposed quickly.

But, several weeks after the massacre, most are still identifiable as man or woman, adult or child.

There were at least 40 bodies on the last 60km of the road to Bor, a swampy town in rebel-held southern Sudan. All but two appeared to be civilians.

Most lay where they had fallen, shot or speared by men once regarded as comrades in the fight against Khartoum's Islamic-backed military government.

Others were twisted or dismembered by flocks of vultures.

"When they catch someone like a small boy, they kill him by spear or knife," said Chief Robert Deng Garang. "If you are running, they shoot you with a gun."

A complete tally of civilians killed when a splinter group of the rebel Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army swept down on Bor towards the end of last year may never be known.

Independent sources say the figure may exceed 1 000. Relief workers returning to neighbouring Kenya put it as high as 5 000.

The SPLA, which has waged an eight-year battle against domination by the Muslim north, split last August. A breakaway faction accused SPLA leader Colonel John Garang of human rights abuses and dictatorship.

FOCUS

Sapa-Reuter

Some of the dead had clearly been killed after being captured. The body of one man sprawled beside the road still had a rope tied around the neck.

A shaken Western aid worker said she had seen one victim castrated. Other relief workers spoke of seeing dead children, tied together by their wrists.

In the nearby village of Baidit, several bodies still smouldered several days after the attack. Cords which bound hands and feet together lay by their sides.

"A lot of them were killed on the way and in the bushes," said Mrs Dorothy Ayak Deng, who fled from Bor to Ngangala, 250km further south. "My own daughter was killed."

Officially, the SPLA dispute was about whether the south should seek autonomy within a united Sudan or complete secession. But it quickly reignited centuries-old tribal rivalry between Garang's Dinka tribe and Nuers who support the splinter group.

Relief workers and visitors to the region say the Nuers swept down into the Dinka strongholds around the town of Bor towards the end of November,

raping and pillaging as they went.

Many locals fled into the swamps, but hundreds of women and children are believed to have been kidnapped.

Aid workers believe as many as 100 000 people may have fled south like Dorothy.

"They are very tired and malnourished," said Mr David Lisamula of the Catholic Relief Service.

"The nutritional status of these people is appalling," said another relief official.

Most villages were looted of anything worth taking.

Swathes of cotton pillaged from health care centres festoon surrounding thorn bushes. Medicines and syringes litter the ground.

In Jemieza, a sickly six-year-old, Awor, lay on a sheet of tarpaulin. Local people said he would soon die without milk.

Jemieza's population was swollen by hundreds of people fleeing from the north. Living under trees, they are dependent on relief food just starting to arrive in convoys organised by international relief agencies.

Their future may be bleaker still. Many thousands of cattle have died from disease in the past four months of exceptional rainfall and prolonged flooding.

Dr Adrian Pintos, a veterinary surgeon with the United Nations Children's Fund, believes thousands more cattle were stolen in the fighting and many more killed along the roads and in the bush.

To the Dinka of Bor, cattle mean life. Their milk, blood and urine all play an important part in the people's existence.

Although a ceasefire is now in place between the rival factions of the SPLA, tensions in Bor remain high.

SPLA officers loyal to John Garang voice hostility to the breakaway commander, Mr Riack Machar.

"Riack has created a holocaust," said SPLA commander Kwol Manyang. "He has massacred the people and destroyed their homes. It's an act even the government we are fighting has never done before."

Machar says the attack was provoked by soldiers of Garang and denies committing atrocities against civilians.

"It was the crossfire. When fighting starts, civilians normally move away," he said in an interview at his remote headquarters in southern Sudan last December.

He also denies claims that forces under his control included unruly Nuer tribesmen, incited by promises of looted cattle.

The only real winner in the inter-factional fighting is the military junta in Khartoum, it seems.

Some relief workers claim the Sudanese air force has backed Machar's wing and bombed civilian targets in the south. Peace talks between the two SPLA factions are due to be held in Nairobi early next month.

Kenyan pact could open gate to Africa

WHILE official trade statistics pitched the value of trade between Kenya and SA at about R25m during the sanctions era, the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) believes the figure could be doubled.

Safto Africa area manager Paul Runge says the figure could reach R50m, but it will be difficult to come up with a precise amount as trade statistics are in a mess. *Blp am 20/11/92*

After Safto announced on Friday that a mutual co-operation agreement had been signed between itself and the Kenyan Association of Manufacturers, Runge said it was an "open secret" that trade between the two countries had been conducted for years through Mombasa.

The new agreement paved the route for formal trade links and would provide accurate statistics of trade between the two countries.

Commodities had made up the bulk of trade, despite the highly organised nature of Kenya's small industrial sector. Although there were no joint ventures under way, he indicated these could be expected soon. Access to multilateral funding would help to speed up the process.

Trade between the two countries — expected to reach between R40m and R80m for 1992 — was expected to rise by between 300% and 500% in 1993.

The agreement would also provide SA businessmen with a gateway to other African countries.

Kenya was a sensible choice of entry for local businessmen as it had a good infrastructure, was English-speaking and was getting its house in order in accordance with IMF demands.

Runge said Kenyan authorities were acting fast to break down bureaucratic structures and corruption which hindered trade development. — Sapa.

Ghana wants airlink

ACCRA - Ghana wants to establish airlinks with South Africa.

The country's secretary for foreign affairs, Dr Obed Asamoah, said Ghana had shifted its policy on South Africa to fall in line with the decision by the Commonwealth to lift people-to-people sanctions against the Republic.

His government would, however, not encourage trade and investment between the two countries. Policy on South Africa would always be guided by the ANC, he said. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

IT IS well known that South Korea has become a global force in steel production — but few people are aware that Turkey, Brazil and India, to name but three, are moving quickly up the international charts.

The Mexican steel company Tubos de Acero, which hardly exported anything five years ago, is now selling successfully throughout the Middle East.

Steel is not alone. The same pattern is emerging in industrial components, textiles, shoes and electronics. The tectonic plates of the world economy are shifting.

Vast concentrations of mankind, long held in poverty by misguided ideologies, are now learning to play the capitalist game, and play it well.

After witnessing the total failure of dirigiste models of development in their countries, the ascendant, educated elite of the Third World has embraced the free market with fervour. Foreign investment, once held at bay, is now courted.

Tariff barriers are being torn down. Prices are being freed, and so are people. It is possible that the economic revolution seen over the past generation on the Pacific Rim is about to be writ on a global scale.

We have acquired such a habit of dismissing the Third World as a hopeless assemblage of economic cripples that we often fail to see what is happening before our eyes. The debt crisis of the early 1980s, far from being a disaster for them, was a blessing in disguise. It discredited the old order, and because no more easy money was forthcoming, it served as a catalyst for radical economic reform.

Mexico is the classic example. A decade after going bankrupt in 1982 with the second highest foreign debt in the world, it has succeeded in reducing its debt and is now able to

The Third World beats capitalists at their own game

B. Evans 21/1/92.

AMBROSE EVANS-PRITCHARD in London

borrow again on the international credit markets. The economy is well on its way to recovery, after a wrenching transition to the free market, and looks set for high rates of export-led growth of 6% to 7% annually in the 1990s. The Mexican stock market, anticipating the new boom, has gone up 1200% in dollar terms since 1985.

Chile, the first country in Latin America to dismantle its bloated, socialist system, is now an integral part of the Pacific economy, and after a sustained recovery is growing at 5% a year. The good news has spread. Argentina, Peru and Venezuela are now copying parts of the Chilean model. Much of south Asia has embarked on a similar if fitful course in the same direction. So has Turkey, which had 9% growth in 1990 and seems set for a strong recovery from the recession induced by the Gulf war.

These countries have the huge advantage of a young population with a strong work ethic prepared to toil long hours for low wages.

In the past this advantage was offset by the deliberate closure of their economies from the outside world and the slower spread of technology and information.

Today, pocket radios are ubiquitous in the Third World. Young people are often well informed. They leave school with basic skills in maths, physics, reading and writing that often equal or even surpass levels attained by the European working class.

Moreover, economic necessity has made them resourceful. The typical teenager in a Mexican village knows how to tune a car engine or fix a television — skills that are being lost in the affluent cultures.

Millions of these youngsters are entering the world labour force each year, capable of manufacturing increasingly sophisticated products at low cost.

Advanced countries can benefit from the coming challenge if they remain flexible, always in the van-

guard of technology and quick to cut their losses in the older industries where they cannot compete.

Mass-produced steel, for instance, may be a loser but small US mills have shown it is possible to flourish in specialist niche areas of the industry. But prospering in this environment requires a fluid labour force, low costs for business and low taxes.

The EC is moving in precisely the opposite direction. Tucked away in the November monthly report of the German Bundesbank is a set of figures that shows how the EC is digging itself into a hole.

It shows that German business, already handicapped by some of the highest wage rates in the world, has to spend a further £6 an hour on generous benefits for its workers. These include costs such as long maternity leave at full pay and equal benefits for part-time workers.

These are basic elements of the EC's social chapter, from which Britain is exempted under a special opt-out clause secured recently. Supporters of the social chapter

argue that these benefits, far from hurting Germany's economic performance, have enhanced productivity by creating a cohesive workforce. That may have been true once, before costs got out of control, but Germany is now beginning to decay.

The evidence for this is not so much economic, though Volkswagen has already shifted much of its car production abroad and both BMW and Mercedes are considering doing the same.

There are signs that Germany is suffering the erosion of moral capital that invariably catches up with high-tax, corporatist, welfare societies. Absenteeism from work is rising. The trade unions, once models of restraint, are beginning to demand double-digit wage rises. And the pot is not confined to Germany.

Holland's disability system, which pays people 70% of their salary indefinitely, for ailments as vague as stress, is now the country's fastest-growing industry.

Such labour practices have an insidious effect. They make it expensive to take on new employees and prohibitive to sack them if things go wrong. This discourages the emergence of new companies and investment in areas of unproven profit.

It also tends to inhibit job creation. In the US, about 20-million jobs have been added since the mid-1970s. The EC has added none. Instead it is grappling with high unemployment, much of it long term.

The whole system, apparently benevolent and caring, is in fact deeply cynical. It favours the incumbents, those with jobs, and established firms — to the disadvantage of the newcomer. Its natural response to competition and further unemployment will be protectionism. It is hard to imagine a formula more likely to produce stagnation. — Daily Telegraph

□ Simon Barber is ill and his column has been delayed.

Congo's leader urged to return home

Biday 21/1/92
BRAZZAVILLE — Mutinous troops in Congo told Prime Minister Andre Milongo yesterday to come out of hiding, and pledged security for him and his family.

Several hundred soldiers were deployed at strategic points in Brazzaville after demanding the resignation of Milongo's government on Sunday.

A communiqué from the military high command, broadcast from the army-occupied radio building, called on Milongo to return to his suburban home and guaranteed to protect him.

Military sources said the premier had taken refuge in Boko village, 200km from the capital.

The simmering conflict between Milongo and the armed forces broke into the open on January 15 when a group of soldiers went on television and demanded the sacking of new

Deputy Defence Minister Michel Gangouo. ①

The troops said Milongo appointed Gangouo to boost his chances in presidential elections later this year. They also demanded the cancellation of changes made in the army command.

Milongo, who was appointed by a pro-democracy national conference last year, refused the order. The mutineers went to the airport on Saturday to prevent Milongo flying to the oil city of Pointe Noire, and occupied state media.

Congo has been run by an uneasy trio of authorities since its national conference. Long-time military President Denis Sassou-Nguesso remains head of state but was theoretically stripped of all but his ceremonial prerogatives.

A High Council of the Republic, elected by the conference, acts as interim parliament with powers to dismiss Milongo's government.

Military and political sources said the council was in emergency session yesterday and was expected to issue a statement on the crisis. One army officer said members were debating a censure motion against Milongo.

Diplomats and other observers in Brazzaville said most of the rebel troops were from Sassou-Nguesso's region, La Cuvette.

Sassou-Nguesso, who headed a one-party and supposedly Marxist regime until the national conference, has adopted a low profile since the arrival of full-blown democracy.

But diplomats say he has considerable wealth, loyalists in and outside the army and a degree of support from regional leaders, including his son-in-law, the president of Gabon.

A statement from Milongo's office sent to news organisations in Paris denied the government had fallen. — Sapa-Reuter.

daco

Group income statement

Year ended R000 (audited)	30 November 1991	% change	30 November 1990
Turnover	366 753	-9	403 119
Operating profit	50 731	-7	54 510
Net finance costs	4 721		9 044
Profit before taxation	46 010		45 466
Taxation	16 535		16 592

Group balance sheet

R'000 (audited)	30 November 1991
Shareholders' equity	99 381
Outside shareholders' interest	7 239
Shareholders' funds	106 620
Net borrowings	920
Deferred tax	2 047
Funds employed	109 587
Property	19 046
Other fixed assets	15 680

C

BUSINESS

Retailers look to African markets despite unrest

Bl Day 21/1/92

SA's leading retailers are eyeing mass markets in Africa for possible expansion, despite political uncertainty and economic instability.

Retailers contacted by Business Day were wary of detailing plans for investment in southern and central Africa, but some suggested that entry or expansion into these markets was possible within a year or two.

Those approached included Checkers, Pick 'n Pay, the Premier Group, the Metro Group and OK Bazaars.

Earlier this year, South African companies, including the Premier Group and Barlow Rand, lost millions of rands as a result of damage caused by rioting and looting in Zaire. This raised questions as to whether continued investment was wise.

Metro MD Carlos dos Santos said in spite of the recent civil unrest in Zaire, the group's Kinshasa Cash & Carry venture had been worth the effort. His company would be willing to re-invest in Zaire.

Metro's Zairean business venture started two years ago with a Cash &

KARIN FRANKEN

Carry warehouse which was set to expand when political unrest destroyed the business. The disaster hurt Metro but it has continued exporting goods to various African countries.

"Apart from exporting produce, Metro has investments in Malawi, Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland," said Dos Santos.

Stability

Pick 'n Pay director Sean Summers said the economic situation in Africa was very fluid and his company would continue to monitor developments. Offers to open stores had been received from Angola, Mozambique, Mauritius and Malawi.

Although the Premier Group is experienced in trade with African countries, it is looking for a fair amount of political and economic stability before investing further. "In addition, African states should be able to generate enough money to pay for the goods," said director Gordon Utian.

Premier still owns a small retailing and wholesaling operation in Lubumbashi in Zaire. In Zimbabwe, it has flour mills and bakeries, selling bread under the Blue Ribbon brand, and has a Cash & Carry store in Maputo, Mozambique. But Utian cautioned that southern and central African states currently lacked the ability to generate wealth and had weak currencies.

Checkers MD Sergio Martinengo said the group had no future investment plans for the frontline states. But the group had been approached six months ago to enter into joint ventures with businessmen from Mozambique and Angola.

OK Bazaars financial director Brian Borcherds said: "Yes, we do have plans to invest, but details of future African trade is confidential";

However, he said a healthy political climate was an important factor for a final time and date. Satisfactory financial arrangements, political stability, foreign exchange rates and good infrastructure were prerequisites for investment, Borcherds said.

THE WORLD

3 die in Congo street battles

Sowetan 22/1/92 . ①

BRAZZAVILLE - Street protests against an army mutiny in Congo resumed yesterday and medical sources said three civilians had been killed in clashes with troops.

More than 1 000 protesters built street barricades in Brazzaville's

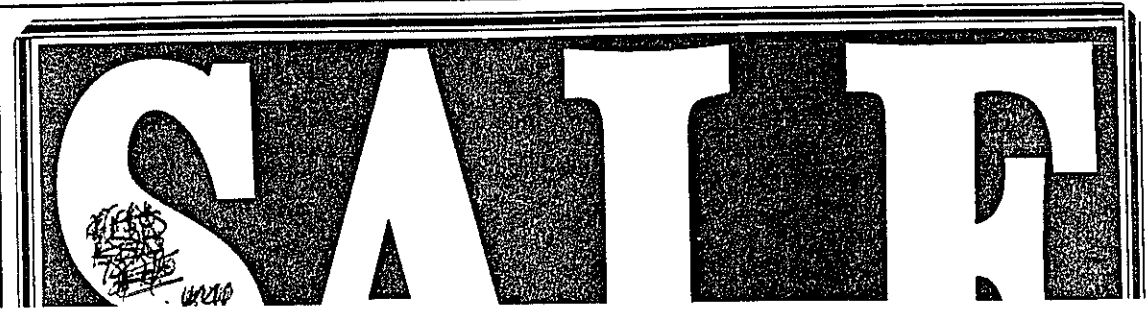
Baongo district in a show of support for fugitive prime minister Mr Andre Milongo.

The troops stepped in to block the central African country's stuttering progress to democracy.

The army high command and its soldiers demanded the resignation of

Milongo and his interim government. They took over the radio and television buildings on Monday.

Medical sources said three people, including a 13-year-old girl, were killed on Monday in street fighting with the army. One soldier was in critical condition. - Sapa-Reuter.



C

Algeria set to reshuffle its cabinet

ALGIERS — Algeria's new military-backed leaders set the stage yesterday for a Cabinet reshuffle in the hope of jump-starting the economy and undercutting Islamic fundamentalists.

The High Security Council that has assumed President Chadli Bendjedid's duties since the military forced him to resign on January 11 will preside over its first Cabinet meeting today.

Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali is expected to recommend the merger of several ministries.

Ghozali, who held the same position under Bendjedid, views the free market as a solution to the social problems that nearly heralded a parliament controlled by Muslim radicals.

The fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) enjoys great support among the young, poor and jobless.

Ghozali, considered a Western-orientated moderate, joined the military leaders who toppled Bendjedid and cancelled run-off elections that would have been won by FIS.

The man who holds the real power is Defence Minister Maj-Gen Khaled Nezzar, who controls the tanks and troops that have taken up positions around the capital since Bendjedid resigned. — Sapa-AP.

Congo's leader comes out of hiding to calm masses

Monday 22/11/92

①

BRAZZAVILLE — Congo Prime Minister Andre Milongo came out of hiding yesterday and appealed for national calm after mutinous soldiers demanded his dismissal.

Milongo went into hiding on Monday as troops called for the resignation of his interim government.

The embattled leader, not seen in public since last week when soldiers invaded radio and television stations, met his cabinet at an official building near his home, official sources said.

"I appeal to the people of Congo to remain calm and not to give in to provocation," Milongo said in a communique recorded on state radio and TV, official sources said.

The rebels originally demanded that Defence Secretary, Michel Gangou be sacked, but the demands

have since escalated to replacement of the entire transitional government.

Soldiers earlier broadcast their own communiqué barring marches and demonstrations.

Three people were killed when troops fired in the air to break up demonstrations in Brazzaville on Monday.

Demonstrations continued yesterday as thousands of people massed along a main road to Milongo's house. They erected barricades of tree trunks, wheel rims and burning tyres in the Baongo district and said they would bar any soldiers from approaching.

The army later sent five armoured personnel carriers to confront the demonstrators but there was no immediate move to disperse them.

Government sources said the massive demonstra-

tions and concern for security had delayed yesterday's planned meetings between Milongo and a transitional assembly intended to end the deadlock.

The assembly was formed and Milongo, a former World Bank economist, appointed prime minister last year when a national pro-democracy conference ended military rule and stripped military President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of most powers. — Sapa-Reuter.

Common market planned for African trade area ①

LUSAKA — The Preferential Trade Area (PTA) for eastern and southern Africa plans to establish a common market for the region before the year 2000, to undermine smugglers taking advantage of price differences and restricted trade.

PTA secretary-general Bingu wa Mutharika said in Lusaka yesterday the grouping would streamline cross-border investments within the member countries.

The PTA and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) had overlapping membership but different objectives, and would hence work parallel to each other, he said.

Heads of state of the PTA countries would meet in Lusaka at the end of this month to decide on whether to combine the SADCC and PTA, and also to work out programmes that would bring maximum benefit to all members. *81 days 22/11/92*

The PTA counted among its successes the Federation of Industries and Chambers of Commerce.

"Travel for people in the region has been greatly eased by the use of the currencies of member states while much PTA trade passing through the clearing house has also eased movements of goods," Wa Mutharika said. — Sapa.

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the JSE	Thursday, 20 February Thursday, 20 February
30:	Friday, 21 February

SADCC set for showdown over multiple membership

THE 10-member Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is set to initiate a showdown with the SA Currency Union (SACU) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) over the issue of member states belonging to more than one of the regional organisations.

The organisations involved, SADCC, SACU and the PTA, share a number of members and currently have very different functions.

But following SADCC's reorientation into an organisation aimed at economic integration rather than economic co-operation, a duplication of activities is expected. The re-orientation of SADCC is expected to take place at its conference at the end of January when its 10 members will replace SADCC's founding memorandum of understanding with a treaty.

Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland are members of both SADCC and the SACU, while almost all the 10 SADCC members are or are about to become members of the 22-member PTA which includes almost all southern and east African states.

A summary of SADCC's conference theme document issued by the organisation says there is an urgent need to rationalise the activities of the three organisations if conflict and wasteful duplication are to be avoided.

"The current memberships in the three organisations will become increasingly unworkable, as the final destination of economic integration of southern Africa is approached," the document notes.

"SADCC member states will ultimately need to consider seriously the viability of belonging to more than one regional integration organisation."

The change in the functioning of SADCC, established to counter SA's domination of the region, come about primarily as a result of changes taking place in SA which is now expected to become the organisation's eleventh member.

The document anticipates that the development of a post-apartheid SA will be followed by a period of economic and social adjustment within SA to redress the legacy of apartheid.

But SADCC expects SA, which it says was responsible for "massive destabilisation" resulting in damages estimated to have cost \$60bn in 10 years, to make good the slump in donor funding afflicting the organisation.

At the last SADCC conference in Tanzania, where the decision was taken to review the organisation's founding document, SADCC agreed on alternative measures to ensure the success of its programme of co-operation between states.

Biday 22/1/92

TIM COHEN

Post-apartheid SA is expected to "fill the role of the present co-operating partners (aid donors) through the provision of aid and investment capital to SADCC member states," the organisation said after the conference.

SADCC's document rejects a laissez faire approach to regional integration, although it states that closer regional integration is imperative for SADCC members. The laissez faire approach would be "inappropriate" because of the gross disparities within the region and would tend to entrench existing inequities and imbalances.

SA, which has an economy three times the size of all SADCC economies combined, currently dominates the region and there is a danger of further economic polarisation unless countervailing measures are taken, the document notes.



Penrose Holding

(Reg No 67/09848/06)
("Penrose")

Salient dates

Equity International (Pty) Limited is authorised to issue shares on 10 January 1992:

The committee of The Johannesburg Stock Exchange has approved the following:
– the renounceable (nil paid) letters of allocation
– the new ordinary shares to be issued in terms of the offer.
Accordingly, the salient dates for the rights offer are:

Last day to register to participate in the rights offer
Listing of letters commences on the JSE
Rights offer opens – circulars posted
Last day for dealing in letters
Last day for splitting of letters (by 14:30)
Listing of new ordinary shares commences on the JSE
Rights offer closes, payment to be made by 14:30

A Highway into Africa

Star 28/4/59

After years of sitting out in the cold, South Africa is now finding itself warmly accepted by most of the continent's countries in all spheres, including business, sport, culture and the academic world, writes GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service

WHAT WAS once a rocky road to acceptance in Africa has suddenly begun to look something like a five-lane freeway for South Africa.

This country is rapidly finding acceptance at the levels of government, business, sport, culture and academics.

A striking sign of this was the meeting in Pretoria last week of government representatives from Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to co-ordinate the transport of emergency maize shipments from South African ports.

It was the first time representatives of all these governments had sat down in South Africa with officials of a Government they had until recently spurned as a pariah. To some extent they were driven to the meeting by need made urgent by the drought. It was, nevertheless, the respectability bestowed on Pretoria by the wan-

ing of apartheid that made it politically and morally possible for them to attend the meeting.

Pretoria may have been tempted to exploit its neighbours' starvation by exacting a political fee for transporting their emergency maize imports, such as getting their agreement to establish a permanent regional organisation revolving around South Africa. If it was, it resisted the temptation and accepted the creation of a lesser body: a committee to co-ordinate emergency shipments.

was perhaps seen as enough of an advance, for it established the acceptability not only of meeting jointly with South Africa at government level but of doing so on its own turf. This is almost as good as restoring diplomatic relations, as several African states have recently done.

Other recent signs of the new order were the reopening of postal services to Angola after 16 years of boycott and the almost bizarre case of South African soldiers going back to Angola to help lift the landmines

The conference will have minimal Government and academic representation. The more than 20 speakers will include representatives of private corporations and of trade and development organisations from Africa and Europe, such as the African Development Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Even more notable will be the presence of three African bodies that have avoided South Africa like the plague: the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), the Southern African Development

Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and Tanzania's Investment Promotion Centre.

Paul Runge, head of Saffo's African operations, says the conference will "give other Africans a chance to pitch themselves at the South Africans, the multilaterals and the Europeans".

Like the inter-governmental meeting in Pretoria, the Johannesburg conference will bring together parties who have never met on South African soil before. Mr Runge says it is yet another example of how the

positive vote in the white referendum has "opened the flood-gates".

At the sporting level South Africa has been formally welcomed back into Africa in several fields. The country's weightlifters competed in Kenya, and South Africa took part in the African badminton championships in Mauritius. South Africans will return to the Davis Cup tennis competition this week in Tunisia. But the most dramatic return has been at the athletics meetings in Dakar and Gerniston.

Academics have moved with some freedom in Africa despite the academic boycott, but the openness with which these exchanges can now take place is demonstrated by a conference on Africa that was to be opened by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at Potchefstroom, University yesterday, with participation from African countries that include Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya.

Cultural traffic with Africa still tends to be a one-way affair, with South African artists performing in Africa rather than the other way round. Although recently a top Kenyan pop group arrived in this country, but there now seems to be little other than personal choice or financial considerations for African artists from South Africa.

So the road to Africa seems to be wide open in all lanes. If there are any stop-signs they are economic rather than political. □

Africa's copper output 'is set to fall'

B-Day 24/1/92
LONDON — Chile will consolidate its position as the leading world copper producer over the next five years, while output in Africa will fall below the levels achieved at the start of this decade, according to forecasts published on Wednesday.

The Economist Intelligence Unit, a private business information company, projected that Chilean output in 1996 would be 2,3-million tons.

It put total world production, excluding the former communist bloc, at 8,8-million tons in 1996, 7,6-million tons forecast in 1992.

(1) (2)
Zambia's 1996 production is projected at 450 000 tons, down from 496 000 tons in 1990, and Zaire's output is expected to fall to 275 000 tons from 356 000 tons in 1990.

The information company attributed the Chile's expected rise in copper output to the large expansion of the private mining sector, while political instability and the lack of investment were blamed for Africa's poor outlook.

It forecast that the price of copper would average \$0,97 a pound this year, compared with \$1,06 last year and \$1,20 in 1990. The 1996 average was projected at \$1,10. — AP-DJ.

Concern over economic ties

LUSAKA — The head of a 20-nation trade group of eastern and southern African nations yesterday cautioned member states against rushing into bilateral trade pacts with SA without careful study.

Preferential Trade Area (PTA) secretary-general Mbingu Wamutarika said reforms in SA had long-term implications for the trade group.

But he said he was concerned at the pace at which SA was moving to establish bilateral economic ties with PTA members.

"This is not a very healthy move because there are a lot of things we do not know about the SA economy, or the strength of our own vis-à-vis SA. *Blouay 24/1/92*

"We need to make a very sober and thorough assessment of the SA economy and those of the PTA countries to see where we stand and assess the benefits for us," Wamutarika said.

The PTA, formed in 1982 to boost trade and development among its

members, holds its 10th annual summit in Lusaka at the end of the month. The PTA council of ministers starts a five-day session today ahead of the summit. *(1) (2) (PTA)*

The meetings will assess progress so far and adopt a strategy for the 1990s aimed at a common market by the year 2000. *(SA) (1985)*

Meanwhile, the SA Foreign Trade Organisation said in Johannesburg yesterday that the first official invitations to SA businesses to exhibit at international trade fairs in Angola and Zimbabwe had been received and that the trade organisation had been approached by the Zambian trade fair organisers to encourage exhibitors to participate in their show.

The value of exhibiting in key African markets was demonstrated at last year's Kenya International Trade Fair where SA exhibitors made excellent contacts and sales. — Sapa-Reuter.

Algeria crackdown
ALGERIAN military authorities arrested several hundred Islamic radicals, some accused of attacks on soldiers with swords, daggers and axes. Islamic leaders, deprived of their election victory last month by the military coup, met to announce that they would set up a parallel government. ①

Algerian ¹ junta 'wants civil war'

ALGIERS — Islamic fundamentalists, reeling from a military crackdown on their leaders and publications, accused Algeria's rulers of trying to start a civil war.

"The junta persists in wanting to make the blood of people run, seeking pretexts to drag the people and the army into a war..." Rabah Kebir, head of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) political commission, said on Saturday night.

A source close to the forces said Mr Kebir was among "wanted" FIS activists after defying a ban on using mosques for politics.

The FIS has denounced Algeria's new rulers as illegal for preventing it from gaining power at the ballot box.

Police raided the FIS weekly "to arrest journalists" at the weekend and stopped the printing of its Arabic journal Al Mounquid.

Both carried a call by temporary leader Abdelkader Hachani who, the authorities say, called for rebellion in the army. He was arrested last Wednesday.

The Algerian news agency APS said "troublemakers" had been identified.

Graham Linscott discusses the bid to join 'poor nations club'

No place like Lome - if SA can make it

STAR 27/1/92

PIK Botha now and then rumbles about South Africa's right to be admitted to the Lome Convention. Foreign Affairs have established a mission at Lome (capital of Togo) at least partly to lobby for admission, while it also lobbies in Brussels.

Everyone agrees that admission to Lome would be an excellent thing because it would give us preferential access to the markets of the European Community for our manufacturers and agricultural producers.

The Lome Convention is a kind of relic of the colonial era. French, Belgian and British for-

mer dependencies in Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean have preferential access to the European Community in a way other, stronger former dependencies such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada do not.

However, almost everyone agrees that Pik Botha has a fat hope. Lome was not designed for the likes of us.

But all our neighbours are signatories. What happens as trade and other barriers disappear?

A United Nations agency in fact suggests South African admission to Lome as the most likely among a set of possible scenarios.

A briefing paper of the UN's Africa Recovery programme suggests that market-led regional integration is likely to lead to a regional customs union. This would consist of the present Southern African Customs Union (SACU) — South Africa, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Namibia — and the countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Note the already existing overlap.

The paper is by economists Colin Stoneman and Carol Thompson and it opens up the exciting prospect, for South Africa and its neighbours, of a dynamic relationship with a burgeoning Europe. "The main bargaining parties would be Europe, South Africa and the SADCC countries," the economists say. "Europe would offer South Africa Lome membership (or similar terms) in exchange for making concessions to SADCC countries in transitional arrangements during their entry into an expanded SACU. "Non-SACU members would initially be attached through bilateral trade agreements which would have escalation causes towards free trade and then full customs union membership." □

Babangida suggests establishing African defence force

THE establishment of a joint African defence force to fulfil a peacekeeping role on the continent has been mooted by Nigerian President and OAU chairman Ibrahim Babangida. Former SA Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan previously suggested that SA could involve itself in such a force.

According to the latest edition of Jane's Defence Weekly, Babangida made his proposals at a recent sitting of the OAU's 27th session. He said the force would be able to resolve conflicts obstructing development of many African nations. It could also act as a watchdog against tyranny and militarism. Jane's said Babangida had suggested that member states contribute to an African De-

ence Fund to finance the force's peacekeeping efforts. The idea a continental defence force was first suggested in the 1960s, but was never adopted by the OAU. Jane's SA Correspondent Helmoed-Romer Heitman said SA was the only country in Africa with a reliable armaments manufacturing capability and infrastructure. He agreed that SA involvement in such a force would be a filip to the arms industry, but said the formation of a multinational force was still a long way off. SA military spokesmen were unable to comment yesterday on whether SA would consider supporting such a force. Babangida said a pan-African force would ideally have a capability forcibly to prevent foreign powers from taking advantage of African crises. Heitman said that a more promising proposal was establishing of three regional African forces, with a west African force led by Nigeria, Kenya leading in east Africa and SA at the helm of a southern-central African force. Pretoria University Strategic Studies Institute Head, Prof Mike Hough, said on Friday that it would be dubious for SA to consider joining a pan-African force prior to constitutional change.

LINDEN BIRNS

010ay 27/1/92



AIDS epidemic likely to hit African copper supplies

STAR 29/1/92

The Aids epidemic will make a gradual, but unavoidable, impact on copper mining in Zaire and Zambia, two of the world's biggest producers of the metal, suggests the Economist Intelligence Unit in a special report today.

In an otherwise fairly optimistic view of world copper consumption, demand and prices it says: "Essentially, the danger is that skilled workers, supervisors and managers will die of aids faster than replacement can be trained.

"The result will be not a sudden collapse in mine output. Rather there will be a slow but steady increase in the incidence of breakdowns, accidents, delays and misjudgements, and output will suffer."

The report shows that copper mine production in the two countries peaked at 1.2 million tons in 1974 and gradually fell to 850 000 tons in 1990. The EIU sees their combined output falling to 600 000 tons by 1993 before recovering a little in the following three years.

Mr Peter Parkinson, author of the report, says that transport systems in the African copper belt will always be precarious and will also be affected by the aids epidemic. So the amount of copper in the "pipeline" will tend to increase.

The report points out that Indonesia is emerging to take up some of the slack caused by Africa's problems and is becoming a "sizeable low-cost producer". Between 1990 and

1996 the EIU forecasts Indonesia's copper output will jump by 85 percent to 315 000 tons.

Mr Parkinson suggests copper companies will take a lesson from their precious metal counterparts and in future attempt to stabilise revenue through long-term forward sales and linked loan techniques.

"This may lead to downward pressure on prices, as has happened with gold and silver, and hence to lower profits and/or continued efforts to reduce costs.

"In the shorter run this will be of most benefit to the more efficient producers; in the longer run it will be of greater benefit to those with higher ore grades".— Financial Times.

Western World Refined Copper ('000 tons)

	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991(e)	1991(a)
Production	10,390	10,010	9,530	9,075	8,890	8,530	8,460
Consumption	10,520	10,250	9,840	9,360	8,985	8,810	8,742
Balance	- 130	- 240	- 310	- 285	- 95	- 280	- 282
Net imports	190	180	325	320	310	300	236
Stock change†	+ 60	- 60	+ 15	+ 35	+ 215	+ 20	- 46
Reported stocks	973	913	973	958	923	708	688
Price (US cents/lb) §	110	125	120	105	97	105	120

Source: EIU (a) actual. (e) estimated. * from centrally planned economies † apparent. § dollar equivalent of LME cash settlement price.

British are a breed apart, says survey

LONDON — Britain emerges as a nation distinctly different from fellow members of the EC in a new official look at the lives of its 57-million citizens.

The government's 1992 annual Social Trends report presents facts and figures on Britain from GDP growth to dwindling attendance at greyhound races.

Entries which include EC comparisons suggest Britons retain a distinctiveness at odds with prophecies from opponents of European unity that the "British way of life" will vanish with the 12-nation EC's increased integration. "I've been surprised by the extent to which the UK is different from the other 11 of the 12," said Social Trends editor Tom Griffin.

Male Britons work an average 44 hours a week — longer than anywhere else in the EC — but British workers are the second most likely after the Dutch to take sick leave.

Britain has the second highest rate of marriage — and divorce — the lowest rate of full-time education for 16-year-olds and the largest prison population per 100 000 inhabitants.

More and more Britons live alone — one quarter of all households in 1990. There has also been a steep rise since 1979, to 28%, in the proportion of births outside wedlock. One in eight marriages ends in divorce.

Britons are generally more conscious of their health and the environment, consume less alcohol than they did a decade ago and are quitting smoking in increasing numbers. Television viewing is on the decline as cinema and theatre attendances rise.

But some things do not change — the "seven-year itch" still applies — couples are most likely to divorce after five to nine years of marriage. — Sapa-Reuter.

Low costs 'signal drop in UK output'

LONDON — The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) yesterday said increases in costs and prices in the country's manufacturing industry over the past four months were the lowest recorded in 30 years.

In its most recent quarterly industrial trends survey, the CBI said the downward pressure on prices and costs reflect a continued decline in orders and output.

In addition, conditions in overseas markets have led to a fall on export orders and deliveries. Hence, the survey shows "a significant decline" in business optimism and further cut-backs in capital spending.

Moreover, expectations in the CBI's previous survey of a modest improvement in orders and output have so far been disappointed. In the previous survey, companies optimistic about the business situation outnumbered pessimists.

The CBI survey contrasts with recent government reassurances that the economy is "poised to come out of recession".

Despite the difficult short-term outlook, UK manufacturers say they will continue to increase their spending innovation and training. A modest improvement in orders is also seen in the next four months, with the downward trend in output flattening out.

Commenting on the survey, CBI president Brian Corby said the international situation is clouding the short-term outlook while the expectations of a modest improvement in demand and output in the previous survey has not been realised.

By Guy 29/1/92

"It is disappointing that planned spending on capital equipment is expected to fall over the year ahead," he said. "This highlights the need for steps to encourage industry to increase its investment in modern plant and machinery; and the CBI has recommended that the chancellor (of the exchequer Norman Lamont) should introduce specific measures to help achieve this in his forthcoming budget."

The survey covered 1 241 companies in 50 industries throughout Britain that are together responsible for about half the country's exports and employment.

The survey showed firms are now "less confident" about the general business situation than they were four months ago.

Optimism about export prospects over export orders also declined over the 12 months. In addition, 49% of firms assess their current order books as "below normal" while only 8% say they are "above normal".

Meanwhile, output has been reduced over the past four months with 40% of firms recording a decline and just 11% an increase. Firms are predicting "little improvement" in the next four months.

Capital investment intentions have also weakened since October. The proportion of firms citing uncertainty about demand as a constraint on capital spending has risen to 60%, the highest figure since October 1979.

The CBI said its members anticipate further reductions in the labour force over the next four months. — AP-DJ.

Algeria's ruling political bureau resigns en masse

ALGIERS — The entire political bureau of Algeria's former ruling National Liberation Front party has resigned, Algiers radio reported yesterday. (1)

The party, FLN, which ran Algeria as a socialist state for three decades, began losing its grip on December 26 when the fundamentalist Salvation Front made sweeping gains during first round voting in the nation's first free legislative elections.

On January 11, President Chadli Bendjedid resigned and a five-man committee took over to stop the fundamentalists taking control of parliament.

Since then, the FLN has been in disarray. An emergency meeting of its central committee has been debating the party's stance toward the new leadership and toward the fundamentalists since Monday. Some favour dialogue with the front and others seek good relations with the ruling council.

The former rulers are not the only ones struggling to navigate the country's turbulent political waters. On Monday, the Salvation Front suggested talks with the military-backed government.

Executive committee member Rabah Kebir said the five-man committee running the country had not asked the fundamentalists to negotiate.

The army-backed leadership has called off the second round of elections that were expected to give the Salvation Front a parliamentary majority, and arrested the front's acting leader.

Kebir's statement that the Salvation Front is ready to talk with the government is a significant step toward recognising the new authorities. The party had previously denounced the committee as unconstitutional and a "military junta".

The Salvation Front said 500 people were arrested in the week following the January 12 takeover by the committee, and that arrests continued.

Kebir said 14 party members elected to parliament in the first round had been arrested. — Sapa-AP.

SADCC conference to examine SA's role

MAPUTO — Economic integration in southern Africa and SA's role in the area are key issues at a two-day formal meeting of western donors and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) states opening in Maputo today.

Ministers and officials met in sectoral groups yesterday to discuss progress in areas ranging from mining to transport, energy and tourism.

The SADCC comprises Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Delegates said the emphasis was on moving away from state control.

SADCC spokesman Kgosinkwe Moesi said yesterday the organisation was moving beyond co-ordination to make a viable start towards economic integration.

"It is very important at this juncture that our (donor) co-operation partners should be with us from the start," he said.

As of mid-1991, SADCC projects had received foreign funding of about \$3,5bn towards total costs estimated at \$8,5bn.

Moesi said the SADCC had never been just an anti-apartheid group. The aim had been collective self-reliance, with the ob-

jective of a post-apartheid SA joining it.

An SADCC committee is working on a treaty to create a formal framework leading towards economic integration. Moesi said a draft treaty should be ready for a SADCC summit in August.

The 18-nation Preferential Trade Area (PTA) of eastern and southern Africa starts its two-day summit in Lusaka today after trade ministers at a preliminary meeting called for a merger of the PTA and the SADCC.

Nine of the 10 SADCC members belong to the PTA, but there appears to be little interest in such a merger within SADCC at the moment, and it is not an issue at the Maputo conference.

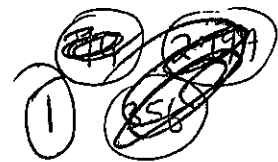
Asked about Pretoria's future dealings with the SADCC and the PTA, SA trade commissioner in Maputo David Laubscher said: "It will be a political decision and one that will be influenced by the future course of SADCC and the PTA."

Meanwhile, government ministers from Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, who met yesterday for an annual session ahead of the SADCC conference, stressed the need for private business involvement in Africa's economic development. —
Reuter.

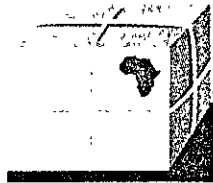
2/Day 30/1/92

FM 31/1/92

Don't presume too much!



African trade doors are opening wider but the big uncertainty is payment



Heart of darkness or pot of gold? Contemplating modern Africa — with poverty and debt spread pretty evenly across most of the territory, and an infamous reputation for corruption on top of that — businessmen and investors tend quietly to choose the first description and look elsewhere with their merchandise. But for SA, there is a fresh understanding of the opportunities and complexities of the continent of which we are a part.

Capitalising on this requires the fortitude of a latter-day Livingstone.

The facts speak for themselves. Of the 45 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 32 fall into the category of low-income nations which, according to World Bank ratings, means a per capita income of fewer than US\$500 a year. In 1990 the continent owed \$234bn in long-term external debt — 98% of its GDP.

For all that, in its 1991 *World Economic Outlook*, the bank predicts a modest improvement in economic growth for Africa as a whole during 1992 — despite rising inflation and a decline in GDP growth in sub-Saharan countries. The current account deficit for the continent will narrow by \$1.5bn.

At trade level, that provides a gap. After all, since President F W de Klerk rejoined the world in February 1990, African countries have been opening their arms to South Africans both as tourists and businessmen. Of the major markets all except Nigeria, Libya and Tanzania trade in some way or other with SA and direct air links between Kenya and SA are already in place. Others are in the pipeline.

The process began before De Klerk. Sanc-

tions closed important world doors to our manufacturers but a to-and-fro of trade links with Africa actually expanded during this grim period. For understandable reasons, Customs & Excise does not yet release trade figures between individual countries; however, it says exports from SA to the whole of Africa have risen from R3,4bn in 1989 to R4bn in 1990 and to R5,1bn, according to preliminary figures, for 1991. This trend is expected to increase significantly this year.

Scepticism remains over the depth of the African potential. The central problem is of course: how do they pay? Most often, the answer is not reliably — not without a helping hand. So a confirmed letter of credit is essential.

Obviously, countries where others will finance imports and trade generally are those with the greatest potential for SA businessmen. At the same time, such dependence indicates too often a record of default and political instability. With whom do you do business if an elite is displaced? This applies not only to countries which have to endure coups.

Spreading democracy, as in Zambia, is displacing long-time rulers whose followers, over the years, became firmly entrenched in powerful bureaucratic positions.

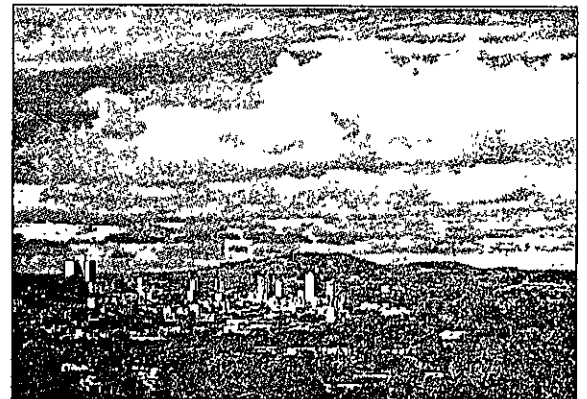
Nonetheless, in 50% of Africa's countries, development assistance makes up more than 15% of their GDP. For some, it's much more. Investments and imports of low-income countries are financed 100% and 75% respectively by aid. Can this possibly underserved good fortune last?

The World Bank, for one, is becoming more selective about which countries it chooses for aid. The quantum of aid to Africa has fallen in the wake of revelations of squandering and spending with minimal controls. Strings are now attached to assistance — recipients have to be moving towards democracy, more human rights and environmental protection.

With renewed world legitimacy, we are in a position to help spend what aid flows remain — productively. Safto manager Andrew Maggs comments: "South Africans are well poised to win World Bank tenders for projects north of our borders. They can offer shorter lead times than Europeans and the Japanese; cheaper prices because of the

weak rand, close proximity to the countries and technology consistent with the requirements of Africa."

But that means familiarity with the operations of the World Bank — how it is organised, in what lending activities it is involved and how it develops projects.



Kampala, Uganda ... cultural divisions bridged

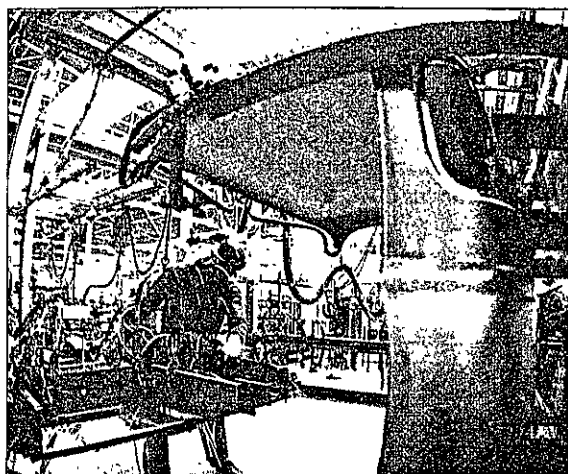
"There is a set format for bidding for World Bank projects," Maggs says. "People have to identify projects which could use their products or services and learn the tendering techniques."

He reckons there are enormous opportunities for South Africans in the preparation phase of projects. For a start, consulting engineers can design projects which could benefit SA suppliers. The World Bank project cycle moves from identification through preparation and appraisal to negotiations and board presentation, implementation, supervision and evaluation. Maggs reckons South Africans have a place in all stages.

But the emphasis of the World Bank has shifted from basic infrastructure and industry to more comprehensive programmes aimed at growth, provision of basic services and improvement of income distribution. According to a World Bank document, *The Project Cycle*, "lending for agriculture and rural development, oil and gas, urban sites and services, water supply and sanitation, small-scale enterprises, education, health and nutrition has been introduced or greatly expanded." The bank produces a monthly summary of its projects.

Would-be exporters of products and services to Africa also need to know what type of lending the World Bank does. Within the bank four institutions all provide multilateral lending with different objectives:

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development lends funds to creditworthy developing countries, with relatively high per capita income, at variable interest rates;
- The International Development Associ-



Kenyan cars ... new demand for components

Ugandan leader rejects SA links

Star Africa Service *STAR 2/1/92*

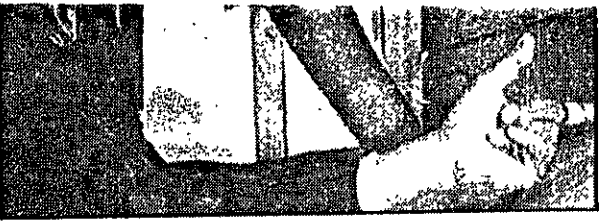
LUSAKA — Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni has openly opposed the proposal by President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia that South Africa be admitted as an observer to meetings of the Southern and East African Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

Mr Chiluba's suggestion was made in his opening address yesterday at the PTA conference, of which he is chairman.

He said many African countries, including PTA members, had opened diplomatic ties with South Africa.

Mr Museveni responded, saying the PTA countries would be putting themselves in danger by opening up too much to South Africa because apartheid was still in place there.

● Afro-market on cards —
Page 15



Afro-market on cards

STAR 3/11/92

DESPITE worries about domination by South Africa, the countries of southern and east Africa are going ahead with efforts to form what could be the continent's largest common market.

The concept, which would join about 20 countries with a combined population of 240 million people, is being promoted at two different conferences — the southern and east African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) meeting in Lusaka, and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in Maputo.

South Africa would almost certainly be the nucleus of the market, which is hoped to be in existence by the year 2000 at the latest.

But measures are being discussed to ensure that South Africa does not come to dominate the grouping at the expense of the other members.

A key element proposed at the SADCC meeting is that the common market should be based on free enterprise economic policies and multiparty political systems.

South Africa is likely to be drawn into the moves to form the market even before the Republic has settled on a new system to replace apartheid.

Opening the 18-nation PTA's meeting yesterday, President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia proposed that South Africa be allowed to attend future PTA meetings.

He said the issue of South Africa's participation in regional economic developments must be faced. "If we are to gain the benefits of her membership and avoid the dangers"

Already many African countries, including some PTA members, had forged ties with South Africa, and developed countries had upgraded their links "while we are waiting on the sidelines, once again marginalised".

"Yet we have a more vital interest in what happens in South Africa than any other country. The scale and magnitude of the South African economy is such that it can destroy us as much as it can uplift us."

place already.

This could well be decisive, says the document, "in determining whether it will be South Africa that joins SADCC, or SADCC that joins South Africa."

It warns that economic integration is no longer merely desirable, but has become "imperative for growth, development and, indeed, survival."

The document says the framework of regional co-operation must provide for "common economic, political and social values and systems, such as free enterprise, free elections and multiparty systems, respect for the rule of law and guarantees of human rights." — Star Africa Service. □

Bush's aid dollars do double duty - as carrot and stick

STAR 11/2/92

HUGH ROBERTON

WASHINGTON — President Bush has asked Congress to keep United States aid to South Africa at the level he doubled it to last year — \$80 million, or about R220 million.

And, in his 1993 budget proposals, he has given a huge aid increase to Angola and Zambia.

The increase in aid to southern Africa, and a corresponding cutback in assistance to African countries with poor human rights records, signals the Bush administration's determination to give strong and sustained support to the emerging democracies of the region as well as to change in South Africa itself.

Aid to Angola, whose government the US has yet to formally recognise, is to go up from \$8 million to \$25 million (about R22 million to R66 million) in 1993 as an encouragement to

maintain their ceasefire.

Zambia's aid will more than triple, from \$10 million to \$33 million (about R28 million to R92 million), following the end of one-party rule.

But aid to Kenya, Zaire, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi and the Sudan — all countries where there have been grave human rights abuses — has been slashed in what is an unambiguous sign of US displeasure.

Last year Mr Bush announced that he would double aid to South Africa, but this was seen as an adjustment for the year and not as a continuing increase. The fact that he has asked Congress to maintain aid at the \$80 million level in 1993 amounts to a doubling of assis-

tance in next year's budget.

The total foreign aid budget will be \$22 billion (about R61 billion), of which Israel (\$3 billion, or about R8,4 billion) and Egypt (\$2,2 billion, or about R6,1 billion) will be the largest single recipients. Aid to countries which supported the US-led coalition in the Gulf War will rise significantly.

Countries whose relations with the US have taken a turn for the worse will get less. Pakistan, previously a major recipient, will receive only \$50 million (about R140 million) following its decision to pursue a nuclear weapons programme despite US objections.

The Philippines, which terminated a treaty allowing the US to maintain a naval and air base near Manila, will have its 1993 allocation halved.

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This diplomat is no mere glorified head waiter

FORN 12/10/92

FILM star Peter Ustinov once said that a modern diplomat was nothing but a head waiter who was allowed to sit down occasionally.

It's hard to think of a more inappropriate description of SA's new senior non-political diplomat, Rusty Evans, who took over as Foreign Affairs director-general at the beginning of this month.

Evans emerged from a school of diplomatic practice in which the aim was to get things done, rather than to be a quasi-observer of foreign events.

While holding the post of deputy-director for Africa, Evans set a goal that was considered almost impossible at the time: ensure that SA's new acceptability in Africa found concrete expression.

Through direct contact with African leaders and frenetic efforts, the door that African leaders opened a crack was prized open further, and SA's role in Africa is now widely considered pivotal.

His energy is reflected in the fact that, at times, his own department was not sure which African country he was visiting.

Evans's success in Africa had a lot to do with blind luck: President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech made

possible what was impossible before. Almost at the same time, Europe began to lose interest in Africa as eastern Europe competed for European leaders' attentions.

In addition, SA's role in the Namibian independence process, widely regarded as positive, laid a solid foundation for the development of the country's relations with Africa.

But the existence of an opportunity and an achievement are two different things. The peculiar sight of African leaders adopting a non-confrontational stance towards SA at the UN is, to an extent, the fruit of his efforts. The notion that SA's destiny lies in Africa has become generally accepted, he says, indicating that it has been necessary to change some minds at home.

He was deeply involved in the development of a policy of prioritising certain African countries which were considered of particular importance because of their economic strength and positions on the continent. The countries were Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya and Morocco.

The policy was subsequently taken up by Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida, who suggested that these countries, including SA, might become "focus points" within their re-

TIM COHEN

gions, with benefits flowing outward from these points.

The idea was not received with enthusiasm by smaller countries because they felt threatened by the idea of "power points".

But it was a tribute to Evans that the idea was supported by Babangida, one of Africa's most prominent leaders. He was quoted as saying that there was not a single OAU member country with which SA did not trade.

In his last portfolio before becoming director-general — deputy director-general for overseas affairs — Evans brought another novel position to the fore: a focus on the Far East, eastern Europe and Russia as major areas for SA involvement.

The West's commitment to SA had probably reached a ceiling and was more likely to decline than increase. It took a back-seat to dynamic areas of the world which were also making a new start. The result of these two developments was that SA trade with Africa and the Far East

emerged as the major growth points in an otherwise gloomy economic scenario.

The past three years have seen a fundamental reorientation in SA's posture towards international affairs, he says. SA's main traditional relationships, with Britain and the US, although important, no longer enjoy the priority they did in the past. SA's main trading partners are the EC and the Far East, and our main potential trading partner happens to be Africa, he says.

Evans is unusual in another way. Of remote Welsh descent, he is one of the few English speakers in an Afrikaans-dominated bureaucracy. When he joined the department in 1966 he could not speak a word of Afrikaans. However, after postings in Brazil, Washington and London, (and marrying an Afrikaans woman) he is now fluent.

Whereas his predecessor, Neil van Heerden, has been philosophical and always diplomatic, Evans is more pragmatic. He enjoys politics and the pursuit of political relations. He admits frankly that he will not enjoy the large amount of administration involved in his new job.

The man who is credited with coining the term "veldskoen diplomat" is

not armed with traditional diplomatic tools: rigid protocol, patience and finesse — probably the strongest assets of his predecessor.

He points out in his defence that the nature of diplomacy is changing worldwide (although this is probably wishful thinking).

"Old world diplomacy is totally ineffectual," he says tartly. "Why send aide memoirs in the diplomatic bag when you can send a fax?"

Evans comes from a strict Catholic background. He spent four years in a seminary after leaving school. He divorced his first wife, Kathleen, with whom he had four children, and married Gerda, a Foreign Affairs staffer from a conservative background.

With an interim government just around the corner, there is a possibility that his term in his current job will be short, but Evans's reaction is typically offhand. "I regard myself as dispensable to government, whatever government that is.

"I will continue to place my services at the disposal of the government of the day," he says.

Like Van Heerden, the government of the day might find he has talents and support in unusual areas which cannot be disposed of lightly.

focus on ubuntu

THE views that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is reneging on the Africanist philosophy turns logic upside down.

What Apla is doing and what Africanism is all about are two different issues.

As early as 1959 Sobukwe said: "Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

Those wise words still hold good even today. Right up to now the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is the only organisation that preaches and at the same time practises non-racialism in the true sense of the word.

The doors of PAC are open to all the aborigines of Africa who are prepared to abide by a rule of an African majority.

For so-called whites to refuse to come and sit with us under the same tree and become branches of this big tree cannot be blamed on Apla. Actually, what Apla is trying to do, is to force them to leave their privileged positions and to come and identify themselves with the dispossessed and exploited African masses.

What we do not have in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians. Instead we promote Africanism.

To say that Apla has launched attacks on unarmed white civilians is not a correct statement. There is a law in the country which empowers whites to buy as much as 27 pieces of weaponry over the counter. Consequently, in 1990 alone, no less than 2,5 million guns were bought by whites.

Compare the number of weapons bought over these years and you realise the seriousness of the situation.

And these weapons are bought for "swart gevaar". They are not bought to thwart an invasion.

Instead they are intended for local inhabitants. And to compound the situation the regime has mercenaries assembled in military barracks throughout the country - mercenaries in the form of Buffalo Battalions 32 and 31, Koevoet, Selous Scouts, Renamo bandits together with the CCB and Askaris.

These killers are armed and paid by the so-called unarmed civilians.

Patrick Laurence in his article on Sobukwe's Ubuntu which appeared in *The Star* of December 12 is also accusing the PAC leadership of being silent over these attacks.

This also is not true. The PAC leadership has been on TV and the radio on numerous occasions where our case has been put clearly: that matters on Apla should be referred to Apla, and PAC matters are best dealt with by PAC.

What the PAC leadership will not allow is

What the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is doing and what Africanism is about are two different issues. To say that Apla is reneging on Ubuntu is not the truth. **Walter Xweya**, a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, explains his party's attitude to Africanism:

Sowetan 15/12/92

① ~~②~~



Robert Sobukwe ... he never said Africans would not kill.

trial by the media.

This thing about misquoting Sobukwe whenever it suits the likes of Laurence does not impress us. Sobukwe did say, on the eve of our campaign in 1960, that Africans were not ready to kill; but he never said they would never kill. Far from it.

On the contrary, those who worked with him closely just before March 1960 tell us that he rejected the idea of armed struggle simply because they had not prepared for it.

Incidentally, I happen to be one of those who confronted him on this issue. Therefore to say that he would have never advocate what Apla stands for is to state an untruth.

Laurence is correct in saying that whites should abandon their identity as colonists or settlers and to accept Africa and its indigenous peoples without qualification.

Have the whites abandoned their identity? Is it Apla that has named the so-called British Settlers Monument in Grahamstown, the Settlers Way in Cape Town, etc.?

If Laurence's intention is to marginalise the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania from the people of this country, then he is backing the wrong horse. PAC is the African people and the African people are PAC.

Right now we are inundated with calls for membership forms from throughout. Indeed we are finding it difficult to cope with the demand.

If by marginalisation he means we will not be invited to a *bosberaad*, then I may as well say that we prefer meetings in open spaces to those in terrorist surroundings.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania together with its component structures - Apla, Awo, Azanyu and Paso - firmly believe that there is only one human race and that is the human race to which we all belong. If the whites believe they are a superior race (a *Herrenvolk*), then it is for them to decide whether they will be happy in the shade of this big tree.

PAC leader Robert Sobukwe never said Africans would not kill.

Five reported dead in clashes

ALGIERS — Five people died in bloody clashes between Muslim fundamentalists and police at weekly prayers, the worst unrest since the military took power, fundamentalists said on Saturday.

The Islamic Salvation Front said in a communiqué that clashes broke out on Friday, the Muslim holy day, between citizens and security forces in 12 of Algeria's 48 departments.

At least five people were killed, the Salvation Front said, and 109 arrested. Most of those taken into custody were imams, or religious leaders, loyal to the fundamentalist party.

The communiqué did not say where the killings took place, or identify those who died.

The Salvation Front said violence continued on Saturday at Oran, the

country's second-largest city, at Constantine, the third-largest city, and at Laghouat in the south. ①

The national police reported on Friday that at least 20 people were injured and 25 arrested as police in Algiers opened fire to disperse crowds at fundamentalist mosques. The reports could not be verified independently.

Premier Sid Ahmed Ghazali who, some Algerian media reported, might be forced to resign soon, defended the government at an international political forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Saturday.

"... the law forbids that mosques be used as tribunes by political parties, and Islam forbids it," he said. — Sapa-AP.

Helen Grange reports on the bitter fruits of the collapse of the USSR

New Soviet order poses questions for Africa

STW 4/2/92

THE recent disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has posed a number of questions concerning the future international policies of this new union, the fate of the agreements of the former USSR and the prospect of policy changes.

For Africa and especially Southern Africa, where some states were a strong regional ally of the former USSR, the questions are particularly pertinent.

Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov, visiting academic from the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, says there will be changes on the economic, political and diplomatic fronts.

The fact that all the nations in the CIS are now in as much need of financial assistance as Third World countries will undoubtedly lead to a marked decrease in interest in underdeveloped Africa, says Dr Tikhomirov. It was already clear that the

main foreign policy priorities of the CIS lay either with the industrial nations of the West, or with some of their neighbouring states.

It was likely therefore that at least would keep the former Soviet embassies or missions in some of the key African states, it would reduce their personnel or close diplomatic missions in the less important ones.

Dr Tikhomirov says that CIS members are now likely to focus on how Africa could serve their own interests.

The outcome would be a significant decrease of interest to the less developed African nations, but a growth of interest in relatively developed nations like South Africa — since these countries were potentially good trading partners.

Thus, it was probable that the leadership of the CIS nations would upgrade the level of their relations with South Africa.

Even in the years of ideological hostility between the USSR and

South Africa, their co-operation in sales of gold and diamonds had never stopped. Current economic decline in the CIS member states would, no doubt, increase their efforts to get deeper co-operation on this level.

The problem of Third World debt to the old USSR was currently under heated debate in the CIS member states — and was likely to turn into a vital and perhaps a deadlock problem in the CIS's relations with Third World countries and Africa in particular.

However, it was hardly possible to expect full repayments, or even a significant part of them.

Dr Tikhomirov speculates further that due to economic problems and drastic need for foreign investment in the CIS states, the new Commonwealth may find itself in growing competition with other developing countries, resulting in a change of the former USSR's status as the major defender of Third World aspirations. However, this scenario would

depend on the effectiveness of reforms and aid programmes being introduced in the CIS, as well as the stability level inside the Commonwealth and globally.

Dr Tikhomirov says there is likely to be a dramatic cut in Soviet/CIS military supplies to the Third World.

However, there still remained the possibility that at some stage, military sales to the Third World would resume — for economic rather than political reasons.

This would obviously contribute to the instability of the Third World, as the CIS could find itself supporting various undemocratic regimes, terrorist organisations and movements who have the funds to pay for armaments.

Dr Tikhomirov however concedes that present developments in the CIS countries still leave a great deal of uncertainty as to their direction and final outcome — which in turn add much unpredictability to the African policy of the CIS. □

STAT 18/8/92 (1)

Food pledges for Somalis pour in

NAIROBI — Aid appeals for starving Somalia have provoked a unprecedented response from an international community which had seemed disinterested in the fate of people in the arid Horn of Africa nation.

The most recent appeal for urgent assistance came from the UN representative in Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun.

The US has pledged 145 000 tons of food aid "as soon as possible" and a group of 33 US soldiers was due to arrive yesterday in the Kenyan port of Mombasa to prepare the relief effort.

France announced yesterday that it would start a 10-day airlift beginning tomorrow to transport 200 tons of food to people in the area of Baidoha.

Britain decided on Sunday to provide £18 million (R95 million) in urgent aid.

Italy said it was ready to send a representative to the Somali capital Mogadishu to try to promote dialogue between warring factions.

On Thursday, Italy said it was sending food supplies and medicines worth \$20 million (R55 million) to Somalia.

Even Israel — which is not recognised by Somalia, a member of the Arab League — said on Sunday it was willing to send food and medical aid.

● On Thursday, the UN will resume food airlifts to the southern Sudanese town of Juba.

UN relief flights from the Sudanese capital Khartoum to southern Sudan were suspended last month after the government used planes bearing the UN emblem to transport troops and military equipment to Juba. — Sapa-AFP.

Gorbachev attacks Yeltsin

MOSCOW — Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday

mark last August's unsuccessful coup.

Mr Gorbachev called

Local firms could lead mining revival in Africa

LED by SA mining groups, Africa might be on the brink of a mining revival which will provide considerable investment opportunities for overseas companies, says Gengold MD Gary Maude.

Speaking in Paris yesterday, Maude said the mining industry in many parts of central Africa had become run down and inefficient, mainly because of insufficient reinvestment.

At a seminar on mining in southern Africa organised by the French government's Board of Foreign Trade, he said money was available to help African countries revamp their mines, not least from the World Bank. However, potential investors insisted mining reconstruction be done in partnership with major mining groups of proven ability and resources.

SA's mining houses were ideally placed to provide this assistance and many approaches had been made to major groups to manage the rehabilitation of many mines on the continent.

Maude said the prospects for overseas investors were good for two reasons:

If Africa's mines were to be revived, vast equipment and capital resources would be required, presenting "exciting business opportunities" for overseas companies; and

The slump in commodity prices presented overseas companies with a chance to do their homework on investing in the African mining sector.

By the time their homework was done, these companies would be well placed to

take advantage of the upturn in the commodities cycle when it came.

"This will provide significant opportunities for French companies to export a wide range of products to the mining industry. It will provide investment opportunities for French financial institutions too," he said.

Maude noted that SA had more than 80% of the world's manganese reserves, 70% of platinum reserves, 55% of chrome, 45% of gold, 32% of vanadium, and major coal reserves. Investors and exporters of mining equipment could not ignore SA and the country's mining group system which had developed especially to make possible massive new mining ventures to exploit these rich mineral resources.

Gencor alone had 15 gold mines, 12 coal mines, eight chrome mines, five base metal producers and the world's second largest platinum producer, plus 10 projects worth R5bn under way. Gengold's new Oryx mine would reach full production of one ton of gold a month in 1994 at a cost of R1.3bn, and employ 7 000 people.

Maude said: "The major SA gold mining groups have never had a problem raising capital for projects like this. The capital is readily available locally, and the mining house system provides the security and continuity that major investors require."

Genmin, Gencor's mining arm, signed an exploration and mining agreement last year with the French government's mining group, Bureau de Recherche Géologique et Minière.

B/Day 5/2/97

MATTHEW CURTIN

Plan to lift leopard ban

STAR 6/2/92
LONDON— A global ban on trade in leopard skins may be lifted next month, boosting a flagging fur industry and raising fears that Africa's big cats will again fall prey to poaching.

With the number of leopards increasing in Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the countries want to end a 17-year ban on commercial trade in their fur.

The request to revive the lucrative trade for a four-year trial is expected to win strong support at the meeting of the 104-nation Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species which opens in Japan on March 2.

There are now around 300 000 leopards in Africa and scientists agree that the animal is no longer highly endangered.

But conservationists fear that reopening the trade will revive popular demand for leopard-skin coats, which nearly resulted in the animals' extinction in

the '60s and '70s.

They also believe renewed fur trading would threaten the survival of rarer spotted cats, such as jaguars and cheetahs, which have similar skins.

In Britain, the anti-fur group Lynx is launching a campaign this week to urge Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine to oppose the move.

"Britain must take the lead in resisting these disastrous proposals," said Carol McKenna, Lynx's campaign director.

"Customs officers won't be able to tell the difference between a leopard skin and a jaguar skin," she said.

Conservationists are also afraid that renewed trade in leopard skins would find a ready market in countries where fur coats remain popular.

Even in Britain, where the anti-fur campaign has had most effect, fake spotted-cat coats have recently become very fashionable.

"Even if leopards are no

longer strictly endangered, we will take a lot of persuading that reopening the trade won't lead to a dangerous upsurge in the spotted-cat skins," said James Martin-Jones, conservation officer at the World Wide Fund for Nature.

But Peter Jackson, World Conservation Union's specialist on big cats, stressed it was impossible to defend the trade ban on scientific grounds as southern Africa's leopards were now too numerous to be classified as endangered.

"We wouldn't oppose an experimental period of commercial trade," he said.

The demand to reopen the leopard-skin trade is one of several controversial southern African proposals that threaten to undermine the conservation basis of the United Nations wildlife convention.

Others, almost certain to be thrown out, include lifting trade bans on products from the endangered black rhino. — Observer News Service.

Drastic action on Sudan economy ①

KHARTOUM — Sudan has increased petrol prices after floating its national currency and lifting subsidies on a range of commodities.

Finance and Economic Planning Minister Abdel-Rahim Hamdi announced the price rises at a news conference this week.

He said the price of petrol would double from 25 pounds to 50 pounds a litre. Diesel would rise from 15 to 40 pounds a litre. *6/10 day 6/12/92*

The price of a loaf of bread, its weight halved, would rise from 50 piastres to 1.25 pounds, he added.

Sudan, bankrupted by civil war and natural disaster, floated the Sudanese pound on Sunday in a sweeping package of economic reforms. It ended most import controls, increased pensions and the minimum wage and raised sugar prices.

Hamdi said the government was spending 8.7bn pounds on wheat flour and petrol subsidies, and this could not continue for much longer.

Commercial banks now set the rate of the Sudanese pound to foreign currencies each day, based on supply and demand.

The banks bought dollars on Tuesday at a rate of 88 pounds each. They sold at 91 pounds to the dollar. One dollar was worth 15 pounds under the official rate abandoned two days ago.

The switch to a more liberal economic system may open the way for Sudan to restore its credit with the IMF.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Sudanese rebel camps razed

KHARTOUM — Government troops destroyed two of the biggest camps belonging to the rebel Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army, the official Sudan news agency Suna reported yesterday. *Biday 6/21/92*

The agency quoted armed forces spokesman Maj-Gen Mohamad Oweida as saying troops seized large quantities of weapons from the camps in Southern Kordofan province, in central Sudan.

Oweida gave no details of the action but said troops were in pursuit of rebel remnants. He said government forces also retrieved large numbers of cattle and goats the rebels took from civilians.

Southern Kordofan, southwest of Khartoum, is one of three areas which have seen spillover fighting during Sudan's eight years of civil war. Most rebel action has been in the south.

Meanwhile, the Sudanese authorities had barred the Red Cross from making relief

flights into its southern region from neighbouring Kenya, the organisation said in Nairobi yesterday.

Brigitte Meng, an information officer with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Nairobi, said: "We are still negotiating with Sudan's government and that is why we have sort of kept quiet."

Meng said the ban would leave unattended about 14 000 unaccompanied minors who were among an estimated 250 000 refugees who returned to Sudan from camps in southwestern Ethiopia last May. The minors are camped around Nasir, Pochala and Pakok, near Ethiopia's border.

Meng said the ban would delay delivery of up to 120 tons of mostly food and medicines to eight destinations in the region, where government troops are battling against two factions of the rebel liberation army. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Algerian troops kill 15

ALGIERS — Moslem fundamentalists said Algerian troops shot dead 15 demonstrators during running battles in the mountain town of Batna. (1)

Algiers radio, quoting local security headquarters, said five people were killed and 36 wounded in Tuesday's fighting which started around a court building where a mosque preacher was on trial accused of inciting rebellion. *Biday 6/2/92*

Security forces sealed off the town and brought in armoured cars.

An Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) source said "several dozen" people — eight of them university students — were wounded during Tuesday's clashes. He said the army used helicopters in the clash.

The Algerian news agency, APS, said the local governor called in the army when para-military gendarmes using teargas failed to quell the growing crowds in Martyr's Square.

Gunmen in the chanting, stone-throwing crowd opened fire on the troops, the governor said.

An army captain was among those wounded.

The preacher was jailed for two months. He was one of scores of imams arrested since the Algerian leadership, sworn in last month, started enforcing a law against using mosques for politics — the basic FIS network of propaganda and recruitment.

In the eastern city of Constantine, FIS officials said 10 people were wounded when forces fired on demonstrators.

Three fundamentalists were on trial there. They were among more than 100 arrested throughout Algeria in the battle for control of its nearly 10 000 mosques between the FIS and authorities.

In Laghouat, 300km south of Algiers, newspapers said courts remanded 43 people in custody and granted 33 bail on Tuesday. They had been charged with violence, violating public safety and taking part in illegal meetings. — Sapa-Reuter.

The bright promise of 1991 is already faltering, writes Richard Dowden

African democracy stillborn?

STW 6/2/92

①

WHILE 1991 stands as the year of greatest upheaval in Africa for 30 years, the first month of 1992 has been overshadowed by doubts about the advent of democracy and the demise of military or one-party rule.

Kenya basks in a genuine newfound freedom, which the government can do little to suppress even if it had a mind to. President Daniel arap Moi's government may harass the edges of the multi-party democracy movement but it cannot stop it.

Elections cannot be held until voters have been re-registered, and that means there will probably not be an election until June. If the opposition can hang together it is unlikely to lose.

Tanzania, once the one-party state par excellence, will also opt for a multi-party system when the ruling party gives its final approval on February 18. Elsewhere progress has been

patchy. Pressure from Western donors has succeeded in cracking the monolithic politics of post-independence Africa. Threats to withdraw aid have forced change, but they have not been matched by extra aid to those who have changed. Newly democratised governments face the corrupt mess of the outgoing administration with little external support.

Thirty years ago Africa was boosted by rapid increases in commodity prices and aid. Today's changes are accompanied by poverty and recession. Democracy in Africa could be an infant which dies from starvation.

In each African country old divisions and local disputes, suppressed by military rule and the one-party state, are re-emerging as the key factors in Africa's politics. The multi-party democracy whirlwind which swept through Africa last year knocked over some governments and forced others to change. Some, however, have

adopted democratic dress only to hide their intention of hanging on to power.

Even in South Africa Government has admitted whites will have a veto over decisions of the multi-party Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Last year F W de Klerk appeared to be a manager of genuine change. Now the implication of the veto is that he is protecting his white constituents by allowing them to retain the ultimate say.

In Nigeria the timetable for elections and a return to civilian rule has slipped, but President Ibrahim Babangida has announced that congressional elections will take place on November 7 and the presidential election on December 5. His military government, however, set up the two parties, funded them and wrote their manifestos.

Many are asking whether the election will represent a popular choice or a facade behind which

the military will retain power.

Francophone Africa, which made the first successful moves towards democracy last year, saw two elections last week, in Mauritania and Mali. The former was marred by the killing of five people who disputed the results and the imposition of a curfew in two towns. But it was the first multi-party election since 1980.

In Mali the 35 percent turnout matched almost exactly the country's literacy rate, perhaps a message for the rest of Africa.

In Togo and Congo the military have shown that they will not be left out of the political equation.

In Brazzaville, the capital of Congo, soldiers took over the radio and television station last week, forcing Prime Minister Andre Mlingo into hiding. But it was all done, we are assured, in the name of democracy.

It was a similar coup to that in Togo last year where the transitional government was forced to

accommodate the army's demands. Mr Milingo emerged from hiding to announce changes in the Cabinet to suit the military.

Some would argue that political patterns in the Horn of Africa are not part of mainstream Africa. North Sudan, committed to an Iranian-style fundamentalist Islamic state, is one of two countries which seem unaffected by the political climate. The other is Malawi. In Somalia, Ethiopia and Djibouti, old regional and ethnic rivalries have emerged as the political mainspring.

Similar atavistic uprisings, perhaps the evil genie that multi-party democracy will release in Africa, have also occurred in countries as disparate as Senegal and Rwanda. In Senegal, one of the only countries in Africa to have maintained a multi-party democracy since independence, a local uprising has been simmering for years in Casamance. In Rwanda a full-scale war be-

tween Hutu and Tutsi has erupted. The ethnic division in the two tiny but crowded countries in the heart of Africa has produced some horrendous massacres in the past.

Later this year Angola, which has not known peace since the mid-1960s, is supposed to have elections, but while there is a deep desire for peace among Angolans, the MPLA and Unita have been warring for the past 16 years and their commitment to the ballot box and fair treatment of the loser is still in doubt.

Meanwhile, Mozambique is the only country on the continent, apart from Sudan, where peace talks have failed to end an old guerilla war.

The image of Zambia's so-far successful transition to a new government at one end of the continent and Somalia's catastrophe at the other, marks the choices for Africa in 1992. — The Independent News Service. □

STAR 6/2/92
**15 protesters
killed in Algeria**

ALGIERS — Muslim fundamentalists said Algerian troops shot dead 15 demonstrators during running battles in the town of Batna. Algiers radio, quoting local security headquarters, said five people were killed and 36 wounded in Tuesday's fighting which started around a court building where a mosque preacher was on trial accused of inciting rebellion.

Security forces sealed off the town and brought in armoured cars. The Algerian news agency APS said many bursts of automatic weapons fire were heard coming from the town centre yesterday. Security sources said demonstrators had been held.

Sapa-Reuter.

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Algeria on the brink of civil war

ALGIERS - Street fighting and an escalation of the political confrontation in the capital have brought Algeria's new military-backed presidency and its Muslim fundamentalist opponents to the brink of open conflict. *Sapa-Reuter 7/2/92*

The presidency, responding to more than 30 hours of clashes between Muslim militants and security forces in the town of Batna, said on Wednesday that force was justified to prevent fresh outbreaks of violence.

The fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front, leading the opposition to the country's new rulers, said troops had shot dead 15 people and wounded dozens in Batna since demonstrations started on Tuesday.

They began after a Batna court sentenced a local preacher to two months for inciting rebellion.

He was one of scores of preachers arrested in a crackdown on the use of mosques for political ends.

Local security forces said the casualty toll was eight dead and 57 wounded. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Muslims fight Algerian army

ALGIERS — Automatic gunfire rang out in the east Algerian town of Batna for the third day in succession yesterday as Muslim fundamentalists battled the army and police for control of the streets.

State-run Algiers Radio reported sporadic clashes and shooting in two quarters dominated by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the fundamentalist movement leading the opposition to Algeria's new military-backed rulers.

At least 11 people have been killed and 64 wounded in Batna since the clashes started on Tuesday and the Algiers media said yesterday the unrest could signal the start of an FIS insurrection against the ruling High Council of State.

The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), deprived of almost certain victory in parliamentary elections last month, said the army had shot dead 15 demonstrators in Batna, in the Aures mountains 330km southeast of the capital.

The radio said security forces were de-

ployed at strategic points in the town while youngsters tried to block the streets leading to the city centre.

People were queuing for bread, food and fuel, the radio added.

There has also been fighting in the streets of the large eastern city of Constantine.

Seven demonstrators in Constantine had been jailed for between three and six months on Wednesday, the radio said.

The authorities cancelled a second round of parliamentary elections on January 13, three days before polling day. The High Council of State was installed on January 14.

In another sign of defiance, one source close to the FIS said that at weekend prayers on Friday the movement would ignore a ban on partisan sermons and gatherings around mosques.

Newspapers sympathetic to the Algerian left wing blamed the fundamentalist movement for provoking the violence. — Sapa-Reuter.

DAR ES SALAAM — World Bank president Lewis Preston has arrived in Tanzania's main city of Dar es Salaam at the start of a 10-day tour of African countries. *Bl Day 7/2/92*
Preston was due to discuss World Bank projects in the east African state with President Ali Hassan

World Bank chief in Africa

Mwinyi and Salmin Amour, president of the semi-autonomous Indian Ocean island of Zanzibar, officials said.

Foreign aid to Tanzania, which has pushed through significant economic re-

forms since 1986, is set to total \$980m in 1991-92.

Preston will also visit Zambia, Zimbabwe and SA.

Meanwhile, the bank's representative in Kinshasa said on Wednesday \$30m had been released to sup-

port social services in the economically crippled Zaire, where the economy is in tatters with mass poverty, a plummeting currency and inflation running at more than 1 000%. Banks took advantage of a general strike call this week to shut because they had no cash.
— Sapa-Reuter.

APPE
PRINC

year's payment and with the Melcor acquisition still to make an impact, the share has all the potential of being

by all means (if you can), but my first choice for solidity and growth remains the 1991 list.

R60m for clean-up

STimes CBuss
WORK is progressing at one of the world's largest waste-water purification works north of Sandton. 9/2/92

The R60-million contract has been won by Gillis-Mason Construction and the project at the northern wastewater purification works is expected to be completed by April next year. There will, however, be a phased hand-over of some sections before then.

The contract includes 26 circular concrete tanks 25m to 35m in diameter and 5m to 6m deep, four rectangular biological reactors, a 40 000m³ balancing tank and a chlorine maze and aeration one.

All about Africa

STimes CBuss
CSIR Information Services has launched the Africa Information Unit to capitalise on opportunities in Africa.

The unit will provide South Africans with information about Africa from databanks, journals, newspapers and specialist reports. 9/2/92

It is also in contact with national and international institutions and research organisations involved in Africa.

The unit's range of specialised services include a business network database which provides business and government contacts in specific countries.

WEEK IN BRIEF

A SUMMARY of the week's corporate announcements.

MONDAY: Dorbyl warns. Penpin delists. Mediclinic warns. Unicon, Unidev warn. M-Net's rights offer 106% subscribed.

TUESDAY: Venter Leisure and Commercial Trailers (Ventel) to list. It will raise R25-million through a private placing of 13-million and a public offer of 4-million shares at 150c. Offer opens 6/2, closes 26/2.

Vootrekker Pers to raise R6,3-million through the issue of 78 shares for 100 held at R15, last day to register 7/2. Absa retains Central as registrars.

WEDNESDAY: Sasol to issue 10 8,5% convertible debentures for every 100 ordinaries held at R18,50, last day to register 14/2. CG Smith Sugar prospectus issued. Quagga warns of a possible change of control. FCSI to buy Pilkington's 48,4% of Glass SA for R525-million with effect from 31/3.

THURSDAY: Fedsure members may exchange 100 Fedsure for 40,3 Investec Bank shares. Offer opens 10/2, closes 28/2. Ventel prospectus appears.

FSG, FSI, Waicor, W&A warn of negotiations. Otis to raise R7-million, issuing 20 shares for 100 at 220c.

FRIDAY: Eureka buys Computermatic subsidiaries for R5,1-million, sells controlling stake in C-Matic. Dates of offer to Dukel minority to be revised. Masterbore chairman gives his version of the company's liquidation.

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Algeria declares ^① state of emergency

ALGIERS — The army-backed ruling council yesterday declared a 12-month state of emergency to quell spreading violence sparked by its crackdown on Muslim fundamentalists.

The decree was issued by the five-man High State Committee and announced on national television.

The announcement did not spell out details of emergency provisions. In two previous emergencies in the past four years, security forces were granted broad powers of arrest and detention.

An estimated 40 people have been killed and several hundred wounded in clashes between security forces and fundamentalists in more than a dozen cities and towns. *SATC 10/2/92.*

The latest deaths included two children in the western town of Relizane, according to the state-run APS news agency. An infant died from teargas inhalation, and a 9-year-old child was killed by a stray bullet. — Sapa-AP.

35 die in Algiers fighting

Sowetan

10/2/92

(1)

ALGIERS - Muslim militants defied security forces in a second day of clashes in Algeria in which at least 35 people have been killed and more than 100 wounded. Hundreds of people have been arrested.

In the darkened capital city, sporadic shots could be heard on Saturday night as security forces fired in response to stonethrowing supporters of the Islamic Salvation Front trying to erect barricades.

Clashes erupted in other towns, including "intense confrontations" in the small town of Taher, near the port of Jijel.

State television late on Saturday showed Mr Mohamed Boudiaf, leader of the new five-man presidency which the FIS regards as having taken over in a coup d'etat.

Boudiaf was holding an emergency meeting of the High Security Council,

which includes the prime minister and defence and interior ministers, and the army chief of staff. The evening paper *El Messa* expected the authorities to declare a state of emergency this week.

The clashes in Taher were sparked by the trial of two imams (Muslim preachers), among scores detained by troops and other security forces in a clampdown on the FIS use of mosques to recruit supporters and spread its demand for an Islamic state.

Courthouses in the towns of Tiemcen and Barika, in the east, were set on fire on Saturday, Algiers radio said, adding that in Tiaret and Batna clashes continued into the evening.

At least 14 people were killed and 66 wounded in running battles up to last Friday prayers in the mountain town of Batna after an imam was jailed last Tuesday. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

35 die in Algerian clashes

ALGIERS — Muslim militants defied security forces in a second day of clashes in Algeria in which at least 35 people were killed and more than 100 wounded. Hundreds of people have been arrested.

In the darkened capital city, sporadic shots could be heard on Saturday night as security forces fired in response to stone-throwing supporters of the Islamic Salvation Front trying to erect barricades.

Clashes erupted in other towns, including "intense confrontations" in the small town of Taher, near the port of Jijel, east of the capital, Algiers radio and the Algerian news agency APS said.

State television showed Mohamed Boudiaf, leader of the new five-man presidency which the front regards as having taken over in a coup d'etat, holding an emergency meeting of the High Security Council which includes the prime minister, defence and interior ministers and the chief of staff.

The evening newspaper El Messa expected the authorities to declare a state of emergency during the coming week, especially before a march called by the Islamic front for Friday in the capital.

Authorities have banned the march by the front which was denied almost certain victory by the cancellation of the second round of voting in Algeria's first multi-

party general election last month. ①

The clashes in Taher were sparked by the trial of two imams (Muslim preachers), among scores detained in a clampdown on the front's use of mosques to recruit supporters and spread its demand for an Islamic state.

Courthouses in the towns of Tlemcen and Barika, in the east, were set on fire on Saturday and clashes continued into the evening in Tiaret and Batna.

At least 14 people were killed and 66 wounded in running battles up to Friday prayers in the mountain town of Batna after an imam was jailed on Tuesday.

The radio said that in Bordj Bou Arreridj, southeast of Algiers, five people were killed in the clashes after Friday prayers, the same death toll as in Oum El Bouaghi, 400km southeast of Algiers.

But the capital suffered the heaviest casualties and most widespread fighting after prayers and on Saturday.

Hospital sources and the radio said nine people were killed and 45 wounded in Friday's battles which sent dense smoke rising over Islamic front strongholds.

The front said its imam Abdelkader Moghni had been seized at his home on Friday night. He was elected the front's deputy for parliament in the first part of the scrapped election. — Sapa-Reuter.

State of emergency for Algeria

Sowetan

11/21/92

(1)

ALGIERS - Algeria's rulers have declared a state of emergency and started legal action to ban the Islamic Salvation Front, the spearhead of violence in which at least 40 people were killed in two days.

Algerian television said the state of emergency which started on Sunday night would last 12 months.

Troops and security forces in several towns have battled FIS militants seeking the resurrection of a cancelled

general election their party was expected to win.

Many Algerians said the violence which erupted after Friday prayers was an attempt at insurrection.

More than 200 people were injured and hundreds arrested in running battles.

"Algeria today is on the verge of civil war, God forbid. Algerian blood streamed in the streets," a commentator said after announcing the emergency. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

8 cops killed in Algiers riot

ALGIERS - Eight policemen were ambushed and killed in the first full day of a state of emergency to crush Muslim fundamentalist unrest, sending political tension spiralling to new heights.

Gunmen with automatic weapons attacked two patrol cars on Monday in the Casbah, ancient heart of the Algerian capital, killing six, Algiers radio said.

Two other policemen were killed 40km outside the city, knifed by accomplices of a man they had arrested. One attacker there was killed.

The radio said the gunmen were veterans of the war in Afghanistan. Guerillas from that war killed three soldiers in an attack near the Tunisian border last year and authorities said they were linked indirectly to the Islamic Salvation Front.

FIS militants have been battling security forces for days, opposing a crackdown on the use of mosques for furthering their campaign for an Islamic state.

As the situation deteriorated France, former colonial power in Algeria, indicated it was considering evacuating its nationals.

"We are keeping ourselves informed in case the need arises to intervene to organise the evacuation of French people in Algeria. That is not the case today, not by a long way," Defence Minister Mr Pierre Joxe said in a radio interview.

The head of the army-backed, five-man presidency, Mohamed Boudiaf, told the nation on Monday night he had imposed the 12-month state of emergency to fight Muslim fundamentalism as embodied in the FIS.

Sharply attacking the FIS, he announced that about 50 people had been killed in violence.

Hospital sources, radio and the Algerian news agency APS have reported nearly 300 wounded and hundreds of militants arrested since the main violence erupted after

prayers last Friday.

"The state of emergency is to combat these people who seek to provoke disorder. The men of the FIS are not for dialogue. When I stretched out my hand, they sent only a threatening letter," Boudiaf said.

He accepted that Algeria's 25 million people wanted radical change. But he insisted security must first be established.

"The state of emergency has a precise framework, to get rid of those who seek disorder and worsen the country's crisis. This is clear," he said.

The FIS only represented three million people, he said. "Ten million are against them."

Nearly 3,5 million people, out of an electorate of 13,2 million, voted for the FIS in a general election which gave them a landslide lead but was cancelled last month ahead of a second round.

The FIS, in its first communique since the Interior Ministry said it was taking legal steps to ban the party, said:

"The FIS is not an apparatus which can be destroyed in closing its headquarters and arresting its men. The FIS is the conscience rooted in the heart of the people."

It called on the people to mobilise to guard their rights.

"Do not give in to weakness and hopelessness, the regime is going to tumble because it is based on blind force, has no legitimacy either from Sharia (Islamic law) or the people," said the statement, signed by fugitive leader Mr Abderazzak Rajam.

Diplomats said the state of emergency might be a short-term answer but did not solve the basic problems, the poverty and hopelessness in which FIS fundamentalism bred.

"If the FIS is banned what way have they of expressing themselves? They will be forced to go underground, to go terrorist," said one European diplomat. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Sowetan 12/2/92

'Ban on trade of ivory must stay'



STAR 12/2/92

SYDNEY — The African elephant is in renewed danger from poaching despite a 1990 ban on ivory trading, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) said yesterday.

The fund, one of the world's leading conservation groups, is urging governments to resist pressure from southern Africa to lift the ban at crucial talks in Japan next month.

The WWF will "flatly oppose any resumption of international trade in ivory", John Sherlock, the fund's director in Australia, told reporters.

Southern African nations, led by South Africa and Zimbabwe, will submit proposals to relax the ban at the meeting of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) in Kyoto from March 2 to 13.

CITES, which has 112 member nations, agreed in 1989 to list the African elephant in its Appendix I, which bans commercial

trade among members.

But six African countries — South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi and Namibia — are pushing for the elephant to be down-listed to Appendix II, which would allow a controlled trade in ivory, hides and skins.

The WWF said the ban had to stay because "there are not sufficient safeguards in place, especially in importing countries to prevent illegally obtained ivory infiltrating a legal trade".

Frightening

A WWF report, released ahead of the Kyoto meeting, said the ban had reduced illegal hunting but was only the first step in establishing an effective conservation programme for elephants.

The report — based on a survey last year in Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Zaire — said stopping the slaughter

depended directly on having the money available to enforce anti-poaching laws.

"Given this relationship, it is frightening to note that four out of the six target countries ... have experienced overall budget cuts since the ban began," the report said.

It said aid donors had not provided the funding promised to these states.

Africa looked almost exclusively to foreign donors to help the fight against poachers.

The WWF said that since the ban took effect in January 1990, the biggest drop in poaching had been in Tanzania, which used national and external funds to fight against poachers.

Malawi was the only country which saw an increase in poaching.

Many of the million or so political refugees from Mozambique in Malawi were responsible for killing elephants. — Sapa-Reuter.

Algerians take worshippers hostage

STAR 12/2/92

ALGIERS — Police surrounded a mosque yesterday where Muslim extremists who hacked two policemen to death took refuge and were holding worshippers hostage, witnesses said.

It was unknown how many suspects or hostages were inside the mosque at Bordj Menaël, 70 km east of Algiers.

The policemen were killed in the mosque's prayer chamber on Monday with

axes and knives by Islamic fundamentalists trying to prevent the arrest of a comrade, police reported.

Funeral services were held in two Algiers cemeteries for the two policemen and six others machine-gunned to death early on Monday in an ambush in Algiers by hard-core fundamentalists.

Sporadic gunfire was heard on Monday night in the Bologhine and Belcourt

sections of the capital, strongholds of the extremist Muslim fundamentalists, the so-called "Afghans", witnesses said.

Afghans, Algerian veterans of the war in Afghanistan, had carried out Monday's ambush, police said, and seized the arms of the slain officers before taking refuge in back streets.

The attacks signalled a turn to terrorism by extremist elements

The Algerian League for the Defence of Human Rights yesterday issued a communique denouncing the 12-month state of emergency announced in tandem with the ban "a gross violation of judicial norms".

Mohamed Boudiaf, head of the military-backed government which has declared a state of emergency, called on young fundamentalists to reject violence and "civil war". — Sapa-AP.

WWF call to lift elephant hunting ban

Star Bureau

LONDON — The World Wildlife Fund has called for elephant hunting to be legalised where herds are increasing and properly managed.

And, according to Zimbabwe's Ministry of Environment, a panel of specialists from the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites), who are visiting Harare, have recommended that southern African states be allowed to resume ivory exports.

The debate about how to save African elephants is intensifying prior to next month's Cites meeting in Japan.

John Newby, head of the WWF's African campaigns, said his organisation was seeking the support of European nations for a "proper conservation policy rather than a simplistic ban".

He added: "The average African would be glad to get rid of the elephant, because it tramples his crops and sometimes his children. We must look forward 50 years and find an economic reason for Africa to keep its elephants."

But at this stage, he said, hunting should be permissible only for the skins of the animals and not for their ivory.

The Herald quoted Zimbabwe's Ministry of the Environment as saying that the visiting

panel of Cites' specialists had recommended that southern African states be allowed to resume ivory exports.

"Their report was favourable towards re-opening of ivory trade," the Ministry said.

"If parties to Cites are objective in their assessment they will find that no other country in the world apart from the developed (states of) Europe and America have a better management system than the ones practised in southern Africa."

The claim by the Ministry comes despite intensive lobbying by Kenya's director of wildlife services, Dr Richard Leakey, for retention of the 1989 ban on ivory trade when Cites members meet in Kyoto, Japan, next month, although Dr Leakey has reportedly offered to support resumed southern African trade in elephant skin and meat.

The Zimbabwean ministry said the country's delegation would seek to have elephant transferred from Cites appendix one to appendix two, allowing regulated trade.

The move would be supported by Botswana, Malawi, Namibia and Zambia, which last year launched an ivory marketing centre under the aegis of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The move has South Africa's tacit support. — Sapa.

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STAL
13/2/92

WORLD

The gun against the prayer mat

ALGERIA has declared a State of Emergency after several days of street violence between Muslim fundamentalists and the army and police.

With worse violence expected, Mohammed Boudiaf, head of the five-member, army-backed High State Council formed after the resignation of President Chadli Benjedid last month, held crisis talks with his security chiefs last weekend.

Some 40 people were killed and 200 injured in clashes that broke out in at least a dozen cities after prayers last Friday and that continued until late on Saturday. For the fourth week running, the prayers had been conducted under the eye of soldiers and riot police trying to enforce a ban on the use of mosques for political sermons and on the gathering of crowds outside them.

The fundamentalists hurled stones and fire-bombs and erected barricades of tyres, cement and debris, in what appeared to be a co-ordinated strategy. Troops and police retaliated with teargas and bullets.

Emergency rule has been declared by
Algeria's new army-backed regime.

DAVID HIRST reports

The clashes followed three days of fighting between police and Islamists in the eastern town of Batna, where the Islamists were rumoured to be led by militants who had fought as volunteers with Afghanistan's rebels.

Anti-Islamist Algerian newspapers have accused the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) of trying to use Batna as the starting point for a general uprising against the High State Council, which the FIS describes as an "illegal junta".

After the council took power, the FIS at first adopted a policy of restraint, but that did not prevent the arrest of several of its leaders and preachers. Last Friday night, security forces arrested Abdul Kadir Moghni, an important FIS leader and fiery preacher of the al-Sunna mosque in the Bab al-

Qued district of Algiers, a key fundamentalist stronghold. On Sunday, they took over the FIS main office in the city, arresting at least six people and sealing the building.

The FIS now seems to be going back on its earlier policy. In defiance of a ban, it has urged people to join a "peaceful national demonstration" in Algiers to express their rejection of the regime's "political piracy". Accusing the authorities of robbing the FIS of electoral victory, it urged "all those with a conscience to act before it is too late, so that the people's say is restored before they lose their patience and resolve to recover their rights and freedom at any price". In a communique on Sunday, the FIS said the crisis would continue so long as the "junta" continued to suppress its adversaries.

In what is apparently intended as a critical show of force by the FIS, the authorities introduced the Emergency legislation. What is described as a precarious calm has since prevailed in Algiers and other towns. — The Guardian

Neil Moorhouse wonders whether Western modes will ever take root in Muslim Africa

Can Islam marry democracy?

STAR 18/2/92

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ARAB countries have traditionally been suspicious of democracy because of its association with Western modes of thinking and behaviour.

And in Brunei, Santa Claus figures were banned this year in deference to Muslim sensibilities.

So Amos Perlmutter, writing in the Washington Post, was able to give a firmly negative answer to the question: "Is Islam, fundamentalist or otherwise, compatible with liberal, human rights-oriented, Western-style, representative democracy?"

Sheikh Gith, the significant radical Islamist ideologue, says: "Democracy, Western or Eastern (meaning communism), is foreign, strange, unacceptable."

Gudrun Kramer in the Middle East Report says: "Among Islamists, the so-called intellectual onslaught (al-ghazw al-fkri) on Arab-Islamic culture and identity is a main theme of the day, and many see liberal democracy as a part of that assault."

On the other hand a leading fundamentalist in Cairo recently

said: "Shura is the Arabic word for consultation or discussion. The Qur'an supports 'shura' which is why Muslims are in favour of democracy."

His comment seems to underline the tension in the Arab world in its current struggle for democracy, Western style or not.

But good at discussion Arabs are — which up to now seems to be the extent of democracy in the region. Algeria made a valiant attempt at democracy which ended in a coup by the regime which legitimised free elections.

The Emir in Kuwait, after promising democratic elections after liberation in February last year, has given in to pressure and elections will be held in October, but who among the populace will have the vote is still unclear.

Other states like Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan and Yemen (accounting for approximately half the Arab population) all experienced multiparty electoral competitions and open oppositional presence in the political field. But most of these openings were con-

trolled by the respective regimes and any credible opposition was minimalised.

The West is bent on simplifying the problem. Kramer says the West refers to Islam as "inherently a barrier against development, modernity and democracy". Or the issue is reduced to the "Arab mind", which is allegedly inclined towards authoritarianism.

The assumption is not totally unreasonable in some cases. In Sudan, General Omar Al Bashir represents an aggressive form of Muslim militancy, associating himself with Iran.

Bashir recently decreed that all women working in government institutions should cover their hair, and banned the traditional "lobes" (white garments wrapped around the body) because of their apparent indecency. The ruling applies to both Muslims and Christians.

Bashir also promised to abolish the 11 pm to 4 am curfew. That was two and a half years ago. The streets of Khartoum are nearly still by 8 pm.

But democracy now figures high on the agenda for all political movements in the region. The poorer countries, like Egypt, having flirted with socialism as an alternative to Western capitalism, have had to toy with democracy much earlier than the richer ones with their lucrative oil revenues.

Ahmed Abdalla, author of the book "The Army and Democracy in Egypt", refers to the regime in Egypt as "an elusive democracy."

"These elusive democracies furnish the paradoxical example of holding more elections but providing less selection to choose from," he says.

Egyptian journalist Ahmed Bahaa-eddin has often reminded his readers that what exists in Egypt is "pluralism" rather than democracy.

During the Gulf War President Mubarak of Egypt formulated all policy and took all decisions. The scope for opposing official policy was limited to two weekly opposition journals.

Some argue Mubarak sincerely

desires democracy for Egypt, but insists democratisation proceed in an orderly fashion.

In the oil rich countries, like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the process of democratisation was largely precipitated by the Gulf War. Prior to August 1990, there had been little pressure for greater liberalisation. As long as revenues came in much of the populace remained content.

The West also exerted little outside pressure, fearing political intervention might upset their ever sensitive oil resources.

But the liberation of Kuwait has strengthened the desire among ordinary Kuwaitis for a more equal sharing of power and resources. Fatima Hussein, editor of the daily al-Watan says, "our life during the occupation has strengthened our desire for change." But she complains little has changed.

"During the occupation, Kuwaitis who stayed behind organised their own resistance. Everybody worked together, Muslim fundamentalists, feminists, conservatives and bedouins. And now the

rotten bureaucracy is back," she says.

One reason the US has shown greater eagerness in establishing democracy in regions like Latin America, Asia and the former Soviet Union is the danger in democratic elections of bringing to power Islamic forces which are fanatically and intolerantly anti-Western. Algeria is a case in point.

But, some argue Islam is fundamentally unable to adjust itself to democracy, at least democracy Western style.

Whatever the outcome of the recent resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism, Muslim leaders will be forced to move themselves closer to a more pro-Western style of democracy. Or will they seek to develop a more indigenous, more "Islamic", form of government? Undoubtedly, these decisions will largely determine the nature of the relationship between the East and West in the years to come. — Star Africa Service. □

Somali war intensifies

do we fan 18/2/92

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NAIROBI - Shells rained heavily on both sides of Somalia's devastated capital yesterday as a warring chieftain tried to sever his rival's supply route one day after saying he welcomed the United Nation's call for a ceasefire.

The fighting threatened to cut short a UN survey by a six-person team in Mogadishu trying to assess how international relief aid could be delivered to the city and where it is needed most.

Three months of clan-based fighting between General Mohamed Farrah Aidid and President Ali Mahdi Mohamed has killed

and wounded more than 30 000 people and forced hundreds of thousands of others to flee Mogadishu.

The United Nations has pledged a R35 million aid package to Somalia, but will not release the funds until a ceasefire is achieved in Mogadishu.

Representatives of the two warlords agreed at UN-sponsored talks in New York on Friday to an immediate ceasefire.

But the fighting has, if anything, intensified since then, with both sides pounding each other with heavy weapons. - *Sapa-AP*.

Africa deal for Eskom

ADRIAN HADLAND

ESKOM will expand its operations into central and Francophone Africa as a result of a co-operation agreement signed in Sandton yesterday with one of the world's major electrical companies, Electricité de France (EDF).

An Eskom spokesman said several projects such as the upgrading and construction of electricity networks in African countries were being considered.

"We now have a strong and valuable partner with expertise and resources in Africa," he said.

The agreement, signed by Eskom CE Ian McRae and EDF's deputy CE Francois Ailleret, would serve to reinforce the relationship between the two utilities as well as to establish a framework for further international co-operation, a statement said.

"Both EDF and Eskom are historically, geographically and strategically interested in the development of electricity in Africa," said Ailleret.

McRae said the agreement was a positive step for electrification in Africa.

The agreement does not bind either company to co-operate on any specific projects, and each retains the right to proceed independently or to conclude similar agreements with third parties.

No let up on ivory ban

By Julienne du Toit

Star 9/12/92

Kenya and the director of that country's wildlife service, Richard Leakey, are putting increasing pressure on southern African states, including South Africa, to uphold the ivory ban.

This precedes next month's meeting of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (Cites) to be held in Kyoto, Japan, where some African states will fight to lift the moratorium on ivory trading.

Mr Leakey said Kenya wanted the elephants to remain on Appendix I, which means no trading in elephants or elephant products, "except perhaps the Kruger National Park population".

He added the final decision on this would be made in Kyoto.

The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) has said that while the two-year ban has not been enough time for elephant populations to recover, most ivory-producing states agree they have noticed a dramatic drop in ivory demand since the ban went into effect. They urged accelerated financial assistance

and park protection for the ban to be effective in most parts of Africa.

In an investigation in six countries, the WWF said the biggest drop in poaching was in Tanzania, followed by Zambia, Zaire, Cameroon and Ivory Coast.

The only place where poaching had increased, according to the report, was Malawi. Insufficient resources and a proximity to corrupt military establishments, expanding refugee camps and easily infiltrated national borders were factors, said the WWF. Civil wars and political unrest often have devastating effect on ele-

phant populations said WWF's Dr Holly Dublin.

South African conservationists feel the country is losing out on much needed revenue for its parks because of the ban on ivory sales to foreign tourists. At the moment, ivory and elephant products may be sold in the country, but cannot be taken outside its borders.

Minister of Environmental Affairs and National Education Louis Pienaar said last week the South African Cites working group would propose the downlisting of the South African elephant, the white rhino and crocodile populations to Appendix II.

This would mean that international trade could be allowed under a rigidly controlled system, but South Africa would then be able to decide to maintain the moratorium under special circumstances.

Mr Pienaar said these proposals would be submitted because the populations in this country were in a very healthy state, and are being managed scientifically.

South Africa's stance will be influenced by the progress made with effective control measures by countries that influence ivory, he said.

Bringing light and opportunities to Africa

STAR 24/2/92

"By transferring electric energy to where it is most needed," says Eskom chief executive Ian McRae, "we believe that not only can we help boost the southern African sub-continent's economies, but also vastly improve the quality of life for all the people of the region."

The impact of electricity goes way beyond the everyday convenience of turning on a light, a stove or a television. It affects education, health and the environment.

It unlocks the productive potential of the people by enabling them to use power tools and equipment. It allows them to make more skilled inputs by freeing them of time-consuming manual labour.

It provides the cheap, dependable energy that drives mining, industry and business and makes internationally competitive exports possible. It could also be the catalyst to trigger economic growth in the entire sub-continent of Africa.

The resources necessary to generate sufficient electricity for the entire sub-Saharan Africa are abundant, and Eskom — with its 45 000 employees, its skilled base and infrastructure — is confident it is the best placed organisation to drive such an effort.

In fact work on the project, which will link countries and governments in an unprecedented network of co-operation and mutual economic benefit, has already begun.

"The improving political situation will bring about better co-operation between the sub-Saharan countries, and the end of South Africa's isolation," says Mr McRae.

"Power companies have been able to build bridges across political divides, deep-seated conflicts and distrust by appealing to common needs. It becomes increasingly clear that isolation is not the answer for any southern African country.

"We need to stand together to become strong, because help from the rest of the world may not materialise.

"In South Africa, where people have no electricity and where the survival of any future democratic government is dependent upon sustained economic growth and a visibly improved standard of living for the poor majority, Eskom has an equally crucial role to play."

It is one of the Big Five or

Six in the world in terms of electricity generation and produces 60 percent of all the power on the African continent.

With the benefit of a new, streamlined management core and a more focused attitude to business, Eskom has committed itself to reducing the real cost of electricity by 20 percent over the next five years, although it already claims to be the cheapest power supplier in the world.

Education has a high priority in South Africa and electricity gives it a specific boost by providing better lighting for studying and reading, and facilitates the use of television and electronic teaching aids.

Public health is vastly improved by electricity. Modern medicines depend on electronic equipment for diagnosis and treatment, sterilising and refrigerating facilities are essential for surgery and drug stocks. The smoke generated by burning fuels in urban areas is a health hazard.

Electrification impacts on every facet of the economy as well. One of the factors crucial in ensuring that exports of manufactured goods or beneficiated minerals from South Africa are competitive internationally, is cheap, dependable electricity.

The importance of the informal, small business sector as a job creator in South Africa is well known. Once again electricity plays a crucial role.

"Clearly a person without electricity is a disadvantaged player in the economy," says Eskom chairman Dr John Maree.

Apart from the jobs created directly by supplying electricity, there is a multiplier effect that comes into play when electricity reaches a home or a workshop.

It stimulates demand for a hot-plate, a kettle, a TV, and has a ripple effect into the economy.

"If we can electrify 1,5 million homes over the next five years as we plan to do, we would create half a million jobs and our GPD would grow by five percent," says Dr Meree.

Electrification of underdeveloped regions is a long-term investment in the future. It could unite the people of Africa in a strong economic community, and it could play a major role in bringing light, peace and prosperity to our land.

'Religious war of words raging in Zambia'

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

By Mungo Tshabalala
Lusaka

A RELIGIOUS WAR of words is raging in Zambia between Muslims and the government over the president's declaration late last year that Zambia is a Christian nation.

To loud applause from scores of Christians, Chiluba read the Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD's) manifesto at a gathering in December, which calls Zambia a Christian country "tolerant of other religions".

Muslims in Zambia were outraged by the president's comments, coming hot on the heels of the banning of Muslim radio programmes by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr Stan Kristafor.

This ban has subsequently been rescinded after clarification from the government that Muslims have been guaranteed freedom of worship in terms of the constitution.

But with Chiluba's recent declaration, Muslims have asked the government to clarify its position.

Led by their organisation — the United Islamic Organisation (UIO),

the Muslims say that while "the constitution provides for freedom of worship and protection of religious minorities, we feel the president should confirm this and make it clear to guard against smaller religions being harassed," the UIO said.

But President Chiluba's declaration was warmly received by some churches.

In Kitwe, a mining city on the Copperbelt province, the Apostolic Council of Churches even warned the government's tolerance of other religions besides Christianity should be monitored closely because some religious forces might take advantage and disrupt peace in the nation.

Council chairperson Reverend Paul Mutunda says some "fanatical" groups are likely to take advantage of prevailing freedom of worship to confuse Christians — and he has singled out followers of Islam as one such group.

Mutunda adds that "since Zambia has been declared Christian, Muslim should be given little chance of collaborating with local people".

Mutunda has issued a special appeal to Zambian youths to refrain from joining Muslim organisations.

Advertisement

Muslim Countries Of The World

Population And Resources

South 20/2 - 26/2/92



Islam is now the world's major religion with its followers, numbering over 1.2 billion. If we look at the statistics that were published by the Evangelical Missions Information Services, Islam has increased by 500% since 1934, while Christianity, with all its denominations (Catholic and Protestant) only increased 47% and Christians number close to 1 billion with all its denominations. Today over 50% of births in Russia are of Muslim parents. Islam is also the world's fastest growing and the most practised religion.

These figures were calculated by the London-based Institute for the Middle East and the Mediterranean Region on the basis of data in the year book of the United Nations.

According to the Institute, the growth of Islam in Western Europe is one of the greatest socio-religious changes in our time.

R.E.S. News Exchange, 11(11):1967, Novem. 13, 1984. There are over 46 countries in the world where Muslims are the majority.

Muslim Countries Of The World

NAME POPULATION (MILLION)

1. Afghanistan 23m 2. Albania 2.3m
3. Algeria 23m 4. Bahrain 22m.
5. Bangladesh 100m 6. Cameroon 6.2m
7. Central African Republic 2m 8. Chad 4m
9. Dahomey 3m 10. Egypt 52m 11. Ethiopia 30m
12. Gambia 4m 13. Guinea 4.3m
14. Guinea-Bissau 81m 15. Indonesia 159m
16. Iran 55m 17. Iraq 20m 18. Ivory Coast 5m
19. Jordan 2.6m 20. Kuwait 1m 21. Lebanon 3m
22. Libya 2.2m 23. Malaysia 18m
24. Maldives Islands 12m 25. Mali 6m
26. Mauritania 1.3m 27. Morocco 20m

28. Niger 4.5m 29. Nigeria 70m 30. Oman .75m
31. Pakistan 112m 32. Qatar .18m
33. Saudi Arabia 12m 34. Senegal 5m
35. Sierra Leone 3m 36. South Yemen 1.5m
37. Somalia 5m 38. Sudan 20m 39. Syria 11m
40. Tanzania 20m 41. Togo 2.1m 42. Tunisia 10m
43. Turkey 65m 44. U.A.E. .32m
45. Upper Volta 8m 46. North Yemen 8m

Muslims Are Spread In All Parts Of The World. The Countries Having Muslim Minorities Are:

- Angola 1.5m, Argentina .5m, Australia .13m, Bhutan .05m, Botswana .03m, Brazil .21m, Bulgaria 1.3m, Burma 3m, Burundi .7m, Cambodia 0.7m, Canada .1m, China 35m, Congo .15m, Cyprus .21m, Equatoria Guinea .07m, Fiji .06m, France 2m, Germany (West) 1.5m, Ghana 3m, Gibraltar .003m, Greece .27m, Hong Kong .004m, Guyana .01m, India 120m, Italy .55m, Japan .01m, Kenya 6m, Liberia 6m, Lesotho .12m, Malagasy Republic 1.4m, Malawi 1.7m, Malta .045m, Mauritius 1.4m, Mozambique 2.2m, Namibia .034m, Nepal .5m, Netherlands .2m, Panama .05m, Philippines 6m, Portuguese Timor .012m, Reunion .09m, Rumania .2m, Zimbabwe 1m, South Africa .5m, Sri Lanka 1.2m, Surinam .1m, Swaziland .046m, Thailand 6m, Trinidad & Tobago .127m, Uganda 4m, Russia 65m, U.S.A. 3.2m, Yugoslavia 5m, Zaire 2.4m, Zambia .7m,

Total Population: Independent Muslim Country

Muslim minority countries	918.28m (app)
	284.391m (app)
	1202.671m

Muslim Contributions To The World

The Muslim countries together produce two-thirds of the world's oil, about 70% rubber, 75% jute, 67%

spices, two-thirds of palm oil, 55% phosphate and 40% tin. They also produce a large quantity of the world's cotton, tea, coffee, wool, uranium, manganese, cobalt and many other commodities and minerals. There is also a huge amount of natural gas in the Muslim countries.

If we look at a world map, we find the Muslim countries occupying a very strategic position. 60% of the Mediterranean Ocean is bound by Muslim countries. The Red Sea and the Gulf are fully within the Muslim region. In the course of history, Muslims lost their essential unity, due to them not following the Quran and the teachings of Islam, but it should be restored once again for the greater good of all mankind.

Muslims, who once contributed tremendously to the science and civilisation of the world, could once again do so if they truly got united on the basis of Islam. Real human progress can only be achieved by the faithful observance of the teachings of true Islam.

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Qibla leader's aim is united Muslim council

Zubeida Jaffer

South

20/2 - 26/2/92

SLAM would reflect a major ideological position in South Africa if the Muslim community were to be united under one leadership.

Such a formation could be larger than any other existing political party and could therefore have an impact on the entire liberation process, says Qibla leader Inam Achmad Cassiem. A former Robben Islander, Cassiem has committed himself to work to-

wards the establishment of a supreme council for Southern Africa to bring about such unity.

"It could be called by any other name," he says. "But such a council would bring about, reflect and maintain the unity of all the Muslims in this country."

For him, such a formation would mean that the strength in numbers of the Muslims, their financial resources and their military capabilities would be consolidated.

"The moment a person embraces Is-

lam, fighting becomes obligatory. Under what conditions and when to fight, depends on the leadership," Cassiem said.

"But if a supreme council is established, the spin-offs of that unity will have an immediate impact."

When such a formation would come off the ground, however, is difficult to say.

Efforts to bring about unity are being made in obedience to the Islamic command "not to be disunited and divided amongst yourselves."

Adds Cassiem: "We are not doing this out of political expediency. We are saying to Muslims they have a personal obligation to unite.

"If needs be, they must unite over the heads of the ulama (traditional leaders) who have been dividing the masses and have been dividing themselves for all this time."

While Cassiem harbours no illusions about the difficulties that lie ahead, he believes such unity is essential to bring about a just social order.

'Muslims must be allies of the oppressed people

South 20/2-26/2/92

① 20/2/92

MUSLIMS IN South Africa are considered one of the most self-reliant and active minorities in the world. With a population close to one million of the national population of 35 million, they have suffered and survived — along with other oppressed communities — the tyranny of apartheid's Group Areas Act and forced removals.

"The community has shown an enormous survival potential over the past 300 years," said Imam Hassan Solomon of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Without foreign aid, Muslims have established and successfully sustained mosques, madressahs (religious schools), newspapers, colleges, schools and various welfare institutions.

"The South African National Zakaah Fund is a most prestigious organisation with a R2-million budget, providing some relief for the poor and needy," said Solomon, who is also Western Cape chairperson of the Fund.

He said those and other projects had become a reality solely because of the tremendous commitment and efforts of the community.

"In other countries where Muslims are a minority, mosques and other institutions are built on foreign aid."

Solomon said a worrying factor was an increasing domination of the business class and professionals on controlling bodies of mosques, madressahs and other structures.

"Apart from the immense survival capabilities, Muslims have exhibited tolerance towards other faiths and should guard against manipulation and abuse by the government.

"Muslims in South Africa must continue to identify with the rest of the oppressed.

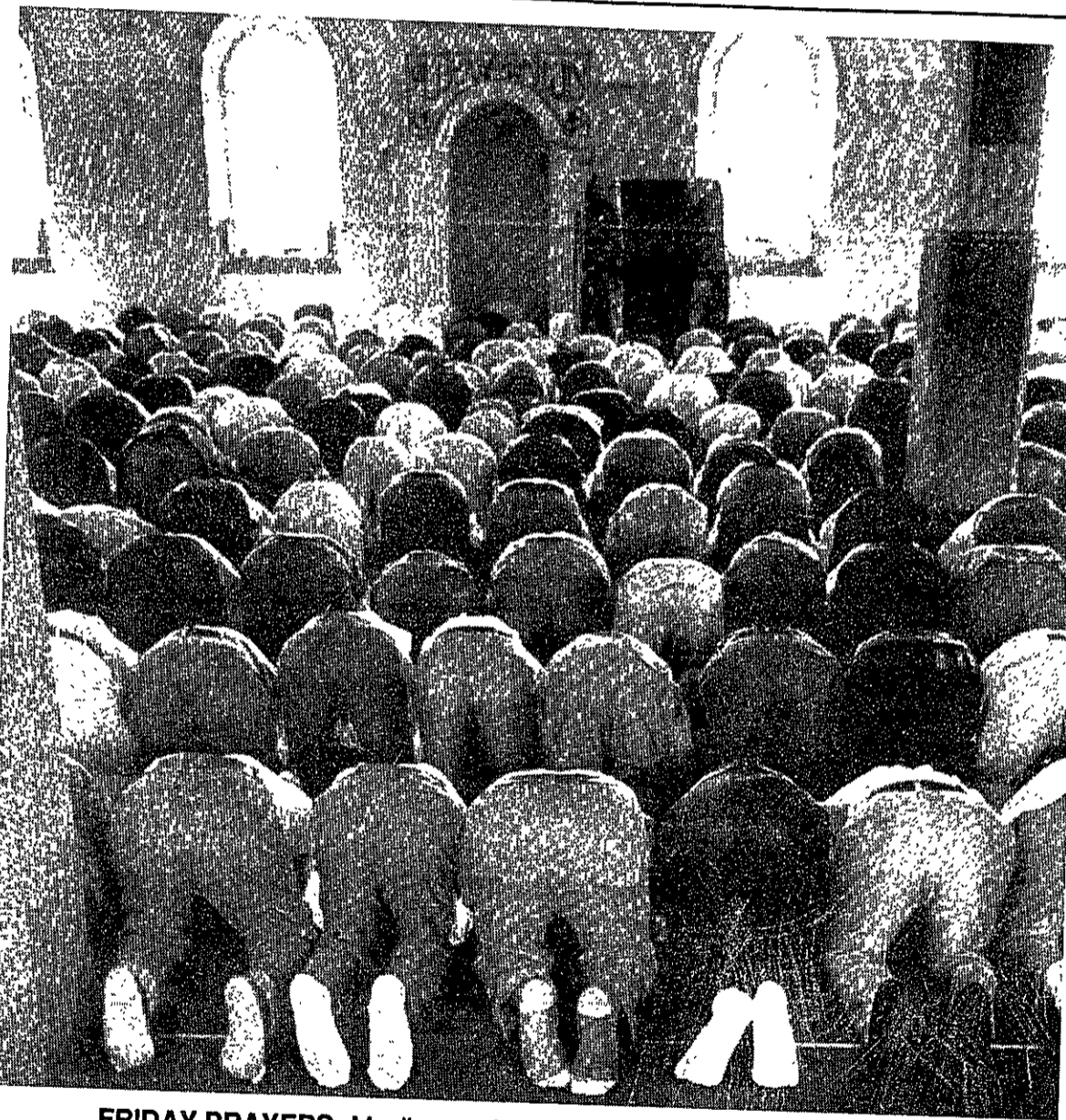
"Experience on the ground has indicated that the role and cultural visions of Muslims can most effectively be realised and protected in alliance with the oppressed.

"Muslims must be involved in mainstream politics in the future and will find themselves most comfortable with the African National Congress (ANC) because of its religious and cultural rights."

Acknowledging the objections voiced by Muslims on the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), Solomon said it would be unfair to call on the ANC to sever ties with the SACP because of the two organisations' history of fighting oppression.

"The SACP has made it quite clear it is not anti-religion," he said.

Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the world. In Africa Islam blazed a trail of conquest long before the colonists arrived with their missionaries. For the past three decades, Muslims have been oppressed in several African states as Christianity gained ascendancy. This three page investigates the problems facing Muslims in Southern Africa:



FRIDAY PRAYERS: Muslims gather for their main sermon of the week

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Highlighting rich traditions and the lifestyle of the community, Solomon said the spirit of "helpmakaar" was "alive and an integral part of life".

"In many homes, the bak-en-bron of koeksisters, samoosas, daltjies and vetbroodjies continues and will live on.

"This demonstrates yet another way the community carries forth one of its traditions but it is sad that many families are not doing this because of economic hardships," said Solomon.

This year saw the launching of pilot project introduced in some government primary schools where Muslim teachers have been employed to conduct Islamic Studies.

Various schools catering only for Muslim students and providing Islamic Studies as part of the curriculum are recognised by the Christian government, like Habib College in Athlone, Mohammedyah Primary and Rahmanyeh Primary.

"It is my view that religion taught in schools should not be propagandist but a means of reaching an understanding of interfaith relationships," said Solomon.

"He who knows one, knows none. He said "exemplary" structures existed in a number of communities where Islamic studies were provided.

Muslims in South Africa do not however, constitute one united community.

ALTHOUGH THERE are various organisations possessing different views on the role Muslims should play, they do agree unity is essential.

"Muslims have a religious duty to oppose any oppressor, no matter what it takes," said Sheikh Abubaker Najaa of the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA).

"For over 500 years Muslims have gone through trauma and now have to look at themselves to lead the world to virtue.

"They would not be worthy of Islam if they neglect their duty and the goes for South African Muslims as well."

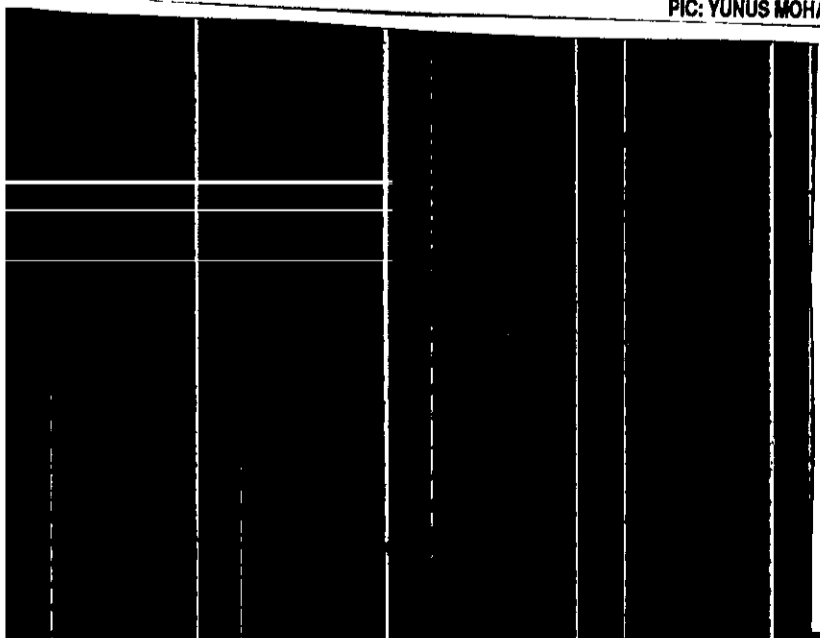
ICSA was formed in the late seventies and is the only national body according to Najaa, with branches throughout the country.

The council has strong international links and ensured the recognition of the South African community with Islamic countries worldwide, he said.

The Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) represents the majority of Muslims in the Western Cape with 90 affiliated mosques — nearly 95 per cent.

Formed in 1945 to cater for the needs of Muslims, it is the most recognised body.

The MJC has three main departments dealing with marriage and divorce, education and the overseeing of halaal food outlets.



'Okay to be a Muslim in Malawi'

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

By Felix Mponda
Blantyre

IT'S NO LONGER a shame to be a Muslim in Malawi," says Muslim Association of Malawi executive secretary, Mr Ebrahim Milanzi. Milanzi is one of a young breed of Muslims in this Christian-dominated country fighting to maintain the dignity and image of the Islamic faith after many decades of it being regarded as a shameful and backward religion.

In the past, Muslims were called "anasala", a derogatory term meaning backwardness in every aspect of life.

Today, there has been a marked turn-around in attitudes towards Muslims.

Concedes Malawi's Muslim leader, Sheikh Hussein Mwalabu: "Muslims have now gained a respectable place because there are educated Muslims in almost every field, unlike in the past, when lack of education hindered them from participating in national development."

Islam was the first religion to blaze a trail of conquest in this country. It arrived with the Arabs during the ivory and slave trade era.

"Islam wasn't well-developed till recently," Milanzi said.

He believes Christianity, which came to Malawi much later, overtook Islam in popularity because "Christianity came well-developed,

what with trade and education systems.

"Islam continued to be a secret religion and few people knew about its teachings and practices."

It was not until the forties that Muslims came together to form an organisation of their own aimed at safeguarding the interests of the religion.

In 1957 the faith was officially registered with the colonial government.

But with no educational facilities of their own, Muslims still remained uneducated.

Parents found it difficult to send their children to Christian-controlled schools for fear that their children would be converted to Christianity — a requirement at that time.

With independence in 1964, the government started encouraging Muslim parents to send their children to any school, with the agreement that they would not be forced to convert.

A magnificent mosque, believed to be the only one of such grandeur in the Southern African region, and which cost close to a million kwacha, is a showpiece of architectural design in Blantyre's "Asian city" of Limbe.

More modern mosques have mushroomed throughout the countryside, underlining the fact that Islam is thriving. According to Milanzi, there are now 80 new mosques.

A secondary school offering Islamic and secular education and catering exclusively for Muslim students with

expatriate teachers from Sudan, India, Egypt and Somalia, opened its doors a few years ago.

Those who excel here are sent abroad for professional courses in medicine and engineering.

Under the sponsorship of the Islamic Development Bank, there are now 15 Malawian Muslims studying in Pakistan and Turkey in the two fields, with the first two graduates expected home later this year.

Milanzi, who has been executive secretary of the Muslim Association for the past five years, believes "image cultivating" developments are behind the conversion of Muslims to other religions in the past. The opposite, he added, is happening now in that more people are currently joining Islam than leaving it.

There has never been any census of Muslims in Malawi, but Milanzi estimates there are about two million followers in this nation of eight million people.

"The attraction with Islam is that it is strong on monotheism (the worship of one God), like Judaism and Christianity," Milanzi said.

"Our approach to our religion is different from others. There is a strong spirit of brotherhood and uniformity of prayers all over the world.

"Islam as a religion has really grown big and is being respected in that we are treated as a non-governmental organisation which can contribute to national development."

A modest call to prayer at Namibia's only mosque

South 20/2-26/2/92

Graham Hopwood
Katutura

FROM THE outside, the four-roomed house looks like any other in Windhoek's township of Katutura. It seems an unlikely centre for a national religious movement, yet this is the base for the Namibian Islamic Institute (NII), the country's only Muslim organisation.

The white-robed imam standing in the yard does not receive a second glance from the children playing in the township dust or the early-evening shoppers hurrying to catch the soon-to-close shops.

Only the very inquisitive would notice that this house has been specially adapted to become a mosque, office, reading room and Koranic school.

As dusk falls, muezzin Imam Mohammed Gadaffi proclaims the ahaan not from the loudspeaker across the township's rooftops but meditatively inside the largest room — the nation's only mosque.

This modest call to prayer, and the four young men who walk in from the yard to purify themselves before kneeling down to face Mecca, symbolises the Namibian Muslims' quiet and almost self-effacing approach to their religion's role in this newly independent country.

The NII estimates there are about 500 Muslims in Namibia, 0,04 percent of the country's population now settled at 1,4 million by the government's recent census.

Despite their minuscule numbers, the

Muslim population has doubled since the UN-supervised transition which brought Namibia to independence in March 1990.

This is mainly due to the arrival of embassy staff from Iran, Pakistan, Libya, Sudan and Egypt and an influx of Islamic businesspeople from such countries as Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. About 250 are Namibian Muslims, almost all men.

Before independence the shaping influence on Islam in Namibia was the Islamic movement in South Africa. Although Muslim truck drivers and traders have been passing through Namibia from the Cape for decades, the religion did not take root until the late 1970s.

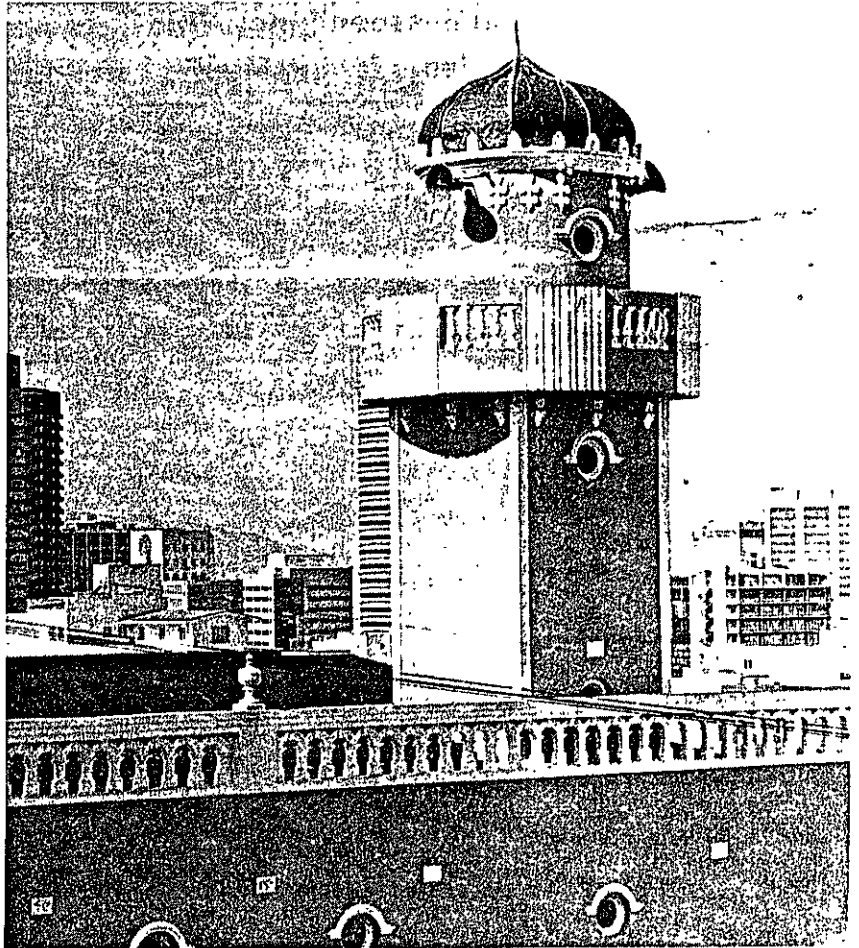
According to NII chairperson, Mr Salmaan Jacobs, the arrival of Islam came about through one individual — who having obtained pamphlets on the religion, was intrigued enough to attend a regional Islamic conference in Lesotho in 1978.

He accepted Islam there and returned to spread the word in Namibia. The following year a group of Muslim students from Durban came to visit their lone Namibian convert.

The arrival of Islam came at a time of political turmoil in Namibia. In the late seventies, following the example of schoolchildren in Soweto, Namibian schools became cauldrons of anger and protest against the colonial regime.

In this atmosphere the young converts' first question was: "What role can Islam play in the struggle for independence?"

Although the politicised origins of



BUILDING A PRESENCE: In many countries the presence of a mosque in residential areas provides proof that the Muslim community is thriving

PICS: YUNUS MOHAMED

Islam in Namibia meant the fledgling faith identified closely with the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), Jacobs stresses that Namibian Muslims are not directed towards any political affiliation and can make up their own minds.

While he makes no great claims for Islam's tentative advance since independence, the future could well be a different story.

The NII is planning to move its base into the centre of Windhoek with a bookshop, exhibitions and video presentations to spread the Islamic message. There is also talk of Islamic

schools and day care centres. A growing relationship with Islamic embassies will provide the material support for this expansion alongside the more traditional source of funding — donations from the Muslim community south of the Orange River.

Jacobs says they prefer to convert through the example of the Islamic lifestyle rather than direct preaching. Their most evangelical action is to provide after-school classes for local children, but Jacobs admits this is as much about teaching basic English as Koranic law.

He stresses the unifying aspect of

Islam. Namibia's Islamic community is too small to worry about schisms such as the Sunni/Shiite divide.

Although they are Sunni Muslims, Namibia's adherents have close relations with the Shiite Iranians in Windhoek — so close the Iranians plan to build a city centre mosque for all Namibia's Muslims.

With the support from the Muslim world, Islam in Namibia is set to grow, but the faithful few seem to lack the kind of fundamentalist zeal which would bring rapid expansion

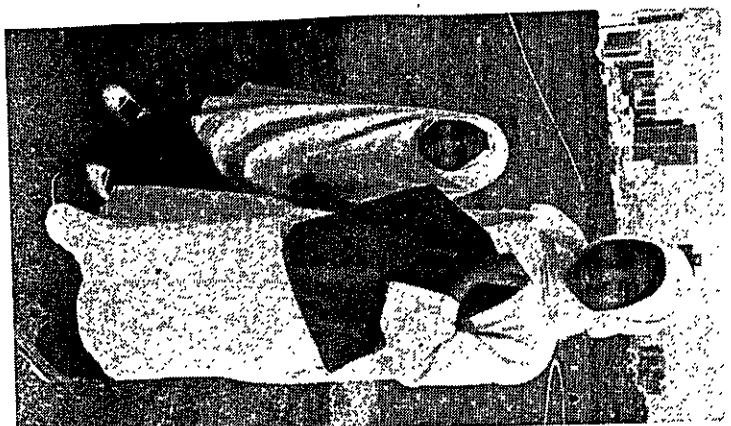
For the moment, Christianity dominates the country.



A tale of persecution and resurgence

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

Ruth Ansah Ayisi
Maputo



A SMALL boy hurriedly pushed a wheelchair carrying an elderly disabled man. It was too late. The men were already slipping on their shoes outside the mosque and gathering in a group under the trees to chat. One of them explained gently to the man in the chair that it was not worth taking the trouble to enter the mosque. It was peaceful. The murmurs of the conversation were almost drowned by the soft whistling of leaves in a welcome breeze. Even the young boys were sitting quietly.

Yet this little haven, tucked away on a side street, is situated in the heart of the overcrowded, vibrant capital of Maputo. By no means, however, does the relaxed atmosphere at the mosque tell the story of the struggle that Muslims underwent in Mozambique. It is only

in recent years that they are being allowed to worship openly. Today Islam is flourishing here.

There are no official statistics for the number of Muslims in the country. Estimates range from around 30 to 60 percent of Mozambique's 15.7 million people. Most Muslims live in the northern provinces of Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado, where it is believed they make up more than 90 percent of the population.

"It used to be thought we had no Muslims in Mozambique," says Sheikh Aminuddin Mohamad, who had been conversing with the men under the trees. "But here in this mosque alone some 2 000 men come to worship."

Scattered around Maputo there are about 30 other mosques. Islam is deeply entrenched. The first Muslims arrived in Mozambique before the Portuguese colonists more than 500 years ago. "The Portuguese wanted to Christianise everyone and beat down Mus-

lims," says Aminuddin, a member of the Mozambique Council of Islam.

The colonialists opened school doors only to Christians or those who converted to Christianity. Muslims were forced to give their children Christian names so that they could study.

Others decided to preserve their faith at the expense of education, and kept their children at home. "Muslims here are the group most educationally backward because of this," adds Aminuddin. "We didn't have any preachers or teachers in Islam."

Christianity was pushed aside after independence and the late president Samora Machel ushered in Marxism-Leninism. Muslims looked to outside the country for support and built on their contacts with other Muslims around the world.

Aminuddin had, in 1965, received a scholarship to study in Pakistan so was fortunate enough not to have had to sacrifice either his religion or education. Today he has published 10 books

on Islam. At present some 50 Muslim Mozambican children have received sponsorships to study in Islamic schools in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan. Under President Joaquim Chissano's government, there is for the first time in centuries a respect for religion in Mozambique.

Chissano received a warm welcome when he addressed crowds of Muslims in Nampula last year.

Plans are underway to build a college in Maputo open to Muslims in southern Africa, and Muslim schools are being built in northern Mozambique.

The major obstacle now shared by all the Mozambicans, says Aminuddin, is the 16-year-old war between the government and the Renamo rebels. "When there is peace we shall be able to move freely and make more contacts with other Muslims throughout the country who are cut off from us by the war," says Aminuddin.

Africa 'sliding into darkness'

CT 21/2/82

LONDON. — Influential BBC reporter Michael Buerk who spent four years covering township violence in South Africa before being expelled in 1987, returned to Africa to find "a continent sliding backwards into darkness".

In a four-part BBC radio documentary, Buerk tells of a situation "far, far worse" than the Africa he visited in the 1980s.

In 1984, he brought the first gruesome eyewitness accounts of

famine in Ethiopia to British television viewers. It gave rise to aid amounting to the equivalent of nearly R3 billion.

But Buerk says that this time, no one is listening. "Somalia is worse than that, much worse," he told Radio Times magazine.

"In Ethiopia there was a sort of nobility, a dignity even in death, of the people. Somalia today is a nihilist nightmare. Not even a civil war, but simply gangs roaming the

streets in total anarchy.

"Around Mogadishu alone 20 000 people, many women and children, have been shot in the past seven weeks, hit by firing from clans fighting for control.

"You see mobs of eight and 10-year-olds, armed with Kalashnikovs; they will kill for the watch on your wrist, the bread roll in your hand.

"Starvation is beginning to take hold. There is food and aid on

ships in the harbour. But there were seven separate gangs waiting at the dock gates to loot at gunpoint anything anyone attempted to bring out. Yes, it's pretty scary."

What began as a post Cold War review of Africa, he says, became an insight into a new sort of imperialism. He presents a scenario of the developed world imposing an economic imperialism on Africa, which is crippling already devastated economies.

Algeria trims ministries^①

ALGIERS — Algeria has set up a leaner government of super ministries to battle Muslim fundamentalist discontent fuelled by debt-induced poverty.

Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali has merged six ministries into three, bracketing transport with posts and telecommunications, culture with communications, universities and research with technology and the environment. *blm 24/2/92*

\$15bn a year in African aid projects now in reach of SA companies

SA's improving political standing on the continent is opening the way for SA companies to tap into at least \$15bn a year of multilateral aid to Africa.

SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safro) executive Parresh Pandya said yesterday that as many as 100 local consultancies and the consulting arms of large companies had registered as consultants with the World Bank in the past year.

He said the bank was just one of several multilateral agencies which were spending billions of dollars a year on development projects in Africa.

Pandya said: "This money is not aid for SA itself, but aid for the rest of the continent which SA companies can tap into for business opportunities."

He said the lifting of sanctions and SA's newfound political acceptability in many parts of Africa meant that local companies could compete for tenders for development projects on at least an equal footing with overseas competitors.

The expertise of SA construction, engineering and mining companies in dealing with African conditions, SA's proximity to the developing countries, and the weak

1995
Biday 24/2/92
MATTHEW CURTIN

rand made their tenders for aid-funded projects particularly competitive.

Pandya said Safro advised companies to treat multilateral aid agencies as an alternative source of funding and a market for SA goods, works and services in the same way they might investigate opportunities in another country.

The leading aid agency spenders in Africa are the World Bank, which spent \$3,3bn on the continent in 1991, and the EC, which has committed \$8bn a year until

1995.
However, Pandya said, there were equally good opportunities for SA companies on projects financed by the Abidjan-based African Development Bank.

The African Development Bank group — the bank itself, the African Development Fund and the Nigeria Trust Fund — spent \$3,3bn on African aid projects in 1991, of which nearly a third, or \$690m, was spent in central and southern Africa. Pandya said the bank worked very much as an African version of the World Bank, often acting as a co-financier with the bank of

African aid

activities in southern Africa.

These, he said, included joint financing of projects with the Development Bank. In 1991 La Grange was the first SA representative to attend an African Development Bank general meeting. *Biday 24/2/92*

La Grange would not comment at the weekend about developments since the meeting last year, but it is understood African Development Bank and Development Bank of SA representatives will meet next month.

Pandya said other sources of multilateral

From Page 1

aid included the Opec Fund — which spent \$1bn in Africa last year — and UN agencies. Once UN sanctions were dismantled, SA companies stood to gain access to the \$5bn a year agencies such as the UN Development Programme, Unesco, the UN Industrial and Development Organisation, and the World Health Organisation spent in Africa.

And, he said, a significant proportion of bilateral aid was not tied to the donor countries, and with the lifting of sanctions SA companies would no longer be debarred from winning tenders for such projects.

projects such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Project.

The projects the bank financed included rural health services in Lesotho, small- and medium-scale farmer support programmes in Angola, livestock rehabilitation in Mozambique, and water services rehabilitation in Zambia, although it was paying more attention to industrial development.

In April last year, Development Bank of SA GM Andre la Grange said the African Development Bank was set to expand its

To Page 2

Africa digests its own history

STAR 25/2/92

①

HENRY Ford gained a certain notoriety by describing history as "bunk". He might have been more accurate if he had likened it to a string of sausages.

Just as sausages come out of the machine as separate but linked units, so history comes out of the funnel of current events in episodic segments. History's sausages, however, come in different shapes and sizes according to the circumstances that formed them.

Southern Africa's historical sausages have been shaped by indigenous tribal migrations, by black men's wars, by European settlement, by colonialism, by the discovery of mineral riches, by white men's wars, by black men's liberation struggles and by their independence.

The independence sausage contained too much anti-colonial reaction and Marxist impracticability to have been successful. The turn of history nipped it off and now we are seeing the emergence of its successor: the constitutional sausage.

Almost everywhere in the sub-continent there is a preoccupation with devising new political systems to replace failed ones. Common to them all is a rejection of excessive state control and an acceptance of the right of peoples to choose their governments and economic systems. International attention is turned mainly towards South Africa's Codesa, but this is not the only one on the go.

The Mozambicans are slowly but surely working out a new constitutional dispensation to end the civil war. Angola's civil war has been halted, Marxism has been abandoned and the constitution has been changed to allow for a multiparty system, and the first election campaign is under way.

Newly independent Namibia, learning from others' mistakes, has adopted a generally accepted constitution which so far has worked very well.

Lesotho, after enduring dictatorship and military rule ever since independence, is drawing up a new constitution expected to enshrine multiparty politics. The first election is due this year.

Swaziland still clings to an absolute monarchy but this is being

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



besieged by demands for multiparty democracy.

Zimbabwe, while keeping the Lancaster House constitution, is engaged in a process as radical as adopting a new constitution: a re-drafting of the ruling party's policy to eliminate the major Marxist elements.

In Zambia, the one-party constitution having been amended to allow for democracy, the autocratic government has been replaced by one accountable to the voter.

Malawi remains a one-party state under the virtual dictatorship of the elderly President Banda, but few doubt that when he goes the suppressed opposition will enforce a multiparty system.

Beyond southern Africa, the trend continues. Zaire is engaged, though fitfully, in a Codesa-like conference aimed at ending President Mobutu's dictatorship. Multiparty systems are being forced into place by popular pressure in Kenya, Tanzania and elsewhere.

Ideally, liberals would like to see the democratic, free-enterprise sausage continuing uninterrupted, boerewors-like, forever. Sadly, this is far from certain. Autocracy has left little for democracy to shape into a viable form — only ruined economies, ravaged infrastructures, bewildered populations and huge debts. To extend the sausagian metaphor, there is little meat left with which to stuff the skin.

It is possible that democracy and free enterprise will fill the sausage in a relatively short time. But it is more likely that disillusionment will set in first among peoples who still have nothing.

A return to the failed systems of the past seems unthinkable but is not impossible. So our present sausage will either be prematurely nipped off or it will be a thin, lumpy one. But with a bit of luck, our children will see it turn into a big, fat banger. □

4

Western loan to Algeria 'is imminent'

PARIS — Western banks could soon grant a \$1.5bn financial facility to Algeria, which has a foreign debt of \$25bn, banking sources said yesterday.

The loan, managed by Credit Lyonnais of France, was agreed on last year but had stalled on opposition from some European and US banks concerned.

In January, an army-backed high state council took power in Algeria and cancelled the first multiparty general elections since independence in 1960, which the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) had been set to win.

The FIS says the authorities have since detained 30 000 people in a crackdown. Officials put the number at 5 000.

Algeria's President Mohamed Boudiaf, an independence war veteran made head of state last month after returning from exile in Morocco, has said the loan will be used to "reprofile" the debt, notably regarding short-term loans.

Algeria is due to pay back \$16bn of the debt by January 1993. A moratorium on the principal of the debt, imposed at the end of 1991 until last January 31, has been extended until February 29. — Sapa-AFP.

150 die in Algerian clashes^①

Souefan 25/2/92

ALGIERS - Clashes between Algerian security forces and Islamic fundamentalists have left 150 dead and 700 wounded.

Some 30 000 Muslim militants have been arrested since authorities began their crackdown on the Islamic Salvation Front, the movement claimed yesterday.

The statistics were published in the official organ of the Algiers bureau of the FIS, the *Minbar El Djoumaa*.

The crisis began on January 11 when then president Chadli Bendjedid resigned and a military-backed council took power and cancelled national elections which the FIS was poised to win. - Sapa-AFP.

~~2~~ ¹
Marike in
plea to aid
STAR 271492
rural women

Marike de Klerk yesterday committed South Africa to give rural women in Africa "a better place in the sun".

She was delivering an address in Switzerland to the Summit for the Advancement of Rural Women.

Mrs de Klerk urged the international community to help alleviate the plight of millions of women in Africa who live in adverse rural conditions.

Sympathy for the suffering of African women was not nearly enough, she said.

"They need help. In seeing that they get it, I believe that we, the more privileged women of this world, have an indispensable part to play.

"In this context I believe in the wisdom of the Chinese proverb: 'Teach a man and you teach an individual. Teach a woman and you teach a family and a nation'."

She said the answer to many of the problems of Africa and other parts of the developing world — particularly those affecting rural women — lay in helping them to help themselves. — Sapa.

Mutiny^① staged in Niger

STAR
28/2/92

NIAMEY — Soldiers in Niger staged a mutiny yesterday, and the West African country's interim prime minister appealed for loyal forces to save democracy.

Sporadic gunfire coming from an infantry barracks echoed through the capital, Niamey, after midnight, residents said.

In one of a series of concerted actions, mutineers stormed into a television building and interrupted live transmission of the evening news to list 13 demands over pay and other grievances.

Education Minister Albert Wright, standing in for Premier Amadou Cheiffou, said troops also freed Captain Maliki Bouraima, detained last October and accused of leading soldiers to massacre Tuareg nomads in 1990.

Mr Cheiffou, appointed after a pro-democracy national conference last year, was visiting the Niger interior.

Niger, a former French colony of about eight million people, has 4 500 soldiers and para-military gendarmes, officials said.

Their demands included the sacking of Niger's deputy army chief, Commander Abou Maman, and immediate payment of salary arrears.

Niger is to hold its first multi-party elections this year. — Sapa-Reuter

STAR 28/2/92
**Togolese trade
delegation here**

LOME — The first Togolese trade delegation to South Africa, led by Industry Minister Issa Samarou, flew to Johannesburg yesterday hoping to attract investors.

The group will promote Togo's "export-processing zone". — Sapa-
Reuter. (1) (2)

CONAFEX/AFEX

FM 28/2/92

Moving out of Africa

Activities: Investment company with interests in mining, agriculture and property in Africa and the US.

Control: Conafex 53,1%.

Chairman: D C Marshall.

Capital structure: 3,8m ords. Market capitalisation: R19m.

Share market: Price: 500c. Yields: 5,4% on dividend; 3,9% on earnings; p:e ratio, 26; cover, 0,7. 12-month high, 660c; low, 500c.

Trading volume last quarter, 20 shares.

Year to Sep 30	'88	'89	'90	'91
Turnover (US\$m)	18,7	20,7	32,4	44,0
Pre-tax profit (US\$m)	2,5	3,1	2,6	1,9
Earnings (SAc)	68	129	113	17,8
Dividends (SAc)	22,5	23,4	26,3	26,9
Net worth (SAc)	1 037	1 417	1 330	1 372

About the best that can be said of Afex's performance in the year to September is that it successfully continued its stated aim of getting out of Africa, but the profits suffered in the process.

Key statistic, according to chairman David Marshall, is that 43,9% of the company's net assets at year-end were located in the US or elsewhere overseas, compared with 27,5% the previous year.

Major contributor to that swing was that last year Afex got permission from the SA Reserve Bank to transfer to Luxembourg the share portfolio held in SA by wholly owned subsidiary Sussex Securities, through a special dividend in specie. Afex is registered in Luxembourg.

Market value of that portfolio at September 30 was US\$7m. Sales from the portfolio since the year-end have realised profits of \$3,64m which are now in the bank, according to Marshall.

Included in the portfolio is Afex's 26% stake in Zimbabwe gold producer Falcon Mines, which is listed separately on the London and Johannesburg stock exchanges. Marshall emphasises the group has no intention of selling that stake.

Falcon is doing very nicely, thank you, even if only a quarter of the taxed profits can be remitted from Zimbabwe in any one year and then at the discretion of the Zimbabwean authorities. The value of the Zimbabwean holdings in Afex's books have been

taken at a conservative figure.

Marshall says he is now happy with Afex's balance of investments in and out of Africa. The group will "play with the chips" with what it has left in Africa, while overseas the aim is to hold investments in blue-chip equities and a property portfolio in America, which at present is concentrated in freehold property in southern California.

However, Afex has not found the investment market in the US easy. The directors' report shows a market value of the US investment portfolio at end-September of \$2,44m, compared with a book value of \$1,6m, but that is after providing \$500 000 against a "permanent diminution in value."

The trouble is that last year's poor profit performance could be followed by a worse one this year. Both SA and Zimbabwe remain in the grip of recessions and the severe drought in both countries will hit Afex's agricultural businesses.

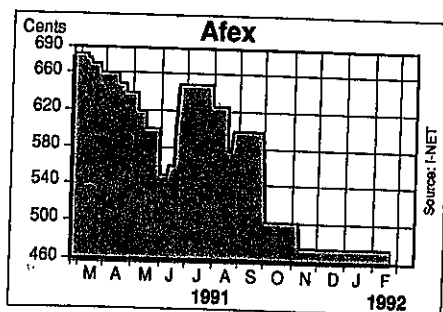
In the US, the property market has been affected by the recession, interest rates are near record lows, and equity markets have done surprisingly well ... so far.

Marshall acknowledges Afex's poor profit performance is of concern but points to the group's asset value as compensation. He feels the share should be viewed as an asset play, which is confirmed by shareholders' taking four-fifths of the 1990 dividend declaration in additional shares rather than cash. That option is available for the 1991 dividend distribution and Marshall expects a similar take-up.

The share has limited attractions for SA investors. Main beneficiaries of the group's operations are the Marshall and Latilla-Campbell families which control it. Only 20 shares were traded on the JSE over the past three months because they are so tightly held and because they are really only half a rand hedge stock.

The future of holding company Conafex is of interest. Its sole asset is the holding in Afex plus some cash. Marshall says Conafex's role as holding company is not really required because the direct and indirect holdings of the Marshall and Latilla-Campbell families are sufficient to retain control of Afex. He says "something may be done" with Conafex but declines to provide details.

Brendan Ryan



Talks to decide African elephants' fate

STAR 29/2/92

TOKYO — The fate of the African elephant will be on the line next week in Kyoto, Japan, as supporters and opponents of the ivory trade square off at an international convention on endangered species.

"We are very hopeful there will be no resumption of the ivory trade, but the topic is likely to be extremely controversial and it will be a tough battle," Simon Lyster, an official of the World Wide Fund for Nature, said in Tokyo yesterday.

The eighth conference of the signatories to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (Cites) is to be held in Kyoto from March 2-13.

The conference will bring together some 1 400 government officials and experts from the 112 signatory countries to consider levels of protection for endangered species of animals and plants in international trade.

The African elephant dominated the last Cites meeting, held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1989, when it earned classification in the treaty's Schedule 1, so that all international trade in any elephant parts was banned.

Five southern African countries, noting that their elephant populations are growing again, will propose at Kyoto that the elephant be returned to Schedule 2 of the treaty, which would allow a controlled resumption of the ivory trade.

The proposal by South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Namibia has prompted an outcry among dozens of non-governmental organisations that have flocked to Japan for the conference.

"Any downlisting would be a signal to the ivory traders, and poaching all over Africa is likely to increase," Jeff Canin, who will lead the Greenpeace delegation to Kyoto, said yesterday.

ELISABETH ZINGG

Greenpeace is especially opposed to any change in the listing, saying it is too early to speak of a "recovery" hardly two years after the ban in the ivory trade took effect on January 1 1990.

From 1979 to 1989, the number of African ele-

See Page 13

phants fell from 1.3 million to about 600 000, mostly because of poaching.

In the absence of official figures from several countries since 1989, Greenpeace has estimat-

ed that current herds total between 573 000 and 598 000, with a slight increase in southern Africa, while elsewhere on the continent, numbers are still declining.

Poaching has increased in recent months in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and the British Environmental Investigation Agency has accused the military in both countries of involvement in elephant poaching and ivory smuggling.

The debate will be heavily influenced by a report to be released next week by a panel of experts set up at the Lausanne Cites meeting to study the issue.

Countries such as Spain and Belgium have come out in favour of the South African proposal

but most other Western countries, including the United States, are awaiting the panel's report before declaring their stance.

"Elephants have never been threatened with extinction in South Africa and Zimbabwe," said Steve Edwards, an official of the World Conservation Union, who supports a compromise.

One compromise that might mollify the southern African countries — which otherwise might quit Cites — would be to put the elephant in Schedule 2 but maintain the ban on the ivory trade.

Resumption of trade in elephant meat and hides — which are used in boots in the United States — would generate income to allow countries to improve their own conservation efforts to ensure sustainable management of their elephant herds.

Greenpeace and other ecological movements reject any compromise, saying it would be the first step to a resumption of the ivory trade.

It is universally agreed that since 1990, trade in ivory has completely collapsed, especially in Hong Kong and Japan. — Sapa-AFP.

ARC 29.2.92 (1) #1

Kaunda makes plea for unity

JOHANNESBURG — Former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda has made a strong plea for African unity, saying only a united continent would be able to withstand outside economic and political pressure.

Addressing a meeting of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy in Johannesburg, the former Zambian leader, who is on a four-day tour here, said small nations across the continent could easily be destabilised, but a united Africa could withstand such pressure.

"They (the world powers) say incor-

poration into the world economy is good for us. I beg to differ. To base our economic system on the industrialised north is not on.

"The West confers democracy on a government and its people, yet I have never understood the criteria they employ to confer such democracy. Their system must allow for their participation, and even domination, of our economies. It is not in our interests to be incorporated into the world economy, but rather for us to address our inadequacies," said Mr Kaunda. — Sapa.

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22/2/82

WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT: Sustainable utilisation of wildlife is the answer
for future programmes, argues SA conservationist JOHN H.SLEY

Ivory ban 'has failed'



LIFE AND MONEY LOST: Elephant poaching has increased since the ban was imposed, and in addition South Africa has lost R9 million from sales of ivory and skin.

SOUTH Africa's self-imposed ban on ivory trading — in accordance with a 1989 Con-

vention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) will be meeting for two weeks in Kyoto, Japan, beginning on Monday. A panel of experts, which visited South Africa recently, will

Cape Town
● Introducing stricter controls at Customs points, so reducing



LIFE AND MONEY LOST: Elephant poaching has increased since the ban was imposed, and in addition South Africa has lost R9 million from sales of ivory and skin.

SOUTH Africa's self-imposed ban on ivory trading — in accordance with a 1989 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) ruling — has faded in southern Africa.

That is according to Rhino and Elephant Foundation spokesman John Halsey.

Statistics over the past two years show that around 30 of South Africa's 8,500 elephant population fell prey to poachers in the past two years, more than were lost during the five years preceding the Cites decision.

Similarly Zimbabwe, which before the ban lost about five elephants a year to poachers, is now losing around 100 a year.

"South Africa has also lost around 15 million which would have been made from sales of elephant skin and ivory and which would have, according to its existing policy, been ploughed directly back into conservation," Mr Halsey says.

Kenya, on the other hand, says the ban has been successful in curbing its enormous poaching problem, which was one reason for the ban being imposed in the first place.

THE Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) will be meeting for two weeks in Kyoto, Japan, beginning on Monday. A panel of experts, which visited South Africa recently, will report that this country's elephant population is in no danger of extinction. South Africa will use the opportunity to push for commercial trading to be allowed in products from its elephants.

slaughter of endangered elephants in southern Africa.

"Statistics show this trend has actually increased. Perhaps, overall, one could say the ban has been worthwhile in that international trade in ivory, which was spinning out of control at the time the ban was imposed, has been slowed down, giving us a breathing space to allow us to reorganise and set up better, more efficient and effective control systems."

Political expediency compelled South Africa to go along with the 1989 Cites ban voluntarily, even though it has never had a poaching problem. South Africa's elephant population, Mr Halsey points out, has increased from 23 in the 1920s to around 8,500 today.

A Cites panel of experts, which visited South Africa recently, will report to the conference that South Africa's elephant population is not in danger of extinction.

This, combined with the statistical data, is what South

Africa will use to persuade the Conference — meeting for two weeks in Kyoto, Japan — that it is expedient to move its elephant population from Schedule 1 (endangered animal, no commercial trade in its products allowed) to Schedule 2 (threatened animal, commercial trading allowed).

Zimbabwe and Botswana are both expected to forward the same argument and request to the Conference.

"It is unlikely that the Conference will allow us to resume trading in ivory, so we will go for a compromise."

"South Africa will reluctantly agree to continue to observe the voluntary ban on ivory trading for a further two years — if its elephants are listed on Schedule 2 — after which time it will sell ivory only to Japan for use domestically and under very strict conditions so that abuse and corruption will be stamped out."

Japan, adds Mr Halsey, is the only country that has a dom-

estic market for ivory. Other countries, both in Europe and Asia, import ivory which is then processed into jewellery or ornaments and sold to tourists who take it back to their countries.

Japan does not rely on tourism to dispose of the ivory it imports. Most of this is used in its 400-year-old *hanko* industry — personal seals made out of small blocks of ivory.

While consumer demand for ivory accessories in Japan dropped after the ban had been imposed, *hanko* remains popular.

According to a report released earlier this month by the Environmental Investigation Agency, Japan has for many years been the world's largest ivory consumer, taking as much as 40 percent of the

ivory in international trade.

"In the years before the ban, Japan was importing an average of 100 tons a year and in spite of a significant reduction in local demand, it remains the single biggest consumer of ivory."

Steps being considered by South Africa to tighten up loopholes exploited by traders include:

- Excluding all private traders from dealing in ivory.
- Allowing only the National Parks Board to sell ivory obtained from controlled culling.
- Strictly supervising this ivory during the shipping process, perhaps even introducing bonded containers which would be sent directly to Japan.
- Paying greater attention to policing illegal ivory trade through the SAP's Endangered Species Protection Unit.
- Retaining and possibly introducing the unique "fingerprinting" (isotopic testing) system for ivory currently being developed by the Archaeometry Research Unit at the University of

Cape Town.

● Introducing stricter controls at Customs points, so reducing South Africa's undesired role as the main transit point in southern Africa for illegal ivory.

Mr Halsey says it seems that Kenya, whose 1969 arguments at Cites resulted in the ivory-trade ban, would support shifting South Africa's elephant population to Schedule 2 with the compromise plan as a codicil.

By observing the ban for a further two years, Japan will also have the opportunity of improving its controls to ensure the ivory does not land up in the hands of illegal dealers.

The Sadedec countries will propose a similar deal for Sadedec members — tightening loopholes and trading only with Japan — and Botswana has already identified a site in Gaborone where it will set up a central selling point for Sadedec members, including Zimbabwe with its herd of 70,000.

"But the first hurdle will be to get the world to accept that our elephants are not endangered and to move their listing from Schedule 1 to Schedule 2." "Sustainable utilisation of wildlife is the answer to future conservation and must include the ability to trade in products obtained through a controlled programme," says Mr Halsey.

ADVERTISEMENT

Meeting Africa's needs — the key to SA economic success

2/3/92

Deirdre Blain



NO DOUBT the IMF's recent disclosure of a lacklustre 2% aggregate growth in the world's major industrial economies for 1992 — down from its October forecast of 2.9% — will be much on the minds of attendees at an Interexec conference in May on how to exploit profit opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa.

Despite euphoria over the progressive lifting of sanctions against South Africa, IMF's announcement indicates bifocals, and not rose-tinted spectacles, are what's needed for local businesses looking to new export markets for their products.

"Obviously we can't ignore overseas trading partners, but if South Africa's economy is to get an export-led kickstart to recovery, it seems increasingly likely that it will come from markets closer to home," says general manager Dennis Cox, of Inter-exec Seminars & Symposia.

"Eastern European economies are largely defined, the major western markets are sluggish, yet the Nigerian stock market all share index rose by a spectacular 50% at end-December, and we understand Botswana is listed as one of the fastest growing economies in the world."

"Billions of dollars in investment and foreign aid are pouring into Africa annually," he continues.

"This, together with the growing trend towards free market economies, has resulted in many African markets reflecting exponential growth patterns with ensuring lucrative and still untapped business opportunities."

The Interexec conference, scheduled for the 5 and 6, will take a look at sub-Saharan profit opportunities for local business and more specifically at how to exploit these openings in detail how to minimise risks and maximise the chances of successful intra-continental trading, in the fastest possible time.

Guest speaker Dr Ophelia Jatta, an internationally renowned expert on African economic and business affairs, having visited more than 38 African countries, will deliver the keynote address entitled 'Meeting Africa's needs: the key to (South Africa's) success'.

The American Harvard graduate holds a BSc in accounting, an MA in international

economics and business, and a juris doctorate in international law.

"Economic co-operation between African states generally, and southern African states specifically, irrespective of political differences, is the vital key to economic upliftment throughout the region," says Jatta.

"The effect of African countries in the past banding together to isolate South Africa from world trade has been to weaken the economies of each and every one of them.

"Just as these countries are now realising the need to bring South Africa back into the Preferential Trade arena, it is in South Africa's own best interests to boost and assist the economies of its neighbours.

"Strengthening ties and not allowing politics to destroy the economic base is more likely to attract foreign investment to the region as a whole, with South Africa the natural economic hub."

A lot of companies burnt their fingers because they did not know how to enter this market properly. They did not fully under-

stand the economics of the region, transport routes and other African peculiarities. They did not go fully prepared, with their eyes open.

The Interexec conference will focus on the practical and tough issues of business marketing into these areas, says Cox.

An impressive line-up of speakers will address subjects of interest to the full spectrum of South Africa's business community, including manufacturing, engineering, building and the commercial sector.

The conference programme will also encourage participation from delegates and a free exchange of ideas and experience.

Says Jatta: "It's going to be a very worthwhile exercise, even for those who already know what's being said. The conference will provide an opportunity for companies to network together and explore joint venture opportunities.

The time has come for South Africa to walk through the front door to the international trade arena and to take a leadership role in world business activity."

For more information on this, contact Interexec Seminars and Symposia at: (011) 803-9467.

DT7222

AROUND THE V

Democrats win in Cameroon

Sowetan 4/3/92

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YAOUNDE (Cameroon) - Cameroon's ruling Democratic Movement has won a majority in the first multi-party general election in 30 years.

According to almost complete results released here yesterday the territorial administration ministry said that votes for 159 of the 180 national assembly seats saw the ruling party keep 93.

The National Union for Democracy and Progress got 49,

and the Union of Cameroon Populations 17.

There were more than 750 candidates from 32 parties. The main opposition parties called for a boycott, complaining that election rules were too slanted in the ruling party's favour.

No incidents were reported and foreign observers invited by the authorities in the West African country said polling was carried out in fair conditions. - Sapa-AFP.

Strike affects Niger business ①

Sowetan
NIAMEY - A general strike affecting all sectors of business and the administration gripped the Niger capital yesterday in protest at military threats to the country's fragile democracy.

Roads in the capital were virtually empty. Reports from up-country said the

4/3/92
strike was being followed in the provinces as well.

The strike was called by trade unions and political parties grouped in a Committee for Co-ordinating the Democratic Struggle to protest at an army mutiny last Friday.

Troops took over the na-

tional radio station to press for payment of wages.

The committee, the authorities and the military continued talks at the labour exchange here to resolve the crisis. It had said it would call off the strike provided the mutineers were punished. - *Sapa-AFP*

Japan sees SA as gateway to African trade

THE referendum and the possibility of future nationalisation in SA were factors causing concern among potential Japanese investors, visiting Japanese academic Anatole Goshi said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said political instability was a serious threat to investment in SA. Japanese investors were perturbed about the potential nationalisation of SA's mines as nationalisation was not seen as a viable solution to SA's economic problems. *BIP 5/3/92*

Goshi said Japanese companies had earmarked large sums of money for investments overseas, which in-

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY

cluded SA. He said Japan had much to offer SA in the way of skills development, trade and manufacturing experience, as well as job creation.

SA was the gateway to trade with the rest of Africa, and Japan therefore hoped to establish regional "headquarters" in the country by the turn of the century, Goshi said.

The Japanese economy had come under pressure from both the US and from recent scandals which rocked investor confidence in Japanese financial and stock-market circles,

he said. Japanese authorities were as a result now under pressure to stimulate the domestic economy.

Goshi said Japan's prime minister had envisaged a 3,5% growth in GNP for the current year. The Japanese government planned to invest in civic projects. This would provide SA exporters with good opportunities to export goods to Japan.

As a professor of management at Nihon University in Tokyo, Goshi spends about two months each year in SA consulting on ways to approach new business opportunities opening up worldwide.

RECEIVED AT THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE CUSTOMS AND EXCISES DEPARTMENT
JAN 13 1992

Political changes bring opportunity — and risk

By Day 5/3/92



THE momentous changes in the political and economic framework are bringing new opportunities to developing countries, but these are accompanied by many risks, particularly the risks of instability, marginalisation and, most important, the risks inherent in a period of transition.

First, it is feared by some that the more open and less regulated international markets may in some sense be potentially less stable. This is true in the sense that the greater freedom of capital movements has increased the scope for large and sudden shifts of funds. Related to this, the closer interdependence of countries may increase the scope for the transmission of economic imbalances across borders.

But while it is prudent to be alert to these potential threats, the international economic system has proved to be quite robust and resilient. Policy co-operation, and the convergence by many of the major industrial countries on policies that aim at a gradual lowering of inflation, have contributed to a reduction in the degree of exchange rate instability over the past decade.

On balance, although the risk of financial instability is always with us, the progress achieved in financial co-operation justifies confidence in our ability to deal with it — provided we stay vigilant and keep financial developments and our means of co-operation under review.

The second risk is that of marginalisation. Many in developing countries ask:

- Will we be left on the periphery of the rapidly expanding network of trading and financial links?
- Will we be shortchanged in the competition for development aid?
- Will our interests be accorded sufficient weight in the mechanisms for international co-operation?

In the field of trade, there is no inherent reason why smaller countries should be put at a disadvantage. On the contrary, globalisation should increase their chances of finding suitable outlets for their products, as it has done in practice in many cases.

Where there is a risk, it is in those countries that have not yet embarked on a vigorous growth-oriented strategy, that have not yet taken the basic decision to open their domestic economy to full participation in

MICHEL CAMDESSUS

international trade, or that have not yet moved to create a domestic climate favourable to domestic and foreign investment.

There are also widespread worries stemming from the difficulties that have been encountered in completing the Uruguay Round. In particular, will world trading arrangements deteriorate for some developing countries as a result of increased protectionism or because regional trading arrangements (especially in North America or in Europe) might become more inward looking? The solution, again, depends now entirely on mustering the political will necessary to bring the Uruguay Round to a conclusion in a way that produces meaningful trade liberalisation.

Risks of transition also lie ahead. If the countries that are undertaking structural adjustment, or those that are in transition to a market economy, do not persevere with sound policies, or if the rest of the world fails to extend sufficient assistance, then they will be unable to deliver to

their people the progress they are promising them in terms of higher growth and improved living standards. This would entail the danger of losing the benefits of globalisation, undermining democracy, and it may undermine prospects for a more peaceful world order.

The next few years, therefore, will be a time of great risks — risks that “adjustment fatigue” may be matched by “donor fatigue”; and risks of all possible kinds of vicious cycles, as failure in one area might contribute to failure in another.

To minimise these, there are four broad areas where stronger action is desirable, by both the industrial and developing countries:

First, better policies should be matched by better financing — an outward orientation with respect to trade, investment and competition; and an emphasis on far-reaching structural reforms to increase the efficiency of market mechanisms, promote savings and investment, and foster long-term gains in the productivity of the economy. And it is increasingly urgent that the industrial countries send a clear message to the developing countries that

good policies will be matched by adequate and timely financing.

Secondly, there's scope for a wide range of worthwhile initiatives in the field of “good governance”. In particular, the industrial countries should increase their provision of technical assistance to enhance the effectiveness of adjustment programmes or systematic reforms through institution building, training, or in many other ways.

Thirdly, poverty alleviation, including adoption of appropriate social safety nets, has to become more of an integral element of any growth-oriented structural adjustment programme.

Fourth, military spending cuts by the industrial countries are now possible on a very large scale thanks to the end of the Cold War. It will be reasonable to expect that a part of these savings will be devoted to foreign assistance. But it is equally desirable that developing countries also embark on a serious effort to reassess their military spending.

□ These are excerpts from a speech by the IMF MD to the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Colombia last month.

Egypt looks south for new markets

EGYPT looks set to move south to exploit an untapped African market for its goods at a time when the other economic giant on the continent, South Africa — with apartheid crumbling — is pushing hard to win friends in the north.

This could set the stage for a competition for markets by Africa's two largest economies.

President Hosni Mubarak's recent tour of African nations marks a new phase in Egyptian relations as the country turns south for new business.

Hitherto, the volume of Egyptian trade with Africa has been remarkably low. Between 1980 and 1990, Egypt's annual exports to Africa amounted to an average \$24 million (about R67 million). Surprisingly, trade with Arab countries is also low.

But Egypt is looking to develop business contacts as well as asserting a greater role in Africa. Omad Gad, under-secretary of the Ministry of Foreign

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STAR 6/3/92

Africa's two biggest economies, Egypt and South Africa, may soon find themselves competing for markets, Star Africa Service correspondent NEIL MOORHOUSE reports from Cairo.

Affairs and director of its African department, says the government is seeking to use funds for African development to support Egyptian exports to African markets.

Egypt is also seeking to launch joint agricultural and industrial projects with African countries to encourage com-



On the lookout . . . Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak.

mercial exchange throughout the continent.

How to achieve greater cooperation will be another matter. Kamal Hilaly, chairman of the El-Nasr Export-Import Company, believes greater customs concessions to African exports would support trade.

One major obstacle to the furtherance of trade, according to Egyptian business investors, is transportation. As a sign of its willingness to ease the problem, the government has plans for an inter-African road network.

The development of the African market is part of a move by the Egyptian authorities to a greater market-oriented economy. At present, 85 percent of Egyptian industry is government-owned. Under the new public-sector companies' law, up to 49 percent of the shares in about 350 such companies may be sold on the Egyptian stock exchanges.

The urge for greater cooperation with African nations may also be part of a move among Arab countries to respond to the supposed economic threat posed by the European Community. Some countries in the region see the European economic bloc as an attempt to keep out foreign imports. □

First all-African publishers' group formed

W/Mail 6/3-12/3/92

INDEPENDENT South African publishers were among the founders of the first all-African publishers' organisation, formed at a conference in Harare last month.

The African Publishers' Network (Apnet) has been created as an interim step towards the establishment of an African publishers' association that will stretch across the continent. Among its 11 founding members, all from sub-Saharan Africa, are the Independent Publishers' Association of South Africa (Ipassa) and publishers from Nigeria, Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania and Namibia.

Apnet's first aim is to create an information network for African publishers who have been isolated by distance, language and the lack of an efficient communications service. This will be done through the publication of a bi-monthly newsletter that will, according to an Apnet statement, "fill an existing information gap about shared problems and experiences, as well as give a clear and unified voice to all publishers in Africa, which has been sorely lacking". Apnet has also started investigations into the foundation of an African Publishing Institute that would provide training in publishing.

African publishers met in Bamako, Mali, in 1988 to discuss common problems—the beginning of the long process that led to the formation of Apnet. Further meetings of African publishers and donor agencies were held last year in Sweden, New York and Italy.

At the Zimbabwe International Bookfair in August, the creation of a training project was discussed, and the creation of Apnet was the next step—a step made just in time to place these proposals before the various donors, who met in Harare a few days later. The Apnet statement said that "the proposals were sympathetically received by the donors present. Delegates noted with appreciation a new direction in donor aid, with donors widening their interests to include support for indigenous African publishing initiatives."

The members of Apnet are, in the main, smaller indigenous publishers, and one of Apnet's long-term aims will be the development of indigenous African publishing. While the larger international publishers provide in-house training, the smaller ones need to pool their resources and assist each other to raise the level of expertise in African publishing.

"There's a lot of investigation and research to get done," said Monica Seeber, Ipassa's training project co-ordinator. "But it was a very exciting conference, and shared experience is the start of shared skills."

Shaun de Waal

MILLIONAIRE mercenaries and impoverished rural people, two species on opposite ends of southern Africa's political landscape, will each be affected by the outcome of the most heated environmental debate this decade: to ban or not to ban the sale of ivory.

If the ban on elephant products is upheld, rural people will lose the right to make a living from one of their most valuable natural assets. But if the ban is relaxed, corrupt military men who make their fortunes from dealing in the tusks of dead elephants will be rubbing their hands in glee.

These are the horns of a dilemma on which all genuine conservationists in South Africa find themselves. The only way out of the quandary is for this fraternity to lobby strongly against any form of military involvement in the illicit ivory trade.

South Africa's delegation to the eighth international conference of countries that have signed the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) has gone into the summit at Kyoto in Japan with a potentially progressive position and an unusual array of allies.

The conference, which lasts until next Friday and is billed as a summit that will finally decide the fate of the African elephant, is being attended by a high-powered team of state officials and conservationists from non-government organisations.

They will argue for elephant to be transferred from the Cites Appendix I list of endangered species, which prohibits the trade in products from these animals, to the convention's Appendix II, which will allow legal trade in elephant products to resume.

But, in a gesture of support to those countries which believe a pause in the ivory trade is necessary to stamp out illicit poaching and drive down the price of tusks on the black market, the South Africans will agree to a zero ivory quota until the next gathering of Cites members.

Dr Richard Leakey, director of the Kenya Wildlife Service and Africa's most vociferous proponent of the ban on trade in elephant hide and tusks, has agreed to the compromise — and the South Africans can, for once, rely on extensive support from some unlikely bedfellows.

A central tenet of South Africa's position is that elephant and other animal species are among the only resources that rural communities in many parts of southern Africa can exploit to make a living and, thus, it is important to win the principle that these people be allowed to use wildlife resources in a sustainable way.

The ivory war

w/mail 6/3-12/3/92
*The future of the African
elephant and those who
benefit from trading in
ivory and skins — rural
communities and men of
war — will be decided
when Cites opens in Japan
this week.*

EDDIE KOCH reports

"Wildlife must and can pay its way. And that payment must reach the people who have no choice but to live cheek by jowl with wild animals in remote areas," says Tony Ferrar, executive director of the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa and member of the South African delegation to Cites.

"Conservationists in southern Africa must consolidate a clear and powerful message, delivered with conviction, that defines the policy of sustainable economic use of wild species. This must be done not only for the good of those species but for the benefit of local people and the economic and ecological systems on which they depend."

The position will be supported by progressive conservationists from all over southern Africa, including proponents of the Campfire programme in Zimbabwe. This is a promising scheme in which villagers are given control over wildlife in their tribal areas in exchange for sale of their products. Several of these communities have built creches, schools, clinics and other facilities from the proceeds of conservation programmes in their areas.

Backing will also come from a reputable team of researchers attached to the Wildlife Trade Monitoring Unit at Cambridge University in the United Kingdom.

In a recent book, *Elephants, Economics and Ivory*, members of the unit argue the ivory ban is having a detrimental effect on innovative conservation programmes in southern, and South, Africa that encourage local communities to participate in the preservation of wildlife rather than to engage in poaching.

But enter the military and things no longer look so good for the South Africans. The London-based Environmental Protection Agency (EIA), a vociferous group of researchers opposed to any relaxation of the ivory ban, recently issued a report which claims that the Mozambican army, the SADF and Renamo and are heavily implicated in ivory wars that are driving some of the sub-continent's remaining herds to extinction.

EIA director Allan Thornton's report is thin on evidence about the SADF's said involvement in this conspiracy. But there have been more reliable indications recently that members of the South African military are profiteering from poaching in Mozambique's war zone.

The Defence Intelligence Agency, an undercover unit attached to the United States Defence Department, last month leaked a report which claimed that support for Renamo rebels in Mozambique was still being supplied by elements in the SADF as late as February 1991. The DIA's agent says that his informant, a defector from the rebel movement, provided evidence of "another Renamo connection to South Africa — ivory poaching".

The report cites the informant as saying: "When he was a member of a section he was often tasked to go into a huge area with lots of elephants to kill the elephants for their tusks. He said this group brought the tusks to a camp near the border, where the tusks were given to a group of whites, including a white woman."

Documents captured by the Mozambican army when it overran a Renamo base at Gorongosa in central Mozambique last year record instructions from rebel leader Alfonso Dhlakama to his chief of staff, one General Anselmo, that a consignment of ivory be airlifted to South Africa.

Another document, this time from a Renamo field commander to Dhlakama, says: "We need anti-aircraft weapons. We can provide ivory on a landing strip. When we have the anti-aircraft (weapons), the ivory must be ready to be taken out."

The Weekly Mail has also seen film footage, taken by a foreign television crew last year, which shows Renamo insurgents hawking ivory tusks across the electrified fence that separates southern Mozambique from South Africa — in full view of an SADF platoon.

Insurance warning for firms trading in Africa

WITH the general relaxation of sanctions, South African companies trading in neighbouring countries should check their insurance arrangements relating to assets in those countries — or they may find themselves without cover, warns a leading insurance broker.

"During sanctions, businesses operating in those countries were, for security reasons, reluctant to disclose offshore assets, and undisclosed assets can create difficulties in a claim situation," says Rodney Maitland, a director of PFV Insurance Brokers.

"Some companies with wide geographical limits have claimed for damage to property located in African countries.

"In certain instances, these assets were not specifically declared and difficulties were encountered."

He points out that now sanctions are fast disappearing, it will pay South African companies to ensure that foreign property and assets requiring insurance have been fully declared.

Muzzled opposition press in Africa finally finds a voice as multiparty politics challenge the one-party state

LOOK WHO IS TALKING

SINCE independence the press in many African states has been state-controlled or muzzled by their ruling parties.

But a recent trend to multiparty politics in states like Kenya, Zambia and Ghana has seen the flourishing of a more critical and assertive press.

Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi's promise to return Kenya to multi-party government has suddenly liberated the Kenyan press. For the first time since independence in 1963, the local press has abandoned its careful, almost fearful self-censorship and has blurted out its frustrated feelings.

Dissident opposition magazines which for years have been muzzled and harassed have suddenly found their voices. The ruling Kenya African National Union (Kanu) finds itself under open attack as its authority is challenged.

The scene was set by the monthly magazine *Finance* which broke all unwritten laws with its cover story "Moi time to go".

This was followed by the weekly news magazine *Society*, whose cover carried the portrait of the chief of the armed forces, General Mahmoud Mohammed, with its lead story proclaiming "Military presence in Kanu".

Even the national daily newspapers had found the new voice of freedom. *The Standard* reported the resignation of Peter Aringo, the former national chairman of Kanu under the headline "Aringo quits Kanu and asks Moi to resign".

Other newspapers and magazines which have not put a foot on the wrong side of Kenya's unwritten censorship laws are also finding new courage. There were even signs that the state-owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, the KNT 62 television station and the *Kenya Times* newspaper were beginning to overstep the bounds of freedom.

After a welter of reports across the Kenyan media on the mass desertions of important officials from Kanu, President Moi showed his concern. Addressing a conference after a Kanu governing council meeting in December, he suddenly told journalists, "You members of the press have been yapping for a multi-party system, now you can see the chaos facing the country... I have always said that Kenyan society is not cohesive enough for the system."

But the Kenyan press and its readers seem not to mind. They are luxuriating in the new wind of press freedom that is sweeping the country.

ZAMBIA'S thriving press is taking no chances in case its newly found freedom should be strangled by the new government of President Frederick Chiluba.

As a first step towards safeguarding press freedom, the Press Association of Zambia (Paza), representing over 1 000 journalists, has rejected a government attempt to revive the formation of a Press Council.

Paza argues that the government plan is not new, being a carry-over from the Second Republic under former President Kenneth Kaunda's 18 years of one-party rule in which press freedom was limited by self-censorship to please

Kaunda and those in the United National Independence Party (Unip).

Many journalists who opposed Kaunda's policies were regarded as "disgruntled elements" or "dissidents".

Others were denied promotions as punishment or were harassed and made to suppress stories considered "harmful".

Political pluralism has changed much of that. The sprouting independent press - the *Weekly Post*,

the *Sunday* and *Daily Express* and their pioneer, the *National Mirror*, have now become some of the best examples of a free press in Africa.

Even the state-run *Mail*, the *Times* and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) have learnt to be critical of government policies.

Chiluba has vowed that press freedom shall, "Never be stifled again... Our opposition from Unip is weak and the press must not hide anything to keep democra-

cy alive". Yet, after six months in office, it's clear that some of his cabinet colleagues do not agree with Chiluba.

Some cabinet ministers have tried to censor ZNBC news material and to block a film in which former president Kaunda featured prominently.

Even Chiluba is not exactly an angel, though his lip-service on press freedom seems impressive. At one of his December press conferences, Chiluba said that he was

not happy with what was happening at the ZNBC and warned the government would "move silently" if the ZNBC continued behave as though it was "still under a Unip government".

Meanwhile emerging newspapers are competing to be heard an environment critical of both the government and the press itself.

Even the pro-government *Standard* and *Daily Express* have learnt to be critical of government policies, despite earlier threats.

ment lifted the five year suspension imposed on the hard hitting conservative anti-government *Catholic Standard*, probably in an attempt to woo the vote of millions of Ghanaian Catholics in the forthcoming elections. Essentially a church weekly, its objective and fearless discussions and in-depth analysis of national issues has made it a beloved newspaper for thousands of readers.

After ten years of government control and regimentation, press freedom took a significant leap forward late last year when the government sensationally changed its policy.

Internal pressure exerted by the Ghana Journalists' Association (GJA), local human rights organisations and movements for democracy may have softened the government's imperviousness. Keen media watchers, however, point to pressures from international donor agencies and Western governments "to democratise" as the main factor which forced Rawlings to suddenly repudiate his unpopular press policies. - New African

Meanwhile, in Luanda, the Angolan government is preparing to sell off the state-owned press, the official news agency Angop said this week.

The country's only daily newspaper, *Jornal de Angola*, and the weekly *Correio da Semana* would be put up for sale, it said.

Angop said the aim of selling the newspapers was to help emerging political parties preparing for Angola's first multiparty elections, due to be held in September.

At least two more newspapers may hit the market before July this year. Sources say the *Financial Times* and the *Week-End* are in the pipeline. But five others introduced by former Times managing editor Bwendo Mulengela last September have folded up at a colossal loss to the Times group.

Media analysts believe Zambia's press is heading for tougher times. As its criticism of government policy and watchdog role grows bolder, so will government want to impose control.

FOR the first time in a decade, the state-controlled mass circulation dailies *Ghanaian Times* and *People's Daily Graphic* are gradually distancing themselves from sycophancy and bootlicking.

Both papers, popularly dubbed "Rawlings' newsletters" after military leader Jerry Rawlings, have been opening up their columns to critical anti-government contributions in the form of features and letters since last August.

The state-owned weeklies *Mirror* and *Spectator*, already popular among Ghanaian readers because of their balanced coverage on some national issues, now tolerate voices of dissent, while the excessively-controlled Ghana Broadcasting Corporation has also for the first time been running, though irregularly, commentaries and news bulletins critical of government policies.

Truly independent weeklies such as the *Pioneer* and the *Christian Messenger* which have been anti-military since their foundation, continue their impartial coverage of both government and opposition activities, despite earlier threats.

Before Christmas the govern-



B (W) 11/3/92

SAA may join African body

① LINDEN BIRNS

SAA may be admitted to the African Airlines Association (Afraa) before the end of the year, giving the airline better access to African markets and improving its relations with other carriers on the continent.

London-based African Airlines reports in its latest issue that Afraa secretary-general Mohammed Ahmed said he was certain SAA would become a member, and that he hoped to welcome the airline into Afraa by the end of 1992.

Several African airlines, notably Air Zimbabwe and Zambia Airways, are reluctant to have SAA as an Afraa member as they fear they would be dwarfed by it and would lose a lot of traffic within Africa.

However Egyptair, Kenya Airways and Ethiopian Airlines are keen to develop air links with SA.

SAA spokesman Zelda Roux yesterday said admission to Afraa would enable the airline to foster better business relations with other African carriers. "SAA believes it can offer help to the other African carriers in the way of training and maintenance expertise."

Africa opening up for business

By Michael Sparks

South African companies, particularly those in the construction field, are aiming their sights with some success beyond the traditional trading partners of the apartheid years.

While the number of construction contracts signed with countries like Mozambique, Angola, Zaïre, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya and Madagascar may not be all that impressive just now, the fact that companies can openly tender for contracts in these countries is a dramatic change from a few years ago.

Aid organisations

According to SA Foreign Trade Organisation executive Parash Pandya one of the reasons for this openness was that aid organisations and development banks, which play a major role in financing large projects, were no longer opposed to South African company's involvement.

Mr Pandya said groups like the African Development Bank, the World Bank and United Nations development organisations had changed their view, especially as



Juergen Schultz . . . new doors are opening daily.

South African companies would be bringing with them invaluable knowledge of local conditions.

Concor's managing director Juergen Schultz says: "There is no doubt that with the political changes, new doors are opening daily."

Basil Read managing director Chris Jarvis said the changes came not a moment too soon as people in the construction indus-

try were being forced to look elsewhere for business as the recession and the shortage of money in the country meant fewer large scale projects being undertaken.

A spokesman for LTA agreed, saying that larger contractors were being forced to look further afield in order to survive the recession.

Money shortage

But as Mr Schultz explained, the shortage of money was one of the things which made it difficult for South African companies to make successful, competitive bids.

"The most important commodity in Africa is money. But we have no funds available to compete with the financial packages being offered by European companies when they tender for projects," Mr Schultz said, referring to high interest rates here.

However, Concor has been awarded contracts for projects, including the renovation of Maputo's grand-style Polana Hotel and believe they are very close to some projects in Angola.

Group Five chairman Stan

Hughes said his company started work on a joint venture in Zimbabwe six months ago, renovating a motel.

Mr Hughes said the possibility of counter-trade with countries like Angola were very promising, where that country's oil could help pay for construction projects. But he added that such a venture would need the involvement of the various governments to succeed.

Very welcome

Mr Jarvis spoke of a trip arranged by Saflo where a number of contractors were invited to see the reworking of their road system. "We were treated like VIP's," he said, adding Saflo also arranged a trip to Angola where they had direct dealings with that government and his company was also looking at projects in Madagascar.

"Most countries to the north of us need a great deal of infra-structural work, whether because of war damage like Zimbabwe, or through neglect like Zaïre where there were 140 000 km of roads in 1960, but now half that," Mr

Jarvis said.

He added that diplomatic ties between South Africa and other African countries would increase the links created by businessmen.

One problem facing corporations planning to do business north of the border was concern about payment after a project.

Profits

In addition corporations were hesitant to commit funds to countries like Zimbabwe where repatriation of profits is severely restricted. "If a company cannot repatriate the profits, then what's the point?" asked one executive.

Aid to African countries is seen as providing great potential for South Africa's construction industry says Stocks and Stocks business development general manager Michael Armstrong. "The good thing about the involvement of development organisations is that payment is guaranteed, in hard currency."

Mr Armstrong added, "South Africa has the resources and the ability to provide a catalyst for aid money which will lead to secondary development in those countries."

STAR 12/3/92

LONRHO

FM 13/3/92

Liquidity doubts still linger

Activities: UK-based multinational with mining, agricultural, commercial and industrial interests in 60 countries.

Control: R W Rowland with 14% is the biggest shareholder.

Chairman: M J J R Leclézio; MD & CE: R W Rowland.

Capital structure: 653.4m ord. Market capitalisation: R5,1bn.

Share market: Price: 785c. Yields: 8.2% on dividend; 8.9% on earnings; p:e ratio, 11.2; cover, 1.1. 12-month high, 1 640c; low, 615c.

Trading volume last quarter, 6.5m shares.

Year to Sept 30	'88	'89	'90	'91
Turnover (£m)	4 216	5 108	5 476	4 846
Pre-int profit (£m) ...	225	273	272	207
Pre-int margin (%) ..	5.3	5.3	5.0	4.3
Earnings (p)	23.4	27.1	23.6	14.2
Dividends (p)	10.1	14.2	15.7	13.0
Net worth (p)	203	222	216	204

Disappointment at the preliminary figures (Fox January 31) was compounded when the annual report revealed that the £66m dip in pre-tax profit would have been even worse but for £39m profit on sales of property and fixed assets — up from only £6m in financial 1990. Treat these as exceptional and adjusted pre-tax profit would be down from £267m in 1990 to £168m — or by some 37%.

Further helping the picture, capitalised interest, mostly on the hotel building programme, rose from £13m in 1990 to £27m.

Another significant item concerns the impact of exchange rate losses — taken below the line — on a reported NAV of 204p a share, barely changed from 1988's 203p. Management's efforts over the past three years, in other words, have created no incremental value — and with the lowest earnings since 1985 and dividends since 1988, current results are nothing to crow about either.

At the time of the preliminary, the company blamed the downturn of precious metals prices for "nearly half" the drop in second-half profit. Given the annual pre-tax profit from mining of £77m, this implies a split between the two halves of about £54m in the first half and £23m in the second.

This is in spite of a 29% increase in annual output of platinum group metals in SA and a 42% rise in gold output at Ghana's Ashanti



Lonrho's Rowland ...
what assets can he sell?

Goldfields — a combination that puzzles analysts.

But all major activities except finance (up a negligible £1m) kicked in lower profits: motor distribution (off 35%), manufacturing (65%) and leisure (30%) all actually did relatively worse than mining.

Hotel and motor distribution interests were hit by recession and/or the Gulf War, but printing and publishing interests generally seem to have done well.

Record profits

On the positive side, Lonrho, which claims to be the largest commercial food producer in Africa, turned in record profits from sugar, with an "exceptional" performance from the Malawi estates offsetting lower production, because of bad weather, in Swaziland and Mauritius. Other agricultural operations in Malawi and elsewhere in Africa had a bad year, though.

Geographically, pre-tax profits from Africa fell by only £18m; it was the UK, with a £36m drop, that was the main culprit. The UK contributes 40% of group turnover (£1.9bn) but only 9% (£19m) of pre-tax profit. That compares with 1990 turnover of £2.2bn and pre-tax profit of £55m.

Apart from being a totally inadequate return, this could make it difficult to recoup UK Advance Corporation Tax.

The divisional breakdown in the review of operations is not identical to the profit breakdown in the P&L account, which hampers analysis. But the company is clearly stung by suggestions that it has difficulty repatriating profits from the Third World to its London

base, saying that 87% of £283m year-end cash in the bank (1990: £355m) is held in Europe and the US by companies operating in those territories. As long-term loans are £888m, this is a less than total reassurance.

Lonrho does not publish a holding company P&L account or a cash flow statement, making it difficult to gauge the upward flow of cash — which many analysts see as one of its major problems. Ability to repatriate funds, of course, will also be a determining, and possibly limiting, factor in asset sales.

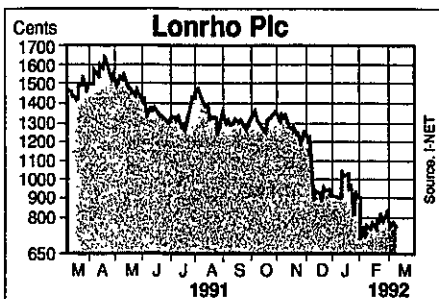
CE Tiny Rowland says the capital investment programme is winding down, but year-end commitments were still £156m (1990: £170m), including £99m (£79m) on platinum mining. He expects borrowings — and hence gearing — to fall this year, encouraged by asset sales — which, other reports have suggested, could raise up to £400m.

That would certainly transform the balance sheet. The trouble is that the best-quality assets are always the most saleable — which may be one reason for the frequent (and as frequently denied) rumours that the platinum interests could be sold to Gencor, with whose Impala Platinum there is already a link.

Another traditional area of concern has been the lack of management depth. What happens when Rowland (now 74) is no longer around to polish the egos of African heads of State? To deflect this, Lonrho last year doubled the number of associate directors (drawn from top management) to 20.

Rowland sees this year as one of "good housekeeping" and says Lonrho "remains soundly based to move back to its normal pattern of turnover and profit." The group has withheld the (3p) first interim for this year, but this should apparently not be seen as any portent of total distribution.

Rowland underlines the opportunities in



PRE-TAX PROFIT BREAKDOWN (£m)

	1991	1990	1989
Trade	35	40	26
Motors	32	49	45
Manufacturing	7	20	35
Mining	77	99	67
Leisure	14	20	56
Financial Serv	23	22	26
Agriculture	19	23	18
	207	273	273
UK	19	55	109
Europe & Other	33	33	19
Southern Africa	65	85	62
Other Africa	85	87	70
The Americas	5	13	13
	207	273	273

Billions of dollars 'wasted' in Africa

STAR 11/12/92

①

Aid to Africa has failed reports JAMES TOMLINS

A FRENCH expert on Africa has warned that 30 years of international aid totalling \$660 billion (about R1 980-billion) "has been a complete waste".

"The Gross National Product (GNP) of Africa, excluding South Africa, is about equal to that of Belgium, but with more than 450 million inhabitants."

Professor Bernard Lugan, who has a chair of African history at Lyons University, noted in the daily newspaper Figaro: "In 1960, just before decolonisation, the continent accounted

for nine percent of world exports. Today that figure has fallen to three percent.

"There is also an appalling educational crisis, with 75 percent illiteracy, despite the fact that the EC trains professional cadres. Unfortunately, more than 70 000 African doctors, teachers and engineers have 'deserted' by preferring to remain in Europe rather than return home. They are replaced by whites sent out under co-operation projects."

He concluded: "We must realise that Africa is a failure everywhere except Morocco and South Africa. In 1960, Africa was able to feed itself — today, 150 million face starvation." — Star Foreign Service. □

Frontline ministers hit out at SA ① AT-14/3/92

HARARE. — Defence and security ministers of the seven frontline states yesterday accused South Africa of continued attempts to destabilise their countries.

The ministers accused SA of gathering economic and military intelligence from the frontline states.

The accusation came in a statement at the end of a two-day meeting at which inter-state defence and security in Southern Africa was reviewed.

The actions were at odds with the search for peace in Southern Africa in general

and in SA in particular, said the statement.

"The ministers observed that as long as apartheid, civil strife and political instability continue in SA, that country will remain the main threat to the peace, stability and economic development of member states."

They noted "with concern" the political hurdles still to be surmounted before a non-racial, just and democratic society could be realised in SA.

While calling for a speedier resolution of the political obstacles, the ministers

affirmed their determination to give moral, political and diplomatic support to liberation movements and urged SA political parties to join in the current peace process.

They had taken note of the referendum to be held on March 17 and expressed the hope that the outcome would contribute towards democracy in that country.

The frontline states also expressed support for the peace process in Angola, and urged the government and Unita to continue working for national unity. — Sapa

Some Jan 16/3/92

Famine threat in Ethiopia ①

MORE than 2 million people in Ethiopia's drought-ravaged northern province of Tigray are threatened with famine, says a radio news report.

A broadcast on the *Voice of the Tigray Revolution* radio said Mr. Aregaqi Araya, an Ethiopian relief official, estimated that the region would need about 363,000 tons of grain to deal with the problem.

Ethiopia's arid northern regions are prone to drought. - *Sapa-AP*

STAR 16/3/92

Ethiopian aid plea ①

NAIROBI — More than two million people in Ethiopia's drought-ravaged northern province of Tigray face famine. A radio broadcast said the region was again suffering from severe drought. A relief official appealed to charities and the government to seek an urgent solution.

Monday, March 16, 1992

Democracy is bitter medicine for Africa

Sowetan 16/3/92

①

ABIDJAN - Like puzzled doctors with a patient who won't respond to treatment, Western government officials, diplomats and academics are gathering around Africa's bed of pain.

They have a new wonder-drug - democracy. It costs a lot of money and some early evidence suggests it could provoke a nasty reaction. To make matters worse, the patient thinks many of the doctors are unprincipled quacks who constantly change diagnosis to mask their past mistakes.

"You cannot flick a light switch and expect democracy to miraculously and magically appear," said Leonard Robinson, a senior United States State Department official covering Africa.

His government is an enthusiastic promoter of democratic values and now spends much of its aid budget on sending experts - law professors, journalists, election specialists - to lecture Africans on the subject.

After three decades of one-party and military governments which were often installed or overthrown by foreign powers, African nations are under orders to embrace democracy quickly.

The penalty for refusal, for all but a handful of countries with a modicum of leverage, is a cut in aid money on which states increasingly de-

pend for their survival.

Many African leaders who can no longer play off the West against the Soviet bloc feel betrayed. Rich allies who never protested about dictatorial behaviour in the past have suddenly discovered the virtues of democracy.

"Without oil or any other strategic asset, Africa will always be treated with contempt and condescension," the government newspaper in Ivory Coast, *Fraternite-Matin*, said in a bitter editorial about Western pro-democracy pressure.

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who refuses to quit after 27 years in total command with the help of foreign powers, is publicly insulted nowadays by European politicians.

But the result of the pressure is a rash of pluralist elections from Mali to Cameroon and more to come in former bastions of one-party rule such as Kenya.

Gone are the days when an interior minister popped up on television within hours of polls closing to announce that the incumbent president - the sole candidate - had been re-elected with 99,9 percent of the vote.

In 1992 the voters' choice is dazzling. Congo's two million people can pick between 100 political parties. Scores of partisan newspapers push their candidates and observers sent by

Western governments scrutinise the electoral process.

Elections worked in Benin and Zambia in 1991 when veteran presidents who once looked impregnable were voted out.

But things are not going smoothly this year. Major opposition parties in Cameroon and Mauritania boycotted polls, saying incumbent leaders were tribalists who would cheat on a massive scale to keep their ethnic group in power.

A Malian was elected to the new multi-party parliament with just four votes - 80 percent of the turnout - because a rebellion by Tuareg nomads made voting too dangerous.

In the Horn of Africa, Rwanda, Chad and Liberia, the spread of civil war further pushed back the prospect of fair elections.

Leonard Robinson, who checked the state of democracy in six West African countries this month, said in Ivory Coast where the government has just jailed the main opposition leader:

"The process of democratisation will take many, many, many years. There will be some setbacks and there will be some dramatic failures."

But the US deputy assistant secretary of state is optimistic. "I think the process is irreversible. I think in time democracy will visit every country in Africa," Robinson said. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Grasp this hand of friendship

STAR 17/3/92

AFRICA is extending a warm hand of friendship to white South Africans as they vote in the referendum today. Pray to God the white voters do not spit on it, for then it might not be extended again for a long time, if at all.

Ironically, the whites will be voting in the referendum primarily as Africans themselves. Whether they like it or not, their Africanism is something that will inexorably influence their destiny, regardless of the outcome of the referendum.

This does not necessarily mean the Conservative Party is wrong in saying in its referendum campaign that its policy of ethnic differentiation is in line with an international trend. That may well be so, but it is not something that can be assured or promoted by a "no" vote in the referendum today.

A negative vote, ironically, is more likely to impede the CP's dream of a separate white existence than to promote it, because it would result in the speedy ruination of the South African economy and could plunge the country into chaos beyond any white control. It would weaken rather than strengthen the whites' ability to decide their own destiny and protect their culture and identity.

While a negative vote would unleash an unprecedented international campaign against the South African economy, a "yes" vote will have the opposite effect. That effect could even go beyond an international effort to boost the South African economy. It could result in the world community using its influence to ensure that Codesa does not lead to the destruction of the values and structures that white South Africans hold dear — those that are compatible, that is, with international democratic norms. And who would want any others?

Beyond that, a "yes" vote could lead to the international community using the very powerful economic levers at its disposal to ensure that whoever governs the new South Africa respects and nurtures democracy and human rights.

There is no guarantee that this will happen, but it is a strong probability. It certainly will not happen if there is a "no" vote. In

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



that event South Africa's whites will be on their own in a hostile world and their chances of survival as a significant ethnic entity will diminish dramatically.

The ability of the outside world to influence the course of events in South Africa should not be underestimated. Codesa is making progress not least because it has strong international support. It would certainly not get this support if it began to block white efforts to secure adequate protection of their identity and their rights through constitutional means — which is the most reliable way to achieve this objective.

It is not only the Europeans and the Americans who would want to protect these things. The Africans, too, have an interest in it. While Africa remains firmly opposed to anything smacking of white domination, it looks to South Africa to play a major role in helping to rescue the continent from economic decline. It recognises that the whites hold the key to prosperity in South Africa, whatever black extremists in this country may say. There is no African government that wants to see whites impoverished, either in retribution for apartheid or for any other reason.

African governments have no interest in seeing South Africa going to economic ruin under racist black domination. They want to see a stable and prosperous South Africa serving as an example and an anchor for the rest of the continent. They know this cannot be done without the whites. But they are not prepared to pay for what the whites can offer by condoning white racism. They have already demonstrated this by their support for sanctions and armed struggle against apartheid at considerable cost to themselves and will no doubt do so again if they have to.

But they would infinitely prefer to see their friendship reciprocated. □

(Report by G L'Ange, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

Emotional factors swayed

Cites voters, says expert

STAR

1913/92

①

②

By Juliette du Toit

Emotion and politics may have put paid to the African elephant and many other species, according to one of South Africa's top wildlife experts.

Mr Tony Ferrar, head of the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa, who is the first to have arrived back from the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) which ended in Japan last Friday, yesterday had scathing words on the emotional meeting.

The African elephant was concentrated on to the detri-

ment of other more endangered species because it has become a "mythical, overblown humanoid wild animal" to Westerners, he said.

The lion, which one expert said had a population of fewer than 200 000, was not mentioned at the meeting in Kyoto. And the rhino, with a population of 11 000, was given scant attention, Mr Ferrar added.

Priority

These animals were not a conservation priority to Westerners, who were daily told how close the lives of African elephants — of which

there are 600 000 — are to those of humans.

The Cites members voted overwhelmingly against scientific data presented by monitoring, scientific and funding bodies of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the United Nations Environmental Programme (Unep) and the Trade Records Analysis of Flora and Fauna in Commerce (Traffic), he said.

Cites itself was the loser of the conference, said Mr Ferrar. At best it had become irrelevant to southern African states which have kept their animal populations stable for years.

"At worst it is a hindrance to their initiatives."

Cites members showed themselves to be incapable of making rational, scientifically based decisions, said Mr Ferrar.

Burn

Two British elephant support groups had given Zambia money to withdraw from the southern African alliance and burn its confiscated ivory.

"About R30 000 of that money was to go to Traffic. Now it's up in smoke," said Mr Ferrar bitterly.

He said US and British

lobbies empathised with the southern African standpoint, but their governments had advised them to not to alienate elephant-loving voters by lobbying against the bans.

"The rural people of Africa who live under the horny hoof of the elephant will continue to derive no benefit from the creature that destroys their crops and sometimes them."

● The Government representatives that formed part of the South African delegation to Cites, who return later this week, will soon decide, with conservation bodies, whether to withdraw from Cites or continue a voluntary moratorium on trade.

Africa is relieved it was 'yes'

Sowetan 19/3/92
HARARE - Black Africa heaved a sigh of relief yesterday over the white backing State President FW de Klerk received for political reform in South Africa.

Black "frontline" states in Southern Africa had feared a "no" vote in yesterday's whites-only referendum would lead to violence spilling over into the region.

"We are encouraged by the results, particularly by the fact that this mandate De Klerk has been given will enable him to continue with the peace process," Zambia's Foreign Minister, Mr Vernon Mwaanga, said in Lusaka shortly before flying to Pretoria.

He said he would meet South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today and have talks with other political leaders.

Zimbabwe, whose President Robert Mugabe was elected to chair the "frontline" states at a summit in Lusaka last week, also hailed De Klerk's sweeping victory.

"This is some of the best news we have received from South Africa and we hope De Klerk will proceed with

speed and confidence to establish a multiracial democratic system," a Foreign Ministry official in Harare said.

Officials said Zimbabwe had put together an emergency plan to cope with a feared influx of refugees if the Conservative Party had won and civil war had broken out in South Africa.

"We are glad our worst fears are over," one said.

They said they had monitored the situation there through Zimbabwe's trade mission and an "unofficial" delegation.

In Nigeria, whose President Ibrahim Babangida is current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, officials welcomed the South African result.

"The 'yes' vote which has now endorsed the negotiating process has removed a major obstacle to the efforts to transform South Africa from a racially segregated country to a nonracial, united and democratic society," a Foreign Ministry statement said. — *South African Press Association-Reuters.*

Minor changes in Africa from Major

By Andrew Meldrum: Harare
16/4-23/4/92

CONTINUITY will be the chief component of British policy towards southern Africa put forward by John Major's newly elected government.

Support for the FW de Klerk government and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks, continuing pressure on the one-party regimes in Kenya and Malawi, assistance to Zambia's new government and the promotion of market economies are expected to be the hallmarks of the new Major government's policies towards southern Africa.

If there was any doubt about the substance of Major's foreign policy it was put to rest this week with the reappointment of Lynda Chalker as minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs. Chalker lost her parliamentary seat in the elections, but because he wanted to keep her in his

cabinet, Major had her made a Baroness and sent to the House of Lords.

The lofty title aside, Chalker will no doubt remain a no nonsense, forceful yet flexible distributor of Britain's aid, always with an eye to encouraging the political and economic trends that Britain desires. Chalker runs the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), Britain's chief aid organisation.

The Major foreign policy will be guided by the principle of encouraging "good governance" — made up of political pluralism, market economies, respect for civil and human rights, reduced government roles in the economy and reduced government deficits, effective opposition to corruption and general accountability of government to the voters.

Speaking to the Southern Africa

Association in London recently, Chalker said Britain would work to persuade the international community to underpin South Africa's constitutional reform process by relaxing trade and financial sanctions, by supported renewed access to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and by the encouragement of new investment and strategically targeted aid.

Kenya and Malawi will get less carrot and more stick, as Britain attempts to influence the regimes of Daniel arap Moi and Kamuzo Banda to undertake major reforms to respect basic human rights and to install multi-party democratic systems.

Zambia is the shining example of such democratic values, as evidenced by the country's return to multi-party politics and the change of government by the ballot box, not bullets.

Accordingly, Britain wants to lend its support to President Frederick Chiluba's government, particularly its efforts to strengthen democracy, to reduce government control of the economy and promote free enterprise.

After years of good relations with Britain, Zimbabwe now appears to be caught on shifting sand with neither completely friendly nor antagonistic relations. That is a result of the Mugabe government's mixed results in meeting the Major standards of good governance.

Towards southern African in general, the Major government plans to encourage regional political cooperation and increased economic integration. Britain will continue to be a major donor to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Africa hails landslide victory

STAR
19/3/92

HARARE — Black Africa heaved a sigh of relief yesterday over the white backing President de Klerk received for political reform in South Africa.

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Zimbabwe, whose President Robert Mugabe was elected to chair the frontline states at a summit in Lusaka last week, also hailed Mr de Klerk's sweeping victory.

"This is some of the best news we have received from South Africa ... and we hope President de Klerk will proceed with speed and confidence to establish a multiracial democratic system," a Foreign Ministry official in Harare said.

In Nigeria, whose President Ibrahim Babangida is current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, officials welcomed the result.

"The 'yes' vote which has now endorsed the negotiating process has removed a major obstacle to the efforts to transform South Africa from a racially segregated country to a non-racial, united and democratic society," a Foreign Ministry statement said.

"The federal government congratulates President de Klerk, the people of South Africa and all the progressive and anti-apartheid forces for their affirmative stand on this crucial referendum which is central to the country's future.

"Africa and the rest of the world now urge white, black, coloured and Indian groups working within the framework of Codesa to proceed to take appropriate steps towards ending violence, oppression and racism in SA," the foreign ministry said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Electricity for Africa millions

Sowetan 19/3/92



Sowetan Africa News Service

IVORY Coast and South Africa have signed an agreement which will provide electricity to millions of people in Southern, West and Central Africa.

In an agreement with the Ivory Coast, Eskom and its Ivorian counterpart, the Energie Electrique de la Cote d'Ivoire will exchange technical information and consulting services and will co-operate in construction projects, maintenance and staff training.

The two countries, according to Eskom, have interests in the proposed development of large, multinational electricity supply schemes in Southern Africa, West and Central Africa.

Eskom chief executive Mr Ian McRae said at the signing ceremony on March 13 that economic recovery and wealth creation in Africa were closely bound up in bringing

electricity to millions of people who still did not have it.

On the same day that the electricity agreement was concluded, South Africa signed an agreement with Swaziland for a joint water scheme, an agreement that will soon be expanded to include Mozambique.

The agreement opens the way for new economic development in the Komati Basin, initially through the building of a R328-million dam at Driekoppies in the Eastern Transvaal, on the Lomati River close to the Swaziland border.

The Lomati rises east of Badplaas and flows through Swaziland to re-emerge in South Africa.

SA extends its links in Africa

Sowetan 20/3/92

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SOUTH Africa has recently signed two agreements that illustrate its expanding links with the rest of Africa.

Under a co-operation agreement with the Ivory Coast, Eskom and its Ivorian counterpart, the Energie Electrique de la Cote d'Ivoire, will exchange technical information and consulting services. They will also co-operate in construction projects, maintenance and staff training.

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Economic recovery

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Later a second and larger dam, costing R432 million at today's prices, will be built in Swaziland on the Komati River, at Maguga.

At the end of this month South Africa and Swaziland will sign an agreement with Swaziland governing the use of the Komati Basin waters. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

C

Africa's bold journalists need bodyguards

South 21/3-26/3/92

When Cameroonian editor Mr Pius Njawe goes out into the streets of Douala to report a story he does not go alone.

Two bodyguards accompany him at all times. But he is not a fearful man, and he speaks like one of the editorials in his newspaper, "Le Messenger" — in firm, direct, perfectly composed French.

Although only 34, Njawe's commanding manner must partly stem from the position of responsibility he has chosen: for the past 12 years, despite censorship, jailings and the threat of violence, he has put out an independent newspaper in the West African one-party state.

Under his tutelage, "Le Messenger" has become one of the most prominent examples of the new brand of independent newspapers and magazines that has emerged in sub-Saharan Africa.

Their arrival marks one of the most heartening developments on the continent in a long time. They are appearing as far west as Senegal, to the east in Kenya, and all the way down to Namibia and Zimbabwe.

These independent newspapers are an important part of the increasing popular demands for democracy in countries until very recently dogged by repressive dictatorships.

The era of African political stagnation is over. The new press has played an indispensable role in giving voice to the upsurge in opposition. In Mali there are 16 new independent papers.

Kenyan editor Mr Gitoubu Imanyara's "Nairobi Law Monthly" has a circulation of 15 000, proving that lawyers are not the only ones reading its sharp political analyses.

As Benin's former president Kerekou complained after his downfall: "It's because of journalists that everything has turned out badly."

The independent editors and reporters are some of the most courageous and genuinely public-spirited people on the African continent.

They still face dangers of imprisonment or assassination; Imanyara was imprisoned and chained to his bed in the hospital wing of a Nairobi prison hospital for three weeks last July.

There are also the traditional methods of controlling the press: bribery, or withdrawing government advertising and legal notices from



NEWS WATCH

Richard Carver

Reporter at the New York journal "The Nation" analyses the upsurge of democratic newspapers in Africa:

papers that become too outspoken.

On a poor continent, there are even more subtle ways to block free expression. Few African nations produce their own newsprint, allowing governments to restrict the allocation of the scarce foreign exchange needed to import it.

In some countries, the only printing press is controlled by the regime.

Njawe's story in many ways is typical. He started off in journalism at the age of 16 as an office messenger. His first assignment as a cub reporter was the crime beat.

Three years later he started "Le Messenger". At first the paper appeared monthly, concentrating mainly on sports and entertainment — which is how many of the other independent papers on the continent started.

In 1982 veteran ruler Mr Ahmadou Ahidou appointed a successor, Mr Paul Biya, who promised reforms.

Njawe did not try to defy the censorship system directly. At first, he submitted "Le Messenger" to the censors, allowing them the required four hours to look it over.

Then an idea struck instead of handing the mock-up of the paper, he would turn over the

final printed version, all 16 to 24 pages.

He recalls with a chuckle: "The first official would have to read the whole paper before passing it on to his chief, the chief would have to read it before passing it on to his chief."

"Before they could all read it, the four hours had passed, and we brought 'Le Messenger' out onto the streets."

But the regime ignored its own censorship laws and confiscated the newspapers anyway. In July 1990 the government-owned printing company announced that "technical reasons" (shortages of newsprint and film) forced it to reduce "Le Messenger's" press run from 80 000 to 15 000, even though the pro-government "Cameroon Tribune" was not affected.

For the past few years, "Le Messenger" has not been mincing words. A column in the English-language edition of July 1991 described the Biya government as "recalcitrant, hesitant, undecisive, terrorist, rebellious, hopeless, under-achieving, corrupted, kleptocratic, clientelist, ethnofacist, paternalistic, mediocre, tribalistic" and worse!

By August, the Biya regime could stand it no longer. It suspended "Le Messenger" and four other independent papers, and then used teargas and clubs to break up a march protesting the bannings.

Njawe tried to bring out his newspaper again under new names — "Le Messagere" (the feminine form of the same word) and "Le Message" — but the government was adamant. Njawe was silenced, and somewhat demoralised by the reluctance of Cameroonians to put up more of a struggle.

But his pessimism was premature. In December the Biya regime lifted its ban and Njawe returned to the fray.

In a ringing front-page editorial, he informed the government that the five-month suspension had not cowed him: "Non!" he wrote. "'Le Messenger' could not die so promptly!

"Neither the prisons that we have sometimes come to inhabit, nor the physical and moral tortures that we have often endured, nor the weapons that we have had to fight against, nor the assassination attempts and kidnappings that have become part of our daily lot, nor even the seductions of wealth that we have always resisted could taint our faith in our just combat to give birth to a society of liberty and justice."

Plea to UN: 'don't impose sanctions'

Sowetan 24/3/92

CAIRO - The Arab League called late on Sunday on the United Nations Security Council to "avoid adopting economic, military or diplomatic measures against Libya".

The resolution was passed by an emergency meeting of Arab League member state's foreign ministers.

The meeting, convened at the request of Libya, also called on the Security Council to "resolve the conflict between that country and the United States, Britain and France by negotiation and mediation".

The resolution by the 21-member body came a day ahead of the start of a Security Council debate on proposed UN sanctions aimed at forcing Tripoli to hand over Libyans accused of bombing two airliners.

Britain, the United States and other Western countries have already advised their citizens to leave Libya ahead of a possible embargo on air links.

The Arab League has been working hard to avert a showdown between Libya and the West over the plane bombings, fearing that sanctions could harm the entire Arab region. -Sapa-AFP.

MICHAEL Clough, chief Africanist at the ponderously respectable Council on Foreign Relations, is advising Democratic presidential nominee-apparent Bill Clinton on African issues. He swears he does not want Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen's job if Clinton wins in November, and there is no reason not to humour his protestations.

Nonetheless, his views are worth a look, especially since he has taken the trouble in this election year to lay them out in an accessible little book, *Free at Last? US Policy towards Africa and the End of the Cold War*.

Had he delayed publication for a couple of months, he might usefully have added apartheid to the subtitle, since the soon-to-be former government of SA has done almost as much to drive US Africa policy as the now defunct Soviet Union.

With the Soviet Communist Party gone, and the NP (at any rate, as we have come to know and despite it) going, it is Clough's contention that Africa must now be liberated from US policymakers as well. On the whole, this is an attractive suggestion, not least because Clough would also be freeing the place from his own tender mercies in the event Clinton won and were to offer him the top Africa job.

Time to liberate Africa from the US policymakers

3/04/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

are those "that will limit the damage US officials can do to the continent". For some, a little benign neglect would fill the prescription admirably. However, regional experts on the Council on Foreign Relations do not generally argue that their specialities are worthy of neglect. Clough is no exception, though his counter-argument is not that compelling. "Ignoring Africa becomes a recipe for haphazard policy." That is generally the pattern anyway, but academics always yearn for tidiness.

Clough is on surer ground when he trashes the notion that the US can "lead a crusade to save the continent from poverty, political repression and civil war". Such an effort, in his view, would make the post-war reconstruction of Europe and Japan look cheap and easy by comparison. SA alone could use an immediate capital infusion of about \$10bn to lay the foundations for a stable non-racial democracy. The costs of rescuing Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique would be "even greater... with far less prospect of short-term payoffs".

US taxpayers, already peevisish about any kind of foreign aid, would never stand for this. Even to attempt it "would require a stock of ideas, resources and, most of all, a degree of commitment that Washington

does not possess". Besides — and this is a particularly bold point — "as long as the illusion exists that the US will take on Africa's burdens, African leaders will have an incentive to delay making the sacrifices that will be necessary if the continent is to right itself".

Neglect and hyperengagement are, of course, straw men, mown down as Clough advances to his own preference. And, truth be told, it is not a bad one. Clough would effectively privatise US relations with African countries, tightly restrict official development aid and focus instead on empowering Africans at the grassroots level.

Africa's problems, he argues, derive largely from "the imbalance that exists between the state and civil society". And he spares no one in assigning the blame. The super-powers, politicians, bureaucrats, intellectuals and activists of both left and right, the international aid agencies and financial institutions — all have done their bit over the past three decades to "sustain the pretensions" of the continent's authoritarian thugs and help them "insulate themselves from the demands and



pressures of civil society". Forthright stuff, especially since Clough himself was once among those who cooed and billed over the likes of Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda. Now he is even prepared to quote with approval such pillars of political incorrectness as the British economist Lord Bauer, who has been arguing in vain for years that official aid transfers serve mainly to "increase the resources and power of recipient governments" compared with the rest of society.

With democracy marching across the continent, it may be argued that Clough has woken up a little late, but at least he has woken up. He has also smelled the Zeitgeist. What the US must concentrate on now, he says, is strengthening African "civil society". To this end, he has a few modest proposals. All governments that fail to guarantee civil liberties for their citizens should, by law, be denied official US aid. In such cases, assistance should be channelled to independent non-governmental organisations. There should be no military aid to Africa, period. Nor should the US provide support to political candidates or parties of any stripe.

"I may prefer Nelson Mandela to Chief Buthelezi in SA, or Amos Sawyer to Charles Taylor in Liberia, or John Garang to Mohamed Beshir in

Sudan... but I strongly doubt that US national interests will be much affected over the long run by which, if any, of these leaders eventually triumph." Yes.

Finally, Clough argues, "more US aid and increased executive branch involvement with African issues are not the answer to Africa's problems". Rather, he says, private, non-profit organisations — the so-called "third sector" — should be encouraged to "facilitate the development of a diverse network or personal and institutional linkages that would empower Africans and heighten the interest of important American constituencies in Africa".

Things get a little warm and fuzzy here, but what Clough appears to be advocating is a privatisation of US policy toward Africa along the same lines as has already been occurring in eastern Europe, where legions of private groups and individuals have stepped in not only with humanitarian assistance but to offer support and advice in areas ranging from economic, legal and constitutional reform to worker safety, health care and the environment.

Not a bad idea to mobilise the same kind of engagement in Africa, especially in light of current budget constraints and voter hostility to official transfers, but Clough's inattention with non-profit non-governmental organisations goes a little too far. Traditional diplomacy is still going to be needed, and it is hard to see how messes like Zaire or the Mozambican civil war can be resolved without it, though in the latter case, Clough could argue the Vatican's involvement only proves his point. What is the Catholic Church if not the world's largest non-governmental organisation?

Completely missing from his analysis is any mention of the for-profit private sector. For most of Africa, surely, new investment is the single most pressing need. Clough has not a word on its role or how it might be encouraged. As he admitted at his book launch, economics is not his subject. In which case, one can only hope he is not just being politic when he says he does not want to be assistant secretary of state for Africa.

LETTERS

US experts start Africa relief plan

STAR 25/3/92

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

tries of the EEC, Canada, Japan and other potential donors.

WASHINGTON — A team of 13 American relief experts left for South Africa and nine other countries in the region today to assess the impact of what has been described as Africa's worst drought this century, and to prepare for the shipment of up to 10 million metric tons of emergency food supplies.

The US team will be co-ordinating an international relief operation which, a State Department spokeswoman said today, was likely to prove so large that "considerable donor assistance" would be needed to cover costs and ensure that a major tragedy was averted.

Negotiations are now under way between the US, the coun-

Besides South Africa, the US team will visit Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe over the next three weeks, and will be drawing up a programme to provide not just food supplies but also assistance in the fields of health, water and sanitation.

The first hint that a major disaster was looming in southern Africa came from US satellites which form part of the US Famine Early Warning System. Assessments from space indicated that between 70 and 90 percent of crops in many parts of the region had been devastated.

American officials then began formal inquiries in each of the 10 countries. What they discovered set off alarm signals at the Agency for International Development.

14 000
Sowelan 27/3/92
Somalis
killed ①

NEW YORK - Two human rights groups said yesterday that 14 000 Somalis had been killed and 27 000 injured since November, about 10 000 more than estimated by the United Nations.

The groups predicted that "a famine unequalled in Somalia's modern history is all but inevitable", according to a report from Africa Watch, based in New York and London, and the Physicians for Human Rights, headquartered in Boston.

Criticised

The report, which harshly criticised the United Nations and the United States, is based on two visits in February that included surveys of hospital records, interviews with patients and staff and reports from five international relief groups.

With central electric power and water supplies damaged, the report says epidemics of meningitis, infectious hepatitis and cholera are expected in the rainy season that begins in April. - Sapa-Reuter

There are countries within the pale and those beyond, writes Richard Dowden

The West versus the Rest

STAR 27/3/92

WE stepped off the plane from Nairobi into a cold, grey London morning: tourists, businessmen, mothers with babies and children — lots of children, all clutching heavy bags euphemistically called "hand luggage".

We were directed into a Heathrow waiting room and told to sit down. Uniformed officials hovered around us. After about 15 minutes the door burst open and a man in a baseball cap ran in with a dog. Up and down the aisles they ran, the man urging the dog on, forcing its nose on to people's bags, up women's skirts, clambering over luggage and people.

In Africa, dogs are regarded as dirty and many Africans are frightened of them. To Muslims, dogs are unclean. In Africa, too, Britain is regarded as civilised, and many Africans think of it as a source of law, democracy and respect for human rights.

The man was dressed in blue like a South African policeman, and had similar manners. Children screamed and held their mothers' skirts as he and his dog dashed around the room. At last, dog and master were gone, and story-faced men told us to collect our bags and go. There was no explanation, no apology. Passing police armed with sub-machine-guns, we made for the immigration desks.

This was, of course, a drugs check. None was found. Although Nigeria has become a major drugs entrepot, Africans in general are not drugs users. The Home Office will not disclose how successful the use of dogs in this way has been. Even if it did, it would certainly not measure another statistic — the impression such an experience must make on thousands of innocent visitors.

Not that the 5.15 from Frankfurt is ever subjected to this treatment. The dogs are only set on

passengers from Africa and other parts of the southern hemisphere. Last year, customs picked on Gambian president Sir Dawda Jawara and his family, visiting Britain at the invitation of the prime minister.

Sir Dawda is an old friend of Britain — or was, until he was given the Heathrow dog treatment.

The point of this story is not just that our customs officials carry out offensive searches. It is that Britain seems no longer to need nor want its old friends.

There are times when civilisations breathe out, spreading their wares and their values. At other times they build walls to guard what is theirs and keep out the barbarians. The Romans built walls and ramparts — then they crossed them and extended their empire. Britain once had an empire, now it is building a wall. So is the rest of the Western world. The world model used, to consist

of the First World, the West and Japan, then the Second World, the communist bloc, and, lastly, the Third World, those countries that were developing, catching up the first two.

The Second World collapsed when its leaders and people realised they were getting closer to the Third World rather than competing with the First.

One might have hoped that once the Cold War was over the rich powers, saving millions from the ending of the arms race, could finance the redemption of the Third World.

Instead, the First World has turned in on itself and the world is being divided into those within the pale and those beyond it. Russia is in, other former Soviet republics are out. Turkey is in, most of Africa is out.

The West's image of most of Africa — not an untrite one in many instances — is one of war, economic disaster and destitution.



The message from within the wall to those outside is: save yourselves.

Financial help from Western donors is stagnating in real terms. In 1990, it was eight percent of their gross national products, a decade ago it was 10 percent.

In the '70s, there was a "development debate" about strategies to help pre-industrial societies become sustainably wealthier, now there are only programmes of economic reform imposed by the IMF and World Bank.

They are about balancing the books, privatising national economies and allowing exchange rates to find their market levels. The only debate is about the speed of implementation. Their aim is to recoup debts and allow market forces free range. Will this bring food, clean water, clinics and education to people? Eventually, maybe — but that is not the question any more. When the famines get too bad,

aid agencies rush in with food relief, expensive and unsustainable. Ten years ago, those agencies had begun to move away from emergency relief to development work, but publicity for famines forced them back into emergency work and they have been there ever since. Outside South Africa, news coverage of African affairs has dropped dramatically in the Western media; reports from Latin America are becoming even more scarce. Perhaps it is best for those countries that are mired in political and economic turmoil to be left alone to sort out their own destinies. But until they do, the world is being separated into two unequal parts. To keep the people on the other side out, we are building ever higher fences — and setting the dogs on anyone who tries to cross them. — The Independent News Service. □

Unlikely figure of resistance

So webcar 27/3/92

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KINSHASA - Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya is an unlikely symbol of resistance to President Mobutu Sese Seko, but he has joined a growing number of churchmen taking a leading role in opposing dictators across Africa.

No firebrand, the scholarly, soft-spoken Monsengwo was forced into the role when Zaire's opposition parties proved unable to topple Mobutu.

The Roman Catholic theology professor and author of such papers as "The Notion of Law In the First Five Books of the Bible" was elected president of Zaire's national conference on democracy last year.

Mobutu suspended the conference on January 19, after opposition delegates won control of it.

Humble person

"The expectations of the people are frightening when they put their faith in such a humble person as me," Monsengwo said, adding, "I know the danger of being manipulated is always there."

Initially, he was careful to avoid direct confrontation with Mobutu. When the president failed to follow through on a promise to reopen Zaire's conference, Monsengwo virtually accused Mobutu of lying.

Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops in Kenya and Malawi also are taking on their governments.

It is a role Roman Catholic churchmen assumed two decades ago when some priests adopted "Liberation Theology" in Latin America. Outside of South Africa, the church had rarely challenged Africa's dictatorships.

Churches in South Africa were among early opponents of apartheid. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize.

Democracy

Within the last two years, church leaders strongly supported demands for democracy that led to power sharing or new governments in Benin, Cape Verde, Congo, Gabon, Togo and Zambia. In Benin, a national conference led by Roman Catholic Archbishop Isidore de Souza stripped President Mathieu Kerekou of all but ceremonial powers. Kerekou subsequently was defeated in a presidential election.

Roman Catholic bishops in Malawi published a pastoral letter on March 8 accusing Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda of human rights abuses and calling for democracy. It was the first public criticism of Banda in Malawi. The bishops were summoned to police headquarters for eight hours of questioning, and the shop that printed 16000 copies of the letter was burned down by men believed to be government agents.

Tribal conflicts

This week, Kenyan bishops accused President Daniel Arap Moi's government of provoking tribal conflicts that killed 60 people. In a pastoral letter, they said the government sought to portray the violence as proof of "the failure of the multiparty system in this country". Moi only legalised opposition parties in December.

In Ivory Coast, where President Felix Houphouet-Boigny has placated the Catholic Church with multimillion-dollar cathedrals and basilicas; Cardinal

'Expectations of the people are frightening ... they put their faith in me'

Bernard Yago criticised the government in February for violating human rights.

Signs of the Roman Catholic Church's increasing involvement in promoting democracy are in line with Pope John Paul II's comments during his recent trip to Africa. He urged Catholics to step forward and play a role in their societies, even if their numbers are small.

Some in the church have had to catch up with the new approach. Kinshasa Cardinal Frederic Etsou was almost lynched by a crowd after Mass because he was considered pro-Mobutu. The cardinal then joined Mobutu's critics and lifted a ban he had imposed on priests organising pro-democracy groups.

While Monsengwo and other church leaders negotiate with Mobutu in Zaire, parish priests and pastors have begun leading pro-democracy demonstrations. On February 16, Mobutu's security forces opened fire on Christian marchers, killing at least 32, according to human rights groups.

The Pope condemned the attacks and pressed Mobutu to accept democracy.

Protest march

Priests were dragged from the protest march and singled out for beatings, witnesses said. Officials accused the priests of trying to topple the government. It expelled three foreign priests.

Monsengwo has been protected by guards since armed men invaded his residence last year, and only left after Monsengwo managed to phone diplomats who intervened with senior military officers.

In Kenya, Anglican Bishop Alexander Muge, then one of the government's leading critics, was killed on August 13 1990, when a swerving truck hit his car head on near his home in Eldoret in western Kenya.

Only three days before, Labour Minister Mr Peter Okondo had told a ruling party rally in nearby Busia district that if Muge set foot in the district he would "see fire and might not leave alive".

Muge (44) defied the threat, visited Busia, and was killed in the crash on his way home. - Sapa-AP

African bank boss to visit

BT Day 27/3/92
ABIDJAN — The president of the African Development Bank, Babacar N'Diaye, will pay his first visit to SA starting on Sunday, diplomatic sources disclosed yesterday.

They said an advance party was already in SA preparing N'Diaye's packed 12-day programme.

N'Diaye, a 54-year-old Senegalese, has been president of the regional bank since 1985.

SA is still excluded from bank membership because it is not a member of the OAU.

N'Diaye's visit will herald the start of open relations.

A bank press release on March 10 said membership of a democratic SA was "imminent".

The diplomatic sources said N'Diaye's visit was being organised with the government-owned Development Bank of SA, two of whose officials discreetly attended the

bank's annual meeting last year for the first time.

N'Diaye said then he had also invited the ANC although it did not send a representative.

N'Diaye is expected to meet President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela as well as business leaders.

A growing number of African countries are moving faster than the OAU's step-by-step policy towards SA and edging towards full diplomatic relations.

Trade delegations to and from SA are criss-crossing the continent with many poor black states hoping to attract investment from SA.

Diplomatic sources in Abidjan said Ivory Coast Foreign Minister Amara Essy would fly to SA on Monday.

It will be the first time a West African foreign minister has paid a public visit to SA. — Sapa-Reuter.

Full SA embassy to be set up in Ivory Coast

SA and the Ivory Coast have agreed to establish diplomatic relations at an ambassadorial level, giving SA only its second embassy in Africa — and the first to be established in about a decade.

SA's relations with two other African states — the Seychelles and the tiny east coast republic Djibouti — also improved yesterday. The Seychelles and SA announced they would establish diplomatic relations, while Djibouti lifted all trade and travel restrictions.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the Ivory Coast embassy was a further sign of

Blom 8/4/92
TIM COHEN and
DARIUS SANAI

SA's re-emergence as a member of the family of African states.

Foreign Affairs officials pointed out that the Ivory Coast embassy would be the first outside southern Africa.

The only other SA embassy on the continent is in Malawi.

Foreign Affairs said SA's trade representative in Mauritius would take over as non-resident consul to the Seychelles, which would be opening a consulate in

Pretoria. Sources close to government said full ambassadorial relations could be established before the end of the year.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Djibouti said it was lifting restrictions because of the "very positive developments" in SA. The former French colony's port is strategically located at the mouth of the Red Sea and has the largest east coast container facility north of Durban.

Another positive development yesterday was the start of a tourism promotional visit to SA by Zambian tourism minister Christian Tembo.

Letter from Khartoum

South 28/3-2/4/92

①

A South African in Sudan is a rarity. **Sarah Becker** visited the north African state recently and filed this gloomy despatch:

Sudan is one of the world's poorest countries and has one of the worst human rights records.

There are recent accounts of people executed by crucifixion for armed robbery, of the practice of slavery here and of detention and torture.

The slave trade continues today, unbroken since the last century when Arabs in the north of the country did a roaring trade in African slaves from the south. The Dinka people have been the prime targets, because of historical land disputes with key Arab tribes. A recent article in a foreign publication reports that because the market for slaves in 1988 had been flooded by the activities of northern-based militia groups, the price for a Dinka child had fallen to as low as \$15!

An unofficial form of apartheid is

practised here. No blacks are able to get influential jobs in government or elsewhere. They therefore do all the menial jobs. No Arab would be seen doing menial work.

News is suppressed and journalists have to be registered. Any antagonistic or critical article will have the journalist jailed, or deported if they are foreign. Very few foreign journalists work here — it is just too difficult.

The Sudanese News Agency puts out a daily news briefing (roncoed in English) which gives the official line and news.

It also has a couple of pages with foreign news, including a number of articles on South Africa, not seen in any of our other news sources.

No news of the situation in the south of Sudan is given, although I have heard from people in the UN that there have been heavy government casualties in recent battles.

My impression is that the situation is completely hopeless. I cannot see a way out for the country. The civil war in the south rages on, and the north sinks into ruin.

One could not in one's worst dreams imagine a city as broken as Khartoum.

There is absolutely nothing, except the Nile, that Khartoum has going for it. There are no buildings of historical or architectural interest, there are no parks (it seems there might have been a couple in the days of the British, but they are basically used as dumps now), there are two or three restaurants in town but literally nothing to write home about.

The Nile is absolutely majestic. Khartoum is located at the point where the Blue and the White Niles meet. One can really get a sense of how this river supported civilisations for all those thousand of years. It has a timeless quality and is the lifeblood of this part of the world.

The city is very hot, dry and dusty. At the moment the temperature during the day is about 42 degrees Celsius. During summer it gets up to 50 or 53 degrees.

Nothing is maintained, everything is in advanced decay. Roads are littered with potholes and trenches which haven't been properly filled in or retarred. It is impossible to drive in a straight line.

The city is like one huge squatter area.

People just drive and everyone has to get out of the way. It is a style of driving that takes a little getting used to, although, in some ways, it does work, as everyone does the same so people know what to expect.

The British at some stage tried some creative city planning here. In one area of the city blocks form a Union Jack. There is great confusion in the centre, where eight roads meet in one huge intersection.

Buildings, too, are in advanced states of decay. Generally nothing works. There is a telephone system of sorts. Big organisations (like the UN) tend to have phones but individuals don't.

Sand and rubbish are dumped anywhere and everywhere. The city has no refuse collection service. It's a bit like cities in medieval Europe, where refuse is simply tipped out of the windows onto the street.

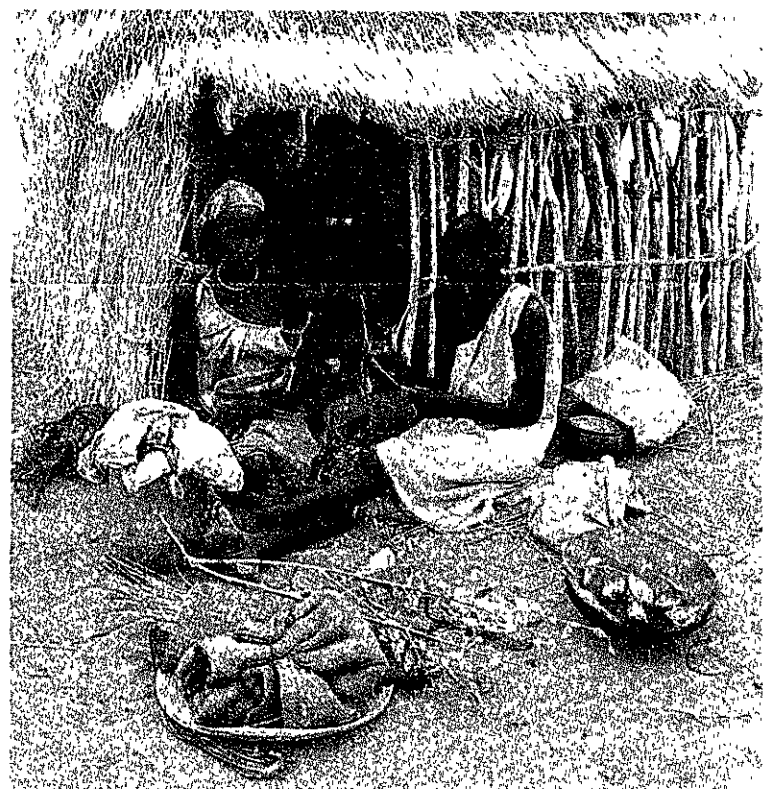
Here people take rubbish out and just dump it away from their houses or in an empty lot or open space.

Since independence in 1956 Sudan has faced one crisis after another.

Manifestations of these crises include declining productivity in all sectors of the economy, the disuse of existing production resources,



REFUGEE: Thousands live in a refugee camp on the Eritrean border in south eastern Sudan



FAMINE: Women make do with the little food provided at one of the 37 refugee camps on the Eritrean border

Let them starve, seems to be government stance

South 28/3-2/4/92

①

Sudan's current government came to power last June in a coup on the eve of peace talks with the rebel Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM).

It is composed of members of the National Islamic Front which is against the peace talks, so the war continues.

The previous government was the first civilian government in many years and was in power for only a year.

The current government is an Islamic fundamentalist one and immediately reimposed Islamic laws.

The government's attitude to the looming famine in the south is one of deliberate neglect. They don't appear to be too concerned that their enemies in the south may starve to death.

People are saying the famine will affect the capital for the first time

and there is talk of possible food riots.

The government may fall if the people in the capital feel the effects of the famine, so steps are being taken to ensure that this does not happen.

There are reports of farmers who have had their crops seized by the government for the second year in a row and have not even been compensated enough to pay for the seed they bought.

Thousands of displaced people who live on the fringes of the city are being moved out into the desert to fend for themselves.

According to reports, 10 such people were summarily executed after being caught breaking into a grain store.

BBC radio also reported food demonstrations outside the local administration offices in El Obeid, a town in the west.

budget and balance of payments deficits, inflation, declining incomes and general neglect of services and infrastructure.

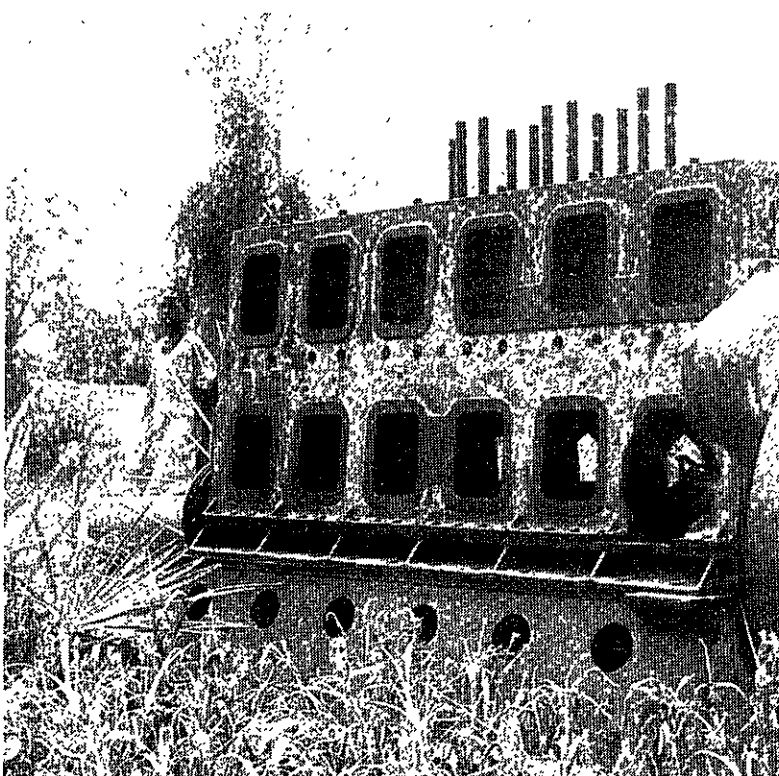
When the British left Sudan they took with them a functioning civil service (they didn't bother to train people to replace them), investment possibilities, people to oversee maintenance and running of the infrastructure, expertise and know-how.

They left everything to the Sudanese who had no experience in government administration.

Once the drift into neglect had begun there was no rescue and so a downward spiral set in.

You wouldn't believe this level of chaos, decay, neglect and a generally uncaring attitude could exist.

Only a Marshall Plan could save this country. And I think the Sahara stands more chance of becoming a rain forest.



USELESS: A rusty irrigation scheme which has been unused since 1985 when inhabitants fled the area

Refugees top agendas in bid to help 4 million

South 28/3-2/4/92
By Thoraya Pandey

Over the last decade, successive droughts, famine, and tribal and military conflict in the south of Sudan have taken their toll on the population of this vast country.

These factors and conflicts in neighbouring countries have raised the number of displaced people in Sudan to way over four million.

This problem has been high on the agendas of policy makers and humanitarian organisations concerned with the plight of the refugees.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has established over 37 camps, assisting up to 300 000 people.

The UNHCR provides only basic needs — food, water and shelter. But often families remain in the camps for years, unable to find other accommodation.

Self-help schemes are run by the UNHCR. Their success though depends mainly on the availability of funds and resources.

International pressure put on the Sudanese government to address the refugee problem has led to an undertaking that all displaced people would be resettled.

However, there is strong scepticism about the government's commitment to the programme.

A mere 9 335 refugees have been repatriated to Ethiopia and Eritrea and very few Sudanese have been resettled.



MACHINIST AT WORK: Will the clothing industry spearhead economic growth in the Western Cape?

Export surge is expected to create new clothing jobs

South 28/3-2/4/92

CAPE TOWN'S clothing industry is widely expected to be a leading creator of new jobs through its exports. According to Mr Ray Jenson, a Wesgro consultant, last year's 65 percent jump in clothing exports "may not be a bubble like previous export surges".

The chairperson of the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association sub-committee on exports, Mr Jack Kipling, says Cape Town is expected to provide most of the growth.

He sees this trend increasing employment in the sector by up to 20 percent over the next five years. This works out to 10 000 more jobs in the Cape Town area.

Jenson said the clothing industry was entering its next phase of development.

In a research paper he said the clothing industry had taken 40 years, from 1914 to 1954, to grow larger than traditional tailoring. It had taken another 38 years for local clothing production to grow sufficiently to supply 94 percent of

The clothing industry seems set for a phase of exports, says a researcher. **Quentin Wilson** reports:

domestic demand.

The next phase would be an era of stable clothing exports, which it has been estimated would start at 10 percent of production.

Professor Lieb Loots of UWC's economics department said: "The clothing sector, in line with its low capital intensity, is by far the most important manufacturing industry, with 48 854 people (or 22 percent of manufacturing employment) employed in the industry."

Although the sector is a major employer, wages may not be attractive for workers.

"The average wage is one indication of this. It suggests that the per-

ception of the sector as a low-wage sector is still justified," Loots said.

"The average per capita earnings in textiles was R6 544, in footwear it was R5 636 and in clothing it was a low R5 031.

"This is in sharp contrast with per capita earnings of R9 596 in all other manufacturing industries," he said.

He also cited low wages in this sector as being a reflection of the high proportion of women employed.

"On top of this, the ease of entry into clothing, the nature of clothing production and the low capital cost of setting up a factory, tend to result in an industry structure unlikely to pay high wages.

"The relatively low wages paid in this sector is more than compensated for by its high labour intensity," Loots said.

While estimates for informal employment and wages in this sector are not available, it was likely that there could be a fair amount of unrecorded employment, particularly in clothing, at lower levels, Loots said.

Rural jobs crisis as business pulls out

South 28/3-2/4/92

Rural towns on the periphery of Cape Town — within 45 minutes' drive from the city — face an economic slide as companies withdraw. **Thoraya Pandey** reports:

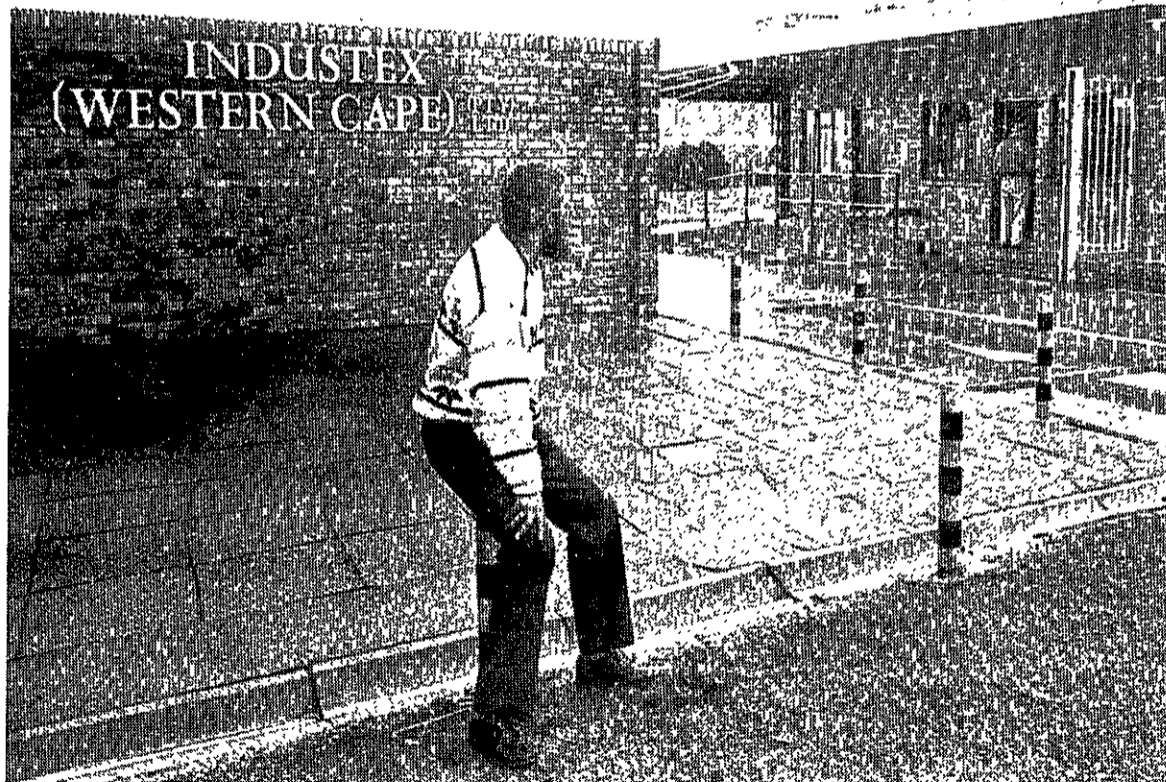
COMMONLY known as fringe towns, Somerset West, Strand, Paarl, Wellington and Atlantis have experienced the withdrawal of major companies in the last five years, leaving thousands unemployed and forcing many to seek work in the city centre.

A "conservative" estimate puts unemployment at more than 8 400 people in Atlantis after seven major companies pulled out and 17 others retrenched workers, according to Mr Karl Cloete of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa).

In the seventies Atlantis was developed as a "coloured town", mainly to accommodate those forcibly removed under the former Group Areas Act.

It was also part of the government's decentralisation policy to create employment for Atlantis residents.

The government offered attractive subsidies to companies, moti-



THIS FACTORY COULD BE NEXT: Last year Industex Western Cape (Pty) Ltd retrenched 230 workers claiming a R3-million annual loss Photo: Yunus Mohamed

vating them to invest in the area.

This required a huge investment of public funds to provide the necessary infrastructure.

Approximately R300-million in industrial investment was attracted to the town but most companies relied heavily on state subsidies.

Many withdrew from the area after subsidies fell away.

The community, however, committed to "saving Atlantis from ruins", has embarked on a vigorous

campaign to address the economic slide.

"Community organisations, unions, the local authorities and business are involved in the Atlantis Development Forum to explore ideas in solving our problem," said Cloete.

This forum has been established to address issues concerning the development of the area, economic viability and the establishment of one local authority, he said.

"We are doing everything in our power to keep Atlantis alive and we strongly feel that the government and business must take equal responsibility in achieving our goal," added Cloete.

"There is no work in Atlantis, which forces many to seek work elsewhere and spend a fortune in travelling expenses and long hours away from home."

The situation in other areas, although it does not appear as grim

as is Atlantis, is also forcing communities to join forces with local authorities and business to address the problems.

The announcement by Armscor, AECI and Gants to pull out of Somerset West and Strand has sparked off panic among workers who, when the companies close down, will have to seek employment in the city centre.

"The chances of people finding work are very slim because of the high unemployment rate in the Western Cape."

Wellington has also experienced the closure of five major factories over five years.

In a bid to address this problem, the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the local authority and the municipality have developed a unity of purpose in reversing Wellington's economic woes.

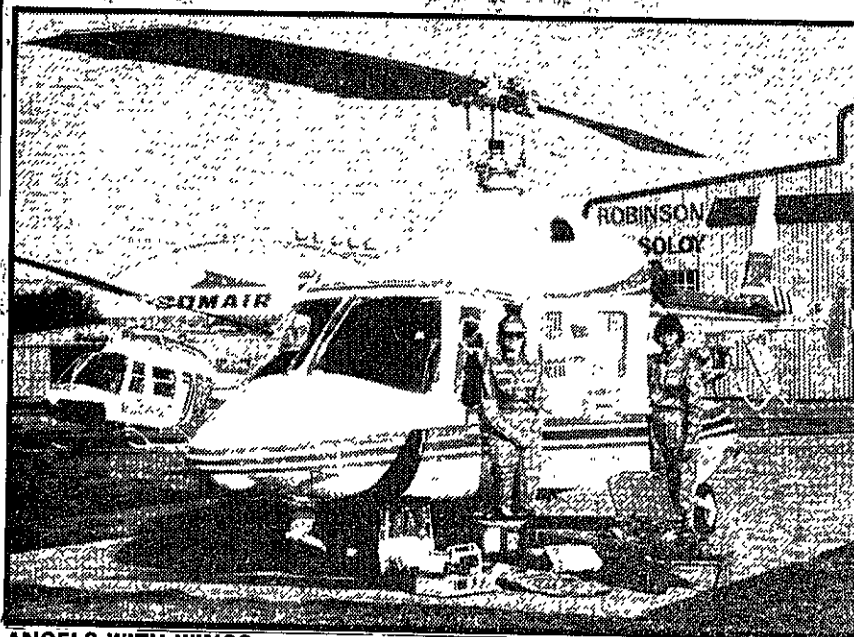
"The main problem we — and most other rural areas — are experiencing is the lack of decentralisation facilities needed to attract investment," said the mayor of Wellington, Mr Peter Ingwersen.

"The municipality is exploring several avenues to provide jobs and our town clerk has applied to the state for R7-million to build houses.

"This will create employment for at least 150 people over a period of three years."

Even though the future of these communities appears grim and uncertain, they are committed to finding solutions to maintain their livelihood.

Medical cover must for Africa travellers



ANGELS WITH WINGS ... two Medstar ICU nurses and their equipment on standby at an airport near Johannesburg

SOUTH Africans who travel into Africa regularly on business or who stay there for extended periods would be unwise to do so without medical insurance.

George Novis, sales manager for Medstar in Johannesburg, which provides a 24-hour, go-anywhere service to evacuate ill South Africans out of African countries, says people living in foreign Third World states for any length of time face a number of potential medical problems not necessarily encountered at home.

Archaic

"In most African countries if a worker falls seriously ill he should be evacuated as soon as possible to receive the best medical attention available. If not, he could well die."

If First World medical attention is required there are few places in Africa where this can be found with the exception of South Africa.

Mr Novis says that in most countries north of the Limpopo medical facilities range from non-existent and archaic to downright dangerous.

It is common practice in Africa to re-use disposable needles, and many of the medicines — if available — have expired. Because of this and the high risk of AIDS, we never use anything that is available locally, taking all our consumables — including blood — and equipment with

us. "It is a fact that 80% of the foreign patients we fly into Johannesburg are HIV-positive, and for this reason our nurses and doctors wear gloves, masks and goggles while attending to them."

He said a lack of foreign exchange in most African countries meant that they either didn't have hi-tech equipment or the money or skills to adequately maintain it.

Basics like X-ray machines and CAT scanners are invariably "out of order" so the diagnosis of the sick or injured is usually under-assessed.

"For this reason we normally fear the worst and take a full range of miniaturised aircraft-compatible ICU equipment — worth about R2-million — on board even for what may sound like a relatively minor problem," said Mr Novis.

However, the difficulties don't end there. Getting into smaller towns at night can be prearranged, but there have been cases where the aircraft flew to a strip but couldn't land. In one instance because the flares used to light the runway had been stolen, and in another where airport staff were drunk.

Another major problem for Medstar is getting a patient to the airport for evacuation. "There are few ambulances in Africa. In a recent case we had to transport a subscriber in a commercial

vehicle to the airport because the country does not have an ambulance," Mr Novis said.

In 1991 Medstar evacuated patients from Kenya, Congo, Malawi, Angola, Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, most of whom were suffering from industrial or vehicle accident injuries and a variety of infections.

Medstar has a team of ICU nurses who are also aeromedically trained, as well as trauma specialist doctors on 24-hour standby. It also has direct access to a wide range of specialist doctors if required.

Policy

A variety of aircraft are at Medstar's disposal, ranging from Learjets, turboprops and helicopters, depending on requirements and circumstances.

People who plan to travel into Africa or neighbouring countries can take out a travel-assistance policy, available from most travel agents, from R90 to R130 for a stay of one to three weeks.

Companies who have staff travelling regularly into Africa can take out a corporate annual policy either through their brokers or from Mr Novis at (011) 838 6311.

The emergency service is also available to anybody on request subject to financial guarantees.

Sub-Sahara depends on SA — the key is aviation

8 Times [B455] 29/3/92

(Handwritten scribbles and a circled '1')

AVIATION is the key to development in southern Africa — and without it countries north of the Limpopo and south of the Sahara face bleak and ever-deteriorating futures.

Gone are the days when East and West vied for the attention of southern African countries with unlimited aid. They have identified larger markets worthy of exploration in the now-liberated eastern Europe with better chances of returns on their investments.

With many of the countries landlocked and road systems in poor repair, the only way they can kick-start their parlous economies is by trading with and through South Africa, the country which, it would seem, has been given the task of motivating these economies.

Cheaper

To achieve this southern African countries have to improve their aviation infrastructures, says Cor Beek, executive director of the Commercial Aviation Association and organiser of the Aviation Africa '92 show.

"It is far cheaper to extend a runway, upgrade landing systems and lease modern aircraft than it is to rebuild hundreds of kilometres of roads," says Mr Beek, who also points to the obvious benefits of aviation as a means of transport.

"Even if their roads and railways were in good repair, these vehicles have to fend off



COR BEEK
'SA gateway to Africa'

attacks by bandits. Length of time en route would also be a problem in the case of produce."

He says most African countries realise this and because of the changes in South Africa are now prepared to be seen openly "doing business in the south".

And for this reason the major manufacturers of air-

AVIATION AFRICA 92

On Wednesday, Aviation Africa 92, the largest ever South African aviation trade show, opens its doors at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport. Major international manufacturers are taking part, and as a result Africa's eyes are focused on South Africa and its aviation industry. Sunday Times aviation correspondent ROGER MAKINGS reports on the current state of the industry, its developments and the challenges that lie ahead.

craft, airport technology as well as related aviation industries have decided to exhibit at the Aviation Africa '92 show at Jan Smuts airport from April 1, making it the biggest in SA since its inception in 1975.

The show now ranks in size with those held in Singapore and Dubai, with global giants like Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Airbus Industrie, British Aerospace and Aerospatiale exhibiting and hoping for a slice of the expected action.

Contacts

"South Africa is the gateway to Africa — we have the harbours, airports and roads as well as the industry and skilled labour which the major companies can use to launch their products. Our entrepreneurs are geared to dealing with the Africans and know their countries."

But it is up to South Africa, as the economic power in the region, to get the ball rolling and become the motivating force in the drive to get sub-Saharan economies going.

"Our aviation infrastructure is probably the best in Africa, and because of our proximity it would be advantageous to Africa to come to us for the assistance they will need to upgrade their aviation capabilities," says Mr Beek. Loss-making African air-

lines are in a sorry state mainly because of bad management, widespread corruption, government interference and a lack of capital.

"We have the expertise to solve all these problems and, in fact, a helping hand is already being extended to some countries to remedy these shortcomings."

SAA has assisted numerous fledgling airlines — Air Mauritius and Air Namibia, to name just two successful operators in southern Africa — by leasing aircraft and crews to them and helping to train their own staff as well as servicing their aircraft.

But how are these cash-strapped countries to pay for the services SA is able to provide?

Barter

"We could conceivably introduce a system of barter — though a new concept in aviation it is not new in world economics. These countries have an abundance of labour and minerals and some produce which they could exchange for South African services."

"This is a problem we will have to solve. If we don't, the whole sub-Saharan continent will collapse eventually, dragging SA with it," says Mr Beek.

CAA may need new venue for 1994

Safair's bridging role

SAFAIR, with its wide network of operations, can be described as probably the only truly dedicated African airline on the continent.

For years it has been crisscrossing Africa, often in the face of international sanctions, to carry SA-manufactured freight to hard-pressed countries north of the Limpopo. And these countries, until two years ago, would never admit to having dealings with the airline.

"But all that has changed and we are aggressively pursuing new business on the continent — and getting it," says Safair MD Braam Loots.

He believes the airline is poised to play a crucial bridging role in the return of South Africa to the African economic marketplace, at the same time helping to invigorate trade relations between many of its countries.

"The will to open trade be-

tween SA and our neighbours to the north is irrepressible, and the need for an exchange of goods undeniable. Also, the demand for a reliable transport infrastructure is overwhelming, and Safair is in a unique position to meet all these requirements," he says.

With its fleet of eight Hercules transport aircraft capable of landing on short, dirt runways, crews with an intimate knowledge of the sub-Saharan routes and topography and a management team that has wide-ranging contacts in Africa, Safair is confident of substantially increasing its foreign-operations turnover.

International business had already decided that South Africa should be the conduit between Africa and world markets, and because of poor road and rail links on the continent it would seem that aviation, and Safair in particu-

lar, had a pivotal role to play.

Mr Loots says that Safair, active in Kenya, Angola, Cameroon and Zaire, is flying freight not only from South Africa into Africa but from one African country to another and domestically for some countries.

"Safair is a thoroughly African aviation company, one that is structured and equipped to suit African markets and flying conditions.

Contract

"We know Africa and we understand our customers, and we've gone to great lengths — even in the years when we were shut out — to put together the aircraft, trained personnel and the maintenance facilities that can handle anything the continent can throw at us."

Maintenance is another aspect of aviation that the com-

pany is deeply committed to. Recently it won a contract to do a major inspection of an Angolan Boeing 737 at a cost of R2,5-million, and it has African contracts in the pipeline.

"It is cheaper and quicker for us to maintain African aircraft than for them to be sent to Europe or the US," says Mr Loots, whose company is licensed to work on Hercules, Boeing 707s, 737s, ATR 72s, BAe 146s and Con-vaire aircraft.

Chris Bester, Safair's general manager of engineering and maintenance, says the airline is talking to several African countries about caring for their fleets, which could bring in business worth R25-million "in the short term and much more in the longer term".

With approximately 12 000 sq m hangar space and 3 500 sq m of workshop space and spares worth more than R200-million, the company's facilities at Jan Smuts can be compared with the best in the world, says Mr Bester.

But the airline's activities don't end there. With the second-largest fleet of Hercules L-100s in the world, a cargo-dedicated BAe-146 jet, and two Boeing 707s, it operates scheduled and non-scheduled freight and passenger charter flights — which it plans to expand in the future — from the Cape to Cairo and the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

'Yes' will boost ExecuJet

THE overwhelming "yes" vote in the recent referendum will significantly boost ExecuJet's business in Africa, says the managing director of sales, Mr Andre du Plessis.

"Companies have been holding back on contracts waiting for the referendum's outcome, but now that it's been positive we can expect business to boom," he said.

ExecuJet specialises in flying major SA company executives into Africa.

"We are popular with a SA companies because of our expertise in Africa in getting flight clearances, our wide range of contacts, knowledge of conditions and the range of our Learjets, which enable us to fly non-stop to

destinations as far away as Kenya," said Mr Du Plessis.

"Flying into Africa is fraught with problems, which include corruption, inferior air-traffic control and a total lack of medical services. It is therefore essential to use long-range aircraft that can fly high and fast and do not need to make time-consuming and expensive refuelling stops."

Mr Du Plessis says companies involved in construction, road transport and foods flying mainly to destinations like Zambia, Zaire, Malawi and Zimbabwe are their biggest customers.

Africa now ripe for the picking

STAR 30/3/92

The referendum was the second of two watershed events that have changed the course of South Africa's relations with Africa, and major new developments are likely to flow from it, says Derek Auret, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, in an interview with GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star's Africa Service.

THE DIPLOMATIC fruits of the big "yes" vote in the referendum are likely to start dropping into South Africa's lap quite quickly now, according to Derek Auret, who is responsible for South Africa's interests in the rest of Africa.

One of those fruits — the decision by Mauritius to upgrade formal links with South Africa from trade mission to consulate status — has already dropped. But much bigger ones are expected to follow soon.

Mr Auret said a number of African governments had already applauded the outcome of the referendum in private communications to Pretoria.

"It was what they had been waiting for," he said in an interview, "and a number of countries will now feel free to move forward to more open relations with South Africa."

Mr Auret sees the referendum outcome as the second major development to have reshaped African attitudes to South Africa. The first was the speech by President de Klerk on February 2 1990, committing South Africa to reform through negotiation.

"That speech, making a total break from the past, was a watershed in our relations with Africa," he said. "One has the distinct feeling — given the approaches we have had from all sides after that speech and the ones which followed in 1991 and again this year — that Africa had been waiting for some kind of sign that indeed South Africa felt itself part of the continent, that it was worthy of representation within the continent, and that the political intentions which Mr de Klerk announced actually gave substance to the desire of the Government to, among other things, normalise its relations with its neighbours.

"There's a real feeling among African states, particularly in southern Africa, that South Africa is part of the family and, because of what has happened domestically, is now able to again be a mem-

ber in good standing."

According to Mr Auret, Pretoria has found much encouragement in a recent statement by Nigeria's foreign minister during a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, that the time had come for his country to take a new look at South Africa.

Future relations between Pretoria and other African countries would depend largely on how they saw their own interests being affected by South Africa's return to the fold, Mr Auret said.

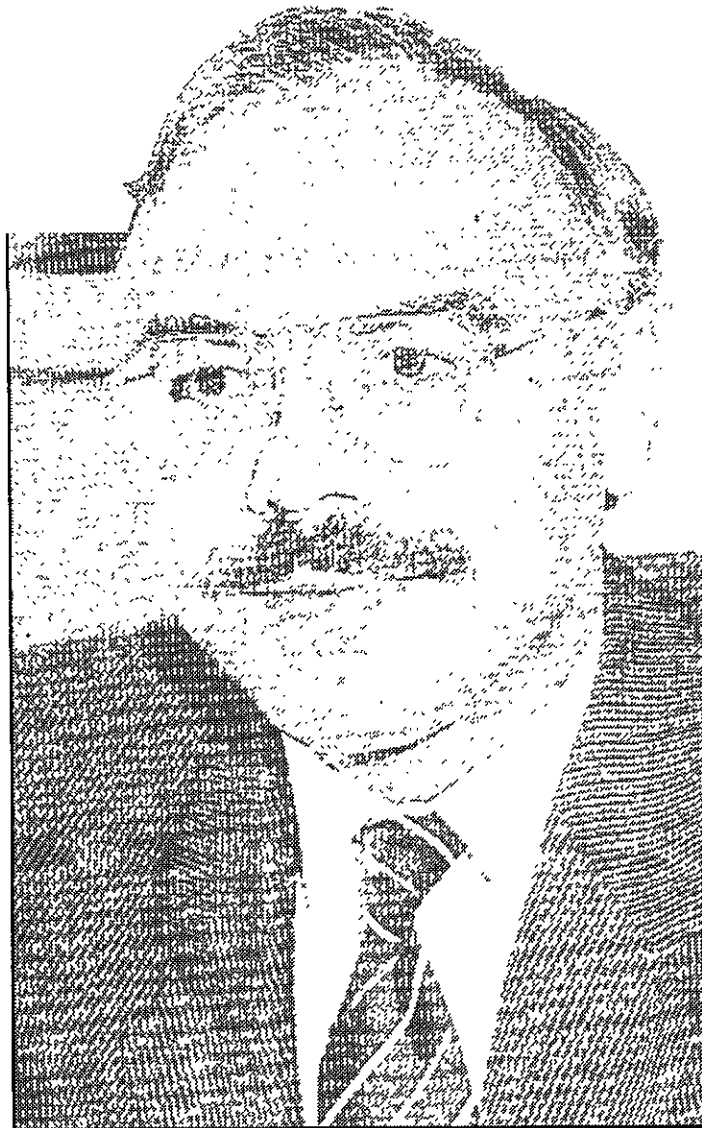
"The primary focus of our African policy is on southern Africa, aimed at peaceful co-existence with our neighbours and at developing economic structures and policies which will benefit the subcontinent as a whole."

In following this route, South Africa faced a problem, however, in that other countries had enormous expectations of SA which could not be met from its present resources, especially during the current economic recession. Urgent domestic needs had to take priority.

"Finance of the kind African states need is simply not available. What we do have and are willing to share is expertise, technology and knowledge which are geared to African conditions. We have identified projects — which are not especially costly — which would be of benefit to the broad mass of people.

"We are not in the business of going for prestige projects. We simply do not believe that they would benefit the people to whom aid should in the first instance be directed: the people in the street."

Mr Auret said his department shared the view that the future lay in economic groupings and recalled that government leaders had identified Kenya, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa as the potential nuclei of economic blocs in Africa. Pretoria already had a mission in Nairobi and hoped that Egypt and Nigeria would follow soon.



Derek Auret . . . a number of African governments have already applauded the outcome of the referendum in private communications to Pretoria.

Mr Auret discounted any suggestion that these blocs could end up in an adversarial relationship.

"The key is co-operation, not confrontation."

Mr Auret was asked how he rated the chances of the African trade blocs achieving significant results, given the poor state of the member states' economies.

"The success of any economic bloc will obviously depend on the ability of its component parts to create economic structures which would be in harmony with those of the others. There are going to be certain rules of the game in international economic interaction and we are not going to be able to interact if we find ourselves outside the rules.

"We will have to have a

common approach on the policies which such economic units will adopt. We will have to come up with something which will work, because the operative part is that it must provide benefits. It has to be to the advantage of a country to go into a relationship, otherwise we are not going to secure its co-operation."

Mr Auret said South Africa was well aware of the fear among its neighbours of being dominated by SA and would have to take full account of this in any planning for the future.

"We do not want to dominate the region economically. South Africa is not an economic hegemonist. What we are looking for is to develop economic partnerships with all the countries of the region in

order to put something together which can work and which can interact with other blocs."

In the creation of an economic bloc, existing structures such as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the Preferential Trade Agreement, the Customs Union and the Rand Monetary Area would have to be considered, he said.

Whatever structure was created should be "the product of discussions between all states in the subcontinent". The approach should not be prescriptive.

"I believe the ultimate structure will have to grow organically out of very close consultation within the region. It is not something which can be imposed by one side or the other."

Mr Auret was asked whether South Africa's growing acceptance internationally had not made obsolete the view frequently expressed by government leaders in the past that SA's road to acceptance lay through Africa.

"That concept was meant more in the political sense and related far more to political acceptability than to economic matters," he said.

South Africa was becoming politically acceptable again in the rest of the world as well as in Africa. In the economic field, it had been trading with African countries for many years, he said.

"The incentives to deal with the emerging economic blocs in the world are now becoming more compelling. People will see that association with South Africa in that context will have as its prime objective the maximising of benefits to the individual countries concerned."

Mr Auret agreed that whatever South Africa did internationally, it would have to do as an African country.

"We are an African country, we will always be one and there's nothing wrong with that.

"Our role, because of what we have been able to achieve, is to try and use those achievements also to the benefit of others who may have been less successful than we have been. But certainly our place is in Africa and that is where our primary responsibility, our primary objectives, should be." □

SA soon to become a member of African bank

South Africa can expect to become the 52nd African member state of the African Development Bank "in the very near future", says ADB president Babacar N'diaye.

But South Africa must first become a member of the Organisation of African Unity.

Mr N'diaye said on his arrival in Johannesburg yesterday that he was in South Africa to salute all the parties involved in the democratisation process.

The developments in South Africa were much in line with the processes being carried out in the rest of Africa, he added.

The African Development Bank is Africa's equivalent of the World Bank and has a total of 76 members, 51 from Africa and the rest from industrialised nations including Japan, the US and France.

Mr N'diaye said he hoped his visit to South Africa would lead to the ADB being able to offer its assistance in development programmes in South Africa.

He was optimistic discussions with the political, non-political and business organisations would be fruitful.

The nine-member ADB delegation is scheduled to hold meetings with all the major political groupings including the ANC and Inkatha.

They will also be holding discussions with organised business, non-governmental development agencies as well as the Industrial Development Corporation and the Small Business Development Corporation.

With regard to membership of the ADB, sources close to the agency indicate that South Africa may become a member within the next two years.

Qualification means becoming a member of the OAU.

Mr N'diaye was invited to South Africa by the Development Bank of South Africa, the ANC and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He is scheduled to leave on April 9. — Sapa.

Bid to revive east African unity

ALMOST A decade and a half after the acrimonious collapse of the East African Community, the presidents of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are to meet today in a summit that could revive what was one of Africa's most prized models.

That presidents Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda have agreed to sit together 15 years after their predecessors went their separate ways reflects the new mood of regional co-operation among their once-squabbling nations.

The move follows the trend for international economic — and even political — affairs to be conducted through economic blocs, with the European Community setting the pace.

It could spur the formation of new economic blocs in Africa, including the one the southern African states envisage around a South African nucleus.

Hopes were high when the East African Community was established on June 6 1967 after a treaty of co-operation had been signed by presidents Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Milton Obote of Uganda.

Until then, co-operation between the three countries depended on ad-hoc political arrangements and goodwill under the umbrella of the Colonial East African Common Services Organisation (Eacso).

Established in 1946, Eacso maintained a single currency board for all three countries and operated a common customs union which provided for almost free inter-territorial trade, unrestricted internal movement of capital and relatively free movement of labour.

There was also a common excise and income tax system and an institutional framework for providing common services

STAR
3/13/92 (1)

At a time when economic blocs seem destined to create a new pattern of international relations, the countries of east Africa are about to revive the union that broke up angrily 15 years ago. **JOE KHAMISI** reports for The Star's Africa Service from Nairobi.



President Moi of Kenya.

such as railways and harbours, posts and telecommunications, civil aviation, meteorology and veterinary collaboration.

This structure came under fire, however, for being designed to serve the interests and comfort of the colonial settlers rather than the well-being of the native east Africans. Perhaps for this reason, it remained nothing more than a loose federation.

The EAC was nevertheless one of the first serious attempts in Africa at a true union of nations and peoples sharing common interests.

Some, looking also at the Central African Federation, dreamt of the concept of unity being extended ultimately to a United States of Africa.

The birth of the EAC, with its headquarters in Arusha on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, allowed free movement of people and goods, built institutions of research in agriculture and health, streamlined air, sea and road networks and established co-operation in a variety of areas including education, mass communication and sports.

No other regional co-operation in the Third World had built as big and as sophisticated an infrastructure as the EAC.

Neighbouring countries Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia sought admission, while international organisations hailed the union as an outstanding example of economic co-operation.

East African Airways became the pride of Africa, flying to all major world destinations and reaping record profits.

One year after its establishment, the EAC was given a major boost through an agreement with the European Community, allowing free entry into Europe of EAC goods in return for tariff concessions for some of their products.

But by 1975 strains had begun to show in the community. Mr Obote had been overthrown by Idi Amin, and Mr Nyerere, in an attempt to restore him to power, poured Tanzanian soldiers into Uganda in an operation that was to be costly economically as well as politically.

The EAC policy-making body, the East African Legislative As-

sembly, became a platform for accusations and counter-accusations about financial mismanagement. Regular meetings of the heads of state ceased because of political and ideological differences.

Matters came to a head when Mr Nyerere in a fit of anger described Kenya as a "man-eat-man" society, prompting a Kenyan Minister to retaliate by calling socialist Tanzania a "man-eat-nothing" society. In 1977, the model of Africa collapsed in acrimony.

Recently, Mr Nyerere said he shared the blame for the collapse of the community which, he said, was caused by its leaders' stupidity.

Now, 15 years later, the three countries feel they are ready to once again revive the union, which will bring together 60 million people.

The new mood of co-operation was born in Harare in October when Mr Moi, Mr Mwinyi and Mr Museveni met during the Commonwealth conference.

Three months later there were high-level consultations of experts from the three countries in Nairobi.

Last month a conference of foreign ministers was held in Mbarara, Uganda, at which a draft agreement on co-operation was prepared.

The way to the revival of the community was paved partly by Kenya and Tanzania moving from single-party systems of government to pluralism. In addition, Uganda is stabilising after years of internal strife.

Economic observers are excited about the revival and are predicting an economic boom leading to a rise in the average annual growth for the three countries from the current 4.5 percent to 7 percent, a development which will greatly assist in managing their average \$11.5 billion foreign debt. □

Ghana floats its stake in Ashanti

ACCRA — Ghana is to float one-fifth of its 55% stake in Ashanti Goldfields Corporation on international stock markets, a senior source at the ministry of finance and economic planning said yesterday.

The source said the government hoped to raise \$225m by floating the shares on the London, Johannesburg and Hong Kong markets.

Ashanti, Ghana's largest gold mine, had a record output of 570,000 ounces last year. It is the country's biggest foreign exchange earner after cocoa.

British conglomerate Lonrho owns 45%.

The source said a consultant from the International Finance Corporation, which promotes investments in developing countries, had been appointed to package the deal.

"It is only when a Ghanaian company is listed on the international stock exchanges that (Ghana) will be taken seriously."

He said floating the shares would help spur the privatisation programme being implemented by the government, which had already denationalised coffee and cocoa buying.

Sapa-Reuter.

610/92 31/3/92

Soft line taken on nationalisation

13/10/92 114192
THE ANC yesterday repeated its softer stance on nationalisation at a meeting with African Development Bank president Babacar N'diaye.

The meeting concluded talks on the role the bank could play in the economic development of a post-apartheid, democratic SA.

Issues discussed were the Bank's operational policies and experience in other African countries, the circumstances under which a new SA government could become a member, and the kind of future programme the bank would implement, a statement said.

ANC officials made it clear at the meeting that nationalisation was not a matter of ideology or doctrine. "We have no hitlist of industries or sectors to be nationalised," ANC economics

SHARON WOOD

head Trevor Manuel said.

Nationalisation was merely one of the many economic instruments that could be considered to correct economic imbalances and distortions.

The ANC expressed strong concern at the spate of unilateral privatisations sponsored by government.

It said the selection of industries to be privatised should be left to a future government. (1)

N'diaye is leading a nine-member bank delegation on a private working visit through the country to meet with leading SA opinion leaders.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports that the bank yesterday said a Sudanese economist had become its first woman vice-president.

Closer links with Ivory

Coast likely

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa and the Ivory Coast moved closer towards establishing diplomatic relations yesterday with the visit to SA by the west African state's Foreign Minister Amara Essy.

He spent time with President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Essy conveyed a special message from his president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, to Mr de Klerk. Mr de Klerk did not reveal the contents of the message.

Mr Essy said developments in South Africa showed what dialogue could achieve. Pretoria and the Ivory Coast had maintained friendly relations since 1971, Mr Essy pointed out.

Mr Essy said his visit sought to "strengthen our relationship". He and Mr Botha had a thorough discussion on African affairs and bilateral relationships and "we discussed subjects that can be discussed by two African ministers".

"We will report to our respective heads of state to decide on the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries," Mr Essy said.



KAMUZU BANDA

Scribes' letter to Banda

BY MATHATHA TSEDU

A CONFERENCE of Southern African Journalists has sent a letter of protest to Malawi leader Dr Kamuzu Banda over the continued detention without trial of a journalist.

The conference, convened by the Botswana Journalist Association (Boja) and held over five days in Gaborone last week, said in the letter that the detention of freelance writer Mr Simon Mhone since December last year had caused great concern.

"Mhone's detention without trial since December 1991 is an infringement of internationally recognised rights of journalists to freely execute their duties. This is a direct violation of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," the letter stated.

The conference called on Banda to release Mhone without further delay. The conference was told that Mhone was a freelance journalist who was detained after filing a story for an international news agency.

Approved

The story had been approved by government censors beforehand, it was said.

It was also disclosed that in the heat of the rising tide of protests by Malawians who want the overthrow of the Banda dictatorship, many people had been herded into prisons where they were flogged and tortured and others killed.

The conference, which included participants from Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Zambia and Uganda, also expressed alarm at Kenyan police harassment of journalists who were accused of "exaggerating" inter-tribal fights between the Kalenjins and Luos and Kikuyus on the other hand.

Boja chairman Mr Rampholo Molefe said after the conference that a protest note would also be sent to Kenya.

"We as African journalists are tired of looking on as our colleagues are brutalised by dictatorships. We are going to speak out against such abuses wherever they occur until this continent enjoys the kind of freedom enjoyed elsewhere in the world," he said.

STAR 2/4/92

Plea for Africa famine aid

BRUSSELS — The European Community made a plea yesterday for more food aid to avert massive famine in Africa that threatens 60 million people and a half dozen fragile democracies. EC Commissioner Manuel Marin asked the EC trade bloc for an additional 220 million European Currency Units (about R750 million) to add to the total of 385 million Ecus (about R1,33 billion), which have already been approved for this year.

● Reports by Star Foreign Service, Sapa, Reuter, Financial Times and Associated Press. (1) (4)

Business

Talks focus on future of bank

Journal 3/4/92

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

AN ANC delegation led by Mr Nelson Mandela this week concluded talks with a nine-member African Development Bank group led by its president, Mr Babacar Ndiaye.

The talks focused on the future role the bank could play in the economic development of a post-apartheid South Africa.

The meeting, the first working session between the two, discussed the current socio-economic situation in South Africa, the economic policies and plans of the ANC and experiences of other African countries.

Other issues which featured prominently during the meeting were the timetable for the negotiations within CODESA, the installation of an interim government, the bank's own operational policies, the cir-

cumstances under which a democratically elected government might become a member of the bank and programmes of action.

Other ANC officials who participated in the meeting included chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, director of International Affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of economic affairs Mr Trevor Manuel and economic advisor Mr Maxwell Sisulu.

The ANC delegation made it clear that nationalisation was not a matter of ideology or doctrine.

"We have no hit list of industries or sectors to be nationalised," Manuel said, adding, "it is merely one of the many economic instruments that may be considered to correct im-

balances and distortions in the economy."

However, the delegations expressed strong concern at the spate of unilateral privatisations being implemented by the South African Government.

The selection of industries to be privatised, the ANC said, should be left to the democratic decisions of a future government. The current privatisation programme was simply transferring wealth to a privileged few, they said, and would diminish the stock of assets and resources available to a future government.

The bank and ANC officials agreed that a new government would need considerable new resources to address the legacy of apartheid and the needs of the black majority, such as housing, health, education and access to basic utilities.

They agreed that such new resources would be



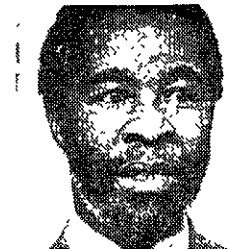
MANDELA



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better transferred in the form of grant or equity funds rather than debt.

In a separate meeting, the bank's team met Mrs Gertrude Shope and Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president and deputy president respectively of the ANC Women's league, to explore possible areas of co-

operation in the future.

After learning of the special needs of South African women, Ndiaye pledged to make every effort to mobilise assistance from other institutions - since South Africa is not a member of the bank - for programmes of the ANC's Women's League.

...training may decide after con-
sultation with the community.
All college and school educa-

(TOWN) called for a national con-
vention on the restructuring of
education in South Africa - Sapa.

Hope that SA will join African bank

Political Staff STAR 3/4/92

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could become a member of the powerful African Development Bank by 1994, according to its president, Babacar Ndiaye.

Mr Ndiaye, who is leading a nine-member delegation on a fact-finding mission to South Africa, was speaking after a lunch with President de Klerk which was also attended by a number of Ministers and leaders of parliamentary parties.

He has also met members of the ANC, PAC, SA Council of Churches as well as trade

unions and development agencies.

Mr Ndiaye said the bank would like to be ready to be operational in the southern African region when this was possible.

South Africa will have to become a member of the Organisation of African Unity before it can join the bank.

Mr de Klerk said the delegation had had wide-ranging discussions on the process of change in southern Africa and the role the country could play in development on the continent.

Africa's bank will welcome SA soon

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B/day 3/4/92

CAPE TOWN — SA would soon be admitted as the 52nd member of the African Development Bank (ADB) but would first have to become a member of the OAU, ADB president Babacar N'diaye said yesterday.

Government members said SA's admission to the ADB would improve contacts with Arab countries as well as strengthen government's hand in gaining access to the IMF and the World Bank.

Speaking after his lunch meeting with President F W de Klerk and a large party of politicians, ADB president Babacar N'diaye predicted SA would be admitted to the bank "in the very near future" but at the latest by 1994.

He said his delegation's visit was a fact-finding mission "so that we would look to be operational on day one when that becomes possible", he said.

SA had great wealth and with its mineral, human and capital potential it could become a great asset to the whole continent.

De Klerk said he had discussed the "dynamic process of change" taking place in SA. The meeting had concentrated on the development of southern African and SA's possible role in the sub-continent.

Also at the luncheon was Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden

BILLY PADDOCK

and his deputy Derek Auret. DP leader Zach de Beer, DP caucus chairman Colin Eglin and CP foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley also attended.

Development Bank of SA communications manager Frans van Rensburg said the OAU had approved the ADB visit. The route to membership of the OAU was clearly open should Codesa negotiations go well.

Yesterday the delegation held detailed meetings with the IDT, the SBDC, Eskom, the Development Bank of Southern Africa and the Urban Foundation.

The ADB delegation has met the ANC, Nafcoc, Nactu, the PAC, Fabcos and other organisations this week and is to meet Inkatha, tour KwaZulu and hold meetings with other non-government organisations.

Van Rensburg said ADB had assets worth \$33bn and a private sector fund for micro projects.

The ADB group is the largest financial institution in Africa, made up of the Bank, the African Development Fund and the Nigerian Trust Fund.

The triple A-rated ADB is owned by 51 OAU members and 25 non-African nations. Since its creation in 1964, it has approved loans totalling \$25bn.

It has diversified in recent years from purely project finance to policy-based lending.

From Simon Barber in Washington

THE US Defence Department is sending an unprecedented number of military advisers to Africa — including several of South Africa's neighbours — as it seeks to carve a new, post-Cold War role for itself.

Bush administration officials say the deployments are part of a "nation building" policy designed to help African governments de-politicise their armed forces while at the same time fostering co-operative relationships between US and African military establishments.

Others see it differently. Senator Alan Cranston, a California Democrat, recently accused the administration of trying to establish the US as a new "hegemon" in

the continent in competition with France and other former colonial powers.

"Reinforcing the military's role in... Africa, as we did in Latin America throughout the 60s and early 70s, will not save democracy there," the senator complained.

"On the contrary, it is more likely to promote military coups."

Part of the controversy stems from the Pentagon's decision to reactivate an elite Vietnam-era Green Beret unit — the 3rd Special Forces Group — for African assignments, and from the record

of the officer chosen to command it.

Colonel Peter Stankevich began his military career in Vietnam as an intelligence officer attached to the "Phoenix Programme", a CIA-run operation in which thousands of suspected Viet Cong were "neutralised" by unconventional means.

His army biography also discloses that he helped the El Salvadoran government plan counter-insurgency operations in the mid-60s — a period, Senator Cranston noted, when "the so-called Salyadoran Army was up to its neck in death squad activities".

Attempts to judge the African initiative on the basis of the colo-

nel's previous assignments have infuriated US officials. As one put it last week: "What the hell has it (Stankevich's résumé) got to do with anything?"

In an interview Colonel Stankevich gave shortly after he was appointed to his new post, he stressed the 3rd Group's "nation building" role.

"Our focus is foreign internal defence — the kind of things that strengthen a country so that it can withstand pressures from within as well as without. We won the

role.

General Stiner told the Senate Armed Services Committee these units were invited by host governments principally to provide civil defence-oriented training.

According to General Carl Stiner, chief of US Special Operations Command, small Green Beret detachments have been flown in recent months to Namibia, Zimbabwe, Niger and the Ivory Coast.

Cold War, so we've got to go out and promote democracy."

ST/11/20/19/92

into Africa

Uncle Sam Ventures

The presence of the units projected a "positive impression of US forces as a whole", he said, and offered "an effective means of providing a low-cost forward presence".

Fifty Green Berets have been deployed in Senegal since November, conducting counter-insurgency and weapons training and advising Senegalese peacekeeping forces in neighbouring Liberia.

Last January, 200 US paratroops from Vicenza, Italy, conducted a

joint exercise — "Operation Silver Eagle" — with the Botswana Defence Force in and around Gaborone. This was said to be one of the largest US exercises ever conducted in Africa.

Green Beret and Air Force special forces personnel are expected to participate in a further exercise in Botswana later this year.

In another sign of the Pentagon's growing interest in the continent, General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited

Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Senegal — all members of the Gulf War coalition — to discuss regional security issues last month.

The State Department appears to welcome the Pentagon's new interest in Africa. Said one official: "From a policy perspective, both we and the DOD want to find ways in which we can assist in downsizing and professionalising militaries."

A key to achieving this was to make sure that, in the absence of major external security threats, African armed forces were given clearly identified tasks — fisheries and game protection, for example — and the training and equipment to carry them out.



scene from the SABC's popular *Ke Nyala Mang*.

and double bass.

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SA to have 83 million people by 2020

THERE will be nearly 83 million in SA by the year 2020, says the latest issue of *World Population Profile*, published by the US Bureau of Census in Washington.

In 1991, the report says, SA was home to 40 601 000 people; in 1950, 13 575 000; by the turn of the century the population is expected to be 51 375 000; and in 2010 more than 66 million.

The report projects a rapid growth rate for Africa's entire sub-Saharan region.

Sub-Saharan Africa has a population of 558 377 000. By 2020, it will be 1 279 014 000 - the world's fastest-growing region.

In 1950, Sub-Saharan Africa had 200 million inhabitants less than Europe. By 1991 it had 56 million more than Europe and is

home to some 10 percent of the world's population. Africa has the largest proportion (46 percent) of its population under the age of 15 years. This is in sharp contrast with the 21 percent in the world's developed regions.

While Africa has the highest birth rate, it also has the highest death rate. Its annual birth rate of 45 a 1 000 people compared with the world average of 14 a 1 000 while its death rate of 14 a 1 000 compares with a world average of nine. SA is the only large country in sub-Saharan Africa with a birth rate under 1 000.

A child born in Africa today can expect to live about 52 years. The world's average life expectancy is 63 years.

SA is ahead of the world average with a life expectancy rate of 64,2 years, which ranks SA 17th among the world's 25 largest countries. The leader is Japan with a life expectancy of 79,2 years followed by Italy with 78,1 years. - Sapa

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① AFR 6/4/92

S A looks at its new role in Africa

The referendum was the second of two watershed events that have changed the course of South Africa's relations with Africa and major new developments are likely to flow from it, says Pretoria's senior Africanist in an interview with **GERALD LANGE**, editor of the **Argus Africa News Service**.

THE diplomatic fruits of the big Yes vote in the referendum are likely to start dropping into South Africa's lap quite quickly now, according to Mr Derek Auret, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who is responsible for Africa.

One of those fruits — the decision by Mauritius to upgrade formal links with South Africa from trade mission to consulate status — has already dropped. But much bigger ones are expected to follow soon.

Mr Auret said a number of African governments had already applauded the outcome of the referendum in private communications to Pretoria.

"It was what they had been waiting for," he said in an interview, "and a number of countries will now feel free to move forward to more open relations with South Africa."

Mr Auret sees the referendum outcome as the second major development to have reshaped African attitudes to South Africa. The first was the speech by President De Klerk on February 2 1990, committing South Africa to reform through negotiation.

"That speech, making a total break from the past, was a watershed in our relations with Africa," he said. "One has the distinct feeling — given the approaches we have had from all sides after that speech and the ones which followed in 1991 and again this year — that Africa had been waiting for some sign that indeed South Africa felt itself part of the continent. That it was worthy of representation within the continent and that the political intentions which Mr De Klerk announced actually gave substance to the desire of the government to, among other things, normalise its relations with its neighbours."

"There's a real feeling among African states, particularly in Southern Africa, that South Africa is part of the family and, because of what has happened domestically, is now able to again be a member in good standing."

According to Mr Auret, Pretoria has found much encouragement in a recent statement by Nigeria's foreign minister during a conference in Arusha, Tanzania, that the time had come for his country to take a new look at South Africa.

Future relations between the Republic and other African countries would depend largely, he said, on how they saw

their own interests being affected by South Africa's return to the fold.

"The primary focus of our African policy is on Southern Africa, aimed at peaceful co-existence with our neighbours and at developing economic structures and policies which will benefit the sub-continent as a whole."

In following this route South Africa faced a problem, however, in that other countries had enormous expectations of the Republic which could not be met from its present resources, especially during the current economic recession. Urgent domestic needs had to take priority.

"Finance of the kind African states need is simply not available. What we do have and are willing to share is expertise, technology and knowledge which are geared to African conditions. We have identified projects — which are not especially costly — which would be of benefit to the broad mass of people."

"We are not in the business of going for prestige projects. We simply do not believe that they would benefit the people to whom aid should in the first instance be directed: the people in the street."

Mr Auret said his department shared the view that the future lay in economic groupings and recalled that government leaders had identified Kenya, Nigeria, Egypt and South Africa as the potential nuclei of economic blocs in Africa. Pretoria already had a mission in Nairobi and hoped

that Egypt and Nigeria would follow soon.

Mr Auret discounted any suggestion that these blocs could end up in an adversarial relationship.

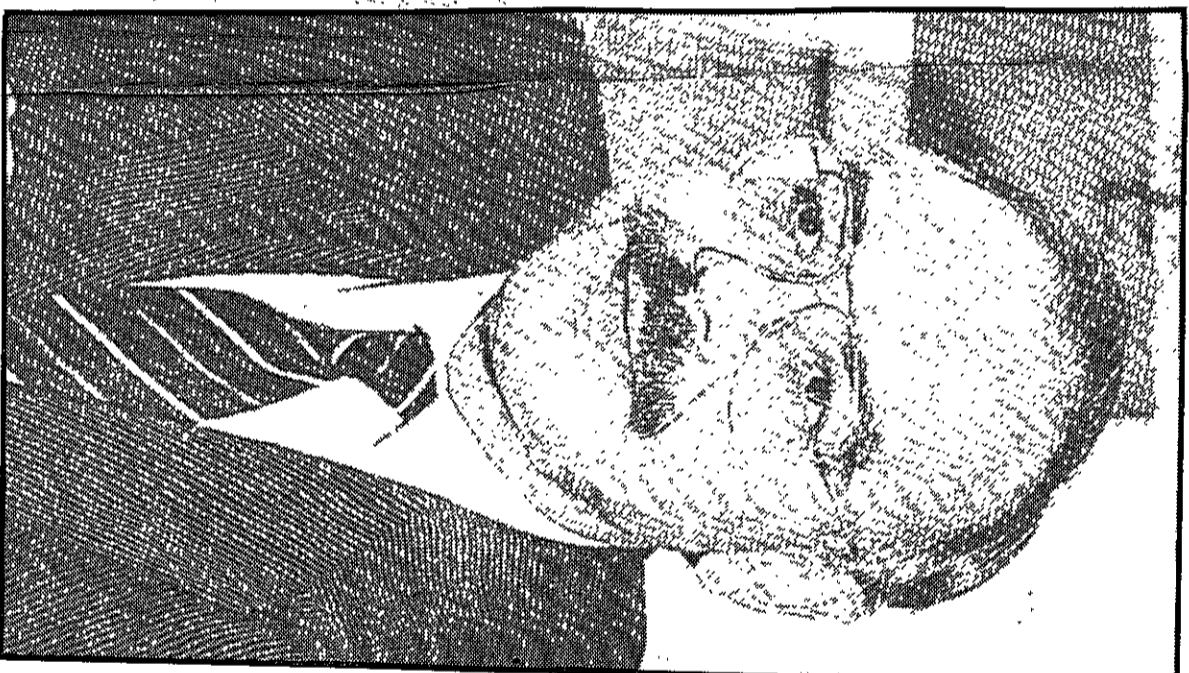
"I would think that South Africa, for its part, would not want to be in adversarial competition economically with any of the states (in these groupings). There's much which is complementary and if we can act together we can overcome the sectional interests which have prevailed up to now and have a better chance to negotiate trade deals and so on with the rest of the world."

"The key is co-operation, not confrontation."

Mr Auret was asked how he rated the chances of the African trade blocs achieving significant results, given the poor state of the member states' economies.

"The success of any economic bloc will obviously depend on the ability of its component parts to create economic structures which would be in harmony with those of the others. There are going to be certain rules of the game in international economic interaction and we are not going to be able to interact if we find ourselves outside the rules."

"We will have to have a common approach on the policies which such economic units will adopt. We will have to come up with something which will work, because the operative part is that it must provide benefits. It has to be to the advantage of a country to go into a relationship, otherwise we are not going to secure its co-operation."



Mr Derek Auret: Future lies in economic groupings.

Mr Auret said South Africa was well aware of the rear among its neighbours of being dominated by the Republic and would have to take full account of this in any planning for the future.

"We do not want to dominate the region economically. South Africa is not an economic hegemonist. What we are looking for is to develop economic partnerships with all the countries of the region in order to put something together which can work and which can interact with other blocs."

In the creation of an economic bloc existing structures such as the SADC, the PTA, the Customs Union and the Rand Monetary Area would have to be considered, he said. "Whether any will be capable of carrying the future aspirations of the region as a whole is a debatable point. Don't forget that all were exclusive in the sense that they excluded one side or the other."

"There's a lot of thought going into that at the moment and one would want to think that countries will at some time come together to discuss that which will be most viable in terms of future economic development."

Whatever structure was created should be "the product of discussions between all states in the sub-continent". The approach should not be prescriptive.

"I believe the ultimate structure will have to grow organically out of very close consultation within the region. It is not something which can be imposed by one side or the other."

Mr Auret was asked whether South Africa's growing acceptance internationally had not made obsolete the view frequently expressed by government leaders in the past that the Republic's road to acceptance lay through Africa.

"That concept was meant more in the political sense and related far more to political acceptability than to economic matters," he said.

South Africa was becoming politically acceptable again in the rest of the world as well as in Africa. In the economic field, it had been trading with African countries for many years.

"The incentives to deal with the emerging economic blocs in the world are now becoming more compelling. People will see that association with South Africa in that context will have as its prime objective the maximising of benefits to the individual countries concerned."

Mr Auret agreed that whatever South Africa did internally, it would have to do as an African country.

"We are an African country, we will always be one and there's nothing wrong with that."

"Our role, because of what we have been able to achieve, is to try to use those achievements also to the benefit of others who may have been less successful than we have been. But certainly our place is in Africa and that is where our primary responsibility, our primary objectives, should be."

African countries move closer to South Africa

ET 8/4/92 ①

Political Staff

ON the eve of President FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria tomorrow, another West African state, the Ivory Coast, announced yesterday that it would establish diplomatic relations with South Africa at ambassadorial level.

The Ivory Coast is only the second country on the continent to establish full diplomatic ties with South Africa — though the government believes more will follow the Ivory Coast's lead.

Both the Ivory Coast decision and the Nigerian visit are an indication that South Africa's relations with Africa are fast normalising despite opposition by the ANC and PAC.

However, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha is expected to hold discussions with a PAC delegation, the first-ever official talks between the government and PAC, in Nigeria.

● Consular and trade relations have been established with the Seychelles, while Djibouti is lifting all trade and travel restrictions.

SA in Ivory Coast link

STAR 8/4/92

CAPE TOWN — South Africa is to establish full diplomatic relations with the Ivory Coast.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced the decision yesterday as the campaign to isolate South Africa continued to crumble.

Djibouti said it was lifting all trade and travel restrictions on South Africa due to "very positive developments" here. An official statement

said the Council of Ministers had agreed to lift the boycott on all goods for or from South Africa and on goods passing through the tiny Horn of Africa state's port.

Djibouti's port is strategically located at the mouth of the Red Sea leading to the Suez canal and has the largest container facility north of Durban on the eastern coast. — Political Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter.

Africa media seen as propaganda

Sowetan 9/4/92



By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE media in Africa has always been seen as compliant, and merely spewing Government propaganda.

Local upheavals and human rights abuses go unreported, with front-page prominence given mainly to ministerial speeches.

Indeed, the credibility of the media in many African states is so low that inhabitants rely on European and American radio stations and newspapers to know what was really happening in their countries.

The imminent demise of the Pan African News Agency (Pana), while due immediately to lack of funding by African governments, is also attributable to this lack of credibility. Many papers in Africa, knowing that their own national agencies are contributing state propaganda to Pana, are loath to use its copy as it invariably reflects government views.

While many journalists in Africa have been diligent in their duties and have landed in jails and some exiled, by and large African media practitioners have been ready to turn a blind eye and spike a story that would otherwise anger or displease the authorities.

They cultivated a culture of silence. But with the growing tide of uprisings that are sweeping one party dictatorships for multiparty systems on the continent, African journalists are for the first time collectively trying to come to terms with their responsibilities as communicators.

A conference held in the Botswana capital of Gaborone two weeks ago looked at the experiences in six countries, including South Africa, and charted the way forward towards freer media on the continent.

Ugandan publisher and editor Mr James Namakajo, who spent

FOCUS

many spells in detention under the Milton Obote and Idi Amin regimes and who is also a leading activist in African journalist movements, speaking on "Journalism and Africa's democratisation process", said some journalists had unashamedly worked against the struggling people of Africa.

He cited the footage used to close the Zairean TV station in which President Mobutu Sese Seko is shown as descending to earth from Heaven, as proof of the abuse of technology to dupe semi-literate peasants who would see Mobutu as equal to God.

Vigilance

Calling for more vigilance and commitment to serving "the people and not the elite that rule over the people", Namakajo said the creation of sub-regional organisations that linked national associations and unions strengthens the fight of journalists for a free media.

He said the West African Journalists Association (Waja), the Federation of East African Journalists Association (Feaja) and the Federation of Southern African Journalists (Fesaj) had already been formed to link up organisations and share information and resources.

Zimbabwean participant and news editor of the Herald, Mr Oliver Gawe, pointed out how the Zimbabwean government had gained control of the media in the country when the Mass Media Trust was formed.

Gawe said journalists had first thought the trust would defend



PROFESSOR MALEMA

their right to work independently, but soon realised that the politically appointed heads of divisions within the trust only safeguard the interests of their political masters.

"The colonial authorities enacted a series of legislations to muzzle the Press, including banning publications and meetings. One is surprised, though, that after inheriting this whole arsenal of restrictive laws, government has not found it fit to repeal them", he said.

Citing an example, he said Section 17 of the Law and Order Maintenance Act of 1960 provides for a police officer to "ban any private conversation in the street, a house or wherever if they suspect that such discussions are prejudicial to the state".

Participants from Namibia and Zambia also stated that colonial repressive legislations had been maintained and in some cases amended and tightened.

In Botswana, generally regarded as the model of tolerance, a recent incident in which Mr Professor Nalema, a frail 23-year-old freelance journalist was arrested and allegedly assaulted by police for writing a story about a labour strike, has raised tension amongst local journalists who are now calling for the repeal of restrictive laws.

Mr Professor Malema had been given a secret government document which argued against a 154 percent wage increase already

granted to parastatal manual workers.

Malema was arrested in January this year by members of the Serious Crimes Squad and held under the National Security Act, which provides for 96 hours' detention. He says he was accused of threatening state security by writing the story, and was coerced into revealing his source.

When he refused, he was allegedly assaulted until he bled and was refused food for the 30 hours he spent in the cells.

Government control over state media, where it was used as if it was ruling party media, was decried and a call was made for air time to be made available for opposition parties.

Freedom

Private newspapers, which are invariably more vocal, are denied advertising because politicians are the rich business people who also advertise in the papers.

With small publications such as Mmegi responsible for the exposés that led to the resignation of Vice-President Peter Mmusi and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Daniel Kwelakgobe, the concern is not without foundation.

Calls are also being made for the enactment of a Freedom of Information Act and amendments that would ensure that journalists are protected from revealing their sources.

The resuscitation of Fesaj and the letter of protest sent by Boja chairman Mr Rampholo Molefe on behalf of conference to Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, to protest detention of freelance journalist Mr Simon Mhone, are just two examples of the steps taken that clearly put the journalists in the region on the road to a fight for greater freedom of the media in the sub continent and eventually in Africa as a whole.

Pik pleads for 'world-beating' African unity

31 Day 10/4/92

BARRY STREEK

ABUJA — A strong plea for unity in Africa to enable it to take on the industrialised world was made yesterday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwe.

Unity would result in a stronger SA, Nwachukwe said at the start of talks between the two governments.

People in Nigeria and Africa were pleased with the progress being made at Codesa and would like to see further progress so that everyone could feel happy and welcome in one African family.

"In our view the Boers are one of the several tribes that make up Africa," Nwachukwe added.

Botha said the visit to Nigeria was the most important trip he had undertaken.

"This is a historical fact of Africa — that SA and Nigeria are the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa — and now that apartheid is dead we can meet each other as fellow Africans."

The visit to Nigeria by President F W de Klerk was a landmark one for both countries. It was a symbol of Nigerian support of the new SA and a signal to the rest of Africa that it accepted that apartheid really was dead, he said.

Botha said there were now no differences of principle between his government and party and the government of Nigeria. "We now feel free and liberated, free to share with our brothers in Africa who believe in the same principles."

While the two men did not go into any details about their agenda before the start of their meeting, the warmth in their opening comments indicated that the talks between De Klerk and President Ibrahim Babangida were likely to result in much closer ties between the two countries. This is expected to be the case in regard to trade and diplomatic relations, as well as to visa requirements.



Nigerian visit puts seal on SA's return

Sowetan 10/4/92

1 2

Sowetan Africa News Service

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria yesterday put an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

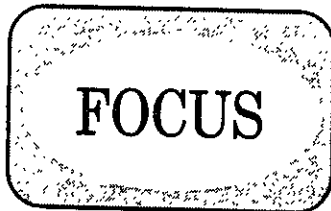
And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal. It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago.

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum. There have been others: the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions. Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level.

But Nigeria remains the main prize. Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa's largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent. The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk to make an official visit.

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself. Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon.

De Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria. There is some



uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable. Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse.

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain.

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa

was over. Other countries would feel free to follow suit. After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak.

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation.

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria. South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic. The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit.

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African coun-

tries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish. The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa.

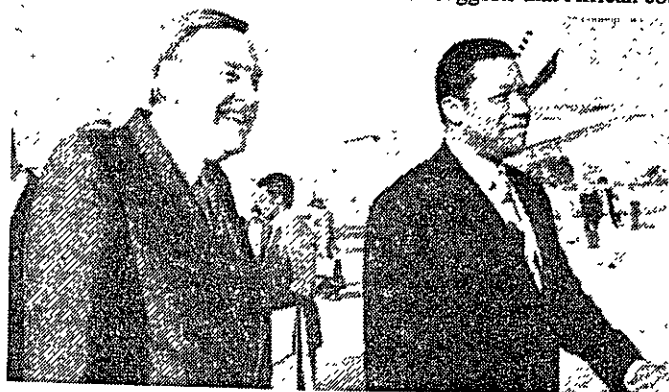
Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter. It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid.

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa.

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology. Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours.

One way of looking at De Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place.

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government.



BREAKTHROUGH: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha (left) and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwu meet at Abuja international airport, Nigeria.

Sudanese mount huge offensive

NAIROBI — Sudanese government forces mounting their biggest offensive against southern rebels in nine years of civil war have advanced to within 100 km of rebel headquarters, relief officials said yesterday. The fighting forced the United Nations to evacuate seven aid workers from the area, UN officials said. STAR 10/4/92

in ①
**End to
deadlock
in Rwanda**

CPen 124192
RWANDA's five major parties have signed an agreement that ends a political deadlock and will lead to the formation of a transitional government, official sources said this week.

They said the accord was reached on Tuesday, four days after opposition leader Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye was appointed the new prime minister.

This ended opposition objections to the previous interim government, which contained only one opposition party member.

Nsengiyaremye's government will have the task of tackling the guerrilla war in the north and must also attempt to reduce ethnic tensions. - Sapa-Reuter

THE Africanisation of SA's ruling class evidently proceeds apace. Nigeria's foreign minister acknowledges that Afrikaners are just another African tribe. His SA counterpart Pik Botha disports himself to the media on the flight home from Abuja in a dashiki. SA ambassador to Washington Harry Schwarz is now, like most of his African colleagues here, devoting his energies to drumming up investment.

Schwarz's main task is no longer to fight sanctions. Although they remain in place at state and local levels, the issue is increasingly moot. The ANC's Thabo Mbeki made it clear in Hamburg last week that his organisation has been actively canvassing US firms to invest. A formal renunciation of selective purchasing and other such ordinances by ANC president Nelson Mandela himself can surely not be long in coming.

The ambassador is up against what is perhaps an altogether tougher obstacle: Afro-pessimism. To be part of Africa is to be part of a continent which between 1980 and 1987 offered a net return on investment of just 2.5%, rather lower than the US prime rate after adjustment for inflation. Southeast Asia, by contrast, provided an average return of 22.4% over the same period.

In a report to be released on Thursday, the World Bank projects that Africa's annual per capita growth rate between now and the end of the decade will be a pathetic 0.3% compared with 3.6% for all developing countries. Commodity prices, the bank predicts, will remain flat for several years.

That means the developing world must focus on manufacturing and pry for global trade liberalisation. Unfortunately, the wherewithal for retrofitting is likely to be limited, especially for Africa. "Concessional external finance will become even more scarce, with access to private capital markets restricted to countries with strong creditworthiness."

Not a rosy picture for the club into which Nigeria's Gen Ibrahim Baban-

To lure investors, SA must rise above Africa's poor image

By Paul 14/4/92
SIMON BARBER in Washington

gida symbolically welcomed President F.W. de Klerk last week — but clearly part of the reason why Bangladesh and others are so anxious to embrace SA even before the ANC has given the official go-ahead. As Roger Riddell and Lawrence Cockcroft of the Overseas Development Institute wrote in a recent paper for the World Bank, SA can "provide the catalyst for investors to take an 'up-beat' look at the continent."

For his part, Schwarz is determined that US capital takes an up-beat view of SA. Last week he took his case to a group who control a sizeable chunk of that capital — the managers of the country's major pension funds whose combined assets easily top \$1.5-trillion, more than a third of which is invested in US corporate equities.

In speeches to the National Conference of Public Employee Retirement Systems and the Council of Institutional Investors, the ambassador offered four reasons the institutions should use their clout to channel investment towards SA rather than away from it.

First, he said, SA was a safe bet. Forget the political rhetoric and media coverage that tended to highlight the ongoing violence. "Doomsday scenarios are not real." Talk of punitive taxation was nothing more than

structure, both financial and physical. Oceans of pent-up demand, and in some sectors, not a lot of competition. "In some of our industries, machinery and equipment is not the most modern, which means there is not only a market for capital exports but opportunity to set up more competitive, efficient operations."

Third, investment in SA meant jobs in the US, because in the medium to long term it would help the US balance of payments. Hanging back could cost jobs, because others were already rushing in to take up the opportunities and could beat the US to the punch.

"Make a simple judgment as to whether it's good for American companies to make profits in my country, to create jobs for Americans here, and not to leave those markets to other people... the US used to be our major trading partner. Then it became Japan. Now it is Germany and Japan is second. That's how the cookie's crumbling in southern Africa."

Lastly, for those in the audience who believed (as some fund managers still do) that their fiduciary responsibilities extend to safeguarding the immortal souls as well as the assets of contributors, investing in SA was socially responsible. After all, how could it not be if the ANC's

own Thabo Mbeki was not only calling for it but happily predicting that three major US corporations would shortly be taking the plunge?

Besides, Schwarz stressed, "don't make the mistake that we are saying to the world, you must give us money to put right the wrongs of apartheid... I'm talking to you as people who manage other people's money. I don't expect you to come to SA to right my social wrongs. That's my obligation."

Will the pitch sell?

A lot depends, says Winney Schneidman, a World Bank consultant who has been studying the question, on whether, having reintegrated with its continent, SA can avoid being burdened with the continent's stereotypical reputation for corruption, ethnic strife, famine and fiscal irresponsibility.

What investors are looking for above all, Schneidman argues, is "predictability" — a sense that the rules of the game, once set, will not be subject to radical upheaval. "Even the advent of a socialist system would not turn companies off, as long as it is stable and the operating conditions are predictable and conducive to the generation and repatriation of profits."

The rules have yet to be set, and while the violence worries some that they may never be, many other questions need to be answered as well.

In redistributing wealth, will a new government place ideology over efficiency? What will be the costs of affirmative action? Will companies be forced to advance unqualified blacks? What is the likelihood of continued wage escalation and frequent strikes as unions seek to flex their political muscle — a problem aggravated by per capita output levels a quarter to a sixth those of SA's major trading partners.

The sooner such questions are answered, Schneidman contends, the better. He suggests SA may have only two years to "acquire a reputation of stability that contrasts positively with the stereotypical view of black Africa" before investors lose their current interest and decide to allocate resources elsewhere.



□ SCHWARZ

a "scare tactic", the dangers of nationalisation were "minimal". "Those in power and those aspiring to power know that foreign investment is needed and that the level of taxation is relevant to its attraction... guarantees have been offered by the ANC against nationalisation without fair compensation."

Second, there was plenty of money to be made. "SA presents probably one of the finest investment opportunities in the world." Great infra-

SA 'must take part in the African economy'

Sowetan 14/4/92

①

By JOSHUA RABOROKO
A majority-ruled South Africa could become a member of the African Development Bank (ADB) and be integrated into the economic development of the African continent.

The bank sees Africa shaped geographically as a tree, with its roots in Southern Africa, its branches in Northern Africa, and its trunk in the Central, Eastern and Western Africa.

For this tree to survive, for the African vision to be realised, its roots must become an integral part of Africa.

These remarks were made by the ADB's president, Mr Ababacar Ndiaye, after his action-packed 11-day fact-finding mission to South Africa.

Ndiaye and an eight-member delegation of the bank arrived in South Africa on March 29 following earlier invitations from the Government, the ANC and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

During his visit, he met with a variety of political leaders in South Africa, including the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu and the IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He was accompanied by his wife Marlyanton, who is a deputy-director (treasurer) of the bank in the Ivory Coast.

She said: "After learning of the special needs of South African women, the bank has pledged to make every effort to mobilise assistance from other institutions — since South Africa is not a member of the ADB — for programmes of women's leagues."

In an interview with *Sowetan*, Ndiaye talked on nationalisation,



privatisation, distribution of wealth, the role of women, violence and private sector development.

He suggested 10-point principles for investor confidence and economic growth in a democratic South Africa.

They are:

- the need for an early political settlement;
- promoting the democratic process;
- the need for an economic Codesa;
- privatisation of public enterprises;
- nationalisation and wealth redistribution;
- the need for increased productivity and investment;
- financial sector reform;
- South Africa in an integrated Southern Africa region;
- South Africa and international finance; and
- The role of the African Development Bank.

Pressure groups

He said: "The leaders of the major political parties and pressure groups should make every effort to speak the language of peace, restrain their followers, and support initiatives that will end the violence in the towns and the townships.

"In this respect, he added, "the role of private community initiatives or even international assistance should not be ignored.

"Social peace is a fundamental prerequisite for promoting foreign investor confidence, for attracting much-needed capital inflows, and

for reducing capital flight."

Ndiaye said during discussions they encouraged all parties to open their doors fully to all races so that political campaigns could be organised around value systems and programmes rather than ethnicity.

"Given the complexity of South Africa's economy and its heterogeneous society, there will inevitably be friction and difficulties in the transition from an apartheid society to a non-racial democracy."

He said there was a need for a forum in which the various interest groups could discuss their economic programmes and resolve mutual suspicions in an environment of trust.

"We are heartened by the compatibility in economic development principles espoused by many of the various parties with whom we met."

He said while privatisation of public enterprises was often needed for reasons of efficiency and to reduce Government deficits, they believed that the need for an early political settlement would argue for caution in that area.

"We think that privatisation is more likely to be sustained if it is undertaken after a democratically elected government has had an opportunity to review the full range of economic options," he said.

Economic growth for South Africa was likely to be enhanced through nationalisation. Fairer distribution of wealth would be achieved by growth-oriented policies that helped the alleviation of poverty, the provision of education and of vocational and skills training to provide economic empowerment to the underprivileged.

"Better and fairer distribution of new opportunities also means improved access to entrepreneurial capital for low income groups for micro enterprises, and better housing and social services."

Ndiaye said an economic forum, as suggested by business and labour, could help in addressing any mutual concerns and avoid industrial unrest which would undermine both domestic and foreign investment inflows and encourage capital flight, putting further pressure on the rand.

A more harmonious tripartite relationship should lead to the early promulgation of new and transparent investment policies to encourage growth-generating new investment, both foreign and domestic, especially in export-oriented industries.

Prosperity

The current role of existing development finance institutions such as the DBSA, the Independent Development Corporation (IDC) and the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) needed to be re-examined and redefined to enable them to build on their past records and serve the majority population even more directly.

"Our discussions have convinced us more than ever before that the future prosperity of South Africa lies in its integration into the rest of Southern Africa for the mutual benefit of the entire sub-region.

"We are pleased to note that our desire for an economically integrated sub-region is shared by all the business groups which we met," he said, adding, "this dynamic engine of growth can have a spill."

As a result of sanctions and a freeze in new capital since the mid-eighties to South Africa, the country was now significantly under-borrowed.

He said South Africa needed financial assistance to improve education, health and to create employment for a large segment of its population.

West Africa cut off from world

ABIDJAN — Ivory Coast's external telecommunications remained paralysed yesterday, five days after a fault crippled a regional submarine cable. ①

West Africa's communications hub has been cut off from the outside world since Thursday.

The alternative satellite communications to Europe are saturated by demand for telephone and fax connections.

B10cm 14/4/92

ND THE WORLD

Ethiopia asks for hijackers

ETHIOPIA has made a formal request to Kenya for the extradition of four people who hijacked an Ethiopian Airlines plane forcing it to land in Nairobi over the weekend.

The armed hijackers, two men and two women, stormed into the cockpit

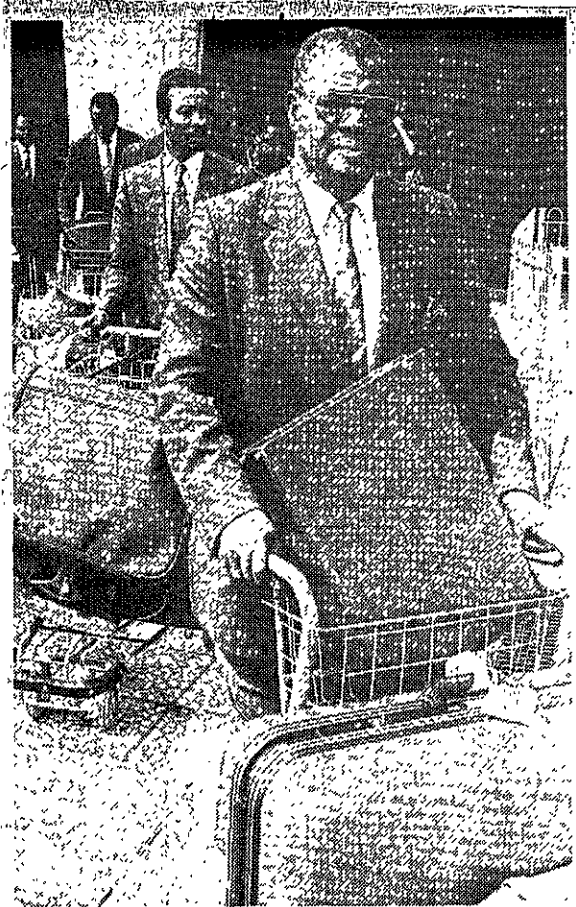
Sowetan Africa News Service

Sowetan 15/4/92
of the Boeing 727 shortly after takeoff from Bole Airport in Addis Ababa on a flight to the north of the country.

The hijackers, armed with gre-

nades, forced the pilot to head for Kenya.

On arrival in Nairobi, the plane, with 105 passengers on board, was immediately surrounded by Kenyan security officials who began negotiating with the hijackers.



Ivory Coast delegation members, with Serge Bombo, foreground, arrive at Jan Smuts Airport. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Ivory Coast 12 seek SA partners

THEO RAWANA

A GROUP of 12 Ivory Coast businessmen flew into SA yesterday in search of trade contacts and joint ventures.

Sponsored by Ivorean business consultant Honore de Sumo, the group ranges from coconut butter producers to builders and hotel owners.

The leader of the delegation is Kone Banga, whose housing and construction services company Sicogi would like to meet building promoters for co-operation and exchange of experience, and investors with whom to discuss the possibility and terms of financing social accommodation infrastructure at about R100m.

Serge Bombo, a commercial director of coconut butter manufacturer Sicor, hopes to find distributors and a partner in SA.

Aliou Sibi wishes to act as an agent for SA manufacturers or marketing companies of security systems.

Amadou Khabore, a publisher, is interested in buying printing, typesetting and lay-out (DTP) equipment.

Ouezzin Coulibaly wants to start a pencil manufacturing plant, but requires an investment of about R5m.

Paul Danho is looking for a partner (finance or construction) for a three-star hotel in Abidjan.

Alassane Hamza, MD of international consulting services ICS CI, is looking for potential importers or exporters to west Africa who need advice on legal or other matters.

The delegation will be in SA for one week.

No relief for starving in Sudanese village ①

STAR 15.14.92

NAIROBI (Kenya) — People in the town of Akobo, isolated by a government offensive that has halted relief work in Sudan's south, are starving to death and are painfully perplexed by the world's indifference, according to messages made public yesterday.

"Twenty-three people starved yesterday," the Rev John Jock Chol said in a radio message to the Nairobi office of the Association of Christian Resource Organisations Serving Sudan, or ACROSS.

"Everybody is weak and waiting to die.

"We are hearing radio reports about UN and Red Cross helping Ethiopia and Somalia. Why not Akobo?"

Mr Chol's plea was distributed to news agencies in Nairobi as a means of publicising a disaster that threatens hundreds of thousands of people with starvation, but has failed to grip the world's imagination.

In Akobo alone, more than 250 people, mostly children, have starved to death in the past few weeks, according to an ACROSS official.

Akobo has not received any relief food since March when the government grounded relief flights into southern Sudan as it launched a major offensive against rebels who control most of the region.

No food has been grown because of drought, war and lack of seeds. — Sapa-AP.

Minor changes in Africa from Major

By Andrew Meldrum: Harare
16/4-23/4/92

CONTINUITY will be the chief component of British policy towards southern Africa put forward by John Major's newly elected government.

Support for the FW de Klerk government and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks, continuing pressure on the one-party regimes in Kenya and Malawi, assistance to Zambia's new government and the promotion of market economies are expected to be the hallmarks of the new Major government's policies towards southern Africa.

If there was any doubt about the substance of Major's foreign policy it was put to rest this week with the reappointment of Lynda Chalker as minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs. Chalker lost her parliamentary seat in the elections, but because he wanted to keep her in his

cabinet, Major had her made a Baroness and sent to the House of Lords.

The lofty title aside, Chalker will no doubt remain a no nonsense, forceful yet flexible distributor of Britain's aid, always with an eye to encouraging the political and economic trends that Britain desires. Chalker runs the Overseas Development Administration (ODA), Britain's chief aid organisation.

The Major foreign policy will be guided by the principle of encouraging "good governance" — made up of political pluralism, market economies, respect for civil and human rights, reduced government roles in the economy and reduced government deficits, effective opposition to corruption and general accountability of government to the voters.

Speaking to the Southern Africa

Association in London recently, Chalker said Britain would work to persuade the international community to underpin South Africa's constitutional reform process by relaxing trade and financial sanctions, by supported renewed access to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and by the encouragement of new investment and strategically targeted aid.

Kenya and Malawi will get less carrot and more stick, as Britain attempts to influence the regimes of Daniel arap Moi and Kamuzo Banda to undertake major reforms to respect basic human rights and to install multi-party democratic systems.

Zambia is the shining example of such democratic values, as evidenced by the country's return to multi-party politics and the change of government by the ballot box, not bullets.

Accordingly, Britain wants to lend its support to President Frederick Chiluba's government, particularly its efforts to strengthen democracy, to reduce government control of the economy and promote free enterprise.

After years of good relations with Britain, Zimbabwe now appears to be caught on shifting sand with neither completely friendly nor antagonistic relations. That is a result of the Mugabe government's mixed results in meeting the Major standards of good governance.

Towards southern African in general, the Major government plans to encourage regional political cooperation and increased economic integration. Britain will continue to be a major donor to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Togo tension

TRIBAL loyalists of Togo's military president, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, demanded an end to what they described as their "expulsion" from the south of the country where rival tribes have taken power since the country's reformist government was installed. A congress of the Togolese Association for the Rights of Victims of Agression, held in Eyadema's northern Kabeye tribal stronghold of Kara, called on the government to end acts of humiliation "carried out against all Togo-lese".

'Hellish' jail

UP to 70 prisoners in Cameroon have died since December due to prison conditions which have been described as "hell on earth" and led to accusations that they are a deliberate attempt to kill off political prisoners. Amnesty International charged prisoners were dying in their dozens from malnutrition and medical neglect at Tchollire prison camp. "The death rate at Tchollire is so high that it appears that conditions there may be deliberately harsh to provoke the deaths of inmates," Amnesty said in a statement.

W/mail 16/4-23/4/92



breach of the accord, and said that better services had not been delivered. ■

AFRICA FM

17/4/92

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM

17/4/92

~~22/4/92~~

A lot in common

The significance of the historic meeting between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian ruler Major General Ibrahim Babangida lies mainly in the symbolic value of rapprochement between the continent's two giants.

Nigeria dominates the west African region, while SA is the economic powerhouse

FINANCIAL MAIL • APRIL • 17 • 1992 • 37

Contin →

of southern and, potentially, sub-saharan Africa. The accords struck between the two states will form a bridge between Africa's most populous country (120m) and the most prosperous and technologically advanced.

This, says Stellenbosch Africanist Willie Breytenbach, advances the hope of arresting Africa's seemingly ineluctable drift towards world economic marginalisation. The Nigerians — and others — see SA as the springboard to Africa.

The immediate spin-off from the remarkably warm encounter between De Klerk and Babangida will be in the setting up and improvement of bilateral relations. This could have important implications for diplo-



Nigeria's Babangida ... self-interest above ideology

macy and trade. Investment is not, however, expected to flow either way very soon. Though it is an oil-rich State, with oil accounting for over 90% of GDP, Nigeria is in economic straits as a result of years of corruption and mismanagement and the fall in the oil price.

The ANC, meanwhile, has clearly lost another diplomatic round as a result of the De Klerk-Babangida meeting, which it opposed. This follows similar losses for the ANC in relation to Europe, Japan and the US over sanctions, not to mention the ex-East Bloc countries which quickly sought links with Pretoria. Despite two visits to Nigeria by Nelson Mandela, ANC protestations were ignored by the Nigerians in favour of self-interest.

However, all indications are that the question of SA's membership of the OAU (of which Babangida is the current chairman), as well as of other multilateral organisations such as the African Development Bank, will only seriously come on to the agenda after an interim government is formed in SA.

Even then, opposition to SA's joining may be expected from hardliners Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda, who could insist on such a step only after an elected post-apartheid government is in place.

Yet Nigeria remains the big fish in the OAU and the Commonwealth. Bilateral re-

lations with Abuja, therefore, are critical to SA rejoining the African fold. Most other African States could well be swayed by Nigeria's pragmatism and back SA membership upon the formation of an interim government — in which the ANC will, of course, play a key role.

Apart from Malawi, which has long stood out as the only OAU member to have formal ambassadorial relations with Pretoria, Ivory Coast last week announced it is to establish full diplomatic relations with SA. Zaire will soon follow suit, as will Zambia, Morocco and Senegal. Kenyan trade delegations have visited SA and diplomatic relations cannot be far away.

Angola recently opened a charge d'affaires office in Pretoria as a prelude to exchanging ambassadors and Seychelles last week announced it is to set up a diplomatic presence in SA. Strangely, neighbours Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have yet to announce readiness to exchange envoys — though, like Zimbabwe, they have had trade and consular representation here for years.

According to Breytenbach, Nigeria and SA share a quaint parallel in their problems of transition to democracy. It is interesting, he says, that in Nigeria bureaucratic and military power is wielded by the Muslim Hausa and Fulani tribes based in the north of the country, who comprise 29% of the population. In SA, the Afrikaners occupy a similar position. The other major Nigerian tribal groups are the Yoruba (20%) and Ibo (17%), in a country with 250 ethnic groups and 395 languages and dialects.

Thus, says Breytenbach, the common problem of the ruling elites is: how to share power without losing control? There is no single ethnic group in either country that is big enough to form a majority and govern on its own. Nigeria resorted to military rule, which it has had for all but 10 years since independence in 1960, while SA resorted to apartheid. Both countries are engaged in the process of transition in which, says Breytenbach, the two dominant features are ethnic politics and the option of coalition government.



President De Klerk ... most significant African contact

Empathy with the white South African's burden may, then, have had something to do with Babangida's flowing praise of De Klerk's reform initiatives. ■

1

SA invited to democracy conference

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

STAR 211492

The conference will review the struggle for democracy in Africa, with special reference to sub-Saharan countries.

Although Mr Wade did not say so, African diplomats suggested that the conference could play a role in seeking an end to violence in South Africa, and might also monitor progress at Codesa.

WASHINGTON — Senegal's Minister of State, Abdoulaye Wade, announced here yesterday that South Africa would be invited to attend a Pan African Conference on Democracy with 47 other African countries in Dakar from May 25 to 29.

It will also discuss the setting up of a body to mediate in disputes and to avoid and resolve conflicts, and will invite observers from several countries outside Africa to serve on a body which will act as monitors.

There was also a strong possibility, they said, that observers appointed at the conference would be asked to monitor future elections in South Africa.



SA cautious on invite to Africa peace talks

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA has given a cautious response to reports from the United States that it is to be invited to attend a major conference on democracy in Africa to be held in Dakar, Senegal, next month.

Senegal's Minister of State Mr Abdoulaye Wade said in America this week that South Africa would be invited to the conference where delegates would review the struggle for democracy on the continent.

Up to 47 African countries are expected to attend. Being invited would be a major step in Pretoria's efforts to become part of the African family.

① ARC 23/4/92
A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that South Africa had not received an official invitation and did not know if the conference was being organised by Senegal or through the Organisation of African Unity.

"We have taken note of Minister Wade's statement and we are pursuing it through diplomatic channels. A decision will be taken in due course," the spokesman said.

If South Africa did attend, it would probably be represented by senior government officials.

Mr Wade hoped the conference would, among other continuing tasks, be able to monitor progress at Codesa.

SHARON WOOD

TWO regional trade organisations, formerly hostile to SA, are sending delegates to speak at an SA function next week.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) will each send two senior representatives to a trade conference organised by the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto). *6/10/92*

Both groups aim to liberalise trade, encourage economic co-operation and create a regional common market. The SADCC was originally created to reduce its members' dependence on SA. *24/4/92*

A senior PTA representative, who did not wish to be named until the conference, agreed this week to attend along with

'Hostile' trade bodies send delegates to SA

SADCC Regional Business Council chairman Harry Thomson. *(SADCC)*

The additions to the conference's speakers top a list from multilateral funding agencies and the private sector in Nigeria, Tanzania, Ivory Coast, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Botswana, Mauritius, Madagascar, Malawi and Reunion.

"The burning need for regional co-operation in sub-Saharan Africa to create the infrastructure for a prosperous trading bloc and to overcome disasters such as drought will be addressed at the conference," Safto Africa division head Paul Runge said.

REVIEW: Technology in Africa

Grid will bring power to the people

EVEN before plans for a southern African power grid get off the ground, regional co-operation on electrical power has already begun.

Faced with a huge shortage of electricity, the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (Zesa) has asked Eskom to bail it out, which Eskom readily agreed to do. Plans are now afoot to put up lines from Matimba power station in the north-western Transvaal to Bulawayo.

Co-operation between Mozambique and South Africa around recon-

struction of Cahora Bassa is at an advanced stage — with repair of the line from the dam to the South African border due to start soon. It is due to be completed by 1995.

Eskom subsidiary Rotek has also agreed to assist in maintenance and reconstruction of Angola's power lines once Namibian experts have removed landmines from around the lines. It also wants to train Namibian and Angolan technicians at its Midrand training site. A hydroelectric power scheme has been in construction for several years between Lesotho

Plans to install a power grid across the sub-continent are well underway but the scheme is being hampered by civil wars and lack of finance, reports **MONDLI MAKHANYA**

and South Africa with the Lesotho Highlands water scheme.

Comments Wits University Electrical Department head Jan Reynders: "The beginnings of a regional grid are already underway. It should be in place in 15 to 25 years

time." This co-operation between utility companies — which has come ahead of political approval — illustrates the inevitability of the proposed grid which will involve Angola, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Kenya and South Africa. The fact is they all depend on each other for cheap electricity.

Southern Africa has enormous potential for generating hydroelectric power. It is said the Zaire River could generate up to 100 000 megawatts of power. Angola's

Cunene River also has such potential. Cahora Bassa is capable of producing 2 000 megawatts of electricity but sabotage by Renamo rebels has meant it now generates only 20 megawatts.

Countries such as Kenya, Zaire and Lesotho have the added incentive of earning foreign from selling hydroelectric power to the regional industrial powerhouse of South Africa.

In South Africa itself power giant Eskom will not be able to meet domestic and industrial power needs by the end of the decade and will require hydroelectric power from its neighbours. South Africa's energy authorities would also like to lessen dependence on pollutants coal and uranium. South Africa's coal reserves are expected to be exhausted in 50 years.

Economic restructuring programmes in frontline states and the advent of democracy in South Africa has given the project added impetus. For the frontline states to make International Monetary Fund-prescribed economic restructuring succeed, a stable electricity supply is needed.

Locally a future government — faced with a situation where only 25 percent of the population has access to electricity — will be under extreme pressure to electrify the townships and as far as possible extend the supply to rural areas.

The same pressure will come to bear on frontline governments, where currently only 10 percent of the population has access to electricity.

In the short term, however, it is Eskom which stands to gain the most. It presently produces excess capacity and has had to mothball a number of power stations due to falling demand.

The crisis in the mining industry — which is Eskom's largest client — and the consequent shutting down of marginal mines has accelerated this process.

Eskom spokesman Peter Adams notes that with the energy authority having accepted the idea "the next phase is to let the project to the political authorities and to find financing, which will be formidable tasks".

Eskom chief executive Ian McRae — whose branchchild the scheme is — has been criss-crossing the subcontinent meeting industrialists and heads of state trying to sell the scheme. Thus far even the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference has approved the idea.

The plan is now in place and cash-strapped Mozambique has secured a South African-guaranteed World Bank loan to finance the repair of the Cahora Bassa dam.

"We are just waiting for a guarantee that the lines won't be blown up again once we put them up. Renamo's leadership has given us this guarantee but we are not sure how much control they have over their people in the bush," says Adams.

But there is no doubt that the task ahead for the grid's participants is formidable. There will be over 3 000km worth of transmission lines to put up and vast amounts of technology to be imported.

It is understood that German, Japanese and North American technology companies have been approached to provide the technology to put the scheme together. Italian companies are already involved in the repair of Cahora Bassa and an Italian loan has been granted for it. But it will not exclusively be an outsiders' job.

"South Africa has great capacity in designing technology," points out Reynders.

Beaming health to starved Africa

w/mal 24/4-29/4/92

A NEW health satellite project will help doctors and academics in southern Africa to get access to vital medical information and to communicate better with their counterparts in other developing countries.

Through the Healthnet satellite network, information from libraries, hospitals and universities in the industrialised countries will be beamed directly to medical research facilities and hospitals.

The lack of foreign exchange makes it often extraordinarily expensive to receive the latest medical information in countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Because of limited resources, the University of Zambia was forced a decade ago to cancel its subscriptions to medical journals. In Tanzania, it can cost the equivalent of two-thirds of a week's salary for a doctor to send a fax message, and nearly as much to receive one. And telephone and mail services are often poor. In Uganda, where an estimated 24 percent of the population is HIV positive, current information about the Aids-causing virus is scarce.

Healthnet hopes to ease communication between doctors in Africa. Its organisers say innovative use of satellite technology will help them receive journal articles and communicate with medical centres around the world.

The Healthnet project was begun by SatelLife, a United States-based international non-profit agency. SatelLife was conceived by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, in a reaction to President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, known as Star Wars. It got off the ground in 1989.

Last July, SatelLife's low-earth orbit satellite was launched to transmit information and receive messages from ground stations based at medical institutions in the developing world.

Said Julia Royall, deputy director of SatelLife: "The idea is to facilitate transmission of medical information in Third World countries, for doctors to enhance communication not only with each other, but with colleagues in the rest of the world."

The satellite, no bigger than a beachball, revolves around the earth at an 800km orbit twice a day. Initially, ground stations have been set up in six countries: Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Each has an IBM-compatible computer, a type of ham radio and a modem to connect the computer and radio.

The satellite sends and receives messages using radio waves. Its continuous signal is picked up by the radio attached to the computer. Once

the signal is recognised, a message transfer takes place at the ground station. The information can either be stored in the station's computer or printed out.

Doctors and academics will be able to make requests for specific information from libraries and university databases. Tanzania's station, for example, has established an information-sharing arrangement with Massachusetts General, John Hopkins Hospital and Massachusetts Library.

The satellite stays within range of each ground station for about 15 minutes, transmitting a page every second. It can deliver about 50 000 pages of electronic mail each month to Africa. Included in the transmissions will be literature from the *New England Journal of Medicine*, which is donating its articles for the project.

Organisers hope to set up stations in 15 African countries and, if successful, will expand the system to other parts of the world. Within each country, it is hoped the ground stations will act as a hub for the distribution of medical information by telephone or through special computer software.

The host countries must provide a secure location for the ground station and an operator to be trained to run the equipment. A user council is established in each country with representatives from a variety of medical and scientific organisations.

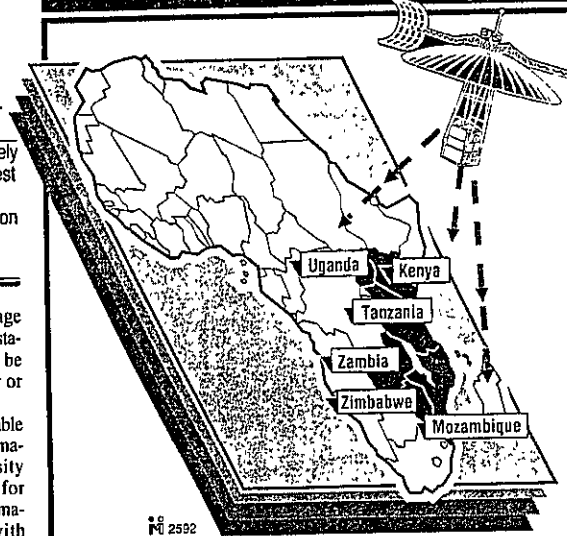
SatelLife does not own the satellite; it bought the operating capacity from Survey Satellite Technology, the British company that launched it into orbit.

The cost of the ground stations — about \$7 500 each for the experimental stage — has been covered by such sources as the McArthur and Rockefeller foundations in the US. Canada's International Development Research Centre has helped by buying 10 percent of the satellite's air time. The operating capacity, a million-dollar item, has been funded by a grant from NEC Corporation, of Tokyo.

There have already been twinning arrangements between some libraries in Canada and Zambia, for example. And the Aids Network, a group established in east Africa to help spread information about the disease, will also be able to make use of the satellite.

— Gemini News

Healthnet: sharing medical knowhow



	Pop (1989)	Pop per doctor (1984)	Health expenditure (as % of GNP) 1986
Zambia	7.8m	7,150	1.2
Zimbabwe	9.5m	6,700	2.9
Tanzania	23.8m	26,200	1.2
Kenya	24m	9,970	1.7
Uganda	16.8m	21,900	0.2
Mozambique	15.3m	37,960	1.8

Source: Human Development Report, World Bank

Healthnet will help doctors in Africa share medical knowhow

Harare's a step ahead

w/mal 24/4-29/4/92

By ANDREW MELDRUM. Harare WHILE work is progressing to get the SatelLife's Healthnet system up and running throughout southern Africa, the University of Zimbabwe's medical library already has in place, a computer system to retrieve information for staff and students at the Medical School, and a newsletter to bring rural hospitals and clinics up to date.

"It's an amazingly quick, easy way of getting instant access to the current literature in the international health field," said Helga Patrikios, the medical library's director. "And then it is relatively easy to get that information out to our doctors and other health-care personnel in the rural areas."

Three microcomputer workstations have been funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to bring optical disc databases to Zimbabwe's health professionals — in particular Medline, the index to 3 500 biomedical journals. CD-ROM (Compact Disc Read-Only-Memory) is the medium — it combines enormous storage capacity (over 400 MB per disc) with user-friendly retrieval software. The world's most comprehensive biomedical database, Medline is stored on seven discs and

updated every month. According to Zimbabwean professionals the CD-ROM system is fully appropriate to the country's needs, indeed, appropriate for use throughout southern Africa and the developing world.

"More and more doctors, nurses and students are coming to us for literature searches," said Patrikios. "Last year we were doing about 120 searches a month — this year, with two extra work stations, it's up to about 190 or 200 a month. We're pleased that for the first time we can deliver really current information to our users."

One of the important spin-offs of the CD-ROM service is the news digest that is produced and sent to health workers throughout the country. Doctors choose articles from the monthly update discs that focus on the major health issues in Zimbabwe and the region. The digest, *Current health information Zimbabwe (CHIZ)*, is printed by the Zimbabwe Ministry of Health and is circulated to health professionals throughout Zimbabwe and to the World Health Organisation and Ministry of Health offices in neighbouring countries.

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For doctors in Africa it is prohibitively expensive to get details of the latest medical developments. Now a health satellite will beam information to Africa every month.

By ALLAN THOMPSON

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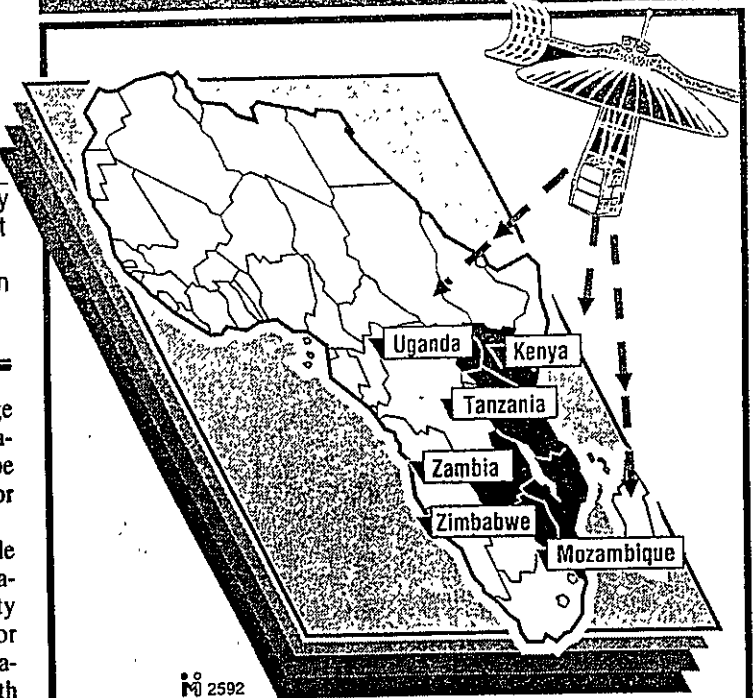
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REVIEW: Technology in Africa

GETTING a phone in Harare, or just getting a phone to work in Gaborone, is a nightmare to people whose livelihood depends on communication

The decay and collapse — not to mention the absence, in many cases — of telephone systems across the continent presents not only a problem, but also suggests unlimited opportunity for sharp players in the telecommunications field.

One of the hungriest of these players is Telkom, South Africa's state-owned "corporatised" telecommunications service, which is presently beset with criticism over increased rates, the abuse of premium rate "advice" and "personality" lines, and the introduction of new charges for repairs.

It needs to sort out its own problems before it can tackle those of Africa, but it has a firm vision for an interconnected future on the continent.

"In the short term Africa is a bit remote — we have too much to do internally before we can even think about it," says managing director Danie du Toit. "But in the long term we see ourselves as a gateway into Africa. We see ourselves as a vehicle for overseas investors in, for instance, telecommunications equipment. They could use our skills and expertise to assist governments to the north in providing telecommunications services, based on standards and systems that are compatible."

One of the barriers, says Du Toit, is the fact that many countries have chosen systems that are not compatible with their neighbours or other countries in the region. When the systems break down or go wrong, the original suppliers, who may be half a world away, have to be brought out at great expense.

"A very good example is the exchange in Botswana — for some 14 months it was inoperable because it was just too expensive to bring people from overseas to repair it," says Du Toit.

"So it is necessary to form some kind of African alliance in telecommunications ... where we can set up standards that are interconnected. Not only does this enable greater ease of installation and maintenance, but we can share in terms of our knowledge. This is our vision for the future."

Even if, say, a Japanese company wanted to set up a system somewhere in Africa, it would probably be easier for them to use Telkom as a kind of gatekeeper: "If they want to provide a service of the standard we're talking about, it would be very expensive for them to set it up and keep it going here, and also very expensive for the country concerned to import it, so it would be cheaper for both sides to use us a gateway."

"Normally when you talk telecommunications, it's something that goes along with some other developments, like dams or railways or power stations. There are always three commodities: a transport system, a communications network and power distribution — these things go hand in hand, and it might even be necessary to have alliances in our own country to provide these services."

The financial windfall this

Telkom wants to talk to Africa

Wimail 24/4 - 29/4/92

As ageing communications networks in Africa decay and collapse, South Africa's Telkom may well become the continent's technological knight in shining armour — once it has sorted out its own problems. By ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK

prospect seems to suggest might be as distant as the vision itself. Most of the countries that would want to benefit from this kind of investment do not have the funds necessary to make it a reality. However, developed countries that would want to provide the facilities in terms

of aid packages would probably be looking for the most effective ways of applying the aid. South Africa could be an obvious solution.

"We see this starting out on more of a social responsibility level — we would want to help integrate the economies of Africa more

effectively in terms of technology," says Du Toit.

Telkom does not envisage supplying Africa with the technological daydreams that are emerging from the high-tech laboratories of Japan and the United States, but again this depends on how fast it can get these

goodies to South Africans themselves.

"These are things that are, at the moment, dependent on our suppliers. They are generated overseas and brought here via those suppliers. Initially our drive is to provide electronic exchange facilities to our existing clients.

"Once we've done that, we can provide all the other services that are available on electronic exchanges. Many of the services we'd like to provide, like electronic banking from home, we can now do where we've got electronic exchanges.

The kind of services that

are taken for granted in US cities, for instance, will become a reality for ordinary householders in South Africa, says Du Toit.

One example is teleconferencing services — including three-person conversations on a private line — which are already available in certain areas but cannot be marketed, since most exchanges are still electro-mechanical and cannot be included.

The next phase would be the science-fiction-turned-reality that is flooding the US and Japan.



WE'RE NOT REPEATING OUR GEOLOGISTS' TRUDGING WAY THROUGH MINERAL DEPOSITS

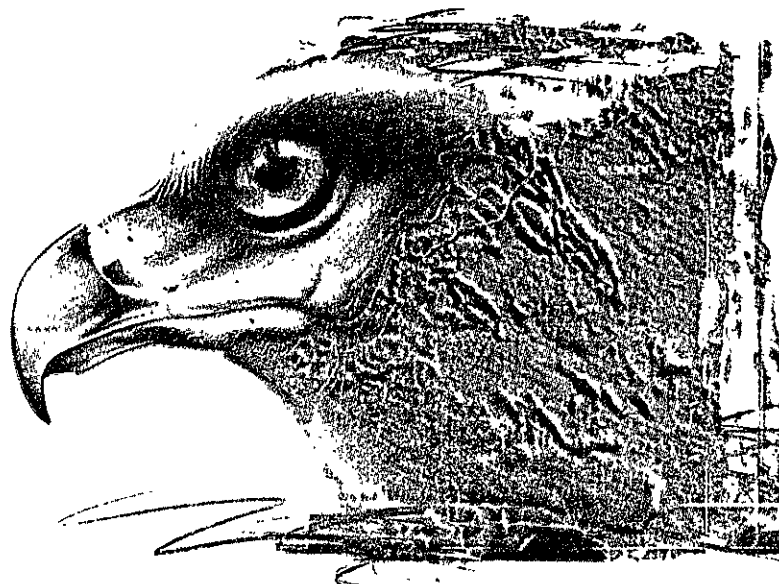
The geologist has come a long way from when the pursuit of minerals meant weeks of trudging across dusty plains, carrying a knapsack under a blazing African sun. Because, although there is still a lot of fieldwork involved, exploration today is likely to start in front of a computer.

A satellite in orbit one million metres above the earth scans the surface and, in digital form, relays these remotely-sensed images to a ground station. These images are often in wavelengths

invisible to the human eye and are processed and enhanced by computer. The end result of this formidable technology is a multicoloured picture of a region of the earth showing the presence of geological structures that are associated with mineral deposits.

So, to ensure our exploration edge and to keep pace with rapidly changing technology, we maintain an in-house research programme to develop and implement new processing techniques. Not to replace our field geologists, just to enhance the way they look at things.

ENRICHING WAY THROUGH MINERALS



GOLD FIELDS

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AFRICA BRIEFS

Nigeria accused of torture and killings

THE Nigerian security forces are carrying out summary executions and routinely torturing suspects to extract confessions, a Lagos-based human rights group claimed this week. Torture victims had been burned, shot, whipped, starved or hung upside down, Beko Ransome-Kuti, head of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), stated in his annual report.

"In spite of the march to civil rule in Nigeria, it is regrettable to note that fundamental human rights are still in chains ...1991 witnessed a disturbing rate of extra-judicial killings carried out by the police," the report said. "In 1990 we were able to record 19 cases of such summary executions of accused persons, suspects and innocent commuters. This year (1991) we have been able to record 27 incidents," it said, adding that actual figures could be much higher.

No Rawlings amnesty

GHANA'S leader Jerry Rawlings denied last week that he and his government want a blanket amnesty for themselves before the West African country returns to constitutional rule later this year. Opposition groups backed by Roman Catholic bishops are furious over what they say is an attempt by the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to procure total immunity from prosecution before handing over power.

Flight Lieutenant Rawlings' regime, which seized power with the PNDC on December 31 1981, has long been accused of severe human rights abuses which may come back to haunt PNDC members if they lose power.

Rawlings said: "Any individual who, for his or her personal interests, abused the office which he or she held under the PNDC, or committed fraud or embezzlement or any other individual offence, is not protected by these provisions," he said.

He was referring to the "transitional provisions", the preamble to Ghana's draft constitution which will be put to a referendum on April 28. The provisions caused a furore when they were made public on March 31.

Rawlings has not yet announced if he will contest presidential elections.

Koffigoh too young

TOGO'S Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh, considered a strong candidate for presidential elections due in August, last week was prevented from standing under a new electoral code.

The country's transitional legislature, the High Council of the Republic (HCR), made a last-minute change to the electoral code altering the minimum age for candidates to 45 from a previous 40.

Koffigoh, who is 43, had not yet announced whether he intended to stand in the elections, part of the country's transition to multi-party democracy after 25 years of President Gnassingbe Eyadema's authoritarian rule. The ruling improves Eyadema's chances of being re-elected.

Giving birth to Africa's big problem

Sowetan 24/4/92

Women

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

CHILDBEARING among adolescent African women is a relatively common event, a recent study on 11 sub-Saharan African countries reveals.

The study was prepared for an Inter-African conference on adolescent health.

It was conducted by the Population Reference Bureau in collaboration with the Institute for Resource Development/Macro International.

The 11 nations surveyed were Botswana, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

The survey data, presented as a chartbook, determines that teenage motherhood in the above countries occurs at a time when African "social organisations that traditionally provided support to young mothers are weakening".

Risks

"It stunts young African women's economic potential and can carry significant risks for both the mother and her infant," it says.

Mali rated highest with a total of 51 percent of young women, aged between 15 to 19, having been pregnant or with a child during the time of the survey.

Liberia and Uganda had the second and third highest rate of teenage mothers, scoring 45 percent and 37 percent respectively.

But in most of the countries a majority of the pregnancies occurred after marriage. In Mali, for example, 80 percent of the teenagers fell pregnant after they had been married and virtually all sexual experience occurs within the context of marriage.

Needs

The survey shows high unmet needs for family planning, especially in Botswana and Kenya where 62 percent of unmarried, sexually active women were not using contraceptives but did not want to get pregnant soon.

It also reveals that infants born to mothers under 20 years of age are at greater risk than infants of women in the middle of their reproductive years.

The elevated risk is particularly pronounced in

and out of school;

Programmes to help young women stay in school, even if they have children;

Information, education and communication programmes aimed at the partners, parents and other relatives of adolescent women;

Policies that increase access to high-quality, appropriate family planning services and counselling for sexually active adolescents; and

Maternal and child health programmes that seek out teenagers who may not know what health care they and their babies need or where to obtain services.



Mother and children . . . sexually active women are not using contraceptives.

Giving birth to Africa's big problem

Sowetan 24/4/92

CHILDBEARING among adolescent African women is a relatively common event, a recent study on 11 sub-Saharan African countries reveals.

The study was prepared for an Inter-African conference on adolescent health.

It was conducted by the Population Reference Bureau in collaboration with the Institute for Resource Development/Macro International.

The 11 nations surveyed were Botswana, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

The survey data, presented as a chartbook, determines that teenage motherhood in the above countries occurs at a time when African social organisations that traditionally provided support to young mothers are weakening.



By SIZAKELE KOOMA

Burundi, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe.

The study concludes that sub-Saharan countries should raise awareness about the causes and consequences of adolescent childbearing.

"The data point to the need to consider several types of policies and programmes that could help adolescent women achieve

their full potential," it says.

It lists the policies that should be included as:

Discourage

Policies that discourage early marriage and childbearing by providing viable educational and employment alternatives;

Programmes to establish or expand family-life education, for teenagers in

and out of school;

Programmes to help young women stay in school, even if they have children;

Information, education and communication programmes aimed at the partners, parents and other relatives of adolescent women;

Policies that increase access to high-quality, appropriate family planning services and counselling for sexually active adolescents; and

Maternal and child health programmes that seek out teenagers who may not know what health care they and their babies need or where to obtain services.



Mother and children . . . sexually active women are not using contraceptives.

Risks

"It stunts young African women's economic potential and can carry significant risks for both the mother and her infant," it says.

Mali rated highest with a total of 51 percent of young women, aged between 15 to 19, having been pregnant or with a child during the time of the survey.

Liberia and Uganda had the second and third highest rate of teenage mothers, scoring 45 percent and 37 percent respectively.

But in most of the countries a majority of the pregnancies occurred after marriage. In Mali, for example, 80 percent of the teenagers fell pregnant after they had been married and virtually all sexual experience occurs within the context of marriage.

Needs

The survey shows high unmet needs for family planning, especially in Botswana and Kenya where 62 percent of unmarried, sexually active women were not using contraceptives but did not want to get pregnant soon.

It also reveals that infants born to mothers under 20 years of age are at greater risk than infants of women in the middle of their reproductive years.

The elevated risk is particularly pronounced in

CCRA - Andrews Kwame
 Pianim spent nine years in Ghanaian prisons, but he refuses to show any bitterness he might feel.

"Basically I'm a Christian. I believe hatred is a negative use of energy."

"What happened to me is not as important as the future of this country," he said in the study of his villa in a leafy suburb of Accra.

He walked back into the house on March 21 when he was released with 16 other long-serving political prisoners by Ghana's self-styled "revolutionary" government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC).

"I was arrested on November 26 1982. That makes 3406 days," he points out.

Pianim wasn't one of the run-of-the-mill Ghanaians who fell foul of the PNDC in its early years when alleged coup plots were uncovered almost every month.

Most were low-level security personnel who were never brought to court.

Pianim was actually convicted - albeit by one of the expeditious public tribunals which replaced normal courts - and sentenced to 18 years for plotting to overthrow head of state Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.

Pianim was also a rarity because he was, and at the age of 53 hopes to remain,

Trying to prevent mistakes of past

one of Ghana's leading economists.

He was chief executive of the powerful Cocoa Board in the late 1970s, before Rawlings and the PNDC took power on December 31 1981.

"Conditions in prison are difficult at the beginning. You are used to being your own man and then you are thrown in a new world where others decide what you do."

Interview

"Sometimes we were about 30 in a cell. All you have is your little corner and your bed but it shows you that a man does not need that much to survive," Pianim said.

It was the first interview he has granted since he emerged from Nsawam prison and started rebuilding a life with Cornelia, his Dutch wife.

His message today is one of reconciliation and he says his first task will be to help the political prisoners he left behind.

He estimates there are between 40 and 70, most of whom are servicemen who



JERRY RAWLINGS: Survived many coup plots

have never been tried.

"These are young men who don't have the supportive network that someone like me does have. They need to be free and I feel for them."

PNDC members have admitted publicly that there were "excesses" in the first years of the revolution but

contended that the ends justified the means.

They say Ghana was stricken by the reckless corruption of its ruling class when they took over and is now reaping the benefits of clean government.

"The revolutionary decade that stopped the decay," boasts one of the hec-

toring billboards on Accra's main avenues.

Despite the far-left rhetoric of Chairman Rawlings and his team, Ghana has faithfully applied a Western-backed economic austerity programme since 1983.

The social cost and job losses have been high but the country now has the fastest growth rate in black Africa and foreign economists calculate it has received R11 billion in aid and soft-loans since 1984.

Until very recently the Western donors who were thrilled by an African success story ignored the excesses and human rights abuses which had been condemned abroad for years.

"In a sense Ghana has mattered too much to us to be healthy. We may have taken a free ride on the coat-tails of the PNDC," said a Western economist in Accra with uncommon candour.

"Their willingness to take decisions, to lock up a few trades union leaders for instance, made it easier to push through programmes. It eased the way to struc-

tural adjustment," he said.

Pianim urged the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank to change policy in Africa, where their lending is rarely linked to human rights or progress towards democracy.

"For them it is easier to come to a country where there is a dictator. You talk to him and he signs on the dot," he said.

Silent

Dealing with democratically-elected governments is more "cumbersome", he said, but the IMF and World Bank should accept that is the only road to true development in the Third World.

The old politicians returning to the fray as Ghana edges back towards constitutional rule have begun speaking out after a decade when most went into exile and the rest kept silent.

"Pressure is not being used sufficiently on Ghana, the same democratic strings (as used elsewhere in Africa) are not attached to Ghana's aid," said Hilla Limann, the president overthrown by Rawlings in

1981.

Kofi Dsane-Selby, a physician and potential presidential candidate in elections due next November, said the early years of the PNDC were scarred by murder and wholesale abuses.

"The first quarter of their rule, from 1982 to 1985, was an unmitigated disaster on all fronts. This country was saved by God, not by human beings," said Dsane-Selby.

Now the PNDC is winding up, forced, its opponents say, to bow to Africa's pro-democracy trend. The transition will begin with a referendum on a new constitution on April 28.

The document includes a preamble which grants the PNDC and all its appointees total immunity from prosecution for all their past acts or omissions.

The opposition says this waiver proves that the PNDC cannot defend its record in terms of human rights or indeed of financial probity.

Rawlings is being urged by his friends to run for the presidency.

Pianim says if an amnesty will bring peace, so be it.

"Those who suffered in prison can't get back the time."

"Those who died cannot be brought back to life. But we can all make sure that what happened in the past cannot happen again."

South African Press Association-Renter.

So and from 24/4/92

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Shots fired at millionairess

By ENOCH MTHEWE

AN Esikhawini millionairess was shot and injured while driving away from a Good Friday service, allegedly because she had given South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani accommodation in her luxury mansion in February.

Patty Mncwabe, a prominent figure in the Esikhawini business community had stopped shortly after leaving the church to check a punctured tyre. When she got out of her car, she met a hail of bullets from gunmen stationed at a nearby house.

Mncwabe is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, which has allegedly been subjected to harassment by members of the "A Team", a gang aligned to the Inkatha Freedom Party, since Hani's visit to the Natal township. (11/2/93)

According to a kwaZulu Police source, Mncwabe's name has been placed on an IFP hit list. He said she had also been placed under the surveillance of the KZP.

A relative denied that Mncwabe had met Hani or given him accommodation.

WIM 24/4 - 29/4/93

Mega-drought warning to Africa

HARARE. — Relief workers warned yesterday that six months from now, Southern Africa could be plunged into famine far worse than that experienced in the Horn of Africa seven years ago.

Ms Tove Wang of the Norwegian relief agency Redd Barna said: "It is the drought of the century. There has not been anything like this since 1911.

"We have five to six months of a pre-famine situation and the challenge is to prevent it."

Mr Gerard Salole, regional director of Save the Children (US), said: "This

is the mega-drought that is going to knock out all other droughts and other crises of Africa into insignificance... it's a Cape-to-Cairo affair."

Mr Salole was involved in relief work during the 1985 famine in Ethiopia, Somali and Sudan.

He said some people in Zimbabwe's remote parts were already eating roots to survive and thousands of cattle had died, but "the graphic symbols of dying children that moved donors during the famine in Ethiopia have not yet developed" here.

"The question is are we going to wait until there are bodies, until

there are children who are obviously malnourished, or pledge food, vehicles and spare parts now?"

Ms Wang said that unless red tape were cut and donors pledged generously, famine would strike the region in six months.

She said she felt that the world had become cynical about Africa's problems. "The tendency is for people to say well, Africa has been in trouble before and all these development people come and always wave a red flag and say that is a tragedy... that is not good enough."

Some 10 million tons of grain are

needed by South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia to feed about 60 million people over the next 12 months.

The scale of the operation is huge when compared with the two million tons of food distributed to feed six million people in Ethiopia, Somali and the Sudan over a similar period in 1985.

At a meeting on Wednesday in Pretoria, Southern African countries raised hopes of averting starvation when they set aside political differences to "establish an effective central co-ordinating mechanism".

"To expect African countries, already weakened by international financial shocks, to rely on pure free-market policies for development requires more reliance on faith or miracles than on reason or precedents."

"Double-edged sword"

The report argues that the role played by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Africa's development has been "a double-edged sword".

Although they have given from their piggy banks, the terms of the arrangements have been crippling.

Among other terms, these two giants demanded that African prices be determined by the market and that government enterprises be privatised.

As a result, debt payments have far out-

stripped incoming loans — the net outflow in 1989 was \$657 million (about R1 971 million). African countries are now just borrowing so they can pay out — a situation that is obviously unsustainable. Although the commission agreed that non-functioning government enterprises should be privatised, "wholesale privatisation of everything that is government-owned cannot be justified". It put forward a range of issues that should first be considered:

- the shortage of local businesspeople to take over government enterprises;

- the shortage of local private capital to pay for and run such privatised enterprises;
- the greater importance of the service to the people of some enterprises as compared to their merely being profitable;
- the danger that privatised businesses can and do fall into the hands of foreign big businesses;
- the size or strategic importance of certain enterprises that cannot and should not be left in the hands of business-people who just look for the highest profit; and
- the impact of privatisation on the employ-

ment situation. The UN reported that both the IMF and the World Bank are slowly realising the problems of their approach and are becoming "as frustrated as the countries themselves". These institutions have made a re-examination of the policy bungles they prescribe and have, in a few cases, been more understanding of the realities of the African economic structures. The evolution of these "human face" programmes has, however, been "slow and evasive" with the core of their policies remaining intact.

Wholesale privatisation and the free market cannot be relied on to release Africa's 650 million people from the prison of poverty — so says the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa.

Quentin Wilson reports:

IMPOSING A free-market model on Africa's economy and privatising everything in sight will not be the solution to Africa's economic problems. UN researchers argue this approach would ignore the situation of most countries on the continent.

In their report, a number of conditions would have to be met before a free market could be considered appropriate.

Until then, "the pursuit of the free-market system will remain a mirage".

If the mirage is to become a workable reality,

- all people must know where the goods are;
- the goods and services should move freely from one part of the country to another;
- investments should move quickly from low-profit sectors to high-profit ones;
- there should be no bottle-necks in production to induce frequent and sharp shortages of goods;
- goods must freely compete with no producer having the lion's share in the production of a given commodity; and
- there must be no hoarding.

The UN Economic Commission declared that in Africa "these situations are almost unknown" and therefore hardly provide the right conditions for pure capitalism.

Free-market economy

The report said that "installing a strict free-market economy" would not be a return to normality, but a leap into the unknown.

"The principles of free-market capitalism were written by Adam Smith in 1776, but these principles have never existed in pure form in the real world. Modern capitalism was protected in Europe by mercantilist manipulation of market prices and filled by wealth extracted from colonial empires.

"Also, it is a well-known fact that the startling growth of the economies of Japan and the Pacific Rim (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Indonesia) in more recent times was accomplished through trade protectionism and active intervention of governments in industrial development," it said.

Pure capitalism 'no solution'

South 25/4 - 30/4/92

Kenyans look at JSE

SITING (BUS) 26/4/92

THE JSE and a delegation from the Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE) this week discussed jointly sponsoring a conference of African stock exchanges.

The Kenyan delegation was on a three-day mission to assess trends on the JSE. It is believed to be the first official delegation from an African stock exchange to visit SA.

JSE president designate Roy Andersen says a conference of African stock exchanges could take place before the end of the year.

He will discuss the issue at a meeting of the International Federation of Stock Exchanges in London next week.

Stock exchanges from sub-Saharan Africa, as well as Nigeria, will be invited, but a venue has not been agreed on.

Mr Andersen says common areas of interest could include technology interchange. The JSE could also learn much about operating in an emerging economy and an African stock exchange was a long-term possibility.

NSE chief executive Job Kihumba says the delegation's meetings with experts in SA's



By ZILLA EFRAT



financial market were fruitful.

Visiting stockbroker Lawrence Sutcliffe says the NSE has undergone major changes in the past few months. The NSE, which has six broking members and about 60 listed companies, has moved to a board system. Deals were previously struck on the phone and at daily meetings.

Assistance

Foreign investment in the NSE has been inhibited by foreign exchange control and the depreciation of the Kenyan currency in recent years.

Another visiting broker, Chandulal Shah, said there was a possibility that the Kenyans would ask the JSE for assistance in developing the NSE in the future.

The delegation will also visit the Gaborone and Harare stock exchanges.

By AIDAN HARTLEY
NAIROBI - From the Cape to Cairo, Africa is suffering one of its most devastating droughts in living memory and weathermen say the worst may be to come.

Meteorologists, who have been warning the world about the problem for months, blame it on a fluke weather condition called El Nino - "the Christ child".

"In continental terms, it's the most widespread drought for decades," says Mr Harold Norton, Kenya representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

"Millions of livestock are dying and crops aren't growing."

Thousands of people are already dying in war-torn Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan and the FAO estimates that 20 countries are facing exceptional food emergencies.

Weathermen say the drought that has already swept Southern Africa is rolling north up the east of the continent. They say their warnings have fallen mostly on deaf ears - which means a mad scramble now to come up with stocks of relief food.

The name El Nino was originally used to describe seasonal warming of the Pacific Ocean's surface waters off the coast of Peru, but meteorologists later found this process was connected with world atmospheric changes.

Experts say not enough is yet known to accurately predict the impact of El Ninos, or "warm events",

Africa's worst drought

but they occur about twice a decade and last from 12 to 18 months.

After the last strong El Nino episode in 1982-83, relief officials estimated that 1 million Ethiopians starved to death because of the combined ravages of the drought and a drawn-out civil war.



A farmer uses his water sparingly.

A much weaker warm episode was recorded in 1986-87, followed by a less severe drought across parts of the continent.

"Our thinking is that this year is going to be much closer to 1982-83," says Mr Workneh Dogefu, head of the UN's drought monitoring centre for east and Southern Africa in Nairobi.

Degefu says that east Africa's short rains at the end of last year were inadequate and that the current long rains arrived late and will have a poor distribution.

More frightening is the

forecast that the long "Meher" rains in Ethiopia's densely-populated north that normally last from June to September will fail badly, says Degefu, head of the Ethiopian meteorological department in the 1980s.

"Warm events" set off extreme weather conditions around the world, from floods in southeastern Brazil to droughts in India.

In East and Southern Africa, El Nino episodes tend to affect rain-carrying bands of low pressure, making clouds disappear.

The warm episodes have apparently been a feature of the world's climate for a long time - Chinese expert Wang Shaowu has calculated from historical evidence such as tree-rings that 115 have taken place since 1470.

Scientists say the impact of El Nino could become more severe as the world's forests are cut down and marginal land is brought under cultivation.

Global warming could also affect the severity of El Nino, a UN conference in Bangkok concluded last November.

Meteorologists started sending warnings to African planners in March 1991 that another drought could be on its way.

"We were able to second-guess Africa's weather with some six months' to a year's warning," says Mr Peter Usher, head of the Nairobi-based UN Envi-

ronment Programme atmosphere unit.

But the forecasters complain their alarm signals were not taken seriously enough by international donors and governments

"Again we seem to have been caught unprepared," says Usher

A special FAO report published recently calls for imports of at least 11 million tons of food to Africa

for the year 1991/92. This excludes South Africa, which might have to import 3 million tons.

"Without the mobilisation of the required international assistance, increased

human suffering and loss of life will inevitably occur in the months ahead," the report warned.

About half the food will have to be commercially imported - Sapa-Reuter

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WE ARE THE BEST



Nairobi Stock Exchange CE Job Khumba, who led a three-member delegation from the exchange to SA last week, held talks with JSE officials and leading local business and finance figures.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Conference of bourses suggested

By Mervyn Harris
A CONFERENCE of stock exchanges in Africa was among the suggestions mooted during a visit to the JSE last week by a three-man delegation from the Nairobi Stock Exchange. 27/4/92

JSE executive president designate Roy Andersen said he would be taking up the matter of such a conference when he meets officials of the International Federation of Stock Exchanges on a visit overseas in May.

Plans to establish a stock exchange in Namibia would bring to seven the number of stock exchanges in Africa.

Nairobi Stock Exchange CE JK Khumba said: "In the past, we travelled to Europe and the US to keep in touch with the latest developments on financial markets.

"But I believe we can learn more from SA. We are closer to home here and we have similar problems whereas the US market, for instance, is too big and complicated for our needs."

Khumba said the delegation had met a cross section of people involved in business and finance and the possibilities had been discussed of investment between Kenya and SA.

He said the delegation had been impressed by the JSE's standards, its efficiency and technological development.

20 die daily in Ethiopian camp ¹

DOLO - Thousands of skeletal figures came running from all directions when the plane swooped towards the landing strip in the dust-swept Ethiopian village of Dolo.

On the ground, haggard and emaciated men and women - some clutching bony children - waited expectantly for long-promised food handouts as the party of journalists piled out of the aircraft.

Slowly, the crowds realised this was not to be the day. Dejectedly they turned round and shuffled back to the makeshift camps which surround Dolo.

"There is no food, no water, no medical care. There is nothing here

except death," said one camp resident.

Community leaders told journalists that more than 20 people die every day around Dolo, a remote spot near the Somali border.

"Dolo must be one of the most miserable places on earth," said Mr Ben Parker of the UN's Emergency and Preparedness Group.

The camps at Dolo are composed of thousands of flimsy shelters, held together by bits of rag and sticks.

Water tankers are nowhere to be seen.

Inside the shelters, children suffering from famine and related dis-

eases lie on dirt floors awaiting near-certain death.

Other children stand around outside, with eye sores and the classic bloated bellies of the severely malnourished.

More than 200 000 former Ethiopian refugees who originally fled into neighbouring Somalia during the 1977-78 Ogaden war have moved into the camps.

These people have now lost everything twice in 15 years - some of the most tragic victims of the turmoil in the Horn of Africa where more than 23 million now face starvation.

About 145 000 Somali refugees

who fled months of savage inter-clan fighting in their own country have also flocked to the camps.

The huge number of people now living around Dolo has dried up the water wells in the area.

Mr Demoz Kebebu, a representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said about 300 tons of grain and 18 000 litres of edible oil were distributed among the people some months ago.

This amounted to a kilogram or less for each person, he said.

The RRC estimates over 7 million people in the country now face starvation. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

'People are tired of Africa', where 15 die every day

Star Africa Service

STAR 28/4/92

NAIROBI — At least 250 people are known to have died in the past two weeks in a refugee camp in Kenya which houses Somalis and Ethiopians fleeing famine and civil wars in their own countries.

Officials of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) say on average 15 people, mainly women and children, are dying daily at the Ifo camp, one of seven overcrowded camps on the Kenya-Somalia border.

Morine Commely of the UNHCR said: "Most collapse on arrival, having walked some 600 km with little food or water. They are in appalling condition, some little more than skin and bones and many with gunshot wounds."

Fleeing

At the Ifo camp, 152 refugees died last week. In the neighbouring Dagahaley camp, housing more than 30 000 Somalis, 485 people died in the last month and 135 are said to be dying every week.

Kenyan officials say more than 400 Somalis and between 800 and 1 000 Ethiopians flock into Kenya every day. The Somalis are fleeing inter-clan skirmishes which erupted following the overthrow of president Siad Barre more than a year ago. The Ethiopians are running away from a drought threatening up to 40 million Africans.

With the refugee population expected to swell from 180 000 to 340 000 by the end of June, the

UNHCR is making a special appeal for an extra \$35 million (£100.6 million) for relief purposes.

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Demoz Kebebu, a representative of the UNCHR, said about 300 tonnes of grain and 18 000 litres of edible oil were distributed among the people some months ago.

Ethiopia has appealed for 1.4 million tons of emergency food aid but only a fraction of this has arrived.

"People are tired of Africa. It just never seems to get any better," lamented one aid worker based in Addis Ababa. Sapa-
Reuter.

A Highway into Africa

Star 28/4/59

After years of sitting out in the cold, South Africa is now finding itself warmly accepted by most of the continent's countries in all spheres, including business, sport, culture and the academic world, writes GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service

WHAT WAS once a rocky road to acceptance in Africa has suddenly begun to look something like a five-lane freeway for South Africa.

This country is rapidly finding acceptance at the levels of government, business, sport, culture and academics.

A striking sign of this was the meeting in Pretoria last week of government representatives from Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to co-ordinate the transport of emergency maize shipments from South African ports.

It was the first time representatives of all these governments had sat down in South Africa with officials of a Government they had until recently spurned as a pariah. To some extent they were driven to the meeting by need made urgent by the drought. It was, nevertheless, the respectability bestowed on Pretoria by the wan-

ing of apartheid that made it politically and morally possible for them to attend the meeting.

Pretoria may have been tempted to exploit its neighbours' starvation by exacting a political fee for transporting their emergency maize imports, such as getting their agreement to establish a permanent regional organisation revolving around South Africa. If it was, it resisted the temptation and accepted the creation of a lesser body: a committee to co-ordinate emergency shipments.

The mere fact of the meeting

was perhaps seen as enough of an advance, for it established the acceptability not only of meeting jointly with South Africa at government level but of doing so on its own turf. This is almost as good as restoring diplomatic relations, as several African states have recently done.

Other recent signs of the new order were the reopening of postal services to Angola after 16 years of boycott and the almost bizarre case of South African soldiers going back to Angola to help lift the landmines

they and other combatants had strewn thickly during the war.

This week it is the business community's turn to demonstrate how smoothly the traffic of trade is now moving between South Africa and the rest of the continent. At the invitation of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safeto), businessmen from several African countries and representatives of trade and aid bodies will meet at the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg to discuss what Safeto calls a new scenario for trade and investment.

The conference will have minimal Government and academic representation. The more than 20 speakers will include representatives of private corporations and of trade and development organisations from Africa and Europe, such as the African Development Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Even more notable will be the presence of three African bodies that once avoided South Africa like the plague: the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), the Southern African Development

Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and Tanzania's Investment Promotion Centre.

Paul Runge, head of Saffo's African operations, says the conference will "give other Africans a chance to pitch themselves at the South Africans, the multilaterals and the Europeans".

Like the inter-governmental meeting in Pretoria, the Johannesburg conference will bring together parties who have never met on South African soil before. Mr Runge says it is yet another example of how the

positive vote in the white referendum has "opened the flood-gates".

At the sporting level South Africa has been formally welcomed back into Africa in several fields. The country's weightlifters competed in Kenya, and South Africa took part in the African badminton championships in Mauritius. South Africans will return to the Davis Cup tennis competition this week in Tunisia. But the most dramatic return has been at the athletics meetings in Dakar and Gerniston.

Academics have moved with some freedom in Africa despite the academic boycott, but the openness with which these exchanges can now take place is demonstrated by a conference on Africa that was to be opened by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda at Potchefstroom, University yesterday, with participation from African countries that include Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya.

Cultural traffic with Africa still tends to be a one-way affair, with South African artists performing in Africa rather than the other way round. Although recently a top Kenyan pop group arrived in this country, but there now seems to be little other than personal choice or financial considerations for African artists from South Africa.

So the road to Africa seems to be wide open in all lanes. If there are any stop-signs they are economic rather than political. □

In times of dark pessimism, a heartening glimpse of rosier prospects

Africa puts out welcome mats

STAR 29/1/92

① ~~288~~ ~~308~~

ONE of the most heartening features of the changing South Africa is the eagerness with which we are discovering that we are part of the African continent and the readiness with which we are being received there.

From the earliest days of white settlement, when Jan van Riebeeck planted a bitter almond hedge to seal off his little community from the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, white South Africans have tried to isolate themselves from the continent and create their own little enclave of Europe here.

That is what apartheid was all about, Van Riebeeck's hedge institutionalised in a thousand laws to exclude the black people of Africa and preserve the illusion that South Africa was really a "white" country.

Now as the stubborn old hedge gives way to the irresistible pressures of change, South Africa is beginning to venture forth to discover the continent of which it is part, but from which it has cut itself off for so long.

Three weeks ago President de Klerk was in Nigeria. It was the 13th African country he has visited since he became leader of the



Allister Sparks

National Party in February 1989.

His visits have included Kenya, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Zaïre, Zambia, Mozambique and Madagascar. But Nigeria was the big one, Africa's most populous nation whose president, Ibrahim Babangida, is also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. In a burst of enthusiasm, the ubiquitous Pik Botha spoke about South Africa possibly joining the OAU.

Airline routes are opening up and trade talks are taking place. Twenty African speakers are attending a conference in Johannesburg this week organised by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation.

I have just returned from Cairo where I was one of seven South Africans invited by the Egyptian government to discuss the future role of our country in the African continent. The Director of the Foreign Ministry's Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Dr Ihab Sorour, described it as "a first

step before the full recognition of South Africa by Egypt and the Arab countries".

Everywhere, the walls of isolation are tumbling down. Full recognition will not come just yet. As Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa explained, there will be no official contact, and certainly no question of South Africa joining the OAU, before an interim government is in place. But as this week's developments at Codesa indicate, that point may be only three or four months away.

There is a heady sense of expectation at what this new relationship may bring. To some extent, interests differ. For the South African Government the interest is primarily political. "The road back into the world runs through Africa," Pik Botha has often said, meaning that if the black states are prepared to accept a reformed South Africa's bona fides no-one else will gainsay them. Pretoria has therefore put a disproportionate amount of effort into scoring these diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa.

For Africa, the interest is primarily economic. This is a continent in crisis, and particularly since the collapse of communism

deprived them of the benefits of Cold War rivalry many African countries have started looking to South Africa as the regional superpower that could pull them out of the mire.

There is a deep fear that the developed world is losing interest in Africa and the Third World generally; that not only aid but investment capital is going to be channelled to the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and that the Third World is going to be become more marginalised than ever.

Faced with this prospect of being abandoned, many African countries see the changes taking place in South Africa as a fortuitously timed hope of salvation.

Their hopes may be unrealistically high. At the Cairo conference, and at others I have attended, the South Africans present have warned against expecting too much, pointing out that although our economy is much larger and better developed than any other on the continent it is nonetheless an economy in trouble because of the distortions of apartheid that will take years to fix.

They talked of the terrible hours

ing shortage, the unemployment rate, and warned that South Africa was likely to remain inward-looking, preoccupied with its own domestic problems, for a long time. It was going to be an aid receiver rather than an aid giver.

But the Egyptians were not deterred. Dr Mahmoud Aziz, the country's most senior banker who heads the Bankers' Association of Egypt, told me he foresaw exciting possibilities for economic interaction with South Africa — especially in tourism and agriculture — and planned to come here next year with a view to opening a branch of his own bank, the Commercial Industrial Bank of Egypt.

"Once we are established there I'm sure we will be able to create many opportunities," Dr Aziz said.

Dr Mona Makram, a politics professor and opposition Wafd Party MP, was emphatic that South Africa could not only be an engine of growth for all of Africa but a role model for democratisation.

"Egypt in the Arab world and South Africa in Africa can perform that task," she declared. In each case, she said, Arab and African countries had used scape-

goating techniques to evade the issue of democracy and human rights in their own societies.

"Apartheid in South Africa united all of Africa and gave them an excuse to ignore their own malpractices. The Palestinian argument has had the same effect in the Arab world," Dr Makram said.

Now South Africa was breaking that pattern, which could make it a catalyst for political change.

Dr Makram described South Africa's desire to join the OAU as "most laudable", saying it would make the country part of Africa and force Pretoria "to espouse the problems of Africa".

South Africa's closer ties with the developed world meant it could act as Africa's interlocutor with the West in trying to get some of its crippling debts written off and generally helping to open it up as a viable market for South African exports.

In times of dark pessimism, when the relentless civil violence and news of police connivance and cover-ups seem to cloud our future prospects, it does good to break out of here and glimpse some of the rosier prospects that await us when we are through this morbid interregnum. □

AFRICA BRIEFS

Konare's election assured

■ MALI'S main opposition leader, Alpha Oumar Konare, a key figure in the uprising which toppled military dictator Moussa Traore, coasted towards victory this week in the second round of Mali's presidential elections, which saw only 16 percent of eligible voters turn out. The former teacher won 70,71 percent of the votes cast. His rival, Tieoule Mamadou Konate, won 30,07 percent, according to provisional official results. The trial of ex-president Traore on corruption charges will start on April 30. He will stand trial with 30 members of his government, including his former defence and interior ministers and army chief of staff.

Senegal, Mauritania resume ties

■ SENEGAL and Mauritania re-established diplomatic ties broken off three years ago after a border dispute over grazing rights in August 1989 sparked bloody riots between the mainly Arab Mauritians and black Senegalese. Human-rights groups say that at least 40 000 black Mauritians were forcibly expelled to Senegal and whole villages razed by Mauritania's Arab-run army during the clashes.

Mobutu praises conference

■ ZAIRE'S President Mobutu Sese Seko says he is confident that the much-halted national conference will bring about peaceful political change. "The work under way at the conference will allow a significant advance in the democratisation process," he said. In conciliatory terms, he praised the chairman of the conference, Catholic Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya, who has been one of his most vocal critics.

Cabinda grenade attack

■ A GRENADE tossed into a crowded market wounded 24 people last week in

the city of Cabinda, capital of Angola's oil-rich northern province. The attack comes amid spiralling violence, as guerrilla groups battle for independence from Angola. Last month, separatists from the Front for the Liberation of the State of Cabinda (FLEC) raided Cabinda Airport, killed nine government soldiers and destroyed 10 buses belonging to the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, which operates Cabinda's oil fields.

Angola's opposition party splits

■ A LEADING Angolan opposition party, the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), split in two this week, effectively destroying its chances at the country's first multi-party elections in September. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, former honorary president of the PRD, and his supporters resigned after alleged vote rigging for a new executive at the party's national convention at the weekend.

Mugabe urged to sack cabinet

■ THE fighters who won Zimbabwe's independence urged President Robert Mugabe to sack his entire cabinet. He was raked over the coals on Saturday when he addressed the inaugural meeting of the Zimbabwe National War Veterans' Association, made up of former fighters from Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla) and rival Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra). Numerous fighters stood up to tell Mugabe their grievances: no jobs, no land, no training, no money, no influence. They charged Mugabe's cabinet ministers were just lining their own pockets and loading the civil service with relatives and supporters from their own regions. — Compiled by Mark Huband in Abidjan and The Guardian staff

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Africa on course to grow poorer, Safto event told

BIDAY 30/4/92

THE West had confidence in SA's future despite the volatile situation, OECD Development Centre director Jean Bonvin said yesterday.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) conference on investment in Africa, Bonvin said, however, all economic indicators pointed to Africa slipping deeper into poverty — when most other regions in the developing world were prospering.

More than two thirds of sub-Saharan Africa is classified by the World Bank as low-income — or having a per capita income of below \$500 a year.

Bonvin said Africa's main burden of the past was its external debt, but conceded this debt was perhaps not as large as that of Latin America. In 1990 African long-term external debt amounted to \$234bn, equal to its GDP — with \$141bn for sub-Saharan countries.

Official Development Assistance now exceeded 15% of GDP for more than half these countries with two thirds of imports being financed by aid.

Bonvin said the results of aid had been less satisfactory in Africa than elsewhere. It was clear aid favoured the exaggerated growth of the public sector — without making its expected contribution to growth.

He stressed a complete overhaul of public finance in Africa was essential for any revival of the economy.

Solutions included:

- Liberalising economies and bolstering political stability to attract foreign investment;
- Encouraging local investment by mobilising savings, restructuring the financial system and privatisation; and
- Creating an environment for private enterprise.

But Bonvin said the prospect of direct foreign investment in the Third World appeared uncertain — due to a looming world shortage of capital in the 90s.

He said there was the danger that Africa would become the forgotten continent since capital was being pumped into the restructuring of eastern Europe and the Middle East. "The fundamental problem is that Africa needs to change its image so that the investor sees it as a politically stable region, safe for his capital."

Bonvin gave the assurance that if this was achieved investment capital would flow into Africa under the same yield conditions as in Asia.

Addressing the conference, Zimbabwean businessman Eddie Cross said transport was a vital ingredient in generating economic growth in southern Africa, and more than 90% of regional trade was carried by rail.

Cross, chairman of Cross Holdings and director of the Indian Ocean Export Company, said SA played an important role in the region's transport infrastructure.

"SA has as many as 10 000 wagons and 50 locomotives north of the Limpopo at any one time, and carries 75% of the region's exports and 50% of its imports," he said.

The total rail capacity of the Southern African Development Conference Committee's (SADCC's) member states was half that of SA's, he said.

Angolan ambassador to Namibia Alberto Ribeiro-Kabulu told the conference Angola's infrastructure was in a poor state and there were opportunities for SA businesses to help in Angola's rehabilitation.

Ribeiro-Kabulu outlined transport, energy, telecommunication and urban renewal as the four areas where Angola needed infrastructural aid. — Sapa.

Ghana yes to constitution

Source from 30/4/92 (1)

ACCRA - Ghanians overwhelmingly approved a new constitution the military government says will lead to multiparty democracy but opposition groups say could keep Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings in power.

Ghana Radio said yesterday the constitution was approved by more than 90 percent in results available yesterday morning from two-thirds of the country's voting stations.

The radio gave no information on the percentage of the turnout. Opposition groups had been urging voters to boycott it.

There were no reports of violence, though a state-owned newspaper warned opposition groups would try to disrupt the vote. Political parties are banned. An attempt to hold a rally opposing the constitution was broken up by security forces last weekend.

The government has promised to legalise parties next month and move ahead with elections later this year. - Sapa-AP

AROUND THE WORLD

World Bank help for Africa drought

Sowetan 30/4/92

(1/236)

WASHINGTON - The World Bank is urgently preparing to help Southern Africa get over a severe drought that could spell disaster for more than 100 million people.

The bank's president, Mr Lewis Preston, told finance ministers gathered for the spring meeting of the bank and the International Monetary Fund in Washington on Tuesday that his agency was actively considering many forms of aid to counter what could prove to be the region's worst drought in decades.

Preston said the drought threatened to set back the considerable progress that countries in Southern Africa had made in overhauling their economies and reducing

Sapa-Reuter

poverty.

The bank, which has dispatched experts to assess the crisis, believes substantial loans will be needed for critical imports of food, medicine and other supplies.

A report by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation called for imports of at least 11 million tons of food in Africa for the year 1991/92, excluding South Africa, which might have to import three million tons.

The World Bank's sister agency, the IMF, is also proposing special measures to soften the blow of the drought.

African business group came to establish links

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A DELEGATION from the African Business Round Table this week visited the country to establish links with local businessmen.

The group comprised secretary-general Mr Esom Alintah from Nigeria, Mr Chris Kirubi from Kenya and Ms Catherine Mwanawambua from Zambia.

Alintah said they were inviting interested businesspeople to the ABR's annual general meeting in Dakar, Senegal, on May 11.

The ABR, which advises the African Development Bank on private sector initiatives on the continent, also hopes to hold its AGM in South Africa later this year.

Alintah said the group holds two meetings in Africa and the third abroad every year.

"But this year, the ABR seeks to hold the third meeting in Johannesburg," he said.

"Your country has the industrial capacity, we have the markets. We are trying to develop links; contacts

and friendships."

He said the group has also established the Private Sector Development Unit which has raised R675 million.

"We offer access to the PSDU for partnerships, equity and loans. As ABR represents business in every African country excluding South Africa, where we offer expanded markets.

"We believe that we should move faster than the politicians in setting up links with South Africa," he said.

Senegal 30/4/92



STAR 30/4/92

'Starvation threatens 30-m'

LONDON — Britain's Princess Anne said yesterday starvation threatened 30 million Africans and it was critical that governments and the UN did something about it. The princess, president of the Save the Children Fund, spoke at the launch of a new appeal by the charity for people to miss a meal and donate the price to famine relief.



Algeria's new military council has scrapped the first-round elections which had put the Islamic fundamentalists on a path to govern the North African state. But the desperate measure will not stop the tide of religious dissent in many Arab countries, writes a **Special Correspondent:**

THE STUNNING electoral victory of Islamic fundamentalists in Algeria was a protest against the corrupt Westernised secular rulers of that country. And though halted in their path for the moment, the result could still give credence to a domino effect on other Middle Eastern regimes linked to the West.

The greatest surprise in the Algerian vote is that it occurred in one of the Arab world's most Westernised countries, where virtually the entire population speaks French and the majority of the young are Western-educated.

In fact, fundamentalists have gained ground particularly in those Middle Eastern states with high levels of Westernisation — in Iran which was very Westernised under the Shah, and in Lebanon, which like Algeria, was a French colony.

The victory of Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) comes as a paralysing blow to the efforts of secular democratic forces in the Arab world whose political principles are largely of Western origin. Existing regimes may now hesitate to hold free elections in which these secular forces had hoped to score advances.

While ordinary people may be wary that the fundamentalists could turn into dictators, the general feeling is

Islamic fundamentalism is gaining ground in Africa

South 23/11-29/1/92



ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS: Demanding a share of power

that they could not be as corrupt as the existing governments.

And the Algerian election results show the parties of the secular democratic opposition enjoy little popular confidence.

As democratic forces lamented their destiny after the Algerian poll, there was jubilation in countries with a strong Islamic presence such as Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen and Jordan.

With the exception of Egypt and Mo-

rocco, these are the countries that opposed US-led war against Iraq.

Indeed, the fundamentalist victory in Algeria even draws support from some in the secular opposition because it represents a rejection of Western policy that led to the death of thousands of Iraqis — needless deaths, from an Arab perspective.

Algerians also well remember France's brutal suppression of their independence movement in which close to a million Algerians died.

If secular opposition forces in the Arab countries have been caught off balance by the FIS landslide, the pressure for democratic elections may now come from local fundamentalists demanding free elections and a larger share of power.

If their rulers do not give in, there is the implicit threat that the fundamentalists will attempt an Iranian-style revolution.

It remains to be seen whether Algeria's military council can keep the lid on the pot.

Meanwhile, the first domino after Algeria is likely to be Tunisia which already has a strong fundamentalist movement, Al-Nahda Al-Islamia, led by Rashid Al-Ghanushi.

Like the movement in Algeria, the Islamicists of Tunisia are part of a larger Islamic movement headquartered in Sudan where Ghanushi lives in exile and where he recently met with Iran's president Rafsanjani.

It is clear that while the Tunisian government resists open elections, Islamicists will push for a showdown. Their attack against Tunisian border troops from bases inside Algeria indicates the Tunisian fundamentalists are well-armed.

Next in line could be Morocco. Here the king has little choice but to appease the Islamicists because his legitimacy derives from being a descendant of the prophet.

If Islamicists came to power in all three of these North African countries, the stage will be set for them to connect with the powerful Islamic groups in Egypt, the largest country in the Arab world, with a population of over 50-million. Egypt's Islamic groups have showed their power through the

assassination of president Sadat.

In spite of the fact that the government of President Hosni Mubarak arrested an estimated 8 000 Islamicists during the Gulf war, many groups are still at work, specially in the south where government control is minimal.

Egypt is already threatened by Sudan, whose military leader, Omar Al-Bashir, is under the control of the powerful Sudanese Islamic movement led by Hassan Al-Turabi.

Sudan recently concluded an alliance with Iran and its Islamic leaders are in close touch with Algeria's jailed fundamentalist leader Abbasi Madani, as well as with Egyptian fundamentalist leaders like Ibrahim Shukri and Mamur Al-Hudaibi.

Sudan's Al-Turabi has achieved a position among Sunni Muslims analogous to that of Ayatollah Khomeini in the Shi'a faith.

The final domino could be Israel's neighbour, Jordan, where Islamicists won 40 percent of the parliamentary seats in 1990, despite government obstruction. If another election is held in the near future, the fundamentalists are expected to take over.

Given these circumstances, the Arab world seems destined for greater turmoil as governments resort to more brutal methods to suppress a resurgent Islamic opposition, and the opposing forces predictably respond in kind.

Any help from Western powers to protect the existing authoritarian regimes from collapse is only likely to further fuel anti-Western and pro-Islamic sentiments.

With Algeria's military council ready to use force against FIS supporters, fears are developing of a civil-war in that country. — *Pacific News Service.*

Pressure mounts for democracy

Africa's democracy movement is on the move. This first of four articles argues that economic crisis is the motor.

Santorri Chamley reports:

INTERNAL and external pressure is mounting on Africa's autocratic regimes to democratise. As the continent experiences momentous changes, upheaval and uncertainty, its economic crisis deepens.

After three decades of suppression and stagnation, in which the high hopes of democracy following successful independence movements in the 1950s and 1960s were buried, the past 18 months have witnessed dramatic changes in several countries.

Throughout Africa, from Mauritania to Lesotho, disillusioned and discontented Africans have been taking to the streets en masse to protest against bad and arbitrary government, systematic abuse of human rights, corruption, the breakdown of law and order and the ever-declining living standards. They are demanding democratic reforms and are tentatively and painfully achieving them.

The new crusade for African democracy — reinforced by events in Eastern Europe and the growing international tendency to tie human rights violations to aid — has obliged many African dictator-



ships to convene national conferences on their countries' futures.

Africa is in the grip of an economic crisis which dates back to the late 1970s, because of economic mismanagement, environmental degradation, military conflict, a sharp decline in African commodity prices and the unsustainable weight of its debts.

By 1990, 33 countries were implementing austere SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programmes) or ERPs (Economic Recovery Programmes) as they are called in Ghana and Tanzania.

The ineffective response of regimes to their economic and political crises led to their overthrow by the National Con-

ferences.

Some, like Mali's Mr Moussa Traoré who held power for 23 years, were deposed. Others were voted out in relatively free elections.

In Benin, reformist and former Prime Minister Mr Nicéphore Soglo ousted Mr Mathieu Kérékou's military, socialist-style regime in a peaceful election a year ago.

In Zambia, Mr Frederick Chiluba took power last year after almost 30 years of Dr Kenneth Kaunda's socialist-style rule.

Opposition leaders also won elections in Sao Tome and Principe, and the Cape Verde Islands last year.

In Kenya, the new aid criteria — formulated by British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd as, 'Those countries tending towards pluralism, public accountability, respect for human rights, and market principles' — were coupled with growing dissent at home, and impelled President Daniel arap Moi to promise elections.

Gambia, Niger, Madagascar, Mali, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Cameroon and Nigeria have also promised elections soon.

Prospects for democracy in Africa look promising. The tentative reforms achieved in countries like Zambia and Benin have resounded across the continent.

Positive changes which have occurred in these countries include the establishment of opposition parties and independent publica-

tions. However, the independent press, which was instrumental in expressing dissent, mostly remains at the mercy of government.

As Mr Abdoulaye Ndiaga Sylla of Senegal states, "Despite the many changes in Africa, working in communications remains risky. Respect for freedom of expression and human rights is far from being a common aspiration."

Most regimes did not concede power as peacefully as those in Benin and Zambia.

Several, including Mr Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, and Mr Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, deployed state power to retain power.

In several countries there were backlashes. In Togo, soldiers loyal to General Gnassingbe Eyadema, who had been eased out of power by a national conference, tried to overthrow Mr Joseph Koffigoh, the new prime minister; and in Congo, Prime Minister Mr Andre Milongo faced a mutiny from an army which remained loyal to General Denis Sassou Nguesso.

The struggle for democracy has already exacted a high price in countries like South Africa, and in Mali, Cameroon, Madagascar, Togo, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, Zaire and Congo, where hundreds of demonstrators were mowed down by government troops. In Liberia, Ethiopia and Somalia, thousands have died and millions been displaced.

— Index on Censorship, London

South 2/5-7/5/92

STAR 21592

'No democracy without aid'

DEMOCRACY in Africa is doomed if Western countries fail to prop up the ailing economies, says former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda. At a democracy conference in Johannesburg this week, he said the developing world did not have a strong economic base to buoy democracy. "If the developed world does not help the developing world, I see a lot of problems coming." — Sapa.

SA set to get stake in \$31bn project

① By ZILLA EFRAT 

SOUTH Africa is well placed to become a major supplier for a \$31.2-billion project to improve telecommunications in Africa.

So says African Development Bank department of infrastructure and industry director Kouassi Apetey, who attended a conference in Johannesburg this week on regional development.

Part of the project to boost Africa's telecommunications, a prerequisite for development, includes a regional African satellite communications system (Rascom).

Mr Apetey says feasibility studies on Rascom were completed last year. However, the final decision to set up a Rascom organisation will be taken in May at a meeting of African telecommunications ministers in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast.

It is envisaged that Rascom will be a joint venture among African governments and private companies.

Mr Apetey says SA, once it has sorted out its political problems and become an Organisation for African Unity member, will be able to become part of Rascom.

SA is well advanced to make much of the equipment needed for the project.

Africa, excluding SA, has about 5.7-million direct exchange lines (DELS). This compares unfavourably with other continents. For example, South America has 21.5-million, North America 133.6-million and Europe 186-million.

The average penetration of DELs in Africa is 0.77 for 100 inhabitants compared with 60 in Europe and North America.

Mr Apetey says the objectives set by each African country in the Rascom feasibility study indicate that telephone density for Africa should reach about 2.5 by the year 2005.

This would require 19.8-million more phone lines at a cost of about \$30-billion to African countries. Satellite connections could raise the bill by another \$1.2-billion.

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East Europe soaks up foreign aid

MONEY TALK

APress 3/15/92

AFRICA will slip into deeper poverty while the developing world thrives.

This is according to Jean Bonvin, senior official of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, which groups top Western nations.

Speaking in Johannesburg at a conference on investment in Africa organised by the SA Foreign Trade Organisation, Bonvin said more than half the countries in Africa rely on foreign aid to finance two-thirds of their imports.

Unfortunately Africa has developed a bad name in the investment world as in the past aid has been used to finance the creation of large bureaucracies which contribute little to economic growth.

Any real revival in Africa depends on a new approach which includes a complete overhaul of public finance.

Bonvin said it would be tough to obtain foreign aid for Africa as capital was being pumped into the restructuring of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Africa needs to boost investor confidence and provide investors with real value for money.

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Too many, too poor

C/over 3/5/97
THE world's resources are adequate for the sustained development of the planet, if they are carefully used, says the United Nations Population Fund report.

But certain measures must be undertaken.

"The requirements will be to improve conditions for the world's 1.1 billion poorest people; to meet the legitimate aspirations of the three billion who are neither rich nor very poor; to cut the environmental cost of development and distribute its benefits more equitably," suggests the report.

Progress towards these goals calls, among other things, for slower population growth.

Currently, the world's

Population growth is compounded by widespread poverty. This week the United Nations Population Fund released its *The State of World Population, 1992* which highlights the population explosion. ZB MOLEFE looks at some figures published in the report.

population is 5.48 billion and will reach six billion in 1998.

"Nearly all this of this population growth will be in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Over half will be in Africa and south Asia," the report says.

Much depends upon action to reduce family size during the next decade.

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Part of this action hinges on access to information and the means of deciding the size and spacing of the family.

The solution to this population time-bomb could lie in two areas - development of human and natural resources.

"Ending absolute poverty, improving health and education and raising the status of women" could be a solution that would contribute to slower, more balanced population growth.

Special attention should be given to Africa and south Asia "where more than half of the increase in population and the majority of the world's absolute poor are found".

National campaigns 'can outpace global strategies'

B10w 51592

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

MANY international advertising agencies considering establishing global marketing strategies could be ignoring the power of national advertising, says TBWA head Bill Tragos.

Tragos, in SA to visit associated company Hunt Lascaris TBWA and to address the Financial Mail advertising conference, said in an interview the advertising industry had been hurt by comments that its future lay in global marketing.

Although global strategies, using one campaign to sell one product in an international market, was easier for client and agency, this did not mean it was the best route to follow.

Advertising had to communicate the numbers and indications arising out of research and interpret them in

a way that was meaningful, he said. SA advertising was a good example of advertising that had looked inward and become national following the sanctions era.

Tragos said TBWA, with 16 offices in 10 countries, was different in that it had no "headquarter country", while other agency groups were defined by the character of the nations they came from.

The agency's development over the years was largely the result of it not being dominated by one country.

TBWA was founded by four people from four different nations, so it was born international, he said. The four founder members also had different

skills — including business, marketing, creative and account skills — and each had promoted his strength.

Tragos said that in most of the countries in which it TBWA was represented, it had become the creative leader in its market. He spoke strongly against those marketers who said creative agencies did not take enough care of brand-building on their path to chasing awards.

He said advertising had to be memorable and charming, and creative advertising was the best way to build brands.

Good creative advertising was a dialogue between the advert and people, he said. Good advertising also did not need to be big budget, but rather the product of clients and agencies prepared to take risks.

Cape agencies in partnership

A10 by 51592
TWO major Cape-based below-the-line advertising companies have concluded a partnership agreement.

The deal, between Ogilvy and Mather Rightford Searll-Trip and Makin(O & M) and Concept Marketing, will see Concept Marketing absorb O & M's existing below-the-line agency, Promotional Campaigns (Cape), while O & M will have a shareholding in the new agency.

The two companies said the new agency would "offer an enhanced promotion service to O & M's clients under its new name, Concept/Promotional Campaigns". Current chairman, Martin Feinstein and MD Alan Radmall would remain in their positions.

The agency would be linked to 17 offices worldwide and will focus on consumer promotions, launches and sales promotion.

Feinstein said below-the-line advertising was growing rapidly, accounting for 60% of adspend overseas.

He said supermarkets, shopping centres and showrooms had turned into the battlefields of brand warfare, and strong promotion was a powerful weapon.

The new agency's client base includes Shell, Arlenco Toys and Games, Lion Match, Warner-Lambert, EMI and Willards.

Saatchi to link up Africa

REPRESENTATIVES from advertising agencies throughout Africa attended a Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett conference last week with a view to an African network of ad agencies.

Conference delegates said it was anticipated that this "miniature OAU" would herald an African network of Saatchi & Saatchi-associated agencies. About 12 agency groups in 18 countries have indicated they will be part of the network. *B10w 51592*

Delegates said it was likely the SA agency, which recently formed a partnership with Mozambique agency Intermark, would become the major player in the African network, forming the base agency in Africa.

A Kenyan representative said other African countries would benefit in two ways. Firstly, from Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide's multinational clients and from its reputation as a global agency, and secondly, from the major technological advances which would flow through from associations with the SA agency.

The benefits of an African network have already been felt. US company The Futures Group is marketing Protector Condoms in numerous African countries through the network. The condom ad, devised by Barker McCormack, Zimbabwe — which is also associated with Saatchi & Saatchi — is already being used in eight countries in Africa. The product will soon be promoted in a further two.

Nando's work

RED Nail advertising, formerly Initiative Johannesburg, has been awarded the prestige Nando's advertising account.

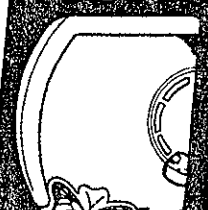
Nando's has won numerous creative advertising awards for its radio spots through its previous agency McCann-Erickson.

The account award follows soon after the recent award of the Times Media Limited advertising account to Red Nail. Red Nail was recently incorporated into the D'arcy Masius Benton & Bowles group.

Red Nail MD Jon Olsen said the agency would create local and international advertising for Nando's.

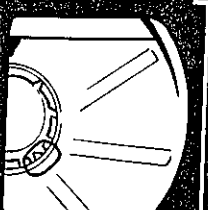
It would be responsible, too, for creating radio, TV, print and promotional advertising.

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Japan may
host African
summit talks

STAR 5/5/92
Star Foreign Service

TOKYO — Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa may propose to President de Klerk during his June visit that Tokyo play host next year to a summit meeting of African nations on development.

Government sources in Tokyo said Mr Miyazawa and Mr de Klerk were likely to consider ways to boost bilateral trade and would also discuss opening an air link between the two countries.

Mr de Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, would meet Emperor Akihito during his visit from June 3 to 6.

Japan began to lift its restrictions on trade with Pretoria last June.

R800m aid for Africa

By CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Food shipments worth over £160 million (about R800m) will begin moving out from ports all over Europe "within weeks" for drought-stricken Southern African countries facing their worst crop failures ever. Experts forecast that up to 40 million people risk starvation in Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Spurred by British Minister for Overseas Development Lady Lynda Chalker, whose department yesterday gave another £20m (R100m), the European Community voted to "immediately" send 680 000 tons of cereals. The British and EC aid now totals £200m (R1 billion) since March. Lady Chalker warned that in the next three months another 1,8m Mozambicans alone risked starvation. Yesterday's British contribution includes £7,5m (R37,5m) for Zambia and £5m (R25m) for Zimbabwe in the form of new balance of payments aid. Mozambique will get £5m (R25m) for food shipments and the other £2,5m (R12,5) will go to Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia.

LUANDA — The EC and African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) oil producers and exporters met in Angola yesterday for talks about improving dialogue and expanding trade.

"Greater co-operation is needed," Angolan Prime Minister Fernando Jose Franca Van Dunem said at the opening of the three-day conference on Monday.

More than 100 delegates are attending the talks in Luanda which are aimed at improving dialogue between oil and gas companies on both sides and increasing investment in developing countries.

UK lending

Oil producers discuss expanding trade

The ACP group had 69 members, of which Nigeria, Gabon, Trinidad and Tobago, Cameroon, Congo and Angola were oil exporters, delegates said. The six were expected to produce up to 3.5-million barrels a day of crude until 1995.

The ACP had 23-billion barrels of proven oil reserves at end-1990, the last available figures, and supplied Western Europe with 10% of total oil needs. Nearly 60% was shipped by Nigeria and

16% from Angola, delegates said.

ACP gas reserves were 3.64-trillion cubic metres in 1990, or 3% of the total worldwide. Nigeria held 76% of gas deposits and Trinidad and Tobago 16%.

Van Dunem proposed the EC protect ACP oil-exporting countries from slumps in world energy prices by paying them compensation, as it did for commodities and minerals under the Lome Convention's

Stabex (System of Stabilisation of Export Earnings) and Sysmin (minerals scheme) programmes.

"Furnish us with technical assistance to make an inventory of our resources, teach us to exploit them rationally and help us when times are hard," the Angolan prime minister appealed to the EC, reports the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

European energy commissioner Antonio Cardoso e Cunha said the idea merited discussion. Van Dunem's request "would not fall on deaf ears", he told the meeting. — Sapa-Reuter.



Improved growth predicted for Africa

US-based aircraft manufacturer McDonnell Douglas predicts Africa's economic growth will outstrip that of the rest of the world in the short term and that air traffic with Europe will grow by more than 7% over the next eight years.

According to the company's recently published World Economic and Traffic Outlook, Africa could be expected to experience at least 3,1% growth a year over the next eight years.

The rest of the world was forecast to experience only 1% annual growth.

The company attributed the improving African economic growth rate to the change in foreign loan policies, political changes and the reduced influence of former east bloc countries on the continent.

The report also predicted SA would experience growth of about 0,4% this year, compared with -0,3% last year and -1,6% in 1990.

A result of economic growth would

LINDEN BIRNS

be increased air traffic. McDonnell Douglas predicted a 6,2% increase in domestic air travel for Africa this year, with a predicted growth rate of 7% a year for the rest of the decade.

Europe-Africa air traffic, the largest volume of which was between Johannesburg and Europe, was expected to grow 7,8% this year, and

Increase

7,5% a year until the year 2000.

This was about 2,4% lower than the forecast world average for 1992 and about 0,4% higher than the forecast global average until 2000.

The company predicted Europe-Africa air freight would increase by about 10% this year, and by 8% a year over the next eight years.

This was in line with predicted growth for the rest of the world.

McDonnell Douglas recently embarked on a campaign to raise its market profile in Africa, after having achieved only a few minor airliner sales in Africa during the past three decades.

US and other banks' flexibility on foreign loan repayments and even write-offs was likely to encourage growth in less developed African countries.

Many of these would have learnt, from experiences in the 1970s and 1980s, to make better economic use of loans to build more solid foundations, the outlook added.

The forecast warned that Africa would have to rely on its own resources to a larger extent than before, and that substantial economic, social and political changes would be needed.

A greater free-market economy would have to be developed together with a more responsible political system.

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attack was made on an Australian ship ap-
proaching Singapore.

Three extremists to hang ①

ALGIERS — A military court in Algeria im-
posed death sentences on three men in the sec-
ond trial of Muslim extremists this week. The
three defendants in Blida and 13 fundamentalists
sentenced to death after this week's earlier trial
in Ouargla were all linked to the banned Islamic
Salvation Front. The men were found guilty of
murdering soldiers in an army camp. *STAN 715792*

Koreans in accord

SEOUL — The prime ministers of North and
South Korea today signed three protocols de-
signed to put into action a treaty of reconcilia-

Ethiopia calls for food relief ①

STAR 8/5/92

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopia appealed to the international community yesterday for emergency food aid.

"Thousands have died, many more have been displaced or have migrated," Ethiopian Prime Minister Tamir Layne said in an address to donor countries and UN organisations. — Sapa-
Reuter.

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100 killed STAR 8/5/92 ① in cave-in of illegally dug mine

FREETOWN — About 100 people were killed in Sierra Leone when an illegally-dug diamond mine caved in, police said yesterday.

The accident happened on Tuesday at Nyeya in the diamond-rich eastern region of the impoverished West African country, which is about 300 km from Freetown.

Police said unlicensed miners dug a tunnel 10 m deep which collapsed.

Those who were in the pit were buried while others who were on the surface were trapped by the cave-in.

Police said the dead included would-be rescuers. State radio said bodies were still being removed from the scene.

Sierra Leone remains one of the world's poorest countries despite rich mineral deposits. Illegal mining and smuggling are rife. — Sapa-Reuter.

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News
been left by police in

caller and car-phone owner are charged the car-phone rate, making those calls 42 times more expensive than a regular call. ■

AFRICAN ROUND TABLE

FM 8/5/92
Some lessons for SA

Members of the influential market-orientated African Business Round Table stopped in SA last week to assess the possibility of holding their next annual meeting in Johannesburg later this year.

cont ->

BUSINESS & TECHNOLOGY

FM 8/5/92

But members did far more than shop around for a suitable venue. Acting on the recommendations of African Development Bank chairman Babacar Ndiaye, who visited SA last month, the group is determined to convince local policymakers that a thriving, deregulated private sector offers the best means of achieving sustainable development and redistributing income.

The Ivory Coast-based group is a sort of roving African ambassador for the free market and SA is its latest mission.

Secretary-general Esom Alintah says: "Our aims are to attract foreign investment to Africa, promote intra-African trade and investment and strengthen Africa's private sector."

Alintah, a director of the Nigerian subsidiary of the US-based Ashland Exploration Co, says SA needs to privatise rapidly to help restore economic prosperity. "Government shouldn't worry about ANC opposition to privatisation — it's the right thing to do. Government has no choice. The sooner it privatises, the better for the country economically." He points out that more than 300 State-run enterprises in Nigeria have been privatised in recent years, in spite of stiff opposition from bureaucrats.

He says: "Privatising these organisations has increased efficiency. Government is not as broke as it used to be, goods are now delivered on time, and prices are competi-



Alintah ... bringing the market to Africa

tive. Employees now receive their salaries monthly instead of every few months."

Alintah says nationalisation is simply not a viable choice for SA, adding that many South Africans appear to be confusing redistributing wealth through economic growth with the discredited option of redistributing wealth by "robbing Peter to pay Paul."

Alintah met ANC officials and invited the organisation to outline its economic policies to an international audience in Dakar on May 11.

The Nigerian has some advice on what the ANC should say. He stresses that the ANC

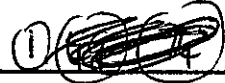
needs a deregulated economy with free and fair competition. "Government need only provide the infrastructure. In short, government needs to pursue a policy of free enterprise."

He points out that most African countries are competing with one another to produce alluring investment codes to attract foreign investment. His group, he says, publicises this and other economic reforms. "Our message is that the business environment in Africa is improving dramatically as economic and democratic reforms are implemented throughout the continent."

The group would welcome widespread participation from SA, which is the only African country that is not represented. Says Alintah: "SA has the ability to produce and supply, cheaply, many of the products bought from Europe and the East."

Referring to the Nigerian market, Alintah says SA can export technology and services — financial, agricultural and engineering. "SA can especially export finished products in the petro-chemical area, while Nigeria can supply SA with the raw materials for these products."

Formed in 1987 as an informal advisory body to the African Development Bank, the business round table became an independent, nonprofit association in 1990 and has raised US\$250m for private-sector development projects. ■



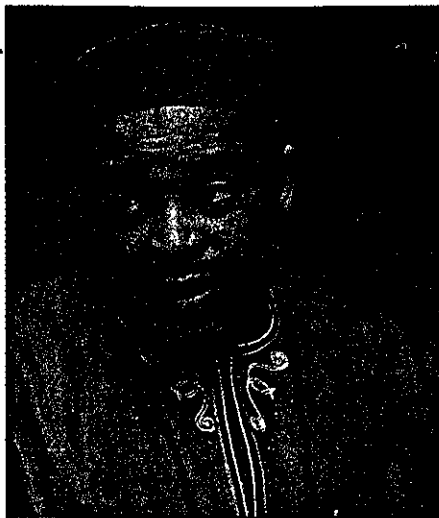
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SA, Kenya 'must be a force' in Africa

ARC 9/5/92

PRETORIA.— South Africa and Kenya should become regional African locomotives, along with Nigeria and Egypt in the north, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Pretoria yesterday.

Speaking at a ceremony where he and his Kenyan counterpart Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah signed an agreement to establish representative offices, Mr Botha said other African countries could then be grouped between these engines.

"Then Africa becomes a voice that can be heard in the world once more."

Kenya's economic policy was much like South Africa's, said Mr Botha, and it was a country with tremendous progress in all walks of life.

Mr Ayah said the two countries should co-operate in order to share their resources "so that we can develop".



Mr Pik Botha

"Because Africa has been relegated to a very backward position in the world for a long time, we need each other to come out of this position."

There were comparisons between what was happening in South Africa and Kenya.

"We look forward to further economic development for our people internally, so that we can also look outwards towards the Africa region," said Mr Ayah.

Kenya, like South Africa, was working for regional development and co-operation and Mr Ayah was "looking forward to a better future" for both countries. — Sapa.

Africa's freedom on a shoestring

South 9/5-14/5/92

As Africa's debts mount and living standards decline, democratic gains may soon be hanging by a thread. **Santorri Chamley** looks at the future in this second article of a four-part series.

THE ROAD to democracy in Africa appears to have been paved, but warnings are being sounded that the fallout from the continent's economic nightmares may threaten newfound freedoms.

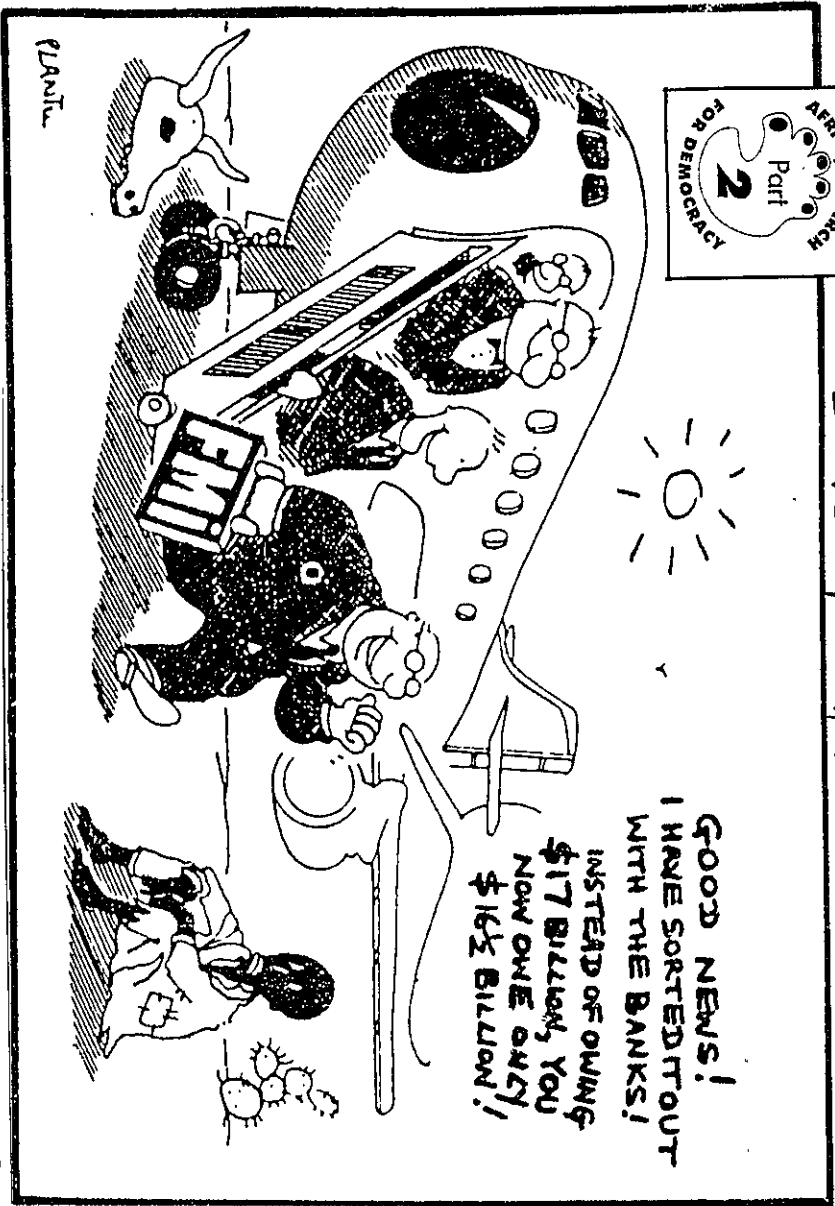
As observer Mr Francis Laloupo says: "The margins of economic manoeuvre in countries which opted for democracy in the face of bankruptcy are slight.

"Given the extent to which natural resources have been pillaged, and the dependence of Africa on the vagaries of the external market, how will Africa's fledgling democracies be financed?"

In the face of so much adversity, what are the chances of survival for African democracy?

According to the Report of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, by 1990 Africa's debt had almost doubled its 1980 figure.

It now stands at \$280 billion (about R784 billion) and is rising rapidly. This includes \$150 billion (about R420 billion) for sub-Saharan Africa, over 112 percent of Gross Domestic Product. Servicing the mounting debt has



become the main burden confronting the continent.

Each year sub-Saharan African countries pay US\$12 billion (about R33,6 billion). This is only one third of the interest due and about 30 percent of export earnings.

Debt is costing Africa more than the continent is spending on the welfare of its people, including health and education.

Arrears on long-term debt rose from \$221 million (about R618,8 million) in 1980 to \$7,2 billion (about R20,1 billion) in 1989.

During the sixties and seventies, the GDP of most African countries increased by six percent annually. By 1988, the debt crisis had slashed

the GDP to around three percent.

By 1990, increasing debt and balance of payment difficulties had forced 33 countries to implement stringent Structural Adjustment Programmes and Economic Recovery Programmes.

The price of former regimes' mismanagement of economies, together with rampant corruption and declining commodity prices, is being paid. Those feeling the crunch of a sharp decline in living standards are the millions of Africans least able to bear its burden — the urban and rural poor, women and children.

The number of African families unable to meet their basic needs

has doubled within a decade. Over 30 million people out of a population of 552 to 570 million are unemployed; average incomes have fallen by as much as 30 to 80 percent in the more beleaguered countries.

The impossibility of earning a living has driven at least 60 000 skilled workers from the continent.

This year alone, drought threatens 27 million people in 14 countries; and around 40 million people have been displaced by environmental disasters and war.

Structural adjustment has social and political implications.

There have been widespread disturbances linked to economic pro-

grammes.

Such programmes were initially designed to be implemented over a short period to stabilise and balance national economies. After a decade, most countries are still "adjusting".

Nigerian economics professor Dr Bade Onimode asks: "How long are our countries supposed to adjust?"

"Almost without exception, the effect of structural adjustment has been to undermine the fragile structures of democracy in our societies, in the sense that they usually require authoritarian regimes to implement them successfully.

"This is why in many of our countries, structural adjustment has tended to coincide with, if not provoke, the militarisation of politics and growing authoritarianism."

After three decades of suppression, and a system that enriched a few on the backs of the masses, the one-party, military-ruled state has clearly lost credibility.

The economic crisis and current political ferment emphasise the need for alternative forms of government.

But unless Africans begin to see some tangible results from the sacrifices they have made, the recent reforms and moves to democracy will be threatened.

Can the incoming leaders reverse years of economic freefall and create viable, successful economies?

Will multi-party systems bring democracy and alleviate poverty?

And as Zimbabwean writer Mr Chenjerai Hove asks: Will the incoming leaders resist the lure of power and its capacity to destroy people's participation in determining their own destiny?

— **Index on Censorship, London**

African bank conference to focus on SA

ABIDJAN — SA's membership of the African Development Bank (AfDB) will be one of the main issues discussed at the bank's annual meeting which opens in Dakar, Senegal, today. *Blom 11/5/92*

Apart from the main four-day meeting, the AfDB is hosting a special conference on SA in transition which is set to attract keen attention.

"SA will be a major, major thing," one AfDB source said.

"Pretoria can't formally be a part of the meeting because it's not a member yet, but that is clearly the way the bank sees its future going."

SA is sending Foreign Ministry officials and Southern African Development Bank acting CE André la Grange to promote contacts.

AfDB sources say they also expect SA Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant and political groups. — Sapa-Reuter.

Restore ¹ monarchy

NAIROBI - Thousands of people marched in the streets of Ethiopia's capital demanding the restoration of the monarchy, Ethiopia radio reported.

The Sunday night broadcast said an estimated 3 000 marchers in Addis Ababa called for immediate return of Ahma Selassie, son of the late Emperor Haile Selassie. *Southern 12/5/92*
Ahma (78) who is the only claimant to the throne, is presently in exile. - *Sapa-AP*

Aid diplomacy could benefit rich and poor nations

STAR 1215792. (1)

A couple of generations ago, when a Great Power wanted to impose its will on a small nation it sent a gunboat with an ultimatum: "Do what we want or we will blast you to smithereens". Usually the little nation unhappily submitted and it was not necessary for the gunboat to fire a shot.

Today these things are done with a little more refinement but the method is just as effective. The Great Power simply makes it known that if the small nation does not do what is required of it then its aid will be cut off. In other words, its economy will be blasted to smithereens.

The main difference between the old style and the new is that nowadays the Great Powers usually act in the name of morality rather than out of greed. And because of that, and the fact that they are no longer competing over colonies or ideologies, they tend to act in concert.

So rather than demanding the right to exploit a little country's natural resources or to take over its territory, the Great Powers demand that it abandon totalitarian government, desist from jailing people without trial and torturing them, introduce multi-party and free market policies or clean up official corruption.

That is all fine except that the Great Powers are not always greatly concerned about morality in little countries that have no special importance of their own. High-mindedness has seldom in the affairs of man been as compelling a motivation as self-protection or greed. So the moral arm-twisting tends to be executed with about the same diligence as the provision of economic aid.

Both tend to be applied only when the Great Power feels like it. And both always seem somehow to be aimed at improving the self-image of the Great Power rather than the living standards of the little nation.

Africa, which has experienced a great deal of gunboat diplomacy in the past, is now being subjected to a certain amount of the newer form of persuasion. But not to a very great extent, for Africa is being marginalised by the Great Powers.

Their attitude seems to be that Africa is actually marginalising

Out of Africa

GERALD
L'ANGE



itself by manifesting a chronic inability to solve its problems even with aid from the Great Powers, and that the money is better spent in Eastern Europe or elsewhere where the people seem to have a greater facility for self-improvement.

There is a double tragedy in this. It is not only Africa that stands to suffer from it but also the Great Powers themselves. For the African countries will not quietly decline in isolation. They will do things like chopping down their rain forests faster than before in a desperate attempt to earn foreign exchange. They will exploit whatever other natural resources they have with increasingly less concern about possible environmental damage. Existing deserts will expand and new ones created.

The African countries will burn fossil fuels with minimal concern for air pollution. All of this will alter international climatic norms, exacerbating not least the potentially disastrous greenhouse effect.

Diseases will flourish and may not always condescend to remain in Africa.

Neither will desperate masses who will try to flee Africa for kinder shores, including those of the Great Powers. And, since democracy cannot exist in poverty, human rights will be one of the first casualties.

It would be far wiser, surely, for the Great Powers to approach the problem of declining Africa with more imagination than they have so far shown.

For instance, instead of paying as little as possible for Africa's hardwoods, why not pay inflated prices and make them conditional on the renewal of forest resources? The money would be far better spent than on military hardware and the Great Powers could still regard it as a security investment.

"Ask not for whom the bell tolls ..."

Gunning for peaceful change

STAR 12/5/92

THE US has dramatically reduced its military assistance to African countries and its modest military involvement will increasingly be used to support democratic change and the resolution of conflict, senior officials of the State Department and the Department of Defence told a Senate hearing last week.

The hearing was called after reports in South African and American newspapers suggesting that the US was backing the construction of new military bases in Botswana and elsewhere in Africa, and speculation that this was being done because of a fear that US intervention might be necessary in the new South Africa.

These reports were rejected by Office of Defence Relations and Security Assistance director Michael Cotter, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs James Woods and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Africa Leonard Robinson in testimony to the Africa subcommittee of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr Cotter told the sub-

A Senate hearing is told that, contrary to claims that the US is building military bases in Africa, money is being used to support democratic changes there.

By HUGH ROBERTON in Washington.

committee that military assistance to Africa declined from \$150 million in direct military assistance and some \$400 million in economic support funds in 1985 to \$59 million and \$165 million respectively by 1987.

By last year, the figures had dropped to \$29 million in military assistance and \$30.3 million in economic support funds, and there was an even further decline in 1992.

"We remain very conscious of the benefits that even modest assistance levels will bring in Africa.

"These range from conflict resolution to non-lethal programmes for civic action, health and humanitarian assistance, and protection of natural resources.

"The goal of these programmes is to foster acceptance of a democratic framework by African military forces," he said.

Mr Robinson said US security assistance programmes in Africa were

being "retooled to help Africans remove their military forces from the sidelines of democracy, to help them teach their military establishments that it is the democratic process and the nation's mandate which deserve their support, and to assist Africa's nascent democracies in weaning their military establishments away from the all too active role they have so often played in thwarting African democracy".

Mr Robinson told the subcommittee that in an active dialogue with African countries, the US sought to consolidate democracy by, among other things, maintaining civilian control over the military.

"They have requested our support, and our military assistance agenda is being altered accordingly."

The US military assistance programme was now "almost entirely non-lethal".

Mr Robinson added:

"We are realists and we recognise that Africa's military forces have been privileged institutions for over three decades.

"We know they are reluctant to yield their current institutional power.

"Like their civilian counterparts, African military institutions are learning a great deal from democratic models of civilian-military relations and it is their continued exposure to, and indoctrination in, democratic values which is a constant theme of our military assistance programmes.

"Our experience has shown that professional military-to-military links are an effective means of communicating these values to African military leaders."

As part of the US effort to "make do with less", a regional military fund for Africa was set up last year to allow the US to support a number of programmes such as military civic action, fi-

sheries and wildlife protection, and peacekeeping.

"In the future, the regional fund will also be a source of funding for US military teams which will advise African countries on downsizing (reducing) and restructuring their militaries to force levels which can be managed and maintained from their own national funds without requiring concessional assistance."

Mr Woods told the subcommittee that US strategic interests in Africa were "very modest".

He added: "We have no interest in establishing a major or permanent military presence.

"We are satisfied with the arrangements for transit and occasional facilities usage which we do have. We station no troops, have no bases and home-port no ships there.

"There are fewer than 300 US military personnel assigned in sub-Saharan Africa and the majority of those are US Marine guards at our embassies.

"The balance are almost entirely defence attaches and security assistance staff personnel." □

13/5/92 Sowetan Welcome to Mogadishu

MOGADISHU - "Ah good, they've changed the seat covers," said a United Nations official ushering a visitor into his official car in the war-torn Somali capital.

"A Somali guard in the back was shot dead last week. The bullet came in through the window. The whole back of the car was a bit slippery for a while, a bit gruesome."

Where the guard had bled to death was another young recruit guarding his foreign charges with a battered Italian rifle.

"Hello," he smiled at the visitor. "Welcome to Mogadishu."

Peace and normality, of a sort, prevail in Mogadishu since the factions which ousted President Mohamed Siad Barre in January last year agreed to end an internal feud which has killed at least 5 000, made thousands refugees and reduced the city to bricks and mortar.

Relief food is being handed out. The guns loyal to self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and his rival warlord, Mohamed Farah Aideed, are almost silent in a city which has known only war for 18 months.

But gun law still rules, there is no recognised government and no foreigner and few Somali men can move around town without armed guards past checkpoints made from rifleguards, broken canshafts or broken tyres.

The guns are in the hands of cheerful young

men and could have come from a 1945-1991 guide to the world's second-hand arms market. Missiles have even been ripped from Soviet-made MiG fighters and mounted on looted jeeps.

Daily life is surreal.

Aid workers compare the atmosphere to the cult 1980s Mad Max movies in which Western-style plots were played out against the Australian outback wilderness of a post-holocaust age by goodies and baddies in souped-up doomsday machines.

Toyota Land Cruisers and Mercedes-Benz saloons mounted with machine guns and bristling with boys and their weapons scream around the city. Many have been hired by the UN as guards and are called "technicals." No one knows why.

Mad Max

"But in Mad Max, it was obvious that (Australian actor) Mel Gibson was the hero. In Mogadishu, it's hard to know whose side anyone is on, unless their technical is flying a UN or aid agency flag," a European doctor said.

By mid-afternoon, the boys on the technicals have the glazed but chemically alert eyes of Somalis high on Qat, a mildly narcotic leaf grown in Kenya and flown in daily in small planes. Drug ownership is one of the main causes of fighting now.

"Qat is the only thing that keeps these boys going," said Carl Howorth of Care International,

who hired scores of men and technicals to keep armed looters away from the first consignment of food to dock.

Ali Mahdi's own men take delivery of their quota of relief food and drive it across the "green line" dividing the city to feed their supporters.

Lawlessness, rampant for months, is now only sporadic. But the potential for a return to anarchy is huge, aid workers say. "One big clash and we could start all over again," said a senior UN official.

There are fantastic but true stories of life in chaos. An Egyptian diplomat was roused from a quiet evening in front of his video by gunmen who stole his television, the video, all his furniture and an expensive Swiss watch.

"Then they came back the next morning and offered to sell the watch back to him. He bought it, but that evening they came and stole it again," said a UN colleague.

A "minister" asked the UN to reinstate the city water supply and guided their staff to 17 of his private, commandeered homes which he said deserved priority treatment.

He offered the use of sophisticated drilling equipment he had looted from an aid agency warehouse.

Surrealism reigns supreme. Medecins sans Frontieres and other charities who nurse the casualties of conflict move about in jeeps mounted with the very guns which inflicted so

many of the wounds in the first place.

Mr Abdelah Mohamed Ahmed was a student of behavioural psychology. Now he is a warrior and will happily diagnose Somalia's ills after a good dose of Qat.

Cradling an AK-47, feet draped over a machine gun, he says: "The main problem is Siad Barre. What we are witnessing now is the result of his policies of divide and rule."

The fact that Mr Siad Barre fled 18 months ago and is now in exile does not alter his argument. "It is his legacy. That is why we are fighting," he says.

It is a bizarre city of 1.2 million people where shell shock or post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as doctors call it, is as common as the weapons that caused it.

"PTSD arises from exposure to a traumatic event outside the range of human experience, in which the person is both terrified and helpless," the American lobby group Africa Watch says.

"In Mogadishu, the events likely to cause it include witnessing or being in firefights, seeing summary executions, being the victim of shelling or witnessing severe injury or the painful death of a loved one.

"If that's the definition, then I reckon about 1.2 million people here have PTSD. Where's my technical? Let's go," the UN official told his visitor. - *South African Press Association - Reuters.*

African Development Bank pins hopes on SA

DAKAR — The African Development Bank opened its three-day annual meeting yesterday in the Senegalese capital buoyed by hopes that a post-apartheid SA would strengthen the continent's economy, but worried it could take a decade to reverse falls in living standards since 1980.

The bank is expected to savour a modest improvement in fortunes in 1991, when economic growth for the continent, excluding SA, edged up to 2,5% from 2,1% in 1990.

But with a population of 600-million people growing faster than anywhere in the world at 3,1% annually, individual incomes fell again.

The bank, in a briefing paper, estimated it would take seven to 10 years

of sustained, real economic growth at 4% annually to recover per capita income losses suffered in the '80s.

The bank's Babacar Ndiaye told a pre-conference seminar SA had a key role to play as an engine of economic recovery, but Pretoria would not immediately start channelling investments to African nations. Once SA revived its economy, it had a role to play. *B/Dcm 131592*

He would welcome SA membership of the bank. According to bank statutes, however, SA must first become part of the OAU.

SA officials, who took part informally in last year's meeting of the bank, will attend officially this week for the first time as observers. The

ANC will also take part. *(1) (2)*

Philippe Lietard, director of African investment for the World Bank's International Finance Corporation, which funds private sector ventures, said the size and range of SA's economy, which accounted for 40% of sub-Saharan Africa's economy, would be attractive to foreign financiers. Its creditworthiness could help it win funding from international lenders such as the African Development Bank and World Bank. *(3) (4)*

Derek Auret, deputy director-general in SA's Foreign Ministry, said regional integration of economies was vital as regional blocs were being formed in North America, Europe and the Far East. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rand losing ground to £

By Carole Mason,
international economist,
Standard Bank

STAR 13/5/92
CAROLE ON CURRENCIES

The mundane realities of a dollar still trapped in a range characterised initial rand activity last week.

Ahead of last Thursday's scheduled Bundesbank meeting and Friday's release of key US employment data, it was not generally anticipated that the domestic dealing community would be afforded much scope for establishing new dollar/rand positions and the domestic unit was expected to remain confined to narrow trading ranges.

This in fact proved to be the case and although dollar activity had a weakish undertone, rand appreciation against the dollar was restricted to a fleeting burst above R2,86.

By week's end, the rand had given up those gains, with a stronger dollar leaving many domestic analysts pondering the possibility of an early break out of recent trading ranges.

Having safely hurdled the two obstacles represented by

last week's Bundesbank meeting and April's US employment data, a renewed problem of the dollar's upside is now possible.

However in an environment where market participants everywhere have chosen to focus on international central bank policies rather than on the underlying economic background, the dollar remains vulnerable to nagging doubts that US interest rates have not yet bottomed.

LOSSES

As a consequence, any near-term rand weakness against the dollar should be confined to a move towards the upper end of the rand's recent R2,85-R2,88 trading range against the dollar.

The prospect of a modestly stronger dollar in the days ahead has additional indirect implications for the rand in that dollar strength against the third currencies usually implies rand

strength against the third currencies also (but to a lesser degree).

Any evidence of a stronger dollar in the days ahead should therefore enable the rand to claw back some of last week's losses against the other major currencies. These were most obvious against a surging pound which, despite a cut in UK interest rates, strengthened towards R5,16.

However, with the pound an obvious beneficiary of a lack of clear trends in both the dollar and the DM last week, any evidence of modest strength in the US currency should take some of the gloss off the pound, enabling the rand to advance.

As such, near-term performance in the rand (although occasionally disguising in terms of rand performance against individual currencies) should not give undue cause for concern in terms of the SA Reserve Bank's chosen objective, the rand's trade-weighted value.

Retail sales looking up

By Sven Limsche



Retail sales look set to emerge from their two-year slump.

Projected figures released by Central Statistical Services (CSS) this week show that sales in April are expected to reach R7,28 billion — an increase of 18,6 percent on the comparative figure in April last year.

After taking inflation into account, this indicates a real year-on-year increase of 2,6 percent. A broader indicator also suggests an upturn in spending on retail goods.

According to CSS, projected sales for the three months to April increased by 4,8 percent, compared with the preceding three months — a real rise of 0,8 percent.

This contrasts sharply with the latest actual retail sales figures available, those for February this year.

In February sales rose by a nominal 15,6 percent to R6,35 billion, compared with February 1991, which represents a decline of two percent in real terms.

New SA 'giving Africa hope'

By Sven Limsche



DAKAR — The African Development Bank is meeting here this week buoyed by hopes that a post-apartheid South Africa will strengthen the continent's economy, but worried that it could take a decade to reverse falls in living standards since 1980.

The Bank is expected at its three-day annual meeting to savour a modest improvement in fortunes in 1991, when economic growth for the continent, excluding South Africa, edged up to 2,5 percent from 2,1 per cent in 1990.

But with a population of 600 million people growing faster than anywhere in the world at 3,1 percent annually, individual incomes fell again.

These shrank by 15 percent in the 1980s alone, said the Bank in a briefing paper.

"People are, on average, worse off today than they were three decades

earlier, with poverty and deprivation threatening to expand," it said.

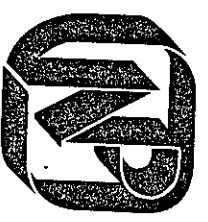
The Bank estimated it would take seven to 10 years of sustained, real economic growth at four percent annually to recover per capita income losses suffered in the 1980s.

Weak world prices for Africa's mineral and farm output, mounting foreign debt, slack investment, widespread drought and civil strife contributed to the current crisis.

Most of these constraints persist, although total foreign debt eased to \$271 billion last year from \$286 billion in 1990 thanks to write-offs.

Yet, debt service payments still account on average for three-tenths of export earnings. And, according to United Nations estimates quoted by the Bank, poor commodity prices cost Africa about \$50 billion in lost export earnings in the second half of the 1980s.

Bank president Babacar Ndiaye said on Monday a post-apartheid South Africa could play a key role as an engine of growth in Africa, once it shakes off its own recession and gets to grips with daunting housing, education and other socio-economic challenges. — Sapa-Reuter.



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13/5/92

BRIEFS

WMAK 15-14519Z
Europe announces food aid to Africa

THE European Community is to provide food aid worth £154-million for African countries stricken by drought. Of the 800 000 tons of wheat to be purchased, some 680 000 tons is to be distributed in southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. Maize, beans and vegetable oil will also be supplied. European relief aid will be handled by non-governmental organisations already in the field, including the Red Cross and the World Food Programme. EC officials in Brussels said that as soon as they made purchases on the world markets, particularly South American maize, shipments could begin within a week. The EC itself has a grain stock of about 18-million tons.

WMAK 15-14519Z
Sierra Leone calm with new leader

CALM has returned to Sierra Leone's capital, Freetown, following the military coup last week which toppled the seven-year rule of President Joseph Momoh. A governing council of military officers headed by Captain Valentine Strasser is currently ruling Sierra Leone. Strasser (27) was welcomed this week at a rally by crowds of thousands who greeted him as an example of young, dynamic leaders. As a result of looting and violence in Freetown after the coup, the United States airlifted its nationals out of the country while France evacuated its tourists by sea. It is expected the return to law and order will convince those countries to allow their nationals to return.

WMAK 15-14519Z
Food aid arrives in Mogadishu

IN a desperate attempt to stave off mass starvation in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, the distribution of emergency food aid has finally begun. A United Nations-chartered ship which docked in Mogadishu on Sunday off-loaded more than 5 000 tons of wheat. The International Committee of the Red Cross brought relief food ashore from a vessel anchored off Gezira Beach, south of Mogadishu. These food shipments are the first to reach Mogadishu since November, when serious fighting between rival factions forced the closure of the port.

Shantytowns of Ghana make Alexandra township look elegant

VERY few Ghanaians acknowledge the presence of South African businessmen in Accra. But there is hardly a night when they cannot be seen in the main bar of the Norotel hotel or in the restaurant where the fare is still uncommonly European.

Engineers, geologists, mining specialists, timber merchants and journalists — all eager to make an impact or a profit in the first English-speaking west African state to admit South African passport-holders without restriction.



AFRICAN FOOTHOLD: Elmina Castle across Accra's bay was one of the first European strongholds built on the west African coast in the 1400s.

Ghana, in line with Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Togo, Guinea-Bissau and Senegal, has thrown open the doors to "our dear cousins from the south", as locals quaintly express it in an almost Victorian turn of phrase.

There is even talk of Ghana Airways soon opening a service to Johannesburg, at present the airline flies weekly between Accra and Harare.

It is still not so easy at Kotoka Airport outside Accra. I was able to accompany my wife through a multitude of immigration and customs channels into the departure lounge when she left for London in February — which I would never be allowed to do at Jan Smuts. But once I had left, she was subjected to seven more passport and personal checks — one a body-search that bordered on the indecent.

She was lucky. A regular complaint by travellers leaving from Kotoka Airport in recent years has been the unwillingly of an anal examination to ensure that no gold or diamonds are being smuggled out of the country.

A South African tourist in Ghana is an unusual event. Apart from the occasional businessman or technician working for Ashanti Goldfields in the interior, there are very few foreigners of any nationality.

While Ghana was a favorite staging-post for adventurous trans-Africa travellers 20 or 30 years ago, most whites

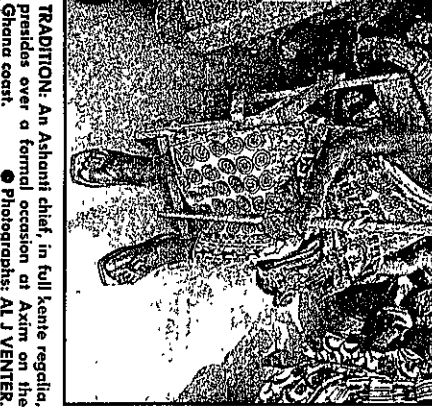
now give the country a wide berth. Photographs are forbidden in most public places and foreigners are regarded with suspicion by many government functionaries.

Travellers also cite the poor hygiene standards in hotels catering for non-Ghanaians outside the capital. Western food is almost unobtainable except in the few Accra hotels distinguished by four of five stars — and correspondingly pricey.

Another problem is water: it is better described as thin mud, and it was used to make our evening soup. But since the *fufu* was fiercely spiced with red pepper, who was to know the difference?

Our group from Johannesburg's opulent northern suburbs was taken by surprise. All were shocked by shantytowns that made Alexandra look elegant, by the slant and unvarying begging by the malnutrition and hordes of jobless.

Strangely enough, there was little crime: we could walk the streets at night — and there are no street lights



TRADITION: An Ashanti chief, in full kente regalia, presides over a formal occasion at Axim on the Ghana coast. Photographs: AL J VENTER.

THIRTY-FIVE years on and changed in Ghana, says AL J VENTER, who has just returned from filming in the Gold Coast of old.

— with no fear of muggings.

As a nation, Ghana is dreadfully poor and the unemployment rate runs to nearly 50 percent. Most people beg just to stay alive.

All that is astonishing, for the Osagyefo, the Redeemer Kwame Nkrumah, took Ghana from Britain into the intoxicating post-colonial period with abundant reserves and high optimism.

Since 1982 when the new president, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, took over in a putsch (his second), Ghana's cedi has been devalued by 18 000 percent. At independence a cedi was worth 10 shillings, then the equivalent of R1.

The only hope in the long term is gold, and there seems to be a good deal of that. Ghana has almost doubled its gold output in the past 18 months, and the government has invited several South African mining houses to set up new ventures including prospecting, opening new mines or reviving old ones.

The Gold Coast (as Ghana was known before independence) is one of the richest gold-producing regions in Africa and there is much potential for new development.

Six centuries later there are still people who remember that in the 13th and 14th centuries nearly all the gold in circulation in Spain, Portugal and Italy came from the west coast of Africa. Before the "discovery" of Africa by European adventurers, it had been brought across the Sahara Desert by the Moors.

Whatever the future, Ghana will need all the help it can get, including that obtainable from South Africa. The population has burgeoned from a little more than 6 million in 1960 to 15 million now. The increase is due partly to the astonishingly high birth rate of 6.4 children per female, one of the highest in the world, and partly because of the influence of modern drugs.

Yet there is hope. One of our party encountered an Anglo American geologist in the hotel lobby just before we left for the airport. He had spent six weeks in Guinea, a francophone state a little further up the coast.

"What was Guinea like?" asked my friend.

"Ghana is a paradise by comparison," was the reply.

Africa pleads for more debt relief

DAKAR — Africa's top banker yesterday called for more debt relief for his continent, amid warnings that its people are worse off now than in the early days of independence. *STAR 145192*

Babacar Ndiaye, president of the African Development Bank (AfDB), urged creditors to increase concessions introduced last year on debt repayments of low-income countries, and to extend the easier terms to more countries.

"Clearly, relief measures in place continue to be inadequate," he said, opening the Bank's three-day annual meeting.

Low-income countries were able to meet only four-tenths of scheduled repayments in 1991.

He said the continent's economy remained fragile after growing 2.4 percent in 1991, lagging well behind AfDB estimates for population growth of 3.1 percent. — Sapa-Reuter.

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DAKAR. — Africa's top banker has pressed for more debt relief for his continent, amid warnings that its people are worse off now than in the early days of independence. Babacar Ndiaye, president of the African Development Bank (AfDB), urged creditors to increase concessions introduced last year on debt repayments of low-income countries, and to extend the easier terms to more countries.

"Clearly, relief measures in place continue to be inadequate," he said, opening the Bank's three-day annual meeting.

Write-downs and other relief trimmed Africa's foreign debt to \$271bn last year from \$286bn in 1990.

Yet, Ndiaye said, low-income countries were able to meet only four-tenths of scheduled repayments in 1991. Middle income debtors had also suffered severe difficulty meeting debt dues.

He said the continent's economy remained fragile after growing 2.4% in 1991, lagging well behind AfDB estimates for population growth of 3.1%.

Revised estimates released shortly before he spoke showed the economy slowed for the third year in a row in 1991, rather than improving slightly as the Bank reported earlier.

Recession in leading industrialised countries had depressed prices for Africa's commodity exports, while southern Africa was now in the grip of a devastating drought. With a population of over 600 million people growing faster than anywhere else in the world, indi-

Africa in ^① dire need of debt relief — banker

AT 14/5/92

vidual incomes fell again, having dropped by 15% in the 1980s, a Bank briefing paper said.

"People are, on average, worse off today than they were three decades earlier, with poverty and deprivation threatening to expand," it said.

The Bank believed it would take seven to 10 years of sustained, real economic growth at 4% a year to restore per capita incomes to 1980 levels, it added.

To achieve economic growth averaging 5% annually, Ndiaye said, Africa would need more than \$60bn a year in foreign funding throughout the 1990s.

Figures released separately showed this was barely half the \$130bn annually which the Bank feels is needed to achieve economic growth at the 5% annual rate to the year 2000, indicating a need for Africa to generate substantial resources too.

Ndiaye, declaring that Africa must take the lead in shaping its destiny, said its economies must become viable and reliable homes for foreign and local business. — Sapa-Reuter

Renewed pledge to rescue shaky African economies

DAKAR — Industrialised countries have renewed their commitment to financing a rescue of Africa's floundering economies, allaying fears aroused by aid demands from eastern Europe and the former Soviet bloc.

They told the annual meeting of the African Development Bank on Wednesday this should go hand in hand with reforms by African countries themselves.

These ranged from efforts to develop market economies, attract investors, alleviate poverty, protect the environment and curb Africa's 3.1% annual growth in population.

"We will continue to be an active partner in collaboration in extending assistance to (African) countries ... making adequate self-help efforts," said Japan's International Finance Bureau deputy head Sugi-saki Shigemitsu.

He echoed sentiments expressed by delegates from the US, Britain, Canada and

the Netherlands.

The meeting was told Africa's economy slowed for the third successive year in 1991, recording growth of 2.4% compared with 3.5% in 1990. Living standards fell again, to their lowest levels in 30 years.

Growth of 4% a year throughout the 1990s was needed just to maintain existing living standards, said UK delegate Peter Freeman.

Conditions beyond Africa's borders were unlikely to help it much and modest gains at best were forecast for commodity prices.

Freeman said the budgets of developed countries were also constrained. This made it unrealistic for Africa to expect any substantial increase in overall aid in the next few years.

Wethington outlined US economic policy towards Africa — helping to meet social and other needs while stressing the merits of democracy and free markets. — Sapa-Reuter.

demanding better treatment at the day hospital

WHO's Health for all thwarted by poverty

South 16/5-2/5/92

WORLD Health Organization (WHO) campaign to guarantee basic health care for everyone by the year 2000 is being thwarted by poverty, an African official said.

Botswana's health minister, Mr. Bahiti K. Temane, said the target "has become unattainable in many parts of the world — definitely in Africa" because Aids is spreading and the gap between rich and poor countries is widening.

In 1978 member states of WHO, a UN agency, set themselves the goal to promote "Health for All by the Year 2000". It includes ideas like providing safe water, immunization against childhood diseases and enough nutrition

for mothers and children. "There is no way the poverty in Africa can be eliminated in eight years," Temane told WHO's annual assembly recently. "Furthermore, Aids will reverse even the little achievements that had been attained to date."

Future efforts to widen health care "will founder ... as long as the rich nations are getting richer and the poor nations are getting poorer," Temane told a nearly empty meeting hall.

He asked rich countries to provide technology and help market reforms through investments. WHO delegates are reviewing the global health programme, the

framework for much of the agency's current work.

An example of how poverty overrides medical progress is cited in a WHO report to the meeting.

Treatments exist for diarrhoeal diseases like cholera — a major child killer — but little progress can be expected if people return to live in germ-infested conditions, it says.

While people are living longer everywhere, "improvements in life expectancy do not necessarily mean a healthier life," the report says.

Many scourges — cancer, cardiovascular disease, tropical sicknesses and the deadly immune system destroyer Aids — are spreading in the

Third World, it says.

It admits "the expectations of health for all by the year 2000 will not be realized in most countries."

Since the end of the Cold War, developing countries have worried that western aid — already tight in an economic recession — will shift to rebuilding eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Temane said "euphoria has now cleared" after the wave of democracy in eastern Europe and signs of economic hope for Africa that ended the 1980s.

Botswana, with close economic links to neighboring South Africa, is one of Africa's richer countries. — Sapa-AP



The aid show hits Somalia

STAR 8/10/92

①

International aid has finally come to Somalia, but experts warn against creating an aid-dependent society. JONATHAN CLAYTON reports.

AFTER months of hesitation, the international aid show has finally come to Somalia and is playing to packed houses.

In the space of a few months, the bombed-out capital of Mogadishu is a city transformed.

Virtually every street now has a feeding centre or makeshift hospital, many hastily set up after the world's conscience was pricked by television pictures of dying babies.

Mogadishu airport is busier than it has been for years with military transport planes loaded with grain vying for space with light passenger aircraft ferrying in teams of aid workers.

"Things are beginning to go very well now. The other day the airport was like an international one," the UN's special representative for Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun, said.

Since his appointment earlier this year, Sahnoun has struggled hard to force the world to treat the Somali tragedy with the same urgency it has attached to other world crises, from Cambodia to former Yugoslavia.

"If we had come earlier we could have avoided so much

and our work would have been so much easier," he said during Sunday's visit by Irish President Mary Robinson.

Robinson was the first head of state to witness at first hand one of the worst famines of the 20th century.

She too attacked the UN for having been slow to help "the devastated and bleeding people of Somalia".

But the message appears to be getting through.

Hardly a day now passes without the arrival of a senior delegation of one sort or another. Teams of newly-arrived volunteers from non-governmental organisations tour the capital looking for premises to serve as base camps.

But for the Somalis, the newcomers are good news, and not just for the rows of hungry in the feeding centres. Their arrival has meant a massive influx of funds into the destroyed economy.

Houses rented out in the "aid enclave" of south Mogadishu cost on average \$3 000 (about R8 400) a month. Somalis have been employed as secretaries, fixers, cooks, cleaners and chauffeurs.

While praising the developments, many aid experts caution that the world community must act quickly to avoid creating an aid-dependent society. "We have to give them the incentive to go back to the land," said Ian Macleod of the UN Children's Fund.

"It is essential for the international community to provide long-term support," he said. □

Ghana: a lesson that needs to be learnt for SA

STAR 16/5/92

SOUTH Africans will find a welcoming attitude in Africa only if they behave appropriately and modify their expectations, writes BEN TUROK.

SO WHITE South Africans are taking the first tentative steps into Black Africa, as businessmen or tourists. This is a welcome development, but if it is to continue they had better adjust their prejudices and their behaviour.

Africa is generous and forgiving and forgetting, as the former colonial masters discovered. South Africans will also find a welcoming attitude if they behave appropriately and modify their expectations.

Conditions in Africa have deteriorated seriously in the past decade and we need to try to understand the reasons. Visitors like Al Venter who went filming in Ghana recently (Saturday Star, May 9) don't help us do so. He mainly saw poor hygiene, muddy drinking water, poverty, joblessness and overpopulation.

What are the reasons for Africa's decline? First there is state tyranny. Venter is right to point a finger at President Rawlings and we could identify many others in Africa. But are we right to be indignant about that? What if we compared, not the shanties of Ghana and Alexandria, but the repression of PW's SA with that of Africa and we would not emerge very well. And Ghana is moving to democracy, just as haltingly as we are.

Second, there is the economy. Ghana has remained basically a cocoa producer and exporter even though their terms of trade for Africa as a whole had deteriorated by 30 percent in the past decade.

Which economy in the world could stand up to a fall of 50 percent in one year (1989) of its main export goods? Ghana failed to diversify, partly because of bad foreign advice, and is paying a heavy price.

It produces what it cannot consume, and consumes what it does not produce. A typical Third World phenomenon (and one that cannot be relieved by depending on gold exports, as Venter recommends).

Third, there is foreign intervention. Although Ghana has been the most favoured country in Africa by the IMF and World Bank, its economy has not improved. Most of the social problems to be found in Ghana, unemployment, begging, and so on, are direct products of the structural adjustment programme

imposed by the IMF in return for loans to meet balance of payments deficits.

Ghana has also faced redundancies, school fees for the first time, food price rises and the rest of the "harsh medicine" brought by the IMF.

As one who travels widely in Africa, I am aware of the difficulties visitors have to put up with. There are corrupt officials at airports and I am sure Venter's problems were related to that and not a desire to be unpleasant.

And there are, indeed, problems with food, hygiene and so on, as there are in any Third World country. But Africa has many delights to offer us if we enter it on its own terms. This continent, which has been so battered by bad leaders, wrong policies and a hostile world economic system, remains full of charm and interest.

The people are warm and friendly, their culture is rich and enthralling, and they have learnt much from their experiences. Would that South Africans were willing to learn the lessons of maldevelopment so that we do not go through the same process.

Indeed, if white South Africans were willing to go into Black Africa in a spirit of inquiry, and be a little less judgmental, this country could escape many of the errors that we seem to be determined to commit out of blind ignorance.

The prime candidate in this country, as it is for Africa, is population control. Foreigners always seem too willing to lay down rules for Africans on this fundamental issue. Equally, Africans reject this, especially in poverty-stricken areas, on sensible grounds that children are an asset where production is mainly by manual work, and where children are the only insurance against incapacity in old age.

Finally, let intending visitors take account of their responsibility in building a new spirit in human relations in Africa, based on mutual sympathy, understanding and respect. We know that white South Africans have much to learn in this area, but we can at least try to enter a new era.

● The author is director of the Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA) and author of "Africa: What Can Be Done?".

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Africa's bank declares war on poverty

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DAKAR — Africa's top development bank has declared war on poverty and one of its key battles will be against population growth which, at 3.2% a year, far outstrips growth in other continents.

The war against poverty is one of four strategies for the next five years adopted by the African Development Bank (AfDB) at its annual meeting which ended in Dakar on Thursday.

In a continent where economies have been ravaged by heavy foreign debt, depressed prices for mineral and farm exports, civil strife and severe drought, people are worse off on average than 30 years ago, it said.

"If the regional growth pattern of the 1980s is repeated in the 1990s, per capita incomes will fall 20% below today's levels," said Peter Freeman of Britain's Overseas Development Administration.

Yet there is no sign of any wide-

spread economic recovery soon in Africa, which must now compete against the former Soviet bloc and eastern Europe for aid.

"The downward trend in the African economy has been aggravated by the rapid rate of population growth. Agricultural production has not kept pace with population growth, with the result that Africa has to depend on food imports," said AfDB president Babacar Ndiaye.

Bank officials say it demands political will and extensive family planning education to change attitudes in African societies which have traditionally valued large families.

Failure will be costly.

"Even if fertility rates were to fall immediately to replacement levels, it would take several decades before the increase in Africa's population growth would be arrested," said AfDB vice-president Ferhat Lounes.

Other strategies in the five-year plan include rebuilding facilities damaged by neglect or war, promoting the private sector and setting up an African common market by the year 2025.

Industrialised countries reassured Africa that official development aid, which accounts for more than 40% of all investment in the continent, will continue to flow.

But they said Africa would also need substantial private investment to recover and it could attract this only if African states developed market economies, upheld the rule of law and made appropriate reforms to tax and other economic legislation.

The World Bank estimates that returns on private investment in Africa have fallen from over 30% in the 1960s to 2.5% in the 1980s. Returns in south Asia average 20% or more, the meeting was told. — Sapa-Reuter.

Ousted president in Lagos

LAGOS — Ousted Somali president Mohamed Siad Barre arrived in Lagos from Kenya yesterday and was granted temporary political asylum by Nigeria's military government.

The foreign ministry said it was giving him and his family temporary asylum as part of efforts by Nigeria, current leader of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), to bring peace to Somalia.

Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu has been sent to Somalia to try to arrange national reconciliation talks in Nigeria's new capital, Abuja.

Mr Siad Barre was forced out of the Somali capital Mogadishu in January 1991. He crossed into Kenya last month after warlord Mohamed Farah Aided attacked his stronghold near the border. — Sapa-Reuter.

No magic wands around for that economic miracle

STAR 18/5/92

THE floodgates to the rest of Africa are opening up rapidly for South Africa. Sanctions are teetering on the brink, and their end is bound to be hastened by the call for their abandonment by the deputy president of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu.

The visit by President de Klerk to Nigeria has cleared the way for trade and other links between the two African countries with the greatest economic clout. A political seminar held in Cairo, which was attended by South African and Egyptian academics and politicians, also forged new links.

Except for Zimbabwe and, to a lesser extent, Namibia, opportunities for South Africa's trade links now exist with the entire continent.

Apart from the European Community and some of the countries in the Far East, the markets of Africa hold the greatest prospect for South Africa.

However, the great test for Pretoria is likely to be its success in developing economic co-operation within southern Africa.

Superficially seen, an economic grouping would appear to offer great advantages to all 10 countries in the region. But the difficulties of establishing structured institutional relations are formidable.

These difficulties are rigorously examined by the South African economist, Jesmond Blumenfeld, in a study sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

His central theme is the relationship of dependence and interdependence among countries of greatly varying economic strength and political agendas.

Blumenfeld cites as one reason for caution the, as yet, uncertain future strength and prosperity of the South African economy itself.

A second reason he advances is the uncertain future economic prosperity of the region as a whole, including the scale of cross-border economic relations. These will depend upon the political stability in the region, and upon the domestic economic policies pursued by each of the governments. Future stability remains an open question.

Beyond these reasons, Blumenfeld argues that the conditions for translating the "need" for economic co-operation into effective practice are not matched by evidence of a general desire for reconciliation and rapprochement.

Blumenfeld goes on to say that "effective economic co-operation universally requires politically difficult choices and adjustments, including surrender of some sovereignty.

"The experience of the Southern African Development Co-operation Conference (SADCC) has confirmed that sovereignty is not likely to be surrendered very readily in southern Africa, with or without apartheid.

It would therefore be prudent to discount grandiose ideas about a southern Africa Common Market.

"The belief that in the post-apartheid era, conflict between South Africa, on the one hand, and the neighbouring states, on the other, will evaporate, is too simplistic partly because the nature and duration of the transition to majority rule in South Africa and because the characteristics and strength of the post-apartheid economic system are still too uncertain.

"There is — and will remain — throughout southern Africa a legitimate fear that South Africa, however governed, will always exercise overweening economic power over its neighbours. This fear will need to be addressed before there can be any prospect of creating a prosperous regional order."

Blumenfeld believes that, in practice, the emphasis on regional economic co-operation is likely to remain on more ad hoc and essentially bilateral arrangements.

Blumenfeld discounts the scope for Western policy in the region. His cautious conclusion is that southern Africa may not be capable of the "economic miracles" which Western Europe and the Pacific Rim have achieved.

"There has been too much economic dislocation in southern Africa and there remain too many political imponderables and too many reasons to fear the alternative scenario in which the region would be consigned to increasing despair and decline." □

African skies can be a risky venture

STAR 19/5/92

① @ 168

INVESTIGATE first, should be the watchword for South African tourists eager to see Africa as it opens its doors to the south.

But we can also expect increasingly available and affordable holidays on the continent.

Travel agency MD Eric Thorne generally welcomes the lifting of the travel restrictions by several African countries following the current and planned political changes here.

But he advises potential holiday-makers to visit their travel agents for advice before plunging themselves and their families into holidays which can turn out to be very different to what was expected.

While Africa is offering previously unavailable holidays at very competitive prices, Mr Thorne includes destinations such as Mozambique, Madagascar, Zaire and Angola in his "be careful" list.

But Kenya and Zimbabwe rate favourable ticks in a prospective South African traveller's notebook.

"In many cases, the tourist infrastructure of these destinations is insufficiently developed to cater to the needs of travellers accustomed to first world standards," he warns.

Mozambique, for instance, offers very little in the way of top quality accommodation outside the Polana Hotel in Maputo.

"Yet the towns are still very much Portuguese in style, the seafoods and the wines are in the top class, the nightlife is colourful and remains exotic and extravagant."

Mr Thorne reiterates that prospective tourists should get information regarding visa conditions and whether any levies are imposed from a travel agent before setting out, adding: "And, make sure conditions are suitable before taking your children along, too."

Madagascar he rates as a good example of a country lacking in infrastructure. Few good roads exist which means visitors must largely rely on aircraft to move from place to place.

Avoid

Angola and Zaire he describes as destinations which South Africans would be wise to avoid at present because of civil unrest.

But many African countries will eventually become favoured destinations, he predicts.

"South African tourists are proving keen to discover their own continent as well as going abroad."

Heading the popularity stakes are Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi and Mozambique, he says.

TRENDS REPORTER

ABUJA — West African bankers will seek ways of linking national currencies to help boost economic integration and fight poverty at talks which started in Nigeria yesterday.

"Harmonising the currencies is critical to the survival of the subregion," said Tony Nnachetta, a manager with Nigeria's Alpha Merchant Bank.

He said the region's central bank governors and officials from the West African Clearing House and the West African Bankers' Association would discuss the issue at meetings this week.

Senior bankers from the region and representatives of the World Bank, the IMF and the UN economic commission for Africa were also expected to attend.

African bankers seek links

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Nnachetta said it was vital for West African nations to move quickly towards economic integration, especially in the light of an emerging single European market with a common currency.

West African nations were examining regional policies that could cushion their fragile economies from possible adverse effects of a single European market after 1992.

Bankers believe that lack of convertibility of West African currencies hinders trade between economies of the region.

The clearing house, a multilateral payment scheme formed in 1975 to

promote regional trade by facilitating use of national currencies, was underused by regional businesses.

The 16-member Economic Community of West African States has also been slow in moving towards a common monetary zone.

Nnachetta said monetary co-operation would be achieved only if the region's dominant currencies took a leading role.

The CFA franc, linking 13 mainly former French colonies in a common currency zone, and the Nigerian naira are well placed to play this role.

The CFA, underwritten by France, is the region's strongest currency, ex-

changing at 50 to one French franc since 1948.

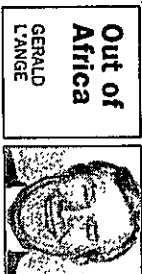
France indicated parity would remain after a common European currency, in spite of pressure from the World Bank and finance institutions to devalue the CFA franc.

The naira, though considerably weakened by a recent 43% devaluation against the dollar, was the currency of West Africa's dominant economy.

Nnachetta said efforts towards currency harmonisation should go beyond the subregion to embrace the whole continent, with the SA rand also playing a key role. — Sapa-Reuter.

A continent of health hazards

STAR 19/5/72.



Out of Africa
GERALD L'ANGE

THOSE supposedly intrepid explorers who "discovered" the hinterland of Africa for British colonialism were not really all that intrepid after all, at least not as intrepid as the modern traveller through Africa has to be.

When they disembark from their wide-bodied jets, today's light-skinned visitors face health hazards that never confronted Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Moratti and company after they stepped ashore from their sailing vessels.

True, the European explorers and missionaries did risk death from a variety of diseases besides the threat posed by wild animals and indigenous inhabitants with a low regard for the sanctity of foreign life.

And because of their propensity for going out in the midday sun

they ran a high risk of sunstroke, with or without their pith helmets and felt spine pads.

It is also true that, despite having consumed large quantities of quinine and other unpleasant medicines, one or two of them succumbed and were shipped home in a barrel of brine or a coffin with its lid screwed down very tightly. Most, however, lived to tell their tales.

Today's travellers, on the other hand, face hazards that Living-

stone and company might have quailed at.

The average American tourist runs a greater risk of being knocked down by a taxi driving on the wrong side of Independence Avenue than Livingstone or Stanley ever ran of being knocked down by a charging rhino near the source of the Nile.

And the visitor from Taiwan stands more chance of being mugged outside his hotel than Burton or Speke stood of being robbed at spearpoint in Turkana territory.

But these risks are paltry beside the medical hazards. For instance, if today's tourist is not very careful about his nocturnal activities he could end up with Aids, which is not something that Henry Morton Stanley ever had to worry about.

Our tourist could get Aids anyway if he is unlucky enough to end up in a hospital, where the chances of acquiring the HIV or the Hepatitis-B virus from a second-hand hypodermic needle or intravenous drip are not inconceivable.

It is not for nothing that they call the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka "the departure lounge".

It was in this hospital that the main operating theatre was closed down recently because it had become an infection pool; instead of repairing the ventilation system when it broke down the hospital had installed fans which simply blew germs from one side of the theatre to the other — for six months.

The watchword in travelling in

much of Africa is: "Don't let anybody stick a needle in you for any reason, and don't let them put you in a hospital as long as you have the strength to cling to the door frame."

The canny foreigner ventures nowhere in Africa today without taking out coverage from one of the emergency services that for very reasonable premiums undertake to fly in with a medical team and evacuate you within hours to the nearest country with a safe hospital.

Whatever else he might do, however, the one thing the foreign traveller must never, never do is buy black market medicines. Anybody foolhardy enough to want them can get these medications at the informal markets that thrive in places like Maputo and Luanda. They will probably be marketed

by a shabby vendor at a makeshift stand situated between a stall selling offal and another offering stolen motor spares.

Long after the expiry date on the label, they stand baking — and no doubt changing their chemical composition — in the sun, visited frequently by flies.

The label may identify the contents as antibiotics but they are just as likely to be motion-sickness pills or haemorrhoid suppositories.

After police had raided one such stall in Maputo's *dumbo-zenzies* market it was found, for instance, that a bottle of liquid labelled "injectable penicillin" was actually salt water.

It could have been worse. I suppose, it could have been battery acid. □

Ritons are not alone in amassing the treas. armies Col.

At a Glance, SA Shows Africa the way

STAR

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DID YOU know that Soweto has more vehicles than many African countries, South Africa generates half the electricity in the entire continent and Mozambique's foreign debt exceeds its total gross national product (GNP)?

These and other statistics on various aspects of life in Africa are contained in a publication, "Africa at a Glance" which is published by the Africa Institute.

One of the problems facing individuals or businessmen venturing into Africa is the lack of detailed and reliable information about a new market and the economic performance of the various countries. "Africa at a Glance" seeks

to satisfy this need for readily accessible, concise and affordable data about the rest of the continent. It contains just about anything a stranger or investor would want to know, including political changes as well as economic and social aspects in all 52 independent countries and island states.

A new statistical measure, the human development index (HDI), which is said to be a more realistic gauge of human development than GNP per capita and the various social indicators, has been used to assess the countries.

The HDI combines GNP per capita and indicators such as life expectancy, adult literacy and average years of schooling to present a composite

measure of human progress.

For instance, Libya, which has Africa's highest per capita GNP, drops to fourth place among African countries in the HDI. Tanzania, ranking close to the bottom of the GNP per capita ratings, has a significantly improved rating, and South Africa, with the fourth largest per capita GNP on the continent, takes second place, after Mauritius.

There are all sorts of interesting statistics. But the wealth of information once again emphasises the pre-eminence of South Africa in the continent.

For instance, the country, with 6 percent of sub-Saharan Africa's population, accounted for 35 percent of the sub-Sa-

haran and 80 percent of the 10 southern African countries' GNP in 1989.

South Africa is Africa's leading producer of sugar (26 percent of the total volume/mass in 1989), of maize (32 percent), fish (41 percent), meat (16 percent) and milk (19 percent).

In the southern African context, South Africa produced 62 percent of the sugar, 66 percent of the maize, 67 percent of all cereals, 90 percent of all fish, 70 percent of all kinds of meat, 76 percent of the milk and 69 percent of various kinds of fruit.

Of 20 selected minerals produced in Africa in 1990, SA had the continent's largest re-

serves of 12 and was the leading African producer of 10.

Zaire was Africa's leading producer of diamonds, cobalt and tin as well as the world's largest producer of cobalt.

Whereas Namibia was the leading African producer of uranium, Nigeria of petroleum and Zimbabwe of asbestos, Niger had the largest reserves of uranium, Libya of petroleum and South Africa of asbestos.

South Africa generates half the electricity in the entire continent, its railways handle 69 percent of the rail freight in Africa and half the tarred roads south of the Sahara and two-thirds of the tarred roads in southern Africa are in SA. — Star Africa Service. □

African bank set for high-level SA talks

TWO African Development Bank consultants will meet leading SA officials during the next two weeks to discuss SA's role in regional integration.

The visit is part of a bank study on economic integration in southern Africa, and will address the implications of recent SA developments for the rest of the region.

A copy of the study's objectives shows the consultants will examine the possibility of SA dominating production, investment, trade, monetary and policy areas.

It said SA was bound to heavily influence sub-regional integration "by the sheer size

SHARON WOOD (1) (43)

of its current and potential national output and the high level of management capacity in the public and private sectors".

The study will reassess SA's economic relations with other countries in the region, particularly those of the Preferential Trade Area and SA Development Co-ordinating Conference, in order to establish mutually beneficial exchanges.

The two bank consultants are Oxford International Associates MD Martin Meredith and financial adviser Percy Mistry.

6/10/84 195/92

Touring Africa is definitely not for the faint-hearted

Sowetan 20/5/92

THOSE supposedly intrepid explorers who "discovered" the hinterland of Africa for British colonialism were not really all that intrepid after all, at least not as intrepid as the modern traveller in Africa has to be.

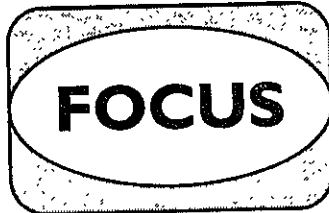
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And because of their propensity for going out in the midday sun they ran a high risk of sunstroke, with or without their pith helmets and felt spine pads. It is also true that, despite having consumed large quantities of quinine and other unpleasant medicines, one or two of them succumbed and were shipped home in a barrel of brine or a coffin with its lid screwed down very tightly.

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Sowetan Africa News Service

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toria which they said belonged to a sect known
as the Children of God.

Cameroon cholera scare ^①

YAOUNDE — Cameroon's Health Ministry has called on inhabitants of the capital Yaounde not to drink well water or eat uncooked green vegetables after at least two people died of cholera.
● Reports by Star Foreign Service; Sapa, Reuter, Financial Times and Associated Press.

By Dik Browne

the Horrible

(THEY'RE)

Bank's plan for region is welcomed

TIM COHEN and SHARON WOOD

THE ANC yesterday welcomed an African Development Bank study on southern African regional integration.

Two consultants to the bank, which has strong links with the OAU, arrived in SA on Monday to oversee the large-scale project which has been in progress for six months.

ANC economic planning department deputy director Max Sisulu said the study was particularly important because it was looking at practical, short- to medium-term measures which would assist regional integration.

The ANC was involved in the study and taking part in its steering committee, Sisulu said. *8/02/92*

The steering committee had been set up to oversee the work of the study team. It was meeting at regular intervals to revise the progress of the study.

The study would be undertaken in conjunction with the ANC's own study on regional integration being undertaken by the academics at the University of the Western Cape.

The ANC was also participating in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) study on regional integration and specific ideas being proposed by the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

Sisulu said it made sense for the ANC to take on board the regional dimension when examining the restructuring of the SA economy.

The ANC would be in favour of close co-operation between the bank and a substantially restructured Development Bank of Southern Africa, Sisulu said.

A document outlining the study's strategy said it would analyse economic and social conditions in countries in the PTA, SADCC, SA and Madagascar.

The study aimed to identify complementary economic activities, potential for trade growth and the constraints on capital flows within the region.

The two principle objectives of the study were to review alternative scenarios for the process of regional integration and to develop viable strategies.

Banker has big plans for SA

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DAKAR — Africa's top banker talks openly about what few dared dream until now — a common market stretching from Cape Town to Cairo.

African Development Bank president Babacar Ndiaye believes that eventual integration of a democratic, nonracial SA into the continent's mainstream will bolster its weak economies and give it an effective voice in world affairs.

Once SA recovered from sanctions and recession and tackled substantial housing, education and other apartheid backlogs, it would act as an engine of growth in southern Africa and beyond, he said.

"Then, when Africa takes off, it will have a different voice in international forums. They will listen to us," he told a seminar ahead of the Bank's annual meeting in Dakar this month.

The African Development Bank, the OAU and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, have endorsed proposals for the formation of an African economic community by the year 2025.

Ndiaye did not underestimate challenges lying ahead.

He warned bank members that when SA did join its ranks, it would do so initially as a borrower rather than a contributor of resources despite its mineral and other riches.

Elsewhere in Africa, people are now worse off on average than in the early years of independence, the Bank says.

The continent has been wrought by severe drought, civil war, weak world prices for its mineral and farm exports, and a \$270bn foreign debt bill. Its population growth of 3.1% a year is the highest in the world.

The Bank estimates Africa will need economic growth of 4% annually over the rest of the decade, almost double that posted in the 1980s, just to restore 1980 living standards. Ndiaye believes a recharged South African economy, which accounts for 40% of sub-Saharan output, will make a difference.

Ndiaye has proposed a special fund to provide aid to SA's the Third World sector.

The Bank already is preparing to help SA the moment it becomes eligible for membership. — Sapa-Reuter.

'40 000 massacred in Chad'

N'DJAMENA (Chad) — An estimated 40 000 people may have been executed or died in detention during the eight-year reign of Chad's former president, His-sene Habre, according to a study published yesterday. The study, by a Justice Ministry committee, is a sear-ing indictment of a regime it says routinely tortured its enemies to death and left them to perish in squalid prison cells.

① STAR 211892.

African banker sets sights on Cape-to-Cairo market

By Rory Channing

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"Then, when Africa takes off, it will have a different voice in international forums — they will listen to us," he told a seminar ahead of the bank's annual meeting here in mid-May.

The African Development Bank, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, have endorsed proposals for the formation of an African economic community by the year 2025.

Mr Ndiaye says the continent resembles a big tree rooted in the south. "For this tree to be complete, for this organic tree to survive, the roots must become an integral part of Africa."

The ADB is involved in an extensive study on southern African regional integration and two members of the bank have been in South Africa to study the impact of SA's inclusion into regional economic and trade bodies.

Challenges

Mr Ndiaye does not underestimate challenges laying ahead.

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STAR 21/5/92

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Mr Ndiaye believes a recharged South African economy, which accounts for 40 percent of sub-Saharan output, will make a difference especially at a time the single European market looms, as do similar blocs in North America and Asia.

"We need South Africa, at that level, in order to fight against marginalisation in Africa," he said.

The bank already is preparing to help South Africa the moment it becomes eligible for membership, which would be when the OAU opens its doors to Pretoria.

Mr Ndiaye has proposed a special fund to provide aid to the Third World sector in that country where the lot of the five-to-one black majority stops far short of that for whites.

The bank, whose foreign shareholders include the industrialised nations, could help not only with direct loans, but by mobilising resources from other institutions, he says. — Sapa-Reuter.

AFRICAN BRIEFS

W/Mail 22/5-28/5/92
Kenya denies child massacre
 THE Kenyan government has denied rumours that President Daniel arap Moi's Kalenjin tribesmen massacred children in the latest outbreak of unrest. The government's security secretary, William Kimalat, took the unusual step of issuing the denial after rumours of the massacre swept Nairobi and sent scores of people fleeing villages in areas north-west of the capital. He also denied allegations by opposition leader Jaramogi Oginga Odinga that Kalenjins were undergoing terrorist training. At least 130 people have been killed since violence erupted at the start of the year between the minority Kalenjin group and other tribes.

W/Mail 22/5-28/5/92
 to court saying the new law aimed to restrict them and help the soldiers keep power. The permission for political parties to register is part of a programme to return to civilian rule, culminating in presidential and legislative elections in November and December. However, 29 prominent politicians said they would boycott the registration to protest against its ban on using the names of political parties that existed before the military coup in 1981.

W/Mail 22/5-28/5/92
Bids from oil firms
 FIFTEEN foreign oil firms have offered to invest up to US\$4.2-billion in Algeria to recover a billion barrels of oil over 20 years, the state-owned energy company Sonatrach said. Industry sources said United States, French, Japanese, Italian, Norwegian, Danish and Canadian companies had shown interest in a call for bids.

Airlift for hungry Somalis
 A DAILY airlift of emergency humanitarian aid has begun to the Somali capital, Mogadishu, where tens of thousands of people are facing starvation. The Lutheran World Federation is using Hercules C-130 transport planes to fly high-protein food, medical and other essential supplies from Nairobi and Mombasa to support the Mogadishu operations of the Save the Children Fund and Medecins Sans Frontieres. It is planned to airlift at least 1 000 tons of aid over the next month.

Party HQ torched
 THE headquarters of Uganda's Democratic Party, one of the main groups in Yoweri Museveni's coalition government, has been destroyed by fire. Party officials called it arson. Robert Kitariko, the party's secretary general, said several men broke into the two-storey building before dawn and torched the party's offices on the second floor.

Sudan prepares for talks
 SUDAN has named a nine-man government delegation for peace talks with its southern rebels in Nigeria on Sunday. A Khartoum newspaper reported that the team would propose some form of federal rule.

Diamond crackdown
 SIERRA LEONE'S new government, cracking down on diamond smuggling, said this week it had suspended four Swedish mining experts from their jobs and was investigating the accounts of a Swedish-owned firm, Intertrade Prospective Mining Company. — Compiled by Peter Biles in Nairobi and foreign staff.

Ghana lifts political ban
 GHANA'S military government this week lifted a 10-year ban on politics, but opposition politicians went

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Chad hunger

Canadian weekly

warning

(in weekly mail 22/5-28/5/72)

SCORES of remote villages in southern Chad are currently facing the early stages of famine after heavy rains last autumn destroyed crops and farmers sold off previous millet stocks following good harvests without retaining supplies in case of future hardship, writes *Mark Huband in N'Djamena.*

Up to 400,000 villagers throughout Chad's Moyen-Chari region have been without adequate food since March, according to a five-week survey of 85 villages carried out by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which was completed last week.

In most villages examined in the survey, people were found to be eating roots or attempting to gather sufficient wild *neré* flour to make bread. The *carite* roots are now the only food enabling survival.

The process of negotiating political settlements is entrenched in African culture, says Nigerian academic **Ali A Mazrui** in the last of his articles on democracy in Africa: *Source: 23/5/77*

Roots of democracy may lie in talks under trees tradition



IN ADDITION to religious ecumenicalism and racial tolerance, African culture put a special premium on the palaver tradition — the sub-culture of elders sitting under a tree and talking until they agreed.

This particular sub-culture could, in the modern world, have gone in one of two directions: toward summits of African presidents searching for consensus, or the more democratic process of government by discussion.

After the first liberation struggle for independence, what followed were summit meetings of African presidents rather than government by popular discussion.

Given a second shot at liberation, will the palaver tradition at last yield a democratic dividend? Will Africa's passion for mazingumzo, or conversation, at least become part of the political culture of open discussion?

Trends from Dakar to Dar es Salaam and the Cape to Cairo could be part of that democratisation of the palaver tradition.

The Gender Of Democracy

The relationship between gender and democracy in Africa is also an important issue. African culture gave women a central economic role: God made woman: God made woman custodian of fire, water and earth; the Almighty took charge of the fourth element of nature — air.

As custodian of fire, the woman traditionally was often in charge of the source of energy. In the African countryside this was often firewood. Women became disproportionately responsible for ensur-

ing that firewood was available.

As custodian of water, the woman was in charge of a symbol of survival and cleanliness. African women trekked long distances for water.

As custodian of earth, the African woman captured the essence of dual fertility. The fertility of the womb (woman as mother) and the fertility of the soil (woman as cultivator). Women traditionally remained central not only to biological reproduction but also to economic production.

Under the new democracy, can these roles of African women be converted into political leverage?

The new Africa may be aided by the fact that female religious leadership is more acceptable to African customs than it is to either Christian or Muslim traditions. There are also other elements in indigenous culture which may one day be tapped to consolidate African democracy. These include the roles that women have sometimes played in king-making.

Among the Akan in West Africa, the accountability of chiefs and rulers was institutionalised before colonial rule. The stool or throne of office could be withdrawn for malpractice.

Curiously enough, removal of an African ruler from office was sometimes more democratic by modern criteria than the choice of that ruler. Complaints by the population against a ruler were more relevant for dismissing the ruler than the views of the population in

choosing that ruler.

All these cultural variables can be tapped in creating a new political culture in Africa more responsive to democratic values, while old traditional principles could be modernised and improved upon.

Finally, there is the principle of economic sharing in African culture. For about 30 years, African thinkers have argued that socialism is not alien to Africa since indigenous culture has encouraged so much fellowship and sharing. It has been difficult for economic individualism to thrive against a background of kinship obligations and clan responsibilities redefined in modern Western culture as collectivism.

This is why African thinkers like Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor and Tom Mboya have theorised about an indigenous African socialism. Indeed, Nyerere used the Swahili word *ujamaa* — which originally referred to the bond of kinship and clan — to describe the foundation of Tanzanian socialism under him.

Given that after the first liberation struggle the African sub-culture of sharing was hijacked by the socialists as the basis of African socialism, the question is can the African sub-culture of sharing now be inherited by the democrats and the liberals as part of the foundation for the new indigenous democracy?

Democracy is not just about political power; it is also about economic resources. Democracy is not just about freedom; it is also about sharing. Democracy is not simply about what the well-to-do are allowed to say; it is also about how the down-and-out are allowed to live — and die.

—INDEX ON C...

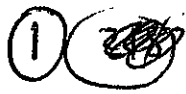


JULIUS NYERERE: Traditional clan and kinship bonds are

Now few rebels know what they are fighting for

STAR 23/5/92

THE new African warlords are not idealistic revolutionaries, but clan bosses looking for loot. HUBERT KAHL reports.



GUERILLAS are fighting mini-wars against government troops or rival forces in nearly a dozen African countries, from Somalia to Mozambique, Liberia to Rwanda.

Nearly every second news report from Africa refers to some rebel group or other. They used to be considered revolutionaries and freedom fighters. Today hardly anyone knows what they stand for.

Until the mid-1970s, African guerilla movements enjoyed a great deal of sympathy. This is particularly true of those that fought against Portuguese colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, or against the medieval regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia.

Many of these rebels claimed they were fighting not only for political freedom, but also against social oppression. But Africa never generated the aura of revolutionary idealism that surrounded some Latin American guerilla groups and charismatic leaders such as Che Guevara.

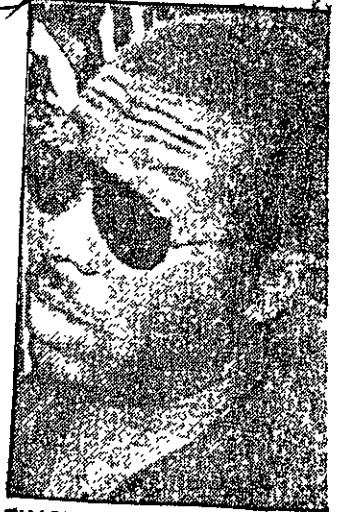
Many rebel movements were quickly caught up in the slipstream of Soviet foreign policy and their ideals quickly became little more than a red, communist figleaf which they wore to get military aid from Moscow.

Today's rebels — for the most part — do not have any ideals at all. Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor can claim to have toppled the bloody regime of dictator Samuel Doe, but when asked about his ideology he does not quite know what to say.

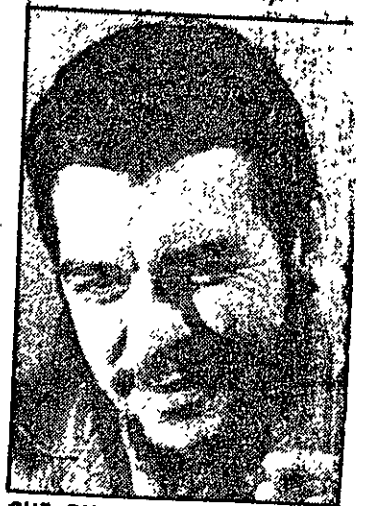
"I guess I have to find one. It is not what Charles Taylor believes in, but what the people of Liberia want," he told the British-based magazine *New African*.

In Somalia the trend away from political ideals towards "rebellion without policy" has been taken to extremes. The rebels who drove out dictator Mohammed Siad Barre fought only for themselves. "Basically they are no more than gangs of armed bandits, which are now fighting each other," a Western diplomat said.

Poverty keeps increasing on the continent, and an improvement of the economic situation



CHARLES TAYLOR: when asked about ideology does not know quite what to say.



CHE GUEVARA: a charismatic guerilla leader surrounded by revolutionary idealism.

is not in sight. Those in power can ensure that when scarce resources and foreign aid are distributed, their own tribe, or clan, gets the lion's share.

Bearing this in mind, the United Nations has manoeuvred itself into a difficult position with its attempts at mediating in the conflict in Somalia. "The UN peace missions in Mogadishu have given two big bandits (interim president Ali Mahdi Mohammed and his rival, General Mohammed Farah Aided) a place on the world stage," said an expert who asked to remain anonymous.

"It might have been better to isolate the two warlords and only to negotiate with forces that did not take part in the fighting," he said. — DPA.

'Nigeria out of line'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

NIGERIAN Foreign Minister Major General Ike Nwachukwu overstepped the mark when he waxed lyrical about Codesa and advocated a federal system of government for South Africa, says Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander.

Major General Nwachukwu led a 10-member Organisation of African Unity delegation to South Africa last week to monitor the violence as well as to watch developments at Codesa 2.

He told a news conference before his departure that the team believed President De Klerk was sincere about introducing a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

"We feel Codesa has come a long way in solving the South African problem," he said. "More progress has been made than anybody could expect in such a short time."

This and his advice that South Africa should adopt a federal system of government, is seen as a swipe at the PAC, which has stubbornly refused to become part of Codesa, and as a sign that Africa was getting impatient

with the

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Africa to

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

IMPORTANT new strides have been made by South Africa in its bid for acceptance by Africa and for eventual full membership of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Africa specialists said further rapid advances could be expected in the coming year, depending on progress at Codesa's constitutional negotiations.

They saw this as a possible result of this week's visit to South Africa by an OAU delegation led by Nigerian Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu.

The delegation, received in South Africa "with open arms", observed proceedings at Codesa 2, monitored the continuing violence, and the delegation leader had talks with President De Klerk.

Significantly, Mr Nwachukwu suggested a federal system would be best for South Africa and, at the same time, commented publicly that the delegation believed Mr De Klerk was sincere about introducing a nonracial democracy.

This, viewed against the background of Mr De Klerk's recent highly successful visit to Nigeria, is seen by analysts as a further breakthrough in South Africa's relations with Africa.

Nigeria, one of the giant states of Africa, is seen as South Africa's key to black Africa. Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida is also chairman of the OAU, and his country is the kingpin in the Economic Organisation for West African States (Ecowas).

Africa specialist Professor Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch said the signs were that South Africa might be invited by next year to become a member of the OAU.

Such a move would depend on whether South Africa had a form of

We might soon join the OAU

interim government by then, which seemed likely.

Professor Breytenbach told Weekend Argus some "hardliners" in the OAU might insist South Africa not be given full membership until a new democratic constitution had been fully implemented, but they would be in the minority.

When he addressed the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in New Delhi last September, he found the Nigerians were the most eager of all the Africans to start lifting sanctions against South Africa immediately. Zimbabwe was the most reluctant.

Nigeria was an important component in Pretoria's "big four" strategy for co-operation in Africa, involving South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya.

The plan emphasised the idea of inter-regional co-operation. It could also indicate a re-division of Africa, not according to colonial criteria, but based on economic realities.

Nigeria is the best example of federalism in Africa. It embarked on this road in 1960 when it became independent with only three federal regions. However, ethnic, religious and other regional realities compelled the Nigerians to increase their regional states from three in 1960 to 30.

Professor Breytenbach said there were some striking parallels between South Africa and Nigeria.

Neither Nigeria nor South Africa had a dominant ethnic group, and yet both were ethnically deeply divided societies.

In a sense, South Africa's problem of moving away from apartheid was very similar to Nigeria's attempts to move away from military rule.

with the liberation movement.
Mr Alexander said the PAC understood that African countries were being forced by international donor agencies to make certain public statements.
"But, what they tell us privately is another matter. The proof of the pudding is in the OAU's continued support for the armed struggle."
Mr Alexander said the PAC would not join Codesa, not even through the back door, and would talk to the government only at a neutral venue outside South Africa and under the auspices of a neutral chairman.
"There is no need for us to revise our stance on Codesa. We are not going to Codesa because everything that has happened there has vindicated our view not to take part."
The PAC believed the alternative to what had been discussed at Codesa was a call for a transfer of power and elections for a constituent assembly as articulated by the Patriotic Front formed by PAC, ANC and other groupings.
He said a decision on whether to join Codesa was not the PAC's real problem.

welcome SA

Aug 23/5/92

Banker sees SA as Africa's lifeline

CIN/NO 241592

AFRICA's top banker talks openly of what few dared dream until now - a common market stretching from Cape Town to Cairo.

African Development Bank president Babacar Ndiaye believes the eventual integration of SA into the continent's mainstream will bolster its weak economies and give it an effective voice in world affairs.

Once SA recovers from sanctions and the prolonged recession, and tackles substantial housing, education and other backlogs built up under apartheid, it will act as an engine of growth in southern Africa and beyond, he says.

"Then, when Africa takes off, it will have a different voice in international forums. They will listen to us," he told a seminar ahead of the bank's annual meeting in Dakar recently.

The African Development Bank, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa have endorsed proposals for the formation of an African economic community by the year 2025.

Ndiaye says the continent resembles a big tree rooted in the south. "For this tree to be complete, for this organic tree to

survive... the roots must become an integral part of Africa."

Ndiaye does not underestimate the challenges lying ahead.

He warned bank members that when SA joined its ranks, it would do so initially as a borrower rather than a contributor of resources, despite its mineral and other riches.

Elsewhere in Africa, people are now worse off on average than in the early years of independence, the bank says.

The continent has been wrought by severe drought, civil war, weak world prices for its mineral and farm exports, and a R756-billion foreign debt bill. Its population growth of 3.1 percent a year is the world's highest.

The bank estimates Africa will need economic growth of four percent annually over 10 years, almost double that posted in the 1980s, just to restore 1980 living standards.

Ndiaye believes a recharged SA economy, which accounts for 40 percent of sub-Saharan output, will make a difference especially at a time when the single European market looms.

"We need SA, at that (locomotive) level, to fight against marginalisation in Africa," he said.

The bank is preparing

to help SA when the OAU opens its doors to Pretoria.

The bank, whose foreign shareholders include the industrialised nations, could help not only with direct loans, but by mobilising resources from other institutions, he says.

Philippe Lietard, of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation's private sector arm, said the size and variety of SA's economy and its creditworthiness, would appeal to firms looking for safe lending opportunities in Africa.

Ndiaye sees SA as a potential buyer for Africa's raw materials, a source of technology, a regional manufacturing base for multinationals and a financial or services hub.

Botswana Finance Minister Ronald Sebego hailed major diamond producer Debswana - which his government owns jointly with the foreign arm of the De Beers group - as a model for co-operation with South African companies or their affiliates.

Some African officials fear economic domination by SA, giving it undue political clout. But ANC president Nelson Mandela insists there is no cause for such concern. - Sapa-Reuter



THE FACE OF AFRICA ... SA, which accounts for 40 percent Saharan economic output, will help fight poverty in Africa.

Day of unity and African solidarity

Sweetan 25/5/92

(1)

ON May 25 1963, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 30 African states adopted the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and declared their firm resolve and commitment to the total liberation of the African continent from all forms of foreign domination.

Since then, this day has been celebrated by free Africans collectively and to rededicate themselves to unity, solidarity and struggle.

The charter was itself a milestone in that it became a crucial tool to meld together two divergent points of disagreement by the progenitors of the OAU, which were formed into the Casablanca bloc and the Monrovia group - in ideological terms, the revolutionaries and the moderates.

The Casablanca bloc supported the assassinated Congolese Prime Minister, Mr Patrice Lumumba, and called for a political Union of African States.

They vehemently opposed neo-colonialism and were anxious to avoid "cold war by proxy on our continent".

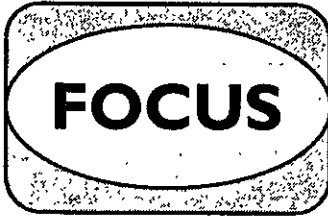
The Monrovia group were for gradualism and functional co-operation in attempts to achieve African unity.

They adopted the principles of the inviolability of African frontiers and non-interference in each other's affairs.

Dr Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Mr Abdul Nasser of Egypt, Mr Sekou Toure of Guinea (Conakry) and Mr Modibo Keita of Mali were in the Casablanca bloc.

These leaders advocated continental unity of the African people.

Sir Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, Mr Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Mr Tubman of Liberia and Mr Sylvanus Olympio of Togo were in the Monrovia group which fa-



Today is Africa Liberation Day. JAKISEROKE, secretary for politics in the Pan Africanist Congress, discusses the significance of the day.

voured federalism and economic co-operation.

The Casablanca-Monrovia conflict came to an end after much consultation.

Persuasive work was done to sink all the differences and "perform one clear and honest duty" - unite all the states of Africa and liberate the rest of the continent.

The OAU was then set up on this day, 25 May 1963, and became a symbol of unity and struggle by the African people.

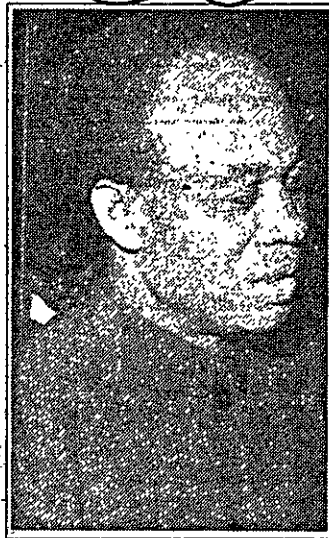
The OAU, in its 29 years of existence, has been a disappointment in several important areas of conflict where its non-interference stance made it an insensitive body to the inherent problems in Africa.

For instance, it was non-committal during the Nigerian Civil War and lacked inspiration to stop the activities of French mercenaries in 1978 from interfering in the affairs of Zaire.

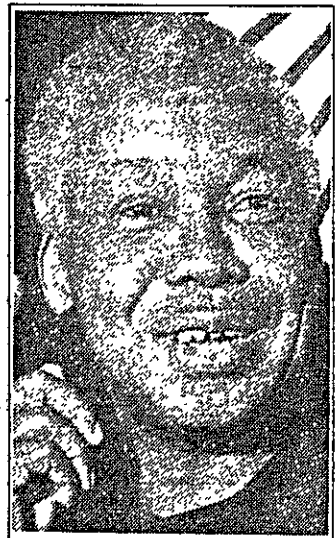
Critics of the OAU pejoratively call it a union of African heads of state rather than that of the African people.

However, its strong point has been the assistance the organisation has given to the Liberation Committee.

The OAU has supported the



KWAME NKUMAH



JULIUS NYERERE

armed struggle of the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia until these countries won their independence.

Since the advent of unpopular super-power relation, members of the OAU have shown an acute insensitivity to the struggle of the African people in this country and displayed a sense of political burn-out.

They are seen more and more in South Africa desperately seeking the way out of economic miseries through the promise of Mr Pik Botha's own "Marshall Plan" for Africa.

In his recent visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister General Ike Nwochuku even advised the option of federalism in a settlement of South Africa's constitutional problems.

Africa Liberation Day truly demands a re-visitation of the hopes and intentions of the founding fathers of this organisation and a clear focus which has not become imperative in order to free our country now.

Africa has only seen a change of flags and a succession of despots in the service of the ex-colonial master. The African workers and peasants are still regarded as doormats for the way to the enrichment of a select few and their partners overseas.

Colonial mentality still holds sway and many look down upon themselves for being Africans.

There is a need to work for the liberation of Africa and achieve continental unity on a political level.

The need to formulate a common market and distribute the mineral and natural resources evenly in Africa and establish great industrial complexes need not be emphasised further.

President Julius Nyerere had said at the sixth Pan Africanist Congress in Dar es Salaam in 1974 "that as long as black people anywhere continue to be oppressed on the grounds of their colour, black people everywhere will stand together in opposition to that oppression in the future as in the past."

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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FW DE KLERK



NELSON MANDELA

Africa sets out tentatively on the road to democracy

Sowetan 25/5/92

LONDON - Democracy edged forward on the African continent in 1991 and - officially - there are only two one-party states left, the International Institute for Strategic Studies said in its annual report last week.

But the turbulent Horn of Africa had unstable regimes in Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti, the report said in a section on Africa.

"Officially, by the beginning of 1992, only Sudan and Malawi were wholly one-party states," it said. "While not all other states had fully embraced a multiparty system, political competition was widely permitted."

They included Zambia, where President Kenneth Kaunda was defeated and stood down in 1991, and Kenya where President Daniel arap Moi "finally accepted the principle of multiparty politics".

But in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia's new President Meles Zenawi had failed to liberalise the economy, the report said.

Meles had also manipulated politics to give his Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and its allied a built-in majority on the ruling assembly.

Somalia "slid fast into anarchy" late in 1991 with President Ali Mahdi Mohammed failing to stop inter-clan fighting and to fulfil promises to maintain a broad-based government and a multiparty system.

Sudan's military leader, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, in power since 1989, "appears to be a convenient figure-head" for the fundamentalist National Islamic Front, which controls all the levers of power, the report said.

"The soaring influence of fanatics and their hostility to external advice has accelerated Sudan's political and economic decline."

In Djibouti, guerilla attacks from the Afar ethnic community in the north in 1991 "considerably changed Djibouti's image as an oasis of stability," the report said.

President Hassan Gouled, it added, "governs the territory as his personal fiefdom, with a few of his Issa (clan) cronies" controlling power structures.

The report said South Africa's multiparty constitutional talks and a referendum among white voters endorsing reforms were hopeful signs.

"Nevertheless, the danger remains that marginalised groups, including white right wingers, radical black parties . . . and Inkatha may all take matters into their own hands."

President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela must involve the Zulu-based Inkatha movement more closely: "Failure to do so will almost certainly condemn South Africa to continuing instability and violence." - Sapa-AP

Sudan aids Afghanistan

Sowetan 25/5/92
KABUL - Sudan, one of the world's poorest countries, has sent six plane-loads of food aid to Afghanistan, a senior Sudanese official said here on Saturday.

Mr Gutbi Al-Mahdi, heading a delegation from the strongly Islamic Khartoum government, said the 150 tons of sugar had been handed over to the new mujahideen government in Kabul as a "gesture of Islamic solidarity".

Al-Mahdi, director of the political department of the African country's foreign

ministry, said his delegation was investigating what other food aid to send to Afghanistan, under a fragile peace after 14 years of war.

He said Sudan, where one of Africa's longest-running civil wars is being fought between the Khartoum government and southern rebels, had overcome the famine which hit parts of the country two years ago and now exported food.

"There are still food problems in the rebel areas," he said. - *Sapa-Reuter*

Parties fail to settle wrangle

ACCRA - Ghana's government and opposition said at the weekend that they had failed to settle a wrangle over a new law on political parties and a high court would have to rule in the dispute.

High court judge Mr Kwadu Amponsem had asked the two sides to try and settle their differences amicably in the interests of the country's smooth transition to multiparty democracy.

But lawyers said they had been unable to agree and Amponsem was forced to adjourn the court until Tuesday, when the court will issue a ruling.

The dispute centres on a law passed by Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) days before an 11-year ban on multi-party politics was lifted on Monday.

The law partly prevents the country's political clubs and associations from adopting the names of parties banned since Flight-Lieutenant Jerry

Rawlings's 1981 coup.
Sapa-Reuter

Zinc boost for Tunisia

TUNIS — Economics Minister Sadok Rabah laid the foundation stone for a zinc and lead mine in northwestern Tunisia yesterday with Klaus Zeitler, president and CE of Toronto-based Metall Mining Corp (MMC). MMC, in which the German multinational Metallgesellschaft AG has a ma-

810am 26/5/92
jority stake, is the main sponsor and technical partner in the project, which will produce 38 000 tons of zinc and about 8 000 tons of lead a year.

The mine, developed by Societe Miniere de Bougrine, calls for a total investment of \$75m.

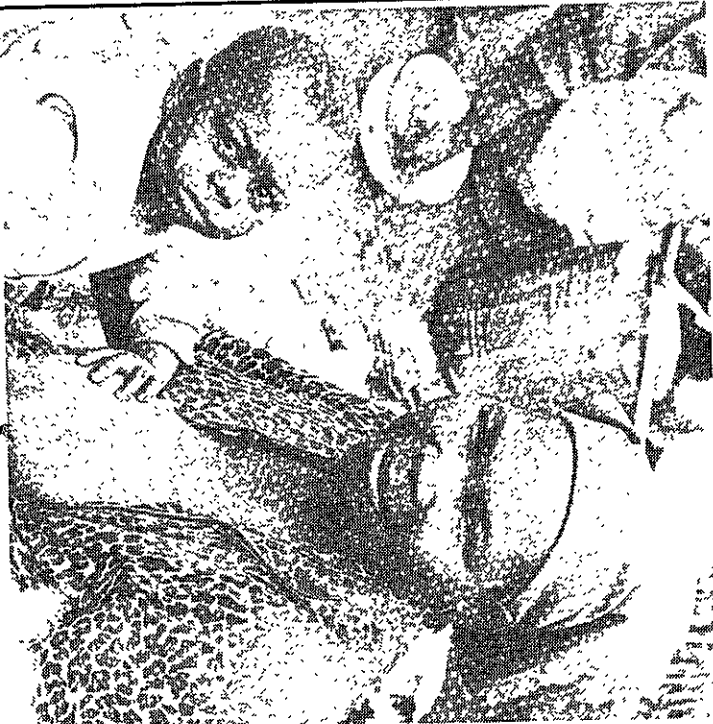
The International Finance Corporation, a subsidiary of the World Bank, has provided a \$14m loan and an equity investment of \$2.1m. Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft has provided a loan of \$11.3m.

The mine, at Bougrine near the town of Le Kef, will be the first privately owned mine in Tunisia.

Tunisia already produces between 8 000 and 16 000 tons of zinc a year. —
Reuter.

Starvation tragedy develops on border

12/15/92
RRT



HOPEFUL: This woman carried her baby and belongings many kilometres as she trudged through the Mozambique bush in search of refuge in South Africa.

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — A tragedy is developing on the Natal/Mozambique border with thousands of people on the Natal side on the brink of starvation and the stream of starving refugees from Mozambique set to become a flood.

In Maputaland, northern Natal, most staple crops have failed, many rivers are nothing but dry sand, and hospital wards are overflowing with children suffering from malnutrition.

Relief agencies in Mozambique estimate that two million people face starvation this winter, and many refugees are heading for Natal.

"The situation is critical," said Mrs Philippa Yarker, Operation Hunger's regional director for Natal. "We're at the beginning of winter — I'd hate to see what it will be like by September."

When Operation Hunger visited one area, a group of 500 refugees turned up and had to

be turned away empty-handed. "They'd heard we were bringing a truckload of food — it was terrible," said Mrs Yarker.

Security forces are rounding up and deporting refugees.

The director-general of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Cojyn, said it was policy to deport people crossing into Natal illegally.

At the Manguzi Hospital, five malnourished babies are being admitted each week and the ward is "overflowing", said hospital superintendent Dr Mark Stead.

"There is also a tremendous increase in water-related diseases such as gastro-enteritis and typhoid," he said.

Sources of clean water are diminishing: at the Masinga kraal near KwaNgwanase, women are walking more than 10km for water.

The irony is that there is underground water, but no equipment to drill boreholes.

Children with swollen bellies, runny eyes and infections are a common sight.

N Somalia, ravaged by war, skeletal children fight for grains of rice spilling from a truck.
Women dig for ants with sticks in the parched soil of Zimbabwe.

Africa is starving



From the arid, sun-baked Ethiopia to teeming refugee centres in Malawi and Mozambique, millions of people depend on donated food.
Why can't Africa feed itself? When most of its nations gained independence in the early 1960s, the continent was self-sufficient in food. But war, drought, overpopulation, a collapsing environment and disastrous policies have created

a permanent crisis.
"African governments have neglected agriculture for years and one sees the results now," said Mr Erich Leisner, director of the Africa Institute, a private research group in South Africa. "I really think it's going to get even worse."
The Ethiopian famine of the mid-1980s claimed a million lives. Today, an estimated 20 million people are at risk of starvation in Ethiopia, Somalia and Su-

dan in the Horn of Africa, the most famine-plagued part of the globe.
Even the strongest agricultural nations live from crop to crop. When the rains did not come to Southern Africa this year, all 11 countries had to import grain, including South Africa and Zimbabwe, fertile lands that traditionally have surpluses.
Some 30 million people are at risk of starvation in southern Africa, according to the US Agency for Inter-

national Development.
The region is far more developed than the Horn of Africa and is expected to escape widespread famine, but hunger-related deaths have been reported in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
Civil wars have caused the greatest privations and no country has suffered more than Somalia, where an estimated 100 people, most of them children, die of starvation every day.
Africa's population grows by 3.1 percent a year.

the highest rate in the world. International organisations say food production has averaged only 2 percent annual growth since 1960.
On the island of Madagascar, the Beisiboka River has turned crimson from erosion of the red soil.
"At waterfalls, where you would expect to see some white foam, there is nothing but solid red, like a stream of lava," said Mr Scott Ambruster, a University of Alaska re-

searcher.
Peasants burn the rain forests to clear farmland, and fell trees for firewood, denuding the landscape at a furious pace.
Some environmental problems appear largely beyond man's control, as in Mauritania where the expanding Sahara Desert covers 99 percent of the land.
The continent still has enough fertile land to feed its population. But most food is grown by subsistence farmers, who often overwork their small plots because they lack training. In many cases, government policies work against the farmer. President Kenneth Kaunda, who ruled Zambia from 1964 until last year, sought to make his supporters happy by keeping food prices low through government subsidies.
The result: Zambia imports much of its food, only 10 percent of arable land is farmed and crops often rot because of rural roads so poor that truck drivers refuse to travel them.
In neighbouring Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe's government plans to confiscate half of the 4 500 commercial farms, almost all owned by whites, to win support from the black majority.
The aim is to resettle black peasants, who are desperate for land.
West Africa has escaped widespread shortages in recent years, but even that region cannot grow enough food for its people.
Under pressure from the World Bank and other international institutions, African countries have been restructuring their economies and devoting more resources to agriculture.
Mr Harold Norton, a development aid worker in Africa for more than 30 years, believes the continent could feed itself. "If the technology were made available, the wars were stopped and the agriculture policies were changed. The question is, will any of that happen?"

Sapa-AP

Sudan sorry for bombing town

Sowetan 26/5/92
KAMPALA (Uganda) - Sudan has apologised for the bombing 12 days ago of a northwestern Uganda town and will compensate the victims, it was reported yesterday.

New Vision newspaper said Sudan's Foreign Minister Mr Ali Ahmed Fahloul delivered the apology and the compensation offer to President Yoweri Museveni on Sunday.

Fahloul, the newspaper reported, said Sudan will also compensate the victims of three raids prior to the May 14 bombing of the border town of Moyo.

No casualties were reported in the latest raid, a spokesman for Sudan's embassy here said. He said the pilots apparently mistook Moyo for Kajo Kaji, a Sudanese town nearby.

The spokesman said Sudan believes the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army has moved its headquarters to Kajo Kaji from Torit, which is threatened by a government offensive.

But Mr George Garang of the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association, the rebels' humanitarian wing, said the rebels never were headquartered in

Torit. ①

"Torit is just another town we control, and Commander Garang is always moving," said Garang, who said he was not related to the rebel commander.

Relief workers in Nairobi in radio contact with Torit said the town was calm and under rebel control yesterday as Sudan and the insurgents began peace talks in Nigeria.

Government troops launched a major offensive in February and have ejected the rebels from several towns. - SA Press Association-AP.

Africa's troubles slow Premier down

Blowan 27/5/92

THE Premier Group, which is seeking to expand into black Africa, is finding that political unrest there is obstructing trade and slowing development.

Premier says an expected business boom after the lifting of economic sanctions against SA is being delayed as protests shake dictatorial rulers and governments battle guerrilla rivals.

The food and pharmaceuticals group questions predictions that it and similar SA conglomerates will soon become the region's engine of economic growth.

Payment and transport problems, corruption and a lack of investment have been worsened by civil disturbances, deputy chief executive Gordon Utian said.

"The politics is causing huge problems," he said.

"The whole industrial cycle in Africa is not working. One's got to be very, very careful about us being the engine of Africa. Africa needs investment more than trade."

The company, politically liberal with a history of contact with the ANC during its exile years, has seen its Africa trade take some hard knocks.

In Malawi, 15 wholesale outlets were looted and R1.5m in goods stolen in unrest earlier this month.

In Zaire, rioters looted and destroyed a subsidiary's wholesale cash-and-carry business in Kinshasa and Premier's retail network in Lubumbashi last year.

The rioting also put paid to a plan to take over milling operations run by Gecamines Development, the food arm of Zaire's state-owned copper group, Gecamines Exploitation.

"Where we were poised to go into Zaire, we've now had to withdraw," Utian said.

He said a reshuffle of Mozambican government officials in December "put us out of business" as preferential tariffs negoti-

ated with their predecessors were scrapped.

Referring to problems in Angola, he said: "This lack of infrastructure, lack of an ability to get something done, people on the ground, systems and operations that work — it's just not there."

"In addition, as sanctions crumbled, individual SA traders were entering the scene, opportunists who climb into a situation to make a quick buck.

"There is an enormous amount of bribery," Utian said, adding that despotic African leaders still sought control of their economies and paid only lip service to capitalism.

Last year Premier split its Africa trade arm, Premier International — a small part of its total business — into trading and investment operations. The company's Metro trade arm now has 200 wholesale outlets in southern Africa.

Company results do not isolate International's performance from other group activities but Utian said International probably had not traded profitably over the past two years despite a rise in SA trade with Africa generally.

SA trade with the continent, mainly with southern Africa, rose by a hefty 150% to R5,92bn in 1991 from R2,37bn in 1987, Safto said. But exports to Africa are less than one-tenth of SA's total exports.

Utian said any rise depended on stability in black Africa and the lifting of sanctions against Pretoria to allow aid to be conducted through SA.

"What I'm hoping for is that when sanctions are taken off SA and you get donor countries and World Bank money coming back here, we will be able to start an investment chain up into Africa.

"We are going to have to start investing in Africa if Africa is going to return to normality," he said. — Reuter.

Africa will feel tremors in US

STAR 28/9/92

FOR reasons which are the source of inconclusive debate, South Africa seems destined to be more acutely affected by the whirlwind of scandal and change now raging through the US Congress than just about any other country.

Four out of the six Democrats on the House of Representatives Africa sub-committee, for instance, have been decimated by its force already, the career of a fifth is in peril, and the whirlwind has yet to spend itself.

Great movers and shakers like Mervyn Dymally, the sub-committee's chairman, and Howard Wolpe, the sanctions activist, have announced that for one reason or another they will not be standing for re-election.

Stephen Solarz, perhaps the most influential force in shaping policy on South Africa in the House, has been exposed by the banking scandal as one of the most tireless and persistent issuers of dud cheques on Capitol Hill. His New York constituents, who normally doze through scandal and mayhem, are said to be indignant but he intends seeking their endorsement yet again.

Who will fill the vacuum left by the men who made South Africa the focus of national attention, who got sanctions enacted over the threatened veto of President Reagan, and who have set the pace on almost all issues involving the country?

There are no obvious successors in sight. The drawing of new constituency boundaries, the banking scandal and a rebellion by voters against incumbents, has caused more members of Congress to withdraw from politics than at any time since World War 2.

But far right South Africans who might derive satisfaction from seeing old adversaries bowing out, or being booted out, might pause for cold reflection.

Whatever faults he may have, Stephen Solarz is one of the few people who today resists a tidal wave of indifference towards Africa, which threatens to engulf Congress and the administration. He is a prime mover behind the So-

larz-Dellums Initiative which proposes setting up a multi-billion dollar investment package for South Africa, and there is every reason to wish him well in his quest for re-election.

By contrast the focus on Africa has both dimmed and shifted. What interest is still there is shifting from the reconstruction of South Africa to such issues as human rights in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, and the drought in the region as a whole.

Criticism of the regimes in Kenya, Malawi, Zaire, and the Ivory Coast now transcends the residual criticism of Pretoria, concern about the drought too often includes the dismissive observation that the country best equipped to cope with the disaster is South Africa.

Most recently, the Congressional Black Caucus, which used to keep the spotlight on South Africa, has found its attention wrenched away by the riots in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

Even the ANC reportedly is feeling the cold blast of indifference. Its US fund-raising campaign, under the stewardship of the Reverend Walter Fauntroy, is said to have proved a huge disappointment.

The only forceful new personality to emerge as a possible replacement for the loss of anti-apartheid stalwarts on Capitol Hill is Carol Moseley Braun, who defeated incumbent Senator Alan Dixon in the Illinois Democratic primary and who now stands a better than even chance of becoming the first black US Senator.

For the time being, US policy on South Africa seems destined to be shaped on Capitol Hill by the Senate's surviving South Africa enthusiasts. Among them are Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, Senator David Boren of Oklahoma and Senator Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas.

It is they who will have to hold the fort as an era in South Africa's relations with the US comes to an end, and fresh blood in Congress ushers in another. — Stan Bureau. □

Ghana violence

■ AT least 63 people have been killed in ethnic clashes at the weekend between Gonja tribesmen and Nawuris in northern Ghana which left villages burned to the ground, regional officials said. Government sources said the death toll in the fighting could be as high as 80.

Rwanda talks

■ PEACE talks between Rwanda's government and rebels are scheduled for early next month in Paris, the Rwandan ambassador to Uganda said this week.

Zenawi plea

■ ETHIOPIA could defeat famine and feed itself if the world helped repair an economy wrecked by civil war, President Meles Zenawi said. He asked an aid conference for food for nearly eight million hungry people but added that "as they are being fed, they must be equipped to produce their own food as quickly as possible".

Sudan army push

■ PEACE talks between the Khartoum government and southern rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army opened in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, on Tuesday. At the same time, Sudanese security sources said a push by government forces had forced the rebel leader, John Garang, to flee his headquarters.

29/5-4/6/92

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6

SO the new broom at the head of the World Bank is promising to help sweep away poverty in Africa ("World Bank chiefs pledge to reduce poverty", Business Day, May 22). Indeed, he invites us to judge the bank's performance by the demanding criterion that its lending will lead to "sustainable poverty reduction".

This is a tough commitment since all the trends of the past decade have been in the reverse direction, increasing poverty amid serious economic malfunction. What are the chances of reversing the trend?

First, we need a reminder that, although there is a welcome emphasis in Lewis Preston's statements, his predecessor Barber Conable was also not short on pro-poor declarations. In the authoritative report issued by the Bank of Africa in 1989, From Crisis to Sustainable Development — A Long-term Perspective Study, Conable urged "special measures to alleviate poverty and protect the vulnerable... empowering ordinary people, especially women... and a more bottom-up, less top-down approach to programme design rather than the imposition of blueprints".

Yet the record in Africa since 1989 is no better than in the previous decade, and the condition of the poor probably worse. Why?

First, Africa's debt. This now stands at \$270bn with an annual debt servicing requirement of \$25.3bn — a massive drain on Africa's export revenues. The IMF and World Bank made a \$4.7bn profit from Africa between 1986 and 1990 — much of this in loan repayments.

The bleeding of Africa continues. In 1990 there was a net repayment to the IMF from Africa of 400-million Special Drawing Rights (or SDR, the reserve currency the IMF uses in settling international transactions and based on a basket of currencies). Between 1983 and 1990 Africa has paid back \$180bn in interest repayments. Will the World Bank and its sister institution the IMF cancel Africa's "crushing debt burden" (the IMF's own words) in order to achieve poverty reduction?

World Bank aid for Africa hurts those it would rather help

By Day 29/5/92.

BEN TUROK

Second, there is the matter of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) which are imposed by the IMF before lending. These programmes entail devaluation, cuts in government spending, removal of price controls including those on basic necessities for the poor, and so on. Does the World Bank now intend to disown itself from these measures? If not, how can there be any significant poverty alleviation? The SAP is designed specifically to serve as a harsh medicine.

In the latest issue of the IMF and World Bank's quarterly *Camdessus*, IMF head Jean-Michel Camdessus says: "Adjustment is an extremely difficult process... many countries continue to be buffeted by external shocks, so it is not surprising that some of these efforts were not as successful as had been hoped."

The solution he offers is that since "vulnerable groups suffer during adjustment in the short run... we try to identify these groups and target short-term subsidies, for example food supplies." Fine, but the problem is that when the whole country is going through the pains of adjustment, the poor are more likely to suffer than the rest.

This has certainly been the case in Ghana, the country in Africa most favoured by the IMF. It received \$4bn in loans since 1983 only to find, in the words of its finance minister, that the benefits had yet to be seen in

improved living standards. Indeed, internal investment had not increased either, indicating that the business sector had yet to be convinced that the SAP was a feasible programme of recovery.

Doubts about SAPs were earlier expressed by no less than the head of the World Bank for Africa, Edward Jaycox, writing in *Africa Update*, a World Bank bulletin published in 1989: "Neither the World Bank nor anyone else really has all the answers on what an effective adjustment programme should look like

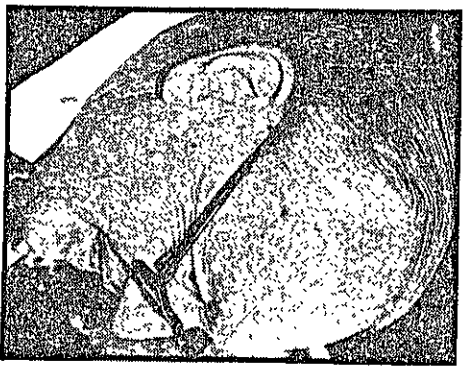
(and) it is very hard to predict the social impact of a given programme in advance... It is incredible how little is known about where and how to manage the social side."

Quite. So why have the bank and the IMF persisted with SAPs, with their resulting increasing poverty? Some argue that it is easy to criticise the IMF and the bank, but Africa has no other options.

Well, there are alternatives, as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) points out. First, before undertaking any further experiments, the IMF and the bank must be pressed to cancel Africa's debts to them and to urge the cancellation of official bilateral debt. Without that, their claims to poverty alleviation cannot be taken seriously.

Projected 1990 figures show sub-Saharan Africa's total debt to be \$162bn, of which official bilateral debts (that is, between governments, in this case mostly with OECD countries) was \$65bn, multilateral (World Bank and IMF) debt \$43bn and total private lending \$55bn. Elimination of the first two categories would eliminate about two-thirds of the region's debt and close to that in servicing obligations.

Second, they should be pressed to take action about the prices paid for Africa's export commodities. These have fallen by 30% in a decade, making a large contribution to the fall in



PRESTON

Africa's GNP to \$140bn in 1990 from \$200bn in 1980 — a 30% decline in per capita income. Import duties imposed on primary commodities by OECD countries are high, depress prices and should be lifted. Duties on beneficated commodities are even higher — which is why Kenya, for example, does not have an industry making instant coffee.

The OECD governments are interfering with the free market and controlling the free flow of commodities which could help Africa to reduce its burden.

Another major element in Africa's recovery is a political and economic restructuring. Essentially, we need to see that the present wave of demagoguery leads to the curbing of capital flight by the elites, severe pruning of imports, especially luxury items, and massive cuts in military and police spending.

The tendency to bureaucratic tyranny in Africa is extremely costly though, one has to say, the tendency has been reinforced by the harsh measures required by the IMF. The surge towards democracy must therefore be associated with demands for drastic cuts in government spending and the freeing of resources to stimulate production, not so much for export but for internal consumption.

Also, since many countries are too small to be anywhere near self-sufficient, regional co-operation is a must, and not simply in trade but in joint ventures, maximising the comparative advantage of climate and location of each.

Finally, Africa must take much more seriously than before the notion of bottom-up development involving popular participation in projects on the basis of common decision-making. Neither the World Bank nor any other external agency can democratisse economic life in Africa, it has to come from within. Fortunately, this understanding is taking root, and it holds much promise. It reflects the main point of this article — Africa cannot find relief from poverty in the declarations of the World Bank. It has to stand on its own feet.

Turok is director of the Institute for African Alternatives.

ONCE again, Harold Macmillan's proverbial winds of change are sweeping Africa, this time more literally than figuratively. The winds of the 1990s are carrying the signals of the international pay-TV empires across the length and breadth of this continent: the American CNN; the French Canal Plus; the new British BBC World Service TV; the South African M-Net — and, sometime in the future, another international network that SABC may well distribute in Africa.

Television in the rest of Africa makes even pre-1990 SABC look positively racy. State-controlled "public interest" channels — strapped for cash and more often than not the personal domains of one-party dictators — offer a viewing diet of hagiographic news broadcasts glorifying the minutiae of the head of state and his cronies, peppered with grainy old sitcom shlock from the darker recesses of Hollywood and Bombay.

Information has always been tightly controlled in Africa. While some regimes have made small concessions to a free press, they still fear (and understand) the power of the box. There is no doubt that, as international signals become more and more available, Africans will be exposed to much higher production values. But will the advent of international TV force an opening up of the flow of information in Africa, or will Africans — perpetually the victims of info-control — merely be placed under the spell of larger, more powerful ideologies beamed from Atlanta,

The new scramble for Africa's TVs

And now it's M-Net — planning to compete with the world's

major TV networks beaming their signals across Africa

MARK GEVISSER looks at the era of pay-TV on the continent

London and Johannesburg?

M-Net is intricately involved in this new, high-tech scramble for Africa. The South African consortium, owned by the four major newspaper groups, has just put into place a satellite that can beam all across Africa. As a lucrative spinoff, it has acquired the contract to use this satellite to broadcast the new BBC-TV signal on the continent. Ironically, the Equity ban still prevents BBC-TV from being broadcast within South Africa. But, until the service is encrypted later on this year, South Africans too will be able to receive it with a satellite dish between 2am and 11am on weekdays and between 5pm and 7pm every day of the week.

M-Net stands to gain from the BBC deal, as it has been given the rights to encrypt the signal for the whole of southern Africa. Part of M-Net's deal with the BBC is also, apparently, that it will

have exclusive rights to broadcasting BBC-TV news once Equity lifts its restrictions on South Africa.

And while M-Net broadcasts the BBC signal, it also continues to expand the catchment zone of its own programming — by recruiting subscribers and by setting up local broadcasting channels in other African countries.

In Kenya, M-Net was all set to take over the commercial-TV station, KTN (Kenyan Television Network), which broadcasts a few prime-time hours of local material (news and magazine programmes) and foreign-bought drama and fills the rest of the day with CNN reports. M-Net was called in by KTN's owners to encrypt the station, as Kenya does not have the facilities to do this. But negotiations seem to have come to a standstill due to a difference of opinion over whether Johannesburg or Nairobi will con-

trol the programming.

M-Net has already set up stations in Lesotho and Namibia. Negotiations are also afoot in Zambia and Zimbabwe, where there are already apparently up to 2,000 illegal subscribers — illegal, because M-Net has not yet obtained all the rights to broadcast its programming to those countries. "What happens," says an M-Net source, "is that people come down here, buy the decoders, and register under a South African address."

M-Net does not, however, seem to be doing that much to prevent this. The Zambian Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Stan Kristofer, announced last month that his government had officially bought M-Net for a hotel in Lusaka, and that he was negotiating with the channel to set up a broadcasting operation in the country.

Also last month, an M-Net team went to investigate possibilities in Nigeria. "It didn't go so well," an M-Net official said. "Things just don't work like we're accustomed to over there. I think that Nigerian anarchy was a little bit too much to bear for a ship as tightly-run as M-Net."

While M-Net consolidates its relationship with the BBC and sets up sibling-stations in other Africa countries, the SABC is working towards an even-closer relationship with CNN. Already, SABC has permission to broadcast CNN material in its programming. Now, according to corporation sources, it has the technology needed to conclude a deal with CNN much like the M-Net/BBC one: to encrypt and distribute the American channel's signals in southern Africa.

SABC is also involved in heated discussions with another new international pay-TV consortium. "But what makes it difficult," says an SABC source, "is that we don't know what our future will be. Our new mandate as a public broadcaster might prevent us from generating income by distributing other signals."

The new scramble for signals is as complicated as the scramble for Africa of another era. As with the colonial powers, the guys with the most firepower get the most territory. A recent loser was Bop-TV, which thought it was on to a good thing by using a very diffuse distribution-band allowing its signal to be freely received all the way up to Israel.

CNN, however, complained bitterly about unfair competition and, last year, Bop-TV was forced to encode its signal outside of South Africa. The channel, which has visions of commercial glory once Bophuthatswana crumbles, is now engaged in selling decoders to the rest of Africa.

What are the implications of all this frenzied activity for South African viewing? "Certainly," said SABC group general manager for finance Steve Schubach, "international pay-TV in South Africa will make it tougher for local broadcasters. There'll be more competition and we'll have to rise to the challenge — as we are already doing with M-Net."

But does independent pay-TV improve the quality of information in Africa? In Kenya, KTN offers fresh American programming and uses a yuppie presentation-style that makes the rival government-owned KBC look like something broadcast out of a mission station in the early part of the century. But, despite Kenya's stridently free press, KTN is as meek as its competitor when it comes to challenging the Moi regime.

While it is certainly true that Africans all across the continent tune into the BBC World Service radio if they want to find out what's happening in their own backyards, international television does not yet serve the same function. Perhaps this is because CNN, BBC-TV and Canal Plus are pay-stations and are therefore inaccessible to most. Perhaps it is because regimes are more nervous about television than radio or print — the moving picture of police brutality really is worth a thousand words — and so are less likely to let an independent channel like KTN get away with it. Perhaps it is also because the pay-stations are not Afro-centric enough. CNN, particularly, spends most of the day broadcasting American mundanity across the globe. Following the mould of the BBC Africa Service on radio, BBC World Service TV is slightly better.

Certainly, the advent of pay-TV in Africa will increase competition and improve local production-values. And certainly, Africa's new multi-party regimes are in favour of opening up the broadcasting system. But most African countries — ours included — seem to be more interested in lucrative deals with pay-TV channels than in granting licenses for open, unencrypted broadcasting. If there is going to be a freer flow of information in Africa, it will only be accessible to those with money for decoders and satellite dishes.

SABC in a flap over airwaves overhaul

Broadcasting proposals accepted by Codesa are exacerbating the tense atmosphere at the SABC, reports FERIAL HAFFAJEE

THE South African Broadcasting Corporation is in a flap over proposals accepted by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) which could severely clip its wings.

If the proposals are rubber-stamped in a future constitution, major decision-making powers will be vested in an independent broadcasting authority.

And adding to the SABC's troubles is a wage strike in all major centres which has sent broadcasts into disarray as skilled and unskilled workers have taken to the streets, demanding the "democratisation of the airwaves".

Though most of the top brass at the corporation are keeping mum while they hammer out their future with the drafters of a new broadcasting code, many SABC managers canvassed by *The Weekly Mail* expressed grave concern because the proposals cut into their areas of authority. They believe they started "a quiet revolution to democratise the airwaves" last year when the SABC undertook a huge restructuring exercise, and they cannot see any need for the proposed overhaul of the industry.

The official SABC response to the proposals, which were accepted by Codesa earlier this month, was supportive. "The board has always supported the establishment of an independent regulatory authority. The SABC believes that such a body will place further distance between the SABC and the government of the day," said board chairman Christo Viljoen.

But the consternation inside the corporation was reflected by the urgent meeting called last week between the SABC board and Codesa's management committee to discuss the proposals.

A senior staff member this week objected to calls for the resignation of the SABC board being made by organisations like the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation (Fawo) and the Campaign for Open Media, which support the appointment of a new board by an independent commission.

"A small amendment to the Broadcasting Act would increase the number of members on the board from 15 to 20. This would make the board reflect the profile of South African society and could be done in time for an interim government," he said.

Demands for affirmative action in the restaffing of the corporation are also likely to



Double trouble... A wage strike in all major centres has sent SABC broadcasts into disarray
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

meet with opposition from the SABC. In a recent interview, Wynand Harmse, SABC group chief executive, said: "One of the first things I did was to get more blacks trained and on to the management structure."

But the corporation's employment figures shows there is still a long way to go: whites make up 72 percent of the total staff complement while blacks account for only 25 percent, and 70 percent of the staff is male.

Last year the corporation was divided into five units in an effort to corporatise its image and make it a profit-making concern. In the ensuing restructuring exercises, many top executives were transferred sideways, some were retrenched and much less room was left at the top.

Two senior employees committed suicide, more and more staff consulted the in-house psychologist and many took leave after suffering nervous breakdowns. The present calls for affirmative action are likely to exacerbate the atmosphere of uncertainty.

Among the briefs of the proposed independent broadcasting authority would be the development of guidelines to ensure impartial news broadcasts, and it would be empowered to take punitive measures against broadcasters who violate those guidelines.

Madala Mphahlela, head of CCV-TV and the most senior black employee at the SABC, com-

mented this week that the Codesa proposals do not differ in essence from the principles of his department. "News is more impartial now," he said, adding that "the corporation is trying as hard as it can to be representative".

And *Agenda* presenter John Bishop, speaking in a personal capacity, said: "News has changed substantially. We are striving to be as fair as possible and give a say to everybody."

But Bronwyn Keene-Young, a researcher at the University of the Witwatersrand, said media studies countered the SABC's claims to impartiality. "SABC coverage of the recent white referendum campaign, for example, illustrates that it continues to act as a National Party pawn," she said.

"The SABC is fundamentally behind the government of the day," commented Fawo general secretary Willie Currie. "It is not duty impartial or fair."

"There are certain 'gatekeepers' editing the news who are intent on reflecting President FW de Klerk and his government in a positive way. It is these 'gatekeepers' who must be replaced."

"There must be a shake-up in the news department. There is a need for news editors who will prescribe to a proper journalistic code."

See PAGE 18

African publishers plan new venture

From Guy Berger

South 30/5-31/6/92 ①

THE first step to a continent-wide association of African publishers was taken in Prague this week with the setting up of a working group to explore media issues.

SOUTH is a founder member of the group which involves South Africa's independent press and newspapers from Tunisia, Cameroon and Kenya.

The move coincides with a flurry of independent papers being launched across Africa as democratisation sweeps the continent.

Independent publishers Mr Gitobu Imanyaro, jailed several times by Kenya's authorities, and Mr Pius Njawa, severely harassed by the Cameroon government, are also involved.

The working group is exploring Africa-wide co-operation on press freedom, news exchange, media policy and training.

It intends seeking support from Unesco and the world newspaper industrial body, FIEJ, for a conference that could formally launch an African independent publishers' federation.

Addis swings as hated curfew ends at last

STAR 30/5/92

①

AFTER 17 bleak years, the new rebel government makes a popular change to the city's shackled nightlife, reports TSEGAYE TADESSE.

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopians danced, drank and sang until the early hours yesterday to celebrate the end of a night curfew in force for 17 bleak years of Stalinist rule.

All over the capital, nightclubs stayed open and the sound of music rocked this city of 3 million.

"This is a rebirth," said the owner of a club whose premises had been forced to close before midnight every night since ousted dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam came to power in 1974.

"I shall have to go out now and get some pretty girls to placate my patrons. Business came to life one day after the curfew was lifted."

Addis Ababa held a party all night, toasting its new freedom in Tej, a deceptively mild-tasting honey-based brew, as well as with beer and imported whisky.

The curfew, which Ethiopians feared because it was the time Mengistu's dreaded secret service could operate freely, was lifted on Thursday, a year to the day that Addis Ababa was captured by a rebel army sweeping in from the north.

The head of the transitional government of the Ethiopian People's Revolu-

tionary Democratic Front, Meles Zenawi, announced the lifting of the curfew this week.

He said it was the right of every Ethiopian to enjoy his or her freedom without limitations, and every nightclub in town threw open its doors to one big party.

In the past, bars and clubs used to close as early as dusk so that people could get back to their homes before curfew. Ethiopians said Mengistu's secret police used the curfew to drag suspected opponents from their homes and shoot them or take them away for interrogation and torture.

The government says tens of thousands of suspected rebels disappeared under Mengistu's 17-year rule, during which he tried to impose Marxism on the peasant economy of one of the world's oldest but poorest countries.

New clubs have sprung up since Zenawi and his army seized power, but they too had to close until the curfew was lifted. They include up-market Western-style nightclubs where the sounds of Ethiopia's favourite daughter, singer Aster, mix with the more modern music of hip-hop and rap. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa demands fair share

NAIROBI - African countries attending this week's Earth Summit in Brazil will fight to end what they see as exploitation of their natural resources by the developed world.

Delegates to a two-week United Nations meeting which ended in Kenya at the weekend said they would use the Rio gathering, starting on June 3, to mount a campaign to get a bigger share of profits from their plants, animals and other natural resources.

"We want the developed nations to know that we are at par. We have the raw materials, they have the technology and finance. We must share these equitably," said Zambian delegate Frigal Stame.

"The industrialised countries will have to pay for the resources which they so much cherish in the Third World. Nothing must ever be taken without the owners getting some benefits," Stame said.

He was speaking after delegates to the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) meeting drafted a treaty to protect the planet's animal and plant life for future generations.

The treaty is to be submitted to world leaders for approval in Rio de Janeiro but six Western countries, including the United States, have registered reservations which could block its adoption.

Western countries want more control over any new spending on protecting "biological diversity" and say they fear the treaty is being rushed through too quickly.

Sowetan 1/6/92

'We need one another: They must give recognition to the fact that Africa is useful for the planet's existence.'

drugs from the Third World on a commercial basis. Countries that sign the treaty make a commitment to take legislative and administrative steps to ensure companies give Third World governments and companies access to their research.

But the treaty recognises that the sharing should be within the framework of national and international legislation on patents and other property rights.

Djibouti's Saleh Farah Dirr, Africa's spokesman at the UNEP meeting, told *Reuters* that the industrialised world had to realise that sustainable development did not lie in "continued exploitation of parties known to be weaker".

Africans say they ought to gain more from, for example, a possible drug for cancer discovered from plants on a remote island, instead of all profits accruing to industrialised countries.

Developed countries, especially the United States, say they have no direct control over the large drug companies.

"We want developed nations to know that we are not a burden to them."

"We need one another. They must give recognition to the fact that Africa is useful for the planet's existence," Farah Dirr added.

Governments, environmental organisations and scientists are all worried that unless stringent measures are taken to protect the world's plants and animals, the Earth will lose much of its "biological diversity".

UN experts say many species face extinction from the destruction of their habitat, pollution, human population growth, non-sustainable exploitation and the unlawful plundering of wild species.

"No one knows what cures for terrible diseases like cancer and Aids or what seeds of plants for new or improved foods are to be found in the forests and deserts, the wetlands and the coral reefs of the planet," said Mostafa Tolba, UNEP's executive director.

"But variety is the price of life," he added. Farah Dirr said Africans would urge the Earth Summit to make developed nations cancel the debts of the least-developed African countries as part of a programme to ensure the release of resources for environmental conservation.

He said the developed world would have to revitalise commodity agreements, guaranteeing minimum prices and enhancing the income-generating ability of producing countries.

"They also have to withdraw all subsidies that are propping up the non-sustainable agricultural sector in the developed countries and then prohibit the dumping of hazardous wastes in Africa," he added.

"A strategy that protects the people as they strive to save the planet is the essence of the African approach," Dirr said. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

Africa surveys its 1992 ills

AFRICAN heads of state assemble in Dakar today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention — but with the South Africa issue no longer one of them.

A mighty row over this issue had been expected. Some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codesa to attend this year's summit as an observer, but others opposed it.

A week ago a showdown seemed possible, but the Boipalong massacre apparently came to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby. Rumours persisted early last week that SA Director-General

of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call to the summit, but his department denied it.

In a press briefing, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed. He condemned the violence in South Africa only after he was prodded.

The massacre and Dr Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa. The foreign ministers, who met before the summit to draw up its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC.

According to sources, not a single foreign minister argued

the case for South Africa. ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it much easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria. The massacre had dealt President de Klerk's personal image and prestige a severe blow, he said.

The ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja, Nigeria, that some sanctions be lifted, but this year it is presenting a position fairly similar to that of the PAC, which has maintained that Codesa was not the correct forum for constitutional talks. The PAC wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC.

Although they may have been let off the South African hook, African leaders face other tough problems. Anarchy is

Conflict and the economy are some of the problems to be discussed at the OAU summit in Dakar, writes BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service.

reigning in Liberia and Somalia, and about a dozen low-level conflicts are raging on the continent.

There are also the economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought in most of eastern and southern Africa. Southern African countries have called for greater co-ordination of drought relief.

Because of the venue of the summit, west African concerns will tend to dominate. The civil war in Liberia tops the list because the host country, Senegal, has lost troops serving with the

peacekeeping force Ecomog in Liberia.

There are fears that the Lib-rian civil war could engulf the entire region. It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone. The summit will have to decide what to do about Lib-rian rebel leader Charles Taylor, who has broken every agreement reached with him. Last week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement.

In Somalia, civil administration has completely broken down. Various parts of the

country are controlled by different armed militia. Some of the factions turned up in Dakar, each claiming to be the legitimate government.

Dr Salim has complained that the international community has not always responded to African tragedies with the same speed as elsewhere. "The world is not interested (in Africa) any more," he said, adding that Africa would have to use its own resources to solve its problems.

The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Just being able to exist has been an achievement.

Africa is now a victim of the end of the Cold War. Gone are

the days when Soviet envoys could influence policy decisions in exchange for armaments and easy terms of trade.

Now the remnants of what was the Soviet Union are joining the queue for international aid, and it annoys the Africans that they jump the queue.

OAU officials are saying that, colonial emancipation having been attained, the time has come for economic independence. The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja last year is seen as signalling the second phase of the continent's liberation. But the governments know that without political stability it will be almost impossible to pull Africa out of the economic quagmire. Dr Salim wants some mecha-

nism for conflict resolution, and it will feature high on the summit's agenda. He wants the OAU to decide on how to build its capacity for the control of conflict both between and within states.

But some countries are expected to resist this development because it seems to go against the OAU policy of non-interference. If the suggestion is adopted, it will mean that the organisation has at last been given teeth.

The OAU faces another issue. It is often asked to observe elections in member countries, but it does not have enough money to do so. It is \$38 million (about R106 million) in the red and almost half of its members are in arrears with their contributions. □

20 killed for land

LOME - Twenty people were killed and 40 wounded, some seriously, in a tribal clash over a land dispute at Sotoboua in central Togo on Saturday.

Radio Lome reported yesterday that Territorial Administration and Security Minister Yao Komlavi had appealed for calm in the small West African state. *Sovetan 11/6/92*

Komlavi said the wounded had been taken to the Sokokode regional hospital.

The radio did not name the tribes involved in the clash. - Sapa-Reuter.

Food train exercise no piece of cake

STAR 1/6/92

IMAGINE a train so long that the locomotive would reach Harrismith before the last truck left Johannesburg station.

Obviously there is no such train, but that is how long it would be if Spoornet had to transport this year's drought relief maize in one go.

Out of the 11 million tons of grain, some of it bought, some of it supplied by the United Nations World Food Programme, Spoornet is transporting 8,5 million tons — the biggest transportation exercise in food and aid relief in the world. Even the Ethiopian drought relief effort involved only 2 million tons of food.

South Africa gets 4,7 million tons, Zimbabwe 2 million, Zambia 900 000 and Malawi 800 000, while small amounts are going to Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland.

This adds up to a total of 5 700 trains, each with 38 trucks, with each truck carrying 39 tons of grain.

The only exercise that comes close is the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Programme, the restocking of Kuwait with everything from food, rubber bands and generators to fire engines and syringes after the country was devastated in the Gulf War.

In fact the American logistics company that organised the recovery programme has been called in to assist Spoornet's logistics subsidiary, Viamax Logistics.

The Americans say that in this operation, the volumes are far bigger and the multiple destinations complicate the issue.

The logistics are staggering. At any time, about 20 ships from Argentina and the United States are on their way to South Africa to unload grain in ports that are geared for loading and exporting.

Machines that pump grain into ships stand idle, while cranes lift the huge loads on to railway trucks to be carried to silos all over South Africa and

Searing heat and crippling drought have withered maize and wheat crops across the African subcontinent. Enormous quantities of grain are now being donated or bought to feed hungry populations. Spoornet is transporting the biggest volume of food relief yet. JULIENNE DU TOIT looks at what is involved.

neighbouring countries. Suctioning the grain off the ships would be easier, but that damages it.

In fact, this is what makes this exercise different from other Spoornet operations. Spoornet transports between 50 and 60 million tons of coal a year, but that is comparatively easy to load and unload.

"You have to be more careful with maize and wheat. It's going to land up on somebody's plate," said Viamax projects manager Shaun McCormack.

The grain that is not going through South Africa is being landed at Walvis Bay in Namibia, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and Beira, Nacala and Maputo in Mozambique.

Getting the food from the ships to the countries that need it is not easy.

Malawi, for instance, is just not geared to unload consignments of loose maize, so contractors have to put Malawi's grain into 50 kg bags.

A third of the Zimbabwean and Zambian consignments also have to be bagged — a total of 36 million bags.

Spoornet has to know where its trains are at any given moment, whether they have been unloaded, whether they are waiting at Beit Bridge or which trucks can be brought back for reloading.

At the moment, it is all being done by hand. In the grain operations room at Spoornet's headquarters in central Johannes-

burg, ships are marked as arrows heading steadily across the map from the United States and Argentina.

One, stationed just above Cuba, is marked "hijacked". The crew mutinied over a pay disagreement while sailing through the Caribbean and diverted the ship to Cuba, where its cargo of about 30 000 tons of maize is rotting in the tropical heat and humidity.

Other charts show exactly how many tons have been transported so far by ship and by train, where the loads in transit are, and how much each train and ship is carrying.

Twenty shiploads have arrived so far at Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London. About 230 are still expected.

People sit working on charts and watching the boards, keeping track of every movement, and co-ordinating the exercise for the least possible waste of time and transport.

The American logistics company is going to computerise the whole system for Spoornet. From the moment a purchase contract is signed, before any grain is loaded from silo to ship across the Atlantic, it will be logged on the computer.

That will give three to six months' planning time, as opposed to the current 14 days — the time it takes for a ship to sail between the Americas and Africa.

Spoornet will also be linked to satellite and UN input to keep track of trains and the unloading beyond South Africa's borders.

The huge operation started in April and has yet to hit its peak.

And what if the drought carries on?

"We'll just have to do it all again," said Spoornet communications adviser Jacques Pienaar.

● The Star Africa Service reports that the supply of maize in Zimbabwe has improved dramatically and the long queues have disappeared. □

Pik clarifies W African deal

STAR 4/6/92

CAPE TOWN — The Department of Foreign Affairs had not invested in a project in a west African state, but had been involved with a businessman there on a project which had led to SA being able to overfly Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in a House of Assembly debate on a question by Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg), he said the department had invested in a project in 1986 in a European company which included a printing company.

A west African diplomat had been introduced who was said to be able to influence people in Africa and smooth the way for oil purchases.

The 20 percent share in the business in Europe was to print a publication that would give a more balanced view of the situation in South Africa.

Funds in excess of R1 million, in the form of share certificates given to this person, could not be recovered.

The Auditor-General had



Pik Botha . . . abnormal times call for abnormal methods.

said in his report that the department could not be blamed for mismanagement or illegal dealings.

Jasper Walsh (DP Pinalands) said the money lost in this transaction was a mere fraction of the cost of apartheid, which had caused people to act furtively and clandestinely to overcome the problems of sanctions.

Mr Botha agreed with him, saying abnormal times called for abnormal methods of dealing with people. — Sapa.

A curate's egg view on Africa

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE worldwide recession is abating and the world may see growth in excess of one percent this year, according to the International Monetary Fund's latest *World Economic Outlook*. *W.M.* 5/16-11/6/92

Coming at the same time as predictions of an upturn in the South African economy later this year, the report bodes well for South African exporters whose sales abroad have been depressed by the two-and-a-half-year slump.

However, many African nations are unlikely to see much growth. While the continent will benefit from the increase in commodity prices as the recovery picks up in industrialised countries, drought will stifle the effect of this in southern Africa.

The report says the success of other African regions hinges on the structural adjustment programmes being undertaken there. Noting that growth in developing countries with high and fluctuating rates of inflation has been much lower than those with low inflation, the publication also cautions against a lack of fiscal and monetary control in developing countries which, it says, is the primary reason for the rise in deficits.

Kenya and Nigeria are singled out as countries where free market oriented structural reforms are failing because the governments have failed to address market rigidities and large price distortions caused by this past excessive control.

But the report expresses faith in the IMF-sponsored structural adjustment programmes which, it says, should be strengthened as they have improved the creditworthiness of various countries.

Insofar as the former Soviet Union states are concerned, the report argues that as harsh as economic reform may be, it is best to be bold and implement market reform from the very beginning.

Key elements of assistance given to this region thus far include technical assistance, financial assistance to build up foreign reserves and finance essential investments; and the opening of markets to products from these states.

Aid for Africa a matter of life and death

By Victoria Brittain

5/6-11/6/92.



SOUTHERN Africa faces a tragedy of colossal proportions. Eighteen million people are threatened with starvation and 180 million lives are blighted by the worst drought in living memory, the United Nations says.

Across 10 countries, the drought has dried up mighty rivers such as the Limpopo, the Zambezi and the Orange, and reduced farmers to poverty or destitution. The social, political and economic fabric of these nations is under intolerable stress. People everywhere are on the move, in desperate flight from dried up bore holes and withered harvests.

For the most fragile countries, like Mozambique, where people are already dying of hunger and thirst, it is a human catastrophe which dwarfs European crises such as that in the Balkans. Another 19 million people in the Horn of Africa are short like the south, of 4 million tonnes.

The UN and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), are appealing to the international community at a

conference in Geneva this week for \$685 million to buy 4 million tonnes of emergency grain for Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In addition, \$150 million of non-food aid is needed, and \$21 million for regional logistics and programme co-ordination.

The UN emergency appeal for the Horn of Africa last January has obtained only half the \$620 million sought, and there are few grounds for optimism regarding southern Africa.

The aid requested is "the absolute minimum if economic and social chaos is to be avoided," Ibrahim Sy, of the Organisation of African Unity, said. The UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said: "The lives of thousands of men and women and thousands upon thousands of children are at stake. The work at hand must be done urgently as a moral duty."

Across the region, cereal production has dropped by half. Grain import needs for the SADCC

countries (which excludes South Africa) have tripled in a year from 2 million tonnes to 6 million tonnes, 4 million tonnes of which have to be found outside the region. New information from SADCC's early-warning units indicates that total needs may be even higher.

The crisis has hit every country, though to a different degree: South Africa, the region's greatest exporter, has seen its maize harvest plummet by 67 per cent; Zimbabwe, an exporter of grain, now needs food aid and, in some places, has run out of water; Namibia's production is down by 71 per cent and cattle herds are dying; Botswana has lost its entire maize crop; Tanzania has 800,000 people in need of food aid; Malawi has 4.7 million people, mostly refugees, in need of emergency food; in Lesotho, where more than half the population habitually lives below the poverty line, subsistence farmers have no resources to fall back on; Mozambique, the worst affected country, has produced only one-third of its harvest, while the

number needing food aid is up from 1.8 million six months ago to 3.1 million.

The region's ports of Dar es Salaam, Nacala, Beira, Maputo, Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Walvis Bay, Lobito, and Luanda have a combined capacity of 11.8 million tonnes and are all on standby to move an unprecedented volume of food if the pledging conference is successful.

So far about half the needs have been promised by the EC, the US, Japan, and Canada. The first shipments from the World Food Programme (WFP) arrived last week in Durban and Dar es Salaam for transport by rail to the landlocked countries of Zambia and Malawi. Another seven WFP ships are due soon in Mozambican ports. The logistical challenge of moving 400 per cent more grain than ever before in the region is daunting, and severe bottlenecks on unrepaired roads and rail networks are expected.

Compounding the food shortages is a forecast of large-scale epidem-

ics of cholera (which has already struck Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia), dysentery, typhoid and meningitis because of the water shortages. The appeal includes water and primary health care programmes.

UN officials say the water table is "precariously low" in many places and there is clear evidence that ground water levels are dropping and water sources drying up or becoming saline. Long-term prospects for agricultural recovery may be affected. Draught oxen are dying, hand tools are unavailable, and most small-scale farmers will be without seeds and fertilisers next season.

The drought exacerbates a long-term crisis of health facilities in several countries. Budget cuts in social services including health have effectively been imposed under World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment policies (SAPs). But SAPs themselves are now jeopardised as governments are obliged to divert foreign exchange into payments for food.

Perils of travel through Africa

Sowetan 5/6/92
SOUTH Africans travelling in Africa have been warned by a medical expert to take precautions against certain diseases, some of which are potentially fatal.

"The major risk which faces any business person in Africa is contracting numerous infectious diseases," Dr Simon Robson, deputy director of the Medical Research Centre of the University of Cape Town, told members of the South African Foreign

Trade Organisation.

He said the major diseases were malaria and cholera, but there was a growing danger from hepatitis-B.

"Looking at hepatitis-B, the facts for Africa are frightening," he said. "Estimates are that between eight and 15 percent of all Africa's inhabitants are chronically infected with it. However, between 70 and

95 percent of the continent's inhabitants have been exposed to the virus."

The disease, which affected the liver, was transmitted through human body fluids and could be contracted from inadequately sterilised hypodermic or surgical needles, he said.

It was now suspected that it might also be transmitted by blood-sucking

insects such as bedbugs.

Robson advised business people to try to travel in pairs or groups and arrange for a member of the party to see that any needle or syringe that was about to be used on another member of the party came from a sealed pack.

Travellers should have themselves vaccinated against hepatitis B before going to a part of Africa where there was a high risk of infection, he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

SA firm sorts out Africa's gem finds

S/Times (Buss) 7/6/92. ①
SOUTH African technology is putting a sparkle into Africa's diamond industry.

Van Eck & Lurie (VEL) of Johannesburg — the minerals and metals division of Bateman Project Holdings — has supplied modular diamond recovery plants to Angola, Zaire and Guinea. It has also received inquiries from the Central African Republic.

VEL is executing orders for four projects for Brazilian company Odebrecht, which is managing the exploration and extraction of diamonds in the Quango region of Angola on behalf of Endiama, the State mining corporation.

Three senior VEL officials are visiting Angola.

In November 1991 VEL supplied Odebrecht-Endiama with a modular recovery plant to be based in Lusamba. The plant incorporates the new technology of X-ray sorting machines.

The modular plant concept has played a major role in VEL's success as a supplier to Africa's diamond industry. A modular plant is a self-contained unit or several

By IAN ROBINSON

self-contained ones — modules — which when assembled in the correct sequence make up a small-scale treatment plant.

VEL identified a need in the market for transportable dense media separation (DMS) plants. Plant design is based on the principle of transporting the module with pre-installed equipment, resulting in minimum re-erection time on site.

Gravity

In DMS diamonds are separated from gravel by gravity. Diamondiferous gravel is fed into cyclones (centrifugal devices) and mixed with the dense medium. The higher specific gravity of the diamonds causes them to sink in the medium.

The first modular plant — a 10-ton-an-hour (tph) DMS ordered by Brazil Diamante for prospecting gravel in Namaqualand — was developed in 1967.

Since then VEL has sup-

plied 30 DMS units, either self-contained or associated with complete installations.

About 70% of the plants designed and supplied have been for Africa.

Director Robert Abate ascribes VEL's success to providing "African solutions to Africa's problems".

VEL's equipment has been tried and tested for African conditions.

VEL is also active in South Africa. Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers officially opened Alexander Bay Development Corporation's (Alexkor) multimillion-rand 300 tph Rietfontein South diamond treatment plant, designed and built by VEL.

VEL is also involved in design and supply of plant for the De Beers Venetia project.

VEL equipment has been adapted to marine diamond recovery off the Namaqualand coast and the company has equipped vessels belonging to various companies.

Mobile

VEL's reach extends far beyond Africa and it has been involved in most diamond treatment plants around the world. These range from 5 tph mobile prospecting plants — the standard prospecting tool in the industry — to the largest facilities in the world at Argyle in Australia.

In the past five years VEL has supplied plant to China, Burma and a country in the Middle East.

In addition to diamond recovery, VEL is involved in metallurgical process engineering for the extraction of other minerals, including coal, base metals, gold and platinum.

Why the World points fingers

STAR 9/6/92

WHEN William Weld, the US Attorney for Massachusetts, retired after serving in the Justice Department's criminal division, he wrote: "I would like to under-

score a concern that increasingly troubled me throughout my years of involvement in law enforcement. My concern is that, while Americans frequently deride other countries for corruption in their public institutions, they greatly underestimate public corruption as a political and economic problem at home."

What William Weld wrote about Americans applied no less to other Western nations and to the Japanese. Their own record of corruption is generally treated as aberrations and not inherent in their political system itself. Yet, corruption is endemic in every country in the world, and under every kind of political system. None is exempt.

As has now been shown, communism produced corrupt societies in the USSR, and throughout Eastern Europe despite the high moral tone set by Marxists. Japan — one of the closest regulated

countries in the world — has been rocked by a succession of corruption scandals that have toppled prime ministers, finance Ministers and other top officials and financiers.

Name any country in Europe, the Arab world and in Asia (except for Singapore), or in Latin America, and one can list scores of scandals involving corruption. Current cases involving corruption during the apartheid years show that South Africa is among the most corrupt countries on the continent.

Yet, nobody talks about South Africa, Japan, the United States, Britain or other countries as corrupt societies in contrast with the habitual reference to corruption in Africa. Why are African leaders and governments stereotyped as corrupt?

This portrayal of Africa is by now so imprinted in the minds of Europeans, Americans and Asians that if average newspaper readers are asked to apply a description to Africa they can usually be relied upon to say "corrupt", "dictatorial" and "nepotistic". My purpose is to raise two important issues: what lies behind

the portrayal of Africa as exceptionally corrupt; and what are the reasons for the corruption that, in fact, does exist in African countries?

The answer to the first question is that the almost universal characterisation of Africa as riven by corruption is motivated by racism. It stems from an earlier, and still widely persistent, idea that blacks are somehow inferior and are incapable of governing themselves efficiently and cleanly.

Nor is the racism confined only to the white world; it is to be found equally among Arabs, Asians and Japanese.

In the special case of white South African attitudes there is an additional reason which helps to explain what lies behind the widespread denigration of Africa: their historical need to justify white supremacy.

It is an irony that a country that has been subjected to single-party, undemocratic and corrupt rule (just look at the Government's role in buttressing the corrupt rulers of many of the homelands) should have accused the whole of Africa with precisely these vices.

Now that the political climate in South Africa has happily changed, most white South Africans are still imbued with the racist attitudes of the past.

It is likely to take years for this mindset to change. What could help is the cultivation of more responsible reporting to the mass media of the true conditions in the continent now that it is opening up to coverage by South African journalists.

Turning now to the second issue — the reasons for corruption which undoubtedly exists on the continent — several different reasons account for it.

First, there has been the absence of democratic government with counter-balancing institutions capable of curbing corruption.

The suppression of opposition parties in many African countries, the absence of a free press and of opportunities for critical opinion to be expressed, have made it easier for corruption to go unchecked and unpunished.

A second reason is the psychological drive of people emerging from poverty to acquire wealth.



The emerging new political class often consists of people drawn from an underprivileged sector of society who, for all their lives, have known only dire poverty. Self-enrichment for a successful politician and his family has been a universal feature of the exercise of unchecked power.

A third reason is that in the fragile, nascent period of independence, those who have managed to gain power have never been sure how long they will hold office, hence the need to make hay while their usually brief tenure of power lasts.

A fourth reason has been the need to provide funds to organise and maintain the power of the ruling party by selling government contracts and through patronage.

Now, over most of the African continent, has come a day of reckoning for the first generation of the post-independence political class. The coming of this Second Independence has been hastened by popular discontent over the abuse of power, the extent of corruption, and the absence of human rights. Democracy is on the march from north to south and from east to west.

But unless the advent of democracy produces effective institutions capable of curbing the excess of unrepresentative power, there is the risk of the emergence of a new political class as greedy as the one they seek to replace. Nevertheless, in the longer term, accountable government, based on sound democratic principles, is the only sure way of ensuring that the period of the Second Independence won't be blighted by the misdemeanours and mistakes of the First Independence which was fought against alien rule.

It is important that the complexities of change should be properly understood, and this calls for responsible reporting which requires, above all, recognition of the racism that is present, to a greater or a lesser extent, in every one of us — white and brown and black — no matter how pious we might feel about our success in having overcome our own inbred attitudes. □

This report is a shorter version of an essay which appears in the latest issue of *Realising a Liberal Monthly* published in Maritzburg.

AS AFRICA's largest R & D organisation, the CSIR is well positioned to undertake and facilitate scientific and technological research, development and implementation geared to African needs.

Scientists, engineers and business people in sub-Saharan Africa could benefit from the accumulated Africa-expertise of the CSIR, and gain from their experience and needs.

Foster

The main objectives and functions of the CSIR are to undertake, foster and manage broadly based market-driven R & D, and technology transfer in support of industry, to meet the needs of community interests.

Its scope lies in its scientific and technological expertise in the fields of aeronautical systems, building, earth, marine and atmospheric science, energy, food science, forest science, information technology, materials science, microelectronics and communications, production, roads and transport, textiles, water, and advanced computing and decision support.

But the CSIR's specific strength lies in what it refers to as its Africa-specific expertise. This is catering to the fact that with the

Geared up for wider role in rest of Africa

fundamental limitations on human and financial resources SA cannot attempt to move on a broad front like developed nations do.

It therefore sees its role in mounting highly focussed research programmes of specific importance to southern Africa.

This allows it to participate in the global scientific and technological effort and serve as a bridge for transferring advances in relevant arenas of science and technology to the southern African marketplace in customised science and technology packages.

Blending this expertise with financial and technological muscle of First World countries in collaboration with African countries could prove a valuable mechanism for sustained development.

The organisation has already made scientific and technological inputs to 14 African countries. Its contributions are mainly in three fields — infrastructure, quality of life and in-

dustry. Examples of such work include:

- A method developed so people in the Comores can make use of the abundant supply of volcanic ash for building instead of depleting coral and beach sand;
- Various small contracts have also been undertaken in neighbouring countries such as Swaziland and Botswana, including the evaluation of locally available brick making materials;
- In the transport arena, a contract for the rehabilitation of Malawi's national road network and planning of its transport system was undertaken. Advice was also given on the management of road construction projects in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, and an inspection programme of Zambia's road network is still underway. The CSIR is also active as a consultant on the development of harbours in Mozambique and Namibia; and
- In the energy field, research is being done on smokeless fuels and smoke-

less stoves suited to densely populated under- and semi-developed areas in various parts of the continent.

This ties in with CSIR developed fluidised bed combustion technology that uses low-grade coals or even wood chips for steam and power generation:

- The CSIR supplied the technology for the replacement of diesel-driven power generating sets with 1,5 MW coal-fired steam boilers in Botswana;

Scope

- The CSIR will most probably become involved in the development and provision of the technology needed for the provision of low-cost electricity reticulation in under-developed rural areas of central and southern Africa.

Together with Eskom, there is scope for the CSIR's involvement in a broad project to utilise the vast hydro-electric potential of the Congo Delta;

- The CSIR was selected as the adviser to the engineering consultants for part of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project; and
- A rapid test method for the alkali-aggregate reaction (AAR) which gives useful results within 12 days compared to the 12-month ASTM test, was developed.

Experience enhances working in Africa

Bidany 9/6/92

MORE than 40 years of dealing with technology-related problems in Africa have given the CSIR a special understanding of the needs of the various components — First and Third World, urban and rural — of southern African communities.

The organisation's Africa Strategy, which forms part of its International Strategy, seeks to harness the full scope of this Africa-specific expertise.

A network of representatives in about 14 African countries has been established to assist its "Into Africa drive". A number of projects are currently being pursued, some in collaboration with industrial partners, in response to specific requests by African governments.

Its participation in the Lesotho Highlands Water Project is a good example of the CSIR's role as a technology partner in Africa.

The organisation is also expanding its interaction with development agencies and is now registered as a consultant with the World Bank and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Zusammenarbeit.

In response to the rapidly changing competitive envi-

ronment, the CSIR's core mission statement has been amended to emphasise the importance the organisation attaches to providing technology through the implementation of R & D.

Support

The revised mission statement says: "The CSIR's business is to perform research and development to gain technology and thereafter to ensure its implementation in order to:

- Be the technology partner of industry in the formal and informal sectors to promote economic growth;
- Provide scientific and technological support to enhance decision-making in the public and private sectors; and
- Provide technology solutions that improve the quality of life in urban and rural developing communities."

Achieving the goals means the CSIR must advance aggressively its role as the technology partner of SA industry and the informal sector, to enable them to compete profitably in global markets.

The CSIR's corporate strategy emphasises the

need to continue the process of organisational development within the framework of strategic units in selected market areas; the need to identify and strengthen the organisation's core competencies and products; and the need to standardise approaches to strategic analysis, planning and control throughout the organisation.

In order to streamline organisational activities in information technology, the Board approved the restructuring of the Centre for Advanced Computing and Decision Support (Datatek), the Division of Information Services (Infotek), and the Management Information Systems Programme (MIS) into one strategic unit under the aegis of the Division of Information Services.

The second thrust area defined by the core mission expresses the commitment of the CSIR to enhancing the quality of decision-making by supplying policy makers in the public and private sectors with information from R & D.

One component in pursuit of this aim is a Policy Studies Unit headed by Gideon de Wet.

Its first report reviewed the role of science and technology policies in economic development in 17 countries. The report was widely disseminated and well received.

More recently, a report entitled An Audit on the Science Policy and System of the RSA was submitted to the Department of National Education. The Policy Studies Unit will continue to play a major role in the CSIR's corporate technology management initiatives.

Provision

A second component relates to the provision of knowledge-based or Geographic Information Systems-based decision support systems.

These systems are usually developed under contract to specific clients or partners.

The importance of support for developing communities, led to the creation of a third programme, the Corporate Programme for Developing Communities, which was added to the two existing functions, Mining and Environmental Ser-

vices, which were designed to integrate the CSIR's source base.

The Environmental Services Programme was asked to carry out the second and third phases of the most extensive environmental impact assessment ever undertaken in SA — to assess the impact of two options at Eastern Shores, St Lucia.

A national report to the UN Conference on Environment and Development was done for the Department of Environmental Affairs. A number of environmental audits and impact assessments have also been done for clients in the public sector and in the mining and paper and pulp industries.

The Mining Programme continues to strengthen its ties with the industry.

A development which benefits SA's manufacturers — specifically with the lifting of customs barriers in a unified Europe — is that the application for formal recognition by the Western European Calibration Co-operation has been accepted for SA's National Calibration Service (NCS), which is administered by the CSIR.

First World know-how for the Third World

THE CSIR's role in SA and in Africa generally is already well known, with the organisation having conducted many projects in collaboration with other African countries.

The focus of these projects has fallen on infrastructure, quality of life and industrial development, with the CSIR harnessing First World technology for many Third World applications.

When it comes to building, many low-cost building methods have been developed and applied in a number of African countries.

In the transport arena, the contract sponsored by the World Bank for rehabilitating Malawi's road

network was awarded to the CSIR, and the organisation has also acted as advisor on road construction and inspection projects in several other countries.

Energy projects include research into smokeless fuels and stoves, as well as other appropriate technologies. Investigations are also underway into low-cost electricity reticulation in rural areas in central and southern Africa.

Water projects include the CSIR's role as expert adviser to engineering consultants for the Khatse Dam, part of the Lesotho Highlands water project.

In Namibia, it treated the Khan River's water and

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Rossing Uranium effluents, while CSIR researchers have also advised Lesotho on an aquatic weed problem and undertaken effluent and eutrophication research in Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Chad.

Investigated

The introduction of protein, vitamin and mineral enriched foods and soya-based foods developed by the CSIR is being investigated in various countries.

Kenya and Zimbabwe have utilised CSIR advisors on aquaculture.

In the health arena, the CSIR developed a self-contained mobile dental unit

with potential applications in many parts of Africa.

For the mining industry, the CSIR has developed techniques for the design and management of diamond mining in hostile, in-shore coastal zones at Oranjemund, and analyses are undertaken for mining groups in Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana.

Agricultural industry can benefit from satellite imagery provided and interpreted by the CSIR. This has wide applications for both agricultural and environmental planning in countries such as Botswana, Malawi, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.

A drug threat is looming over the African continent, says Simon Baynham

Narcotics are Africa's newest foe

STAR 10/6/92

DURING the past decade Africa has become a revolving door — and also a major centre of consumption — for the drug trade.

The narcotics business has become one of the most serious threats to the stability and economic development of the continent: a scourge with ramifications beyond the misery it inflicts on malnourished Africans.

The abuse of narcotics greatly affects the Third World, where 20 percent of the globe's 40 million illicit drug users live. World expenditure on illicit drugs and psychotropic substances now comes second only to armaments.

Since the early 1980s, the drug invasion has been facilitated by the geography of Africa.

On the West African coast, the Ghanaian and Nigerian drug barons obtain consignments of cocaine from Colombia. On the Horn

and in East Africa, the trail originates in the south-east Asian "Golden Triangle" (the highlands of Burma and northern regions of Laos and Thailand) and in south-west Asia's "Golden Crescent" (southern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan and parts of Iran).

It is from these regions that much of the world's illicit opium crops are refined into heroin. By 1990, one third of the heroin intercepted in Europe had been transported by way of Africa.

Other known conduits include north Africa, a centre of trafficking in the depressant methamphetamine (mandrax), and central Africa, where the airports of Bangui, Kigali and Kinshasa play a decisive role in the lucrative onward trade into western Europe.

Further south, the routes into South Africa out of Lubumbashi (Zaire) and Lusaka (Zambia) are

facilitated by small networks operating out of Johannesburg.

In some African countries, the drug threat has the potential of destabilising the economy and threatening the fabric of society, as in Colombia where authorities have had to spend exorbitant sums on detection and security.

There is also increasing alarm about the growing collusion between the international drug trade and terrorist organisations. And in southern Africa, much of the illicit drug trade can be attributed to currency devaluations, which makes money an increasingly meaningless medium of exchange.

Zambia, where more than 50 percent of Africa's illegal drug seizures monitored by the UN are currently occurring, heads the itinerary of drug-trafficking countries on this continent.

African governments are not in

a position to tackle these issues alone. For this reason, the basic challenge facing this continent's policy-makers is to fashion a cooperative strategy that addresses both the demand and supply side in conjunction with the wider international community.

South Africa has already tabled new legislation which, when approved, will qualify the country to sign and ratify the 1988 UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

But unless the rest of Africa follows suit, a new epidemic of momentous proportions — the "Fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse" as it has been described — will be added to Africa's woes of war, famine and AIDS. □

● *Dr Simon Baynham is Director of Research at the Africa Institute of South Africa.*

Food drive to save millions in top gear

② 10/6/92 ACG

SHARKEY ISAACS
Staff Reporter

TRANSNET'S operational centre is a hive of activity as the programme to save the lives of millions of people threatened by famine in drought-stricken Southern Africa moves into top gear.

Staff work round the clock preparing for the big crunch between now and September when ships will discharge millions of tons of grain at harbours in South Africa and Mozambique.

Operations co-ordinators Mr Andrew Wilson (Spoornet) and Mr Simon Swanich (Portnet) are hard at work tackling one of their most challenging jobs so far as big shipments of maize arrive at ports from Cape Town to Beira.

During the next few weeks they will have to deal with delegates from dozens of countries as they co-ordinate the progress by ship and rail of 8,2 million tons of desperately needed maize.

Delegates from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Botswana will make regular visits to the office on the seventh floor in the Paul Kruger Building in Wolmarans Street, Johannesburg.

While Mr Swanich routes ships to various ports to dis-

charge cargo, Mr Wilson will deal with rail transport.

The biggest task, they say, will be to co-ordinate the incoming shiploads with South Africa's rail system and the systems of neighbouring countries.

More than 250 ships carrying grain are expected to arrive in Southern Africa in the coming months and these will have to be directed to harbours, including Cape Town, with available facilities.

The vessels are mainly bulk carriers but a few barges are also expected.

"What we are trying to do is ensure that the transportation of maize does not disrupt the running of routine services, on our side of the border and theirs," said Mr Wilson.

"That means getting maize trains on the shortest possible route when other trains are not running. So far everything is going smoothly."

Of the 8,2 million tons to be transported by Spoornet, 4,4 million tons are destined for consumption in South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Zimbabwe will get two million tons from South Africa through Beit Bridge, Malawi will get 800 000 tons and Zambia one million tons via Mafikeng and Botswana.

Zimbabwean officials believe

they will be able to handle the daily influx of almost 7 500 tons of maize. Of that, 5 000 tons a day will be for the country's own use.

Most will be coming through South Africa, but about 2 700 tons a day will come through the R207 million Beira harbour.

Because of the limitations of the Beira Corridor rail service to Zimbabwe, which is being rehabilitated, 1 000 tons will be transported by a fleet of trucks escorted by Zimbabwean soldiers to protect them from raids by "bandits" operating in war-ravaged Mozambique.

While the drought may pose a threat to peace, it is bringing old foes together. This was seen in Pretoria recently when officials from Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique and South Africa met to decide how best to distribute the incoming maize.

Mr Wilson believes all his rounds of face-to-face dealings with officials in "frontline" states have resulted in strong relationships.

In spite of initial opposition from Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe to South Africa's key role in the operation, officials agreed to set up a co-ordinating body to oversee the project.

Delegates at the meeting were officials rather than politicians in deference to Zimba-

bwe's fears that South Africa would try to make political capital out of the situation.

Mr Swanich said: "The size of the maize shipments is not the main problem — 8,2 million tons makes up barely four per cent of the 200 million tons Transnet handles annually. We are used to handling such large consignments."

Mr Wilson believes the main poser will be trying to co-ordinate all the parties involved in the operation.

They face the problem of trying to co-ordinate incoming ships and the railway systems of five, possibly six, different countries so that there are no unnecessary delays.

Officials have to be ready to deal with any mishap which could cause bottlenecks — rough seas, a derailment and even war.

Meanwhile, tensions surrounding the distribution of the relief maize are rising in Zimbabwe and the battle over scarce resources in Mozambique can only intensify while the drought continues.

In Zimbabwe the government is using riot police to guard maize deliveries after outbreaks of violence when hungry people tried to grab food as the grain trains arrived.

AFRICA BRIEFS

w/mant 5/6-11/6/92
Protest over Nigeria arrests

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has protested to the Nigerian government over the arrest of Dr Beko Ransome Kuti, chairman of the new pro-democracy coalition Campaign for Democracy.

Kuti, who was arrested in a pre-dawn raid by 200 riot police, is being held incommunicado. Two others, Femi Falana, and Baba Omojola, also linked to a campaign calling for the resignation of the military government, were arrested.

Islamic leader attacked

ONE of the Middle East's most prominent Islamic fundamentalist leaders, Sudan's Hassan Tourabi, is in an Ottawa hospital with severe injuries following an attack on him by a Sudanese exile.

Tourabi, regarded as the strong man behind the military regime of General Omar Bashir, is known for his ties with the Islamic underground movements in the Gulf and north Africa.

Regarded as the Islamic movement's "Lenin", his Western tour has been marked by rowdy protests by Sudanese political refugees.

Peace troops die

THREE Senegalese peacekeeping troops have been killed by Liberian rebels in a 10-hour gun battle in the far west of Liberia.

Other Senegalese were taken hostage in the first serious incident since the peace force was deployed in April.

Food aid looted

GUNMEN at the airport in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, have looted six tons of food as well as drugs flown in to save starving children, according to relief workers.

Kaunda steps down

AFTER being jeered and booed down at a rally where he was due to speak, former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda announced that he is to retire from politics in August at the general congress of his United National Independence Party (Unip).

Last weekend Kaunda attempted to speak at a rally in the Copperbelt town of Chilamombwe but he was overwhelmed by angry shouting from the crowd and police escorted him from the stadium. Kaunda has become widely unpopular because Zambians blame him for corruption and the country's economic decline. Recently a reform group within Unip left the party charging that Kaunda was clinging to power and frustrated any attempts at change.

\$500-million for drought

DONOR nations have pledged \$500-million to alleviate problems caused by southern Africa's severe drought, it was announced in Geneva, Switzerland, on Tuesday.

The funds were raised for the 10 countries of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC): Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

w/mant 5/6-11/6/92

It is estimated that 18-million people in those countries are severely affected by the drought. South Africa was not included in the appeal, but South African officials attended the conference.

The United States, the European Community, the Nordic countries and Japan were the largest donors. About \$250-million of the total was for emergency food aid, \$139-million was for medicines and other non-food aid and \$137-million was in cash to be used where it was most urgently needed.

Malawian leader still detained

MALAWIAN authorities failed for the second time to produce detained democracy campaigner Chakufwa Chihana in court on Tuesday, prompting his lawyer, Bazuka Mhango, to accuse the Banda government of trampling human rights.

More than 500 people gathered outside the High Court as Mhango pressed authorities to produce Chihana and make public whatever charges they may have against him. Chihana was detained in April when he attempted to make a speech in favour of multi-party democracy in Malawi, which has been a one-party state for nearly 30 years.

The detention of Chihana, a regional trade union leader, sparked unprecedented anti-Banda government riots in Lilongwe and Blantyre. — Compiled by foreign staff with Kathy Evans, Mark Huband in Abidjan and Andrew Meldrum in Harare.

First Egyptian tabloid is popular

Sowetan 11/6/92



CAIRO - Egypt's first tabloid newspaper is selling like hot cakes, challenging stodgy rivals with lurid headlines, gossip and spicy tales of crime and love.

Two months after starting production, the weekly *Akhar al-Hawadeeth* — *Action News* — is selling 800 000 copies and is closing on *al-Ahram*, established pillar of Egyptian journalism with a daily circulation of about 1 million.

Intellectuals sniff at the weekly tabloid, dismissing its almost exclusive diet of crime stories from Egypt and around the world as sensational, trivial and inaccurate.

A recent edition told of a beautiful young woman who spent two years scouring the country for her fi-

ance, who disappeared just days before their wedding.

There was also the tale about a lorry driver from upper Egypt stricken with remorse because he ran over his best friend by mistake.

One of its stories prompted a man to ring in and confess to murdering his sister.

Deputy editor Mr Maimoun Salah says the *Action News* formula is a winner.

Big colour photographs backed up by punchy stories have fired the imagination of Cairo's residents, in sharp contrast to the dull, official tone that dominates most of the Egyptian and Arab world's Press.

Although brash by Egyptian standards, *Action*

News is almost prudish compared to its Western counterparts. It is careful not to offend Muslim sentiment in a socially-conservative country.

A photograph accompanying a gossip story about the state of the Princess of Wales' marriage conformed to the dictates of Islam — she was shown in a long-sleeved pullover and jeans.

There are no pin-ups. Any stories hinting at sex are written in flowery, poetic language.

'Readers want crimes and accidents, the human touch, not these articles that go on,' said Adel al-Anabli, a newspaper vendor in Cairo.

The stream of crime stories paint a dark picture of a world in which ordinary folk struggle against forces be-

yond their control — poverty, deception and random violence.

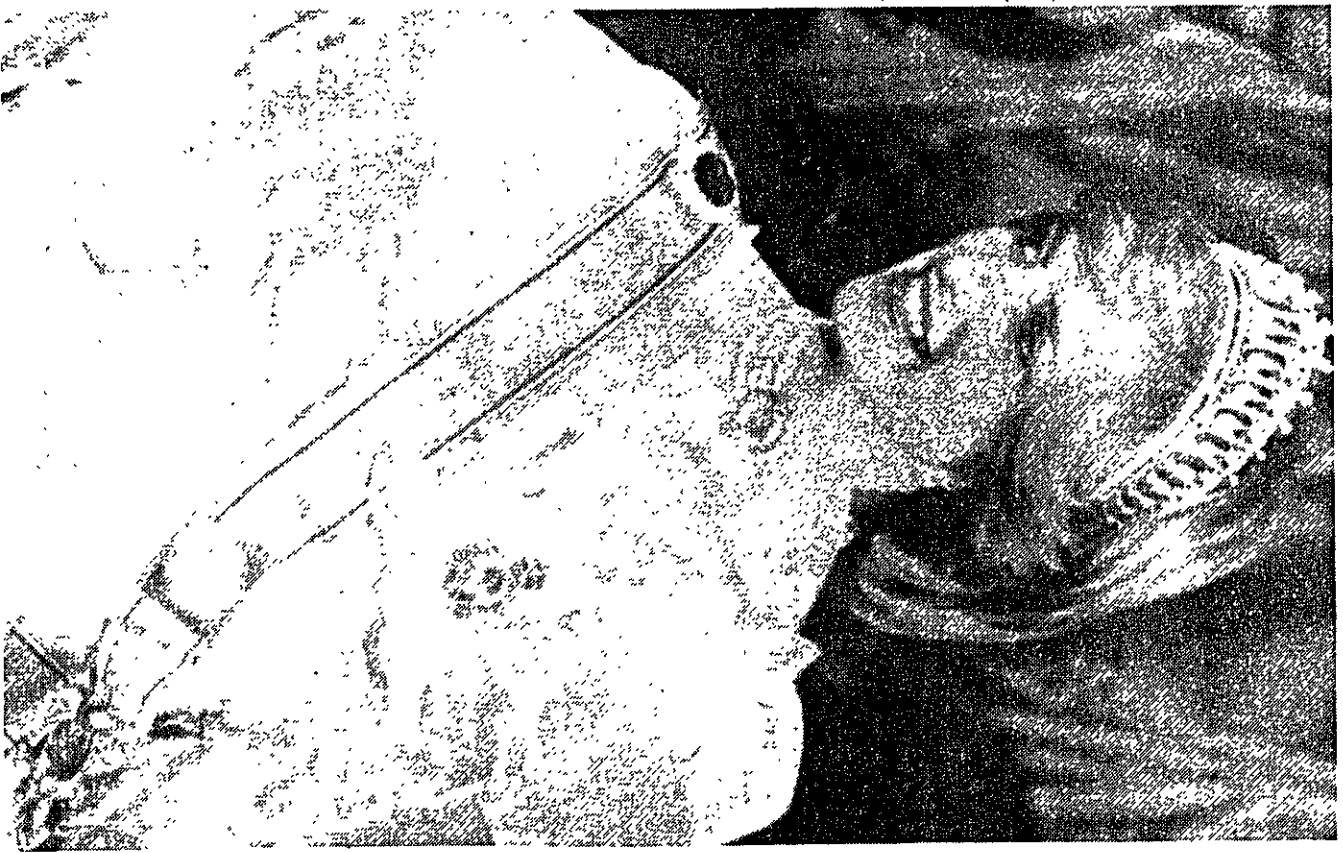
The progress of the newspaper comes as the government is mounting a drive against rising crime. It plans regular armed patrols involving 800 police officers in Cairo and the port of Alexandria.

Journalism in Egypt dates back to the time of Napoleon, who brought an Arabic printing press with him when he invaded in 1798. Two Syrian brothers established *al-Ahram* in the 1870s, the Arab world's oldest newspaper.

Arab newspapers tend to reflect their societies, paying deference to political leaders and attempting to educate the reader.

At the same time, a thirst for popular culture in the Arab world has been filled by imports.

Many Egyptians avidly follow the fortunes of Hollywood film stars and English soccer players through Arabic newspapers which recycle material from the Western press. — *Sapa*



PRINCESS DIANA

STAR 11/6/92 ①

Zanzibar sets minimum wage at \$14,28 a month

ZANZIBAR — Zanzibar has raised its minimum wage to \$14,28 a month with a heavily aid-dependent budget announced this week.

Finance Minister Amina Salim Ali presented a 1992/93 budget of \$67,3 million in development spending, mainly on projects to build up the Indian Ocean islands' dilapidated infrastructure and encourage the growing tourism industry.

International donors, who financed the budget by a total of \$57,2 million, have since the mid-1980s tried to get Tanzania and its semi-autonomous Zanzibar islands to

cut public spending. Diplomats say they have had little success.

Zanzibar's economy went into sharp decline after a bloody revolution that overthrew Arab sultanate rule in 1964 and the adoption of socialist policies.

The economy is trying to end its dependence on exports of clove spices and diversify into tourism and other exotic products such as seaweed, used for health foods and medicines.

Zanzibar has little foreign exchange to service its \$476 million external debt and is seeking relief on this. —Sapa-Reuter.

A HIGHLIGHTS

Ethiopia elections on despite gripes

ADDIS ABABA - Ethiopia's transitional parliament decided yesterday that regional elections should go ahead on June 21 despite calls for delay from 18 political groups.

Sowetan 11/6/92
The powerful Oromo Liberation Front and other ethnic groups have complained of fraud and intimidation in voter registration and preparations.

But the national election

commission said it found no reason why the elections could not go ahead.

After heated debate the national assembly, made up of 30 political factions, voted 45 to 12 in favour of

the planned date. ①

The elections will create 14 regional governments that give a large measure of autonomy to Ethiopia's many ethnic groups. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Democracy in crossfire of Rwanda civil war

RUHENGARI (Rwanda) - Democracy is caught in the crossfire in Rwanda, an innocent bystander in a civil war between the army and guerillas in the mist.

Democracy is a gorilla, one month old. He was given his name by the park ranger who found him in Rwanda's northern Virunga mountains on the borders with Uganda and Zaire.

His plight could be a metaphor for the whole country, whose transition from army-backed one-party rule to pluralist politics is being slowed by a 20-month conflict with strong tribal overtones that echo Rwanda's bloody past.

The civil conflict's first gorilla casualty was Mrithi, a 24-year-old male found shot dead not far from his mountain nest.

Bullet wounds

He was hit four times. "None of the bullet wounds was in the chest, which suggests that he was not charging anyone," said Ms Elizabeth Mcfie, a British-born scientist in charge of the park's veterinary centre.

Mrithi was an ambassador for Rwanda's apes. He was filmed in Gorillas in the Mist.

It is not known who killed Mrithi - the rebels who stage hit and run raids from bush hideouts or the Rwandan army.

But it seems likely a combatant heard a noise in the misty mountains, suspected it was an enemy and let loose with an automatic weapon.

"We've all debated who was responsible but I'm absolutely sure it wasn't done on purpose and it won't bring him back," said Mcfie.

What worries her and other experts watching over 310 gorillas that roam the park is that it is a precedent and a sign perhaps of troubled times ahead.

The conflict can be heard nightly from Ruhengeri, a small town where tourists base expeditions to visit the apes

in the wild and, crouched in the bush, watch them preen and feed.

Unexplained bursts of automatic weapons, mortar and artillery fire rock the town nightly after an 8pm curfew comes into force, hardly the noise to make tourists or Democracy feel secure.

Nervous

It is a nervous town. A week ago soldiers fearing they would be sacked and lose their R84 a month salaries if the government and rebels signed a peace pact went on a looting spree here and in other garrison towns.

The Rwanda Patriotic Front rebels are mainly exiled members of the minority Tutsi tribe.

Centuries

They ruled the country in a feudal way for four centuries, until the majority Hutu people rebelled against them in 1957.

The ensuing carnage has never been accurately documented but it is thought at least 100 000 people were killed and countless thousands made refugees.

The rebels want them to be allowed home.

The government rejects this, saying Rwanda is already the most densely populated country in Africa and its terraced hill-sides and mountain tops can support no more. - Sapa-

Reuter.

Desmond Colborne finds a change
of heart in north Africa

Marrakesh lays out red carpet

STAR 12/6/92

MOROCCO, in the far north of the African continent, and South Africa in its deep south, have hitherto had a rather remote relationship. But in recent weeks South Africa has been in the news there. Events such as the establishment of a direct telephone link, prospects of air connections and more co-operation in other areas, have featured prominently in the Moroccan newspapers.

South Africans have also been visible conference guests, notably in Marrakesh.

A conference there, opened by the crown prince and organised by the International Chamber of Commerce, was attended by representatives of the Chamber of Mines, Sacob, Safta, South Africa Foundation, Barlow Rand and Engen.

In the corridors of the conference, opportunities were taken to get to know Moroccan businessmen, including those in charge of the country's largest group which is interested in links with South Africa. Back-up was provided by the recently established South African interest office in Morocco, run by a senior diplomat, Reinhardt Mostert.

Moroccans and South Africans have similar worries. On the one hand, they share Africa's problems, particularly the danger of population growth dramatically outpacing economic growth (Morocco's population has swollen from 15 to 25 million in just 20 years). On the other hand, they both fear that Europe, which has its own priorities, might turn away from them, particularly as regards investment and market access.

Both countries have a common interest in an outward-looking Europe and in featuring themselves as gateways or bridges from Europe into Africa.

"Morocco," says King Hassan,

"is like a tree with its roots deep in Africa and its leaves spreading towards Europe."

Both link Africa to Europe as hubs or clearing houses, and catalysts for economic and cultural exchanges in their areas.

Morocco has for long been a crossroads between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, between Europe and Africa. A minority of Moroccans have African features. They are descendants of the slaves brought from the south, some to serve in the sultan's armies. They, however, don't seem to suffer from colour prejudice.

Anti-semitism hardly exists in Morocco. Jews were living in Morocco before the rise of Islam. Their numbers were reinforced in 1492 when Jews were expelled from Spain and many came to Morocco.

Economically, as well as in other areas, links with France are strong — 700 000 Moroccans work there and there are 500 French companies in Morocco. France accounts for about 30 percent of total foreign investment, followed by Britain and Germany.

Agriculture is still the foundation of this economy, accounting for half of those employed — Moroccan oranges are the main competition for Outspan on the European market. Among mining products, phosphates are the most important — Morocco is the world's biggest exporter.

With a 3 000 km coastline, fishing is also important, but the biggest money-spinner recently has been tourism.

Whether it's business in Rabat or Casablanca, haggling in the bazaars of Meknes or Marrakesh, or touring in the Saharan south, there is a lot in Morocco for South Africans to discover. □

● Desmond Colborne is Paris director of the South Africa Foundation.

Boost for African industry

GAVIN DU VENAGE

① ~~3/10/92~~ THE UN Industrial Development Organisation (Unido) is stepping up its drive to develop industrial projects throughout Africa this year.

It already has 50 investment projects worth \$30m planned, and hopes to have further pledges of funds when it holds an investment forum in December on behalf of the 16 states of the Economic Community of West African States.

Since 1989 Unido has channelled \$343m into more than 150 projects. These range from the supply of low-cost housing materials in francophone Africa to a \$1m polypropylene bag company in Mali.

It has also facilitated investment promotions on behalf of many African economic groups and countries such as the SADCC and Nigeria.

The Nigerian forum attracted 400 sponsors and resulted in 78 letters of intent and seven agreements concluded on the spot.

Unido also prepares investors' guides to individual African countries as well as organising presentations and promotional tours to industrial nations.

Blomay 12/6/92

BRIEFS

of the meeting made no mention of a ceasefire to end the nine-year civil war, but both sides promised to meet again.

New food aid to Somalia ①

■ A SECOND major shipment of emergency food aid for famine victims in Somalia is being off-loaded from a United Nations-chartered ship in Mogadishu. UN officials expressed confidence that the aid would reach the victims despite recent incidents of looting at Mogadishu's port and airport.

Relief flights to the capital's international airport have been suspended as a result of the looting and planes are being diverted to an airstrip north of Mogadishu. There is still disagreement about the proposed deployment of 500 UN soldiers to protect relief convoys in the country.

Rastas to boycott reburial ①

■ RASTAFARIANS will stay away from the reburial of Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie, because they believe he is God and do not accept his death, says their national leader. "We have never accepted the purported death of the king of kings. We hold his person as sacred," said Bertram Moody in a letter to the state-owned newspaper.

Selassie's remains were found buried 7m under a latrine in the Imperial Palace grounds in February — 18 years after the revolution that overthrew him — and they are to be given an Ethiopian Orthodox Christian reburial on July 23. At the time of Selassie's disappearance, the government said he had died of natural causes following an operation, but most Ethiopians believe the emperor was murdered by former dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Sudan's rebels attack Juba

■ THE rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) says its forces attacked the southern capital, Juba, this week and briefly occupied the government's Southern Command Headquarters. The SPLA says the Sudanese army suffered heavy casualties before the rebels had to withdraw to the outskirts of Juba, where they claim to hold six captured garrisons in southern and western areas.

It is understood that the government has now imposed a night-time curfew in Juba, which has been under siege from the SPLA since 1988. This week's attack came just three days after an inconclusive round of peace talks between the government and the SPLA held in Nigeria. A joint communique issued at the end

DIFFERENCES between developed and Third World countries over who will pay to clean up the environment remained a stumbling block at the Earth Summit last night writes NICHOLAS SCHOON.



RIO DE JANEIRO — At the largest gathering in history of presidents and prime ministers which convened in Rio de Janeiro yesterday, an impasse over Third World aid was still blocking final agreement.

Developing countries continued to hold out for stronger commitments to aid to finance a shift to ecologically sustainable and less environmentally destructive economic growth.

Small groups of Ministers from rich north and the poor south have been negotiating over a few crucial phrases in a paper on finance. A late-night plenary session at the Riocentro conference centre on the outskirts of the former Brazilian capital was being organised in the hope that it would break the deadlock.

The UN Conference on Environment and Development heard yesterday from British Prime Minister John Major, President George Bush and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Major said the UK stood ready to give extra aid for environmental projects in the Third World. He announced that the UK favoured the developed countries putting \$2 billion (R5,6 billion) to \$3 billion (R8,4 billion) into the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility. Britain's share, he told reporters, would be £100 million (R500 million) spread over several years.

Kohl, who spoke immediately

afterwards, trumped Major by saying Germany wanted a \$4 billion (R11,2 billion) replenishment of the facility. Germany's share of that sum would be about £260 million (R6 300 million).

The facility is intended to meet the extra costs in Third World countries of protecting the global environment. It could finance projects to reduce emissions of climate-changing greenhouse gases, protection of tropical forests and conservation of habitats.

Major had been expected to dwell heavily on the need to stop explosive population growth. In the event, he only gave the issue a brief mention.

He told the plenary session: "On our efforts are pinned the hopes of billions of people. It falls to us to try to reconcile their diverse and sometimes divergent needs."

"The contrasts are striking. In today's world more people are healthier and live longer than ever before. And yet more people than ever before, one billion of them, live in abject poverty."

Although the quarrel over aid continued, last night it looked as if agreement would be reached over a set of forest principles. Those principles were intended to highlight the planet's trees as a crucial global environmental resource, and call for their rational exploitation and conservation. — The Independent.

Africa's newest menace

SIMON BAYNHAM tracks the continent's drug trafficking web



SITimes 14/6/92
DURING the past decade, Africa has become a revolving door — and also a major centre of consumption — for the drug trade.

The narcotics business has become one of the most serious threats to the stability and economic development of the continent: a scourge that has ramifications well beyond the misery it inflicts on millions of malnourished Africans.

The abuse of narcotics greatly affects the Third World, where 20 percent of the globe's 40-million illicit drug users live. World expenditure on illicit drugs and psychotropic substances now comes second only to armaments. The term "drug abuse" refers both to the non-medical ingestion of drugs intended for legitimate medical treatment and to the misuse of drugs (for instance, hallucinogens) with no accepted medical purpose.

Since the early 80s, the drug invasion has been facilitated by the geography of the African land mass. On the West African coast, the Ghanaian and Nigerian drug barons obtain their consignments of cocaine from Colombia, the Latin American state whose name has be-

come virtually synonymous with drugs mafiosi of truly terrifying regional power.

On the Horn and in East Africa, the trail originates in the Southeast Asian "Golden Triangle" (the highlands of Burma and the northern regions of Laos and Thailand) and in Southwest Asia's "Golden Crescent" (southern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan and parts of Iran). It is in these regions that much of the world's illicit opium crops are refined into heroin. By 1990, one-third of the heroin intercepted in Europe had been transmitted via Africa.

Other known conduits include North Africa, a centre of traffickers in the depressant methaqualone (Mandrax), and Central Africa, where the airports of Bangui, Kigali and Kinshasa play a decisive and clandestine role in the lucrative onward trade into Western Europe.

Further south, the routes into South Africa out of Lumumbashi (Zaire) and Lusaka (Zambia) are facilitated by small networks of mainly Greek entrepreneurs operating out of Johannesburg.

Already, considerable quantities of Mandrax are trafficked from the Indian

subcontinent to South Africa; and cocaine (a stimulant) — which until 12 months ago was not a problem here — has the potential to become as serious a threat as Mandrax.

Figures released recently by SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe show that the drug trade (for both transit and consumption) has become a multi-billion-rand industry in South Africa. According to the SA Association of Retail Pharmacists, 90 percent of worldwide Mandrax production is sold in South Africa, and 25 percent of all dagga seized worldwide is confiscated locally.

As well as causing widespread suffering and deaths among addicts, the drug racketeers engender corruption and violence, and many users resort to theft and prostitution to support their habits. It wreaks havoc on the lives of thousands of families.

One southern African state that tops the list of drug-trafficking countries is Zambia, where more than 50 percent of Africa's significant illegal drug seizures monitored by the UN occur.

More widely, and more ominously, it should be

stressed that heroin, cocaine, amphetamines and other narcotics can be injected — a practice that presents a risk of infections, including the AIDS (HIV) virus.

African governments are not in a position to tackle these issues alone. The basic challenge facing this continent's policy-makers is to fashion a co-operative strategy that addresses both the demand and supply side in conjunction with the international community.

South Africa has already tabled new legislation which, when approved, will qualify it to sign and ratify the 1988 UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, a convention which provides a comprehensive cocktail of measures to enable countries to act together in the fight against drugs.

But unless the rest of Africa follows suit, a new epidemic of momentous proportions — the "Fourth Horseman of the Apocalypse" as it has been aptly described — will be added to Africa's woes of war, famine and AIDS.

□ Dr Simon Baynham is director of research at the Africa Institute of SA

Bank raises \$315m on Japanese market

B/pany 15/6/92
THE African Development Bank had raised \$315m through a well-placed 10-year bond issue on Japanese capital markets, bank resource mobilisation division chief Paul Saidi said on Friday.

The bank had raised more than \$2.1bn on Japanese capital markets since it started issuing bonds on international capital markets in 1982. Yen-denominated debt amounted to 32% of the bank's total debt.

The bank preferred to raise money on Japanese and US capital markets because they offered very attractive rates and lower costs, Saidi said.

The bond's coupon rate was 6.2% and

SHARON WOOD (1)

had been priced at 99.8% to yield 6.227%.

The funds raised through the latest bond issue would be used on development projects in bank member countries.

The bank went to international capital markets about five times a year to raise money for African development projects, Saidi said. The bank intended to place a bond issue in Euroyen, where borrowing would be done outside Japan but would still be yen-denominated. "The timing of this depends on market conditions."

COMPANIES

Altech seeks African solutions

ALTRON subsidiary Altech is gearing itself for a major export drive into sub-Saharan Africa.

In the group's 1992 annual report, executive chairman Don Snedden said Altech's location, commitment to the continent and experience of African conditions, would give it the edge in finding "African solutions for Africa".

While the group would take advantage of every opportunity in the developed world, the main thrust would be in Africa.

The group was negotiating significant joint-venture agreements with a number of administrations. The successful conclusion of these negotiations would combine local and Altech expertise.

In the year to end-February Altech reported a 7% increase in earnings a share to 880c on a higher turnover of R930m. A total dividend of 297c (268c) was declared.

Reviewing the results, Snedden said late deferrals of government expenditure had held sales at the previous year's levels. But

B/Dam DUMA GOUBULE 15/6/92

considerable progress had been made on diversification programmes, offsetting reductions in government expenditure with contributions to turnover which promised to be more significant in future.

The annual report disclosed that Altech's telecommunications and systems division, Altech Electronic Systems Group, showed a 10% decrease in turnover to R565m, or 68% of group turnover. Altech Electronic Distribution Group increased turnover by 34% to R235m, or 19% of group turnover. Altech Industrial Electronics group's turnover rose by 5,7% to R130m, or 13% of group turnover.

The technology development budget came to R111,6m, or 12% of group turnover. The development of a number of new products had reached fruition. These included Rurtel, a telecommunications suitable for rural areas, a computer-based vehicle tracking system and a new electronic detonator for the mining industry.

African states scramble to lure foreign tourists

GAVIN DU VENAGE

AFRICA was spending vast sums of money developing a tourism infrastructure and was becoming more desirable as a destination, the German magazine Afrika-Post reported recently. *By Day 16/6/92*

It said tourism was likely to topple the motor industry from its international number one spot. African countries were scrambling to get a piece of the market.

The payoff had been a doubling of German tourist travel to Africa between 1987 and 1990.

Seychelles had made itself particularly attractive, drawing 90 000 holidaymakers annually, almost all from Europe.

Countries along the Mediterranean coast had always proven popular. Visitors to Morocco increased 48% in 1991, but more and more tourists were heading south of the Sahara, the magazine said.

The Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Gabon and Cameroon had tourism industries that were close behind traditional foreign exchange earners such as sugar and textile production. Even SA, "the only industrial country on the continent", was recognising the importance of tourism for economic growth, Afrika-Post said.

An indication of the importance African countries were giving tourism, was the creation of new ministries devoted exclusively to the industry and an increasing environmental sensitivity to hordes of visitors.

Tanzania had earmarked a third of its territory for reserves and nature parks, and planned to spend \$70m on building and renovating hotels. It hoped to treble the size of its tourist industry.

Ghana and Togo were also developing tourist infrastructures. Senegal had billed itself as "the gateway to Africa".

SA was the fourth highest earner of foreign exchange from tourism in Africa.

Tunisia was way ahead of the rest, earning DM736m in September last year.

Kenya was the top sub-Saharan tourist earner on DM185m. SA earned DM133m in that period.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha meets his Moroccan counterpart Abdellatif Filali, left, at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Minister on trade visit

MOROCCAN Foreign Minister Abdellatif Filali arrived yesterday on an official visit that would pave the way for a Moroccan trade delegation expected in SA next week.

Filali was one of several senior African representatives who arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday, in transit to other destinations.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the airport that Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, Botswana's President Quett Masire, Swaziland's prime minister and Rwanda's foreign minister had all shown up.

Meanwhile, the Singapore Trade Development Board said yesterday a business delegation would visit SA from June 28 to July 3 to establish contacts and explore trade and investment opportunities.

The delegation will include representatives of food and beverage, leisure, property development, commodity trading, electronics, marine services, telecommunications and packaging companies, the board said. — Sapa-AP.

Algerian voting swindle alleged ^① *Sowetan* 18/6/92

ALGIERS - Fewer than one in five Algerians voted to re-elect former President Chadli Benjedid in 1988 but the government gave a figure of more than 80 percent, according to a report published by the newspaper *Essalém* yesterday.

The Arabic-language

paper said Chadli, who resigned last January midway through his third term, received a "yes" vote from 18,84 percent of the 11 634 138 voters in December 1988.

The official results said he won 81,17 percent support. According to an

interior ministry report which the newspaper called "the real results", 50,19 percent voted against Chadli, the only presidential candidate. In the capital Algiers only six percent backed his candidature. The rest of the ballot papers were spoilt. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Peace eludes Rwanda despite peace talks

Sowetan 18/6/92

KIGALI - Camped between the bougainvillea and the satellite dish were 20 or so French soldiers.

Assault-course lean and dressed for action, they were a reminder that the Lilliputian central African state of Rwanda has a giant

reputation for violence. Rwanda has probationary membership of the new world order - democratic elections are promised, a newly-freed Press flourishes and free market reforms are in place - but bloodshed haunts its past and clouds its future.

"There is a potential for violence in this country of which everyone is aware. It's in check at the moment, but much will depend upon how the move to democracy works out," said one Western envoy.

He and other diplomats believe Rwanda is at the

crossroads with one way leading to peace and democracy, and war and rule by presidential decree in the other direction.

The French troops camped at the Franco-Rwandan Cultural Exchange Centre in Kigali were part of a 150-strong

detachment flown in this month to join about the same number protecting foreign nationals because of a guerilla war, a series of terrorist attacks and an outbreak of army looting.

The day the troops arrived rebels attacked the northern town of Byumba,

only 80km from the capital in their most daring strike of a 20-month-old guerilla war.

The raid also coincided with the start of peace talks in Paris between the Rwanda Patriotic Front rebels and the transitional government.

"I detect an absence of fair play," Prime Minister Mr Dismas Nsengiyaremye said in an interview.

"I thought we were all supposed to be talking."

Government officials say the war is complicating plans to usher in multi-party democracy after 19 years of one-party rule under President Juvenal Habyarimana.

It also has tribal overtones dating from the 1950s when the 85 percent Hutu majority rose against the Tutsi minority which had ruled it as feudal lords for four centuries. At least 100 000 people were slaughtered.

The rebels are mainly Tutsis with some Hutu backing and say they want democracy, integration into the national army and the right for untold thousands of Tutsi refugees who fled earlier violence to return without reprisal.

The human rights group Amnesty International said this month that 1 000 Tutsi had been executed in reprisal killings since a Patriotic Front invasion from Uganda in October 1990.

"We can't hold elections until the war has

ended, that's clear," Nsengiyaremye said. "You cannot have democracy without peace."

But peace seems elusive despite agreement at the Paris talks to hold further negotiations with Zaire, Senegal and Tanzania as mediators.

Nsengiyaremye confided that the rebels were now active in two more northern communes along the border with Uganda, where many of them served in the guerilla army that brought Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni to power in 1986.

Looting

While the war drags on, Rwanda's armed forces have grown from 10 000 to 30 000 men. Widespread looting by young recruits so worries the government that the heads of the armed forces and gendarmerie, both close associates of Habyarimana, were retired last week along with four other members of the top brass.

Much of the looting occurred after soldiers heard Nsengiyaremye say on state radio that the costly army would have to be pared if peace came.

"The army is key in all this. What can you do with these soldiers if peace comes? And what to do with them if it doesn't?" said an African diplomat.

"It's not very encouraging," Sapa-Reuter

The slavish image is slowly changing, reports Cindy Shiner from Kinshasa

Press gets off its knees in Africa

Star 19/6/92

TWO years ago, Zairean newspapers were barely allowed to mention President Mobutu Sese Seko's name. Today, they dare to print banner headlines like "Mobutu in Hell".

Mr Mobutu, who has ruled this central African country for 27 years, freed the press (but not radio or TV) as part of a pledge in 1990 to install multi-party democracy. Zaire now has more than 15 daily or weekly newspapers.

Zaireans are eager for news from independent sources. Residents of Kinshasa photocopy newspapers for friends who cannot afford to buy their own. A dozen or more people often can be seen huddling around newspapers laid out on the sidewalk and held down with stones.

An aggressive, pro-democracy press also is appearing elsewhere on the continent.

"It is because of the journalists that everything has turned out so badly," said Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, the first leader ousted in elections after demands for democracy began in Africa three years ago.

Freddy Duku, an editor of the newspaper Ehlina, said: "It is because of us that there is a national conference now (on multi-party democracy) in Zaire."

Ehlina's offices were bombed twice when unpaid soldiers went on a looting spree throughout the capital in October 1991.

Soldiers harass newspaper vendors from time to time and take

their papers away. Sometimes, journalists are arrested.

"When they arrest you, the first thing you must know is they are going to beat you," said Katambwa Masiya of Umoja, one of Zaire's oldest opposition voices. He said he had been arrested at least five times.

"We, as journalists, we have the duty to instruct people about what is democracy," he added.

Reporters and editors have been detained in Ivory Coast, Benin, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Ghana in recent months on charges ranging from sedition to insulting the head of state.

But newspapers rejoicing in new freedoms sometimes offend more than their governments. Ngefa Atondoko, president of

Zaire's Association for the Defence of Human Rights said:

"They're too free and it is becoming dangerous, because at any time a journalist can put your name in the newspaper and denigrate you."

Mr Atondoko said his association would propose a law permitting people who have been defamed to sue.

"There is much greater freedom of the press now in Africa, but a lack of professionalism," said Abdoulaye Ndiaga Sylla, director of the West African Committee for the Defence of Press Freedom in Dakar, Senegal.

"Many of these papers are just party organs. Often, when they have no information, they just make things up." — Sapa-AP. □

Chinese president for Africa

BEIJING - Chinese President Yang Shangkun will make state visits to Morocco, Tunisia and the Ivory Coast between June 29 and July 11. *Sowden 19/6/92.*

Yang will be the first Chinese head of state to visit the countries, a spokesman said, calling the tour a "great event in the relations between China and African countries".

He will discuss bilateral and international issues. - *Sapa.*

Togo leader kidnapped ①

■SOLDIERS in Togo kidnapped a human rights activist and opposition leader in the latest of a series of human rights abuses critics blame on the military governmtn of President Gnassingbe Eyadema. M'ba Kabessema, whose wife Felicite witnessed the abduction, was beaten and taken away by a soldier on Sunday evening, a statement from Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh's office said.

w/m and
19/6-25/6/92

More die in Chad skirmishes ①

■ARMED Chadian dissidents based in Nigeria claim to have captured territory inside Chad after fighting in the past two weeks. The rebels say they killed 180 government troops, a figure denied by the government which said it lost only 19 men. Fighting erupted on May 24 and has continued around the border post of Fororo, sources in the capital N'Djamena said.

A 500-strong rebel army known as the Movement for Democracy and Development (MDD) claimed it had secured a permanent presence in territory west of N'Djamena. The government claimed it has repelled the rebels, who first invaded from Nigeria in December 1991. — Compiled by Mark Huband in Abidjan and Andrew Meldrum in Harare

w/m and
19/6-25/6/92

Briefs

**Press turmoil
in Libya ①**

SIRTE, Libya - Turmoil over foreign policy has deepened in Libya's Press, just as its parliament debates whether to hand over for trial in the West two men accused of blowing up an Pan Am passenger jet above Scotland.

Soudan 19/6/92
**2 shot dead
in Algeria ①**

ALGIERS - Security forces killed two armed men in gunfights, including the chief of a group which ambushed and wounded three gendarmes in western Algeria at the weekend.

The imposition of Islamic law in several African countries has stripped women of rights. In Sudan women have been subjected to abuses since the National Islamic Front-backed government came into power three years ago. **Rehana**

Rossouw reports:

SOUTH 20/6-24/6/92

SUDAN has seen an unprecedented erosion of women's rights since General Omar Hassan Ahmad Al-Bashir's National Islamic Front (NIF) seized power three years ago.

A report by the United States-based Fund for Peace says the Bashir government's unwritten women's policy includes the humiliation, detention and torture of female students, professionals and wives of political prisoners.

Sudanese women enjoyed access to education, civil service jobs, held important positions in national ministries and local government and thrived in prestigious fields such as law and medicine.

But in 1989, one of the first acts of the Bashir regime was to ban all women's associations not affiliated to the NIF.

More than 20 000 people, most of them women, were dismissed from their jobs because they were associated with groups opposed to the NIF.

Crude official statements regarding women suggest some may have been dismissed solely on the basis of their gender.

One pronouncement by Bashir in January 1990 described the ideal Sudanese woman as one who "should take care of herself, her children, her home, her reputation and her husband".

A government announcement in 1991 said all Sudanese women should appear in public only in proper Islamic dress. A presidential decree was issued later by the governor of Khartoum requiring women to wear Islamic dress.

"Not only did the new dress code cost Sudanese women the freedom to make personal decisions about



UNDERCOVER: Sudanese women are forced by Islamic law to cover their heads in public

Dress code strips women of the right to choose

SOUTH 20/6-24/6/92 ①

what to wear, but it was also completely impractical as it was modelled on the Iranian chador (Islamic dress with a head cover, usually made of synthetic black material) which is not suited to Sudan's sweltering climate," says the report.

Bashir announced that by May this year all women in public places, offices, streets and institutions should wear veils and opaque dress.

The report says: "Appeals to the public to co-operate with the police and report women who fail to comply, as well as official statements saying women can be flogged and forced to stay in their homes, indicate that the intention is to enforce the decree.

"Many women say they interpret the pronouncements as an attempt to make all men become 'dress police'. They report about a woman who was stabbed to death for uncovering her hair as she washed."

The Bashir government's attitude to women is also evident in its pro-

mulgation of orders prohibiting women from leaving the country unless accompanied by a male guardian or relative.

The governor of the eastern state issued a local decree stating that women must be in their homes between sunset and sunrise. Some local authorities have prevented women from driving cars after 3pm.

A July 1991 "family law" forbids women from visiting their parents or close family except on "reasonable grounds".

Women have been stopped when walking in the streets or driving in the company of men and asked to produce documents to establish their relationship.

The report says one of the most notable and tragic of the Bashir regime's violations of human rights has been the introduction of the physical abuse of women.

"Even under the most brutal of previous dictatorships, strong cultural traditions demanding the pro-

tection of women prevented female dissidents from being subjected to the mistreatment visited upon their male counterparts.

"In a particularly disturbing departure from past practice, female NIF members have reportedly been trained to torture female detainees. Violations have included detention, torture and killings."

Bothaina Doka, a nurse at the Khartoum Civil Hospital was accused of being a supporter of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement. She was gagged with her bra, strung up by her hands and feet and beaten for over 12 hours.

Treatment meted out to women dissidents includes shooting them for refusing to comply with orders, sexual abuse by security officers and imprisonment without charge. In jail, they are also denied medical care and access to family members, including babies they have to breastfeed.

Now Visser puts Pep in the Brits

SI Times (russ) 2/6/92

By JULIE WALKER

AFRICA's largest retailer Pep aims to take on the nation of shopkeepers by opening 200 stores — it has already opened 17 in Scotland — in Britain in the next few years.

Group chairman Christo Wiese says Pep is furthering its international operations within Africa beyond Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, where Pep Botswana shares were listed last week.

Challenge

Taking note of the hazards of trading in Africa, Mr Wiese said Botswana had been most successful and would likely be the springboard for entry into Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

The UK chain will trade as "Your More Store" under the guidance of former Pep Stores retail MD Johan Visser, who entertained members of the Investment Analysts Society with an im-

promptu speech as part of a Pepkor group presentation on Thursday.

He claimed he was not in Scotland on account of his English or for the weather but to relish the challenge: "I'm a retailer and I know my business."

Having been involved in the opening of 300 stores in Pep's Southern African stable in the last four years, 200 in the UK does not daunt him.

"Many people do not understand what being poor really means, or that living on £100 a week makes you count every 20p. A third of the UK population is in the D/E income group, nine million earn less than £100 a week and three million are unemployed.

"That represents a low-income market 10 times the size of SA's working population in the same bracket."

Warning as Ethiopians vote

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopians voted yesterday in the first democratic election in Africa's oldest independent nation, but a powerful faction warned that alleged irregularities could spark a new civil war.

Sought-after SA mining houses to focus on Africa

By
Dawn

22/6/92
MATTHEW CURTIN

IN A scramble for foreign investment, dozens of developing countries including former members of the Soviet Union are courting SA mining houses to back new and existing mining projects. The SA response is likely to be cautious and focused on sub-Saharan Africa, says Gencor new business division manager John Clemmow.

He said at the weekend that the recent Union Bank of Switzerland investment conference held in Tashkent — capital of former Soviet republic Uzbekistan and attended by Anglo American and Gencor representatives — was a sign of the high reputation resource-rich developing countries had of SA.

But, he believes some of the best mining opportunities lie in Africa. Many countries have been under-explored and existing mining operations have often not been developed to their full potential. On the political front, there is a growing willingness among African governments to change policies to encourage investment. And the sub-Saharan region has some of the world's best ore bodies," Clemmow said.

He noted that a potentially economic

Uzbek copper deposit shown to SA visitors during the recent visit to the republic had a grade of 0.4%, compared with much higher levels on the copperbelts.

He said there were perceptions among governments that SA mining groups were seen to have advantages over their overseas rivals.

First, they constituted some of the largest in the world, with Anglo/De Beers in the top three, and Gencor not far behind. They were seen as long-term investors interested in large mining projects.

Clemmow said that Gencor nevertheless had strict criteria by which it evaluated possible overseas projects, the first of which was size. There might be room for small business development schemes in the mining sector supported by the group in the longer term, small projects requiring cash injections of only \$1m to \$2m were not large enough to justify Gencor's involvement at the moment.

Gencor would invest only in resources

which fitted the group's strategy. It is understood that SA mining houses were increasingly interested in overseas oil, gas, and base metals reserves rather than precious metals. Compared with its rich reserves of gold, platinum and coal, SA had few economically viable copper, nickel, oil and gas reserves.

Clemmow said country-risk was another key factor, with SA mining houses more willing than their rivals to investigate opportunities in Africa. Because of the political and economic problems on the continent, other mining groups which already had geographically diverse portfolios were more circumspect about putting money into African ventures.

"If we assume that SA will succeed economically, and it is an assumption we have to make, then the rest of Africa is likely to do well too, and is worthy of our attention," he said.

A final criterion was Gencor's need for a financial return on its investment, and the ability to extract profits from the country it invested in. Projects had to provide a

good rate of return and be accompanied by a suitable investment code in the country in question.

He said that SA investment on the continent would go hand-in-hand with the involvement of international financial institutions. The World Bank and its private sector arm, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), were able to set the macro-economic conditions and precedents necessary for securing syndicated foreign loans and encouraging joint ventures to develop new mines. SA had normally equity financed mining projects, but might now look for overseas loans and joint ventures.

Gencor's mining arm had forged an alliance with French state mining group Bureau de Recherches Géologiques and Minières to explore and develop mines in Africa and overseas. Gold Fields was a joint-venture partner with Belgian entrepreneurs to develop a gold mine in north-eastern Zaire. The project's go-ahead depended on political stability being returned to the country for the IFC to agree to provide and guarantee loans.

Front says no to poll in Sahara

Southern 22/6/92

ALGIERS - The Polisario Front, which claims the Moroccan-annexed Western Sahara, has warned the authorities in Rabat against going ahead with planned elections in the territory.

In a statement, it also appealed to the United Nations secretary-general and the chairman of the Security Council to intercede with Morocco to preserve a ceasefire in the territory and "give peace a chance."

The statement said the presence of a UN contingent in Western Sahara was a sign both of the territory's "special status, distinguishing it from Morocco, and of the will of the international community to see it de-colonised once and for all."

The Polisario Front, which has been at war with Moroccan forces since the annexation in 1975, accused the government

of wanting to reduce the UN mission to "a simple trip by tourists invited just to applaud a grotesque spectacle and a parody of the mandate of the United Nations and the authority of the Security Council in Western Sahara."

General elections are being prepared for Morocco at a date yet to be fixed, and according to the Interior and Information Minister Driss Basri, they will take place in the disputed Saharan territory too.

The elections, which had been scheduled for two years ago, were postponed by King Hassan II to allow the organisation by the United Nations of a self-determination referendum for Western Sahara.

While having long conceded the principle of such a referendum, the king has also repeatedly made clear that the Sahara is and will remain Moroccan. - *Sapa-AFP*

SA 'least safe African country for unionists'

2

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Despite improvements in SA, it remains the least safe place on the continent to carry out trade union activities, says the International Confederation of Trade Unions.

In its annual review, it said 47 trade unionists were murdered in SA between March 1991 and March 1992.

Most of these murders could be attributed to right-wing death squads. *B/Daw 23/6/92*

However, union sources quoted in the survey stated that the highly organised nature of the violence and professionalism shown by the killers suggested the existence of a third force, including elements of the police and security forces.

The survey, released in Brussels, said revelations about the secret funding by government of the Inkatha-linked trade union Uwusa and other groupings, including an "intelligence service on trade union activists", were confirmation of dirty tricks against trade unions.

It referred to plans, uncovered in February, for the assassination of prominent union leaders.

Collective arrests and mass dismissals completed the grim picture of SA given in the survey, questioning the government's commitment to the reform programme upon which it claimed to have embarked, the union body said.

In many African countries trade unions had been in the forefront of the fight for democracy.

In some of them the rulers, resisting the winds of change, had resorted to the use of force to suppress the pro-democracy movements.

Worldwide, 200 people were killed as a result of anti-trade union repression, and the survey rated Colombia, China, Guatamala, El Salvador, Iran, Peru, Sudan and SA as the world's most dangerous places for trade unionists.

Two thousand cases of detention of trade unionists were documented in the 45-page report which described many instances of death threats, abduction, disappearance, harassment and spying aimed at trade unionists.

power

Journalists held ①

ALGIERS - Para-military gendarmes have arrested two Algerian journalists from the Arab-language popular weekly *Ech-Chorouk*. "Our director Ali Fodil and colleague Saad Bouakba are still detained after being taken on Sunday," a journalist said yesterday. *Sowatun 23/6/92*

About 30 gendarmes detained four journalists on Sunday but released two after about six hours.

Plan for regional electricity grid starts to pay dividends

ESKOM CE Ian McRae is starting to see the rewards of five years of "slog" trying to sell his idea of an electricity grid for sub-Saharan Africa.

"Things are starting to move quickly now, it's very exciting," he says.

Ten days ago Eskom signed a co-operation agreement with Zambia's Electricity Supply Corporation, involving the supply of services and exchange of technical information.

Eskom and the Ivory Coast's Energie Electrique de la Cote d'Ivoire have also reached agreements. The two utilities will not only co-operate regarding services and information but will team up on construction projects, maintenance and training.

Other developments bringing the grid a step closer include a feasibility study into linking Zaire, SA, Angola and Namibia under SA co-ordination.

Negotiations are going ahead to try secure funding for the rehabilitation of the

Cahora Bassa Dam System.

Mozambique has secured an SA government-guaranteed loan from the Italian government for Cahora Bassa's rehabilitation but is still \$40m short. The World Bank, African Development Bank and European Investment Bank have been asked for assistance.

He says agreement has been reached on links between Cahora Bassa and Zimbabwe and tenders will probably go out in August.

SA is looking at taking up excess capacity from a hydro-electric project on Angola's Namibian border. A project under construction on Angola's Capinda River will have to link into the grid for full use.

The possibility of a coal-fired station in Botswana is being investigated and work is being done to link Kenya and Tanzania to Owen Falls in Uganda.

McRae says it will probably take eight to ten years before the grid is a reality.

But important elements have begun to be put into place. Behind the idea of a

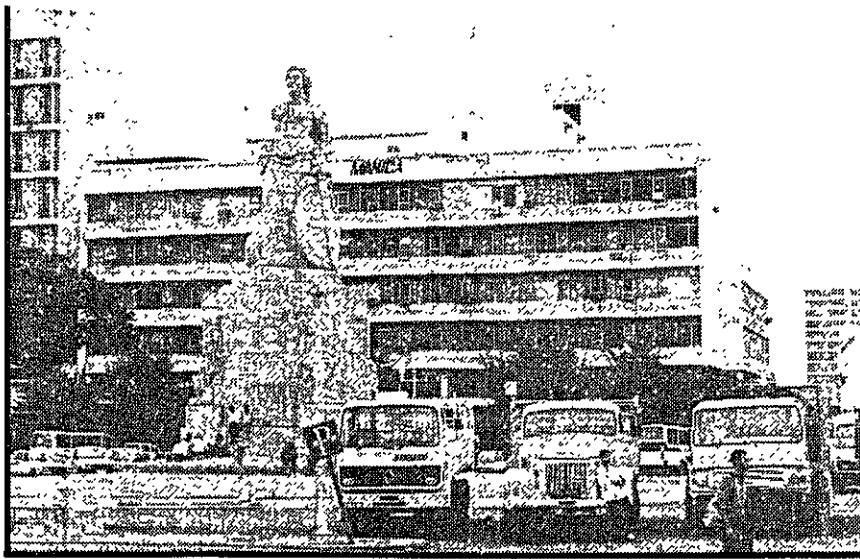
regional power grid is McRae's belief that power is central to economic growth. The region, comprising the 18 countries from Zaire, Uganda and Kenya southwards, has a population of about 200-million but less than 10% have access to electricity.

On the positive side the region is blessed with a wealth of power generating sources, he says.

The idea is to develop viable power-generating projects in all countries. A grid is essential for smaller countries which need to export power to make electricity affordable.

McRae says the drought has highlighted the need for power connections between countries.

Zimbabwe is in dire straits because it imports power from Zambia, which is conserving its resources as the water level of Zambezi River and its dam drops. A power link between SA and Zimbabwe would have been tremendous help, he says.



Manica's office in Beira. Renfreight and Manica are now openly publicising their relationship.

Major World Bank contract expected to go Altech's way

ALTECH expects to be advised within the next few days of the award of a major contract in central Africa, one of a few offers submitted against World Bank regional development projects.

Altech, the largest locally controlled electronics and telecommunications company in southern Africa, with a turnover in excess of R900m, has initially targeted sub-Saharan Africa as part of its comprehensive export drive, says market development executive Keith Crosby.

Altech believes the prime requirement of the region is a strong and effective telecommunications infrastructure. For this reason the group has already focused its skills and facilities on a number of countries.

Crosby says SA com-

panies have a wealth of experience in infrastructural development, which is sorely needed in Africa.

He says Altech wants to strengthen relationships by becoming involved in operating, maintaining and developing telecommunications networks to meet the needs of the customer, not simply supply products.

Biday 23/6/92
Advanced

Negotiations about setting up joint venture companies have reached an advanced stage in two countries, he says, but declines to elaborate further.

Through the successful completion of large projects in neighbouring states, Altech has gained wide experience of African conditions and needs, says Crosby.

It is able to supply total solutions to telecommunications problems from the planning and design stages through to installation and commission, maintenance and operation of the entire network.

When it comes to World Bank tenders in sub-Saharan Africa, Altech is up against the world's multinationals.

Altech's southern African experience gives it a distinct competitive edge but a lack of finance is its downfall. Crosby says finance is a major problem confronting the company's southern African activities.

Its overseas competitors have, in some cases, access to soft loans from their governments, while SA currently feels it has not got the money to spare on such loans.

SA BUSINESSMEN ARE SCARED OFF BY SHORTAGE OF FUNDING

①

AFRICA's lack of money is the major limit to business, says Absa International assistant divisional manager Pieter Louw.

His view is supported by every ABDC member interviewed.

Scarce funds are the most important element, deterring SA and other businessmen from grabbing a wealth of opportunities, ranging from trade in almost anything to technological and management transfer, restructuring roads, ports and banking institutions to setting up wealth-creating projects in agriculture, mining and tourism, says Louw.

One way to overcome the money problem is to use aid or development funds. SA's membership of the African Development Bank will be an important breakthrough in this regard and Louw is optimistic it will happen soon, provided SA's political process keeps going.

But relying on aid money is essentially a short-

term, project-based approach rather than a solution for ongoing business in Africa, he says.

Louw believes the true key to doing successful business in Africa is to invest in the development of countries' resources.

SA companies need to put money into grassroots development projects which will ultimately facilitate exports, he says.

The pay off for SA businessmen is that in the longer run countries will be able to use their export proceeds to pay for SA goods and services.

Serious

"South Africans serious about long-term prospects in Africa have a major role to play by investing now," says Louw.

Unfortunately, there are too few SA companies which are committed enough to exports and a long-term presence in Africa, he says.

SA's banking sector has an opportunity to help establish financial interme-

diaries in most countries to the north.

Credible financial institutions, supported by sound government economic policies, are a precondition to trade.

Reliable financial institutions would also encourage the wealthy sectors in these countries to put their money into the formal economy rather than operate in the informal parallel markets which thrive almost everywhere in Africa, he says.

SA's banking system can not be imposed anywhere but local banks can provide manpower and technical support.

Absa International helps establish payment mechanisms for companies trading in Africa.

Louw believes that political issues in Africa are important, but that they are short-term obstacles.

Countries' current political structures should be evaluated and weighed up against resources and political and economic policies.

Firm suited to meet power needs

^{B(Day)}
ROSHERVILLE Engineering believes it is ideally placed to serve Africa's power industry.

Since the early 1900s, Johannesburg-based Rosherville Engineering has dealt with the complex maintenance of power generating equipment, including turbines, transformers and switchgear.

Recent visits to and from neighbouring countries have shown that there is a keen interest in establishing co-operation agreements or joint ventures with SA companies like Rosherville.

It says the recent World Energy Council meeting highlighted the fact that the

^{23/6/92}
eyes of the First World are focused on eastern Europe, forcing African countries to acknowledge their interdependence.

They have also realised that the costs of using overseas expertise are enormous.

It has therefore become vital to use local resources and develop local skills.

Rosherville is the perfect partner, having realised early on that rehabilitation of well-tryed equipment to prolong its life held advantages over buying new equipment.

Rehabilitation costs a fraction of the cost of capital goods and existing staff do not need to be re-trained.

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Spares can be manufactured locally, again at greatly reduced costs. And spares can be upgraded by using more sophisticated materials.

Rosherville has created a large infrastructure of equipment and skills.

It has also developed a pool of diverse experience in problems relating directly to the African environment, for example unique weather conditions.

Rosherville hopes that its ideal positioning to service southern African needs will allow it to play a role in maintaining heavy power equipment but also in upgrading the sub-continent's skills levels.

Rennies reveals links between freight firms

RENNIES' freighting subsidiaries Renfreight and Manica have come into the open about their relationship after years off pragmatically covering it up during the sanctions era.

Manica, which celebrated its 100th anniversary this year, historically marketed its freighting service exclusively outside SA and built up an extensive southern African network encompassing more than 40 locations north of SA's borders. It invested more than R100m in assets in Africa when many other international concerns were pulling out of southern region.

Its links with SA and sister company Renfreight were covert. Manica brochures omitted SA completely and its head office had a London address.

The new Renfreight was formed through the merger of the air and sea operations of Renfreight Air Cargo and Renfreight Forwarding in April this year. They have concentrated on the SA market for over 150 years.

Although concentrating on different markets, the two companies always worked together but it is only recently that they have been able to publicise and capitalise on this fact.

Renfreight CE Eddie Stead says the reason for coming out into the open was the groundswell of demand for effective support by SA businesses wanting to trade in southern Africa. This was reinforced by African and international attitudes to SA with the changing political climate in SA and the southern African region.

Manica CE Gary Hopcroft says the restructuring would have taken place whether SA was reaccepted internationally or not. The group made a business de-

cision to concentrate its efforts on freight management. However, political developments made it easier to do this by deepening the Manica-Renfreight relationship.

He says there are no plans to merge the two companies into one as both have strong, well-known images in their respective markets.

Manica will continue to focus north of SA, while Renfreight will target the local market. Their collaboration will continue but be more openly marketed as a plus to clients, in SA and southern Africa.

Agreement

Overseas clients doing trade with southern Africa, including with SA, are targeted through an international agency agreement with LEP International, one of the world's leading freight forwarders and other foreign agents.

Stead says the two groups have positioned themselves to follow the international trend to expand freight forwarding to embrace all aspects of freight management.

They will still be involved with traditional clearing and documentation functions, but not in isolation. Traders are no longer satisfied with such a limited service, but rather want a total freight management package tailor made to their specific commodity, he says.

Besides clearing freight, Renfreight will consult on packaging and transport from point of supply to consumption.

Manica and Renfreight's extensive presence on the ground in all southern African countries means they are aware of economic and political developments affecting freight such as forex freezes, sabotage of

railway lines or changes in customs regulations.

As experts in their field Manica and Renfreight deal with all these concerns on a client's behalf.

Hopcroft says while there has not been a visible increase in cargoes yet, he believes regional trade has grown. Renfreight has seen a marked increase in enquiries from SA businessmen wanting to trade in Africa.

Hopcroft says there has also been a tremendous increase in operations in Zimbabwe through the Open General Import License which promotes rehabilitation by industry. Manica is moving heavy machinery and equipment needed for the rebuilding.

He says Renfreight and Manica's main opportunity is in managing export goods, ranging from agricultural products from Malawi and Zimbabwe, to copper from Zambia and Zaire.

Another large opportunity lies in the management of aid projects. Hopcroft believes aid bodies will start looking to SA to ensure effective distribution of aid.

The largest short-term prospect is the distribution of food aid especially to Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia.

Stead says astronomical volumes of maize are involved and while Renfreight is glad to be involved in its management, all SA resources are going to be stretched by the aid programme. In fact the entire region's infrastructure will be taxed.

He says this is just one example where regional collaboration is vital.

The region needs to decrease dependence on aid and pull together to make the region work.

Hopcroft has the same sentiments. "We need regional solutions."

B/day 23/6/92

Time to tap into Africa's tremendous potential

AFRICA is seen as a poverty-stricken, AIDS-ridden and marginalised continent by many.

But astute businessmen, including South Africans, realise they could tap into more than \$10bn in development aid allocated to Africa every year, much of it never spent because appropriate projects are not identified.

They also see the enormous potential of the Sub-Saharan market of more than 450-million people with spending power contributing to annual GDP in excess of \$220bn.

Changes

They know that SA is believed to have made about R10bn from exports to Africa last year and that trade north of the borders grew 40% in 1989, 20% on top of that in 1990 and a further 22% last year.

Sweeping political changes of the past few years and the growing interest in doing business in Africa has swelled membership of Safto's Africa Business Development Group (ABDG).

Chairman Ian McRae says the group has also been forced to reassess its role and restructure to meet the changed needs and circumstances.

Surprisingly most players say changes started before President FW de Klerk's landmark 1990 speech.

ABDG manager Paul Runge says things really started happening in about 1989, with the Cuban withdrawal from Namibia and its subsequent independence.

"The whole of Africa is a village and things have a ripple effect." Runge believes the last domino to be



IAN MCRAE



PAUL RUNGE

topped will be the dropping of trade sanctions by Tanzania and Nigeria.

Spoornet's Andre Heydenrych says the thawing of east-west conflict made Africa less strategically important and foreign countries are no longer pumping in money.

Foreign donors also became increasingly disillusioned with Africa's continued deterioration and have focused mainly on eastern Europe for development assistance.

Runge says De Klerk added momentum to these

developments, opening Africa's doors to SA.

Many SA concerns can now admit that they have been doing business in Africa for years and others are considering joining them.

Checklist

Political stability is first on the checklist when looking at the risk profile of countries in Africa, says Runge.

"Has the country had, or is it planning, multi-party elections."

Safto conference a hit

SAFTO's recent two-day conference — on southern African trade and investment was such a success that a follow up is already being planned for next year.

The conference highlighted current trade and investment opportunities in the sub-continent and speakers and delegates came from as far afield as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, the US and Europe.

Organisers of the conference say SA delegates in particular showed a new awareness for the need for regional co-operation. Fruitful contacts were made.

A publication of the conference's speeches and presentations will soon be available from Safto for R150.

Next is an agreement with the IMF.

Lack of finance remains a major constraint to trade and other work in Africa and SA's membership of the African Development Bank is seen as essential.

Other important factors to be considered are market size and diversity, colonial heritage and geographical location. Good physical access is important to do successful business, says Runge.

Attitudes

Proximity to SA and things like landing rights, visa arrangements are important.

SA businessmen also need to look at countries' attitudes to SA, language, economy diversity, maritime agreements and inspection services agreements. An SA representative on the ground also helps, he says.

Zimbabwe remains most important for SA, buying a quarter of all SA exports, says Runge.

Zambia is another well-established market.

Recently acquired markets for SA include Kenya, Angola and Madagascar and very new markets are Tanzania and Nigeria.

To do good business, says Runge, countries need good physical access.

Markets to which SA has access but where there is minimal activity include Gabon and Morocco, which Runge believes should be exploited more.

He says SA companies should prioritise their efforts in Africa. "Now that we are no longer desperate for any contact outside SA, we can choose where and which projects and markets to become involved in."

Business Day SURVEY

Sweeping political changes of the past few years has swelled membership of Safto's African Business Development Group. And astute businessmen are realising they can tap into more than \$10bn in development aid allocated to Africa every year but mostly never spent because appropriate projects were not identified. TANIA LEVY reports.

Africa is keen to see what SA has to offer

SA WILL be present for the first time at the OAU All-Africa Trade Fair after being invited to exhibit at the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair, which runs concurrently.

SA's virtual inclusion in the OAU fair, one of the largest trade events on the continent, is a sign that it is on the brink of full re-acceptance by Africa.

"It is an absolute coup," says Safto's international trade fairs marketing executive Ann Matthews. "It shows the OAU's obvious desire to include SA and proves that trade overcomes political boundaries."

Before last August's Nairobi show, SA had not taken part in an African trade fair. Since then it has been included in the Angolan Building Fair in April and the Zimbabwe National Trade Fair last month, which led to the invitation to the Zimbabwe Regional Export Fair.

It will take place in

Bulawayo from September 2 to 4, in conjunction with the sixth OAU fair, which takes place every four years at a different venue in Africa.

It is attended by African and international visitors and usually includes exhibitors from most of the 51 OAU member states.

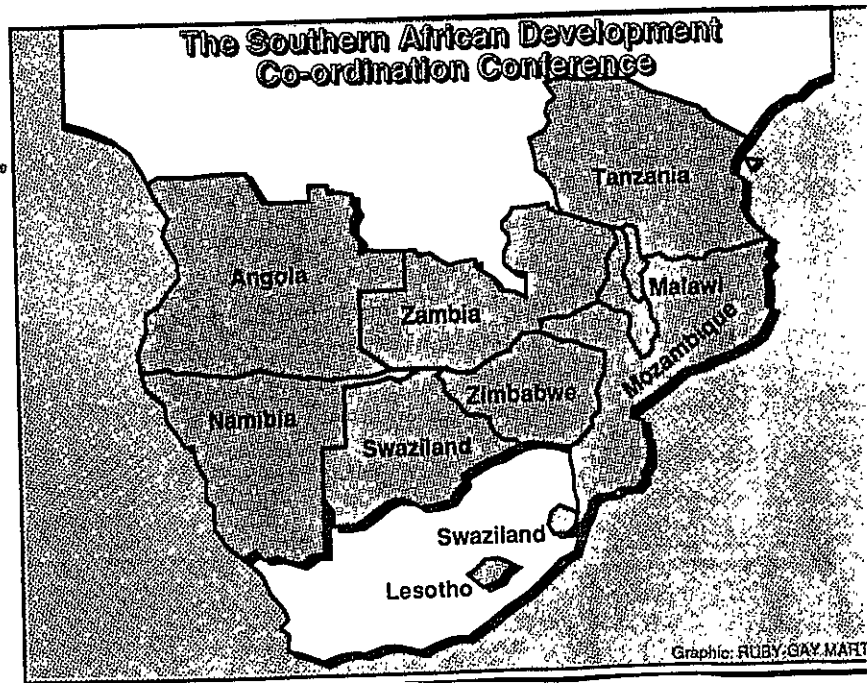
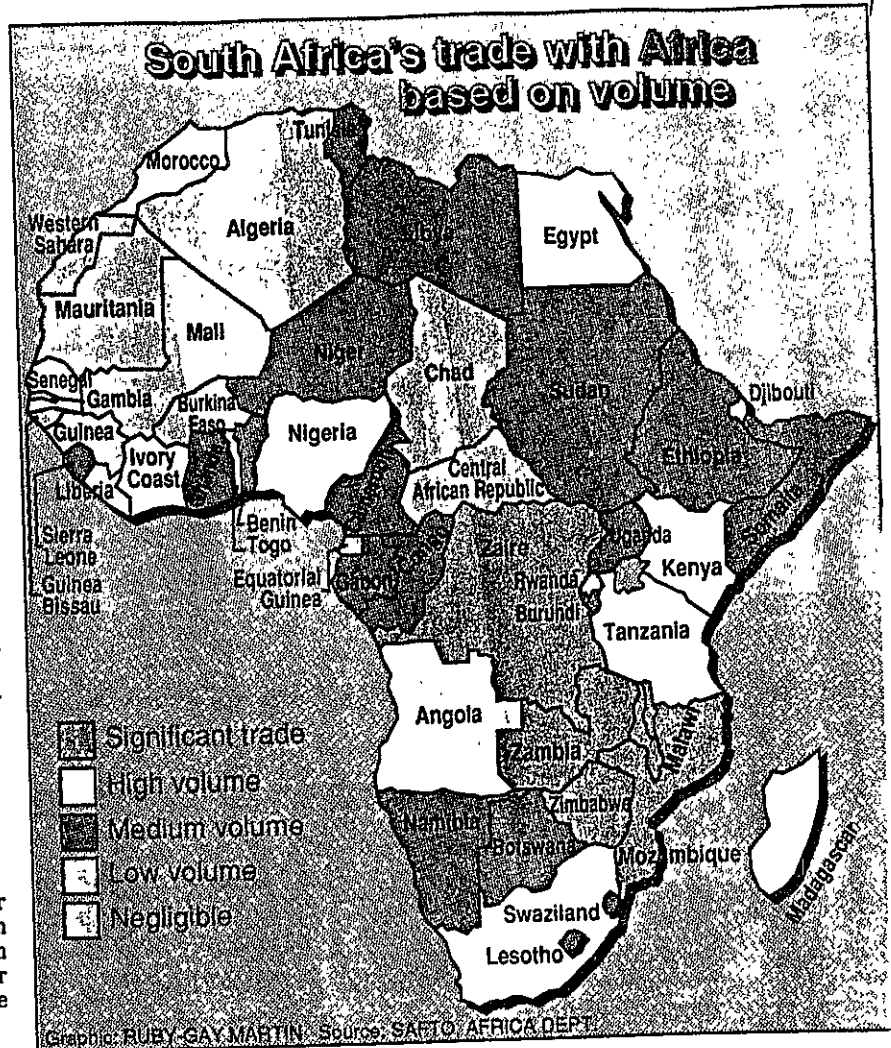
Booked

Safto has already booked space for 29 exhibitors and companies already committed are from light industry, mass feeding products, agriculture and mining.

Matthews says there has been a huge surge in invitations to SA to participate in trade fairs, particularly in Africa.

South Africans know little about most potential markets after years of sanctions and foreigners are also curious to see what SA really has to offer.

She believes the invitations will continue to flow in for the next year or two.



Noristan hopes for a slice of the aid pie

Monday 23/6/92

PHARMACEUTICALS group Noristan is keen to become involved with aid bodies such as the Red Cross and World Health Organisation, says export development manager Darryl Moss.

But until SA is accepted as a full UN member, local companies like JSE-listed Noristan will be boycotted by health aid bodies which spend billions of dollars a year on medical assistance and products in Africa.

Their aid is the major part of many countries' health budgets.

In some cases, such as Mozambique, it is the only medical spending.

"This obviously represents a tremendous opportunity for us," says Moss.

Source

He is optimistic that the aid agencies are eyeing SA companies to source products in the near future.

Noristan already exports 51 pharmaceutical products to other African countries and about another 100 are in the registration process. The company has been exporting to Malawi and Zimbabwe for many years. It now also exports to Mauritius and Angola.

In the past two or three years Noristan has started expanding into other African countries. It has been identifying marketing partners, started registering products and setting up distribution channels in various countries, including Zambia, Congo, Zaire, Madagascar, Tanzania, Kenya and Burundi.

Moss says that within 10 to 15 years sub-Saharan Africa will be one common market of some kind.

"It makes sense to concentrate our African export efforts on countries likely to be part of that market."



DARRYL MOSS

Already Noristan is the only manufacturer of the raw material apririn in Africa. Its other fine chemicals are also successful exports to Africa and Europe.

"But dealing with finished pharmaceuticals is a totally different kettle of fish," says Moss.

Approved

For starters all products have to be approved by each country's specific health ministry and the registration process usually takes at least two years.

Besides Africa, Noristan has identified Europe and the Indian Ocean area as strategic export markets.

A self-confessed "Africa fanatic", Moss believes that Africa holds the most potential for success. Trade in sub-Saharan Africa could rescue the continent, he says. There are enormous opportunities for those who want them.

The main areas for pharmaceuticals are medicines suited to the third world, such as antibiotics, analgesics, diarrhoea medicines and malaria pills.

Noristan's main export markets are Malawi and Zimbabwe. In the past 18 months, Kenya has grown to become the third largest.

Moss says the world is one pharmaceutical arena, so Noristan finds the same competitors everywhere, namely large multinationals like Glaxo and Smithkline Beecham and local pharmaceutical firms like Adcock and SA Druggists.

French companies like Roussel have a huge presence in former African colonies, he says.

Competing with them is difficult but SA companies are used to high competition levels from local market where there are many competing for a relatively small market. SA is also a very sophisticated medical market.

Advantage

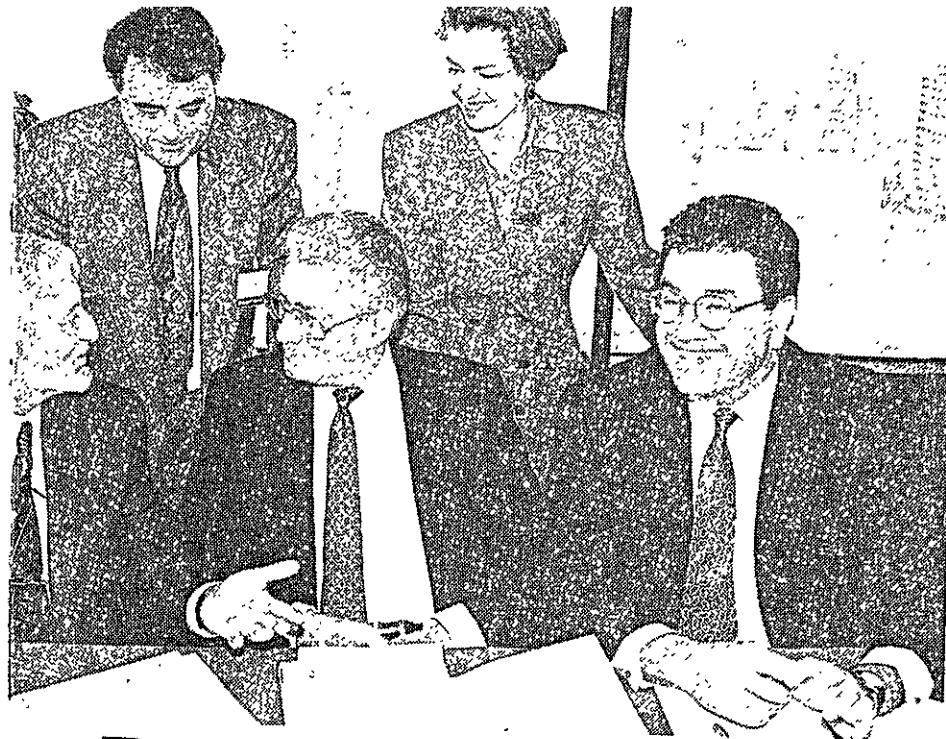
Moss says SA has a strategic competitive advantage in sub-Saharan Africa but it is difficult to convince other SA businessmen of this.

"Africa is seen as poverty-stricken, AIDS-ridden, and marginalised continent with no money. I suppose there's an element of truth in this but it is also a market of more than 453-million people with a 1989 GDP of \$223bn.

"And they can pay if they want something badly enough."

To be successful it is important to try build long-term trust and good relationships.

"Africa is different," he says. "Business works very much on contacts, while Europe works more on the economic motive. In Africa there are few decision makers in business. South Africans need to know them and understand their country's politics, economics and social structure."



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Bordeaux offers port as gateway to Europe

B/Daw 23/6/92

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A DELEGATION from the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce and Industry arrived in SA at the weekend to promote its harbour as a gateway to Europe.

Chamber spokesman Robert Beynat said yesterday the city had a long history of trading with the rest of the world and had a well-developed communications network with which to assist foreign traders looking at Europe.

He said Bordeaux also had substantial investments in Africa, and SA businessmen could benefit through joint ventures with chamber members.

He said vast amounts of aid were flowing into Africa. To date SA had been excluded from taking advantage of these, but by setting up joint ventures with the French could make use of international funds to expand into Francophone countries.

Beynat said Bordeaux was also a gateway to Spain and Portugal, while UK ports offered access only to northern Europe.

Meanwhile, a Moroccan trade delegation signed a mutual co-operation agreement with Safto yesterday.

Safto international division GM David Graham said the agreement would be significant for SA trade opportunities in

Africa.

"This is the first formal commercial link between two private sector trade bodies and represents a gateway into an important north African country," he said.

In 1989 Morocco had a GNP of \$53bn. Graham said Morocco would also provide access to the Magreb, consisting of Algeria, Mauritania, Tunisia and Morocco. He pointed out that Algeria had the largest economy in Africa after SA.

Delegation head Mohammed Mounir Bensaid said the two countries could benefit from co-operation, especially in penetrating European niche markets. He said SA and Morocco both exported citrus fruits, but at different seasons, and should work together rather than compete.

Morocco already had a significant presence in Europe but the growing sophistication of the market demanded better planning. SA could participate in transport, agriculture and mining, he said.

Bensaid said Morocco provided easy access to capital and companies engaging in exports operated tax-free.

At present Morocco has only an "office of interest" in SA.

Only mixed maize products 'for now'

PRETORIA — Pure white maize products were no longer available on shop shelves, Maize Board GM Peter Cownie said yesterday. B/Daw 23/6/92

He said the mixing in of at least 70% yellow maize with white maize for the production of maize products was inevitable because of the drought.

It was not possible to obtain sufficient quantities of quality white maize elsewhere in the world to supplement SA's supplies, he said.

Yellow maize, which was mainly imported from the US and Argentina, was the best quality available.

Cownie said although there was a difference in colour, the mixed maize product was as nutritious as that produced from standard white maize.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Affairs Department said many trainloads of grain had been despatched to neighbouring countries ravaged by the drought.

It said the first meeting of the Strategic Group for the Southern Corridor would be held in Johannesburg today. The group coordinates imports for southern Africa.

From April 7 to June 21, 40 vessels had unloaded more than a million tons of grain at SA ports.

During this period, 187 trains had been despatched with grain to Zimbabwe, 16 to Zambia, 23 to Malawi, eight to Botswana, two to Swaziland and 14 to Lesotho.

The department said SA would have to import 5-million tons of maize and 1-million tons of wheat to meet local demand. — Sapa-Reuter.

Burundi is eager for trade benefits from the new SA

Monday 23/6/92

BUJUMBURA — "SA whites have had blondes for years," the Burundi's Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana told his guest.

"But with majority rule coming, I think they may have to get used to browns," he added, with a twinkle in his eye.

Sibomana was making a play on words which had nothing to do with the hair tint of SA women and everything to do with the prospect of a majority-ruled SA's entry into African economics.

He hopes that when trade ties with SA are formalised his tiny central African state will be able to export to the south its dark beers, whose brewing it learned from its former colonial master, Belgium.

All over East and central Africa governments which publicly shunned SA because of apartheid are preparing for the day when it shakes off the shackles of 30 years of economic sanctions and begins to use its untapped economic power.

SA businessmen, whose trade links hitherto have been confined to nearby states such as Zambia and Zimbabwe or carried out secretly because of sanctions, are mounting trade fairs in Kenya and Tanzania to put their wares on display.

Countries dependent on former colonial masters in Europe for imports are now looking to see what they can get from a major economy which, if not on their doorstep, is just at the end of the garden path.

"We could save 8-billion Burundi francs (about \$40m) in importing from SA," Sibomana said. Burundi's import bill was about \$120m in 1990.

"And we could save time, too. It takes up to three months to get things from Europe. But if the stuff came from SA, it could take as little as two weeks.

"Even if we sold the South Africans nothing, we would be saving money," he said. "But we must export there to balance the exchange. I think there are

lots of possibilities."

Burundi is an economic dwarf. "We have coffee and tea and that's it," said a young businessman. "That doesn't give us much chance for expansion."

Western diplomats and economists say Burundi has, however, managed scant resources carefully and avoided many of the pitfalls of waste which have befallen better-endowed neighbours such as Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire.

Its currency has been set loose and the fact that it commands a black market premium of only 15% over official rates is a sign that the economy is responding well to "the surgeons from Washington" (the IMF and World Bank), diplomats say.

Compared with many African capitals Bujumbura is a village — but one where the telephones work, government officials are at their desks and answer calls and IMF and World Bank remedies have been carried out vigorously without public outcry.

"We have followed the reform programme with discipline and we have explained it to the people. That has allowed us to make considerable progress," Sibomana said.

Economic growth was a modest 1.5% in 1989 but has averaged 3.5% in the past two years. Inflation has been brought down from 8% in 1990 to around 5% this year, according to Western estimates.

Some 25 firms are to be privatised out of a total of 84 state companies, including parts of the vital coffee monopoly and the tea industry.

Coffee production in 1991/92 was 33 747 tons, according to the Burundi Coffee Company, and is expected to be 35 000 tons in the coming year.

Half the production is sold to private exporters under privatisation plans, putting the nation's biggest foreign exchange earner partly in the hands of the free market. — Sapa-Reuter.

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SA entry into ADB eagerly awaited

SA MEMBERSHIP of the African Development Bank (ADB) is eagerly awaited as possibly the most important development still to happen for SA business in Africa. *5/10/92*

Earlier this year the bank's president Babacar Ndiaye visited SA and said he was confident it would become a member in the next two years. *23/6/92*

SA was officially represented for the first time at the bank's annual meeting in Dakar this year and in May two bank consultants were in SA to assess its possible role in southern African regional integration.

Denied

However, SA will be denied membership, and therefore access to billions of dollars of ADB loans until it is included in the Organisation for African Unity (OAU).

Last month an OAU delegation came to SA to monitor violence and attended Codesa 2 as observers.

The delegation leader, Nigeria's OAU ambassador Olusegun Olusola, is on record as saying the OAU was disappointed with the stalemate reached in negotiations but satisfied that progress was nevertheless being made.

He made it clear that the precondition for SA's OAU membership was the "establishment of an elected interim government and an elected constituent assembly which will be responsible for drawing up a new constitution."

Limited ability to absorb CSIR technology

AFRICA has limited ability to absorb the CSIR's technology-flavoured solutions, says its marketing and business development vice-president Mike Groch.

The CSIR is responsible for about 10% of the continent's spending on the creation of technology and research development.

And if the CSIR's three focal areas — human settlement, industry and environmental impact — are considered, it accounts for a quarter of Africa's technological research and development.

The next largest African player is the size of just one

of CSIR's 13 divisions.

Groch says countries' technological capacities have to be enhanced if they are to be successful business partners. Countries with good tertiary education institutions or organisations like the CSIR should be SA's main targets.

These include the Ivory Coast, Botswana, Malawi, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Like most of Africa, the CSIR has been involved in the continent in an ad hoc way for years, says Groch.

But since the mid-1980s it has embarked on a concerted

pro-active strategy to gain substantial income from this business.

The CSIR Africa Strategy is aimed mainly at 14 countries and focuses on human settlement, development and environmental issues.

Projects

Existing projects include road maintenance contracts in Zambia and Malawi, the Lesotho Highlands scheme, water purification studies in Zimbabwe and Botswana and coastal management in Namibia, including assessing the

cost-effectiveness of reclaiming land to make diamond extraction easier.

Groch says development work involves a complex range of issues affecting quality of life such as adequate water supply, sanitation, transport and housing.

The CSIR is involved in environmental rehabilitation and impact work.

Groch says there is increasing international pressure for environmentally sound development, with funding agencies like the World Bank, linking financing to environmental criteria.

MINING
PROGRESS



Africa business development

Opening trade doors forces Safto to rethink

BDay 23/6/92

SAFTO's Africa Business Development Group (ABDG) has been forced to take a critical look at itself as more and more trade opportunities open up in Africa.

With more than 80 members, including SA's top companies, the ABDG acts as a facilitator, helping SA business and industry establish links in Africa.

It also acts as a conduit for African countries seeking to make contacts in SA and is increasingly the voice dealing with government on African issues.

ABDG chairman, Eskom CE Ian McRae, says the ABDG has had to take a hard look at whether it is

meeting members' requirements regarding Africa.

"The ABDG must change," he says. While the changes in SA and Africa's political arena and resulting trade opportunities mean a greater role for the ABDG, McRae believes it needs to be restructured.

"We have already started breaking into smaller groups to better meet the differing needs of member companies."

Categories

McRae says there are two broad categories of ABDG members: those involved in construction-related projects and those involved in buying and selling-type trade.

While he believes there is still scope for a broad umbrella body to co-ordinate activities and plenary sessions where all members come together, these should be less frequent than the smaller group sessions.

Rennies business development manager Craig Lee says he would like to see the ABDG become more proactive and dynamic. It should strive to develop clout so that it is recognised as the main trade body to deal with in the region.

He would like the ABDG to go beyond its role as information provider and contact facilitator. It should get out into Africa, and pull members with it, he says.

IMS Holdings group export consultant Jean Labesse says that since about 1988 the ABDG had been aware that isolation was thawing and SA would be increasingly re-accepted into Africa.

He agrees that its role needs re-assessing and says this is taking place.

"Before it was the key to opening doors, now that they are open the ABDG needs to play a more in-depth and focussed role, helping members successfully enter markets and identify the best projects."

Unanimous

ABDG members are unanimous on the indispensable role it plays in communication.

Noristan export development manager Darryl Moss says the ABDG plays an important role as an information clearing house.

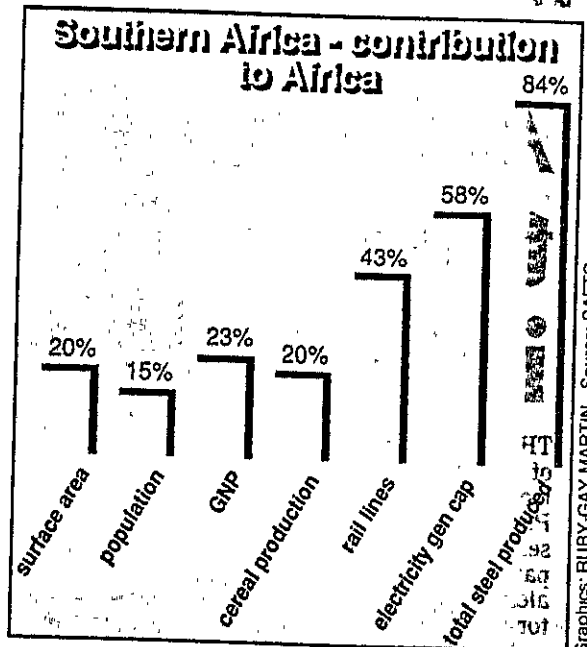
It is virtually impossible to get market information out of Africa, he says.

Most African countries

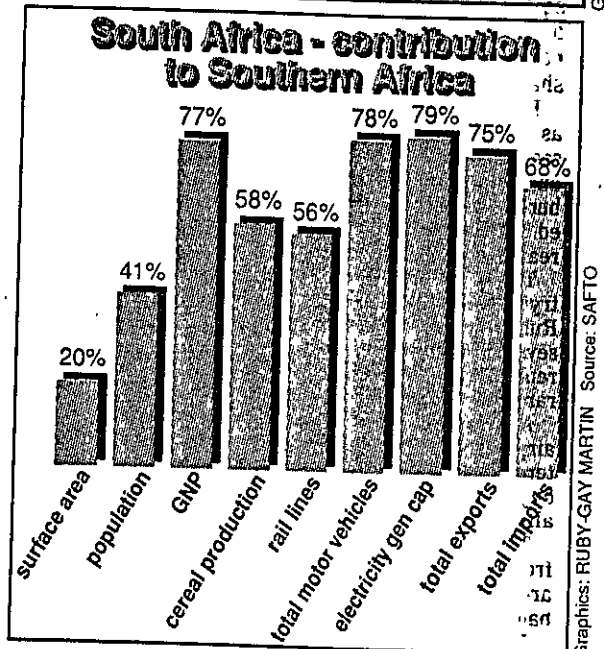
do not have up-to-date trade publications.

McRae is adamant that members should not expect the ABDG to do their groundwork for them. If

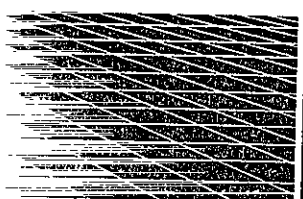
companies want opportunities they need to look for themselves, get out there and sell themselves. The ABDG cannot do their marketing for them.



Graphics: RUBY-GAY MARTIN Source: SAFTO



Graphics: RUBY-GAY MARTIN Source: SAFTO



C

Railways hold the key to region's economic health

A HEALTHY transport system is a sine qua non for southern Africa's economic revival, says Spoornet international traffic manager Andre Heydenrych.

The railway network is vital for international trade, development work or investment.

It the backbone of the economy, he says.

Already about 60% of trade in the region involves rail transport, with the rest using roads.

A serious drawback is the minimal rail interconnection between neighbouring states in the region, says Heydenrych.

Only about 7% of trade in southern Africa is internal. Most takes place with overseas countries, so rail routes have traditionally been export-orientated, linking towns with ports, rather than with other towns.

Colonies

Zimbabwe, SA, Botswana and Zambia are linked only because they are all former English colonies.

Heydenrych says the first major road project in the area was the line between Gaborone and Walvis Bay. Nowadays there is no money to finance major new routes. Rather, existing ones will have to be rehabilitated and expanded if possible.

Heydenrych says Zimbabwe has always been SA's main area of operation. About 40% of SA's imports from Africa come from Zimbabwe.

Asked about Zimbabwe's clamp on trade with SA, Heydenrych says Spoornet has continued dealing with other African countries for more than 30 years, despite politics. The main difference was that this co-operation could not take place openly.

Heydenrych says he would like to see all 10 railways in the southern African region incorporated into a single organisation and to work as an integrated system with no changeovers at the borders.

Streamlined

This would enhance rail's competitive edge over road, offering clients a streamlined and co-ordinated service and a single body to deal with.

But other railways in the region fear Spoornet's strength, believing it would take over their operations, he says.

This could be avoided by giving each railway an equal ownership in the joint corporation.

"We have no desire to dominate but would rather lead from the centre. We are part of the continent and realise we need to all work together."

He believes that with time distrust of SA will break down. But he admits the idea of a regional railway is "very much a dream".

Even if agreement were to be reached, it would probably take up to 20 years to become a working reality.

The practicalities of making it happen would be

very difficult given the disrepair and destruction of lines over the years.

Heydenrych says Zaire, Malawi and Angola's rail lines are in the worst state.

The Benguela line, between Zaire and Angola, alone would need hundreds of millions of dollars to rehabilitate.

The line between Mozambique and Malawi is out of commission.

The Maputo-Zimbabwe link is being rehabilitated but this work and running of trains is seriously hampered by Renamo activities, he says.

While the north-south route is in reasonably good condition, there are areas of disrepair such as the Victoria Falls bridge.



Graphic: RUBY GAY MATTI

Drought: Spoornet rolls to the rescue

SPOORNET will spend more than R20m to move the millions of tons of maize which will flow into drought-stricken southern Africa in what has been called the biggest ever food and aid relief transportation exercise.

But Spoornet international traffic manager Andre Heydenrych worries that funding will run out by year-end and leave SA in debt.

"Spoornet is spending millions in good faith but it is a risk," he says.

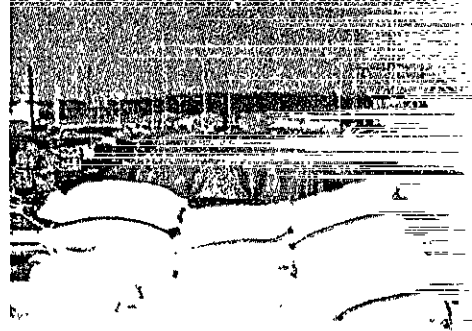
Spoornet can only hope the international donor community will realise the large investment being made by companies like Spoornet and sister com-

panying up to six trains a day across Beit Bridge to distribute maize to Zimbabwe. Heydenrych says this is the first time SA trains have been able to go straight into Zimbabwe and turn around there rather than at the border.

About 2-million tons of maize is expected to go to Zimbabwe and about 800 000 tons to Malawi.

Zambia will receive 900 000 tons and SA is expected to buy 4.5-million tons of maize and import at least R50m of wheat.

All maize destined for Malawi will be taken to Zimbabwe, bagged and then taken by road.



Transport systems will be stretched to capacity to distribute the millions of tons of maize relief.

Moroccans^① STAR 23/4/97 ~~SEE~~ seek trade ties

By Stephen Cranston

Ray Brown, MD of Langeberg Holdings, SA's largest fruit and vegetable canner, has expressed surprise that a Moroccan delegation is hoping to sell fruit into the local market.

Speaking to The Star from his office in Bellville, Mr Brown said that SA was already a major exporter of quality canned fruit and vegetables.

"Morocco grows certain fruits like dates which are not grown in commercial quantities here," says Mr Brown, "but I am quite confident that there is no market for volume imports of beans, peas and tinned deciduous or citrus fruits."

The Moroccan trade delegation was introduced to the media yesterday and included government representatives as well as representatives of the private sector from the travel agency, canned fish, canned vegetable and shipping industry.

The delegation, which will be in the country for the rest of the week, is headed by Mohammed Mounir Bensaid from the Moroccan Centre of Export Promotion. SA has already opened a trade office in Rabat, the Moroccan capital.

Bid for fair Morocco polls

Sowetan 23/6/92

RABAT - Four Moroccan opposition parties said yesterday they had asked the palace to set up an independent national commission with extensive powers to ensure honesty in this year's elections.

The government has already announced official multiparty commissions to supervise the rural, municipal and legislative elections. The elections, the first time in eight years, will take place in stages over the next six months.

The opposition said in a statement the electoral laws and the regulations governing the official commissions were unclear and

ambiguous" and did not reflect a national consensus as promised by King Hassan.

The four parties sent the statement to Mr Ahmed Reda Guedira, King Hassan's senior political adviser.

"The best way to achieve a national consensus is to set up an independent national organisation

for the elections ... with clear attributions and sufficient powers ... and the necessary prerogatives to be able to follow all electoral operations and ensure they are healthy," the statement said.

The nationalist Istiqlal Party and the Socialist Union of People's Forces, who have formed a Democratic Bloc with three minor

leftwing groups in the opposition, have been campaigning vigorously to prevent any attempt by the administration to rig the elections.

A senior government source has dismissed demands for an independent electoral body. He said elections were always organised by the administration. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

KIGALI (Rwanda) - Rwanda's education minister says she learned a painful lesson about politics after only three weeks in the job.

Agathe Uwilingiyimana says that on May 7 she was attacked and badly beaten at her home - "expertly so it left no trace" - by about 25 young thugs carrying grenades and machetes who stole money and clothes "to make it look like robbery".

Uwilingiyimana blames youths belonging to President Juvenal Habyarimana's National Republican Movement for

Painful lesson for Rwandan minister

Sweetan 24/6/92

Democracy and Development (MRND), which has ruled supreme in this tiny central African country for 19 years.

Habyarimana, in the first official comment on the attack, which is being investigated, said he was sure it was motivated by robbery.

"I'm sure it was pure banditry and that there were no political motives," he said.

"But let's see what the inquiry says."

Uwilingiyimana says the attack followed her demand for fair and free national examinations for

secondary school entrance that would end "cheating" which favoured children from Habyarimana's northern home area.

To ensure they were fair, she had 30 inspectors live at the government printers while the exam papers were being prepared, cut off the

building's telephone and put police at the door to avoid any leaks.

The incident highlights severe regional strains in a country of seven million whose history is stained with the blood of one of Africa's most savage outbreaks of tribal killing.

It also points to the hurdles Rwanda will have to negotiate to join the short list of African nations which have successfully swapped dictatorship for democracy, diplomats say. Uwilingiyimana, a 38-year-old former teacher, is a member of an opposition-

dominated transitional government installed by Habyarimana in April to pave the way for multiparty democracy.

It was a pledge he made last year when one-party rule and dictatorship began to buckle all over Africa.

But politicians such as Uwilingiyimana, the minister for primary and secondary education, say the president is deliberately obstructing progress towards democracy or tinkering with the process so that power and the ability to bestow it remain with him.

Exams

Fixed school exams, she alleges, gave Habyarimana's northern kinsmen a better chance of paid jobs in the most densely populated corner of Africa.

Some 180 000 children aged about 15 sat the exam to compete for 18 000 secondary school places which would enhance their chance of leaving the cash crop economy for salaried jobs in the civil service or business.

All over Africa ruling elites have bestowed such privilege on members of their tribes or their allies but Rwanda's north-south division has nothing to do with tribalism.

Rest

About 85 percent of the population belongs to the Hutu tribe. The rest belong to the Tutsi people which ruled the majority for centuries as feudal kings.

In the 1950s the Hutu rebelled against the Tutsi and at least 100 000 people were slaughtered. Tribal strains still exist but are minor compared to the north-south fission, Rwandans say.

Habyarimana comes from northern Rwanda.

Uwilingiyimana, from the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR), is from Butare, capital of one of nine southern provinces.

"In 1985, for example, three kids from Butare made it to secondary school whereas in the head of state's commune of Karago 140 did," she said.

"I said when I was appointed that only the brightest children will get the places."

Power

After he seized power in 1973 Habyarimana announced a policy of "regional balance", which opposition politicians say masks favouritism for northerners in every branch of government.

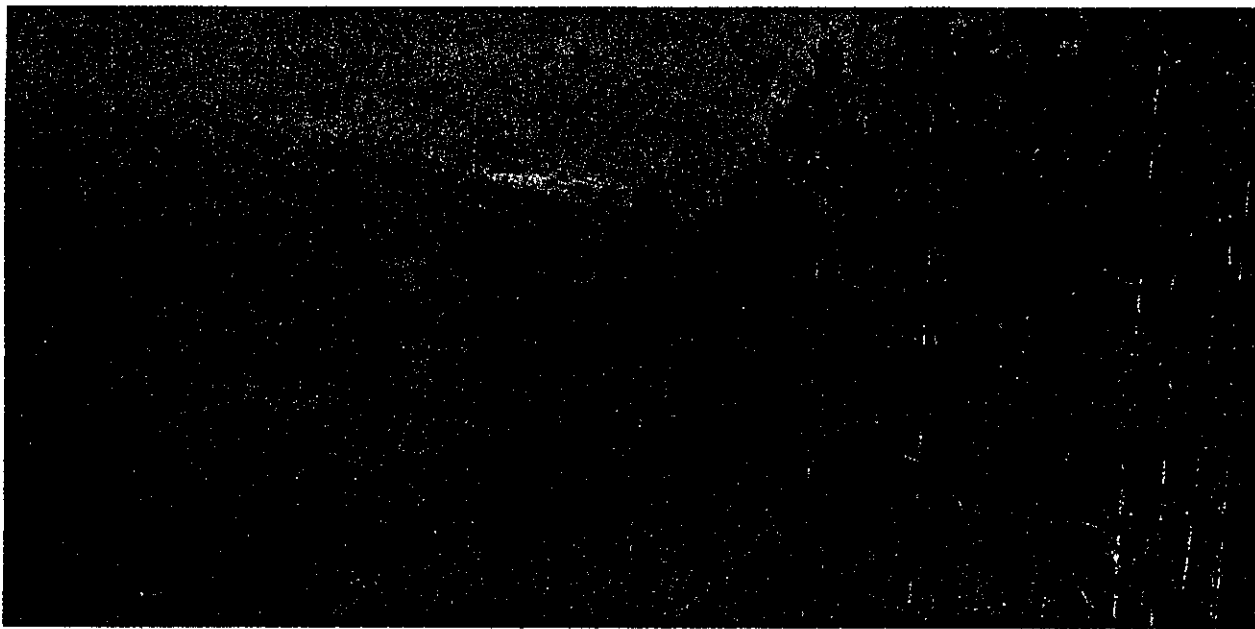
Ten thousand school-children and their teachers marched through the streets in protest at the attack on Uwilingiyimana.

The exams were duly set and sat and the results are due in August.

"The top civil servants are all MRND appointees and are doing everything to delay the publication of the results," she said.

"But they will be posted so everyone can see them. Habyarimana abolished the public display of results when he took over, but not this time, everyone will see that it's fair," she said. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

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Without paper, nothing will
be printed. That's why we're
planting trees for the future.*

*For growing trees
is creating the
background for tomorrow's news.*



sappi

Growing trees for generations

15 die in land feud

Sowetan 24/6/92

LAGOS - Young Tiv tribesmen killed 15 women, including Taraba State's only woman member of parliament, in a raid on their Jukun neighbours last week, Nigeria's National Concord daily reported.

Kasuwa Agbu (27), who was elected in the central eastern state last December, had her throat cut when the Tiv launched a reprisal raid on Akwana village over a long-running land dispute.

The mutilated body of one of her brothers was also found.

Police had detained Agbu and her brother as they were driving in the region before the raid, because her brother was armed.

Skirmishes between the two communities have frequently broken out in the past two years, claiming more than 100 lives last December alone, according to reports reaching Lagos at the time. Several villages have been destroyed.

The latest attack was in reprisal for the killing of a young Tiv woman after a row over the suspected theft of a bag of fertiliser. - *Sapa* AFP.

STAR 25/6/92

Madagascar drops socialism

PARIS — A year after hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to demand change in Madagascar, Premier Guy Razanamasy said yesterday that the country would drop socialism by the end of this year. Mr Razanamasy was in Paris on a private visit, but met with Premier Pierre Berezgouy and leading business officials to discuss French investment in his country. ①

Hooyo's lonely vigil for the dying children

THE coughing children with tuberculosis call her "hooyo" - the Somali word for mother.

Other aid workers in this war-shattered country refer to her as the Mother Teresa of Somalia.

Italian Annalena Tonelli has treated sick Somalis for 23 years and plans to press ahead with her mercy mission in this sandswept, seaside town despite a lack of supplies, a shortage of staff and threats on her life.

Grey-haired and fair-skinned, the saintly mother of

Merca's sick runs a TB clinic for 400, a paediatric hospital housing 100 children, a feeding centre where 2,500 hungry kids eat each day, and a school for recovering patients. She does it all with only one doctor, one nurse and a handful of untrained Somalis.

Despite her heroic work, she is realistic about the bleak prospects for Somalia, where two million face starvation.

"It's terrible because there is no hope for the people of this country.



The good ones have gone. Others are dead," said Annalena as a tiny sick child clung to her shoulder for security.

Three-year-olds hold the hands of one-year-olds as children march from the armed guards at the gate to the other rows of children sitting under trees in the centre's shaded courtyard, holding empty oilcans, waiting for their meagre portions.

Smoke from the fires under the vats of boiling rice wafts through the doorway into the courtyard where the children wait, singing songs of Allah. They clap when the adults arrive lugging the large pots of food.

Most of the food donated from Western nations intended for centres like Annalena's never makes it.

"Sometimes it's stolen from the beginning. Sometimes it's stolen later," said Mario Neri, an Italian doctor - the only doctor - working with Annalena.

Armed locals frequently threaten Annalena, attempting to force her from the clinic so they can reclaim for themselves the old buildings that house her patients.

On September 8 an armed faction evicted 400 of Annalena's TB patients from their beds in the church that she had converted into a hospital.

Recently a bomb exploded outside her room on the second floor of the clinic, a white-washed stucco building that once served as the Bank of Rome office. The blast caused her to move across the street where Dr Neri lives above his sick children.

At the paediatric hospital children with distended bellies stand in line waiting to see the doctor. In the dimly-lit halls between the maze of overcrowded rooms, children - most of them skin and bones - lie on grass mats side-by-side along the floor.

One frail stick figure lies motionless on the ground, staring blankly ahead as he receives intravenous support, too weak to swat the flies that cover his face.

In July alone 154 children died in the hospital.

"In the future of this country there will be nothing - only anarchy," said the ponytailed Neri, a self-proclaimed communist who has devoted 12 years of his life to working among the poor in Africa.

140 Somali refugees perish in shipwreck

STAR 25/6/92 ①

GENEVA — At least 140 Somali boatpeople have died in a shipwreck off the Yemen coast, and 1400 other people still need help on the vessel, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said yesterday.

The bodies of 34 children and seven others were washed up on Yemeni beaches across the Gulf of Aden from Somalia and about 100 other

corpses were on the boat among the survivors, a UNHCR spokesman said.

Rescue operations by the Yemeni navy were complicated because many of the Somalis were apparently suffering delirium after their two-week odyssey in the Gulf of Aden on a ship where temperatures reached 50 deg C.

Some of those aboard had died of hunger and thirst. — Sapa-AFP.

Ethiopia orders American to leave

ADDIS ABABA - The transitional government yesterday ordered the head of the 65-member US election observer team to leave the country for interfering in Ethiopia's internal affairs by addressing a political rally.

A spokesman at the US Embassy said the expulsion was the result of a misunderstanding by the government and the opposition's distortion of comments the American made on Sunday at a rally organised by Ethiopia's largest opposition party, the Oromo Liberation Front.

State-run news media said Mr Edmund Keller, a University of California professor

of political science, had been ordered on Tuesday night to leave the country within 24 hours for "violating the code of conduct of the observers' group".

Under terms set by the national election commission, international observers were to make no public statements while in Ethiopia.

Keller's team was the largest contingent among 200 international observers monitoring Ethiopia's first-ever democratic elections on Sunday. The voting, by secret ballot, was to elect regional assemblies. -

Sapa-AP.

AFRICA HIGHLIGHTS



Students carry a wounded youth at the end of a march in Caracas, Venezuela, this week. The students are demanding the resignation of President Carlos Andres Perez.

Militant leaders

go on trial

Sowetan 25/6/92

ALGIERS - Two fundamentalist leaders whose campaign to turn Algeria into an Islamic state plunged the country into turmoil go on trial on Saturday on charges punishable by death.

Mr Abassi Madani, leader of the now-banned Islamic Salvation Front, and his deputy Mr Ali Belhadj will be tried under heavy security at a military court

near Algiers from which foreign journalists and observers have been barred.

Accused of aggression and conspiracy against the state, the two men will be tried in Blida, 50km south of the capital, on the first anniversary of a general election derailed by violence between supporters of the FIS and security forces.

Their trial has brought militants' warnings that it could start a nationwide

"explosion", while the party itself terms it the last chance for reconciliation.

A year ago, gunfire ripped through streets choked with teargas as tanks and troops moved in, the government was sacked and a state of siege decreed.

At least 50 people were killed. Late in June 1991, the bearded Madani, now 61, and the slender but fiery Belhadj (35) were arrested. - Sapa-Reuter.

Africa can avert the lunar landscape

By Lynda Loxton

TO FLY across much of southern Africa is to fly across the face of the moon.

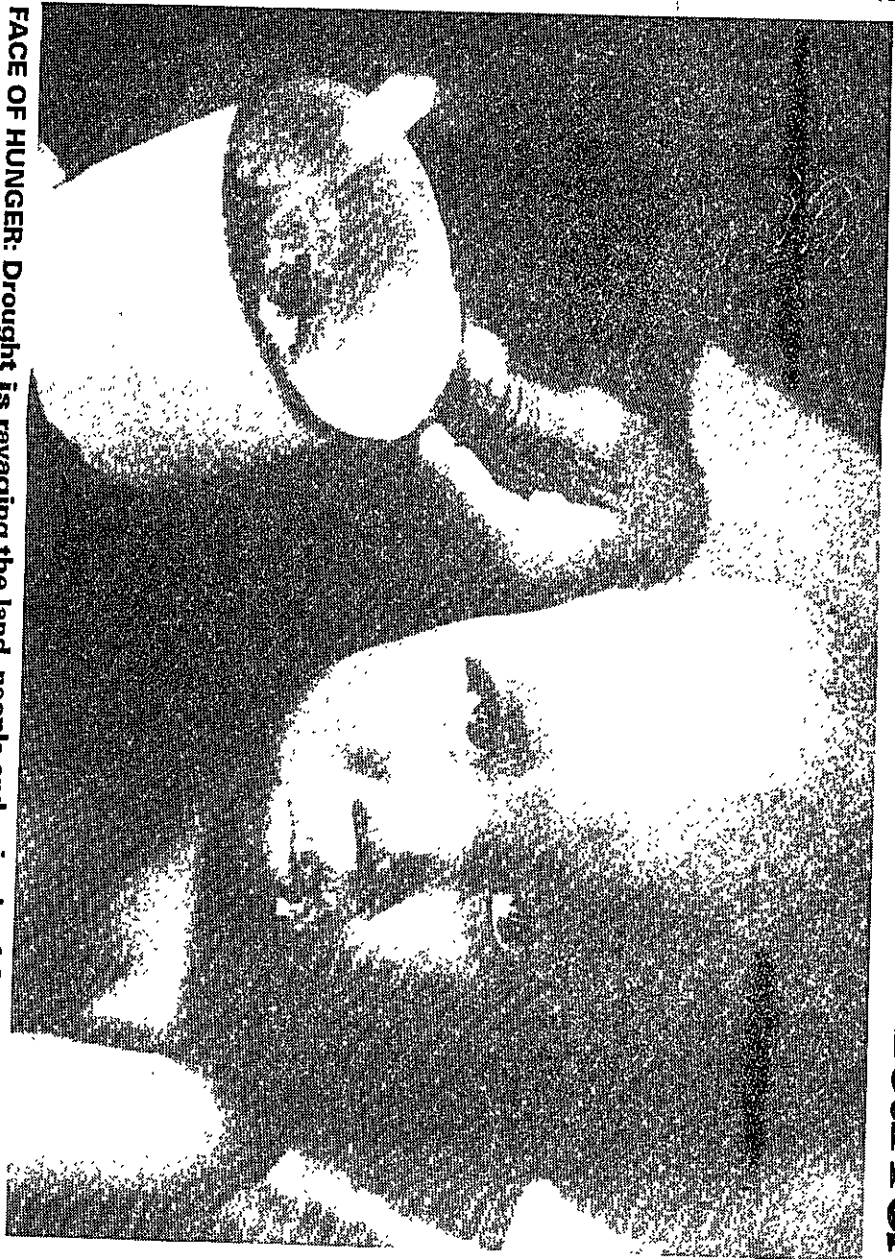
With these stark words, SOUTH Associate Editor and UWC academic Professor Peter Vale describes the ghastly phenomenon we here in the wet Western Cape have perhaps lost sight of — the drought that is ravaging the land, the people and animals of Africa.

In a recent review of publications dealing with similar experiences in other parts of the world, Vale chronicles the social and economic stresses drought is causing in Africa. He says no country on its own — and particularly South Africa — can come up with a long-term and viable solution.

"In many ways, political change in South Africa has brought the spectre of famine closer. The ending of apartheid has made the region's borders more porous. Countless pairs of feet are criss-crossing southern Africa — most of these people have no doubt of their final destination — South Africa.

"This has aggravated the serious food situation within the country: Operation Hunger estimates that it will feed two million people this year. As the drought pushes more and more feet across the borders, this figure is destined to increase," Vale says.

South Africa's bureaucrats have not been very good at dealing with this issue and Vale fears that, if left



FACE OF HUNGER: Drought is ravaging the land, people and animals of Africa

alone, they will continue to deal with it in their usual way: "Fob off questions, keep the public in the dark, shuffle decisions between government departments and hope that the problem will go away."

This, he believes, will be a grave mistake.

"If anything, the calamity we now face should be the beginning of new

pathways to understanding our unique African predicament.

"To achieve this, we will need to learn what we can from the international experience of both drought and famine.

"But more than this, we will need to accept that the horror of what is happening to southern Africa can only be assuaged by deepening the

accord between the states and peoples of the region."

In particular, African countries, including South Africa, have to work together more closely to deal with four priority areas.

● Regional transport and distribution networks have to be improved to ensure that emergency food supplies reach the people

① *can*

who need them — quickly.

● Agricultural skills should be pooled, especially in subsistence agriculture. Governments must ensure that small-scale farmers have confidence in grain as a profitable crop. This means that producer prices must be attractive enough to encourage farmers to plant grain, else it will not be planned as is happening now.

● The region also needs to share information. South African scientists, for example, should dovetail their efforts at developing an adequate early warning system with the one now in use in the neighbouring countries.

● A regional grain reserve should be built up. It was "a disaster for the sub-continent that the South African government in the face of calls from organised agriculture, was not prepared to move in this direction", says Vale.

"But India has shown that prudent rotation of its 20 million ton grain stocks can keep its people fed and keep farmers on the land.

"This drought has brought South Africa face-to-face with its acute geographic vulnerability. It has heightened a popular belief that in an undeniable way, South Africa has been dragged to the very edge of the mess which manifests itself elsewhere on the continent: the curse of the three D's - Debt, Drought, Drift."

Vale believes that with greater co-operation, those three D's can be averted.

Chaos blamed on saboteurs

STAR 26/6/92
BRAZZAVILLE — The bishop heading Congo's provisional parliament has blamed the chaotic organisation of Wednesday's parliamentary elections on saboteurs and said results in several districts would have to be annulled. "We are uncovering a network of saboteurs," Monsignor Ernest Kombo said on Wednesday night. ①

● Reports by Star Foreign Service, Sapa, Reuter, Financial Times and Associated Press.

AFRICA HIGHLIGHTS

Reforms begin in Egypt

CAIRO - Egypt has taken its boldest move yet towards dismantling decades of socialism, passing land reforms that could triple rents overnight and displace up to three million peasants.

Critics say the law could cause chaos in the countryside and raises the spectre of angry peasants rioting police to avoid being

Sapa-
Reuter

evicted from the land they have farmed all their lives.

Cairo is one year into an ambitious economic reform programme agreed with the International Monetary Fund, but has so far implemented only fiscal and monetary reforms which avoid directly hitting Egypt's poor.

But a long-delayed land reform bill, passed late on Tuesday after heated debates in parliament, reverses 40 years of strict rent controls, enabling landlords to triple rents and to buy tenants off their land.

It will affect about half a million Egyptian families who currently use some of the richest agricultural land for tiny, subsistence plots, paying annual rents which average the equivalent of

R300 a hectare. ①

The government, which brought in Egypt's highest Islamic official to denounce the 40-year-old controls as contradicting Islamic law, said the new bill would boost agricultural production.

Mr Khaled Mohieddine, head of the opposition leftist UPP party said he feared the worst: "So many people will be thrown off land they have farmed all their

lives, it would have been better to leave them there and (to have) borne the cost."

The agricultural sector is radically split between large, private farms booming as agro-industrial businesses on reclaimed land, and millions of small farmers in the Nile valley who rely on inefficient state-run co-operatives for seed, machinery and credit.

Sowetan 26/6/92

AFRICA

W/Mail 26/6 - 2/7/92
 Ivory Coast president returns in style

■ A PRIVATELY chartered Concorde, the cost of which Air France has refused to disclose, flew Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouët-Boigny home to Abidjan this week after a four-month private visit to Europe.

The 86-year-old president, who like other African leaders no longer enjoys the perk of free rides on Concorde paid by the French government, ran his indebted nation over the telephone from one of his numerous European mansions during his absence. Not even the worst riot ever seen in the country, on February 18, and the subsequent jailing of the country's main opposition leaders could bring the president back.

All Africa peace force proposed

■ THE Organisation of African Unity council of ministers this week proposed the establishment of a peace-keeping force which could intervene to settle military conflicts on the continent. OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim proposed the setting-up of a special fund to finance the continent-wide force. The proposal will be debated at the full OAU conference due to open in the Senegalese capital, Dakar, next week.

Senegal urges inquiry into troop deaths

■ SENEGAL'S Foreign Minister Djibo Ka this week called for a full inquiry into the killing of six peace-keeping soldiers in Liberia and said all countries in the peace force should take an equal share in the dangers. Ka, opening a meeting of foreign ministers from seven countries involved in the Liberia peace process, said a commission of inquiry should be set up "to clarify the circumstances of the soldiers' deaths... to find out who was responsible and to draw all the necessary consequences".

Six Senegalese soldiers from the Ecomog West African peacekeeping force were killed two weeks ago by Charles Taylor's rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia. Taylor said they died when shooting broke out after a misunderstanding, but Senegal says it has evidence at least some were executed in cold blood.

Learning to take part in democracy ①

Guardian/W (in W/mali) 26/6-2/7/92
NEVER an election goes by without accusations of fraud. Why is it that African parties are always accusing each other? Is it really fraud? Or is it an attack of sour grapes and evil indigestion?

There are several reasons. I can offer four, and the first is "bad losers". Multi-party democracy needs both a winning party in government, and a losing party which works in opposition to supply a potential alternative government. But chiefs like to win. Forming a potential government in opposition doesn't have much appeal for African chiefs. Anyone studying the fate of opposition democratic leaders in recent African history must sympathise with them. The track record of opposition leaders winning power through the ballot box is not brilliant (and I cannot recall any before 1990). The death record is much higher. But there it is: we must have an alternative government in the wings. The role of the election loser in making democratic

change possible

Developing Africa by Robert Lacville

is actually more important than the role of the winner.

The second explanation is statistical. Take the 25% participation rate which has been announced for the election in Mali. It is really quite false. They say that about 1.3 million voters participated out of a registered number of 5.3 million. In a country with just 8 million population. Where more than half are under 15? Only those over 18 are eligible to vote, and they cannot number more than about 3.3 million. And 1.3 million voters out of 3.3 million makes a turn-out of 40%: which is remarkable for a country which has never ever voted before, and where 80% of the people can neither read nor write.

Why is there is such a huge discrepancy in the figures? Well the census in Mali is really a taxation list which includes your dead father and grandfather. They (you) are forced to continue paying their taxes until you have enough money to bribe the local Governor to take

their names off the list. To these inflated lists we have to add all newly registered voters. The only people who actually have to register to vote are those who have moved. After thirty years of drought and debts, most of the men between 18 and 60 have migrated at some time or other to the towns. There are 600,000 overseas for a start, either in Ivory Coast or Ghana or Cameroon or France. These people are counted as registered voters in their home village (where the old one-party state used to tell their fathers to vote on their behalf), and maybe also in the place where the census found them. But they are actually voting in the town where they have re-registered to get a voting card.

A third cause for crying fraud is fraud. Some people have made false cards, or reallocated stolen cards, or even bought cards from the poor, which they can get their supporter to use. We saw a Peugeot full of young boys drive into the court-

yard of one polling station. They all piled out, and stood in line to receive their cards. Since they couldn't read, the organiser read out the names for them. Then the boys lined up to vote "Number 603746: Moussa Keita" reads the door controller. "What is your father's name?" Silence. The poll organisers have the list of registered voters in front of them, and so they can tell who lives in the same house with the same name. But of course the 15-year-old boy didn't know "Sorry: you will have to go away and come back with your identity card to prove that you are indeed Moussa Keita. Next please!"

But after hearing the report of the International Observer Corps, it seems unlikely that real fraud had much impact on the March-April elections in Mali. Their real success may inspire the whole of West Africa.

There is also vote-purchase, which had great influence in some places. "I voted of course" said Mrs Diallo. Wriggling her shoulders in an embarrassed way. "I vote for zée-réd ballot". I show her two: one red-and-white the other orange. She wasn't sure. "Zey are both red, those two." I know from experience that our Western perceptions of colour are more elaborate than those of monotone village life. I once had a pair of torn blue trousers, which the tailor sewed with black thread. Admittedly he wasn't a very good tailor.

Mrs Diallo was still wriggling her shoulder with embarrassment. "I think I voted for this one" She pointed to the bright orange ballot. "That's fine, Madame Diallo: and why did you vote for this man?" I have known her for years, fed and vaccinated all her children in times of hardship, and mended her mud house when half of it fell down during the last rains. I have no hesitation about probing beyond the barrier of the secret ballot.

"Eeh! M'sieu Roberts. Je chais pas! My boys told me to vote for zees man, deh! Zey say he give us money, plenty money, so I vote for him!"

In America they vote for the size of a man's ears, or the colour of his skin, or because they think he'll make them rich after the vote. Madame Diallo decided to vote for the man who made her rich before the vote: and that makes pretty good sense. You may not approve of the candidate, or of his dirty money sources from another African country's President. But no one can challenge Mrs Diallo's right to choose freely, provided that her vote was secret. And she did. And it was.

Institute aims for African democracy

STAR 27/6/92

BARNEY MTHOMBOHI

GORÉE SLAND (Senegal) — President Abdou Diouf of Senegal on Thursday formally opened the Gorée Institute, an organisation which seeks to promote democracy and understanding in Africa.

The Gorée Institute: Centre for Democracy, Development and Culture in Africa, is to have close ties with South Africa's Idasa, whose founder, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is chairman of the board of trustees.

From Gorée Island, lying just off the coast of Senegal, millions of African slaves were shipped to Europe and the Americas and it has become a memorial to them. The island, which has buildings dating back to the 17th century, has a population of only 700.

Slabbert said at the opening ceremony that to establish such an institute on the island, with its rich symbolism, was an act of defiance and an expression of commitment.

The foundation of the institute's establishment, he said, had been laid in that "historic meeting" in 1987 when prominent South Africans, mostly Afrikaners, travelled to Dakar to meet fellow South Africans who were in exile and to talk about a common future.

He said the institute would not involve itself in making big speeches but would concentrate on serious issues on the ground. The aim was to make its expertise and resources accessible to as many African countries as possible. It owed no allegiance to any government, political party or interest group, and had signed a formal treaty with the Senegalese government guaranteeing its independence.

The institute's board of trustees include Professor Heribert Adam of Canada, well known for his writings on South Africa; poet Breyten Breytenbach, Professor Claude Ake of Nigeria and Senegalese author and film-maker Ousmane Sembene.

The institute held its first seminar on transition to democracy in Dakar yesterday.

Big trade hunt in Africa

C/Pers 28/6/92

ECONOMIC prospects for Africa depend increasingly on the fortunes of two dominant states in the region - SA and Nigeria.

Their leaders share the analysis that Africa's economic development revolves around four growth poles - SA, Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt. Of the four poles, Nigeria and SA are the most significant for Africa in terms of economic muscle and population. Although Egypt is a major recipient of Western aid its predominant orientation to the Middle East has reduced its importance as an actor in Africa.

For foreign commercial interests it is Nigeria and SA, within and beyond their respective sub-regions, that have the most potential to develop as platforms from which to export to other countries in the region. While SA's potential as a harbinger of economic development under current conditions is seriously overstated in Africa, it is a market which constitutes about one percent of global business and one that few multinational companies can afford to ignore.

Shattering myths

Some of the most extreme illusions about SA's economic role in Africa are likely to be shattered in the next few years.

Industrial structures are likely to be further rationalised with much African business moving to SA as the logical regional industrial hub. While SA does not have a competitive advantage internationally in manufacturing, it does have a marked comparative advantage in Africa where manufacture makes up more than 30 percent of its exports. SA With South African

exports to Africa of some R6-billion (US\$2-billion) and imports from Africa of just R1,5-billion in 1990, the trade relationship is very one-sided. Commodities are SA's main buying interest in Africa: Nigerian and Angolan oil, cocoa from the Ivory Coast and Ghana, Kenyan and Ugandan coffee, Zambian copper and Zimbabwean tobacco. Coping with SA's domination in the African economic context will be a key problem for policy-makers in post-apartheid Africa; the only possible counterbalance is Nigeria. Success or dislocation in one of the "pole economies" will quickly affect the other countries in the region.

■ A difficult transition to democratic rule:

Moving from apartheid in SA's case - and military rule in Nigeria's case - to democracy is a critical process for both countries. A central issue in both countries is how far federalism can contain ethnic rivalries. Current developments suggest both countries will face a protracted period of authoritarian rule in this decade.

■ Dependence on commodity production:

Despite its relative sophistication in the African context, SA is still predominantly a primary commodity producer. Mineral exports alone made up 46 percent of SA's merchandise exports in 1991 and in non-drought years it grows the equivalent of a third of Africa's maize requirements; crude oil makes up 95 percent of Nigeria's exports.

■ Gross inequalities of wealth:

Inequalities in Nigeria have been worsened by recession, particularly in urban centres, over the

past decade. While the overall GNP per capita in SA was \$US2 460 (R6 888) in 1990, for whites it was \$US6 530 (R18 284) and for blacks \$US670 (R1 876), according to the World Bank.

■ Growing unemployment:

Estimates of unemployment in SA vary from the government's 18 percent to unofficial estimates as high as 40 percent; all are agreed it will rise further. In Nigeria, few accept the government's unemployment figure of 11 percent, while some economists claim it is higher than 25 percent.

■ Heedle rate of urbanisation:

Both countries are among the fastest urbanising societies in the world.

Johannesburg's crime rate is soaring as it replaces Detroit and Rio de Janeiro as the murder capital of the world.

■ Overblown and unproductive sectors:

The army of Afrikaner clerks who people SA's 15 racially based departments will be weeded out, but any restructuring of the civil service is unlikely to cut total numbers as social spending on blacks rises. Privatisation, however, has cut down some traditional government fiefdoms. Since 1986, the Nigerian government has cut the civil service payroll and started an ambitious privatisation programme. Both strategies have stalled and are unlikely to be resuscitated before a change in government. The efficiency of both civil services has been hampered by growing corruption.

■ Oversized military and security establishment:

This year, half SA's total defence budget of R4 380-billion was allocated to special projects or "dirty tricks". Until January next year at least, Nigeria's military will directly control the national budget.

Both countries see their military prowess (questionable in both cases) as integral to their standing in Africa and an important component of a possible peace-keeping force launched by the Organisation of African Unity, which they would hope to dominate between them.

■ Capital flight:

Both countries have suffered inordinately from capital flight and disinvestment.

■ Chronic lack of investment in education and training:

Apartheid's worst legacy to the economy is the lack of skilled South African workers. In Nigeria's education system, where spending on each pupil was cut by more than half in the 1980s, the effects have been similar.

■ Poor export performance:

With rich natural resources and long-established markets for its primary commodities, neither economy has developed the necessary marketing skills to export its processed and manufactured goods.

However, SA, with its GDP more than double Nigeria's, will remain and probably reinforce its position as the dominant economy in the region.

Africa as a bloc was virtually invisible in the negotiations for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; a constructive Lagos-Portoria axis could help change this. - Africa Confidential

No easy gateway to Africa for SA

C-1 P/28/6/92

GLIB talk by local and overseas politicians that South Africa is to become the economic engine which will pull Africa out of its present economic depression, is gradually being tested in the real world of business.

■ MONEY TALK

pharmaceutical interests – says it is experiencing great difficulties in doing business with Africa now that sanctions are disappearing.

The results are disheartening. Political turmoil, a lack of infrastructure and systems – ranging from government departments to road and railway systems that simply don't work – are frustrating efforts by SA businessmen to increase trade in Africa.

Nonetheless trade with the rest of Africa has risen by 150% since 1987.

Top company Premier Group – South Africa's second largest food group with substantial

being the engine of Africa. Africa needs investment more than trade."

Premier has suffered massive losses in central Africa in recent times as a result of political disturbances. In Malawi 15 wholesale stores owned by Premier were looted of about R1,5-million in goods stolen recently, while in Zaire its large wholesale cash-and-carry operation in the capital Kinshasa was razed to the ground after being looted. In Lubumbashi Premier's retail network was looted during an uprising against the Mobutu government.

In Mozambique difficulties occurred after a reshuffle of government officials. Preferential tariffs which were negotiated be-

tween Premier and the previous officials were simply scrapped by the newcomers.

Utian said in Angola serious problems were encountered because of a "lack of infrastructure, of an ability to get something done, people on the ground, systems and operations that work – it's just not there".

An "enormous amount of bribery" added to the difficulties.

Utian hoped that future aid from donor countries and the World Bank would be channelled through South Africa. An investment chain could then be started up into Africa.

"We are going to have to invest in Africa if Africa is to return to normality," he claims.

Only crumbs for the needy

City Press 28/6/92

WHILE 117 world leaders, 30 of them African, ate dove eggs wrapped in salami and roast veal *a la Diplomate* at the earth summit in Rio, southern Africa – suffering its worst drought in more than 100 years – came away with crumbs.

This was because the needs of northern governments, northern corporations and the northern media dominated the recently concluded UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

Grassroots activists from Africa and the Third World found little concern about democracy at the summit.

Southern African officials were clearly frustrated at the limited resources rich countries were willing to commit to poorer countries' efforts to preserve the environment.

"UNCED has achieved a lot. It was historic in its importance but, I regret to say, it has also failed in some respects," Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire said in his speech on behalf of African countries

Africa's silent agony brushed aside by concerns of the rich

at the summit's closing plenary.

"It's a step – it's not a solution – but it is a positive step," commented Mozambique's Mineral Resources Minister, John William Kachamila.

"But what the developing countries need is something a lot bigger," he added.

Tanzanian president Ali Hassan Mwinyi told world leaders the global environmental crisis consists of two kinds of emergencies: "loud" ones such as global warming, and "silent" ones which affect the daily lives of billions of the world's poor.

His remarks underlined the wide gulf between the priorities of the rich, industrialised north and the urgent needs of the poor in the south.

Southern African officials and activists alike were angered by richer countries' dismissal of issues such as fuelwood ex-

haustion, toxic waste disposal, or the dumping of dangerous pharmaceutical products, as "local" concerns less important than the "global" issues – such as climate change and ozone depletion – pre-occupying the North.

Some were clearly frustrated by US intransigence on issues of concern to both Africa and the world.

Bush

"It's not possible to believe President George Bush's election campaign considerations are more important than the contents of the biodiversity treaty," Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe told a press conference in Ecuador while en route to the earth summit.

Despite appeals made by several presidents of SADCC member states, the conference ignored one of southern Africa's most pressing problems:

reconstruction of rural and urban environments devastated by white South Africa's wars of destabilisation against its neighbours.

In fact, the US pressed consistently to exclude mention of war as a source of environmental degradation.

Hence there was no discussion of possible funding for converting the region's "surplus armies", after decades of Cold War-fuelled conflict, into "green battalions" which could help repair the massive war damage in countries like Angola and Mozambique.

Usually at odds in domestic arenas, southern Africa's heads of state such as Tanzania's Mwinyi found common ground with the region's activists in stressing the primary importance of poverty as the most critical factor fueling environmental degradation.

"The loud emergencies

have yet to affect many people," Mwinyi told summit leaders.

"But the silent emergencies – the more immediate issues of human survival – are already wasting many lives. Some 1.5-billion people in developing countries do not have access to health services.

SADCC country delegations had arrived in Brazil sharing a common position thrashed out last year in a series of UN Economic Commission for Africa and Organisation of African Unity meetings.

A central priority was to ensure the issue of increasing desertification – a scientifically contentious subject – be recognised as a global problem rather than just an African concern.

African delegates were clearly pleased when the conference agreed to set up an Inter-governmental Negotiating Committee (INC) to negotiate an international convention on drought and desertification control.

But the failure to deal with the southern African drought was the most depressing feature for this region. – AIA

OAU in bid to end war in Africa

Sowetan 29/6/92 (1)

DAKAR - Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers agree that it must do something to help stop Africa's burgeoning wars.

But the idea of a pan-African peace-keeping force has been put on the back burner, delegates said at the weekend.

They said they spent eight hours on Friday mulling over proposals by OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim for an OAU "mechanism" to prevent and settle conflicts in Africa, which is more torn by war and rebel uprisings than any other part of the world.

The ministers were due to complete that and other draft resolutions on Saturday for discussion at a three-day OAU summit beginning today.

Debate resumed on Saturday evening after Friday's late-night session.

"There was absolute unanimity on the need for Africa to do something," Salim told reporters on Saturday.

But he said some ministers felt the idea needed further study while others were worried it could mean OAU meddling in countries' domestic affairs, breaking the OAU's long-standing policy not to encroach on national sovereignty.

Salim declined to say which countries expressed opposition to elements of the plan. Delegates said they included Zaire, Rwanda and Sudan, whose govern-

ments are all battling rebel insurgencies.

Salim's original proposals included a call on OAU members to earmark units of their armed forces for possible peace-keeping duties, and creation of an OAU military consultative committee.

"The essence of the proposal has nothing to do with creation of an African military force," Salim told reporters.

He said he envisaged OAU military observers to help respond quickly to brewing disputes, and the possibility only "in extreme cases" of raising peacekeeping troops.

He said funding such an initiative within the cash-strapped organisation would be difficult. Arrears on OAU members' dues amounted to R84 million before the ministerial talks began on Monday, although some countries have since paid up to the tune of R19 million.

But Salim added: "Everything has a price. Peace has a price also. I don't think any price in terms of what we are asking for is that colossal. It is a question of political will."

He said he hoped concrete proposals for the peace-making plan would be ready for approval at the next OAU summit in a year's time. - Sapa-Reuter.

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Boipatong a blow for the pro-Pretoria lobby at OAU

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

DAKAR - African heads of state assemble here today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention.

But the South African issue is no longer one of them.

A mighty dust-up had been expected as some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codesa to be allowed to attend this year's summit as an observer.

Certain countries seemed prepared to stage a showdown over the issue.

However, the Boipatong massacre seems to have come to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby.

Rumours persisted early last week that South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call from the summit (although this was officially denied by his department in Pretoria).

lar in many ways to that of the PAC this year.

The PAC has always maintained that Codesa was not the right forum for constitutional talks. It wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC.

Though they may have been let off the South African hook, the African leaders still face other tough problems.

Anarchy reigns in Liberia and Somalia with thousands killed and millions of others displaced. In addition, almost a dozen low-level conflicts continue on the continent.

Drought

Then there are the issues of economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought gripping most of east and southern Africa.

Southern African countries have called for greater co-ordination of drought relief.

Because of the venue of the summit, West African concerns will tend to take

Sowetan 29/6/92
‘The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of ordinary people is almost nil.’

pride of place. The civil war in Liberia is uppermost in many participants' minds, especially for the host country, Senegal, which has lost several troops serving with Ecomog, the peace-keeping force in Liberia.

There are fears that the Liberian civil war could engulf the whole region. It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone.

Agreement

This summit will have to decide what to do about Liberia, especially about

Charles Taylor, the rebel leader who has broken every agreement reached with him. This week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement.

In Somalia, different parts of the country are controlled by different armed militia.

This week, some of the factions turned up in Dakar, each claiming to be the legitimate government.

Salim has complained that the international community has not always responded to African tragedies with the same speed

as it has elsewhere. He contrasted the UN Security Council's reaction to Somalia with that in Yugoslavia where Western countries were quick to react.

‘The world is not interested (in Africa) any more,’ he said, adding that from now on, Africa would have to depend on its own resources to solve its own problems.

Problems

The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of

ordinary people is almost nil.

For the organisation just to be able to exist has in itself been some achievement.

It is a victim of the end of the Cold War. Gone are the days when Soviet envoys used to lurk in conference corridors ready to put a spin to every policy decision in exchange for armaments and easy terms of trade. Now the scattered remnants of what was the Soviet Union are joining the queue for international aid. What is annoying the Africans is that these newcomers are allowed to jump the queue.

Poverty

OAU officials are saying that colonial emancipation having been attained, the time has now come for economic independence, for the continent to be rid of poverty, disease and illiteracy.

The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja last year is seen as signalling the second phase of the continent's liberation. But the governments know that without stability, it will be almost impossible

to pull Africa out of the economic quagmire.

Salim wants some mechanism for resolving conflict to be discussed at this summit.

He is keen that the summit should decide on how to build the OAU's capacity to handle conflicts both between and within states.

Conflict

He has already created a new division on conflict management within his secretariat.

But some countries are expected to resist this development because it seems to go against the OAU canon of non-interference in the affairs of member states.

If the suggestion is adopted, it will mean the organisation has at last been given some teeth.

Funds

The OAU faces another sub-issue in that it is also now frequently being asked to observe elections in member countries, but it cannot do so adequately for lack of funds.

It is R1 026m in the red and 25 states - almost half the OAU membership - have yet to pay their contributions.

Issues

In his Press briefing at the beginning of the week, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed. It was only after he was prodded that he condemned the violence in South Africa.

The massacre and Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa.

The foreign ministers, who meet in the week preceding the summit to prepare its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Pretoria government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC position.

Massacre

ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria.

The massacre had dealt President de Klerk's personal image a severe blow, he said. The PAC's Gora Ibrahim made a similar assessment.

Whereas the ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja for certain sanctions to be lifted, it is presenting a position simi-

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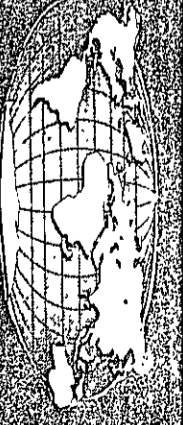
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NEWS IN BRIEF

8/Day 29/6/92
Cameroon delegation

A CAMEROON business delegation arrived in Johannesburg today. The delegation is headed by the Cameroon trade and industries minister and represents commerce and industry across the board. It will meet prospective partners during the week. Cameroon's soccer legend Roger Milla, accompanies the group to host various soccer clinics.

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES



The Crisis of Development in Africa: 5 AIDS and Development

"Our husbands are killing us. They go around chasing after all kinds of girl friends, then they come home and want us to have sex. What can we do?"
Zimbabwean woman

Last week we looked at the reasons for the food crisis in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. This week we will look at the effects of a new disease on the development of Africa - AIDS (See the New Words Box). Millions of people are infected by the HIV virus in Africa, and have got AIDS as a result.

There are two important reasons why we should think about AIDS when we are discussing the development of Africa: ● Stopping the spread of AIDS and providing medical care for AIDS victims is using and will continue to use many resources in most African countries.

● Many people argue that the political and economic underdevelopment of African countries means that more people get AIDS and die in these countries than in developed countries such as the United States of America.

AIDS and Development

Every country with AIDS patients has a responsibility to look after them and give them all the help they can. In order for a country to control and treat AIDS victims, many resources have to be used. For example, many hospital beds are being occupied by people who are suffering from AIDS. Countries which have a very limited supply of medicines and medical personnel are using a large amount of these resources on AIDS. The rest of the health care system then gets less medicines, fewer nurses and doctors, and less equipment.

But this is not the only way AIDS uses up the limited resources of a country which are needed for development. Childcare is another demand growing out of the spread of AIDS. In countries like Uganda where many children have lost one or both parents to AIDS, much of the country's welfare Department is devoted to looking after these "AIDS orphans."

A last way in which AIDS drains the resources for development is that, like slavery, it takes the young and strong people out of the population. Most victims of AIDS are in the sexually active age group, from 15-49. People of this age are very productive for the economy. If large numbers of the people between 15 and 49 die, a country's workforce will be seriously affected.

Underdevelopment and the spread of AIDS

But other people believe that while a vaccine or safe sex is very important, AIDS cannot be controlled in the underdeveloped countries unless the problems of underdevelopment are also solved. Several problems of underdevelopment have been limited to the spread of AIDS.

● A Lack of Information: For a cure or "safe sex" to be successful, people need information. This means two things. Firstly, the government must make information about AIDS available to the population. Some African countries have tried to keep the presence of AIDS quiet, often thinking the presence of AIDS will scare away foreign tourists.

New Nation
New Nation
2/15-4/16/92

"Blaming AIDS on Africa was a legacy of a 'colonial mentality' which capitalises on our weakness and underdevelopment to attribute everything that is bad and negative to the so-called 'dark continent'."

Abdul Mumini Aminu, Governor of the State of Borno in Nigeria

New Words

HIV: This is the virus that leads to the disease AIDS. HIV means Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Normally when someone gets sick, their body fights the disease of the virus which is making them sick. However, when someone who has AIDS gets sick, their body cannot fight the disease and they die.

Myths: A myth is an invented story which people believe to be true, but which is actually untrue.

Conspiracy: A conspiracy is something which a group of people secretly plan and do against other people.

Epidemic: A disease that is spreading fast and infecting many people.

Is there a solution to the AIDS crisis?

There is much debate about how to stop the spread of AIDS. Some people say that all we can do is wait for a cure to be discovered. But governments in most African countries are not simply waiting for a magic injection or tablet to be discovered which can cure AIDS. Campaigns encouraging "safe sex" (using condoms) and promoting sex with one sexual partner have begun in many countries.



Myths about AIDS

Much false information has been spread about AIDS. This has led many people to believe certain myths about AIDS. Some of these myths are:

1. AIDS does not really exist. It is an imperialist conspiracy. No! AIDS affects millions of people throughout the world, including Africa. The World Health Organisation presently estimates that more than 5 million people in Africa are HIV positive. More than half of these are women. In South Africa statistics are not very reliable but at least 1000000 people are HIV positive.
2. AIDS started in Africa. No! There has been no conclusive proof to date about where AIDS comes from. It does not matter. When AIDS
3. AIDS is a homosexual disease. Wrong! It is true that in the United States most of the early victims of AIDS were gay men. However, since then the disease has spread to all groups of people. In Africa almost all of those who are HIV positive are heterosexual.
4. AIDS is a disease affecting whites. No! AIDS is a disease found all over the world, and affects people living in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. AIDS does not discriminate on the basis of colour, sex or religion.

Uganda: The Battle Against "Slim"

Ugandans call AIDS "slim", since those with AIDS become very thin. Uganda has been hard hit by AIDS. There are 600000 children who have lost one or both parents to AIDS. In response Uganda has undertaken a huge programme against AIDS. Unlike many leaders, the Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni has supported anti-AIDS programmes. He says: "To not be open about AIDS is just ignorant."

Questions for Readers?

Question 1: Who do you believe? Do any of them have the right answer? Why?
Name some other myths about AIDS. What will happen if people continue to believe these myths?
How would you stop these myths from spreading?

Question 2: How can the development of Africa help stop the spread of AIDS?

Question 3: Are doctors saying that people should not have sex? How can people protect themselves against AIDS when having sex?

Question 1: No you are wrong. AIDS is a black disease!

Question 2: A Ugandan man said: "We cannot live without sex. What else is there, where is the enjoyment? We might as well be dead."

NATIONAL AIDS PREVENTION & CONTROL PROGRAMME

WESTERN PROVINCE

There are many organisations working against AIDS in South Africa. Here is a list of some of them:

Resource List:

Topshop Aids Project
PO Box 4168, Johannesburg, 2000
Telephone: 962-1016

Community Aids Information and Support Centre
(They provide free AIDS tests.)
PO Box 1477, Johannesburg, 2000
Telephone: 725-6711/5

African Research and Educational Property Programme
PO Box 51022, Rosebank, 2124, Johannesburg
Telephone: 485-1164
Fax: 640-2934

AIDS Centre
Telephone: 725-6551/2

AIDS Committee
Telephone: 403-4250

AIDS Consortium Project
Telephone: 403-6918

STAR 29/6/92

Victory in Ethiopia poll ①

ADDIS ABABA — The ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has won a big victory in regional elections in the capital Addis Ababa, a radio report said yesterday. The party won in 81 out of 84 polls in the Addis Ababa region, one of 14 in Ethiopia. Official results, however, will take several days.

Slaying plunges Algeria in crisis

STAR 30/6/92

ALGIERS — Algerian head of state Mohamed Boudiaf was shot dead yesterday, an event that plunged the country into uncertainty and fear. The army-backed leadership vowed his captured killer would lead to those behind the assassination.

The man tipped by some diplomats as a successor, Interior Minister Laarbi Belkheir, was put in charge of arranging the leader's funeral, to be held tomorrow.

"The security forces might want to take advantage of this now to put in a real strongman," one diplomat said, suggesting Mr Belkheir would be a natural choice.

Mr Boudiaf's body was flown from the east Algerian coastal town of Annaba, where his killer, dressed in police uniform, opened fire with a sub-machinegun.

Mr Boudiaf (73), some 27 minutes into a speech to inaugurate a new cultural centre, was hit in the back and head, APS news agency said.

Mr Belkheir has been running a state of emergency imposed by Mr Boudiaf amid unrest and killings blamed on Muslim fundamentalists after the cancellation in Jan-

uary of a general election the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) was poised to win.

The FIS was banned in March.

News film on state TV showed Mr Boudiaf break off from his speech at the sound of a muffled explosion.

His final words heard were: "We must know that the life of a human being is very short. We are all going to die. Why should (the authorities) cling so much to power?"

"Other peoples have overtaken us by technology and science. Islam..." — and then gunfire.

Uncover

Some 41 people were wounded in the assassination attack, including Industry and Mines Minister Abdenour Keramane.

"The killer has been arrested and the inquiry now going on will uncover the instigators of the crime and their accomplices," the presidency said.

The presidency Mr Boudiaf headed since last January 16, known as the High Council of State (HCE), announced it was in permanent session with the supreme se-

curity body and called Algerians to react with dignity.

It vowed to preserve the state's authority and take all security measures.

In the ancient heart of the capital, the Casbah, just before midnight a gunman opened fire on police guarding security headquarters, a witness said.

He said armoured cars moved into the narrow streets of the Casbah, a bastion of the FIS which was pledged to put Algeria under Islamic law.

Elsewhere in the country, Africa's second largest, shops closed and the streets were deserted.

The presidency declared seven days of mourning and that the nation's 30th anniversary celebrations of independence from France, due on July 5, were cancelled.

Mr Boudiaf was killed one day after a military prosecutor announced that the adjourned trial of FIS leaders Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj, held since unrest a year ago and now facing charges carrying the death penalty, would go ahead on July 12.

FIS militants had promised "to take to the gun" if their two leaders were not acquitted. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Algerian leader ^① gunned down

ALGIERS ^{30/6/92} Algerian President Mohammed Boudiaf was shot dead yesterday as he visited the eastern Mediterranean coast city of Annaba, officials said.

Witnesses said Boudiaf received two bursts of gunfire in the back as he arrived at the town's cultural centre.

"Total confusion reigned in the city, people were fleeing in all directions and traders closed their shops," the national APS news agency reported.

The High State Council, which Boudiaf had headed since being recalled from exile during a showdown between the authorities and Moslem fundamentalists in January, went into emergency session in Algiers. It declared seven days of national mourning.

Immediately

It was not immediately clear who carried out the attack.

The shooting came two days after the trial opened of seven top Islamic Salvation Front leaders facing the death sentence on armed insurrection charges.

The trial of FIS president Abassi Madani, his deputy Ali Belhadj and the five others, before a military court in Blida, south of Algiers, was adjourned until July 12. - Sapa-AFP



AROUND THE WORLD

Call for calm after killing

①
Sowetan
11/7/92

ALGIERS - Shocked Algerians were urged to stay calm yesterday following the bloody assassination of head of state Mohamed Boudiaf.

Armoured cars prowled the streets where many people queued for bread or crowded around newspa-

per stalls. Others sat huddled on benches discussing the killing.

Grim-faced gendarmes peered from behind their guns ready for any sign of trouble and gendarmerie vehicles carrying heavily-armed men raced through the streets.

The Algerian Press Service said security was

stepped up at key points. There were, however, no overt signs of tighter controls on areas bordering Islamic fundamentalist bastions in this city of two million people.

"Who is behind the killing?" demanded newspapers, switching from coloured mastheads to sombre black. Red crescent na-

tional flags were flying at half-mast.

Appealing for calm, the army-backed leadership vowed Boudiaf's captured killer would lead them to those behind the crime.

There was no confirmation that more than one man was involved in the assassination. - *Sapa - Reuter.*

Conflict resolution structure for Africa

By Barney Mthomboti
Star Africa Service

STAR 117192

DAKAR (Senegal) — African Foreign Ministers have agreed in principle to the setting-up of a permanent structure within the Organisation of African Unity that would help prevent and resolve conflicts.

The plan envisages the establishment of what will be called the Bureau of the Summit, which will come under the direct control of the OAU secretary-general and will be a clear mandate by OAU heads of state at their summits to assume not only the responsibility of dealing with many across-border disputes but to also deal with internal disputes.

It is proposed that this bureau could even have a pan-African peacekeeping force at its disposal, headed by qualified and respected military men.

The plan will also make provision for an African security council and an interim arbitral tribunal which could lead to a fully fledged African court of justice to hear grievances among member states.

The plan is the brainchild of

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim, who believes that unless conflicts and instability are stamped out on the continent, no development is possible.

It is believed that the plan provoked serious debate among members and was only agreed to in principle at the weekend after an all-night sitting.

The Foreign Ministers have recommended to the summit that Dr Salim be mandated to make a thorough study of the implications of the plan before it can be adopted at next year's summit. African leaders are said to be worried that the plan goes too far and is against the accepted OAU canon of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

"The social, human and economic cost of conflicts have been horrendous and, unless we can put a definite end to conflicts, Africa will continue to be mired in confusion and its people condemned to misery and suffering," Dr Salim said.

Dr Salim said later the majority of Foreign Ministers were prepared to implement the proposals immediately.

More harm than killing a thousand policemen ①

STAR 11/19/72

President Mohamed Boudiaf's murder is a disaster for all who sought a secular Algeria, reports
ROBERT FISK.

ALGERIA'S Islamic fundamentalists were almost as good as their word. Islamic Jihad had promised that an all-out war against the government would begin on June 30. They would kill, they claimed, "a thousand" policemen and soldiers. But they struck a day early and decapitated instead the entire structure of government authority which had been created to destroy them. The two bursts of gunfire that killed President Mohamed Boudiaf did far more damage than the death of 1 000 policemen.

His murder is a disaster for all who sought a secular Algeria — which almost certainly includes a majority of the population — and a fearful warning to Arab leaders who believe they can overpower a determined Islamic opposition. Who now will believe that the Algerian authorities have crushed Islamic fundamentalism? Who will heed Mr Boudiaf's own plea — issued in February when he made his first public appearance in Algiers — and invest in the country's broken economy? Who can avoid the suspicion that Algeria is moving towards civil war?

There will be claims in the coming days that the assassination of the hero of the War of Independence and head of Algeria's Higher State Council was the work of foreign gunmen, of fundamentalists from Iran or Afghanistan or Sudan. But the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), from which Islamic Jihad undoubtedly sprang is all too home-grown, a genuinely revivalist — and now clearly violent — movement whose inspiration lay in the poverty created by the economic bankruptcy of Algeria and the corruption of the former National Liberation Front government.

Nor should it be forgotten that the FIS originally played by the book. It stood for election and would have won the second round in January had not the government suspended the elections rather than allow the party to win and declare an Islamic republic. Under Mr Boudiaf's rule, 6 000 FIS men were interned in camps, where several are said to have died.

If Mr Boudiaf's murder marks an escalation of Algeria's hitherto low-grade civil war, it also presents appalling problems for the government he ran.

Mr Boudiaf was a national hero — a prisoner of the French in the 1954-1962 war, who preferred 26 years of exile in Morocco to participation in the corrupt post-independence FLN governments. — The Independent News Service. □

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Algerian authorities hold crisis talks

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ALGIERS — Algeria's ruling authorities were holding crisis talks yesterday in an attempt to select a new leader to succeed Mohamed Boudiaf, the head of state who was assassinated on Monday.

As the ruling High State Council met in permanent session, the state-run television station continued its news blackout with non-stop

broadcasts of verses from the Koran. General Khaled Nezzar, the Defence Minister and most influential figure on the council, is an obvious candidate to succeed Mr Boudiaf as head of state.

Meanwhile, the search for Mr Boudiaf's killers widened beyond the Islamic fundamentalists who were initially suspected.

The identity of organisers of the attack, initially suspected to be the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), remained a mystery.

After early confused reports, it was confirmed that one of the attackers was shot dead by Mr Boudiaf's bodyguards immediately following the assassination.

Security forces were yesterday questioning another suspect.

Mr Boudiaf was expected to be buried today alongside other national figures in Ain Nadja cemetery, just outside Algiers. — Financial Times News Service.



The Islamic holy terror spayed in the slums of Cairo

Guaranteed to be a success

IF HUMAN misery has always been the fertile soil of messianic dreams, then it is not surprising that Imbaba, a Cairo suburb, has become a foothold of one of the more extreme forms of Islamic fundamentalism in the world today. To go in search of the Salvation Mosque, a bastion of one of the Jamat Islamiya or Islamic Associations, is to penetrate deep into a kind of hidden city, the unplanned outcome of massive immigration from the countryside, one of a number that greater Cairo and its 14 million inhabitants now encompass.

It is a grid of main thoroughfares and minor ones. The main ones are only just passable to the very occasional motor vehicle, which lurches, no faster than a man can walk, over the gullies and ravines that furrow the urban surface, negotiates its way round dunghills, chicken coops, uncollected garbage, and the cesspools in which the inhabitants dump their excrement.

The minor ones are dark passages ways so narrow that the washing on one side almost touches that on the other and never sees the sun. It is the sheer immensity that most depresses, the knowledge that the more salubrious parts of Cairo, often grim enough, are but islands in an ocean of squalor ugliness and privation.

It is with a vague unease that one ventures into territories as desolate and grotesque as these; for their denizens, one feels must surely resent so obvious an intruder

come to view their wretchedness from that other endurable Cairo as close as it is forever beyond their reach. And there appears to be no state authority here; one has left the last policeman behind with the last paved roads.

But there is no hostility; a mild curiosity at most, and when, finally, one reaches one's destination, it is with no end of courtesy that the emir, or "prince", of the establishment greets his unexpected visitor. It is Friday prayer time, and Salvation Mosque is too small to hold all the worshippers, who have spilled out into the open.

David Hirst hears a sermon on Jihad

The emir's attendants suspend awnings across the street, but these cannot shield all from the boiling sun. The emir brings the only chair he can find, places it in a shady corner, summons refreshment, and bids me wait for the end of the sermon. Can this slight, bespectacled, mild-mannered young man in his white robe be one of those "Islamic terrorists" who are murdering Christians to the south in Upper Egypt, assassinating "apostates" in the capital, and threatening the stability of the most important country in the Arab world?

The sermon, an impassioned call on the people to rise up — like Algeria's Muslims — against their "heathen oppressors", suggests that he can; afterwards, his own intimate discourse, among a group of followers on the matted floor of the mosque, leaves no doubt about it, or about his sense of immunity in this very public place where, ac-

coring to him, the authorities would not dare to come and get him. Every Islamic Association, a semi-autonomous body, has its emir, and the 29-year-old Mohammed Gayid is but one of many throughout the land. For in accordance with a Saying of the prophet Mohammed, when three Muslims are gathered together they must have a commander. He was, he says, appointed by Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, the blind old man who issued the edict authorising the assassination of the late President Sadat, and who now directs the associations

from New York, where, having taken a young convert to Islam as his wife, he is secure against deportation.

The emir is one of the "disciplined vanguard" whose mission it is to restore "the sovereignty of God" on earth, with the caliphate as His instrument. This vanguard has perceived the truth: that there is no truly Muslim society on earth — not even Iran or Sudan — nor has there been since the time of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs who succeeded him.

The Muslim world today is sunk in a state of Jahiliyah, or pre-Islamic ignorance. President Mubarak, under his Islamic mask, is as "heathen" as a Bush or Major. For "who so ruleth not by that which Allah revealed: such are disbelievers." Thus says the Koran. It is the literal word of God which Gayid and his companions invari-

ably invoke. They can do nothing without divine sanction; but, with the holy book permanently on their laps, they are never at a loss for the verse that sanctions deeds already done and greater ones to come.

It was four members of the associations who last month gunned down Farag Foda, a secular intellectual who advocated the separation of church and state, because he spoke "sarcastically" of Islam. The emir consults his Koran; and, sure enough, is it not written — The Table Spread, verse 33 — that "the only reward of those who make war upon Allah and His messenger and strive after corruption in the land will be that they will be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off . . ."

That, in the fullness of time would also be the fate of many more, such as Ibrahim Nafi, the editor of al-Ahram, a leading advocate of an iron fist policy against the "Islamic terror", Makram Mohammed Ahmed, editor of al-Musawwar, the interior minister, and all his henchmen — and, of course, Mubarak, "the pharaoh" himself. Gayid again consults the Holy Book: "Make ready for them all thou canst of [armed] force and of forces tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy" — The Spoils of War, verse 60. This was a clear injunction to prepare for jihad, or holy war, against the whole ignorant heathen order, to wage, it by the "word" as Gayid was now doing, and by the "hand" — as his

companions were doing. And what place would Egypt's large Coptic community, more ancient than its Muslim majority, occupy in the exemplary Islamic state to come? In this domain, most fundamentalists would, uncharacteristically, gloss over any specific dispensation of the Koran in favour of more general precepts about national unity and brotherly love.

Not so the young emir. He overruled a follower to argue that there could be no place for Christians, in offices of state, in the army, or even as teachers in village schools. It seemed, then, that there was to be much blood before Islam rediscovered its golden age? Yes, surely. But the believers had already sacrificed much, and, in any case, Islam was like a tree which, to spread its branches wide, had to be constantly nourished by the blood of its martyrs.

Before he became an emir Gayid had been an unemployed graduate of a college of irrigation. Whether this inspired his metaphor or not, this came as a reminder of one of the most explosive, social realities of Egypt today: that there are three million graduates without work, income, or the reasonable prospect of them.

If the appalling slums of Imbaba are the natural breeding-ground of "Islamic terror", its natural leaders are young men and women like Gayid, for whom it offers a cause: a violent and destructive one, but a cause nonetheless. Militant fellowship and exalted meaning to otherwise mean and meaningless lives.



The Abuja peace conference solved little or nothing, argues Colin Legum

No end in sight to Sudan fighting

STAR 317192 (1)

THE Nigerian diplomatic success in getting the three major conflicting parties in the Sudan civil war around a peace table in Abuja has had one unforeseen result: instead of being able to exploit the split within the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), as the Khartoum regime had sought to do, the two factions ended up by reaching an accommodation.

General Umar el Bashir's military-fundamentalist regime came away from the Abuja talks with no prospect whatever of either bringing an end to the fighting, or of getting support for its current effort to create a new federal system.

A summing up of the Abuja talks is that they failed to produce a ceasefire, produced no acceptable proposals for an interim period leading to a final political settlement, and with no agreement on whether the new constitution should be Islamic or secular.

While agreeing to drop their demand for a secular state during an interim period, the two wings of SPLA (the Garang and Nasir factions), chose to speak instead of a "secular federal system" similar to the Nigerian constitution.

Having come as bitter enemies, the two SPLA factions ended up at Abuja with a joint statement of objectives to find a lasting solution to bring peace to the country and in favour of a secular state.

They rejected the Khartoum regime's offer to exclude the southern provinces from Islamic laws. The two factions adopted a joint platform:

- To champion the right of southerners to self-determination.
 - To include also the right of self-determination to other communities such as the Abyei, the Nubans, and those in the southern Blue Nile.
 - To adopt a common position on interim arrangements for the period while a referendum can be held on self-determination.
- They proposed a two-year inter-

im transitional administration for the south in a supra-national structure linking the northern states with a unified southern state.

This new-found spirit of conciliation between the SPLA factions was further enhanced by a decision to establish a joint negotiating team whose members were named.

Although the Sudan army continues to hold the military initiative in the south at a tremendous cost of casualties to both sides, the approaching end of the dry season seems almost certain to swing the military balance back to the SPLA.

Meanwhile, the internationalisation of the war continues to widen, bringing the Khartoum regime into sharper conflict with Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

Sources close to Egypt and Saudi Arabia have leaked intelligence information about the help the Sudanese army has been receiving from China and Iran, and arms bought from South Africa.

The Khartoum regime riposted by accusing Saudi Arabia of being directly involved in supplying arms to the SPLA.

It reported that two ships (one of them named *Mylord*) had loaded arms at Yanbu al-Bahr port which docked at Mombasa harbour in Mid-May where, under strict Kenyan security guard secrecy, the arms shipments were delivered to an SPLA delegation quartered in a Kenyan government hospitality guest house.

It claimed to know the identity of the Saudi businessman responsible for arranging the arms delivery. Without naming the individual, it said he was known to have had previous experience in weapon deliveries to wars in Africa.

The Saudi government dismissed the allegations by Khartoum as fabrications.

Increasingly isolated from the camp of moderate Arab states, the Khartoum regime has strengthened its links with Iraq and Iran. □

... agreement was thrashed out to share power between the Protestant majority and the Catholic minority.

and consent, would be scrapped and replaced with a treaty acceptable to all parties. — Sapa-AFP.

New Algerian president named (1)

ALGIERS — Algeria's High Council of State yesterday named Ali Kafi (64) to replace assassinated president Mohamed Boudiaf as head of state. *STAR 3/7/92*

Mr Kafi was a colonel during the war for independence from France. His later position as general-secretary of the veterans' association gave him wide influence.

He was considered the second most powerful man in

Mr Boudiaf's council, after Defence Minister Khaled Nezzar.

Thirteen people have been arrested in connection with the assassination of Mr Boudiaf and a link has emerged between the actual gunman and the banned Islamic Salvation Front, it was reported yesterday. La Nation newspaper identified the suspect only as M Boumaaraf. — Sapa-AFP.

Boudiaf is assassinated

By Jackie Rowlands in Algiers

THE Algerian head of state, Mohamed Boudiaf, was assassinated on Monday, throwing the country into constitutional crisis and prompting fears of an army backlash against the country's Islamic fundamentalist movement.

Mr Boudiaf, aged 73, was shot dead while on a routine visit to the city of Annaba, in the east of the country, in an attack bearing the hallmarks of a carefully laid plot.

Algerian television showed the president's last moments. "We are all going to die," Mr Boudiaf said, and broke off looking puzzled as a bomb exploded near the podium where he stood. Within seconds a grenade was thrown under his chair and in the confusion that followed a gunman wearing riot police uniform killed Mr Boudiaf with two bursts of automatic gunfire in the head and the back.

Although the authorities have yet

to say who killed Mr Boudiaf most Algerians believe that the assassination was the work of the country's Islamic extremist movement.

Guardian (w/air) w/mail 3/7-9/7/92

Murder in Algeria

Guardian (w/m) 5/7-9/7/92 ①
THE KILLING of Algeria's president Mohamed Boudiaf is a bloody end to a policy which had already failed. When the Algerian military forced the cancellation of the second round of elections in January, they removed from legitimate politics the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) who would have been the natural winners. Mr Boudiaf, brought back from 28 years of exile to head the new ruling council, was the acceptable face of aborted democracy. Widely advertised as the "man of honesty" who would win back an alienated people, his assault on entrenched interests very soon ran out of steam. With thousands of FIS supporters in detention, hardly a week has passed without clashes between young sympathisers and the security forces. Translated overnight from his brickmaking business in Morocco to run Algeria, Boudiaf was powerless to tackle the joint oligarchy of the armed forces and the dominant National Liberation Front (FLN). It might not have diverted the bullets at Annaba if he had been more successful but at least it would have left Algeria in a less desperate situation.

The suspension of the elections was followed by the arrest of the most visible FIS leaders, even though for the time being they gave little or no provocation. It was banned as an organisation and the

considerable assets it had already acquired in local government (through the earlier elections it won in 1990) were confiscated. The FIS did not just go underground. It was driven there quite deliberately. In April the movement said it was time "to replace talk with rifles" and the pace of violence quickened. The dismantling of the FIS's official leadership simply removed from the scene those capable of exercising some restraining influence upon the younger radicals. The detention of so many rank-and-file FIS disturbed neutral public opinion, particularly when they were jailed in the extreme temperatures of the southern Sahara. Mr Boudiaf showed no sign of personal concern, saying instead that he would lock up 10,000 if that was what it took to save the country.

What it really needed was an effective follow-up to Mr Boudiaf's promise to clean up corruption and require the FLN to surrender all the public assets it had acquired over years of political monopoly of power. Instead Boudiaf allowed himself to become diverted into a populist quest for a direct dialogue with the people which would in theory bypass established (and now suspended) politics. This has been an empty exercise which does nothing to compensate for the

Continued on page 7

Algeria

Continued from page 1

freeing of prices on most basic necessities and the cut-back of social subsidies.

The new order in the Middle East may have had a creatively loosening effect upon Israeli politics. But, from the Gulf to the Maghreb, little else has changed in the shaky state of civil society. Mr Boudiaf's enterprise, now ended in tragedy, was hopelessly flawed from its anti-democratic start. Fundamentalism cannot be effectively checked by the resort to greater authoritarianism. It will be a further tragedy if the army plunges Algeria deeper in that direction.

Africa's forgotten famine

W/Ment 3/7-9/7/92.

①

HE would leave Sampona if only he had the strength to walk. His brothers have done it — gone north, to where the rains came and the fields are green. But Albert Mahavita's head hurts and his stomach aches. Today, as yesterday, he has eaten "tsy misy" — nothing.

He is a victim of southern Africa's forgotten famine. Almost one million people are in peril of starvation in the south of the Indian Ocean island of Madagascar, and children and old people are dying daily — but these facts have largely passed the world by.

In the shade of a baobab tree, two men guard a pile of sacks of corn, Sampona's latest delivery of aid. Mahavita and his 837 fellow villagers will each receive 15 rations of corn measured in empty Nestlé milk cans. That must last a month, which works out to about 100 grams of corn a day, a third of the United Nation's definition of the minimum needed to survive.

The food comes via the World Food Programme (WFP), which is leading Madagascar's famine relief. It supplies 570 000 people across the drought-stricken region, a number which is expected almost to double over the next few months as the famine bites.

The WFP has no problem distributing what food it has. Last year it set up a network of village contacts which it now uses to reach those most in need. In Sampona, 65 men take turns to guard the sacks under the baobab and ensure that they are fairly shared.

The problem is that the WFP does not have enough. It requires about 2 200 tons of grain a month to meet basic needs, but its stores are down to only 700 tons a month.

David Fletcher, head of the WFP in the country, says he fears that interna-

People are dying daily in Madagascar but their plight has largely passed the world by, reports

EDWARD PILKINGTON

tional attention is focused on the crisis in mainland southern Africa to the exclusion of Madagascar. "Sampona's plight has been overshadowed. I have no doubt that the famine on the mainland is serious, but the situation here is already critical and likely to get worse."

This is the third drought to hit the south of Madagascar since 1986, when 3 000 people are reported to have died. The region's normal annual rainfall is about 500mm; this year there has been 40mm.

Villagers hurriedly planted maize and other grain in the fields around Sampona when there was a trickle of rain two weeks ago. But unless more rain comes soon — and they may have to wait until October — their efforts will be wasted.

And if it's not drought, it's locusts. The recent rain, though insufficient to support crops, was enough to hatch millions of the insects, which are now chomping their way through fledgling crops. In the northernmost part of the drought area, there are unconfirmed reports of a black cloud of locusts 3km long by 20km wide.

The suffering is spread unevenly. A very few are wealthy by Western standards, like the local magnate who owns a nature reserve and hotel 10km from Sampona. He imports food and water there to serve oblivious Japanese tourists.

Then there are the rich and poor by Sampona's standards. The rich have

reserves of water which they can exchange for food; the poor, like Mahavita, have nothing. Mothers and children are the most at risk because they are entirely dependent on aid.

"I can't say how many children have died," says a Catholic nun in the nearest town, Ambovombe, who feeds about 2 000 people from the surrounding villages. "But I can tell you this: they are dying."

The president of Sampona's village committee is portly and rides a Japanese motorcycle. His deputy is thin and worried. He says about 20 local people have died in the past two weeks, three from his village.

Aid workers agree that the only long-term solution to the south's misery is better use of scarce water resources. At present it has virtually no irrigation system and no means of transporting water from the plentiful supplies that exist on the east coast only 50km away.

In the short term, the accent is upon weathering the crisis. The WFP is confident that, given sufficient supplies of food, it can contain the problem. But so far the international response has been lukewarm.

Last year the United States donated 15 000 tons of rice, and it has another 5 500 tons crossing the Atlantic. Mauritius and Reunion, as well as other regions of Madagascar, have launched a crisis fund called SOS South. And Britain is "thinking" about sending £25 000 — enough to feed 500 000 people for one day.

Sampona, like most of rural Madagascar, is rich with traditional customs and taboos which locals call "fady". Among them is the taboo on holding out an empty plate for food. But, as the thin deputy president says: "You can't hold on to a fady in a famine." — The Guardian

UN observers enter Somalia

Sowetan 6/7/92
■ International observers to monitor fragile ceasefire between warring factions

NAIROBI - Five United Nations military observers left Nairobi for Mogadishu yesterday to prepare ground for a larger group that will monitor a fragile ceasefire between warring factions in the Somali capital.

The advance party is part of a 50-strong team of observers from Austria, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco and Zimbabwe which is headed by Pakistan's Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen.

Their mission follows months of United Nations efforts to bring peace to Somalia, shattered by 18 months of factional fighting that has left millions in need of food and shelter.

The UN group will not intervene in the fighting. Proposals to send an additional armed UN force to guard food aid supplies collapsed amid disagreements among the Somali factions.

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The main opposition to the idea came from the country's most powerful warlord, General Mohamed Farah Aideed, whose forces control most of the country.

Aideed has instead called for a national conference to enable a coalition government to be formed for Somalia.

Somalia has been split between rival groups since ex-president Mohamed Siad Barre, now in exile in Nigeria, was ousted from Mogadishu early last year. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

SA set for Cairo after successful Kenya show

B (Pan) 6/7/92

MICHAEL ACOTT

THE successful SA trade exhibition in Nairobi last week will have a sequel next year when an SA pavilion goes up at Africa's biggest trade show, the Cairo International Fair.

Contact Kenya MD David Altman has also concluded a deal which will bring 200 American companies to a "Made in the USA" exhibition in Johannesburg next May. That, he hopes, will provide a springboard not just for US trade with SA, but for US investment here as well.

Altman plans to take about 100 SA companies to the Cairo fair from April 10 to 24 next year.

"Cairo has the largest trade fair in Africa, with exhibitors from about 1 700 companies," he said.

SA exhibitors in Nairobi packed up their stands yesterday, well satisfied with the results. While the real fruits of the week-long business contact will not be known for months to come, all indications are that Kenya and East Africa represent a potentially huge export opportunity for SA manufacturers.

Kenyans were astonished by the range and quality of goods on show at the 160 stands, and at the prices, which would

undercut Kenya's current imports from Europe and possibly the Far East.

Every South African exhibitor at the Contact Kenya exhibition had a constant stream of local businessmen making serious inquiries about prices, quantities and delivery times.

Many exhibitors hope to have agency and distribution agreements concluded soon, but suspect that the future of trade with Kenya will really depend on political factors in both countries.

Kenya's foreign-exchange crisis is caused by Western donor nations withholding funds to pressure the Kenyan government into faster moves towards a democratic system.

Its one-party clause has been removed from the Kenyan constitution and elections are now due before next March. No date has been set.

Another complication is high import tariffs on goods coming into Kenya. However, a Kenyan government official said privately that this should not be seen as an obstacle to trade. High tariffs could be lowered, he said.

Somali bloodbath test case for OAU

STAR 6/7/92

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR (Senegal) — The Organisation of African Unity summit has asked its secretary-general Dr Salim Ahmed Salim to negotiate a settlement in the civil war in Somalia where thousands have already died and millions are facing starvation.

Somalia will be a proving ground for the OAU's new-found enthusiasm to solve disputes on the continent. It is even talking about a pan-African peace-keeping force that will swiftly extinguish conflict.

But the OAU's mediating role in Somalia has got off to a slippery start. Somalia has been without a government since dictator Siad Barre was driven out more than two years ago by forces of the United Somali Congress (USC).

The USC split in two immediately after driving out Mr

Barre, and the two factions turned their guns on each other.

Mogadishu, the capital, had been razed and not a single building had been left standing.

One faction of the USC, aided by senior civil servants, controls a small section of what is left of the city, and its leader Ali Mahdi declared himself president.

But the greater part of the city is controlled by his arch-rival, General Mohamed Farrar Aidid.

The entire northern part of the country is in the hands of the Somali National Movement (SNM). The SNM has seceded and declared northern Somalia the independent Republic of Somaliland. But no country has so far recognised it. The rest of the country is contested by up to 10 different factions.

The OAU decided to give the Somali seat at the summit to Mr Mahdi's group, much to the fury of the other factions, who were in Dakar to argue their case.

Dr Salim said that giving the seat to Mr Mahdi did not mean recognition by the OAU, but was simply a procedural matter. But even Mr Mahdi's supporters concede he only controls part of Mogadishu.

"We had hoped the OAU would play a constructive role in the peace process in Somalia," said Mohamed Awale, a spokesman for General Aidid. However, its decision to "to sit the Ali Mahdi gang at the summit has seriously compromised its influence".

● It is estimated that between 10 000 and 12 000 people have died in the civil war. Many Somalis are in refugee camps in Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan.

More than 4 million face starvation because the war has prevented aid supplies from coming into the country.

A boat carrying Somali refugees was finally allowed to anchor in Yemen last week after floating around for days. When it anchored, 150 children were found to have died from starvation.

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FEATURE *Cairo, seat of Arab and Islamic culture, chokes from crowds and pollution*

Egypt's pearl is facing a crisis

Sowetan 7/7/92

■ **TEEMING CITY** Too many people in Cairo are creating a problem Egypt is having difficulty in coping with. (1)

CAIRO - Cairo, "Mother of the World" and a teeming metropolis of at least 12 million people, is in a crisis - and that's official.

A newly appointed presidential committee has reported initial findings to Prime Minister Atef Sedki, spurring hope the city's dire housing, traffic and pollution problems will be tackled and unleashing a host of suggestions in Egypt's Press.

They range from car-free zones downtown, moving government offices out of the capital and even searching the city's sprawling slums to root out unemployed migrants from Egypt's countryside and send them back to their villages.

If the suggested solutions seem drastic, so are Cairo's problems.

Not only does this crowded city, a seat of Arab and Islamic culture for over 1 000 years, have too many people, but they are all in the wrong places.

On the outskirts, huge modern "satellite" cities lie largely empty 15 years after they were planted in Cairo's desert hinterland to absorb population growth.

Downtown, once stylish business and residential areas have been reduced to teeming slums.

The late president, Anwar Sadat, commissioned Sadat City, 90km north of Cairo, more than 10 years ago to be Egypt's sparkling new capital.

Officials say only about 10 000 people have moved there.

Grandiose office blocks, built to be new ministries, lie abandoned and rows of empty multi-storeyed housing blocks stretch into the desert.

Sadat City drew some workers to its 70-odd factories.

But few like it enough to want to settle permanently, despite low rents, relatively high wages and an even rarer commodity in Egypt - space.

Shopfloor worker Mahmoud Salah (22) said he lived in the city because his company paid his rent and he saved R81 out of his R207 monthly salary by not having to commute every day.

But he says he will get married and look for a long-term home either in Cairo or back in his home province of Menoufiyya.

"It's all right here but I'll go back home when I can...it's better to live with your family," he said.

The cluster of settlements built around Cairo in the late 1970s were designed to absorb more than 1.5 million inhabitants by the year 2000. So far, fewer than a tenth of that number have moved in.

Downtown Cairo, by contrast, is so crowded that it is quicker to walk in the roads and dodge traffic than to clamber round parked cars and vendors' stalls on the pavements.

The city has 27 642 people per square kilometre. At that density, the entire population of the world would fit into the American state of California with room to spare.

Architects say over 80 percent of new housing is "informal", ramshackle shanties built illegally to avoid tortuous bureaucratic regulations.

Over half a million people now live in the City of the Dead, a mediaeval cemetery.

In Bulaq, once-stylish neo-classical and Bahaus-style apartment blocks crumble, neglected by landlords because of rigid rent controls, colonised by squatters and corroded by Cairo's smog.

French-style bilingual street signs are the last token of Bulaq's 1930s heyday, when it was a fashionable area for Egyptian and European businessmen.

In the shadow of a gleaming skyscraper being built on the banks of the Nile to be Egypt's new foreign ministry, children



The late ANWAR SADAT...his dream to decentralise has failed.

I'd like to go home, I've got nothing out of Cairo. It won't be any better there

Khaled Ahmed al-Abbasi who came to work as a carpenter

run barefoot while goats, sheep, cows, roosters and geese pick among rubbish littered across the unpaved streets.

Rural migration and economic hardship have spawned a growing underclass of people who live in an informal, subsistence economy, scavenging for clothes, food and a roof over their heads.

One family has taken over the disconnected chassis of a department store's delivery van.

Another lives beneath large billboards advertising the latest films to hit Cairo, cobbling a home out of wooden pallets and pieces of heavy cloth.

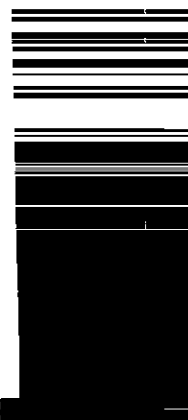
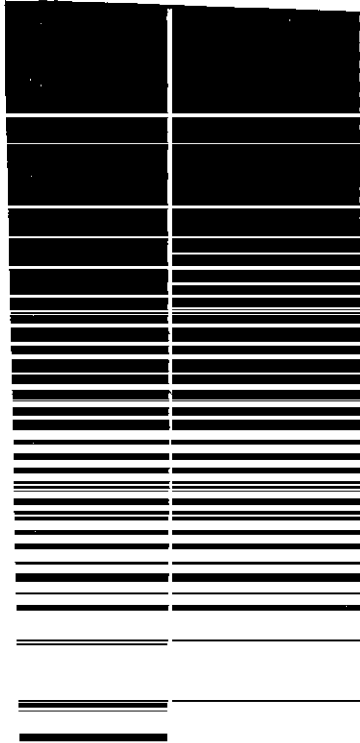
Khaled Ahmed al-Abbasi (25) came from the upper Egyptian province of Assiut six years ago to work as a carpenter.

He shares a small, single room with two other young men and water and a toilet with perhaps 20 people in the same building. He said he was on bad terms with his employer, who had started to pay him less because of an economic recession.

"I'd like to go home, I've got nothing out of Cairo," he said, but added: "It won't be any better there." - Sapa-Reuter.

Egyptian record

- Population: 54 139 000.
- Languages: Arabic, English.
- Government type: Republic.
- Head of state: President Hosni Mubarak in office since October 1981.
- Monetary unit: Pound.
- Television sets: one per 13 people.
- Telephones: one per 34 people.
- Life expectancy at birth: 59 male and 60 female.
- Literacy: 44 percent.
- Doctors: one per 616 people.
- Industries: textiles, chemicals, petrochemicals, food processing, cement



INTERNATIONAL ISSUES



The Crisis of Development in Africa Africa's Food Crisis: what

"Generals and bureaucrats, cadres and party loyalists, far removed from the realities of rural life, all set out to experiment "textbook socialism" without consultation with the masses who, in the final analysis, had to shoulder the burden of the economic crisis." Fantu Cheru, Ethiopian social scientist

One

There is a food crisis in Africa. How many times have you seen pictures of people starving in Africa? What is the cause of famine in many African countries?

Some people would answer that food shortages are simply due to drought.* (This is a new word, so look at the "New Words" Box at the end of the article for an explanation.) Others might say that the problem is that there are too many people in Africa, and not enough food to feed them. But many analysts believe that famine* has political and economic causes. In this article we will look at the causes of the current food crisis in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, and the possible solutions.

Zimbabwe

from success to food riots

Just two years ago, one agricultural expert wrote: "Zimbabwe stands out as an agricultural success story among African countries". In 1990 Zimbabwe produced more food than its population could eat.

But this year food riots have taken place in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare. People have slept outside supermarkets waiting for trucks delivering mealie-meal. So what happened in the past two years? What happened to all the food?

To understand the reasons for the food crisis in Zimbabwe we need to look at two issues

- land
- foreign currency.

Land for white farmers, no land for peasants

During the colonial days, before Zimbabwe became independent, 6 000 white farmers owned half the land in Zimbabwe. Nearly all fertile land was theirs. One of the main reasons for the liberation war in Zimbabwe was to win back this fertile land for the peasants.

However, when independence came in 1980, land reform was slow. Peasants had no voice in how land was to be allocated. Up to this day, less than 20% of the peasants who had no land before independence, now own their own land. White farmers, on the other hand, still own about a third of the country's farmland.

Even though black farmers were not given land, they did increase their production in the 1980s. Many of these farmers were given financial assistance which they did not get under colonialism. They also received agricultural education, and provisions of modern fertilisers and seeds. With this help, black farmers increased their percentage of the nation's maize crop to 50% of total production during the 1980s. But even this success story had its problems. Most assistance went to male farmers in a few areas. Although there are many women farmers, they did not receive much assistance from the government. The aid was also restricted to some provinces. The Matabeleland province for example was a stronghold for Joshua Nkomo, a strong opponent of President Mugabe. Black farmers and peasants in this area received little support from Mugabe's government.

As a result of these problems, even in years of heavy rains a large number of rural households required food aid.

Foreign Currency - money that is worth something

In recent years, food shortages have been worsened by the country's attempt to earn foreign currency. Zimbabwe, like many African countries, does not produce most of its machinery and consumer goods. In order to obtain machinery and consumer goods, Zimbabwe must export cash crops to get U.S. dollars. Then with this "hard currency"* Zimbabwe can buy machinery and consumer goods. Due to a shortage of "hard currency" in recent years the government has started to produce more agricultural export crops such as tobacco, cotton, and fresh flowers. This means that there is less land available to produce maize.

Those farmers who were able to start farming these export crops were mainly the richer male farmers, white and black. This shift has led to a decrease in maize production to less than a half of what it was last year. Even in years of good rainfall there will only be a small surplus of maize because so little is produced. For the last two years, rainfall has been low, and the maize which had been stored has been consumed. The present drought has made the situation much worse, and thousands of Zimbabweans are threatened with starvation.

To make matters worse, in 1992 the government was late in starting to import maize. Now Zimbabweans, even those with money, have no mealie-meal until the imports arrive. With the drought this year, the country will have to rely on imports for the next season as well. Imports, however, are expensive and must be paid for in "hard currency". The result will be a bigger debt for Zimbabwe. To pay this debt, Zimbabwe must sell more exports on the world market to earn "hard currency". So, it must produce more tobacco, cotton and fresh flowers - once again neglecting maize production. Producing enough food for its people seems to be a thing of the past for Zimbabwe.

Ethiopia

Ethiopians suffered terribly during the droughts of 1984 and 1986. Millions of rands of aid was organised to provide food for starving people. But was the mass starvation in Ethiopia a result of no rain? Were there too many people living in Ethiopia? No, the reasons are more complicated than that.

Nationalisation and the peasants

In 1975 a military government led by Mengistu Haile Miriam took over from Haile Selassie. Unlike Zimbabwe, the Ethiopian government nationalised land. Private ownership of land was outlawed. Peasants were either moved onto state farms or allowed to work on state land which they could not legally own. Most of the government money for agriculture went into creating a huge state farm structure. Although peasant associations were set up, the peasants themselves had little say in how this agricultural re-organisation was carried out. Many peasants had to spend a lot of time attending political meetings. This affected production on state farms which lost a lot of money. The government covered the losses of money on state farms by buying peasant crops at very low prices and



then selling them for a profit to people in urban areas. The peasants were angry at this and resisted by not selling to the government. They also produced fewer crops, in protest.

The major reason why peasants in Ethiopia received little assistance from the government was political. Throughout his rule Mengistu carried out an intense war against various opposition movements. More than 40% of the government budget went to the military. The war which raged in many areas of the country displaced millions of people from their homes and farms. The government also blocked food shipments to areas controlled by the opposition. The result was that millions of Ethiopians became refugees, moving to places where they could gain access to food. In many areas, even if there had been rain, there would not have been any farmers to farm the land.

What is the Solution?

In Zimbabwe, peasants were given assistance but not land. In Ethiopia, peasants were given access to land but not assisted. In fact, they were exploited through having to sell their produce at low prices. What solutions, then, can be proposed for the two different sets of problems?

Capitalist institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would argue that if the Zimbabwean government had offered higher prices to commercial farmers for maize, the food shortages would have been avoided. They believe

New Words:

- "Hard Currency": Money that is used States Dollar, and is international value.
- Famine: A situation where is starving.
- Drought: A drought happens

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES



a: 4

① New Nation 22/5-28/5/92.
(Learning Nation)

are the reasons?



British Tornado bomber aeroplane costs more than 100 million Rand. The price of five of these could feed 20 million people for a month.



Large-scale farmers are the key to food production. (See our last article in Learning Nation on Zambia and the IMF. Issue 19)

Socialists would argue that the major problem was failure to consult with peasants to work out a plan for land redistribution. They argue that if land were redistributed to more individual peasants or co-operatives, these new landowners would produce more food. They also maintain that peasants and co-operatives would be more likely than white farmers to act in the national interest by producing food. In addition socialists would argue that the government should make food production, rather than export production, the top priority in agriculture.

Ethiopia

Nearly everyone agrees that war and excessive military expenditure were major causes of food shortages. However, the role of the country's government is a point of debate. The IMF opposes government participation in the economy. In particular they do not believe in nationalisation. In their view Mengistu should have supported capitalist farmers rather than nationalising land.

Socialists would argue that the military government which took power in Ethiopia was not acting in the peasants' interests, but became more interested in keeping power for itself. While socialists realise that large scale nationalisation did not work in Ethiopia they believe that government's should participate actively in the economy. In their view a democratic government working closely with peasants is the first step of a solution to the country's food crisis.

around the world, such as the United British Pound. This money has

is a lack of food and so people are when there is no rain for a long time.

Questions for Readers

Read the following paragraph and then answer the questions below the paragraph.

In recent years both Ethiopia and Zimbabwe have had to rely on imported food. For the most part, the suppliers of food imports are the United States and Western Europe. As food suppliers, these countries benefit in two ways. Firstly, African and other third world countries act as a market for American and Western European farmers crops which often cannot be sold at home. Secondly, food-importing countries become dependent on the hand that feeds them.

Sometimes food exports from the United States are sold at a loss. This is called "dumping". One goal of "dumping" is to undermine food production in the third world. This discourages food production and self-reliance in African countries.

Question: Who benefits from Africa's crisis?

Question: Who has to buy the crops produced in Europe and the United States that cannot be sold in their own countries?



South Africa is facing the same problems as other African countries. How can we avoid making the same mistakes? There are political and community organisations in South Africa looking at these and other important issues - such as a post-apartheid land and agricultural policy. You are welcome to contact these organisations for more information:

The National Land Committee
Room 426
4th floor Khotso House
42 Marshall Street
Johannesburg
Postal Address: PO Box 16858
Doornfontein
2028
Telephone: (011) 832-1123

Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC)
2nd Floor Khofso House
25 Anderson Street
Johannesburg
Postal Address: PO Box 2827
Johannesburg
2000
Telephone: (011) 833-1063

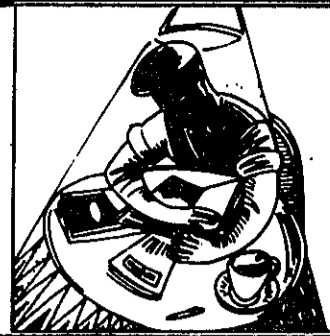
Rural Advice Centre
20th Flr
51 Plein St
Johannesburg
2000
Telephone: (011) 337-6170

Environment & Development Agency
50 Pim Street
Newtown,
Postal Address: PO Box 322
Newtown
2113
Telephone: (011) 834-1905

The Agricultural Desk: ANC Department of Economic Planning
51 Plein Street
Johannesburg
2000
Postal Address: PO Box 61884
Marshalltown
2017
Telephone: (001) 330 7265

Next week we will look at the spread of a terrifying new disease in Africa - Aids. What is the effect of Aids on the African continent, and how does Aids affect Africa's potential to develop politically, economically and socially in the future.

WORKERS' EDUCATION



The Growth of New Unionism in Britain

New Nation [Learning Nation]

Working Class life and experience in the 1880's

In 1888, the majority of workers in Britain lived a life of poverty and misery. Many people had moved from rural areas to the city in search of work. Unemployment was high. Workers were paid starvation wages, and children were forced to work - for even less money - to help support the family. In the words of one commentator, an average working class family, in trying to survive:

'...must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or give any help to a neighbour which costs them money. They cannot save nor join sick-clubs or trade union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. NOTHING must be bought but (except) that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health. Should a child fall ill it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die it must be buried by the parish. Finally the wage earner must never be absent from his work for a single day.'

The working class was also, at this time, excluded from any meaningful participation in parliamentary politics by the system of 'qualified franchise'. Under this system, only certain people - usually those who owned property - 'qualified' to vote. Women didn't qualify at all! And so, a large percentage of ordinary working people had no say whatsoever in the government of the day.

We can see that the needs facing British workers were great, and their resources few. The trade unions, too, as they existed in Britain, were of no great help to the working class. The unions which did exist were mainly organisations for the small minority of skilled workers. These craft unions tried to keep the mass of unskilled workers out. And so, without organisations to represent their own interests, the majority of workers remained weak and divided.

These were the conditions into which New Unionism was born

The Birth of the New Unionism

The East End of London had long been the home of the poor and exploited of London. An upsurge of resistance began in 1888,

22/5-28/5/92
Trafalgar Square —
13 November 1887
Throughout October 1887, repeated assaults and arrests were made against the unemployed demonstrating in Trafalgar Square, and on 8 November, Sir Charles Warren, Commissioner of Police, banned all meetings. Nevertheless, a demonstration was arranged for the 13th to assert the right to freedom of speech, and thousands turned out.



Living in poverty

when, at Bryant and May's match factory in London, 700 match-girls went on strike to protest against the victimisation of one of their comrades. They also demanded higher wages and the right to organise. Together with a lot of support from the community around them, the match-girls won their demands. Out of their strike, they formed a new union called the Union of Women Match-makers.

Other workers in London drew confidence from the struggle of the match-girls.

All over London, workers began to make demands for the things they needed.

The courageous act of the match-girls was followed by the organisation of a Gas workers' Union, which succeeded, a few months later, in getting concessions from the gas companies, including an 8 hour day.

Then suddenly a small dispute in the docks exploded into a massive strike. For three weeks, the strikers held out, marching every day through the city with their banners. Helped in the end by large donations for their dwindling strike-fund from Australian workers, they were able to win almost all their demands. Interestingly, the Dock-workers' Strike was not conducted by a union - the union was formed AFTER the strike finished!

In all of these struggles, the workers won victories. And in each case, either a new union was formed, or old unions were given new life.

The Dockworkers Strike was to be the basis for the victories of many other workers, and it encouraged the growth of unions all over the country. In only a few months, hundreds of thousands

of workers became unionised, either by joining existing unions or by forming new ones. Some of the new unions organised all workers in one industry. Others were general unions which were open to all workers in an area.

In the eyes of thousands of unskilled workers, the meaning of trade unionism was changing. They saw that trade unionism did not depend on the minority of skilled workers, or the leaders of their unions, or even the bosses and government. Instead, they learnt that trade unionism depended on ordinary workers and their willingness to struggle.



The Match-Girls Strike: 1888

Growth of union membership

By 1892, total trade union membership was generally estimated to be over one and a half million, double the figure of only four years before. By 1901 (the year of the Taff Vale Decision), it was nearly two million.

Setbacks

From about 1895, however, the bosses began their counter-attack against the strength of the new unionism. Spurred on by economic crisis and by American and German business competition the bosses decided to act. They used the police and the army to break strikes. Militant activists were victimised and arrested. Scabs were used to take the jobs of strikers. And sweetheart unions were set up under the control of the bosses. In some places, workers were locked out of work until they agreed to the demands of the bosses. Here is an example of the type of agreements that some workers were forced to sign:

I HEREBY UNDERTAKE to carry out all instructions given to me by or on behalf of my employers, and further I agree to immediately resign my membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (if a member) and I further undertake that I will not join or in any way support the Union.

Signed:

The 1901 Taff Vale Decision

The attacks on the workers were brought to a head in 1901. Strikers at the Taff Vale Railway Company in South Wales were taken to court and sued for damages arising from their strike action. The companies' claims were upheld, and a new law was passed, which allowed unions to be sued for a company's loss of profits. The actual effect of this new law was as follows: the more successful a strike was, the more money the company would lose, and the more damages the employers could claim from the union!

In this wave of attacks directed at the working class, many trade union leaders signalled that it was time to retreat, and abandoned the task of building the unions' capacity to fight. And so the growth of the New Unionism was halted, for a time.

COMPANIES

Comores holidays serve Kerzner well

Bl Day 8/17/92 (1)

SOL Kerzner's World Leisure Holidays experienced a significant increase in visitors to its Comores resort over the past year, in spite of a number of stumbling blocks, MD Bruce Hutchinson said.

When the Comores was relaunched to the SA public last year, the Gulf war broke out. Hutchinson said this did not have a direct effect on World Leisure and its refurbished Le Galawa Beach hotel and casino.

However, bookings for resorts in the Seychelles and Mauritius were severely affected, and they came to the SA market to recoup their losses. The result was a price war.

World Leisure found itself marketing the Comores in a time of political upheaval and a subdued economy. It also had to market a country which had closed its doors to tourists for a time following Sun International's withdrawal in May 1990, with the last news that of a coup d'etat.

Against this background, there was still a 30% rise in passengers to the Comores year-on-year. This compared with the Seychelles, which had losses of 50% and Mauritius, which had losses of 30% to 40%.

Hutchinson said the SA market had been under considerable pressure. World Leisure had realised this in Sep-

MARCIA KLEIN

tember last year, and had been able to keep its pricing competitive.

The Comores was an expensive island to operate on, as there were no economies of scale, no manufacturing and everything needed had to be imported. Skilled labour was not available, and expatriates had to be employed at high cost. World Leisure had also taken over the financial risk of flights to the island.

World Leisure Exports procured goods for the hotel, so it had control over the prices of commodities. In addition, the Comores government had eliminated import duties.

These factors meant that it could sell holidays this year at last year's prices, and make money. At an operating level, the Comores operation had not lost money since opening.

Occupancy at Le Galawa was about 70%, largely due to aircraft capacity. Last year overseas business was 10% of volume, but it was currently about 30%. In the light of this, World Leisure was negotiating with international airlines for flights.

World Leisure planned to expand the existing hotel in 1993 by 40 rooms. Phase two would involve a new hotel next door. The third phase would include another hotel, a golf course and a sporting complex.

Beware of the shady tax proposal

31 Dec 87/92
THE end of sanctions has opened new vistas for African opportunists who are eyeing rich pickings from SA businessmen by promising amazing returns from supposedly risk-free high-finance deals.

Scores of SA businessmen, apparently targeted at random, have recently

DUMA GOUBULE

received faxes from Nigeria and Zimbabwe offering them millions of US dollars to help get money out of these two countries.

One businessman received this letter from one Fred Kuti of Lagos, saying: "I am a civil servant, head

of contracts and payments in the office of the presidency of the Nigerian National Petroleum Company.

"There is at this moment the sum of \$12m which is over-invoiced money from a supply contract."

Kuti went on to request the businessman to send by courier service: Two blank copies of his company's letterhead; two blank copies of the company's pro forma invoices; an account number and the name plus address of the bank to which the funds could be transferred.

"The documents will enable us to obtain immediate approval from the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank of Nigeria for the transfer of the funds.

"After the money has been transferred to your account, I will have 60% and your company will have 35%. The remaining 5% will be set aside to cover expenses."

In a telephone interview, Kuti told a reporter posing as an interested party that he would come to Johannesburg in a few weeks to share the money.

Another businessman received a fax from one Prince Tony Obiekwu of Harare, who claimed to have \$22,5m in a sundry account waiting to be sent abroad.

However, it appears that SA businessmen have not taken the faxes seriously.

"These chaps never stop trying. The letters were so badly written, I found the whole thing hilarious," one businessman said.

Aids 'may wipe out African generation'

Star Bureau

LONDON — Aids could wipe out an entire generation in Africa, a British expert warns.

And the extent of the devastation is concealed from the world because journalists have been excluded from many of the countries worst affected.

Dr Patrick Dixon, medical

STAR 21
director of the national charity Aids Care Education and Training, estimates that Aids has already killed more people in Africa than famine. And the epidemic is getting worse.

"Self-interest as much as humanitarianism should spur us to act," he says.

"Not only is it hitting the Third World 20 to 35-year-

817192
old age group who are the biggest wealth-creators, but increasing international travel will speed up the spread in Britain.

"People here never see the real effects of Aids. Journalists aren't admitted to the countries where it is worst. TV crews get thrown out and any doctor who speaks out is immediately gagged or forced out of his job."

AFRICA NEWS Amnesty accuses South Africa ● Lesotho prepares for elections

Africa improves

on human rights

South Africa 10/7/92
Amnesty says hundreds of SA Government opponents were executed with the approval of the security forces:

LONDON - Africa's surge toward democracy in 1991 brought "immense changes" in the human rights situation in many countries.

But some governments continue to murder their opponents, the human rights organisation Amnesty International said yesterday.

And in South Africa, hundreds of Government opponents were extra-judicially executed "with the acquiescence or direct involvement of the Government's security forces", Amnesty International said in its 1991 annual report.

"Extra-judicial executions were reported in countries like Chad and Mali, whose new governments had come to power only a few months earlier pledging to respect human rights," it said.

Demonstrators demanding political reform were shot in Cameroon, Madag-

ascar, Mali and Zaire, and opposition party supporters were detained in many states, it said.

By the end of 1991, most of Africa's one-party states had been abolished, Amnesty International said.

Political change ended entrenched patterns of human rights' abuses in Zambia, which lifted semi-permanent emergency laws allowing detention without trial, and in Ethiopia, where the new government released hundreds of detainees, it said.

But extra-judicial executions continued in Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Rwanda in 1991, the report said.

In Burundi, 1 089 or more extra-judicial executions were committed "against a backdrop of ethnic tensions", it said.

Some 300 black political prisoners were executed in Mauritania. *Sapa-AP*



Three African drug traffickers sit with 5.8kg of heroin after their arrest on July 8. The suspects are, from left, Dovi Dit Albert of Benin, Motombo Woyele of Nigeria and Mohammed Swaray of Liberia.

Merger on cards for two African trading blocs

Bl Day 10/7/92

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — In a move which would affect members of the Southern African Customs Union such as Botswana, southern and east African Preferential Trade Area (PTA) states are seeking the organisation's integration with the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

This was disclosed on Wednesday by PTA secretary-general Bingu wa Mutharika, in an interview with Zimbabwe's media.

"The decision to merge the two has been agreed in principle by PTA members. What remains is whether SADCC members would be equally agreeable," said Mutharika.

Economists in Zimbabwe see the only resolution of the issue in eventual full-scale talks between the 23 members of the PTA and a post-apartheid SA on a merger with the Southern African Customs Union.

Three of the 10 nations in the SADCC — Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho — are not members of the 23 nation PTA because of their link to the customs union.

During its decade in existence, the PTA has experienced major difficulties translating high-sounding rhetoric on inter-African co-operation into practice. Many PTA member states continue to penalise each other's transport operators, demand settlement in Western "hard" currencies, and strangle fledgeling trade with bureaucratic red tape.

Definitive figures for inter-PTA trade remain vague. Zimbabweans have had difficulties having the community's agreed unit of account, the uapta, accepted in countries such as Kenya.

However, Mutharika predicted a current PTA trade fair in Dar es Salaam would generate US\$200m in deals.

The PTA has evolved a schedule listing 690 products eligible for customs rebates.

In contrast to the PTA, the SADCC is oriented towards economic development (especially co-operation promoting independence of SA), and survives in spite of repeated friction between two key states, Botswana and Zimbabwe, over their conflicting trade policies.

"Unity is strength. By combining resources and experience, we will end up providing better service within the region," Mutharika said.

SADCC secretary-general Simbi Makoni has recently spoken far more positively about future co-operation with Pretoria, but to date no one has mooted integration of the PTA with the Southern African Customs Union.

Russians join venture to lease planes in Africa

STEPHANE BOTHMA

LOCAL Aviation Sales International has entered a multimillion-rand joint venture with a Russian aviation company to lease cargo aircraft for carrying freight in Africa. *10/7/92*

Russian Aero Pulse has for the past six months operated a seven-ton Aeroflot AN32 out of Beira in Mozambique and Nairobi in Kenya — mainly leased by organisations supplying relief aid to Africa.

The joint venture between Aviation Sales and Aero Pulse had already resulted in a contract to carry freight, but not in SA, Aviation Sales sales manager Peter Henderson said yesterday.

Six additional AN32s at a cost of about \$6m each would be bought by the two companies in the next three months and would be available to SA and other African companies to lease, Henderson said. One AN32 arrived in SA this week and will be based at Vereeniging's Transavia Airport for demonstrations to interested freight companies for a month.

Aviation Sales was waiting for working permits from SA's Home Affairs Department for the eight AN32 Russian crew members before they would start leasing the plane locally.

The AN32 requires a crew of four — captain, co-pilot, engineer and navigator. Two teams would serve one AN32 to achieve as many flight hours as possible, Henderson said.

The AN32 is a twin-prop Antonov-built aircraft with a top speed of 500km/h. It has the capacity to land and take off on a very short runway, making it ideal for smaller airports.

EC told to do more for starving Africa

STRASBOURG — The EC must do more to relieve the African famine which is threatening 60-million lives, the European Parliament said yesterday.

"The huge scale of the approaching famine in Africa constitutes a challenge to the conscience of the governments and peoples of all member states," the EC assembly said in a resolution.

It said the EC should free emergency aid from its development fund for drought-stricken countries in the Horn of Africa and parts of southern Africa. It called also for armed protection of relief convoys and workers.

The situation is especially serious in Somalia, where civil war has aggravated the famine and huge numbers of children are afflicted with severe malnutrition, it said. The EC should continue providing assistance to Yemen, so it can take in Somali refugees, it added.

The parliament, whose opinions on such matters have no legal effect on EC policy, said rap-

id help was also needed in Kenya, where one-million Kenyans and about 500 000 refugees were suffering from a severe drought.

EC ministers should put pressure on the Renamo rebels in Mozambique, whose "violent acts ... make the relief of famine so difficult in that country", it said.

In Munich this week, the seven wealthiest industrial nations heaped advice on developing nations as they ended their annual economic summit on Wednesday, but failed to match this with concrete promises of fresh cash.

But senior French officials cited progress on one particular point of concern to some of France's heavily-indebted African partners. Reaffirming the current debt strategy, the Group of Seven (G-7) leaders welcomed the "enhanced debt relief" extended to the poorest debtors by the Paris Club of creditor governments, chaired by France.

Since last year's 50% debt write-offs granted to Poland and Egypt, after American pressure, France has argued that Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Coast and Gabon, which owe two-thirds to three-quarters of their debt to governments rather than commercial banks, deserve similar or better treatment.

At the 1991 summit in London, some key creditors, including the US and Japan, rejected such aid.

"We have had a breakthrough," a French delegate said. "The summit has got things to move, and the Paris Club now has a more precise mandate."

The summit declaration promised "best efforts to increase the quantity and quality of official development assistance" but said this would be directed "more towards the poorest countries," and in particular "those countries that undertake credible efforts to help themselves." — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

AFRICA

AFRICA BRIEFS

Ethnic killings in Mali

FOUR people were killed and 200 fled their homes in northern Mali in an outbreak of racial conflict between black and "white" groups. In the past year tensions have built up between Mali's various ethnic groups, especially between black Africans and the Arab populations. Radio Liberte, based in the capital Bamako, said blacks in the Saharan city of Gao launched a broad attack against Arabs, Moors and Tuaregs.

the UN was secretly financing his rival, self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohammed. The observers had arrived in Mogadishu this week to prepare the ground for a larger group that is to monitor the ceasefire between the warring factions in the Somali capital.

Mobutu challenged

THE chairman of Zaire's National Pro-Democracy Conference asserted it had full authority in the troubled central African state, directly contradicting claims by President Mobutu Sese Seko. Catholic

Banda defends detention record

MALAWI Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda publicly defended his government's record of detentions of political opponents. The 92-year-old Malawi leader addressed the nation to mark the country's 28th independence anniversary on July 6. Banda said detention in Malawi had been used to protect national security and not to abuse human rights, as Malawian and international critics have charged.

"To ensure that the critics no longer exploit our detention practices to tarnish our human rights image, I have given instruction that all subsequent detainees should be charged and tried in an open court. Where this is not possible, I will appoint a special tribunal headed by a High Court judge to which a detainee can appeal against his or her detention."

Archbishop Monsengwo Pasinya said, on Belgian television, that he did not agree with Mobutu, who has ruled Zaire with an iron fist for 27 years and now challenges the conference's authority. "I will tell him (Mobutu) the conference is sovereign, because the whole of the nation is represented there," said Archbishop Monsengwo. The debate over authority was academic, he said, because the current crisis in Zaire meant something had to be done.

Liberian clashes continue

NEW fighting has broken out in western Liberia between fighters loyal to rebel chief Charles Taylor and a rival militia, Ulimo. Local newspapers reported heavy shelling from both sides as Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia and Ulimo fought each other in the Cape Mount area west of the capital, Monrovia. Some of an estimated 3 000 Liberians who fled the area said the two militias had confiscated all food supplies and civilians went in fear for their lives.

UN men threatened

FOUR United Nations military observers were threatened with expulsion from Somalia by a warlord, Mohammed Farah Aideed, who controls much of the battle-scarred capital, Mogadishu. Aideed claimed

W/maul 10/7-16/7/92

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FOUR days after Algerian president Mohamed Boudiaf, 73, was gunned down while opening a cultural centre, the country's High Council of State appointed Ali Kafi, 64, as his successor. A former member of Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN), Kafi joined the general secretariat of the National Mujahiddin Organisation (ONM — the veterans' organisation) in November 1990. He is seen as a hard-liner.

Interviewed on television, Nasser and Tawfik Boudiaf, the late president's two sons, accused the government and what they called "the mafia running this country" of responsibility in their father's assassination. Tawfik pointed out that his father

was engaged in tackling the problems of corruption and incompetence. "My father," he said, "was gaining in stature and that bothered some people."

The authorities have released the full name of the man they accuse of assassinating Boudiaf. They identify him a Lembarek Boumaraf, aged 26. According to the authorities the man, whose picture has now been published in newspapers, is a sub-lieutenant in a special unit of presidential bodyguards. They say he got away from the cultural centre in the eastern town of Annaba where the assassination took place a week ago, but was arrested later the same day elsewhere in the town.

It has taken a week for the author-

ised version of Boudiaf's killing to come out. Semi-official leaks to the country's press have sought to flesh out the story, by claiming that Sub-Lieutenant Boumaraf confessed to carrying out the attack on his own, out of religious conviction.

But people in the hall at the time say the assassin was shot dead by Boudiaf's bodyguards. They say there was a second gunman, dressed in civilian clothes, who appeared moments later and opened fire on officials in the front row of the audience, before being arrested. Some eyewitnesses also speak of a third accomplice, who escaped.

Algerians are becoming suspicious about the vigour with which the au-

thorities are pushing the official story of the lone assassin. They are asking how a single gunman could kill the head of state, wound more than 40 members of the audience, and then escape unnoticed by the dozens of security officers on duty at the time.

The authorities have started an inquiry into the killing, but many Algerians are convinced it will be a whitewash. There have been calls for the interior minister, General Larbi Belkheir, to resign over the lapse in security. Algerians suspect the theory of a lone Islamic militant killing Boudiaf has been put about to conceal a conspiracy implicating senior establishment figures.

'Returning Algeria to the people'

ALGIERS — "I'm fed up with historic figures!" Yet this man who, like many Algerians, gave vent to his impatience is just such an "historic figure". Was Hocine Ait Ahmed, now general secretary of the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), claiming the right to talk politics solely in the name of others? "In 1962, I quit the government and the FLN saying that we had served our time," he told me. "I explained at the time that the new revolutionary deal was a change of men at the top."

"There are hundreds" of new "honest and competent" men capable of determinedly taking the country towards far-reaching reforms, said Ait Ahmed, though he noted: "Youth is not a qualification of sincerity and offers no protection against opportunism."

But could the course of Algerian history be changed without the military's consent? "The people will tell you that it's the army which is responsible for dragging the coun-

try down," said the FFS general secretary. "It's the army which has been holding on to most of the power since independence. The FLN have never been the real decision-makers. Often manipulated by adventurers and opportunists, the army is therefore responsible for the disasters that have befallen Algeria."

Like everybody else he is trying to make some sense of Boudiaf's

By Jacques de Barrin

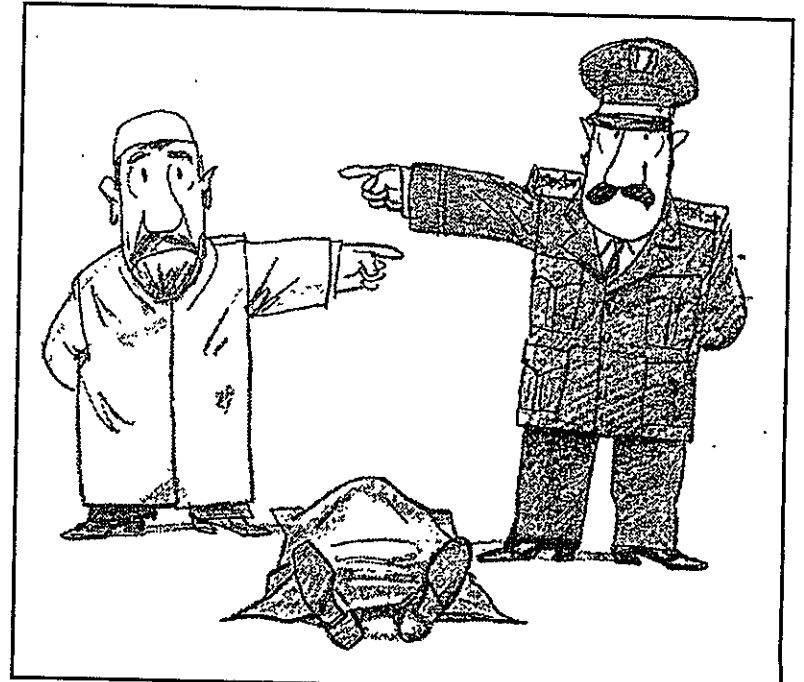
assassination. He thought that "the loopholes discovered in the security system tend rather to strengthen the theory of a real conspiracy. It all happened as if the crime was part of a strategy of some power centre opposed to resumption of the democratic process".

Were the Islamic fundamentalists involved? "Quite honestly, I doubt that very much," answered

Ait Ahmed, saying he refused to "lapse into oversimplification". Nor did he expect much from the official commission of inquiry which to his mind looked like an attempt to smother the truth. "It was appointed more to satisfy international opinion than to throw light."

He had reservations about the man appointed as the chairman of the High Council of State (HCS). "I don't want to accuse anyone on the basis of assumptions, but it has to be pointed out that Ali Kafi is in a certain way the representative of nationalist fundamentalism. I hope he will be capable of giving practical meaning to today's patriotism which to my mind identifies with democracy." On the other hand, he expressed satisfaction that Redha Malek had entered the HCS. "It is very clear that he's frankly modernist and open to dialogue."

"The state must be handed back to the people," he insisted, "and this by returning to popular legitimacy, now that historical and reli-



DRAWING BY PANCHO

gious legitimacies are clearly tarnished, and power must be placed on a new constitutional basis." He was also highly critical of what he called "a hypertrophic presidential system which is mistakenly taken to be a strong state".

Electing a constituent assembly seemed to him a "public health measure" that was far more urgent than organising a presidential election. "This mad haste to

hold elections has destabilised our country's political life," he claimed. "There are too many openly declared or underground candidates engaging in a ferocious struggle by deceiving the administration and even the people." He proposed a caretaker government "made up of politicised but non-partisan persons" for seeing the country through the transition period.

(July 5/6)

Islamist threat in Tunisia

TUNIS — The Tunisian government is quite convinced that the Islamic fundamentalist threat to the country is coming from outside. It is adopting a discreet attitude, but its irritation is beginning to show. It points out that, although a score of international arrest warrants were issued through Interpol over the past year against leaders of the Tunisian Ennahdha movement accusing them of trying to topple the government by violence, no action has so far been taken.

Sources close to the authorities in Tunis blame several European governments, Sudan and, more cautiously, Iran. They complain that "Europe, when it is directly affected, knows how to deal ruthlessly with terrorists, but invokes human rights and existing regulations when other terrorists coming from the south of the Mediterranean defy the Maghreb's security and stability". They backed the accusation with examples which, if true, are disturbing.

Towards the end of January or early February, the Tunisian authorities reportedly supplied the French police with the names and photographs of some ten Ennahdha officials and allegedly directly involved in the "conspiracy" who were preparing to leave Algiers [where they had taken refuge] and enter France. Sources here say that most of them are now in Paris where along with two of their friends — who have been granted political refugee status since 1987 — they are said to be engaged in doing intense propaganda work in the most restless Paris suburbs and among the expatriate Tunisian community. They are said to use

pamphlets, video, and audio tapes which proves that their one aim is to "bring down the regime by force".

When Tunisians who want to go to France for studies, medical treatment, or business reasons are subjected to harassment by the French authorities when dealing with their visas, how, asks Tunis, have fugitives from justice, previously protected by the Algerian fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), managed to get into France and are able to go about openly doing their work?

Tunis is just as unhappy with Britain where the Ennahdha

By Michel Deuré

"emir", Rached Ghannouchi, and several of his lieutenants have apparently settled down. It is from London that they send out their propaganda calling on Tunisians to revolt. Other Ennahdha activists are said to have been taken in by Germany, Belgium, and Spain. Diplomatic representations by Tunis to the governments concerned seeking to have their activities curbed have so far produced no results.

The Tunisians are worried just as much, if not even more, by the attitude of the Khartoum government. They claim that groups of North African Islamic fundamentalists have been, or are in the course of being, transferred from Afghan and Pakistani military bases to Sudan. For two years Ghannouchi has been travelling on a Sudanese diplomatic passport. When Tunis protested, Khartoum

assured it that the passport had not been renewed. But Tunis claims that Ghannouchi has, in fact, been given a new passport under a different name.

While they go through the motions of accepting the frequent assurances given by Tehran, which has very often welcomed Ennahdha leaders with open arms, the Tunisians nonetheless remain very sceptical, especially in view of Iran's negative reaction to the cancellation of the run-off poll in Algeria's recent legislative elections.

And what about unpredictable Libya? Colonel Moamer Gaddafi's recent address to deputies from the Maghreb threatening to "go in with the devil and the fundamentalists against fellow-Muslims who are not on my side" (a reference to the Maghreb's attitude in the Lockerbie bombing) and the current anti-Arab campaign in the Libyan press are prompting Tunis to be on its guard.

The Tunisians hope the evidence to be produced at the coming Ennahdha conspiracy trial will convince their "European friends" that they are, in fact, harbouring "criminals" and not "simple political opponents". The trial, due to open next month, will take place in a military court since nearly 50 officers and NCOs are also accused along with 150 civilians. The same court is to hear another case in which some 100 people, including military personnel more or less close to the Ennahdha movement, stand charged with preparing at the end of 1990 attacks against political figures and government buildings.

Continued on page 15

Estonia's independence

Continued from page 13

with the Russian-speaking community, who form over a third of the Estonian population and stand to lose most from the changes introduced since the declaration of independence.

The extent of the problem is most evident in Estonia's third-largest city, Narva, which saw the battle between the Teutonic Knights and Ivan the Terrible's army in the 16th century. Today, 98 per cent of its population consists of ethnic Russians, many of whom were born there. They all say they feel first and foremost Russian.

The nationality act introduced in February caused certain tensions. Although essentially very liberal (it allowed Russian residents to acquire Estonian nationality within a year), it rubbed some people up the wrong way because it required applicants to take an exam in Estonian, one of the most difficult languages in the world.

The more critical members of the Russian population describe the obligation as "ethnic discrimination" and say they intend to appeal to international organisations; the more moderate argue that the notion of nationality is not necessarily connected with knowledge of a language.

Some of them struggled for independence side by side with the Estonians and plan to apply for Esto-

nian nationality without renouncing their Russian culture. According to the latest census, 13.6 per cent of Russian speakers also speak Estonian and 25 per cent can "muddle through," though only young people are actually prepared to learn it.

The results of the June 28 referendum must have further reinforced their feelings of frustration: the refusal by the Estonians to grant voting rights at the next election, due at the end of the summer, to 5,700 Russians who had already applied for Estonian nationality but whose cases had not yet been dealt with was taken by them as a slap in the face.

That frustration can only increase over the years, and even months, to come. The Russian community will be the worst affected by the liberalisation of the Estonian and Russian economies, particularly when the time comes to close down, or convert, the huge enterprises belonging to the military-industrial complex located in Estonia.

"In 1940, Estonians accounted for 88 per cent of the population," says Klara Hallik, the minister responsible for minorities. "Today we are down to 60 per cent. During the war and the Communist repression, we lost a fifth of our population. Today it's a question of life and death for us."

(July 2)

Ghana gears up for model elections

10/17-16/17/92

GHANA is on the brink of the most important electoral campaign the country has experienced since independence and which, given its historic role as Africa's leader, will have reverberations for the democracy movement sweeping across the continent.

At stake is an ambitious attempt by the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to break the trend in recent elections where Africans, offered real choice for the first time in years, have thrown out governments from Cape Verde and Benin to Zambia and the Congo.

To achieve this would legitimise the regime which came to power in Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings' second coup 11 years ago and break the mould of the two bitterly antagonistic parties which have dominated Ghana's civilian regimes.

Elsewhere in Africa, the multi-party democracy process is in danger of being discredited. In countries such as Zaïre and Togo, national conferences heralded as the recipe for transition from autocratic dictatorship have led to tumultuous scenes of mass political action, paralysis of the state and continued dominance of the military.

In contrast, a credible transition to democracy from a decade of no-party state in Ghana would be a model for the continent.

Ghana is unique in having already weathered years of harsh economic reform ahead of political change. Consent for the reform programme, pushed through by the military-backed PNDC under Rawlings, would

For the past 30 years Ghana has been one of Africa's leading trendsetters — and it aims to continue this role by making a success of multi-party democracy.

By VICTORIA BRITAIN

have been almost impossible for any democratic government to obtain.

"The mass interest in the democracy movement all over the continent is only comparable with the thrust for independence 30 years ago. But this time things are not so straightforward: no easy issue, no Kwame Nkrumah or Jomo Kenyatta-style leaders of stature, unprecedented economic hardship. It threatens to lead to destructive internal strife," says Dr Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, one of the dozen or more people mentioned as possible presidential candidates.

Frimpong-Ansah, who has not yet decided whether to run in the presidential elections in November or even whether to join one of the mushrooming parties which will compete in the legislative elections in December, is a symbol of the new era of Ghanaian politics. In the sharpening power struggle behind the scenes, alliances are shifting as deals are brokered and money changes hands. "Democracy is capital intensive," people say.

Five parties are claiming the mantle of Nkrumah, leader of the anti-colonial movement in Africa, to oppose



Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings ... Victory would legitimise him

Rawlings, a populist. This splintering of Nkrumahism — the strongest historical political trend — reflects the disarray of its power brokers.

John Telegah, a trade union leader under Nkrumah, imprisoned by subsequent military regimes and now the leader of the Nkrumahist National Convention Party, berates the PNDC

for "never having got popular power off the ground". And he describes his rivals in the conservative opposition's New Patriotic Party (NPP) as "the old vested interests against which Nkrumah launched his class struggle".

The desire for revenge against the PNDC dominates the NPP, which many Western diplomats believe will

be the strongest party in the parliamentary elections in December. Some of its leaders, like Dr Kwame Satu-Adu, a minister of one of the civilian regimes and subsequently a big businessman, have the personal score of a prison term to settle. "We're going to campaign first of all on human rights: detention without trial, lack of accountability. It has been very expensive to criticise the PNDC, the rule of law has disappeared," he says. Ahead of the campaign season, the opposition parties are selling themselves through the dozens of opposition papers which have sprung up in recent months.

One attempted court challenge to the transitional arrangements by 29 opposition personalities was thrown out by the judiciary. Others are planned, a leading lawyer says, against the preventive detention laws and "to demand the disbanding of paramilitary organisations — something will have to be done to give confidence to competing parties that there'll be no intimidation".

However, the opposition parties are unanimous in backing the central plank of PNDC policy: the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), launched under a World Bank and International Monetary Fund Structural Adjustment Programme, which has been held up as the example for the rest of Africa.

Ghana's economy has been brought back from a state of virtual collapse under President Yilla Limann in late 1981. Growth of an average five per cent (though it has tailed off in the last year), highly visible infrastructural improvements and new investment in the dormant mining industry — which has this year overtaken cocoa as the country's primary foreign-exchange earner — are, as Prime Minister PV Obeng puts it, "the undeniable success of this government".

Setting sights on the north

ci/pren 12/7/92

■ MONEY TALK

THE highly successful trade fair held in Nairobi by SA business has certainly whet the appetites of the commercial communities of east Africa and our own to do business.

A common reaction by visitors, including a number from neighbouring states such as Tanzania, was to express surprise at the range and quality of South African-made products.

Yet it is not all plain sailing. Our businesspeople have discovered there are many obstacles when doing deals in Africa, the main one being a tremendous scarcity of foreign exchange. In other words, a key question that must be answered – and this is not always easy given the continent's lack of sophisticated financial systems – is: How will goods be paid for?

Certainly the buyers are eager, but in many instances their purchasing ability is dependent on the flow of aid.

This aid is often linked to conditions that any purchases should be made in the donor countries. So

even if a customer wishes to buy from a South African business, he cannot do so, unless the business is prepared to take a chance with credit.

No doubt the exhibition in Nairobi has proved there is potential to greatly increase trade with Africa. But it has also shown that many of our export companies will have to build infrastructure to handle complications such as government regulations on licences, duties and the efficient transfer of payment to SA.

One has to bear in mind that not a single country in Africa has a truly convertible currency. Business must be done through a third currency, mainly the US dollar.

There is great potential in barter trade. But here the crux is whether the customer country produces goods SA needs.

Barter is an exciting but extremely complicated minefield. Yet one can be sure that it will gradually expand as we and the rest of Africa start to better understand each others' ways of doing things.

Another important development, now that the doors to trade groups in Africa are gradually opening, is access to markets in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

Finance from sources such as the African Development Bank can smooth the way to entry into these markets.

A lot of homework will have to be done by SA businessmen to develop trade with our neighbours to the north. Making contact such as the fair in Nairobi and hopefully at the OAU fair in Bulawayo in September, is just the beginning.

Egypt is a huge but competitive market and it will be interesting to see if we can succeed so far north.

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FRENCH-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS

FIRM HAND RESTRAINS AFRICAN SPENDING

Franc Zone inflation rate checked by Paris controls

FRANCE's economic hold over Francophone Africa may smack of neo-colonialism, but these countries have fared better than their Anglophone neighbours.

A comparison of Anglophone and Francophone Africa by Paul Collier of Oxford University, entitled Africa's External Economic Relations 1960-90, showed that in the past 30 years prices in Africa as a whole rose 21-fold while in Francophone Africa the increase was several fold.

The reason is that most of French-speaking Africa is part of the CFA, or Franc Zone. The CFA franc is issued in Paris, eliminating the ability of governments to print money.

Mr Collier says Anglophone Africa's rapid inflation was useful in helping to reduce wage gaps in the formal sector. The CFA franc is interchangeable with the French franc at the rate of 50:1. This guaranteed exchange rate imposes monetary constraints on members of the club.

Francophone countries forfeit independent central banks in favour of membership of the Franc Zone, which is administered by a system of rewards and penalties. The rewards include the benefits of reserve pooling among the African members and the undertaking from France to finance aggregate deficits when these arise.

The penalties include the loss of the benefits of intra-African reserve pooling and of French aid. Breaking the rules results in expulsion from the club. Anglophone Africa is plagued by a lack of hard currency. Franc Zone countries, on the other hand, are able to trade freely with the rest of the world, using convertible CFA francs.

STimes (Burr)

12/11/92

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Look

Mr Collier says it is time to rethink the Franc Zone because of the impending monetary union of Europe and the possible disappearance of the franc.

The Franc Zone may choose to link itself to the European Monetary System and allow Anglophone countries into the club.

The Franc Zone is traditionally regarded as a kind of French province, accessible to only the hardest outsiders. But French investment in Africa has been declining for more than a decade — from a net inflow of \$1-billion at the beginning of the 1980s to a net outflow of \$824-million in 1988.

Disinvestment started to accelerate with the liberation of Eastern Europe, but the reality of doing trade with former socialist countries caused many French companies to take another look at Africa.

A 1990 survey among members of the Council of French Investors in Africa indicated that only 13% planned to scale down operations compared with 32% the previous year and 58% were planning to expand.

There are 1 300 French companies in West Africa compared with 100 in Southern Africa.

Trade councillor at the French Embassy Jean-Claude Bouchet says SA and Southern Africa are the new African growth markets and French companies are starting to move in.

"The French Government has downgraded the importance of its Africa ministry," says Richard Cornwall of the Africa Institute.

"This reflects a growing disenchantment with the continent, although more interest is being shown in SA."

In my view

A daily commentary on current economic affairs by writers of The Star.

No end to prospects for closer African ties

STAR 13/7/92

By Michael Chester

The chances of progress towards closer economic co-operation between SA and its neighbours as far north as the Equator were kindled by a brief news bulletin from Harare at the weekend.

It said the Preferential Trade Area of Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) — by far the biggest trade club on the continent — had at last agreed on a formal recommendation to merge with the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The move had been on the cards ever since SA launched its political reform programme, which in turn altered the original role of SADCC — planning a bit more economic independence among our closest neighbours away from the stigma of association with apartheid.

It not only promises to make sense by cutting out the overlapping of the two bodies in several countries, plus frequent duplication of efforts in forming new business partnerships; it also clears the decks for closer links between the enlarged trade club and the SA economic powerhouse.

With luck, it will inspire a wholesale re-examination of the nonsensical jumble of jigsaw pieces that have always failed to fit into an effective trade pattern for sub-Saharan Africa.

At the moment, there are dozens of fragments in a jigsaw puzzle no one has ever been able to solve so far. The PTA and SADCC are only two of the pieces in a bewildering kaleidoscope of initials and acronyms.

It is yet to be seen how they will be joined — and in turn fit into more and more pieces, such as the Southern African Customs Union and the Common Monetary Area.

There are still more to come: the Lomé Convention, the Southern African Regional Tourism Council (Sartoc), the SA Centre for Co-operation in Agricul-



tural Research (Saccar), the SA Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilisation of the Soil (Sarccus), the SA Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC)...

And did someone mention the possible resurrection of the Commission for Technical Cooperation (CCTA), which was torpedoed by politics in 1962?

There seems no end to the complex overlapping. Mauritius, the Seychelles and the Comoros are also members of the Indian Ocean Commission.

Deeper down the agenda will be relationships with the rest of the continent, particularly West Africa and North Africa, where South Africa also wants to create new trade routes and which could be candidates for a far bigger and more powerful economic bloc.

Fitting the whole jigsaw into a neat pattern will be a formidable challenge.

It may be over-ambitious to use the European Community as a model. But solutions to create trade harmony will be crucial if Africa is going to harness its vast potential and take a seat at world economic forums, rather than shuffle around outside with a begging bowl.

Truce called for ①
Rwanda civil war

Sowetan 14/7/92
ARUSHA, Tanzania - The Rwandan government and guerrilla opponents have hammered out a ceasefire to end 21 months of tribally based civil war which nearly crippled the tiny central African state.

"I am optimistic that the ceasefire will hold and lasting peace will return to our country," Rwandan Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira said at the end of three days of talks brokered by Tanzania in Arusha.

Sowetan 14/7/92
**Renamo members
dying from hunger**

MAPUTO - Renamo defectors claim that six people a day are dying of starvation in one of their bases in the central Mozambican province of Manica.

Mozambican news agency AIM reports that the men said about 50 Renamo members had died by the time they left the camp at Gagadzi, near the Zimbabwe border. According to the agency, hundreds of Renamo members had surrendered to the government in an effort to escape starvation in the drought ravaged areas.

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Chad's cotton industry reels

NDJAMENA — The collapse in world commodity prices has knocked the stuffing out of Chad's cotton industry, forcing layoffs and factory closures by the state-owned monopoly Cotontchad.

Executives at the company, which accounts for 70% of the desperately poor African country's export earnings, say Cotontchad has abandoned its original target of raising the country's annual seed cotton production to 200 000 tons.

With world cotton prices falling 22% in the past year alone, Cotontchad is losing the dollar equivalent of US\$0.40 on every kilogram of cotton it sells.

"Given the current crisis, we expect to cut our production. And it's clear that we'll be forced to reduce our workforce to match, and bring our cost price down," Cotontchad MD Haroun Kabadi told Reuters in an interview. Kabadi expects to close possibly one or two of the country's eight ginning factories, laying off between 300 and 400 of Cotontchad's 3 000 staff, in addition to 200 already laid off this year. In the past, layoffs were seasonal. This time, Kabadi says, they will be for good.

Cotontchad, which saw a \$10 800 profit from 1989-90, expects 1990-91 results to register a deficit when they are published, and losses in 1991-92 to be even more serious.

Kabadi declines to put a figure to expected losses, but one of the donors backing a restructuring programme says 1990-91 losses were probably around \$8m and 1991-92 losses will probably be in the region of \$12m.

Cotontchad executives are almost grateful that poor weather conditions look set to reduce this year's crop, limiting their losses. Scarce rain has delayed planting and the 1992 seed cotton harvest is expected to total 120 000-150 000 tons, compared with last year's record 174 500.

Cotton, grown in the well-watered southern plains of this desert country, was introduced under French colonialism. Legend has it that, unable to impose taxes on a population of subsistence farmers, the French brought in a cash crop to create a taxable economy. After independence, the Chadian government took over, and Cotontchad is responsible for all production, ginning and marketing.

The state now owns 75% of Cotont-

chad, with another 17% belonging to the Compagnie Francaise pour le Developpement des Fibres Textiles, and the rest in the hands of local banks and France's Caisse Centrale de la Cooperation Economique.

Plagued by droughts and a simmering civil war that occasionally swept far enough south to stop harvesting, Cotontchad began registering enormous losses in the mid-'80s, as mismanagement, corruption and falling world commodity prices began to take their toll.

In 1986 international donors stepped in, launching a \$100m restructuring programme which nearly halved Cotontchad's workforce, sold assets, closed factories and halted subsidies to farmers.

The programme cut the cost price to \$1.94 a kilogram from a previous \$4 and was hailed as a model of what restructuring could do.

Cotontchad now stands in need of a new shot in the arm, and part of a \$20m aid agreement France signed earlier this month with the government will be devoted to getting the key industry back into competitive shape. — Sapa-Reuter.

New twist in Algerian trial¹

ALGIERS — A military court trying Algeria's top Muslim fundamentalists yesterday ordered outgoing prime minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali to testify, giving the trial a political twist.

The detained leaders of the outlawed Islamic Salvation Front, who face charges punishable by death, have argued the trial was political

and should not be judged by the military.

Algerian journalists said the trial would resume today. Abassi Madani (61), his deputy Ali Belhadj (35) and five FIS officials refused to leave their cells, saying they had been condemned in advance. Mr Madani and Mr Belhadj face charges of conspiracy against the State, punishable by death. — Sapa-Reuter.

New generation of African leaders chosen by people

STAR 14/7/92

The diversity of faces at the OAU summit reflects a continent in turmoil.
By MICHELLE FAUL.

AFRICANS are shaking off military and one-party rule, but the army captain who seized power in Sierra Leone found plenty of company from the barracks when he strode into a continental summit.

Military men rule half of the Organisation of African Unity's 51 member nations.

Captain Valentine Strasser, just 27, spoke well and passionately, defending his seizure of power on April 30 from a civilian government he said had impoverished the country. Like other military leaders before him, and presumably those waiting their turn, he promised democracy as soon as possible.

This year's OAU summit also included five new democratically elected presidents. There were soldiers who have abandoned their uniforms for tailored suits or traditional robes, as well as patriarchs. The five new presidents are a third generation of African leaders brought to power by strikes and



Valentine Strasser . . . promises democracy.

protests that are sweeping away dictators.

President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, chosen in that nation's first free elections in 24 years, spoke of missing faces: "Many illustrious sons of Africa who had a great deal to do with the birth of our organisation have died either at the hands of gun-wielding African 'revolutionaries' or have passed away quietly in the silent solitude of exile. Peaceful change of government is a concept we are only now beginning to grasp."

Sassou Nguesso of Congo and some others, including General Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, retain the title of president and command armies that may threaten transitions to democ-

racy, but no longer run governments.

So far, Nicephore Soglo of Benin is the only president chosen in an election resulting from a national conference. Many hope for more like him — well-educated technocrats who have worked for international institutions and have the ability to repair shattered economies.

They would be the new corps of successors to revered nationalists and revolutionaries such as Kwame Nkrumah, who became Africa's first black president when Ghana achieved independence from Britain in 1957. Nkrumah led the African experiment with "democratic socialism", which began with dreams of glory and ended in disaster.

He and several other African leaders leave the legacy of a continent near ruin, politically and economically bankrupt. Africa's wealth of minerals and other primary resources made millionaires of corrupt rulers, but was never used to develop industry that would provide good jobs.

The diversity of leaders at the summit reflected the turmoil Africa is undergoing as it turns towards democracy. — Sapa-AP. □

Africa in

Sowetan 16/7/92

FIS warns court

ALGIERS: The outlawed Islamic Salvation Front told an Algerian military court trying its leaders that it alone would be responsible for whatever happened after its verdict which was due yesterday.

"The FIS and Muslims proud of Algeria have warned them sufficiently," it said in a clandestine bulletin, drawn up at the start of the trial, and now being circulated in Algiers.

In military cells in Blida, 50km away, FIS chiefs Abassi Madani (61) and his deputy Ali Belhadj (35) awaited judgment after a prosecutor demanded "prison in perpetuity" for them. *Sapa-Reuter.*

Appeal for cash for Somalia

■THE British Red Cross has launched an appeal for cash to aid victims of what it called the "forgotten catastrophe" in Somalia — a nation torn by civil war, famine and drought. Red Cross director general Mike Whittam said this week that two million people face starvation in "the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today." "Thousands are dying daily in Mogadishu alone," said Watson. The International Red Cross is spending more than 25 percent of its \$500-million budget on Somalia this year, feeding 500,000 people twice a day in makeshift kitchens throughout the country.

Rebel base captured

■SUDANESE government forces have captured the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army's main base at Torit, government officials announced this week. Sudan's military ruler, Lt. General Omar Hassan al-Bahir, went on state radio to announce government troops entered Torit, the town near Sudan's border with Uganda. Torit has been the rebels' main stronghold.

Rwandan ceasefire agreed

■THE Rwandan government and its rebel opponents agreed this week to end their 21-month war with a ceasefire to be monitored by a 50-member African military observer team. In a pact reached after three days of talks in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha, the two sides also agreed on further negotiations on power sharing.

Africa lacks civil freedoms

■NO country from Africa or Asia is providing full civil liberties for its people, according to the new issue of the International Human Suffering Index, published in Washington, DC by the Population Crisis Committee. According to the index six African countries, six Asian countries, Haiti and Cuba do not have any civil rights for their people at all. The African countries are Cameroon, Libya, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda.

W/m and 1717-23/7/92

CHAD

A PEACE agreement was recently signed in Libreville between the Chadian government and the opposition Movement for Democracy and Development (MDD).

The agreement stated the determination of the two sides to "give priority to dialogue in resolving the country's problems" and provided for the "end of any military action between the national army and the Western Armed Forces (MDD's military wing)".

The agreement also makes way for the "immediate release of anyone arrested in combat or elsewhere, or detained as a result of membership to the MDD".

ETHIOPIA

Sou #1
18/7-22/7/92

(1)

PRESIDENT Meles Zenawi said his door was still open to the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) if it decided to continue its struggle in peace.

He also reiterated his stance that any organisation that disrupted peace should expect to be controlled by the armed forces.

KENYA

THE United Nations has appealed for 97m dollars (R270,6 million) in aid for Kenya to overcome a severe drought and feed thousands of refugees from Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Compiled by Quentin Wilson

NEWSWATCH AFRICA



EGYPT

Hundreds have been arrested and others killed or injured following a late June crackdown on suspected Islamic militants. The move came after attacks on Coptic Christians and security forces.

About 5 000 heavily-armed police in river boats and armoured personnel carriers descended on Egypt's southern Asyut province, sealing off roads, setting up checkpoints and storming suspects' homes.

The crackdown followed three months of conflict in Asyut province, where more than 20 people died as a result of violence between Christians and Muslims.

Muslim and Christian clerics have called for an end to the fighting.

SUDAN ① SOUTH 18/7-22/7/92

TWO FACTIONS of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) are meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, to heal a 10-month split in this rebel movement based in southern Sudan.

The two factions announced in mid-June they would reunite on the battlefield once they agree on a new structure for the movement, who would lead the SPLA and how it would deal with human rights.

The Nasir faction broke from the Torit faction last August after alleged human rights violations within the movement.

The split in the SPLA has contributed to recent battlefield gains by government troops, who have occupied 13 rebel-held towns in the biggest dry season offensive since the civil war began in 1983.

Africa briefs

Leaders' plea

ALGIERS - Lawyers for Algeria's outlawed Islamic Salvation Front leaders are to appeal to the Supreme Court following the fundamentalists' 12-year prison sentences imposed by a military court earlier this week.

Parties split?

LAGOS - Internal dissent is threatening to cripple both of Nigeria's army-created parties only two weeks before the start of primaries to select civilian presidential candidates, party officials said.

Egypt's gain

CAIRO - Egypt has a unique opportunity to reap early benefits of an economic adjustment programme if it accelerates the pace of reforms proposed by the IMF and World Bank, a senior Bank official said.

50 wetan 20/7/92

Imperial row

ADDIS ABABA - A quarrel has erupted between Ethiopia's monarchists over who to back as the successor to the late Emperor Haile Selassie, believed to have been murdered after the Marxist revolution that overthrew him 18 years ago. (1)

While in exile in London four years ago Ahma Selassie (75) was crowned as the 226th emperor in a legendary line that goes back to King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba 3,000 years ago.

Sowdan 20/7/92

Standard seeks hold on Africa

A SUCCESSFUL takeover of the African operations of ANZ Grinakkers Bank by Standard Bank Investment Corporation would set the group up in seven African countries, giving it a much larger reach than other major SA banks.

London-based ANZ Grinakkers has branches in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Zaire, Zambia and Ghana. **10/11**
Standard Bank confirmed last week that it was involved in discussions with ANZ Grinakkers, but refused to comment further on how far negotiations had progressed.

ANZ Grinaker is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Melbourne-based ANZ banking group. Its business stretches into Europe, the Middle East, Pakistan and Africa, a spokesman for the Zimbabwe branch said last week.

SHARON WOOD

The move is part of a concerted effort by Standard to expand its international operations.

Standard Bank Investment Corporation recently expanded into the UK. The group acquired merchant bank Brown, Shipley's banking interests on Jersey and the Isle of Man and its London subsidiary, Standard Bank London, was granted a UK banking licence.

Standard Bank has already established a presence in Africa through Standard Bank Namibia, Standard Bank of Bophuthatswana and Union Bank of Swaziland.

The group's 1991 annual report said the banks in the African Banking Group were well established.

Combined after-tax profit improved to R36,2m compared with R28,6m in 1990.

Battles erupt before Rwanda ceasefire

STAR 2017/192 ①

KAMPALA — Fighting raged in northern Rwanda yesterday as government troops and rebels raced to claim ground before a ceasefire due at midnight.

Ugandans along the border heard automatic rifle and artillery fire all through the night.

"It is clear that heavy fighting is taking place inside Rwanda," a resident of Kabale said.

An agreement reached last week set a truce at midnight yesterday to be followed by a full ceasefire on July 31 and deployment of 50 military

observers from Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe.

Talks are due to start in Arusha, Tanzania, on August 10 on rebel demands for integration of guerillas into the national army and the return home of tens of thousands of refugees.

A ceasefire agreement brokered by African leaders last year collapsed within a few days. But Tanzanian officials, Rwandan government officials and the rebels all say the current pact will hold. — Sapa-Reuter.

Algeria may yet resist fundamentalism. Neil Moorhouse reports from Cairo

A confused nation sees new hope ①

Star 2011192

THE haunting chants from the Islamic fundamentalists and the rumble of armoured cars in the streets of Algiers is the confused sound of a nation in turmoil.

The chaos during the funeral of Algeria's assassinated president, Mohammed Boudiaf, was just part of the tangle the new president, Ali Kafi, and his ruling High State Council will have to unravel.

The appointment of Belaid Abdesselam, a former industry and energy minister, as Algeria's new Prime Minister, is indicative of the direction the ruling powers wish to take.

Mr Abdesselam said recently he wanted to see a "war economy" in Algeria. For the young, discontented and unemployed, this could be appealing and lure them away from the Islamic Salvation Front

(FIS), who are pushing for power after the cancellation of elections in January.

The confusion in Algeria stems from the now widened fissure that divides the society.

The killing of President Boudiaf and the ongoing violence between government and FIS supporters is a result of policies which in the past have not fulfilled people's primary needs.

One leading academic in Cairo said: "People turn to fundamentalism or extremism when they feel society does not meet their needs."

In Algeria, two-thirds of the country's population of 26 million are under 30 and many of these are unemployed. They are easy prey to FIS promises that everyone would have a job and a home

under an Islamic state.

Before his death, President Boudiaf said: "The last election showed two things: impatience for profound change and for social justice." But he asked for time, saying that "change must not be carried out hastily".

This delay may have cost him his life.

The swift and seemingly radical moves by the ruling High State Council following Mr Boudiaf's assassination are an attempt to address the impatience among the youth and the discontented, so they frustrate FIS efforts.

One source of relief for the government is the backing it has received from the international community.

Wealthy conservative Arab states who fear the stirrings of

their own fundamentalists could welcome Mr Kafi's government with cash.

Similarly, neighbouring countries such as Egypt and Tunisia, currently devising or calling upon their most stringent laws to deal with fundamentalists, will also be pleased to see secular government perform and stay in office.

The government is currently appealing to opposition groups, including the less extremist and unarmed Islamic fundamentalists, to bring about national reconciliation. This will be needed to take the country forward to economic recovery and political stability.

An FIS member commented that the conciliatory attitude of President Kafi has given a glimmer of hope for a more peaceful Algeria. — Star Africa Service. □

ECONOMIC adjustment measures in developing countries, especially under IMF-inspired programmes, are often blamed for increasing poverty, widening inequality and holding back development.

A study by the development centre of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) suggests this reputation may be undeserved. Claims that adjustment is a cruel punishment visited on the poor by unfeeling international organisations and greedy bankers miss the point, say Francois Bourguignon and Christian Morrisson, authors of *Adjustment and Equity in Developing Countries: A New Approach* (OECD Publications).

Basing their arguments on case studies in seven countries, which included using economic models to test alternative strategies, the authors conclude that adjustment does not necessarily dampen growth or increase poverty.

Obviously much depends on the severity of the economic crisis. But different measures have different social impacts. This is true both for stabilisation policies that cut domestic demand to curb inflation and rein in trade and budget deficits, and for longer-term structural adjustments to improve supply by making the economy more responsive to market signals.

Political opposition to adjustment that delays government action worsens the social costs, the study argues. The costs of adjusting are lower than the costs of not adjusting, and adjusting before the crisis is better than waiting until the crunch comes and the country can no longer meet its debts or finance its outgoings.

The study is interesting partly because it claims to break analytical ground in disentangling and simulating the effects of different adjustment policies, and partly because it is the work of two academics with no particular axe to grind. Thus, while the authors see adjustment as essential, they do not necessarily endorse IMF prescriptions.

Of the seven countries looked at in detail, Chile, the Ivory Coast, Ecu-

Economic austerity schemes unjustly blamed for poverty

RIDDAY 20/7/92

FRANCES WILLIAMS in Geneva



ador and Morocco instituted programmes under IMF supervision. Malaysia and Indonesia did so on their own initiative before running into trouble (and so had more choice of policy measures). Ghana is cited as a prime example of an economy ruined by refusal to adjust when crisis hit in the '70s.

In Malaysia and Indonesia, where the problems and so the stabilisation measures were less severe, living standards rose during adjustment. Poverty also declined in Ghana during adjustment, which got under way in the '80s.

In the other countries, adjustments were accompanied by stable

or higher farm incomes and employment but urban poverty increased. In Chile, where the urban poor predominate, and in Ecuador where peasants rely heavily on non-farm sources of income, poverty rose.

The study attributes these differences to the timing of measures and to the policy mix chosen. Some governments, including Ghana's, ran programmes designed to protect the poor. Ecuador made no provision and Chile helped only the poorest.

Adjusting before the crisis meant less drastic cuts in demand, including cuts in public spending. Early adjustment also ensured a continuing flow of foreign capital, bolstering private investment necessary for future growth and cushioning public spending on social services and essential infrastructure.

The economic models used by the study also indicate for the first time how countries might have fared without adjustment. The answer is badly. The authors say critics tend to focus on the costs of adjustments (often confusing them with the costs of the crisis) and ignore the costs of non-adjustment.

In Ghana's case, non-adjustment meant drying up of funds from abroad and a reduction in imports to the low levels of export earnings. This produced falling incomes, out-

put, trade and a "disastrous increase" in poverty. Simulations for other economies confirm that this path leads to socially costly "self-centred underdevelopment".

Looking at stabilisation policies, the authors suggest that devaluation seems to be a more efficient and equitable way of reducing a trade deficit than cutting public spending or running tight money policies. It slows economic activity less and, because it usually favours the poorer rural sector, it reduces inequality and poverty.

The authors conclude that to minimise social costs the best stabilisation programmes combine devaluation, a restrictive monetary policy to keep the lid on inflation (which hurts the poor) and a moderate reduction in public service wages (if they are higher than elsewhere). The worst involve raising the prices of basic goods and laying off public sector workers — recipes for social unrest, but often included in IMF-approved programmes.

Cuts in capital spending, if necessary, should not apply to rural investment which helps reduce inequality and poverty, the study says. Similarly, cuts in social spending and subsidies should avoid measures that impose disproportionate social costs to the sums saved. For instance, making the poor pay for medicines effectively deprives them of medical care, even when treatment is free.

The study in general praises structural adjustments which it says tend to have positive social effects. For instance, price liberalisation usually favours the rural over the urban sector. Moreover, increased economic flexibility reduces the costs of stabilisation.

However, the authors, again dipping conventional IMF and World Bank wisdom, warn countries not to take drastic measures, like privatisation, to reorganise state enterprises during an austerity programme. If attempted, there should be compensation programmes for the unemployed, as in Ghana, and effective longer-term measures to retrain redundant workers and help them find alternative employment. — Financial Times.



Economic adjustment programmes for developing nations do not necessarily result in poverty, says a new study

LETTERS

ECONOMIC adjustment measures in developing countries, especially under IMF-inspired programmes, are often blamed for increasing poverty, widening inequality and holding back development.

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By Frances Williams

FRANCES WILLIAMS in Geneva

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— Financial Times.



Economic adjustment programmes for developing nations do not necessarily result in poverty, says a new study

Sowetan
Shaky truce

21/7/92

NAIROBI - Forty-seven United Nations truce observers will go to Somalia this week after one of Mogadishu's two warring factions dropped its opposition to the plan, UN special envoy Mohamed Sahnoun said yesterday. - Sapa-AFP.

AFRICA NEWS Jewish Deputies seek u

Africa in brief

Sowetan 22/7/92
Illegal gem trade

WINDHOEK - President Sam Nujoma is to discuss allegations of Angola's illegal diamond trade affecting Namibia with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, State House spokesman Daniel Smith said in Windhoek yesterday.

He said Nujoma would raise the matter through regular government channels or when they next meet. Diamonds are Namibia's largest single foreign exchange earner, contributing R1,2 billion of the R3,3 billion in total export earnings for the last financial year. *(21)*

Rwanda ceasefire

KAMPALA - Rwanda and its rebel foes will meet in Ethiopia next week to discuss the details of a ceasefire shattered only hours after it was supposed to end a 21-month tribally based war. *Sowetan 22/7/92*

A Rwandan embassy official said his government would send a delegation to Addis Ababa to hold talks with the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front starting on July 27. *(1)*

The talks will be held four days before full implementation of an internationally-brokered ceasefire, to be monitored by a 50-man military observer force from Zimbabwe, Senegal and Nigeria.

Moshoeshoe home

MASERU - Former King Moshoeshoe has returned to army-ruled Lesotho calling for reconciliation and democracy, but a potentially explosive dispute about the role of the monarchy remains unresolved. *Sowetan 22/7/92*

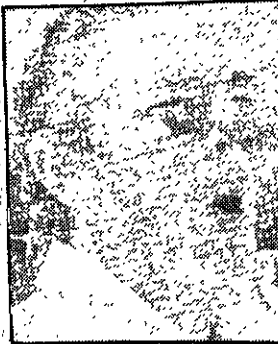
"A chief is a chief by the will of the people," Moshoeshoe told journalists on Monday on his return from two years' exile in Britain, under an agreement brokered by the Commonwealth. *(5)*

"Bring rain! We are starving," shouted ecstatic supporters when Moshoeshoe left his limousine to ride with blanket-clad horsemen into his drought-stricken village of Matsieng. Moshoeshoe (54) vowed to campaign for human rights and assist the mountain state's scheduled transition to democratic civilian government after six years of army rule.

Peace signals studied

TUNIS - Senior Palestine Liberation Organisation leaders met yesterday to co-ordinate their response to peace overtures by new Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

"The leadership must assess the situation after the Israeli elections which created new conditions to deal with," said PLO executive committee member, M Abba . - *Sapa-Reuter-AFP.*



President Albert Rene
... may resort to force.

Sir James Mancham ...
afraid of takeover.

Coup feared in Seychelles poll

By Shaun Johnson
Star Africa Service ①

With only days to go before the first multiparty elections to be held in the Seychelles for 15 years, opposition parties have called on foreign governments to send warships to the islands.

Five opposition parties have signed the joint plea, claiming that President Albert Rene is planning to nullify the election results by force.

Letters went out to the British, French, US and Indian governments requesting "naval visits to Port Victoria during the crucial days of the election" to discourage government troops from staging a coup.

Elections for a constitutional forum start on Friday, and results are expected on Sunday.

President Rene gave way to international and internal pressure earlier

this year and agreed to multiparty elections.

The opposition groups now believe that Mr Rene will renege on his promises if he loses.

The signatories to the letter include former president Sir James Mancham, now leader of the Democratic Party; Seychelles Liberal Party leader Ogilvy Berlouis; and the Seychelles Democratic Movement's Jacques Houdoul.

The letter claims that the ruling party has told voters: "Let them (the opposition) win the elections, and then we will take over."

The opposition leaders also complain of a heavy military presence on the main island, Mahe, and the appearance of armed soldiers at party rallies.

In addition, President Rene's personalised "people's militia" is said to be intervening in campaigning as election day approaches.

STAR 22/7/92

The sugar-coated monstrosity

STAR 24/7/92

FOR tens of thousands of years a family of viruses has been mildly weakening the immune systems of cows, goats, rats and monkeys. Some fell ill, some did not.

But mutated descendants of that family slipped across a species boundary, and in just over a decade have caused havoc in man — the species that thought it ruled the planet.

A million people are dead, their immune systems left open to a wide range of infections. Millions more are carrying the virus and will die within an average of 10-12 years.

"It's not unusual, when a virus crosses a species boundary, to see a highly virulent form. But we haven't seen anything so threatening as human

Gene studies are being used to trace the origins and changes in HIV — the Human Immunodeficiency Virus which causes Aids. NICK LOUTH reports from Amsterdam on the 8th International Conference on Aids.

Aids," said Dr Gerald Myers, director of the HIV gene-sequencing project at Los Alamos National Laboratory in the US.

Exactly how HIV crossed the boundary from a monkey or ape virus to a human virus is still a mystery, but most experts agree it probably happened in Africa in the 1950s.

A rise in the handling of monkeys for export increased the chances of infection through scratches or bites. Changes in medical practices were also significant, Dr Myers said. "I

am particularly interested in the increased use of needles in medical treatment."

He is certain it did not come from secret germ warfare experiments or any other man-made source. It evolved. "You couldn't make anything so complex, even today," he said.

Several factors seemed to lift HIV from a quiet simian virus to a virulent killer in people. "It is a very dangerous virus from an evolutionary point of view," said Dr Myers.

The virus needed opportuni-

ties for rapid transmission, and in African urbanisation it got it. A potent cocktail of poverty, prostitution and drugs allowed HIV's most powerful mutations to survive.

In recent years Dr Myers has seen a terrifying acceleration in genetic mutation in HIV which has been allowed by its rapid transmission in man.

Every year HIV has changed its genetic building blocks by at least 1 percent.

These changes are manifest in the ever more complex sugary armour the virus has built around itself to evade identification and attack by the body's defence cells.

"I call it a sugar-coated monstrosity," Dr Myers said. — Sapa-Reuter. □

Policeman attacked

A POLICE officer was killed by a group of unknown armed attackers as he was leaving afternoon prayers at a mosque in the eastern Algerian town of Constantine this week. Radio Algeria named the officer as Nebti Rachid.

One person was also killed and two were wounded when rioters in Algiers erected barricades of burning tyres, leading to clashes with security forces. At least six people have died since Friday in clashes between supporters of the outlawed Islamic Salvation Front and security forces.

Official reports also speak of an increased incidence of "sabotage" around the country, with power lines being cut by presumed opponents of the government's crackdown on Islamic fundamentalists.

W/mad 24/7-30/7/92

A jarring interlude in the Seychelles, then back to sleep

STAR 25/7/92

THE sleepy Seychelles have been jolted by tomorrow's election. On Monday the Seychellois will have returned to being their contented, fatalistic selves, reports SHAUN JOHNSON from Mahe.

THEY don't have opinion polls before elections in the Seychelles, and a good thing, too. Polls would dilute the crazy speculation and wholly unrealistic expectations of this island nation.

Not having had the chance to vote for 15 years, the Seychellois are out of practice — and they are loving every chaotic minute of their return to democracy.

Street wisdom in Port Victoria is unreliable, to put it mildly. I asked an enthusiastic young insurance salesman to predict the results of tomorrow's election. "Mancham 60 percent, Rene 50 percent, Parti Seselwa 20 percent, Liberal Party 10 percent," he pronounced.

Another election expert, a tea-estate worker hitching a lift in the mountains of the breathtaking Foret Noire, had a simple formula: "The rich will vote for Mancham. The poor will vote for Rene. There are more poor than rich."

I asked him whether he liked Rene. "Oh no," he answered, "but I am poor and I like my job." Such are the intricacies of Seychelles politics.

The warm south-east

monsoon blowing through the exquisite islands is whipping up emotions, but in an essentially good-humoured way. Bigwigs from all eight parties buy one another beers at sidewalk restaurants before setting off for their ramshackle campaign offices to plot a last-minute propaganda coup against their rivals.

Infuriating

Particularly adroit is Ogilvy Berlouis, the former Minister of Defence, who heads the Liberal Party. He has been infuriating Rene by revealing corruption — including a story of more than \$3 million paid to Rene to release bungling South African mercenaries in the 1980s.

Berlouis has taken to teasing Rene, and this appeals to the Seychellois sense of humour. Today, the Liberals are planning to drive a very thin cow around Victoria on the back of a truck.

All Seychellois will know this is a reference to Rene's famous statement that he had spent 15 years fattening the Seychelles cow, and that while he was prepared to share the milk, the

cow remained his.

Mancham smiles at such tricks, but does not indulge in them himself. He believes his status as the fun-loving president who was cruelly ousted will see him through. He does a few walkabouts, but not too many.

Rene, withdrawn in his magnificent State house high in the mountains, is rarely seen although his party has plastered much of the island with colourful campaign material which makes the wearing of sunglasses almost mandatory.

In response, a plaintive front-page article in the Seychelles Nation asked: "Who will clean up Victoria?"

For the moment, life in these hypnotic islands has been speeded up jarringly by politics. It will be over by tomorrow night, when the results are announced. Then the Seychellois will return to being their contented, alluring, fatalistic selves.

This week a prominent newspaper story on the islands' Olympic prospects was headlined: "Boxing — The Slim But Main Hope of Seychelles' Almost Non-Existent Medals Chances".

Miles from nowhere, on the islands, there's a lesson for us

STAR 257192

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN

Johnson



YOU probably didn't notice, but elections for the constituent assembly began on Thursday morning. International observers, their presence finally agreed to by the government, accompanied electoral officers to the furthest-flung parts of the country. The president and the opposition parties were still fighting like mad over bias on the government-owned TV station and the misuse of taxpayers' money, and there were nagging fears that the security forces were taking sides. But still the elections got under way. On Thursday morning, after all those years of one-party rule, democracy began to make its long-awaited debut.

In the Seychelles.

This nation of scattered bits of land (geographically speaking a sort of Bophuthatswana in the sea, but one shouldn't press the comparison any further), is way ahead of South Africa in its transition to democracy, even though it started the process much later.

The parallels between the political processes in Seychelles and South Africa are quite startling. The all-powerful President Albert Rene, like President de Klerk, finally responded to international and internal pressure and agreed to a transition towards multiparty democracy.

Exiles have been allowed back, parties have registered, and by tomorrow night the nation will have elected a constitution-making body. It has not been easy and the outcome is not certain — the opposition still suspects Rene might renege on his promises if he loses — but here, in microcosm, is a model for South Africa of a modern-day, peaceful political revolution.

Would, though, that our problems at home were on the Seychelles scale. The islands' voting population totals about 48,000 — or a single big constituency in South Africa. A diligent candidate in the Seychelles could canvass a good slice

SOUTH Africa, according to President de Klerk, must discover for itself a political accommodation unique in world history. He could do worse than look at the Seychelles to see how such a thing is done.

of the population, in person.

When the parties bemoan the violence that has dogged the campaigning, they are referring not to death but rather the occasional bloody nose at a rally. When they talk of a massacre, they mean a voting landslide.

In addition, there are few desperate people on the islands: the handful of squatters that exist are able to build their shacks on beaches, under palm trees, with the most beautiful ocean vistas in the world to offset their lack of consumer goods. There is no mass starvation and very little crime. The uniformed police are widely accepted to be uncorrupt and helpful. There is a total of some 6,000 vehicles on the islands, and fewer than 200 taxis. There are one or two beggars, but they are part-timers, and not insistent. If the political miracle of peaceful transition can happen anywhere, it must be here.

The people of Seychelles seem to be enjoying what an airport porter, speaking in the lilting Creole tones of the islands, described to me as "this politics ting".

Islanders happily plaster their windows with posters declaring loyalty to one of the eight competing parties, apparently secure in the knowledge that such a declaration of political fidelity will not lead to their houses being burnt down. One small house perched on an overgrown hillside near Port Gland showed that tolerance reigns, even within families: Some windows pledged allegiance to President Rene's ruling SPPF and others bore posters of Rene's arch-rival, Sir James Mancham.

The active electioneering is largely good-humoured too. Rene's campaign slogan is "Winning for you" and his posters show him smiling, at the wheel of an impressive deep-sea fishing boat. Posters adorn every street-lamp and pylon, and most have survived. One, of Mancham, high on a palm tree, has been the recipient of several well-aimed mudballs — but no one has bothered to tear it down or deface it.

There is every reason to believe, in spite of whispers about military action tomorrow if the president finds his people have had enough of him, that things will come to pass in peace and tranquillity appropriate to one of the most charmed lands on the face of the Earth.

South Africa, according to President de Klerk, must discover for itself a political accommodation unique in world history. He could do worse than look at these islands to discover how such a thing is done.

The Seychelles is on the brink of spurning communism, capitalism, socialism and all the other tired old -isms, and inventing a new one of its own. It is called Seychellism, and I think it's going to work.

Islands tense for rematch poll ①

STAR 25/7/92

MAHE (Seychelles) — A tense election battle between a returned ex-president and the man who ousted him has politicised the Seychelles as never before.

Tomorrow morning, the bulk of the Indian Ocean nation's 48 000 voters go to the polls on Mahe.

It appears their central choice will be between the strong, dour ruler of the past 15 years, President Albert Rene, and the charismatic former "playboy president", Sir

SHAUN JOHNSON reports for the Africa News Service

James Mancham.

Six other parties are contesting the multiparty elections for a body to draw up a new constitution, but most attention is focused on the Rene-Mancham rematch.

Rene, then prime minister, overthrew Mancham in a bloodless coup in 1977.

There have been no elections since. Mancham re-

turned to Seychelles from exile in London in April this year after Rene succumbed to international and internal pressure and agreed to a transition to multipartyism.

It is expected that the election results will be announced tomorrow night. Observers believe Rene's ruling party will put in a good showing — it is deeply entrenched after 15 years of one-party rule — but say Mancham's residual popularity could swing

● TO PAGE 2.



ALBERT RENE: Overthrew James Mancham in a bloodless coup in 1977.

Seychelles

● FROM PAGE 1.

the contest his way. Smaller parties, including the Seychelles Liberal Party and the Parti Seselwa, could play a power-broking role if they beat the 5 percent cut-off required for representation in the constitutional forum.

The election takes place against the dramatic backdrop of a call from five opposition parties for foreign warships to come to the capital, Port Victoria, in case Rene loses and uses force to nullify the election results. Yesterday Britain politely declined the request for naval back-up, but said Whitehall would deplore any attempt to disrupt the

electoral process. ①

Seychelles Director of Elections Andre Sauzier said that if any party decided not to respect the results, this could lead to a coup and the "short-circuiting" of Seychelles's democratisation process.

Polling started, in the far-flung outer islands on Thursday. Seychelles is made up of 115 islands, some nearly 1 000 km from the capital. This makes the electoral process slow and complicated. On some islands, there are as few as five voters, with the vast majority on Mahe.

Commonwealth observers are verifying the electoral process, and a group of French MPs arrived on Mahe this week to monitor events.

● See Pages 7 and 12

SA blind may form link with Africa ^①

BLIND people in South Africa could soon be forming links with the blind across the continent. The SA League of Friends of the Blind hopes to be admitted to the African Union of the Blind and is hosting a delegation from the African union that includes its president, Mr Ismail Konate of Mali.

Konate will attend the local

^{SOUTH 2577-2917/92.}
league's annual general meeting, said director Mr Philip Bam.

There has been a large increase in the number of blind people referred to the SA league this year, according to Bam.

Its professional staff work to help people overcome the traumatic experience of loss of vision. They also help blind people to achieve

independence and mobility. ~~SA~~

Programmes include an English course for Xhosa-speaking blind and another course for visually impaired pre-school children.

● Interested people can attend the AGM on Thursday, July 23, at the league's Independence Development Centre, corner of Klip and First roads, Grassy Park, at 8pm.

NEWS FEATURE The fight goes on to combat one of Africa's oldest problems

Drought, war spark African refugee crisis

WAR AND FAMINE UN fights to end

the causes of instability in Africa:



NAIROBI - War and drought have forced up to 7.5 million Africans into exile, about a third of the world's total refugee population.

And a further 10 million have been displaced in their own countries, the United Nations estimates.

Africans in many nations, long afflicted by drought, have lost their ability to tide themselves over the lean years due to war and economic collapse.

The UN says some 40 million people in sub-Saharan Africa need international food aid this year - 10.6 million tonnes of it - and refugees are the most needy of all.

In the long-term, many African aid officials say, the underlying causes of poverty need to be tackled before stability can be restored.

"There can be no lasting peace or prosperity as long as millions of people continue to endure an existence defined by poverty and hunger," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a message to a UN World Food Council summit in Nairobi last month.

But Western donors who once pumped aid into the continent's development are scaling down assistance: With the end of the Cold War Africa has lost its strategic importance and help is needed in the former Eastern Bloc coun-

tries.

Conflicts in nations such as Ethiopia and Angola ended in the wake of the Cold War. Other old conflicts drag on, such as those in Mozambique and Sudan.

But new ones in nations such as Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia have erupted, driven by age-old ethnic hatreds that could spread to other states in the region.

In Somalia alone, 800 000 people or nearly one-in-six of the total population have crossed into neighbouring countries due to 18 months of tribal fighting and drought following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Tribal massacres in Rwanda forced hundreds of thousands of people from the Tutsi tribe into exile in the 1950s and 1960s.

That caused yet more civil strife when Tutsi rebels invaded from neighbouring Uganda.

"Many Rwandan refugees are not keen to go back after all these years, but all they seek is recognition, the right to go back, the right to a passport," an official of the rebel Rwandan Patriotic

Front said.

After years in exile, the UN also found only 13 000 out of 20 000 South African exiles from the black nationalist movements fighting white rule wanted to go home this year.

"When they look at what's going on at home and what little those who have gone back have found, they want to wait," said Karen Abu Zayd, chief of the UN High Commission for Refugees.

Staunching the flow of refugees will require nothing less than international political intervention, many analysts say. The Organisation of African Unity's annual summit this month resolved to try to end conflicts in the region but stopped short of creating a body that could intervene in them.

Many diplomats say the onus is now on the shoulders of the UN to solve conflicts African governments cannot. But developing countries do not want UN intervention to be forced on them, saying the UN charter should respect states' sovereignty under all circumstances. - *Sapa-Reuter*.



The face of hunger: Mrs Elizabeth and little Daniel Modise wait patiently for food aid in one of Lusaka's squatter camps.

BUSINESS Help for entrepreneurs to set up businesses, expand or diversify

Small businesses are vital to economic growth on the continent:

By Joshua Raboroko

AFRICA'S economic recovery will depend to a large extent on the rapid development of the indigenous sector, according to the Africa Project Development Facility's annual report for 1991, released in Washington this month. APDF, which was established in 1986, provides advisory assistance to sub-Saharan Africa's small and medium

Recovery will come from inside

sized businesses. According to coordinator Mr. Alexander Keyserling, these businesses "are vital to economic development in the region".

Keyserling is expected to be one of the speakers at the Sowetan Small Business and Entrepreneurial Development Conference that is to be held at the Eskom Training College in Midrand from September 13. APDF helps entrepreneurs set up businesses or expand or

diversify an existing one, find local or foreign investment partners, and secure debt and equity finance. It does not finance projects.

During 1991, it worked on 23 projects in African countries. The projects, which have total investment costs of R144 million, are expected to result in the creation of 2 000 jobs.

About 11 projects were agricultural industry, the sector in which demand for APDF's services has been the heaviest,

10 in manufacturing and two in hotels and services. It helped raise R96 million or 66 percent of the total funding requirements for the projects. For the first time, projects in the West and Central Africa outnumbered those in East and Southern Africa.

This reflects the increase in private sector activity in Ghana and Nigeria, said APDF advisory board member Mr. Makarand Dejeja, who serves as a vice-president for engineering at the

International Finance Corporation, APDF's executive agency.

He noted that African entrepreneurs "continue to show the ability to fulfill and successfully manage a large variety of enterprises despite difficult conditions, including a severe shortage of equity funding in several countries." The APDF is sponsored by IFC, the United Nations Development Programme and the African Development Bank.

Africa in brief

Killer named ①

ALGIERS - The killer of Algerian head of state Mohamed Boudiaf was a known sympathiser of Algerian and foreign Muslim fundamentalist movements, a spokesman for an official inquiry said at the weekend. *Sowetan*
27/7/92



UN officials visit Mogadishu, Somalia's capital, to oversee a UN-sponsored ceasefire between two factions which are fighting for control of the city.

Four killed in clashes

Supporters of the banned Islamic ^{Sowetan 27/7/92} Front in confrontation with police: ①

Front in confrontation with police: ①

ALGERS - Four people were killed and more than 300 arrested in Algeria during clashes between Muslim fundamentalists and security forces after Friday prayers.

The official news agency APS and state radio reported yesterday that 230 protesters were arrested in Berrouaghia where three people, including two girls

aged 15 and 17, were killed during clashes. Around 1 000 supporters of the banned fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front took to the streets of the town, 73km south of Algiers, to protest against the jailing last week of the two leaders of the FIS.

Police made 33 arrests in Djelfa, a town bordering the Sahara desert

240km south of Algiers. One person was killed there and two injured in clashes on Friday.

The FIS emerged as front-runner in the first round of voting last year in Algeria's first multi-party election.

Demonstrations are banned under the terms of a state of emergency imposed by Algeria's army-backed leaders in February after the scrapping of the second round of voting.

Police made 10 arrests in the coastal town of Jijel, where 300 demonstrators chanted pro-FIS slogans clashed with police who used tear gas and fired warning shots, the radio said. - Sapa-Reuter.

Mooring the

way to jail

^{Sowetan 27/7/92} The Seychelles opposition party mascot was arrested during election protests: ①

VICTORIA - Seychelles police arrested a cow on Saturday as they dispersed a rowdy election protest against President Albert Rene.

Police fired teargas to disperse hundreds of wild and chanting opposition supporters parading the cow through Victoria with its flanks plastered with posters denouncing the president for alleged land fraud.

The protest occurred on the main island in the 115-island Indian Ocean chain as residents of far-flung outposts continued to sail to polling stations on larger islands to cast their votes in an election to end 15 years of one-party Socialist rule.

The 50 000 voters in the 70 000 population are electing a 20-member commission that will draw up a new constitution after Rene's agreement last year to join the club of Africa's emerging pluralist democracies.

Supporters of the Seychelles Liberal Party, which uses a cow as its election symbol, chanted slogans denouncing what they called power abuse by Rene's government. - Sapa-Reuter.

Sowetan 24/7/92
Check on refugees

MOMBASA - Kenyan officials at the weekend inspected a Jamaican registered ship that arrived in Mombasa on Wednesday with over 250 starving Somali refugees to check reports that some of them were armed soldiers. (1)

tions have ignored an EC-
okered ceasefire, the 39th
ice fighting erupted in
ril, which was to have
ne into effect last Sunday.
A new round of talks has
en called for today in Lon-
n. — Sapa-Reuter.

stay indefinitely while others
could rotate.

The soldiers will help to
defend strategic places, and
search for hidden weapons
and Mafiosi. They will have
the power of arrest. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Refugees stranded on ship receive UN aid

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STAR 2717192
NAIROBI — The UN
High Commissioner for
Refugees yesterday deli-
vered food, medicine and
water to 351 Somali refu-
gees stranded in a ship
for five days off the Ken-
yan coast.

Panos Mourtzis, a
spokesman for the
UNHCR, said the agency
hoped to disembark the
150 children, 118 women
and 83 men today.

He blamed Kenya's
bureaucracy for the
delay in disembarking
the refugees.

The Jamaica-regis-
tered ship, which is also
carrying scrap alumin-
ium, was denied permis-
sion to dock at Mombasa
on Wednesday.

Authorities said a
nearby refugee camp
was congested and or-
dered the ship to Lamu,
about 250 km north of

Mombasa.

The captain, Nisar
Ahmad, of Pakistan, said
he had no fuel for the
journey.

Tens of thousands of
Somalis are believed to
have died from malnutri-
tion and factional fight-
ing in their country and
hundreds of thousands
have fled.

United Nations Secre-
tary-General Boutros
Boutros-Ghali on Friday
proposed a massive re-
lief programme for So-
malia, where the UN
says 1.5 million people
are on the brink of star-
vation and 4.5 million
more need assistance.

Somalia's crisis began
in January 1991 when the
rebel United Somali Con-
gress chased President
Mohamed Siad Barre
from Mogadishu. —
Sapa-AP.

Algerian killing: 10 held

ALGIERS — Ten members of Algeria's elite
presidential guard have been arrested in connec-
tion with last month's assassination of President
Mohamed Boudiaf, says the head of a govern-
ment commission investigating the killing. The
president was shot dead by a member of the
guard on June 29. Police arrested 2nd Lieutenant
Lembarek Boumaaraf but the commission said it
doubted his assertion that he was acting alone.

STAR 2717192

Bid to repair Mir

MOSCOW — A Frenchman and two Russian cos-
monauts blast off today to install new equipment
that may help prolong the lifespan of the Mir
orbital space station. A Soyuz TM spacecraft is
scheduled to take off from Kazakhstan and ren-
dezvous with the space station that has been the
workhorse of the Soviet space programme since
1986. It was feared the station might have to be
abandoned as equipment ages and its orbit
brings it closer to earth's atmosphere.

Kenyan rally broken up

NAIROBI — Riot police broke up a rally by sup-
porters of Kenya's largest opposition party, the
Forum for the Restoration for Democracy
(Ford), in Kagunduini, Murang'a. A government
official declared the rally cancelled and ordered
policemen to disperse hundreds of supporters
who turned up for the meeting on Saturday.

STAR 2717192

● Reports by Star Foreign Service, Sapa, Reuter,
Financial Times and Associated Press.

Rene wins poll ①

VICTORIA - Voters in the Seychelles gave Socialist President Albert Rene an overwhelming victory yesterday in the island's first multiparty poll in 16 years. *Southern 28/11/72*

years. ①

Rene's ruling Seychelles People's Progressive Front took 58.4 percent of the 45,000 votes cast in a poll on a new democratic constitution. *Southern 28/11/72*

He trounced seven newly-formed rival parties and the man he toppled in a 1977 army-backed coup, Sir James Mancham.

AFRICA NEWS More tragedy strikes Somali refugees • Short reports from the continent

Forty-five Somali

refugees drown

Sowetan 28/7/92 (1)

■ DESPERATE REFUGEES Somalis

flee clan fighting and a terrible drought:

D **JIBOUTI (SOMALIA)** - Forty-five Somalis fleeing civil strife and famine drowned when their crowded dhow sank in rough seas at the weekend off Djibouti, witnesses said.

A report on Sunday said as many as 60 may have died.

In Kenya, the government negotiated yesterday with UN officials over a freighter, refused permission to dock because it carries some 300 Somalis.

The incidents, one in the country bordering Somalia on the north and the other on the south, highlighted the

plight of hundreds of thousands of Somalis fleeing abroad for food and security after months of civil war.

Witnesses said a French military rescue team recovered 45 bodies from the dhow and handed them over to Djibouti government officials late on Sunday.

Earlier reports said as many as 60 may have died. Five survivors, including a woman,

were rescued in a 10-hour air and sea search. Somalis are fleeing because of the collapse of their country into clan fighting and anarchy aggravated by the worst drought in 100 years. One in six Somalis has left the country to escape more than a year of civil strife after the overthrow of President Mohamed Siad Barre. - *Sapa-Reuters*

Outdoor advertising an ideal medium for Africa

GAVIN DU VENAGE

OUTDOOR advertising may prove the necessary link between SA marketers and potential customers in the rest of Africa, says Outdoor Advertising Association of SA GM Tony Davidson.

Although outdoor was "small" in this country, it played a significant role in the rest of the continent. There were signboards outside stores in even the most remote areas.

Rent-a-Sign already has operations in Namibia and Botswana, and recently announced it had secured contracts for billboards at Maputo's airport and at sites within the city. *BIDAY 8/9/92.*

"Because you are dealing with a Third World market, signboards have an advantage over other media," Davidson said. Television services were erratic, and radios needed batteries and licences. But billboards, from a consumer's point of view, were free.

Botswana-based outdoor advertising contractor Creative People recently became the first foreign company to become a full member of SA's outdoor association.

Creative People MD Chris Mosinyi found SA clients were interested in signing contracts but hesitant to deal with a company that had no track record in SA.

Davidson said he expected further co-operation between SA and advertising companies in the region.

Rent-a-Sign marketing manager Bruce Palmer said the company was investigating markets as far afield as Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi.

Russian newspaper to boost ties with Africa

CAPE TOWN — Why was a rubber stamp marked 'Department of Co-operation and Development' kept alongside false beards, wigs and foreign passport forging equipment in a secret Communist Party workshop in Moscow?

BIDAM 28/7/92.

Russian journalist Sergey Parhomenko concludes in the first edition of New Bridge, a bi-lingual newspaper aimed at fostering business and other contacts between Russia and southern Africa, that it was used to help SA communists and trade union leaders slip in and out of their own country.

The seal was found when government offices were being set up in the Communist Party central committee's former building in Moscow after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Parhomenko says: "It is easy to suppose who the fake documents were meant for. SA communists and trade unionists visited the Soviet Union since the '20s and '30s and were followed in later years by members of the banned liberation movements.

"It looks as if they were helped here with forged documents so they could travel to other countries and penetrate their own."

The English edition of New Bridge, which will be air-freighted to SA, is intended to acquaint southern African business circles with the new economic laws and rules of Russia and the former Soviet republics.

The first English edition carries detailed information on a number of Russian companies, institutes and other organisations looking for southern African partners, markets or finance.

The Russian edition will acquaint Euro-Asian readers with SA — its political and economic legislation, economic possibilities, and problems of immigration.

Listed as a "founder" of the newspaper is Russian diamond marketing organisation Almazzoloto, which has a billion-dollar annual sales contract with De Beers Centenary. — Sapa.

Rene wins Seychelles poll

81041 28/7/92

VICTORIA — President Albert Rene's ruling party has won the Seychelles' first multiparty election in 17 years, defeating flamboyant opposition leader James Mancham, ousted by Rene in a 1977 coup, officials said yesterday.

Rene's Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) took 58.4% of the votes cast in the weekend poll to elect a 20-seat commission to draft a new constitution for a future legislative assembly to be elected in December.

Voters will be asked to approve the new constitution in a referendum in November.

Mancham's Democratic Party won 33.7%, and will have seats on the commission along with the ruling SPPF and the Parti Seselwa led by Wavel Ramkalawan.

"The result shows people are mature enough to decide their future," said Rene.

Eight parties contested the election, seen as the key to future political control of the Indian Ocean island chain. Five won too few votes to be represented on the commission.

Mancham suggested the polls had been rigged against his main-opposition Democratic Party (DP).

"We find the result difficult to believe but we will carry on until full democracy

comes to the Seychelles," he said.

But a Commonwealth observer group deemed the election in the former British colony free and fair, officials said. Observers from France and the US also monitored the poll.

Rene, who ousted Mancham while serving as his prime minister in a coalition government, won 20 of the 22 electoral districts.

Diplomats in the region said Rene's party had mounted a better-organised campaign than the other parties, while Mancham's 15 years in exile before his highly-publicised return this year had distanced him from the voters.

Rene, who has abandoned much of his former socialist policies, still campaigned as the champion of the working people, while Mancham proclaimed his support for free-market policies.

Political analysts said rural voters had backed Rene, who created a welfare state that guaranteed social security, free education and health care.

Mancham complained that 15 000 exiles who fled Rene's rule and could have been supporters of his party had not been allowed to vote. He vowed to change this before December. — Sapa-Renter-AFP.

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'Africa must not block imports'

6/10 PM 28/1/79
MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — For the sake of a better future, African economic groups must look outwards and not block imports, Zimbabwe's leading economist Prof Tony Hawkins said here yesterday.

The head of business studies at the University of Zimbabwe said it was impossible to talk of all sub-Saharan Africa as a single unit, but it was conceivable that West Africa, southern Africa and East Africa might separately group together around Nigeria, SA and Kenya.

"Bear in mind that the critical thing is to make it outward-looking, rather than inward looking — trying to keep out imports," he said.

Hawkins said for real regional co-operation to develop, governments had to relinquish power and autonomy, which they were most reluctant to do.

"You have to have a cultural change," he said, noting Africa's record of creating inefficient parastatal monopolies behind tariff barriers, which can act as vehicles for politicians to create "patronage" jobs.

Hawkins said fear of post-apartheid SA dominating a regional grouping seemed more prevalent the closer countries lay to Pretoria.

SA and Kenya welcomed the prospect of co-operation, but neighbouring Zimbabwe feared for its manufacturing industries, noting SA's major advantages of scale and technology.

Experience suggested the sub-Saharan problem lay with weak, inefficient implementation of reforms, he said.

He attacked dependence on commodity exports, noting that as the developed world's high-technology industries became more efficient, they required less and less raw materials, meaning depressed prices.

Obstacles remain to economic integration

6/10 AM 28/1/79
HILARY GUSH

ALTHOUGH ample opportunity had arisen from the end of political constraints on SA trade, there were still many obstacles to SA's reintegration into the world economy, a visiting UK academic said yesterday.

Jesmond Blumenfeld, of Brunel University in West London, is a Bradlow fellow of the SA Institute of International Affairs and is in SA to finalise a paper on incorporating the domestic economy into the international arena.

"SA has a long history of state intervention in resource allocation. Shedding this history will be very difficult regardless of who is in power or what government the new SA has," he said.

Industrialisation had always been subject to political manipulation and the attainment of international competitiveness was a complex task. Manufacturers still imported an overwhelming majority of their capital goods, intermediate goods and spare parts, he said.

Although a stable political settlement was needed to attract foreign investment he cautioned against the belief that this was all SA needed to regain its position in the world economy. Structural problems also plagued the domestic economy.

A highly competitive international capital market made it difficult to attract investment. This constituted a chicken-and-egg situation: foreign capital would not flow back into SA until political and economic stability was guaranteed. This, however, could not be achieved until there was investment.

Blumenfeld said there was a conflict between job creation and the kind of goods SA could produce competitively for export.

The manufacturing industry was traditionally capital intensive: the price of capital relative to labour was still cheap and it would be difficult to reverse this trend and generate labour-intensive practices.

"The cliché that SA is the gateway to southern and central Africa is certainly true and the contribution of export earnings from the regional market should not be knocked.

"On the whole central and southern African countries are poor and thus SA's reliance on the regional market for salvation is dubious," he said.

Blumenfeld was sceptical of the success of a regional common market which would have trade relations with African countries would continue on a bilateral basis.

He hoped SA's neighbours would become exporters of commodities besides migrant labour, water, live animals and electricity. Financial sanctions which had prevented SA's return to international capital markets were still in place.

This was clear from the inability of the World Bank and IMF to lend to the SA government.

Blumenfeld cautioned that an end to financial sanctions would not lead to a huge inflow of capital, although funds for infrastructural projects and technical assistance would become available.

He suggested that export incentives should be moved away from those set out in GEIS and towards supply-side measures. Rebates on training programmes and substantial investment in human capital were examples.

Past atrocities are haunting Mugabe

6/10 AM 28/1/79
MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Escalating fury over the discovery of bodies in disused mine-shafts threatens to undo all President Robert Mugabe's recent efforts to revive political support in Matabeleland for his government.

The controversy over the bodies — believed to be opposition supporters killed by government troops — has overshadowed Mugabe's recent tour of Zimbabwe's western provinces — once the stronghold of former Zanu leader, vice-president Joshua Nkomo.

Mugabe travelled around promising land to drought-stricken peasants, but the tour was plagued by the revival of memories of the 1981-87 Matabeleland unrest when thousands were killed.

Churchmen have appealed to SA's Archbishop Desmond Tutu to join them in a march to Antelope mine in memory of all opposition supporters allegedly killed by Mugabe's security forces.

Most atrocities were blamed by Amnesty International on his North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade.

Churches have demanded an apology to the people of Matabeleland for the victimisation of civilians during the violence that preceded Mugabe's 1987 unity pact with Nkomo, payment of damages for burned homes and businesses, and support for orphans.

They also want publication of a report on the atrocities — kept secret by Mugabe for the past seven years — prepared by former chief justice Enoch Dumutshena.

The Zimbabwe Human Rights Association at the weekend called for a new inquiry into all cases of those who died in mysterious circumstances.

Colin Legum tells of a dramatic human story unfolding throughout Africa

New spirit of leadership emerges

SKL 29/1/92

①

WHILE acres of space have quite rightly been devoted to the devastating drought on the continent and to the cruelties in Somalia, few newspapers found space to report the annual ceremony of The Africa Prize for Leadership sponsored by The Hunger Project.

In presenting this year's prize to two winners — Graca Simbine Machel, widow of the first Mozambican president, Samore Machel, and Dr Ebrahim M Samba — Chester Crocker, the former US Assistant Secretary of State, said that while our television screens are filled with stories reflecting the downside of the dramatic changes sweeping the world, "those of us who consider ourselves friends of Africa know that there is a much quieter but equal-

ly dramatic human story unfolding — a story of renewed commitment to investing in people".

Graca Machel, president of the National Organisation of Children of Mozambique, has dedicated herself to the rehabilitation of the hundreds of thousands of children who were orphaned as a result of 14 years of warfare in her country. Called the "philosophical agent" of her organisation, she draws on the power of the community to heal traumatised children by placing them in families in villages.

The second prize winner is a Gambian physicist, Dr Ebrahim M Samba, director of the West African Oncohercasis Control Programme (OCP) based in Burkina Faso, sponsored by the World Health Organisation. For the past

12 years he has led an international programme that has eradicated river blindness from 25 million hectares of land. More than 1.5 million people who were once infected with the parasite have recovered.

As the *New York Times* columnist, Erik Eckholm, wrote: "In a continent beset by drought, civil war and economic decline, the winning battle against river blindness is a stunning success".

Dr Samba, who has been described as a "non-political statesman", orchestrates operations involving 11 West African governments and a variety of sponsoring international organisations. He manages 800 scientists, doctors and field staff workers, 97 percent of whom are Africans.

The scientific breakthrough that

made his success possible was a drug developed by Merck which donated it free to anyone who needed it. So far, 400 000 people have benefited.

The Global Executive Director of the Hunger Project, Joan Holmes, stressed that the achievements in creating conditions for the sustainable recovery from hunger have been greatly assisted by the new set of priorities set by Africa's leaders who have made agriculture and the empowerment of farmers its priority. She added: "There is a new spirit of leadership emerging. This leadership shows a willingness to put the well-being of the people above self-interest, and declares that the fundamental responsibility for the continent's development lies with Africans themselves." □

SA paid R10-m

VICTORIA - Seychelles President Albert Rene yesterday admitted publicly that his government had received about R10 million from South Africa for the release of six mercenaries in 1982.

Questioned about the payment, the Seychelles socialist leader confirmed that the PW Botha Government had paid the money as "compensation" for the abortive coup attempt led by "Mad Mike" Hoare on the islands in 1981. Rene said the money was paid into the Seychelles Central Bank. - *Sowetan Africa*

News Service and Sapa

Sowetan 29/7/92

focus on Africa

WHILE much of Africa is eagerly awaiting South Africa's return to the continent, most people here prefer to remain largely ignorant about the rest of the land mass to which the country is inextricably attached.

They prefer to associate with countries like Germany, Great Britain or the United States, rather than acquaint themselves with the shambles in Africa, ignoring the fact - sad to some, but real nevertheless - that we are Africans in Africa.

Our future lies more than ever before with the African continent. And the sooner we accept that the better for all of us.

More and more businesses are sending teams into African countries to investigate business opportunities.

A future government is sure to have much closer ties with Tanzania than with Great Britain and the political or economic developments in Zimbabwe and Angola are much more likely to affect South Africa than internal political developments in France or Israel.

Ask the average South African where Burundi is and he is likely to tell you it is in the Himalayas or in South America.

Strike conversation

South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family.

On the other hand it is quite possible to strike up a conversation with a taxi driver in Lusaka (that is in Zambia, just north of where Rhodesia used to be) about the crisis facing Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi.

He will know who Babangida is and that Sierra Leone has just experienced yet another coup. He will happily chat about the Renamo-Frelimo war and Dos Santos' moment of truth at the end of September.

Good luck

And above all he will have a pretty good idea about what Mandela and FW have been up to.

Back in South Africa, it is rare to find even a well-educated person able to display the same range of knowledge - besides, of course, the tiresome fascination with which we examine our own navels.

While most Africans north of the Limpopo remain abreast of developments on our continent, South Africans are allowing themselves to be left shamefully behind.

Possibly the changes have been too sudden, and most of them are still too busy wiping the sleep out of their eyes to notice that the once impregnable laager on the Limpopo River has all but disappeared.

Maybe the newspapers must share some of the blame. Newspapers in Nairobi and Dar es

Hans-Peter Bakker of the *Sowetan Africa News*
Sowetan 29/7/92
Service takes a cynical and personal look at South Africans - especially those of the white variety with apparently indissoluble links with more distant parts of the world:



South African newspapers are fixated by the latest romps of the British Royal family.

Salaam are every day filled with news and features on the African continent.

No exceptions

In contrast South African newspapers, virtually without exception, are so fixated by our own crisis and by the latest romps of the British Royal

family that articles on African issues are sadly few and far between. But the fault also lies with a society - especially the white society - which prefers to think of Africa as an unfortunate failure. And the less they know about it the less chance there is of it coming down here to sully their little bit of pseudo-Europe.

Little light at end of African refugee tunnel

STAR 29/7/92

WAR AND drought have forced up to 7.5 million Africans into exile, about a third of the world's total refugee population.

And a further 10 million have been displaced in their own countries, the UN estimates.

Due to war and economic collapse, Africans in many nations, long afflicted by drought, have lost their ability to tide themselves over the lean years.

The UN says some 40 million people in sub-Saharan Africa need international food aid this year — 10.6 million tons of it — and refugees are the most needy of all.

Poverty

In the long term, many African aid officials say, the underlying causes of poverty need to be tackled before stability can be restored.

"There can be no lasting peace or prosperity as long as millions of people continue to endure an existence defined by poverty and hunger," UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a message to a UN World Food Council summit in Nairobi last month.

But Western donors who once pumped aid into the continent's development are scaling down assistance. With the end of the Cold War, Africa has lost its strategic importance and help is needed in the former Eastern bloc countries.

Conflicts in nations such as Ethiopia and Angola ended in the wake of the Cold War. Other old conflicts drag on, such as

Many Africans who can not cope with drought have been forced into exile. By AIDAN HARTLEY in Nairobi.

those in Mozambique and Sudan.

But new ones in Liberia, Rwanda and Somalia have erupted, driven by age-old ethnic hatreds that could spread to other states in the region.

In Somalia alone, 800 000 people, or nearly one-sixth of the total population, have crossed into neighbouring countries due to 18 months of tribal fighting and drought following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Tribal massacres in the central African state of Rwanda forced hundreds of thousands of people from the Tutsi tribe into exile in the 1950s and 1960s.

After years in exile, the UN also found only 13 000 out of 20 000 South African exiles from the black nationalist movements fighting white rule wanted to go home this year.

"When they look at what's going on at home and what little those who have gone back have found, they want to wait," said Karen Abu Zayd, chief of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) South African repatriation programme.

Staunching the flow of refugees will require nothing less than international political intervention, many analysts say.

The Organisation of African Unity's annual summit this

month resolved to try to end conflicts in the region but stopped short of creating a body that could intervene in them — such as a peace-keeping force.

Many diplomats say the onus is now on the shoulders of the UN to solve conflicts that African governments cannot.

They add that the world body has been reforming its policy since the Gulf War last year, when it drew international criticism for not acting fast enough to help Kurdish refugees in Iraq.

Faced with limited funds, Mr Boutros-Ghali in February created a \$50 million (R140 million) humanitarian fund for quick use in crises rather than waiting for donor pledges in response to UN appeals.

Pressure

Overhauling the UN bureaucracy will mean getting various agencies, such as the World Food Programme, the UNHCR and the UN Children's Fund, to work more closely together and not duplicate efforts, analysts say.

The UN is putting greater pressure on warring parties in conflicts such as Somalia and Yugoslavia to give relief agencies better access to the needy, and has gone so far as to guard its operations with armed troops.

But developing countries do not want UN intervention to be forced on them, saying the UN charter should respect states' sovereignty under all circumstances. □

Kenya lets in more Somali boat people¹

MOMBASA (Kenya) — Nearly 600 frail and exhausted Somali boat people were allowed ashore in Kenya yesterday, a day after the bodies of 52 others were fished out of the sea off Djibouti, UN officials said. *SAPA*

Among the 586 Somalis taken in were 396 refugees who had been stranded in squalid conditions aboard a cargo ship off the port of Mombasa for six days until Kenya reluctantly granted permission for them to disembark. Another 190 were allowed to disembark from a second boat. *29/7/92*.

Kenyan officials had expressed concern that their country's resources were stretched too thin to look after more refugees from 18 months of factional fighting, famine and drought in Somalia. But UN officials urged them to relent, saying the world body would provide food and shelter.

Four of the refugees, including two women who delivered babies aboard the ship, were immediately hospitalised. The others were taken to the Utange refugee camp north of Mombasa, already overcrowded with 26 000 Somalis. — Sapa-AFP.

year and 30,4% in 1990. —
Sapa-AP.

Bank lends ⁽¹⁾ Africa \$4bn ~~300~~

WASHINGTON — World Bank loans to developing countries totalled \$21,7bn (\$22,7bn) for fiscal 1992 ending June 30, the Bank said this week. ~~\$10bn~~ ^{2977/92}

The Bank's International Bank for Reconstruction and Development extended \$15,2bn in loans for 112 projects and its International Development Association \$6,5bn for 110 projects.

Loans to Africa increased to nearly \$4bn, some \$600m up on last year. Most of the loans went to drought relief in Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. — Sapa-AFP.

This putsch bid quite puzzling

STAR 30(1)92, 1

THE FAILURE of yet another attempted "coup" in Madagascar yesterday has left the island unruffled and the interim government still firmly in charge.

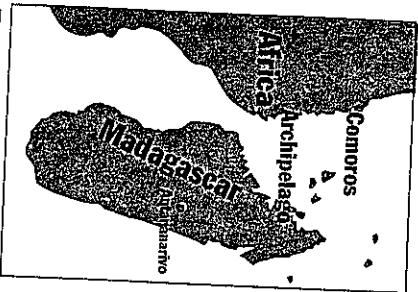
But the incident has strengthened the reputation of the Indian Ocean island as a country where bizarre coup attempts take place.

Incidents such as the brief occupation of a radio station by a group of armed men in the capital of Antananarivo yesterday while one of their number announced a takeover of the government have become so frequent that some locals have come to treat them as a joke.

At one stage the government required broadcasters to learn karate after a man armed with an empty gun seized the station in an attempt to launch a coup. Two years ago, however, the practice backfired when three people

Madagascar is becoming notorious for its many coup attempts. **BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI** reports.

①



Troubled . . . the island of Madagascar.



President Didier Ratsiraka . . . had Soviet anti-aircraft guns stationed in presidential palace grounds.

were killed after security forces used hand grenades to disperse a crowd that had gathered outside the radio station. These "coup" bids were so frequent that

President Didier Ratsiraka became increasingly paranoid and Soviet anti-aircraft guns were stationed on the grounds of his presidential palace. His oppo-

nents even claimed that he was building a presidential bunker on the city's outskirts. Mr Ratsiraka's predecessor was assassinated just a week after he took

But if earlier attempts to remove Mr Ratsiraka from power could be justified, there seems to be no reason or rationale for yesterday's action.

The government has finally agreed to the opposition's demand for the drafting of a new constitution, a government of national unity made up mainly of opposition figures is in charge of the country, and Mr Ratsiraka is now simply a figurehead, shorn of all executive powers.

A nationwide referendum is due to be held next month to approve the new constitution. Thereafter free and fair elections will take place.

Reports said yesterday's occupation of the radio station was carried out by a faction of the Forces Vives coalition. As Forces Vives is now effectively running the country, this would suggest that there are disagreements within the coalition. □

the nation in brief

Food for starving Somalis (1)

MOGADISHU - The United Nation's special representative to Somalia said yesterday he hoped to begin an airlift of food to 1.5 million starving Somalis within days. *Sowetan 30/7/92*

Mr Mohamed Sahnoun, a UN under-secretary general from Algiers, said he would not wait for a report by a UN technical team before starting the airlift. "Kids are dying right now," Sahnoun said. "The technical team will report to the secretary general."

But that does not exclude the possibility of us starting an airlift immediately." He said he hoped to be able to airlift food not only to Mogadishu but to at least half a dozen communities in the country's interior.

Banking 'has duty to SA's Third World'

SA's banking industry has an economic and social responsibility to address the banking needs of the Third World population, says Nedcor Bank CE Chris Liebenberg.

In his presidential address to the Institute of Bankers, he says few banks have addressed this issue, and the banks have much to learn before they understood and could service the market effectively.

Another feature lacking in the domestic banking industry was co-operation to lower the cost structure through rationalisation.

"An area where co-operation will become imperative is in the provision of delivery systems for the masses who at present move outside the banking system."

"It is fascinating to consider that to provide the most elementary and user-friendly delivery and payment systems one has to rely on the most sophisticated and state of the art technology."

Liebenberg says the infrastructural costs involved prevent any single financial organisation undertaking it on its own.

"Is it not sad then that all the financial organisations persist in doing their research and development on a highly indi-

SHARON WOOD

vidual and confidential basis rather than on a co-operative basis?"

Liebenberg also believes SA banks require a much higher capitalisation ratio. SA's required capital to asset ratio is in line with those in the developed countries.

In SA, unlike in the rest of the world, both banking and industry are concentrated, with the bank being significantly smaller than some of the industrial companies, he said. BIDAY 30/7/92.

Exposure

"The result is, on the one hand, the Deposit Taking Institutions Act forces banks to spread their exposure risks while, on the other hand, because of the limited lending capacity through the relatively few banks operating in this country, exposures are actually concentrated at levels in excess of internationally accepted standards."

Liebenberg sums up the challenges facing the banking industry as capital adequacy, profitability, delivery systems and capable people.

Last minute onslaught

Savefen 31/7/92

■ Fierce fighting near capital of Rwanda on eve of ceasefire:

BYUMBA (Rwanda) - The army and RPF rebels were locked in fierce fighting close to the capital of Kigali yesterday, the eve of a ceasefire supposed to end a 21-month tribally-based conflict.

The tea plantations and maize fields around the tiny town of Byumba, 80km from Kigali, echoed to the sound of artillery barrages and the chatter of automatic rifles.

"Government forces are making futile last-minute attempts to dislodge us

from our position," rebel commander James Kabarebe said.

Reporters travelling with Rwandan Patriotic Front rebels said the army appeared to have launched a major offensive against rebel strongholds on a broad front to control as much territory as possible before the truce takes effect today.

An agreement reached between the government and rebels in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha two weeks ago set a full ceasefire at midnight on July 31.
- Sapa-AFP.

news briefs

Somali exiles on their way

NAIROBI - Another ship carrying war-weary Somali refugees has reached Kenya and two others carrying hundreds more fugitives from fighting and famine are on their way, United Nations sources said yesterday.

They said a dhow, the al-Hamza, packed from stem to stern with 251 dehydrated, hungry and exhausted refugees, docked off the Kenyan port of Mombasa on Wednesday and was expected to receive clearance to land its passengers shortly. The Kenyan government, already host to 330 000 Somali refugees, relented on Tuesday after a six-day standoff and gave permission to an ageing Jamaican-registered vessel, the Samaa-1, to discharge 396 Somali sanctuary-seekers.

Refugees on the al-Hamza told relief workers they left the southern Somali port of Kismayu 12 days ago and two more vessels similarly packed with refugees were on their way towards the Kenyan coast.

Shot radical politician dies

LOME - A Togolese politician riddled with bullets in an assassination attempt on July 23 died of his wounds on Wednesday in a Paris hospital, Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh announced on state television.

Tavio Amorin (34), head of the radical Pan-African Socialist Party, died at the Saint-Antoine Hospital, where he had been flown a day after the attack in downtown Lome, Koffigoh said in a statement.

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...ing confusion in trade and industrial policies. Maybe a few more anti-dumping actions aimed at SA exports will clear up that confusion. ■

MAURITIAN TOURISM

Off the boil

FM 31/7/92 (1)

Looking for a cheap hotel? Try Mauritius. The expected boom in tourism has not materialised, leaving developers who responded to the government's call to build more hotels eager to get rid of their semi-completed shells or hotels operating at 30% occupancy or less.

The government has put a moratorium on the construction of any other hotels but, at the last count, about 15 were up for grabs, including the semi-completed Capricorn, designed to have 1 800 rooms.

Though the Gulf War cut deeply into tourism, members of the tourist business blame Air Mauritius, which is 51%-controlled by the government, for making the problem worse. Charter flights are not allowed to compete with the national carrier and its artificially high tariffs. Airline and government officials say they want to keep numbers down to protect the environment and to keep up the image of Mauritius as an exclusive destination.

CONTINUED

FINANCIAL MAIL • JULY • 31 • 1992 • 71

FM 31/7/92 (1)

Hotel executives, however, can't afford to be so choosy about who sleeps in their beds. Says one: "If people are coming all the way to Mauritius from Europe, they have money to spend." As for more tourists ruining the environment, the executive points out that the hulking frames of unfinished hotels are doing a lot more to spoil the coastline.

An airline official commented: "(Air Mauritius chairman and MD) Sir Harry Tirvengadam's policy has led to not enough aircraft landing on his island to fill the hotel beds. It's now a stagnating market. Airlines serving the Far East from SA — at first SA Airways, then Cathay Pacific and Singapore Airlines — which stopped in Mauritius, bringing in tourists and businessmen — now fly over on their way to their destinations in the East."

According to the Mauritius Ministry of Tourism's latest statistics, there was 1,7% growth in the number of tourists in the first nine months of 1991, to 214 400, over the same period in 1990. This marginal increase resulted in a no-show by three major international hotel groups that planned to come to the island: the Hilton and Hyatt groups, for which large, sumptuous hotels were started

and then put on hold; and Sheraton, which did not get to the ground-breaking stage before the plans were called off.

In 1990, when Mauritius had 72 hotels with 9 123 beds, room occupancy in the first nine months was 61%. By the end of September 1991, when the number of registered hotels had grown to 80 and the number of beds to 9 925, occupancy had dropped to 51%, roughly the same as SA's. Some people in the industry say the still-to-be-released mid-1992 figures will be substantially lower and more units are still to come on to the market.

SA's Protea Hotel Group has three hotels on the island and is being inundated with offers to buy additional hotels from owners who want out, says MD Arthur Gillis. "But we are being very selective." He adds, however, that "our three units could be doing better."

Sun International's St Geran Hotel, which Sol Kerzner used as the magnet to popularise the island as a holiday resort, "is doing quite well, but not as well as it should be," says group marketing director Ernie Joubert. "But many of our competitors are going through a torrid time." ■

The SA-based architectural firm Stauch Vorster was involved in the R45m Hilton hotel, which, says deputy chairman Derrick Garvie, the Mauritian government first approved then halted when the Gulf War broke out 18 months ago. Mauritius relies on Europe, SA and the island of Reunion (used by Europeans on charters as a cheaper way to get to Mauritius) for 60% of its patronage, but people simply stopped flying.

The recession also slowed patronage from SA. Air Mauritius has obviously studied SA Airways' old protectionist book and is not promoting tourism by offering discount fares. Its normal tourist-class return fare from Jan Smuts is R3 620, but, for those who stay at least six days, it gets reduced to R1 759, or R1 628 if tickets are bought 30 days in advance.

Compared with the slashed airfares to Britain and Europe (SAA is offering a return fare to London of R1 990), Mauritius is not a bargain holiday, even though the flying time is about one-third.

But this is policy. In an article in *African Airlines*, Tirvengadam expresses his concern about the "unfair competition" of fare undercutting and diversion, via Reunion, by low-cost charter carriers of traffic destined for Mauritius. "This latter practice deprives airlines operating to Mauritius of substantial revenues. The legitimacy of such traffic diversion has been questioned and affected airlines have had to resort to protective measures. But as Reunion (a department of France) is a member of the EC, it is feared that such unfair practice will intensify to the detriment of Air Mauritius."

There is a lesson in what has happened to Mauritian tourism for SA, Gillis says. "Governments should not use simple formulae to predict growth in tourism and encourage entrepreneurs to build hotel accommodation to satisfy that growth. Building more hotels should be based on natural growth.

"That yardstick is being applied in Cape Town's Waterfront, where two hotels are being built and one was recently completed, and in Sandton, where several more hotels are being built. That's the way things should be done. There was demand in both areas for more hotels." ■

African students to debate human rights

KATHRYN STRACHAN

STUDENTS from universities all over Africa will meet for the first time to discuss human rights issues in southern Africa later this year.

The meeting — organised by the Pretoria University's Centre for Human Rights Studies — will be held in Harare in September and will take the form of a moot court competition.

Pretoria University spokesman Tessa Wessels said the purpose of the competition, entitled "Southern Africa — From human wrongs to human rights", was to

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encourage communication between the various law faculties and to create an awareness of human rights. ~~(S) (S)~~

The finalists will argue a typical bill of rights case before a panel comprising the chief justices of seven African countries.

Students from the universities of Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe and all SA universities have indicated they will take part.

Guardian (w/ in w/mail)
31/7-6/8/92

Algeria at crossroads

ELEVEN days after succeeding Sid Ahmed Ghazali as prime minister of Algeria on July 19, 64-year-old Belaid Abdesslam formed his council of ministers — carefully, but with little hint of his intended programme. So political observers in Algeria have been reduced to a guessing game based on the prime minister's background and personality.

Abdesslam is thought to lean towards authoritarianism, which is not necessarily a handicap in a country whose previous governments were often criticised for their laxity and inertia. He was a strong industry minister under President Houari Boumediene in the mid-1970s, and many members of his

present government cut their teeth as heads of national enterprises under his stewardship. For that reason there are some fears that Algeria may revert to old-fashioned "Socialism"; others claim that Abdesslam has learnt the lesson of past failures and could pull some surprises out of his hat.

In fact he has little choice. Crippled by \$26 billion debts and painfully short of cash for essential imports, Algeria can no longer afford the kind of economic policies Abdesslam used to prescribe.

A few weeks before he resigned as prime minister, Ghazali hinted he could no longer categorically rule out having to ask for Algeria's debt to be rescheduled.

Abdesslam no more favours such a move than Ghazali. But to avoid it he will somehow have to come up with new funds. That means easing the logjam of Algeria's talks with foreign oil companies, which as things stand are his only possible source of cash. Ghazali had started the ball rolling by authorising some 15 companies to invest in oilfields already in operation, on condition they stumped up about \$6 billion.

But talks ran aground over the figure and the question of who would control operations. The French corporation, Total, partnered by two Japanese companies, is reportedly prepared to stump up \$600 million on condition it retains complete control of its investment. But Sonatrach, the powerful Algerian oil company, has no intention of being robbed

of its prerogatives. Abdesslam will need all his political skills to get round that, just as he will when negotiating the \$400 million of new short-term IMF credits. Only if he is successful will other loans be forthcoming, notably from the EC.

Although the situation on that front now looks a little less alarming — the firm oil price, combined with a drastic fall in imports, suggests that the economy will end the year in slightly better shape than in 1991 — Algeria cannot afford to turn up its nose at such loans.

But the granting of credits also depends on a devaluation yet to be decided. Abdesslam, who is believed

to be as strongly opposed to a sharp devaluation as he is to letting market forces take care of

By Georges Marion

matters, will have the final say.

If he wants to create jobs and alleviate serious unemployment, he will also have to encourage investment. Despite legislation two years ago to attract foreign companies, they are not exactly queuing up for the privilege of investing in Algeria.

The economic crisis is partly to blame, but what worries them most is the country's uncertain future. Events of the last few months — and more particularly the violence following the sentencing on July 15 of the two leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) to 12 years in prison — are seen as symptomatic of the government's difficulty in dealing with Islamic fundamentalists, some of whom have apparently now set up a de facto underground resistance.

Ali Kafi, new president of the High State Committee (HCE), seems aware of the scale of the problem: he recently declared himself in favour of a partial opening up of political activity. It remains to be seen how far he is prepared to go and whether his prime minister will follow.

(July 22)

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3/17 - 6/8/92 (1)

AFRICA BRIEFS

Rene wins Seychelles poll

● SEYCHELLES voters gave socialist president Albert Rene's party an overwhelming victory this week in the island's first multi-party elections in 16 years. Rene's ruling Seychelles Peoples Progressive Front took 58.4 percent of the 45 000 votes cast on a poll on a new democratic constitution. Rene's party trounced seven newly formed rival parties including the man he toppled in a 1977 army-backed coup, Sir James Mancham.

An extraordinary 90 percent of the electorate, spread across 115 Indian Ocean islands, voted in the polls to form a 20-person commission to draft a new constitution before presidential elections in December.

UN monitors delayed

● DEPLOYMENT of 50 United Nations ceasefire monitors in Mogadishu was delayed this week by an apparent dispute over where to draw a dividing line between two opposition clans. "We are having technical discussions in reference to the demarcation line," said Mohamed Sahnoun, the UN special envoy to Somalia. "Progress is pretty good." Sahnoun declined to predict when the UN mediators would take up stations in the northern and southern halves of the battle-scarred city. He had hoped to have them on patrol early this week. Sahnoun indicated some progress in talks on resuming use of Mogadishu's international airport by the UN and other aid organisations. The airport was closed June 1 after bandits stole 900kg of drugs and five tons of food from planes chartered by the Red Cross and the UN Children's Fund.

Algerian assassination - 10 arrests

● TEN members of Algeria's elite presidential guard and special forces have been arrested in connection with last month's assassination of President Mohamed Boudiaf, according to the head of a government commission investigating the killing. Reza Bara stated the commission doubted the assassin's assertion that he was acting alone and out of religious conviction.

Boudiaf was shot by a member of the presidential guard while making a speech on June 29 in eastern Algeria. Authorities later captured and arrested 2nd Lieutenant Lembarek Boumaaraf. Boumaaraf told investigators he alone plotted to kill the president because of his Islamic beliefs.

Abortive Madagascar coup

● A GROUP of armed civilians briefly occupied the radio station in Madagascar's capital Antananarivo early on Wednesday and announced that they had seized power, but fled a few hours later, diplomats said.

The diplomats, contacted by telephone from the Kenyan capital Nairobi, said reports of a military coup were incorrect. They said calm had been restored and the city had returned to normal by 10am and no unusual military activity was visible.

The armed civilians, numbering between six and 10, were believed to belong to an extremist faction of the opposition Forces Vives party which has several ministers in the government but wants an end to the rule of President Didier Ratsiraka, the diplomats said.

Moi goes campaigning

● KENYAN President Daniel arap Moi has

hit the campaign trail for the first multi-party elections in 26 years with deep splits showing in the main opposition party hoping to unseat him.

As Moi campaigned, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford) appeared openly divided on grass-root elections to select a presidential candidate to face Moi in the polls, which he has promised to hold before March next year.

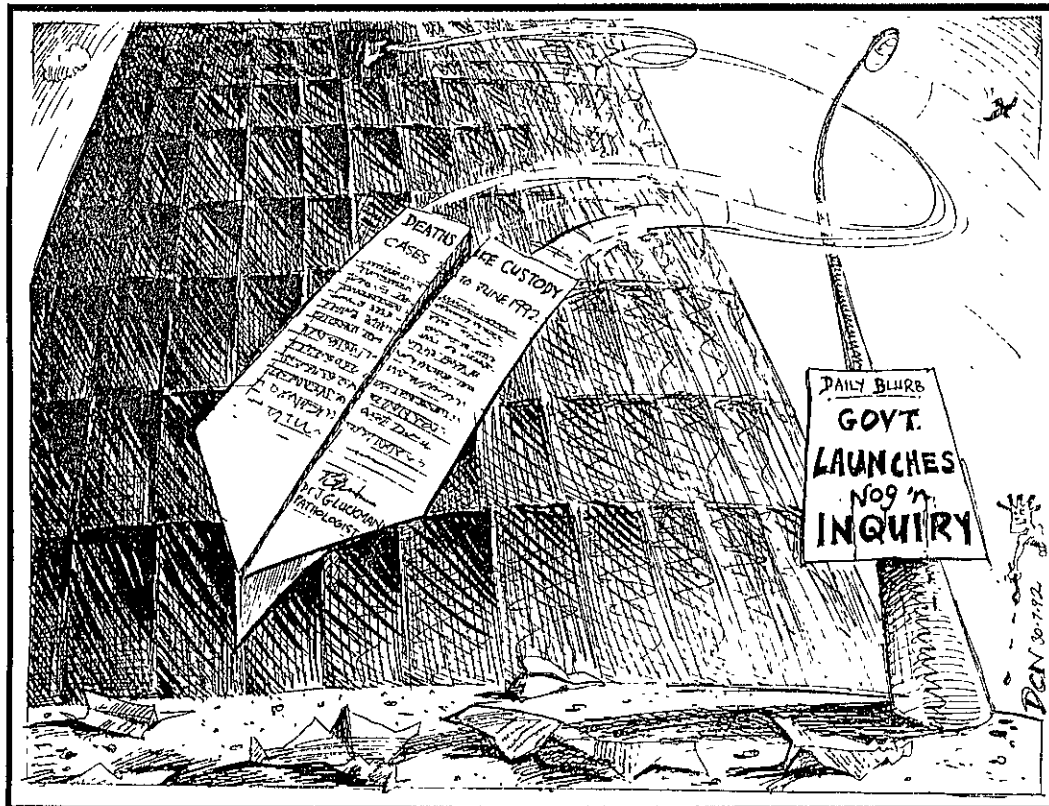
A Ford representative told a news conference he had agreed with three other founder members to postpone party elections which were due to begin on Saturday. But Ford chairman Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and two other founder members say the party polls would go ahead as planned.

Strike cripples Chad

● A GENERAL strike against sweeping government austerity moves crippled Chad for three days this week. The government, trying to push thousands of public and private sector employees back to work, promised swift payment of salary arrears and threatened action against strikers.

The three-day strike, which began on Monday, was called by the UST trade union movement to demand cancellation of a tough economic plan involving state pay cuts and redundancies. The strikers also want pay arrears from as far as six months back.

Information Minister Djiddi Bichara said in a statement the government was ready to start paying salary arrears immediately thanks to imminent budgetary aid from France, Chad's former colonial master. The strike could only delay these payments, he said. — The Guardian, Andrew Meldrum, Sapa-Reuter, Sapa-AFP



MY VIEW

SOUTH Associate Editor **Peter Vale**, Director of the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape

SOUTH 118-578192

I spent last week in Tanzania as a guest of the Centre for Foreign Relations, Dar-es-Salaam.

Same, as they might say in a Western, is not the kind of place you would wish on your mother-in-law. It is a desolate truck-stop midway between Moshi at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro and Korogwe on the road to Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

In the searing East African heat, Same seems a little like the surface of the moon: fine dust and endless craters stretching out to the horizon.

When I first looked over Same's landscape, a Tanzanian colleague pressed a Coke in my hand. He seemed to feel instinctively what I was thinking.

"You see," he said, "we, too, have paid a hell of a price for the ending of apartheid. This place should have been developed but we have tried to give as much support to you as we could. It has cost us dearly, as you can see, but all foreign policy should rest on principle."

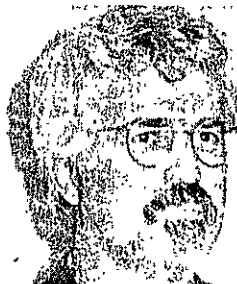
Despite the sheer hopelessness, that day in Same I learnt one of the strongest lessons an analyst of international affairs can.

In Tanzania this sacrifice seems set to continue until there is an interim government in South Africa. As Ahmed Hassen Diria, the country's foreign minister, said in a recent interview: "Why should we be in a hurry? If we have waited for 32 years, we can wait for another 20."

This modulated position is conspicuously at odds with Tanzania's northern neighbour, Kenya, which over the past three years has established close ties with South Africa. The intensity of these links was symbolised, of course, by President FW de Klerk's visit to Kenya during 1991 and the reciprocal visit by Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi to Cape Town last month.

As the global order has changed over the past three years, the international cry for pragmatism has been powerful. This view argues that the end of ideology (as we understood it during the Cold War) means the end of history, to use the term coined by American analyst Francis Fukuyama.

So, solutions to complex human and



"We too have paid a hell of a price for the ending of apartheid. This place should have been developed but we have tried to give as much support to you as we could. It has cost us dearly, as you can see, but all foreign policy should rest on principle"

political problems are to be found along the carefully-crafted contours established by, at best, development experts and, at worst, accountants.

The potency of this position and its global appeal seems well understood by those who have traditionally made South Africa's foreign policy. Their argument is as economically sound as it is simple to understand — South Africa is close to most African countries; it is also more technologically developed than these countries.

It makes perfect sense for African states, therefore, to trade with South Africa, especially during a time when wider internation-

al changes — particularly the World Bank's policy of structural adjustment — have made things more difficult for individual African countries.

And yet, Tanzania seems capable of resisting the urge to take this, the easiest, option.

In Arusha last week, foreign minister Diria returned again to the theme of political change in South Africa.

He seemed to gently chide his Kenyan neighbours by saying, "Meaningful co-operation in Southern Africa is only possible after apartheid has ended. We reaffirm our unconditional political, diplomatic and material support for the anti-apartheid forces."

In Africa an intense struggle is taking place. In a narrow sense, it turns on the question of links with Pretoria, distinguishing those states which have opted for the dominant pragmatic view, who are co-operating with South Africa irrespective of political outcomes. These are arrayed against those, like Tanzania, who argue principle over pragmatism.

But in a wider sense, the contest is between two approaches to the emerging world order. One is a utilitarian view which judges economic expedience greater than political purpose: the accountant, it suggests, is wiser than the philosopher.

And against this is a view which regards the present international moment not as history's end, but only as a turn in the endless cycle of events in which people are ultimately more important than profits.

Although the great weight of South Africa's present struggle is focused on domestic questions — the breakdown in negotiations, mass action and the like, democratic South Africans will increasingly be called upon to make a series of international choices. Not the least of these will be which of the two sides of the new global divide we will choose.

Let there be no mistake, it will not be an easy decision to make.

The spectre of Same's gnarled countryside and wasting people will make the temptation to go the easy route

...s.n. Loc. 13 in this sprawling

... we spend the evenings chatting.

sona. computer named Amic. This little machine — there are

There is no place on Earth quite like the Olympic Village. □

UN to

act on its conscience

STAR 3/8/92



STUNG by bitter criticism from United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that it is blind to the horrors of war and starvation in Somalia, the international community is preparing to dispatch four battalions of peacekeepers.

Thanks to a raging civil war between rival clans and sub-clans, drought and the collapse of all civil authority, more than a third of Somalia's 4.5 million people are likely to starve to death before the year's end, according to relief experts.

The peacekeeping force is needed to ensure that the enormous airlift of humanitarian aid which relief agencies are trying to get to Somalia gets safely to the starving population. Efforts to get food aid to outlying areas have been thwarted by the warring factions in Somalia, and only a few

The UN is to render aid and bring order to Somalia by the risky step of sending in hundreds of peacekeeping troops. LEONARD DOYLE reports from New York.

international agencies, such as the Red Cross, dare operate outside Mogadishu. The planned UN force would comprise four 500-strong battalions to be dispersed to four regions, diplomats say.

The UN has, itself, been trying to get 500 security personnel into the capital for months, but General Mohammed Farah Aidid, a clan leader, has threatened to kill them. Now, after months of patient diplomacy by UN envoy Mohammed Sahnoun, the organisation has been shaken into taking a much tougher stance against the clan leaders.

The Security Council at first

balked at sending a peacekeeping force to Somalia, but has been chastened by the country's deepening crisis and the public rebuke by Mr Boutros-Ghali, that it was devoting resources to Yugoslavia, the "rich man's war", ignoring an equally horrendous conflict in Africa.

In response, the council approved an airlift of aid to Mogadishu airport, and it is expected to show very little resistance to the dangerous and costly plan to use peacekeeping forces to protect deliveries of food aid in a civil war.

The airport has not been used to deliver aid since June 1,

when bandits stole six tons of food at gunpoint. Mr Sahnoun has drawn up plans to begin an emergency airlift immediately, however, without waiting for military and aid experts due to arrive in the country on Wednesday.

Despite months of warning from aid organisations, the UN has been embarrassed by Somalia's slide into chaos. Much of the trouble in the country can be laid at the feet of superpower rivalry in Africa, in which the Soviet Union and the United States saw the country as a strategic asset. Mr Boutros-Ghali also has "a bad conscience" about Somalia, Western diplomats say, because of his own failed efforts to resolve the conflict when he was Egypt's deputy prime minister. — The Independent News Service. □

... many world-class athletes but of cheating. Earlier this year, a judge in cost to the defendants, all sanctions will collapse. Ser

Riot prisoners freed ①

ABIDJAN - Ivory Coast has freed dozens of political prisoners, including its main opposition leader, under a controversial amnesty which also shields security forces from brutality charges.

Ivorian Popular Front leader Mr Laurent Gbagbo and 75 others jailed

Sowfan 3/8/92

Sowfan 3/8/92 ①
after a February riot walked free from Abidjan's central prison on Friday night.

Ghana points the way to Africa's rediscovery of gold mining

STAN 3/8/92

A \$165 million syndicated loan is being finalised that should enable Ashanti Goldfield Corporation of Ghana to expand production and join the relatively exclusive band of companies that each produce more than one million ounces of gold a year.

Ashanti's production boost is part of a gold mining renaissance in Ghana since a new Minerals Code was enacted in 1986, together with incentives and tax arrangements that the mining industry considers reasonable.

Ghana's gold production jumped from an annual eight tons in the early 1980s to 18 tons last year.

Mark Keatley, senior investment officer at the International Finance Corporation, an affiliate of the World Bank, says: "Given the outstanding geology and well-organised institutional environment, it is quite conceivable that by 1996 Ghana could be producing 45 to 50 tons of

gold a year."

Not only that, he says, sub-Saharan Africa (which excludes the Arab countries of North Africa as well as South Africa) has the potential to produce about 165 tons of gold a year — nearly double last year's 84 tons and almost as large as Canada's present output.

Past production figures are bound to be distorted, however, because nearly 40 percent of sub-Saharan African gold production is by small-scale miners, highly entrepreneurial people known variously as artisans, galampsey or pallieurs.

Mr Keatley points out that "they are estimated to produce almost as much gold as the entire country of Chile and quite possibly much more that is not reflected in the official statistics".

At least 10 African countries produce gold but about two-thirds of total output, excluding South Africa, is from three

countries: Ghana, Zimbabwe and Zaïre.

Ashanti Goldfields, which is 45 percent-owned by Lonrho, the UK-based conglomerate, with the rest in government hands, is Ghana's gold standard bearer.

It produced 569 475 ounces last year and expects to move up to 670 000 in 1992 and to sustain one-million ounces a year from 1996.

Drawing on the IFC's investment activities in the area and research by the African Mining Unit of the World Bank, Mr Keatley prepared a paper for the recent Financial Times World Gold Conference outlining sub-Saharan Africa's gold potential.

His paper pointed out that much of Africa had the right

type of geology for successful gold mining but not every one of its 44 countries had the right "enabling environment," by which he meant infrastructure, legal systems, official policies and institutional development.

Since 1986 Ghana has yielded three new world-class gold mines in the Tarkwa basin: Biliton's Bogoso mine producing three tons a year; the Terebete mine a similar amount; and the Iduapriem mine, majority owned by Golden Shamrock Mines of Australia, three to four tons a year.

Elsewhere in West Africa, Mali recently introduced a Mining Code based to some extent on that of Ghana.

In Mali, Broken Hill Proprietary of Australia brought a new gold mine into operation in 1990

which is producing an annual three tons. This will be expanded to six tons by 1994 in a project in which the IFC is involved.

Southern Africa's biggest gold-producing country excluding South Africa is Zimbabwe, which produced almost 18 tons of gold last year. The country has more than 100 mines.

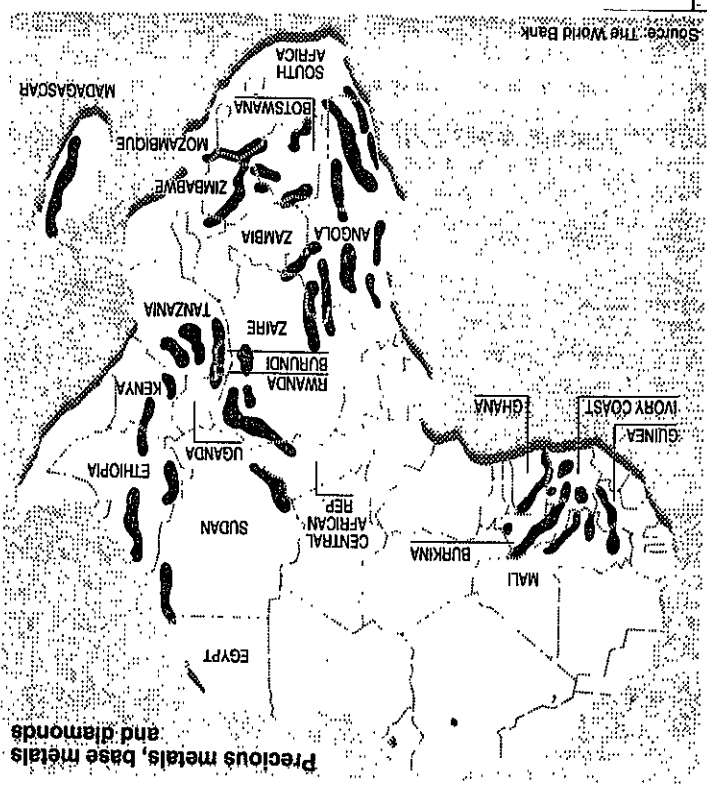
At one end of the scale are mines such as those operated by Lonrho, with output of more than five tons of a year, and Cluff Resources, Falcon Gold and RTZ, each producing two or three tons annually.

In contrast, many small mines are producing just over 100 kg each a year.

Other gold-producing countries in Southern Africa are Namibia, where the first gold mine opened in 1989, and Madagascar. But the country estimated to have the highest potential is Mozambique.

In the Manica area of Mo-

zambique alone there are more than 40 abandoned gold mines with a resource base estimated at more than 50 tons. Zaïre has two gold-bearing provinces. One in its northeast corner has been worked for its gold for two millennia. It might have been a source of gold for Egypt in ancient times. "It is not implausible that the gold of the Pharaohs was brought down the Nile from this source," Mr Keatley says. In more recent times this gold area has been neglected. Most of it is leased by the Zaïre state gold miner, Okimo, which has not invested much in exploration or development. However, last year the government agreed to sub-lease part of the concession to a South African-Belgian consortium. This joint venture — in which the IFC is a founding shareholder — will eventually produce 2.5 tons of gold a year. — F Times.



of gold mining

Like it or not, we do belong here

STAL

4/8/92

①

WHILE much of Africa is eagerly awaiting South Africa's return to the continent, most people here prefer to remain largely ignorant about the rest of the land mass to which the Republic is inextricably attached.

They prefer to associate with countries like Germany, Great Britain or the United States, rather than acquaint themselves with the shambles in Africa, ignoring the fact — sad to some, but real nevertheless — that we are Africans in Africa.

Our future lies more than ever before with the African continent. And the sooner we accept that the better for all of us.

More and more businesses are sending teams into African countries to investigate business op-

portunities. A future government is sure to have much closer ties with Tanzania, than with Great Britain and the political or economic developments in Zimbabwe and Angola are much more likely to affect South Africa than internal political developments in France or Israel.

Ask the average South African where Burundi is and he is likely to tell you it is in the Himalayas or in South America.

On the other hand, it is quite possible to strike up a conversation with a taxi driver in Lusaka (that is in Zambia, just north of where Rhodesia used to be) about the crisis facing Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi. He will know who Bahangida is and that Sierra Leone has just experienced

yet another coup. He will happily chat about the Renamo-Frelimo war and Dos Santos's moment of truth at the end of September. And, above all, he will have a pretty good idea about what Mandela and FW have been up to.

Back in South Africa, it is rare to find even a well-educated person able to display the same range of knowledge.

While most Africans north of the Limpopo remain abreast of developments on our continent, South Africans are allowing themselves to be left shamefully behind.

Possibly the changes have been too sudden, and most of them are still too busy wiping the sleep out of their eyes to notice that the once impregnable laager on the

Limpopo River has all but disappeared.

Maybe the newspapers must share some of the blame. Newspapers in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam are every day filled with news and features on the African continent. In contrast, South African newspapers, virtually without exception, are so fixated by our own crisis and by the latest romps of the British Royal Family that articles on African issues are sadly few and far between.

But the fault also lies with a society — especially the white society — which prefers to think of Africa as an unfortunate failure. And the less they know about it the less chance there is of it coming down here to sully their little bit of pseudo-Europe. □

focus on The Press

Sowetan 4/8/92

DAKAR - After decades of letting international organisations defend the few among them who dared criticise their governments, West African journalists are standing up for themselves.

Two years ago, the West African Journalists' Association established a bureau to monitor Press freedom in the region and protest against attacks on journalists or their employers.

Mr Abdoulaye Ndiago Sylla, former secretary-general of the association, directs the bureau. Each morning, he pores over newspapers and magazines and listens to international radio broadcasts for reports of attacks on the Press.

"I try to verify the report, and if it is true, I may contact Amnesty International or another organisation," said Sylla, (43). "We also will contact the government involved and tell other journalists about it. Sometimes, bad publicity results in the journalists being released."

He gets plenty of chances to intervene and issues periodic reports on Press freedom in West Africa.

Incidents of abuse

Despite liberalisation that has accompanied the trend toward democracy in Africa south of the Sahara, there were 267 incidents of abuses of Press freedom last year, said Kim Brice of the Committee to Protect Journalists, based in New York City. The committee estimates at least 26 African journalists are in jail.

In countries where criticism of the government has been permitted, such as Zaire and Togo, newspaper offices have been bombed or set on fire. The attacks usually are blamed on the governments.

Sylla's defensive weapons are a telephone, photocopier, fax, telex machine and a regional bureau in Lagos, Nigeria. A grant from the Ford Foundation got the project going.

Not intimidated

He is not intimidated by such limited resources and wants to expand the effort to others of the 16 West African nations his bureau covers. It has intervened in Chad, Cameroon, Zaire and Rwanda.

"I think it is very important for local groups to be doing this kind of work," Brice said. "It's important for African leaders to know that it's not only the international community that is concerned about upholding freedom of the Press, but that neighbouring countries and fellow Africans are willing to fight for freedom of the Press on their continent."

Journalists in several countries have been freed after Sylla's bureau protested against their arrests, but Sylla said he cannot prove the intervention was the reason.

He also helped reinstate a Gambian editor

Journalists are no longer taking attacks lying down. After years of abuse they are using the pen to fight back . . .



Nigerian billionaire and Press magnate Chief Abiola answers questions from newsmen at a Press conference in Dakar.

who was fired for writing an editorial critical of the government.

This week, as a protest of censorship in Cameroon, all independent newspapers in the Central African country are refusing to publish.

Sylla said he wants to help improve the newly freed West African Press as well as protect it.

Dozens of new newspapers can say almost anything about their governments, and some do. Many specialise in demeaning cartoons.

"There is confusion between commentary and reporting, and often there is no information, so they just make things up," Sylla said. "We need to be trained to be professional and put truth

above all else."

Some journalists say such precise standards are a luxury in countries with dictators.

"We as journalists have the duty to instruct people about what is democracy," said Mr Kalamba Mike Masyia of the outspoken, anti-government paper Umoja in Zaire.

Former President Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, the first president in Africa to be ousted in a democratic election, blames the Press for the pro-democracy tide in Africa.

In his opinion, "It's because of the journalists that everything has turned out so badly." - Sapa-AP.

3

NEWS ANALYSIS *Number of poor set to soar in Africa*

1,1 billion live in abject poverty

Sowetan 5/8/92
■ **CHILD LABOUR** *Education for youngsters is the first*

casualty as many families struggle to make ends meet:

WASHINGTON - More than 1,1 billion people live in abject poverty - on less than R2,75 a day - and the number is growing.

However, the World Bank's latest World Development Report 1990 indicates that there have been significant long-term improvements in reducing the mortality rate of children under five, and life expectancy - an important indicator of health and well-being - has risen to an average of 62 years.

Despite this impressive progress, more than 1,1 billion people lived in poverty in the developed world as of 1990. There was no significant progress in reducing poverty during the second half of the 1980s, with the numbers of poor people increasing at roughly the rate of population growth.

Poverty varies

The percentage of people living in poverty varies by region. In South and East Asia, the percentage has continued to decline steadily.

The percentage has increased in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, North Africa and Latin America.

The majority of the poor are concentrated in two regions - South Asia, with 500 million to 600 million poor people, and sub-Saharan Africa, with 200 million to 250 million poor. They earn less than R1 110 a year.

How much a person earns and spends to sustain a bare minimum standard of living are important measures of well-being. But other indicators, such as a person's health, life expectancy, nutritional status and literacy also help to measure the human condition.

Health care

The poor lack adequate nutrition, clean water and access to social services such as basic health care or primary school education, and they have extremely low incomes and few assets.

Poverty is most severe in rural areas where arable land may be scarce and harvests poor and where drought, floods and environmental degradation are common. The World Bank's World Development Report 1992 points out that about half the world's poor live in rural areas that are environmentally fragile.

Overcrowded slums

Poor people living in towns and cities generally have higher incomes and better access to social services than rural families. However, they often suffer more from other aspects of poverty, and they often live in overcrowded slums and squatter settlements.

As in rural areas, water and air pollution often are serious problems in urban areas. Sanitation is inadequate, and shanty towns are vulnerable to flooding and landslides. The ranks of the urban poor are expected to swell rapidly as cities throughout the developing world expand.

In the developing world, the burden



The young from poor backgrounds are susceptible to disease and malnutrition.

Africa needs a strategy to address poverty both as an economic and social phenomenon

of poverty disproportionately falls on women and children. When measured by health, nutrition, education and labour force participation, poverty among women often is severe.

Women in many societies are expected to manage the household, rear children and be the main food producers or have other employment. They typically work longer hours, and if they are paid at all, they receive lower wages.

The problem of child poverty is particularly acute. The very young are highly susceptible to disease, malnutrition and illness. Child labour is common in developing countries, and many households depend on it for their subsistence. But the work children perform often is at the expense of schooling.

For many poor people, the costs of sending children to school outweigh the future benefits - especially for girls, whose economic value often is reckoned to be lower than that of boys. Poor households are more likely to invest in education for boys than for girls.

What are the prospects for reducing poverty? It will depend on economic growth and the effectiveness of each country's economic strategy. The World Development Report 1992 concludes that even under fairly

hopeful assumptions about economic recovery, there will be more than 50 million more poor people in the year 2000 than in 1985. But if economic growth is low and recent trends in poverty continue, there could be 200 million more - a total of about 1,3 billion - poor people by then.

The outlook for the rest of the 1990s is that the number of poor people in Asia would decline, and the adverse poverty trends in Latin America and Eastern Europe would be reversed. Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in which the situation is expected to deteriorate.

With an increase in the proportion of Sub-Saharan Africa's population in poverty, the number of poor in the region would rise by about nine million a year on average. By the end of the decade, about one-half of the world's poor would live in Asia and one-quarter would live in sub-Saharan Africa.

Social services

The main objective of the Bank's lending and advisory work is to help its borrowers reduce poverty. The World Development Report 1990 outlined a two-part approach for reducing poverty by promoting sustained economic growth to generate income-earning opportunities for the poor and improving poor people's access to social services such as education and primary health care so they can take advantage of opportunities.

An additional, but essential, part of the strategy is the establishment of a system of targeted transfers and safety nets to assist people who are not able to take advantage of new economic opportunities.

In the wake of a liberation struggle

STAR 6/8/92.

ERITREA has largely dropped out of the news since May 1991 when, after 30 years of armed struggle, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) established a provisional government in Asmara.

This lack of media attention to Eritrea reflects the fact that the country has been at peace for the first time since the launching of the liberation struggle to achieve independence from Ethiopia.

Having won the struggle, Eritrea's leadership put off the consummation of their independence until 1993 when a referendum will be held under international supervision to give Eritreans an opportunity to decide their political future.

This interregnum has provided time for the EPLF leadership to

consolidate its rule, but it has also left the country in limbo unable, for example, to take advantage of membership of the International Monetary Fund.

Eritreans, who have endured war and famine conditions for a generation, face unrelieved economic hardship.

The secretary of the Economic Affairs Department, Haile Wolde Tensae, recently admitted: "There should be no illusions — the Eritrean economy is in a complete shambles."

Almost the entire population, he said, is dependent on charity for food, hundreds of thousands of Eritreans continue to live as refugees, mostly in very bad conditions.

Rehabilitation and resettlement offer a major challenge. With over

80 percent of the population dependent on agriculture, four-fifths of land suitable for cultivation remains almost untouched.

Even with peace and rain, the country can expect to produce less than half of its food requirements — a situation made much worse by the current drought accounting for the failure of 75 percent of this season's expected crop.

International food aid has been seriously inadequate, and the interim government does not have the finances to purchase food from abroad.

These are only some of the most serious problems facing the government.

However, a people, injured to hardship for so long are toughly resilient.

① Led by a remarkable figure, Isayas Aferwerke, Eritreans continue to show the same tenacity that enabled them to keep up the long struggle against the military power of the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime which, in seven separate operations, threw more than 100 000 troops and modern Soviet aircraft and equipment against them.

During the long liberation struggle, Eritreans became divided into a number of rival groups, with the EPLF emerging as the strongest.

Fears that no reprimand from economic hardship and general unemployment would strengthen the forces of disunity have proved unfounded; on the contrary, there is encouraging evidence of growing national unity. □

Starvation 'wiping out Somali nation'

STAR 6/8/92 (1)

NAIROBI — A United Nations technical team is preparing to fly to the war-ravaged Somali capital Mogadishu to assess relief operations for people dying "like flies" in what is now labelled the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

Hundreds are dying every day in the desolate Horn of Africa country which disintegrated into clan warfare after the fall of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

Relief officials say two-thirds of the seven million population are at risk.

"What we are seeing is the complete elimination of a nation. They are dropping like flies, it's unbelievable," said one relief worker.

Mike Aaranso, overseas director of Britain's Save the Children Fund, called it "incomparable with anything

else going on in the world".

The technical team's main job will be to examine ways of checking the pillage and rape of marauding gangs to let a huge relief operation get off the ground.

The Security Council — stung by Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's charge of racism — voted last week to send as many as 6 000 blue-berets to enforce order for an airlift.

The plan is for the team to spread out from the capital — where a fragile ceasefire between two warlords is just about holding — and establish various bases.

They will examine air fields, check roads, and assess the feasibility of schemes such as "food for guns" where fighters are encouraged to hand over weapons in return for grain. — Sapa-Reuter.

8/10/84
7/8/84

Debts cut off diplomats (1)

NIGER's embassies abroad were so heavily in debt — they owe US\$4.6m — that water, electricity and telephone lines had been cut, a top government official said.

UN considers aid push into Somalia

Guardian/W (in W/Mail) 7/8-13/8/92

NEW YORK (UN) — Diplomats at the United Nations consider that the resolution adopted by the Security Council on July 27 is the first practical step towards fulfilling the world body's "humanitarian duty to interfere" in Somalia, a country devastated by civil war where some 4,500,000 inhabitants are threatened with famine.

In a report published three days earlier, Boutros-Ghali proposed strengthening the UN operations in the country and he took the Security Council members to task for being excessively concerned with the crisis in Yugoslavia, which he described as "a war of the rich", and ignoring the tragedy being played out in Somalia.

He announced that a technical mission was being sent to Somalia to explore the possibility of recovering arms in exchange for food and to determine the size of the international civilian and military contingents that would be needed for setting up a local police force, disarming the population, and protecting humanitarian organisations. Though the Security Council described Boutros-Ghali's proposals as "very ambitious", it approved his report and adopted a resolution providing for a very substantial humanitarian operation. The Council's 15 members said they were seriously alarmed at the worsening situation in Somalia and pointed out that

it was urgent to move humanitarian aid as quickly as possible to all parts of that country. The Council asked the UN Secretary General to organise "urgently" an airlift and called on all the parties involved in the fighting to respect fully the safety of UN personnel and the security of humanitarian operations.

By Afsané Bassir Pour

"Good intentions" aside, what the Security Council approved for the moment is the dispatch of a technical team headed by Boutros-Ghali's special representative, the Algerian diplomat Mohammed Sahnoun. In a report which has still not been published, *Continued on page 16*



'I slept through the first part (about Sarajevo), and this (Somalia) isn't going to wake me up either'

What to

Aid push into Somalia

Continued from page 13 Sahnoun has moreover criticised the ineffectiveness of the efforts UN personnel have been making to distribute food aid in Somalia, "while the Red Cross and other humanitarian organisations are managing to function".

Plainly exasperated by the humanitarian situation in the country, Security Council members are now for the first time threatening to take "other measures" to ensure that aid is properly distributed.

Diplomats at the United Nations point out that since Resolution 688 was passed authorising aid to the Kurdish population in Iraq "countries are increasingly demanding that the humanitarian right to in-

terfere be exercised by the world body. Given the situation on the ground in Somalia, the diplomats are in no way underestimating the difficulties of this "huge and dangerous" undertaking. It is estimated that several thousand men would be necessary for an operation of this size to succeed. But no evaluation of the cost has been made.

(July 29) 7/8-13/8/92

Le Monde

Directeur: Jacques Lesourne
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UN relief aid for Somalia

Sowetan 7/8/92 (33) (1)

NAIROBI - A team of top United Nations troubleshooters flew out of Nairobi yesterday to assess a huge international relief operation for Somalia.

At least 200 starving men, women and children are dying every day.

Officials said the team would first fly to the bombed-out capital, Mogadishu, and hold talks with rival warlords whose paid thugs divide the city into tribal fiefdoms and are preventing the distribution of tons of food already in the port.

Stung by criticism of double standards between its treatment of Somalia -

■ Accusation of bias in world's worst humanitarian crisis:

now widely labelled the world's worst humanitarian crisis - and the "rich man's war" in what was Yugoslavia, the UN is now edging towards some form of military intervention.

A senior UN official said the technical team would be a rubber stamp for sending in peace monitors "whether the faction leaders like it or not".

Somalia disintegrated into chaos after the fall of dictator former President Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

More than 18 months of vicious inter-clan feuding has destroyed all agriculture and wrecked the country's infrastructure.

He said the guards would not be proper UN peacekeeping forces but would simply protect relief shipments and staff.

Any UN action will take at least one month to organise by which time hundreds more Somalis will be dead. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

POPULATION *A baby is born every 30 seconds*



Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak (centre) greets Egyptian Armed Forces in Alexandria, Egypt. He now plans to boost family planning.

Big baby boom causing a crisis

Sowetan 27/8/92

**By Neil Moorhouse
Sowetan Africa News
Service**

TIME BOMB *Egyptian population*

increases by a million every nine months:

CAIRO - "By the turn of the century the day will come when Egyptians will begin to eat each other," a prominent Egyptian writer said recently, commenting on the country's population explosion.

Last month, it was announced that Egypt could now boast a population of 58-million, an increase of one-million in just nine months.

The statistics of the country's population growth would be less startling if it were not for the fact that 99 percent of the population live on about four percent of the land, the narrow fertile strip that lines the Nile.

Cairo has absorbed a fifth of the country's population.

The 1 023-year-old capital, built to accommodate 1.5-million people, is now bursting at its seams with an estimated population of 12-million.

A familiar sight

Another two to three million commute in and out of the city each day.

Overcrowding in Cairo is far too evident. In downtown Cairo, citizens have taken to using the roads and dodging the traffic. Faces and bodies all pressed against train windows are a familiar sight on the city's French-built metro system.

Yet more disconcerting for the authorities is the maintenance of the city's services and infrastructure. Many of the severely densely populated areas have water and electricity for only two hours a day.

The rural poor

Lack of space encourages the building of extra floors on top of existing apartment blocks, usually structurally unsafe. Schools are so overcrowded that they work in morning and afternoon shifts.

What has contributed to the overcrowding in Cairo and the breakdown of the city's infrastructure are the rural poor who have migrated to the capital in search of a job and better

standard of living.

Many have built ramshackle, informal houses. Architects suggest these shanties, built illegally to avoid tortuous bureaucracy, now accommodate the bulk of the city's population.

Over 500 000 people now live in the tombs of the City of the Dead, a mediaeval cemetery. Authorities have sought to ease the appalling living

By the turn of the century the day will come when Egyptians will begin to eat each other

conditions by providing electricity and water.

In a bid to ease the seething population crisis in the capital, authorities have built huge modern satellite cities in Cairo's hinterland, designed to absorb population growth.

Fewer than a tenth of the projected number have moved into the settle-

The population growth continues in spite of efforts to raise family planning awareness

ments. Sadat City was commissioned more than ten years ago to be Egypt's sparkling new capital.

Officials say only about 10 000 people have moved there so far.

According to the Kuwaiti publication, New Arabia, Cairo has 27 642 people per square kilometre. At that

density, the entire population of the world would fit into the American state of California with room to spare.

The population explosion has implications outside Cairo. The Nile valley is one of the most fertile areas in the world. But its meagre size means that Egypt now has to import much of its foodstuffs.

This means that the country needs to generate income by relying more, for example, on tourism and receipts from Egyptians working abroad.

Growth continues

By the year 2025, a United Nations report says, Egypt's population will reach 90.4-million. With a rate of increase between 2 and 3 percent per year, it has one of the highest population growths in the world.

On average a baby is born every 30 seconds. In the last 120 years, the population has increased by 300 percent while the arable area has increased by only 16 percent during the same period.

The population growth continues in spite of efforts to raise family planning awareness. In 1988, a "population clock" was added to the nightly news bulletin. The clock, programmed to tick off new births as a reminder of the population problem, became a joke.

Family planning

President Hosni Mubarak has sought to boost family planning by setting up the National Population Council in 1985. It was supposed to meet quarterly, but other more pressing issues have distracted the president's attention.

According to a study about 30 percent of married Egyptian women use modern contraceptives. But use of contraceptives is less in the countryside. Stories abound in Nile Valley villages of condoms being used as balloons and birth control pills being fed to chickens to fatten them up.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Congo leader loses ①

PRESIDENT Denis Sassou-Nguesso, already stripped of most powers by a pro-democracy conference, has accepted defeat in Congo's first free presidential election. *6:00 AM 10/8/92*

The president, who was appointed by the Marxist Congolese Workers' Party in 1979, came third in a first-round vote.

El Niño's devastating legacy

Star 12/8/92

RAINS may be not far off now, but southern Africa will need more than one normal season to recover from what is proving to be one of the most destructive droughts ever to hit the region.

A spokesman for the Weather Bureau in Pretoria said the winter had so far been "normal" and indications were that the dreaded El Niño, a heating of the Pacific Ocean believed to be responsible for periodic droughts in the subcontinent, was subsiding.

That could mean a summer with good, normal rainfall. But then again, according to the spokesman, "El Niño only makes itself felt in November and until then I cannot put my head on a block that the region will get good rains."

As it is, much of southern and east Africa is heavily bowed under what has been described as the worst drought in a century and nobody wants to countenance the catastrophe of yet another rainless summer.

Many people have already died as a result of the drought and in some areas, villagers are eating animal skins and the bark from trees to stay alive.

Apart from deaths from starvation following massive crop failures, many have died from malnutrition and from diseases such as cholera and typhoid brought about by the drought conditions.

Eleven south and east African countries have been especially badly hit by the drought: South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi and Madagascar. The long-term effects of the drought on the region's fragile economies will be severe.

South Africa has the economic strength and infrastructure to recover relatively quickly. Other, less fortunate countries like Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe will take many years to emerge from the effects of the drought.

A giant international relief

The worst drought in 100 years may cripple southern Africa's economies for years to come, even if good rains fall, reports HANS-PETER BAKKER.

effort that is now well under way may save the lives of many millions of hungry people, but the prognosis for the longer-term recovery of the region is not good.

Large numbers of rural people are expected to migrate to towns as food sources disappear. Whether they will be able to return after the rains and resume their old life is problematical, for in some areas seed grain and breeding livestock have been lost, leaving them nothing with which to make a fresh start.

When the rains do come, they are likely to cause severe erosion and loss of topsoil, as much ground cover has died or been eaten by livestock.

Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique are all undergoing IMF and World Bank-led

economic structural adjustment programmes which require drastic cuts in government spending. These programmes are now in jeopardy as governments are forced to pay for food and emergency measures.

About 12 million tons of grain have to be imported this year to feed more than 18 million people. In June the United Nations appealed for R2,4 billion for the giant relief effort. So far about R1,7 billion has been pledged by the developed nations. The grain is available, but problems have arisen with its distribution to outlying communities.

Zimbabwe is one of the worst hit. It lost 74 percent of its grain harvest and now needs more than 2 million tons of food aid to survive. About 140 000 head of cattle and many thousand wild animals have died. At least 40

children have died from drought-related causes. Zambia lost two-thirds of its crops and expects to have to import a million tons of maize.

The Limpopo has been reduced to a trickle along much of its length and has dried up altogether in Mozambique.

The official Mozambican news agency AIM reports that this year 146 people have died from the drought in the southern province of Gaza.

In Swaziland 350 000 out of its 800 000 people will need emergency aid. The death of 10 people has raised the question about the effectiveness of Swaziland's drought relief committee. So far only 1 200 tons of an estimated 45 000 has been distributed.

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President Quett Masire of Botswana has declared his entire country drought-stricken

after it lost almost its entire maize crop. It is rapidly losing its cattle breeding stock and indications are that it will take 10 years to rebuild its herds.

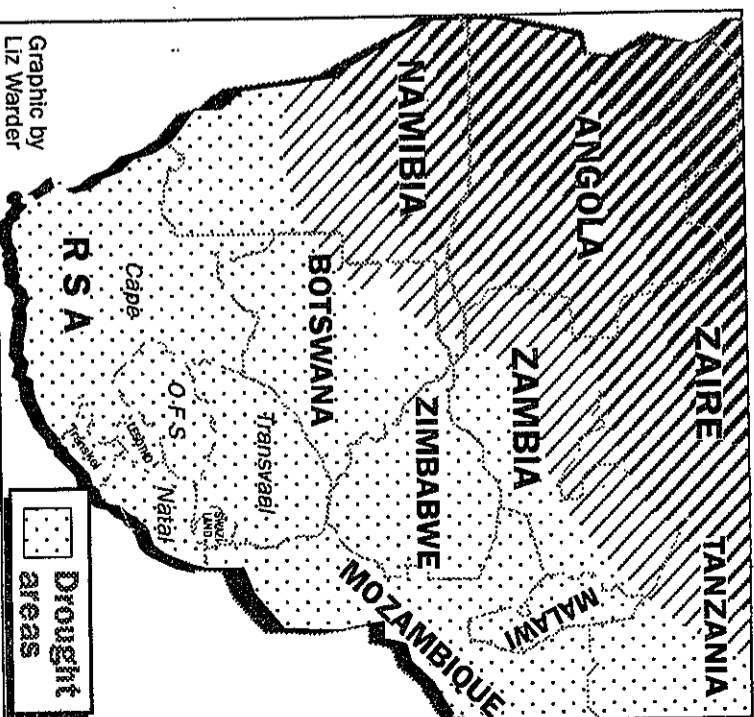
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For now, millions of people in southern Africa are waiting anxiously for the summer rains to begin reviving the parched subcontinent — but how many more people will die and how much longer will it take to recover if the rains stay away for yet another year? — Star Africa Service. □



A ritual rejection of CFA franc's devaluation

810449 12/8/92

SIMON WILLSON

WINTER brings ritual to Africa, it seems. Here on the southern tip, many locals spend July and August hurling nearribs at touch judges. In west Africa at this time of year, it is the season for rejecting devaluation of the CFA franc.

At the beginning of the month the 14 members of the Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA), whose common currency is the eponymous CFA franc, had to perform their now traditional, mid-year reassertion that the currency's fixed exchange rate against the French franc would remain at CFAF50.

That done, representatives of Africa's franc zone went home after their annual get-together in Dakar, Senegal. The CFA franc is safely pegged at CFAF50 to the French franc for another year, with all the attendant net benefits to CFA members.

As the first chart shows, the CFA is concentrated in west Africa among states that used to be French colonial territories. The countries are no longer ruled from Paris. But there are Club Mediterranean resorts dotted around the zone, and the occasional garrison of French troops, and regular airfreighting of French lettuce to these equatorial outposts, all

of which preserve a reassuring neocolonialist stability.

The CFA franc's free convertibility into French francs at a fixed exchange rate makes it one of Africa's few genuinely hard currencies. The fixed French franc rate has been unchanged since the establishment of the CFA in 1948, which must make it the world's longest-lasting fixed-rate currency. It has sat out the dollar's de-linking from gold, the oil price shock, the creation of the European monetary system and the Third World debt crisis without budging. A fixed exchange rate through

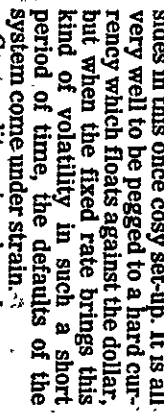
these turbulent times did much — together with the French garrisons — to shore up long-serving governments in the region. Leaders like Ivory Coast president Felix Houphouët-Boigny, in power since 1960, were able to keep the prices of Western consumer imports down with a strong currency. Firm commodity prices, at least until the mid-80s, offset the strong currency's drag on exports, while the guarantee of French franc convertibility made international borrowing for grandiose domestic projects relatively easy.

It was a good arrangement for France, too. CFA members had to keep two-thirds of their reserves in French francs, to do all their foreign transactions in the Paris market. French contractors could effectively dismiss exchange risk when quoting for projects in the territories, and French commodity trading houses had a built-in advantage in marketing the states' formidable resources. But the second chart shows why the CFA franc has begun to irk both



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1 Africa's strongest currency



Since 1985, CFA francs to the US dollar

But local leaders can no longer buy off their constituencies with high domestic living standards. The US and IMF are thought to want a devalued CFA franc so that CFA members can start to pay off their rapidly accumulating foreign debt with higher growth and more exports. The French Treasury is believed to be feeling the pinch of running large overdrafts for CFA states. Once the EC moves closer to full monetary union in the mid-90s, the CFA franc is unlikely to be able to sustain a CFAF50 peg to its French counterpart, which will by then be administered by the Bundesbank. European monetary union will, at least, provide a fig leaf for the devaluation decision when it comes. Until then, the CFA states might as well make full use of their smoke-and-mirrors exchange rate and thumb their noses at the international institutions while they can.

FTFRS

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Star 12/8/92

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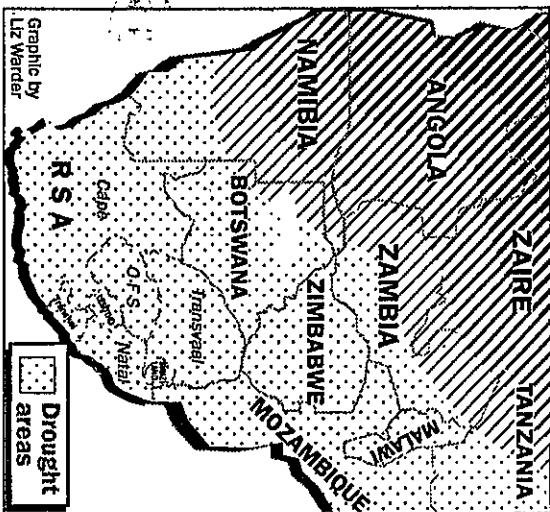
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UN men to guard food in Somalia

STAR 13/8/92
NAIROBI — Somalia's dominant warlord agreed yesterday to permit the deployment of a 500-man UN security force to guard food shipments in the starving nation's capital, Mogadishu.

UN special envoy to Somalia Mohamed Sahnoun told reporters in Nairobi yesterday that he had earlier reached the agreement with General Mohamed Farrah Aidid and his clan allies.

"This is certainly a very important development. It will help resolve the security situation we were facing in Mogadishu. And it will help bring in speedily the food to the needy," Mr Sahnoun said.

But he lamented the slow response of the international community in providing aid to 1.5 million Somalis said by the UN to be in immediate danger of dying of hunger.

The catastrophe in the Horn of Africa nation has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

"Since January, less than 80 000 tons of food have reached Somalia. That is one-fourth of the minimum required for Somalia today, and I stress the minimum," Mr Sahnoun said.

Disgrace

Aid workers in Somalia estimate that up to half of all the food delivered had been looted by clan militias or heavily armed bandits.

The UN ambassador had been seeking the agreement from General Aidid for more than three months.

● British charity Save the Children said in London yesterday that the world's response to the plight of Somalia was an "international disgrace" and reflected a lack of political will to help its starving people. The fund's director-general Nicholas Hinton described the international reaction as a scandal and accused the world of delaying and dithering.

The fund's overseas director Mike Aaronson said: "It should never have been allowed to deteriorate like this."

The international community did not recognise the scale of the tragedy and "it was left to non-government bodies like the Red Cross to carry the burden of relief".

— Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Never
about

Dil. Brown

300 000 now face famine ① in Sudan

STAR 13/8/92

LONDON — Nearly 300 000 people trapped in the besieged southern Sudanese garrison town of Juba face starvation after international airlifts of food were suspended last month, foreign aid agencies based in the town say.

"It is feared that unless a regular food pipeline into Juba is established urgently, a large proportion of the population will starve," said a report issued yesterday of a meeting of international aid agencies in Juba on Tuesday.

The report by Britain's Oxfam, Christian Aid and Christian Fund for Overseas Development as well as the Norwegian Church Aid group said the city's 293 000 people had run out of food and faced starvation.

The city's population, 1300 km south of the capital Khartoum, has been swollen by refugees from Sudan's nine-year civil war.

Malnutrition

The report said airlifts had been intermittent during early July and since July 18 no flights carrying food for civilians had been allowed to land at Juba, southern Sudan's main town.

"If the airlift is not resumed immediately, people will die," it said, adding that there was already widespread malnutrition among vulnerable groups in Juba.

The mainly Christian Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has been fighting the Khartoum government since 1983 over what it sees as Muslim domination of Sudan. It wants a referendum in the non-Muslim south and other areas, with the option of separation.

The agencies appealed to Sudan's government and the SPLA to approve a resumption of the UN relief flights, establish safe corridors out of Juba for civilian evacuation and allow safe passage for overland transport of relief supplies.

Their report, issued through Oxfam's office in Britain, said Juba had been dependent on food airlifts for the past four years because fighting between the SPLA and government forces had made overland routes too dangerous. — Sapa-Reuter.

as they tric



Funera

PRAGUE — Yesterday for the first time in 13 years, one of the victims of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia was buried in the country. The man, a 70-year-old German, died on August 13.

Militar

MANILA — Ferdinand Marcos' former aide, General Juan Pardo, was killed in a military operation in Manila yesterday. Pardo was a close aide of Marcos when he was president in 1986, full of power when his bodyguard was shot. Under an agreement, the former president will be flown to the Philippines.

Award



Sikh lea

CHANDIGARH — A Sikh leader, Dip Singh Sidhu, was awarded the Padma Shri award by the Indian government yesterday. Sidhu was a leader of the Sikh community in France and had been instrumental in achieving a ceasefire between the Sikh and other militant groups in negotiations.



Sibling

CORK (Ireland) — A woman, Katherine, was found dead in a car yesterday. She was 35 years old and was with her 10-year-old brother. The cause of death was not clear.

Corru

SYDNEY — A man, a 40-year-old, was found dead in a car yesterday. He was a member of the Welsh community in Australia. The cause of death was not clear.

IN THE hot and dusty streets of one of Somalia's war-shattered towns skeletal children close to death feed on grass, roots and the boiled skin and bones of camels.

Some of the most appalling suffering in Somalia's war-fuelled famine, where 4.5-million people are in need of food aid, is unfolding in isolated places such as Bardere, a rubble-strewn town on the Juba River.

Towns such as this had to receive supplies by air to avert a massive disaster. Late last month the UN Security Council sanctioned an airlift. So far it had not taken place, although a UN technical team was to fly to the capital, Mogadishu, to assess its feasibility.

Like many towns in Somalia, Bardere, 400km west of Mogadishu, was looted and destroyed by marauding soldiers who ripped roofs, doors and windows off the houses and left the people to starve.

Hundreds of people, mostly children under five, are dying in Bardere, far from the gaze of the world's media or the reach of aid agencies. With no deliveries of drugs or food the tragedy is mostly hidden. There are no feeding centres and

Death is Somalis' only relief

21 DAY 14/8/92

therefore no mass concentration of the hungry and the dying. Instead, children are dying in the bombed-out and pillaged houses of the town and are buried quietly in shallow graves.

Aid workers estimate that 80% of Bardere's children under five are severely malnourished and 15-30 people, mostly children, are dying in the town every day. If their figures are correct Bardere has one of the highest rates of death by starvation in Somalia. Human skeletons not yet buried mix with the bones of donkeys and cows in the dusty streets.

Outside Bardere another 25 000 to 35 000 people were in an even worse condition, close to death after dislodge bands of gunmen looted their livestock and left them without food or sufficient energy to stagger into the town. "The ones we see walking here are much better off," said Brigitte Doppler of the medical charity Doctors Without Borders. "In these

JULIAN OZANNE in Bardere

situations many more people just don't have the strength to walk and are dying in their homes."

In Bardere market there is some camel meat, cigarettes and salt. But there is no maize or millet or anything to stave off the worst signs of malnutrition. Fresh leafy millet stalks are sold in bundles to the few who can still afford to buy food.

Hundreds of emaciated people carrying sacks and looking desperately for food poured into the disused hospital last week as aid workers flew in drugs. Once again the starving Somalis were disappointed and angry that Europeans had come to the town without bringing food.

involved, but the organisation said unless the supplies were increased, food would continue to be a commodity worth fighting for.

"People say there can't be food without security, but there will be no security until there is food," said Don Redding, who witnessed the problems at first hand during a trip to Somalia last April.

Amnesty International described Somalia as a human rights disaster. It called on Somalis to stop fighting, and the world to help relieve the suffering. The International Committee of the Red Cross had warned that 1.5-million people could die in Somalia over the next few months.

Help may, finally, be close at hand with Bardere's first airlift of food by C-130 Hercules transport planes expected soon. Unicef, the UN children's agency, is planning to fly in 16 tons of food, drugs and shelter material. In the short run that is bound to exacerbate the situation, as thousands of people head for the town once they hear food is there. But in the continuing insecurity of Somalia, a big airlift is the only hope of averting the world's worst human catastrophe. — Financial Times.

that it has renounced terrorism and prove that it no longer harbours terrorists or operates training camps.

Council President Li Daoyu, the ambassador of China, said after closed consultations there was "no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for

EC hails peace accord

■ End of Mozambique's 15-year civil war

LONDON - The European Community on Wednesday welcomed an agreement by Mozambique's leaders to end the southern African nation's 15-year civil war. *MW/14/8/92*
The president of Mozambique, Mr

LOCATIONS: Scotland, in December 1988.

The council also demanded that Libya co-operate and make suspects available to a French investigation into the bombing of a UTA airliner over Niger in September 1989. Libya has said it would co-operate with the French probe. - *Sapa-AP.*

Joachim Chissano, and the rebel leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama, committed themselves in Rome on August 7 to signing a general peace accord on October 1. They agreed to sign a ceasefire by then. - *Sapa-AP.*

'Bring cash home'

NAIROBI - Parliament has passed a motion requiring Kenyans with money in foreign banks to bring it into the country soon to help the country deal with the worsening economic situation.

MP Mr Kennedy Kihiku, who made the suggestion, claimed that over R8 million was being held overseas by Kenyans.

Assistant minister for finance, Mr Mathias Keah, said the government would approach the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for a list of Kenyans with foreign accounts

Africa in brief

Sowetan 14/8/92

so that "outrights and unpatriotic Kenyans" could be forced to return the money for the country's development. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

UN forces welcome

NAIROBI - All Somali's faction leaders have signed an agreement for 500 UN troops to be deployed in the port and international airport of Somalia's capital Mogadishu. *Sowetan* 14/8/92
UN envoy Mohamed Sah said on his arrival in the Kenyan capital yesterday:

"We have signed an agreement today with the Somali leaders who were hitherto opposed to the deployment of 500 security guards from the United Nations."

The UN representative had returned from talks with the warlord of southern Somalia, General Mohamed Farah Aidid, at Bardera in the southwest of the famine-stricken Horn of Africa country, which is gripped by civil war. - *Sapa-AP.*



Use of force 'can be avoided' in Somalia

One and a half million inhabitants of Somalia are in danger of dying shortly because of famine, according to Mohamed Sahnoun, the United Nations secretary general's special representative there.

Guantanamo (Africa) 14/8-20/8/92
million of them were virtually doomed.

He praised the International Committee of the Red Cross for being first in with help (it has 68 representatives on the ground and they are helped by 1,500 Red Cross volunteers; one-quarter of the ICRC's annual budget of Dollars 500 millions is earmarked for Somalia). The aid, said Sahnoun, began to be sent in January, while the United Nations began making a significant contribution only in March.

By Bertrand Le Gendre

"Somalia's geographical configuration hampers the dispatch of food aid," said Sahnoun. "Its elongated shape makes it difficult to be everywhere. Consequently, some regions have been favoured, particularly the Mogadiscio region. At the same time the arrival of aid in the capital is causing inextricable problems."

"We have in recent days succeeded in getting supplies out to some towns in the interior, like Baidoa, but the southern part of the country is getting practically no aid at all, whereas it's Somalia's most heavily populated region. What's more, the aid is quite insufficient. We estimate the needs to be between 40,000 and 50,000 tonnes a month, whereas only 10,000 tonnes are coming in."

In a recent report submitted to

the UN secretary-general, Sahnoun is said to have criticised the organisation's attitude to the Somali tragedy. Why did he do that?

"I noticed, even if this was already known," answered Sahnoun, "that the UN was using salaried personnel (in this operation) who want guarantees on working conditions before going on any assignment. Non-governmental organisations are

ready to work unmaned by volunteers who are

under difficult conditions. Which makes them more effective. With the exception of UNICEF, UN agencies don't appear to be prepared to cope with emergency situations. I prefer not to name them."

What steps had the UN taken to follow up the Security Council resolution passed on July 27 which provides for large-scale aid to be sent to Somalia?

"A technical commission arrived in Mogadiscio on August 6 and it should report back on August 15," said Sahnoun. "It has to make recommendations on the kind of structures that will be set up for distributing the aid in various regions of Somalia. It is to be hoped that this will be sent in as early as possible."

That resolution provided for the use of force if aid could not be distributed in satisfactory conditions. Did he feel that it will come to this?

14/8-20/8/92

"If it proves to be necessary, yes, for it's a question of saving human lives. I nevertheless consider that recourse to force can be averted, for the situation here today bears no resemblance to what is happening in the former Yugoslav territory." There is no large-scale war going on between the various clans among themselves. Each movement controls a well-defined territory whose dimensions roughly match its aspirations. It is therefore the status quo. Banditry is the real problem. There are gangs looting a part of the aid destined for their needs and needs of their families.

"The solution to the problem would be to cede 60 to 70 per cent of the humanitarian aid at low cost to local traders on condition that they market it. That's the way to get the economy going again while at the same time discouraging looters. Some of these traders, by the way, are not too unhappy about the looting, for they're so irritated by the competition from humanitarian organisations."

"If force has to be used, it'll be the first instance of the UN intervening to make sure that humanitarian aid is duly distributed. It wouldn't be a force performing a peacekeeping operation, as we have seen elsewhere, but one ensuring that help in fact does reach its destination."

(August 9/10)

'No' votes

Continued from page 13

conducted on July 30 and 31 shows a 5 per cent drop of the "yes" vote in two months and a corresponding rise in the "no" vote.

This development is confusing the issue. Just as in 1972, the 1992 referendum campaign is plainly suffering on account of the political situation inside France. The Maastricht treaty's supporters fear the referendum vote on September 20 might be affected by the continuing decline in President Mitterrand's popularity, in view of his commitment to a united Europe, and by the end of the political honeymoon, as shown in opinion polls, that Pierre Bérégovoy has enjoyed since taking over the prime ministership. There is no other explanation for the fact that Mitterrand has been absent for weeks from the campaign. All the same, the rising tide of "noes" should not be used for laughing off the reservations that have always been observed whenever Europe opted for too clear-cut a course.

(August 5)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jacques Lescourne
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GREEN PAGES: *Bundu bashing*

EVERY morning at low tide, the local women swarm out to the coral reef, and wading ankle-deep in the sunlit waters, pick it clean of everything that moves.

The scene makes a picturesque tourist snapshot — but it underscores the deepening ecological crisis on the beautiful tropical archipelago of the Comoros.

The four islands, set at the north end of the Mozambique Channel, have one of the highest population growth rates in Africa — 4.2 percent a year — and little industry or foreign trade. The result is mounting pressure on marine resources, and on the sparse inshore reefs which nurture them.

Until recently, cultural taboos among Comoreans — an intriguing mixture of African, Polynesian, Arabic, Indian and Portuguese bloodlines — had ensured the rational exploitation of the seas. Now customary bans on gillnets, seines, traps and spearfishing have fallen away, and fish-poisons and even explosives are in use.

Tourism, the islands' major industry, has fuelled the degradation of the reefs by encouraging the wholesale harvest and sale of shells, and particularly the majestic triton shell.

Snorkelling over the coral off the largest island, Grand Comoro, throws harsh light on the problem: the dearth of large fish and other predators, including the triton, has touched off a plague of sea urchins, whose spiky heads stud the sea bottom. One variety is a burrowing urchin which plays a key role in eroding the reef.

Topping it all are the Japanese, the world's biggest consumers of white-meat fish, who have signed a fishing treaty with the Comoreans. Because of the virtual absence of marine policing, no one knows just how much Comorean fish is swallowed by Japanese factory-ships waiting just over the horizon.

One approach has been to spur offshore fishing in seas traditionally beyond the range of the *galawa*, the islanders' paddle-powered dugout

Rest the
seas — but
islanders^①
still starve

W/M Mail 14/8 - 20/8/92

Imagine living on a beautiful tropical island ... strolling along beaches, collecting coconuts and catching fish. Sounds perfect but it's not.

DREW FORREST *discovers that the poverty-stricken Comoreans are forced to strip the sea of its resources*

canoe.

A European Community project has supplied *fedawa*, fibreglass boats with outboard motors, as well as installing "fish attracting devices" (FADs) — floating refuges with elaborate plastic strips and ropes — in deep water around Grand Comoro.

The pelagic fish catch has risen, but by the end of last year not a single FAD survived. Historic rivalry between fishing villages had led to sabotage, and all the devices had been cut adrift.

The obvious answer would seem to be the creation of marine reserves — and indeed the government has declared such a reserve off Grand

Comoro, after determined lobbying by a small band of environmental activists based at the South African-owned Le Galawa hotel.

The fact that water-skiers and sailors using the hotel's facilities constantly criss-cross the waters of the reserve may have reduced levels of exploitation, says Tony Kay, one of the most vocal of the lobbyists.

But he points out that the problem goes much deeper: can environmental concerns be allowed to override the subsistence needs of native Comoreans, whose protein comes largely from the sea?

And who is to police the reserve, since the government lacks even the fuel to power its minuscule fleet of patrol boats?

Conservation costs money and entails sacrifices: the Comorean government is so broke that civil servants wait up to five months to be paid. Its routine response to environmentalists on the ravages of Japanese commercial fishing is to ask whether they can replace government earnings from this source.

Powerful family interests and the dispersed structure of power in Comores — a democracy ruled by a coalition of parties — also work against the enforcement of tough policies possible in a semi-dictatorship like the Seychelles.

Kay believes that protein substitution by international agencies such as the World Wildlife Fund may hold part of the key, but insists this should take the form of directly administered schemes rather than aid to the Comorean government.

Very little of the development aid earmarked for ordinary Comoreans actually reaches them, islanders complain.

For the rest, environmental education has a role to play, Kay says — directed not only at the locals but also at visitors.

"The sea must rest," he comments. "Every seashell and turtle shell that's sold removes a link from the food chain."

SOUTH Africans are frequently told that they are overcoming their isolation and re-joining the world community. Well and good. But what kind of world are they re-entering? And what can they expect when they finally do so?

In the 1970s, the then German Chancellor Willy Brandt launched an important report which argued that we lived in an interdependent world and that north and south were closely linked. But the nature of this connection was not fully spelt out and remained a matter of controversy. Now that the East-West conflict has ebbed away, the focus is on North-South relations, and the picture that emerges is not a happy one.

The most salient feature is that the G7 group of industrial countries in the north now have a totally dominant position in the world economic order at the cost of southern subordination. Despite protestations about the flow of "aid" and talk about "poverty alleviation", the bare fact is that Third World debtors are paying their northern creditors an average of R80 million more than they receive in lending each year.

The reason for this is the preponderant self-interest of the North at the cost of the South. In the 1970s, commercial banks, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank induced southern governments to borrow freely, leading to a rapid build-up of debt. Soon the massive scale of this misfortune became evident as interest was added to capital, bringing severe repayment problems. The scale of the debt came to pose a near-fatal threat to the survival of US banks and the international banking system. The IMF and World Bank stepped in and took control of the whole debt crisis, to the

point where they are now in charge of over half the Third World's official debt.

But why should this debt "overhang" have been allowed to occur? Many economists argue this was because Third World governments were induced to borrow to increase their spending on foreign imports — in other words to open up their economies to foreign investment which had previously been closed to them. IMF and World Bank advice was central to this, and these institutions continue to advocate debt-building policies.

The heart of the present problem is that inward flows are being diverted to servicing obligations to the point where the situation gets totally out of hand. In the years 1982-90 total

Now that the East-West conflict has ebbed away, the focus is on North-South relations, and the picture that emerges is not a happy one.

payments of interest and capital by the South were a staggering R3 725 billion. During the same period there was a flow of finance from North to South to the tune of R2 567 billion, leaving a net reverse flow to the North of R1 158 billion.

Because of the debt build-up from accumulated arrears, the debtor countries as a whole were 61 percent worse off in

THIRD World countries have become trapped in an impossible cycle of increased borrowing and rising debt by northern creditors, in "aid" deals brokered by the IMF and the World Bank. This should ring alarm bells for South Africa as it prepares to leap into world money markets with the eager encouragement of these two organisations, writes BEN TUKOK.

1990 than in 1982. Sub-Saharan debt increased by 113 percent during this period, and Africa paid back R500 billion between 1983-90, the worst period economically in recent history. It is now repaying, in debt-servicing alone, far more than what it originally owed.

Most damning is the record of the IMF. There has been a net transfer from Africa to the IMF of R12,7 billion between 1983-90, the very time that many African countries were under "structural adjustment programmes" imposed by the IMF, which were supposed to lead to recovery. Percy Mistry, a former top manager at the World Bank, says: "While the IMF is exerting considerable influence over Africa's economic policies, it has been extracting resources at an unconscionable rate. Africa actually pays heavily for the privilege."

Curiously enough, the new funds flowing to the South from multilateral institutions like the IMF have actually been applied to the debt-servicing of private creditors, mainly commercial banks. So the IMF now has the role of debt-collecting agency for private capital, since the banks continue to receive interest payments while official creditors allow debtors to postpone repayments. This should ring alarm bells for South Africa's entry into world money markets, and in

particular into relations with the IMF and the World Bank. These organisations have already sent many teams into South Africa and they have been in contact with many officials, non-government organisations and movements. These contacts are private and no IMF officials will speak to the press. Reports have been drawn up, which are not generally available, in which advice on "post-apartheid" economic policies is freely given. Most worrying is the clear anxiety of both these bodies to prescribe a structural adjustment programme for South Africa which must inevitably resemble that imposed on other Third World countries, and now, eastern Europe.

Borrowing from the North might have been useful to the South if international conditions had been more favourable. The problem arose because, as repayments fell due, so the capacity to repay declined, partly due to increased interest rates, partly because of falling revenues from exports.

FRICA experienced a 30-percent fall in the terms of trade in the last decade due to falling commodity prices in the North. In 1986 alone, Africa lost R95 billion from falling export prices, which was more than the aid it received.

No wonder that the collective gross national product for Africa fell from R1 000 billion in 1980 to R700 billion in 1990. Per capita incomes have fallen by 2,2 percent annually over the decade, making a total decline of 30 percent. There are now 335 million people living in absolute poverty in countries where health and education expenditures have been slashed.

Since South Africa remains an exporter of mainly primary commodities, the dangers of getting into debt at a time of instability on world commodity markets are obvious. Ought it not to learn the lessons from other Third World countries? Or does South Africa think it is already part of the First

While the IMF is exerting considerable influence over Africa's economic policies, it has been extracting resources at an unconscionable rate.

World? The dangers are particularly severe because of the world recession. The recent G7 summit drew attention to the global economic situation, and especially to the unemployment crisis in the North. Their communique argued that growth in the North would help other countries too. To this end they favour the signing of an agreement which "must create more open mar-

kets for goods and services". Since protectionism remains rampant in the North, they are presumably talking about opening up the South, so one sees that the old policies remain in place. The North will lend to the South to provide finance for imports from the North, thereby creating jobs in Europe and the US. These loans, not gifts, will once again incur debt-servicing and so the problems are compounded.

THE G7 also argued for increased competition globally, a formula that guarantees that the strong North will easily outclass the underdeveloped south. Without undue cynicism, one is bound to conclude that the G7 are now managing the world economic order to serve their own interests without hindrance.

The former East Bloc was once an obstacle to G7 domination, and the Non-Alignment Movement was also a forum for Third World resistance. These have gone and we are left with the cries of anguish coming from the Third World poor and some subdued complaints from their governments.

This is the global system awaiting South Africa. Why are some of its leaders in and outside government so careless about the terms on which it gets involved? ● The author is director of the Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA). He recently attended the alternate economic summit in Munich which was sharply critical of the G7. His paper on debt and development is available at R10 from IFAA, 4th Floor, 41 De Korte Street, Braamfontein 2001. (Phone 330-6752.)

African countries have launched a campaign, based on international law, to try to win compensation for the 'rape' of the continent during the slave trade:

THE American civil rights leader in Goree Island, Senegal held the chains aloft, gripped the dead weight of an iron ball in his hands and demanded redress for Africa for the crimes of slavery.

One-time presidential hopeful Rev Jesse Jackson has thrown his weight behind a campaign to win Western reparation for Africa, saying three centuries of slave trading stripped the continent of its ablest workers and hobbled development.

"For the pillage and rape of Africa there must be some reparation," Jackson told reporters recently on Goree Island, the tragic slave port off Africa's west coast which has become a place of pilgrimage for the black diaspora.

The European and American continents "have a moral obligation to contribute to reparations for the damage caused".

But critics say the Nigerian idea, which won approval at the recent annual Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Senegal, is impractical and ill-conceived.

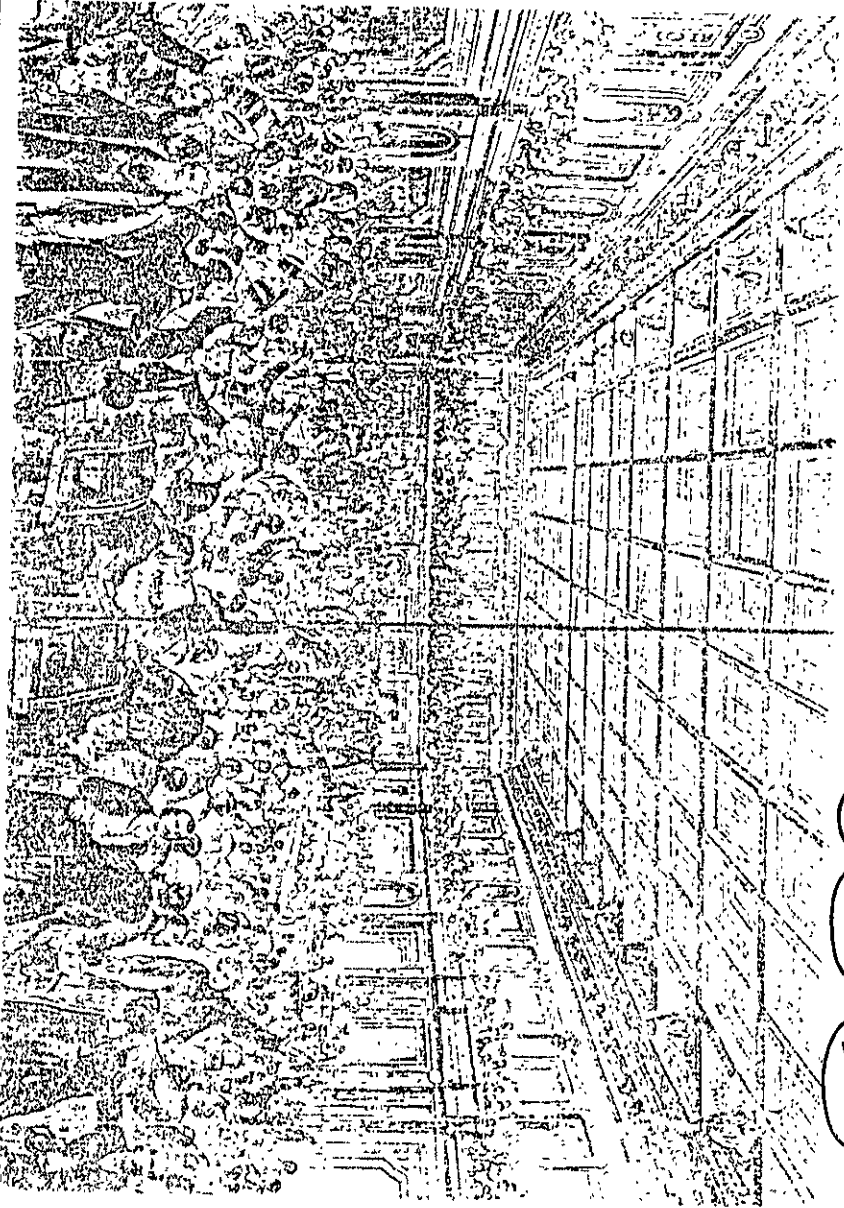
"The problem of slavery is more complicated than they make out," says Senegalese historian and journalist Mr Jerome Carlos — himself descended from slaves.

"The time for blaming others is over. Africa must help herself," Carlos says.

Nigerian newspaper magnate Mr Mko Abiola began the campaign two years ago, basing it on international law. He cites precedents like German reparation to Israel for Hitler's crimes against the Jews and

Worrey of the uncaptured Africa's fight for redress

SOUTH 15/8-19/8/92



FREE THE SLAVES: Members of the US House of Representatives come to their feet when the amendment to abolish slavery is announced in 1865

Iraqi compensation for Kuwait after the Gulf War.

The idea was given a high profile at the OAU summit, where a group to study the idea was inaugurated during the opening ceremony.

Jackson wants a comprehensive plan of aid, trade, long-term loans and debt leniency such as the West is offering Poland and Russia.

Just as the US Marshall Plan helped rebuild Europe after World War II, Jackson says well-placed aid could create African markets which

would benefit the West.

OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim said reparations would be a dignified way to write off Africa's crippling debt of \$275 billion (about R759 billion).

"This is not simply an issue of money," he told reporters at the summit. "We are talking in terms of moral responsibility."

But many Africans, and black people elsewhere, dismiss the plan as a pipe-dream or a cynical political exercise to win votes or cash.

Objections focus on the role of Arabs and Africans themselves in the slave trade.

Figures are controversial and hard to pin down. Most historians reckon about 13 million Africans were sold into Arab slavery from the seventh century, against 15 to 20 million shipped across the Atlantic from the 16th to 19th centuries.

Speakers at the OAU summit tended to deflect the Arab issue.

Argument about the African role becomes more bitter.

Entire African kingdoms like Benin's Abomey empire based their wealth on the slave trade, making war on their neighbours to grab captives for the Western market.

Human rights groups like Amnesty International say slavery still thrives in at least one African country, Mauritania, although the government has outlawed it three times.

"There will always be collaborators," Abiola said. "That does not mean that justice should not be done."

Jackson said the African role should be put in perspective. "Those who owned the ships, who did the bargaining, who processed slavery, who built European and North American civilisations on the slave trade, were of course not Africans," Jackson said.

But critics raise other objections. Should reparation not be paid to descendants of slaves in America's black ghettos or the West Indian slums, rather than those who stayed in Africa? Who will pay? Western taxpayers, some of whom are black? Most supporters agree compensation should extend to the black diaspora, although there are few concrete ideas of how it could work.

"Every African was enslaved," said Abiola. "Some were enslaved outside Africa, some in Africa by colonialism."

Carlos fears that the campaign, far from benefiting black people, may alienate the West and stir up bitter historical divisions between Africans.

"There has been a sort of mythical unity among all Africans until now. I'm afraid initiatives like this will divide us. They open wounds," Carlos said.

— Sapa-Reuter

African trade worth twice official figure

strimes (buss) 16/8/92

SOUTH African exports to Africa are an official R5-billion, but the true figure may be closer to R10-billion.

Safto Africa business development group director Paul Runge says the figures do not include about R600-million in trade with countries in the SA Customs Union.

In addition, the final destination for goods exported from SA is often concealed. He believes they would add several billion to SA's Africa trade figures.

Fashion

Mr Runge says: "People often consider our trade with Africa as being relatively insignificant when taken as a percentage of the total.

"However, SA-Africa trade gains new importance when it is considered that most of it is in value-added goods, not raw materials such as gold."

This is highlighted when it is considered that 42,1% by value of SA's machinery exports for 1990 were to Africa.

Other high spots include fashion at 42,4%, chemicals 31,8%, plastics and rubber 47,5%, fats and oils 34,5% and vehicles and spares 30,6%.

Mr Runge says: "We must be doing something right. The value of our trade with Africa increased by 40% in 1989, 20% in 1990 and 22% in 1991. I expect trade to increase by about 20% this year."

The problems of access to most African markets has been solved and there is desire for SA goods and services.

However, Africa is bankrupt.

EUROPE, the Far East and the Americas have opened up to South Africa in the past 24 months — and so has Africa. ANDREW GILLINGHAM reports on SA's ties with Africa, particularly those related to trade and tourism.

"It is a question of who has the money to buy our goods and it is seldom obvious.

"Zaire's economy has taken a dive. However, a major food importer has been granted diamond concessions and it uses them to generate the foreign currency with which to buy imported goods."

Knowledge is vital for doing business in Africa and the situation changes constantly.

Mr Runge says SA companies are often guilty of ignoring the international funding agencies. For example, SA's part in World Bank-funded projects is poor when compared with countries such as Brazil.

SA companies should adopt a pragmatic approach to business with Africa and be prepared to enter joint ventures, where appropriate, with foreign companies. Many of them have the connections, knowledge and capital required to win major contracts.

"The bottom line is personal contact. Safto has five people who travel constantly throughout Africa building up personal contacts and introducing our clients.

"We are not bluffing ourselves. We cannot sit in an office in Sandton and generate business in Africa," says Mr Runge.

Agreeing with the importance of personal contact is a veteran of the complex business of trading with Africa, Exhibition Management Services managing director John Thomson.

For many years Mr Thomson lived a cloak-and-dagger existence with his two British passports as he set up deals throughout Africa for SA companies.

Mr Thomson says up-to-date information is a key ingredient for trade.

"The picture changes all the time and businesses need to keep their fingers on the pulse of African nations.

"You must do your homework before plunging in.

"The situation is fluid. Some countries welcome us with open arms, others are still cautious.

Price

"We have everything in position for an exhibition in Tanzania, subject to either ANC approval or an interim government.

"We have been invited to hold an exhibition in the Ivory Coast in October 1993.

"For our Zambia exhibition in which 60 companies took part at the end of July, a foreign-currency allocation was arranged before the show.

"Our customers are driving us. After each exhibition they want to know where the next will be.

"The reason is not difficult to come by. If the company has done its homework properly and has the right product at the right price, there is a lot of money to be made.

"One company which took part in the June exhibition in Kenya received orders worth R10-million.

Hand of death holds sway in Somalia

Star 17/18/72

BAIDOA — Twelve starving children died as the United Nations flew tons of emergency food aid to this famished Somali town on Saturday.

And 10 more scarecrow-like infants died in three other centres in the hour it took a UN transport plane to offload its life-bringing cargo in a town where the hand of death holds sway.

Sporadic gunfire shook the ruined Somali capital, Mogadishu, and at least three people were killed yesterday as rival militias tightened their hold before the arrival of UN armed guards.

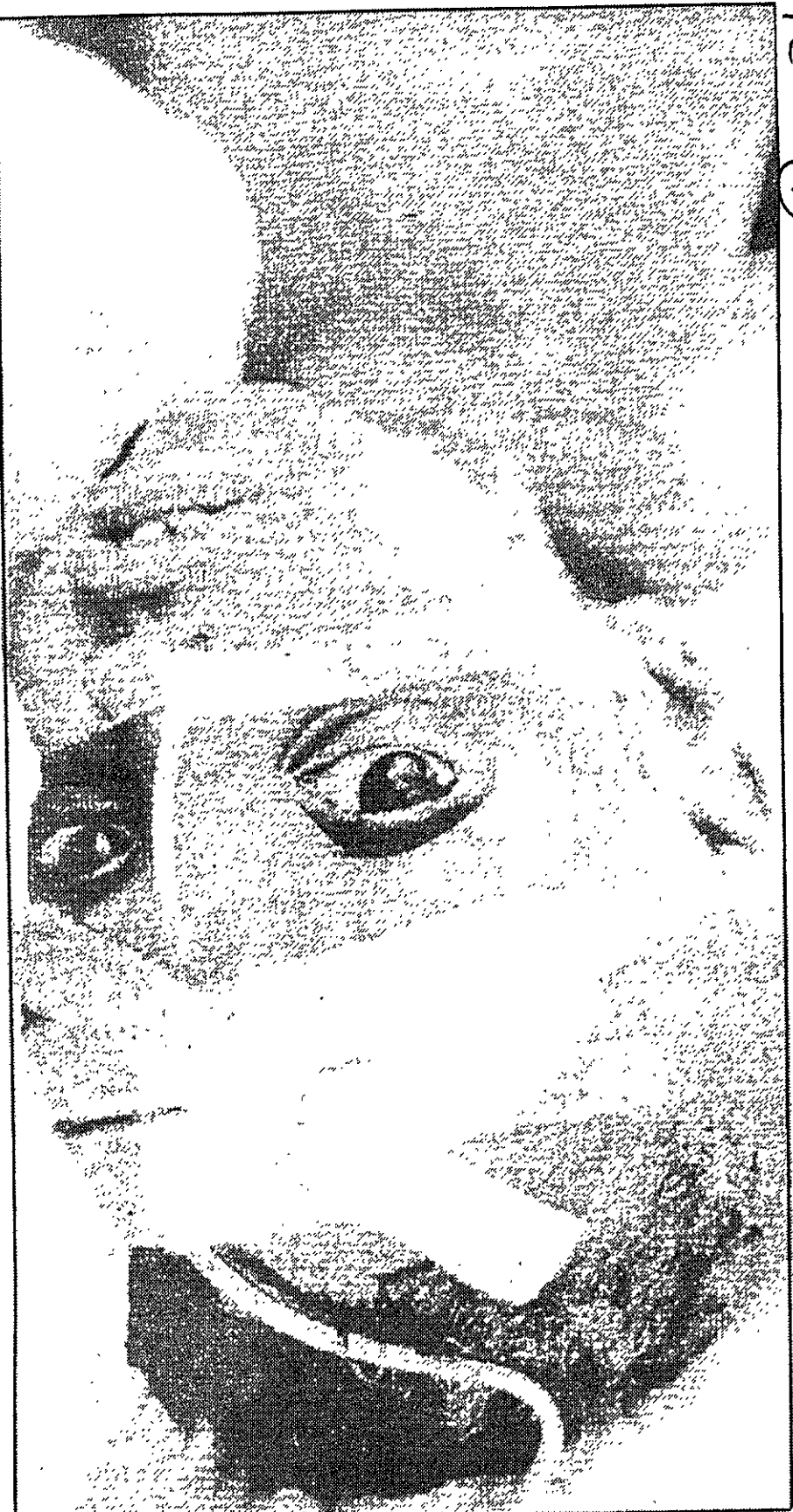
Yesterday, two ships were unloading wheat, beans and rice. But relief workers were unable to say when the food might reach the people.

The world has woken up too late for many of the victims of war and famine in this desolate place, 250 km from Mogadishu. The only part of town that has seen any growth this year is the graveyard.

Throughout Somalia — plunged into chaos after former dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was driven from power in January 1991 — hundreds of people, mainly women and children, are now dying of hunger daily.

The Red Cross said looters stole at least 100 tons of food on Friday, forcing them to call off unloading of a recently docked ship for the rest of the day.

"Ten trucks of ours were stolen just as the convoy went through the port gates," a Red Cross worker



Starving death in the face . . . a starving child is fed through drips at an emergency clinic in Mogadishu, Somalia.

Picture: AP

at the port said. And, said Irish aid worker Anita Ennis of CONCERN:

"The problem is that we are getting no serious help at the moment, there is little food, few medical supplies, medicine shelter. These children have no clothes, no blankets, no mattresses. You can never quite be sure what kills them — there is mass

hunger, mass diarrhoea, inadequate medical supplies."

At one feeding centre in Baidoba, 3 800 children are crowded in structures of sticks and canvas that can hardly accommodate 500.

Mohammed (14) lay on flattened biscuit cartons, a similar covering his only protection from the cold. Moved to tears, an Ameri-

can journalist visiting the centre removed her jacket and cradled the shivering, emaciated boy.

Miss Ennis said she had given him milk, water and some proteins soon after he was discovered lying by the roadside. His parents had starved to death.

"He was totally dehydrated when we found him. Two

drops of tears fell from his eyes. He appeared completely finished. But now I think he will make it," she said.

Relief worker Amna Sheikh-Mohammed said children drank water from anywhere and ate food wherever and whenever they were lucky enough to find any.

She said that even with increased food supplies, the

problems would remain until medical supplies, clothing and other essential needs were addressed.

Offers of food aid flow in but aid workers say they needed medical supplies and shelter to keep the people alive. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Spendthrift refugees tax Kenyan hospitality — Page 6

Africa in brief

Sowetan 17/8/92
Help too late

Baidoba (Somalia) -
Twelve starving children died as the United Nations flew tons of emergency food aid to this famished Somali town on Saturday (1).

Ten more scarecrow-like infants died in three other centres in the hour it took a UN transport plane to offload its life-bringing cargo in a town where the hand of death holds sway. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

diverted to E. Europe ● 'No reason to wait for ceasefire'

World Bank bolsters Africa

Sowetan 17/8/92

HARARE - World Bank president Mr Lewis Preston has assured African countries that no finances of the bank will be diverted from Africa to other parts of the world, notably Eastern Europe, *Ziana* news agency reports.

In an interview with *Finance and Development*, a quarterly publication of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Preston said Africa received more attention in the bank's objective to alleviate poverty.

"There is no reason to expect that we will not be able to continue our existing programmes in Africa. No bank finances will be diverted from Africa to other parts of the world," said Preston.

■ Money will continue to flow to troubled, drought stricken continent:



Economic and political analysts have expressed fear that the enormous attention and pull of resources towards the former Soviet Union might lead to the neglect of Africa.

The bank chief said his recent visit to Africa, including Zimbabwe, had shown him that structural adjustment programmes being pursued by different countries had been severely affected by the drought.

It was therefore important for donors and people to understand the importance of persevering on the adjustment path. - *Sapa*

Zaire's new leader pledges rule of justice

KINSHASHA — Zaire's new prime minister, opposition stalwart Etienne Tshisekedi, promised huge crowds of cheering supporters on Saturday to bring democracy and justice to the crippled country.

"We are going to install the rule of law where justice exists," he told a jubilant crowd of about 12 000 people massed outside his Kinshasha party headquarters. **BIDAY 17/8/92**

In a defiant challenge to President Mobutu Sese Seko, delegates at Zaire's national conference named Tshisekedi to lead the country to multiparty elections within two years.

"The country has seen a lot of speeches. Now we have been given the chance to take action. This action is what will count," Tshisekedi, Mobutu's most redoubtable adversary, said after his election as interim premier on Saturday.

Tshisekedi told supporters he would name his government next week after talks with political parties and interest groups. — Sapa-Reuter.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Greek nets control of Pravda

MOSCOW — Millionaire Greek publisher Yannis Yannikos had bought a controlling share of former Communist Party newspaper Pravda, Itar-Tass news agency reported last week.

Yannikos is bailing out the ailing newspaper through his firm Steel Light. His family runs the Greek publishing house Akadimos, which specialises in books from the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Cameras for New York ATMs

NEW YORK — The city's bankers have been given 18 months to install surveillance cameras and other security devices on their 1 038 automated teller machines, under a city ordinance signed last week.

The measure, which bankers say will cost them up to \$1.29m a year in maintenance, follows 743 ATM robberies over a two-year period.

Boost for battered rouble

MOSCOW — The battered rouble was given a vote of confidence at the weekend as Ukraine's top banker said he favoured using the currency and the president of Kazakhstan pledged full support for it.

Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev said the rouble should be placed above national interest and he would propose moves to revitalise it.

World Bank reassures Africa

HARARE — World Bank president Lewis Preston has assured African countries that no finances of the bank will be diverted from Africa to other parts of the world, notably Eastern Europe. **BIDAY 17/8/92**

"There is no reason to expect that we will not be able to continue our existing programmes in Africa," he said at the weekend.

REPORTS: Sapa-Reuter.



Africa in

Food for Somalis

NAIROBI - France plans to airlift 200 tons of food to south-west Somalia for famine victims in a 10-day operation due to start tomorrow, the French Embassy in Nairobi said yesterday.

The planes will operate out of neighbouring Djibouti, delivering relief supplies to Baidoha for distribution to International Red Cross officials manning feeding centres in the town. After disruption caused by 19 months of civil war and aggravated by severe drought, more than 1.8 million Somalis face death by starvation, according to World Food Programme estimates.

Sowetan 18/8/92 ①

① ② ③ ④

Southern Sun plans move into Africa

By Roy Cokayne

The Southern Sun hotel group is planning to move into Africa.

Group managing director Ron Stringfellow says although the group is concentrating on its South African portfolio at present, it will be looking for management contracts in Africa in the future.

He does not foresee the group expanding into Europe or the United States but becoming an Africa-based chain of hotels.

Southern Sun already has a portfolio of three hotels in the Seychelles, which has operated under cover — under the Paradise Resort banner — because of the political situation in South Africa.

Its Seychelles portfolio comprises the Auberge Club des Seychelles and the Equator Hotel on Mahe and the Paradise Hotel on the Cote d'Or beach of Pralin.

A major refurbishment of the Paradise Hotel is due to be completed by June next year and the Seychelles portfolio will then become part of Southern Sun Resorts.

"By April next year we will be putting up the Southern Sun flags," he says.

The group now comprises five brands: Southern Sun hotels, Southern Sun Resorts, Holiday Inn core brand, Holiday Inn Garden Court and Formula 1.

"We want to be the leading hotel in each sector of the hotel industry."

STAT 18/8/92 (1)

Food pledges for Somalis pour in

NAIROBI — Aid appeals for starving Somalia have provoked a unprecedented response from an international community which had seemed disinterested in the fate of people in the arid Horn of Africa nation.

The most recent appeal for urgent assistance came from the UN representative in Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun.

The US has pledged 145 000 tons of food aid "as soon as possible" and a group of 33 US soldiers was due to arrive yesterday in the Kenyan port of Mombasa to prepare the relief effort.

France announced yesterday that it would start a 10-day airlift beginning tomorrow to transport 200 tons of food to people in the area of Baidoha.

Britain decided on Sunday to provide £18 million (R95 million) in urgent aid.

Italy said it was ready to send a representative to the Somali capital Mogadishu to try to promote dialogue between warring factions.

On Thursday, Italy said it was sending food supplies and medicines worth \$20 million (R55 million) to Somalia.

Even Israel — which is not recognised by Somalia, a member of the Arab League — said on Sunday it was willing to send food and medical aid.

● On Thursday, the UN will resume food airlifts to the southern Sudanese town of Juba.

UN relief flights from the Sudanese capital Khartoum to southern Sudan were suspended last month after the government used planes bearing the UN emblem to transport troops and military equipment to Juba. — Sapa-AFP.

Gorbachev attacks Yeltsin

MOSCOW — Former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday

mark last August's unsuccessful coup.

Mr Gorbachev called

Africa can avert the lunar landscape

By Lynda Loxton

TO FLY across much of southern Africa is to fly across the face of the moon.

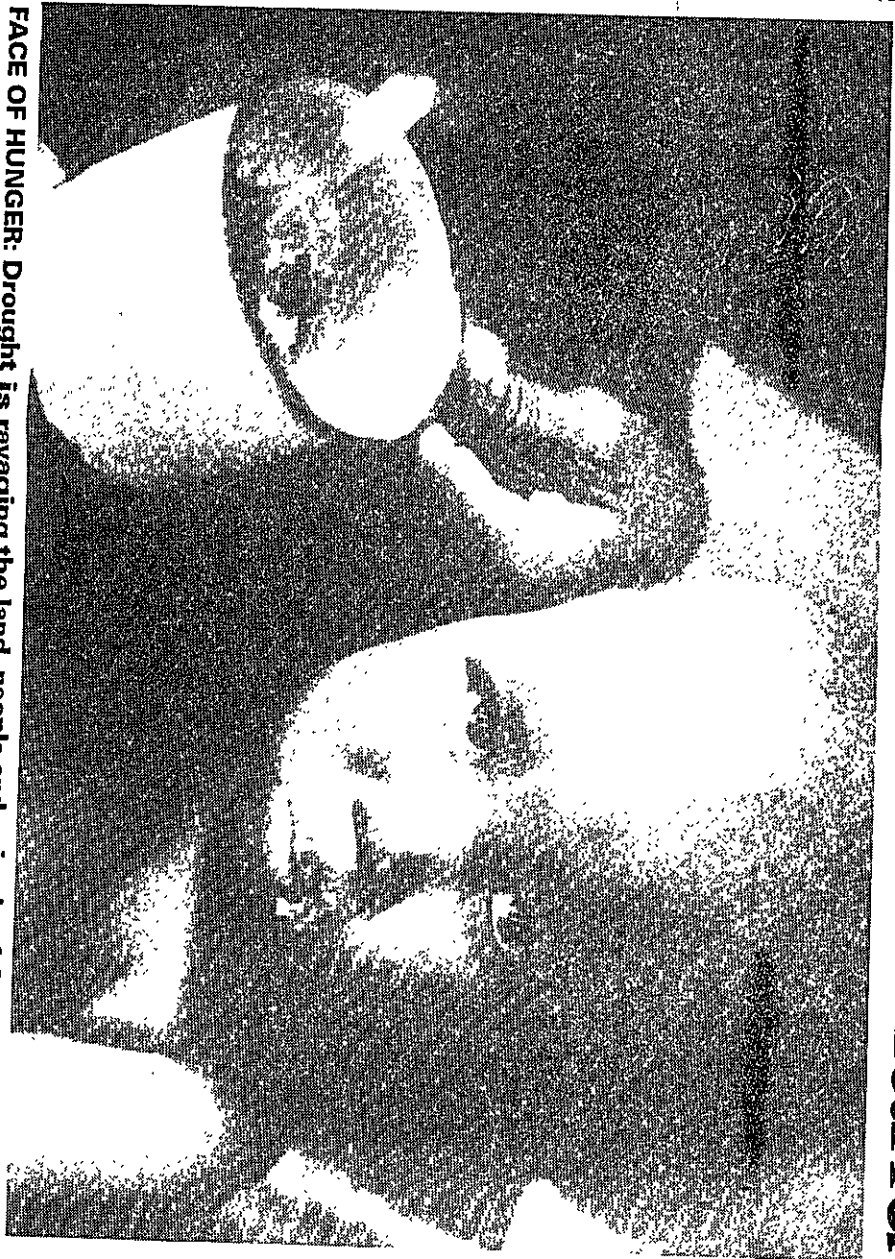
With these stark words, SOUTH Associate Editor and UWC academic Professor Peter Vale describes the ghastly phenomenon we here in the wet Western Cape have perhaps lost sight of — the drought that is ravaging the land, the people and animals of Africa.

In a recent review of publications dealing with similar experiences in other parts of the world, Vale chronicles the social and economic stresses drought is causing in Africa. He says no country on its own — and particularly South Africa — can come up with a long-term and viable solution.

"In many ways, political change in South Africa has brought the spectre of famine closer. The ending of apartheid has made the region's borders more porous. Countless pairs of feet are criss-crossing southern Africa — most of these people have no doubt of their final destination — South Africa.

"This has aggravated the serious food situation within the country: Operation Hunger estimates that it will feed two million people this year. As the drought pushes more and more feet across the borders, this figure is destined to increase," Vale says.

South Africa's bureaucrats have not been very good at dealing with this issue and Vale fears that, if left



FACE OF HUNGER: Drought is ravaging the land, people and animals of Africa

alone, they will continue to deal with it in their usual way: "To ob off questions, keep the public in the dark, shuffle decisions between government departments and hope that the problem will go away."

This, he believes, will be a grave mistake. "If anything, the calamity we now face should be the beginning of new

pathways to understanding our unique African predicament.

"To achieve this, we will need to learn what we can from the international experience of both drought and famine.

"But more than this, we will need to accept that the horror of what is happening to southern Africa can only be assuaged by deepening the

accord between the states and peoples of the region."

In particular, African countries, including South Africa, have to work together more closely to deal with four priority areas.

● Regional transport and distribution networks have to be improved to ensure that emergency food supplies reach the people

① *can*

who need them — quickly. ● Agricultural skills should be pooled, especially in subsistence agriculture. Governments must ensure that small-scale farmers have confidence in grain as a profitable crop. This means that producer prices must be attractive enough to encourage farmers to plant grain, else it will not be planned as is happening now.

● The region also needs to share information. South African scientists, for example, should dovetail their efforts at developing an adequate early warning system with the one now in use in the neighbouring countries.

● A regional grain reserve should be built up. It was "a disaster for the sub-continent that the South African government in the face of calls from organised agriculture, was not prepared to move in this direction", says Vale.

"But India has shown that prudent rotation of its 20 million ton grain stocks can keep its people fed and keep farmers on the land.

"This drought has brought South Africa face-to-face with its acute geographic vulnerability. It has heightened a popular belief that in an undeniable way, South Africa has been dragged to the very edge of the mess which manifests itself elsewhere on the continent: the curse of the three D's - Debt, Drought, Drift."

Vale believes that with greater co-operation, those three D's can be averted.

Madagascar seethes on eve of referendum

STAR 19/8/92

ANTANANARIVO — Supporters of a federal system in Madagascar occupied the northern town of Antsiranana yesterday and announced the creation of new authorities in several parts of the island.

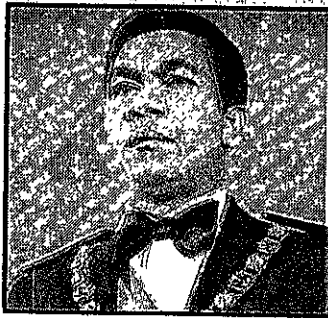
The day before a referendum on a new constitution, federalists, loyal to President Didier Ratsiraka took control of various strategic points in the city including the airport and television and radio stations.

Antsiranana, a former French naval base known as Diego Suarez, lies on the northern tip of the Indian Ocean island republic.

Some 50 members of President Ratsiraka's security task force appeared to have helped seize the town. The regiment was responsible for the deaths of 100 anti-Ratsiraka demonstrators on August 10 1991.

In a radio broadcast, federalists announced the creation of a federal directorate for the port city.

The radio said the directorate would be headed by Lieutenant-



President Didier Ratsiraka ... supporters seized key points.

Colonel Mohajy Ackram, former general-director of the Sereen naval shipyard enterprise, who was sacked by Madagascar's transitional government.

The federalists were also trying to take the east coast city Toamasina, formerly Tamatave, 300 km from the capital.

Madagascar's transitional authorities in the opposition Lifeblood Coalition do not want a decentralised federal system.

Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy did not confirm reports of the town seizures but told a press conference that "the situation is serious in Diego

Suarez and Tamatave".

He added that polling in today's referendum would go ahead as planned.

In Fianarantsoa, 400 km south of the capital, federalists clashed with police and claimed they had appointed a pastor as federal head.

Some 6 million people are expected to vote in today's referendum on a new constitution.

Organisation of the poll has, however, been plagued with arson attacks on administrative offices and ballot boxes.

The Madagascar press has recently interpreted the federalists' moves as an attempt to keep Mr Ratsiraka, president since 1975, in power.

Mr Razanamasy, who is supported by the Lifeblood Coalition, has governed Madagascar since October 1991. Opponents of President Ratsiraka hope the referendum will lead to his eventual defeat.

Some 50 observers from 14 countries are in Madagascar for the referendum on a European Community-sponsored mission. — Sapa-AFP.

Starving Somalis eat clothes as aid stepped up

①
Starve
20/8/92

PARIS — Starving people in western Somalia are eating their clothes and goatskin sacks in an effort to survive, a team of French doctors reported yesterday after visiting a region where few outsiders have ventured in recent months.

The team from Doctors Without Borders, a Paris-based medical relief group, appealed for immediate delivery of food aid to the region. It said 80 percent of the children under five were severely malnourished and up to 20 people in each village were dying daily.

The team reported widespread destruction caused by the civil war and said thousands of starving refugees had crowded into the larger towns.

Meanwhile, international relief for starving Somalis pressed on yesterday with the start of a French airlift and a US

aid mission as fighting continued in the Somali capital of Mogadishu.

A Hercules C-130 aircraft carrying 20 tons of aid from the French government left Djibouti yesterday for Baidoa in south-western Somalia.

Food will be handed to representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Baidoa who have set up about 5 000 soup kitchens across Somalia.

The operation is part of France's emergency aid package which was approved after a visit by French Minister for Health and Humanitarian Action Bernard Kouchner.

The US said on Tuesday it planned to send 80 000 tons of food to Somalia by the end of the fiscal year and 145 000 tons next year.

Without massive food aid 1.8 million Somalis face death from starvation. — Sapa-AFP.

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Somalian refugees detained in Kenya

BIOAY 21/8/92

NAIROBI — Kenyan police forced 1 000 Somali refugees to spend a fifth night penned in open fields while international donors rushed to get food to millions of starving compatriots, a UN official said yesterday.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Panos Mourtzis said the refugees were still detained after a police crime sweep at the weekend, when they were dumped in a guarded field outside Nairobi without food or shelter.

"They are still there despite government assurances that they would be released — in fact, more people have been rounded up," Mourtzis said.

"The situation is worrying. Conditions are really bad, they would be better off in a camp than where they are now."

Government officials said they were vetting those refugees held in the field at Embakasi, a chilly and isolated district 15km from the capital, "to find out which ones were genuine".

At least 720 000 Somalis are estimated to have fled to Kenya to escape famine and clan-based fighting in their Horn of Africa country, where 1.5-million people are at immediate risk of starving to death.

Refugees and drought-hit locals in northern Kenya will be the first to receive food in a massive US airlift being set up from the Indian Ocean port of Mombasa.

Relief flights to the northern Kenya town of Wajir were due to start yesterday

but were delayed while US troops chopped down trees near the airstrip to clear sufficient landing space for military C-141 transport planes.

US embassy officials said they expected deliveries to Wajir to start today. Flights into Somalia for the bulk of the 145 000-ton airlift are due to start early next week.

More US airmen and women left the US for Kenya on Wednesday, bringing the relief team to 126.

France started its own 200-ton airlift on Wednesday from the Red Sea state of Djibouti to the southwestern town of Baidoha, in an area of Somalia facing the brunt of the famine.

French doctors returning from the region say skeletal corpses litter the ground and desperate villagers are chewing their clothes to try to stay alive.

But while donors rush to get food to the starving, Somali refugees are facing a backlash in Kenya.

Police blame them for soaring crime and officials say they are placing a huge strain on Kenya's limited resources.

Relief workers say the refugees detained at Embakasi are crammed into tiny tents, with hardly any toilets or water and no warm clothing to face Nairobi's cold winter nights.

Police spokesman Jeremiah Matigaro said the refugees would be moved "as soon as possible" but could not say when. — Sapa-Reuter.

Famine stunts a nation's youth

STAFF 21/8/92

GENEVA — The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) warned yesterday that war and starvation were producing a "lost generation" in Somalia.

"There has to be over 1 000 people dying a day in Somalia. That must be the minimum figure, the real figure can only be guessed at," Unicef field worker and spokesman Ian Macleod told a news conference.

"There's no doubt there will be a lost generation of Somalis, that they'll be physically and mentally stunted for the rest of their lives. And they're the lucky ones, because they're the ones who will have survived."

Mr Macleod said up to 95 percent of Somalis aged under 10 — between 750 000 and a million children — were suffering from malnutrition.

Unless large-scale food, medical and sanitary aid was forthcoming in the next two months, 1.5 million to 2 million lives were at immediate risk.

Mr Macleod was speaking as Western nations, UN agencies and independent charities were preparing to mount the largest relief operation since the mid-1980s.

Somalia plunged into anarchy after the fall in January of President Mohamed Siad Barre, whose brutal 21-year rule exploited clan enmities. Those rivalries have since boiled over into one of the most bitter bouts of bloodletting seen in Africa. Gangs of young gunmen still roam the capital, Mogadishu, killing and looting.

After months of inaction blamed by aid workers on



Lost generation . . . a starving child is encouraged to eat on the roadside in Baldoq, Somalia. Food began reaching the region only two months ago through the Red Cross and the UN Children's Fund.

UN indecision. Western nations have begun emergency airlifts.

But Mr Macleod, who returned on Wednesday after six months in Somalia, said a \$22 million (R\$5 million) appeal launched by Unicef a month ago had attracted only \$300 000 (R\$50 000) in pledges.

Part of the sum was earmarked for establishing

clean water supplies. Diarrhoea caused by unclean drinking water was the number one killer among the starving.

Mr Macleod was confident funds would be forthcoming with media attention focused on the Horn of Africa, but said long-term projects were needed to rebuild Somalia's devastated agriculture.

United States relief flights

to Somalia which were to begin yesterday have been rescheduled to depart today from Mombasa, Kenya.

The operation, described by the World Food Programme as one of the largest US relief operations in Africa, will move an estimated 450 000 tons of food aid to Somalia and northern Kenya.

Kenyan police forced 1 000

Somali refugees to spend a fifth night penned in an open field, a UN official said yesterday. The refugees were still detained after a police

crisis sweep at the weekend, when they were dumped in a guarded field outside Nairobi without food or shelter.

Sapa-Reuter and Star Africa Service.

The place of the living skeletons — Page 13

The place of the living skeletons

STAR 21/8/92.

①

A SKELETAL boy lies in the red sand of a refugee camp, too weak to move, to speak, even to cry. Only his blinking eyes give any hint of life. Like so many others, he is beyond help.

Every dawn finds new bodies sprawled in the dust of the hospital courtyard, sometimes as many as 10, some still breathing, some not. They have struggled to a place of refuge, only to die.

Hundreds of men, women and children, stick figures all, straggle down a dirt road leading from deserted villages into Baidoa, shambling figures of hunger and despair.

They pass a fly-covered corpse beside the path and pull their dirty, ragged shawls over their noses to block the stench. They try not to look at the face of death, knowing it could claim them next.

War, anarchy and drought have put 1.5 million people in danger of starving in this north-east African nation, creating what has often been described as the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

Aid workers cite Baidoa as the most desperate concentration of the dying.

"It is a catastrophe. The level

The desert town of Baidoa, 250 km north-west of Somalia's capital Mogadishu, once produced more food than it could consume. Today it is filled with horror scenes as many die daily from starvation.

of suffering is incredible," said Christophe Serezu, head of the International Red Cross delegation in Baidoa, 250 km north-west of the Indian Ocean capital of Mogadishu.

No one can say how many people are dying in Baidoa. But a survey of refugee camps, aid agencies and the hospital suggested the figure is between 25 and 50 a day. Aid workers say hundreds more may be dying in the brush and villages surrounding the town.

Baidoa has some 60 000 residents, about the same as when the famine began months ago. But almost all the original inhabitants fled to the capital seeking food.

Food began reaching Baidoa only two months ago through the Red Cross and the UN Children's Fund as clan fighting that had swept the area moved on to more distant regions.

That brought an influx of new people into the town from remote villages — once hardy, self-reliant families of farmers and herders reduced to begging.

In a collective stupor, they wander down the tarred road that runs through the middle of town, walking in slow motion towards uncertain destinations.

A car hoots for them to move aside, but it takes a while for the sound to register before they lurch off the road.

"When your stomach is so empty, your ears don't work," said Bile Farah Artan, a Baidoa resident.

Some 7 000 people — the poorest of the poor — live in a camp on the edge of town in absolute squalor, using the branches of thorn trees as shelter. Mothers and children line up and squat, waiting for hours as beans and rice are cooked in huge black vats.

The Red Cross is feeding 37 000 people in Baidoa. The United Nations and other organisations feed the rest. Much of the food is flown in, which is 10 times more expensive than ground transport. But in the anarchy that is Somalia, roaming gunmen control large stretches of the road between the capital and Baidoa, looting and hijack-

ing at will.

The fighting has flattened Baidoa, a town once filled with scores of white-washed stone buildings. Virtually every building is pocked with gunfire. Tin roofs are gone, stolen by looters as if a tornado had swept them away.

Baidoa is one of several southern Somalia towns targeted by a United States military airlift that will deliver 145 000 tons of food over the next two months. The first flight to Baidoa is expected in about 10 days.

As food becomes increasingly available, more people will come. Others would if they could.

In a village 20 km away, a woman and her four small children huddled around a small black pot containing the boiled skin of a camel. The meat of the animal was consumed long ago. The woman's fifth child died on Tuesday morning and was covered with a shawl. The husband died a while back.

"Before the civil war, this area used to grow sorghum and nuts to feed the rest of the country," said Musa Rafael, a former agriculture official. "It is so horrible now I cannot believe my eyes." — Sapa-AP. □

The Washington Post

Truth The Casualty In SA Race Wars

Guardian/W/ [unclear]
W/mailed 2/18-27/8/92. By William Claiborne and Paul Taylor

TEMBISA, South Africa — The news alert issued by the African National Congress at 10 a.m. Friday sounded ominous: 18 people were massacred overnight in the Ivory Park squatter camp adjacent to this sprawling black township 15 miles north of Johannesburg; the camp was littered with bodies. Moreover, in what seemed to be a devastating blow to the future of peace talks between the black African National Congress (ANC) and the white-minority government, local ANC officials charged that up to 200 Zulu-speaking warriors of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party had been escorted into Ivory Park by armored police vehicles.

Local ANC officials said that, with the active participation of white policemen, the attackers in Ivory Park had gone on a killing rampage reminiscent of the June 17 massacre at Boipatong township, where 43 people were killed by Inkatha warriors. ANC President Nelson Mandela accused the government of having permitted that attack to happen, and he broke off negotiations June 23 for a new form of government in South Africa.

When reporters arrived at Ivory Park Friday morning, they saw the bodies of three men and a woman being loaded into police vans and an angry crowd of camp residents surrounding a police vehicle. The residents were demanding to see a white policeman inside whose jersey, they said, was splashed with blood.

Word spread quickly among the residents that the policeman had participated in the killings and that the blood was from one of his victims.

As the crowd's mood grew darker, the policemen quickly made a tactical withdrawal, but residents continued to provide reporters with detailed and chilling accounts of how white policemen escorting the Inkatha warriors had tear-gassed members of an Ivory Park self-defense patrol to disperse them



Ivory Park squatter camp residents point to a police vehicle alleged to have participated in the attack. PHOTOGRAPH BY WALTER DRLADHLA

While versions differed widely among camp residents, some said they witnessed white policemen helping the attackers burn down shanties and kill unarmed residents one by one. One resident described how he saw a yellow armored personnel carrier guide a white van and a pickup truck into the camp and stand protectively by while groups of men with AK-47 assault rifles randomly shot residents as they pleaded for their lives. He even provided a license tag number for the armored vehicle — a number he had written on his wrist with a pen.

The report was in error. Three hours later, at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, officials were desperately trying to correct the initial version of the attack. By day's end, the ANC account of what happened was that four people were killed and one person was seriously wounded in a flare-up of a longstanding feud between two rival black taxi groups — the Tembisa

Taxi Association and the Ivory Park Taxi Association. The clash apparently was not politically motivated.

By South Africa's standards, the attack was a relatively minor one, a footnote to the almost daily carnage in black townships throughout the country.

But it graphically illustrated how elusive the truth can be in this troubled nation, and how even the most nonpolitical crime can quickly be politicized and turned into a crisis for the fragile process of negotiating a multiracial democracy for South Africa.

Even in the heat of the moment at the scene Friday, some local ANC leaders acknowledged that the shootings may have been prompted by ongoing taxi wars rather than political rivalry. But in the murky world of South African townships, violence and politics often overlap. "We have been organizing to protest the double billing by the local taxis, and they have been threatening retaliation," said David Mabula,

who identified himself as a local ANC leader. Mabula said the Ivory Park Taxi Association had warned they would bring in outside enforcers from the Inkatha Freedom Party if the residents did not abandon their protest.

Once the true version of events became clear, Inkatha and the South African police condemned the ANC for using a nonpolitical township tragedy for political gain. "Initial knee-jerk reaction shows that there is, in fact, a smear campaign against the South African police. A mindset prevails that facts are not to stand in the way of denigrating the police," Capt. Craig Koetze, a spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry, said.

Later, the police issued a statement saying that they arrived at Ivory Park at 3:55 a.m., after receiving a report of a shooting in the camp and the burning of shacks. They said they found evidence that 10 men armed with AK-47s had been responsible, and that the attack was linked to the taxi wars.

Suzanne Vos, a spokeswoman for the Inkatha Freedom Party, denied that any of her party's members were involved, and she accused the ANC of fueling tensions between the ANC and Inkatha.

In a statement tonight, the ANC said it "regrets the confusion that was caused by the inflation of the numbers (and) in the future the ANC will clearly indicate, when issuing statements, whether it has verified the numbers reflected."

Paul Taylor of the Washington Post has recovered after being shot in the chest in Ewaton township, near Johannesburg, six days after he arrived in South Africa, in an attack in which Philip van Niekerk, political editor of the South African newspaper, The Weekly Mail, was shot in the head. Van Niekerk is also recovering, as the bullet narrowly missed his brain and spinal artery.

Bush Orders Airlift Of Food To Somalia

WASHINGTON — President Bush has ordered an emergency U.S. airlift of food to Somalia to alleviate a man-made famine that threatens the lives of 15 million people. The White House announced the airlift and several other U.S. actions to deal with what it called "the growing suffering and mass death by starvation" in the East African nation, which had been a Cold War client of the United States before it plunged into chaos and banditry early last year.

"The United States will take a leading role with other nations and international organizations to overcome the obstacles and ensure that food reaches those who so desperately need it," a White House statement said.

U.S. military aircraft will begin the airlift to locations inside Somalia "where there is sufficient security to support these relief operations" as well as to refugee camps inside

By Don Oberdorfer

neighboring Kenya, the statement said. A White House official said the airlift is expected to begin within days to four or five areas in southern and central Somalia where the need is most desperate. Until now, most U.S. food aid has been sent to the capital, Mogadishu, with little of this food reaching the rest of the country.

Once on the ground in outlying areas, the U.S. food will be delivered by Somali and international relief agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), an official said.

The ICRC has estimated that 1.5 million people, about one-fourth of Somalia's population, are facing the threat of starvation. Another estimate, cited by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), says as many as one in every four Somali children under the age of five has already perished.

The White House said Bush had ordered an additional 145,000 tons of U.S. food to be made available for Somalia. The United States has contributed \$86 million to the relief effort in Somalia since early last year, with another contribution of \$10 million previously planned to be expended before Oct. 1, AID figures show.

A State Department official said the airlift will be able to deliver only a small portion of the food that is needed in Somalia. A more extensive supply of food from ships is under consideration within the administration and would involve overland convoys from seaports or Kenya. This is currently considered not feasible because of the heavily armed bands that roam the country, stealing and hoarding food and attacking international relief workers. "The primary challenge that the international community faces is the delivery of relief supplies," the White House said.

James Kunder, AID's director of disaster assistance, who called the Somalia famine "the world's worst humanitarian crisis," said nearly every male in his teens or older is now armed. With no functioning government in the country and "a complete breakdown of civil order," Kunder said "each negotiation for each food truck becomes a tortured exercise subject to renegotiation one kilometer down the road."

Serb Farmers Collect Bumper Harvest Of Loot

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia — Warfare has prevented many Serb farmers here from planting their fields, but they are collecting a bumper harvest of loot. Along roads gouged by mortar fire, unabashed farmers drive hay wagons heaped with rugs, sofas, lampshades, and kitchenware. A wife or child of the farmer might be sitting in the wagon, smiling, wedged amid the belongings of a Slavic Muslim or Croat family forced to flee their home with just a suitcase or two.

Across the devastated swath of northern Bosnia-Herzegovina that Serb militia forces control, there is little activity aside from the ransacking of deserted and often shattered houses. Serb militiamen usually get first pick — the stereos and television sets. Local farmers take the bulky leftovers.

Like a comatose patient, the vital signs of northern Bosnia are sagging. Most villages along the road to this regional capital are empty, either gutted by warfare or abandoned out of fright. At night, it is bandit country, a time when everyone hunkers down and watches tracer bullets shoot through the sky. The Serbs who control northern Bosnia are applying their "ethnic cleansing" — driving out Muslims and Croats with threats, intimidation and force. Sometimes, when the wind blows from a vil-

lage where a "cleansing" has taken place, there is the scent of death.

The 180-mile drive from Belgrade, the capital of neighboring Serbia, to Banja Luka used to take about three hours. Now, it can take three hours to travel 30 miles. Bridges have been blown out, their wood beams shattered like toothpicks. The road zig-zags in a crazy pattern because fighting continues in some places, unseen but heard in the thud of falling howitzer shells. At one point, the road is diverted through a corn field. Turns are marked by hand-drawn signs, and at some crossroads the arrows to Banja Luka are painted on empty houses.

There are roadblocks every few miles. Uniformed militia forces, relatively disciplined, ask foreigners for cigarettes and smile politely if they don't get any. Journalists with identification papers are waved through without a hitch. But off the main route, guards have different uniforms, many with no markings. Often they have been drinking. They wave their guns recklessly and demand cigarettes. These forces could be posted to shunt traffic from a surrounded Muslim village, perhaps a prison camp, perhaps a town being looted. They refuse to let outsiders

through, despite the promises of local Serb political leaders — who claim sovereignty in the region — that foreign reporters and relief workers can move freely.

Back on the main road, the sparse traffic consists of civilian buses, military trucks that the Yugoslav army handed over to Bosnian Serb militiamen, and gasoline tankers.

Fuel is crucial for the Serb war machine. The tankers have Belgrade license plates, and diplomats say there is no doubt that the fuel is supplied free. But there is no gasoline for the noncombatants still living in northern Bosnia. Cities like Banja Luka and Bijeljina, where electricity and phones rarely work, have a slightly Asian air because many people now pedal around on bicycles. The numbers are limited, though — waves of Muslims and Croats have been expelled — and even some Serbs are getting out.

"There are a lot of decent Serbs, but they are terrified," said a Muslim in Banja Luka. Many shops are closed. Serb-owned ones might have run out of things to sell, or perhaps the owner decided it would be safer to stay with relatives in Belgrade for a while. Most Muslim and Croat shops have suffered the intimidation tactics of radical Serb militiamen —

lootings, bombings, shootings, burnings. The Serbs who leave, after locking their doors, often paint "Serb" in huge strokes on the front wall so that Serb combatants or farmers-turned-looters will steer clear. In some villages, those are the only untouched houses.

A bus carrying about 30 civilians, including two foreign reporters, and six gunmen wound its way past such villages but broke down as twilight neared. The village was empty, holes in every wall, roofs collapsed. It had been a Muslim village.

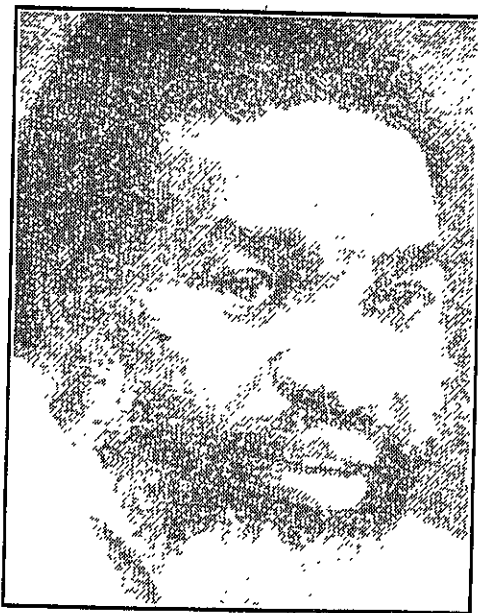
With night falling, the few passing cars and gas tankers roared on through. The passengers would spend the night sleeping in their seats, the militiamen's AK-47 assault rifles hanging from the luggage rack. The militiamen made a fire, toasted corn from a nearby field and talked about their battles against "fundamentalist" Muslims and "fascist" Croats. As tracer bullets from a distant battle lit the sky, a patriotic folk song played on the bus sound system, and the militiamen belted out the lyrics:

"Sing Serbia, you country of heroes,
Sing stronger and louder, so everyone will fear you."

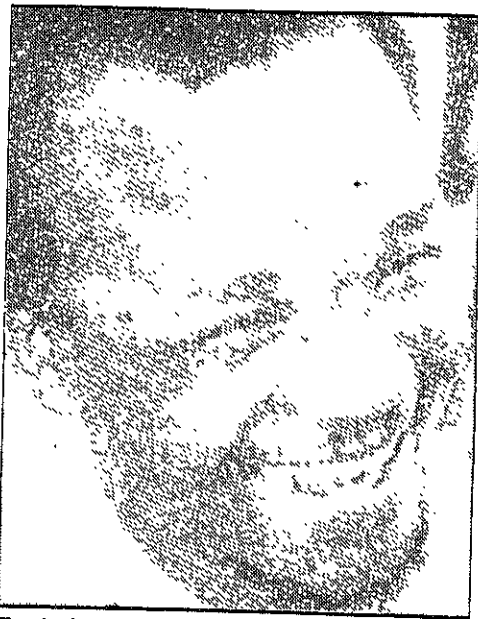
By Peter Maass

ANALYSIS *Globetrotting heads of state hit over spending unnecessary millions amid starvation*

Nujoma's R80-m embarrassment



Sam Nujoma



Frederick Chiluba



Robert Mugabe



Quett Masire

by Mathatha Tsedu *Sowetan*
Investigation Editor 21/8/92

AID WITHHELD

NAMIBIAN president Mr Sam Nujoma is a worried and embarrassed man. He bought an R80 million presidential Falcon jet which was delivered just as his government was asking for R22 million in drought aid from Nordic countries.

And now questions are being asked about the jet and whether buying it was right during the devastating drought.

The government says those opposed, including the Norwegian and Swedish governments, are interfering in domestic affairs and trying to influence the outcome of local elections due in November.

This government statement followed the Norwegian decision that Namibia would not be given any money for drought aid as the country was "relatively better off ... as shown by her ability to buy the Falcon jet ... and could probably also find money for other purposes in the budget".

Defended president

The jet has also led to the dismissal of a farm labourer who apparently defended the decision to buy it in an argument with his employer, Mr Heid Hartmuth.

Mr Izak Mulenyane told *New Era* newspaper that Hartmuth had spoken against the buying of the jet and when Mulenyane defended it, he was fired.

The government's response to the furore has been that with the Namibian Airline unable and ill-equipped to release part of its limited fleet to the president when he travels, it was necessary that a jet be found to ferry not only Nujoma, but other government officials around.

It has become a messy affair in the light of the pending elections and a big embarrassment, especially as the national flag painted on the jet is painted upside down.

But then Nujoma is not alone, as his information minister, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, pointed out when cross-questioned during a Press conference.

Botswana, Hamutenya said, had just received its own jet which was even more expensive but no one was making any fuss about it.

And indeed that is so. For the 12 seater

Norway says find the money elsewhere in the State budget.

Gulfstream 4 built in Atlanta, Georgia, flew into Botswana three weeks ago.

Zambia, which is struggling to survive the drought and recession, sent its presidential jet to the United States recently for renovation at the cost of millions of rands.

President Frederick Chiluba, who travelled to Washington late last year on a normal flight of the national airline, today uses Kaunda's former plane exclusively.

Zimbabwe has a presidential jet that is, however, used by the national airline when it is not used by the government.

In Tanzania, where the government also owns a presidential jet, the 232 members of parliament have each been given Japan's latest model in cars, costing R26,3 million in all.

"The joke about it all is that Tanzania does not even have the roads on which these cars can travel. So you find the spectacle today of these members of parliament who drive around the dusty streets of Dar es-Salaam in cars that have fridges and other electronic gadgets," one editor, Mr Ndimara Tegambwage, said.

In years gone by, donor nations such as Norway and Sweden would have kept quiet and continued to give money. But as the winds of change blow through Africa, bringing with them vigorous parties and militancy by citizens, there is a discernible openness that is emerging.

What will the situation be like when a black led government takes over here?

We will have to wait and watch to see whether the temptation of executive private jets will not be too tempting for the new leadership.

But if present tastes and trends in black leadership is anything to go by, we should prepare ourselves for fleets of executive ministerial jets.

Exports to Africa soar in five years

B10A7 21/8/92
SIMON WILLSON

THE proportion of total SA exports to African countries has more than doubled over the past five years, according to the first official figures since 1987 to detail SA's trade with Africa.

The July trade statistics released this week by the Commissioner for Customs and Excise included a breakdown of SA's trade flows into global zones. Publication of the breakdown was suspended in September 1987 to counter rising sanctions pressure. Africa's share of total SA exports rose sharply from 4% in the first seven months of 1987 to 9,1% in the same period this year.

Exports to Europe rose by more than two fifths from 23,8% of total exports in the January-July period in 1987 to 34,5% this year.

The American quotient of this year's January-July exports was up slightly on five years ago at 9,3% against 7,2%, as was Asia's at 17,8% from 16,9%. The share apportioned to Oceania, which includes Australia and New Zealand, was unchanged on 1987 at 0,5%.

Another indication of the diminished sanctions threat is the smaller proportion of "unclassified" trade.

In 1987, 47,4% of January-July exports were in the unclassified category, believed to encompass precious metals, armaments and other "strategic" items. This category had shrunk to 27,7% in the same period this year.

Madagascar seems headed for reform

ANTANANARIVO — Early returns yesterday from a constitutional referendum indicated most of Madagascar's voters approved of reforms that would weaken President Didier Ratsiraka and pave the way for national elections.

The interior ministry said it had counted about 10% of the votes cast in Wednesday's referendum, and reported that 70% of those ballots supported the new constitution. Owing to the remoteness of some districts, final results were not expected for several days.

Voters were asked to approve or reject a new constitution that would strengthen parliament and weaken the iron grip Ratsiraka has exercised in 17 years of Marxist rule.

If the constitution is approved, a presidential election is likely to be held within two months, followed by legislative elections.

Madagascar has been in turmoil since thousands of protesters flooded the streets of Antananarivo, the capital, in June 1991 to demand Ratsiraka's ousting. — Sapa-AP.

Trees For Africa targets business

CHARLIE PRETZLIK ①

TREES For Africa has targeted businesses in its latest bid to promote the proliferation of vegetation.

The organisation has started a project to persuade companies to make a donation towards planting trees each time they publish an annual report.

It is estimated more than 1 000 trees are felled to produce the paper required for all the copies of an average-sized company's annual report.

Companies will be asked to donate R6 a tree used. The money raised will go towards planting trees in "disadvantaged" areas throughout the country.

Trees For Africa chairman Clive Weil said companies would be able to choose where the trees were planted and could reprint the TFA logo in their annual report. BIDAY 21/8/92

"The scheme is modelled on what has been achieved in Israel, where the Jewish National Fund has planted more than 190-million trees," he said.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said responsible businesses would look favourably on the project.

Brief

SOCIETY

clash since Islamic fundamentalists were driven underground.

Togo negotiations on

LOME - Togo's main opposition parties agreed to make major political concessions to strong arm President Gnassingbe Eyadema, hoping he will end a spiral of violence and allow free elections to be held.

Bloody battle rages

ALGIERS - Algerian police killed 10 rebels in a gun battle, the bloodiest

King Hassan pardons

RABAT - King Hassan has granted pardons or remissions to 228 prisoners to mark the 39th anniversary of the departure into exile of his father King Mohammed V, the palace said.

Peace preparations

SANAA - PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh held talks on the latest developments of the Middle East

New PM for Zaire

KINSHASA - President Mobutu Sese Seko changed tack and ratified his arch-rival Etienne Tshisekedi as Zaire's new prime minister.

Politician's body sent

LOME - The body of murdered politician Tavo Amorin was flown home for burial as Togo's interim government decided to delay Sunday's referendum.

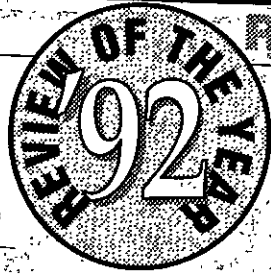
Relief begins

UNITED NATIONS - Somalia's UN mission halted emergency relief efforts that are under way to aid the famine-stricken African nation, including the start of a 2-month airlift of food by United States military aircraft.

peace talks scheduled in Washington on Monday, the Yemen news agency said.

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AFRICA IN BRIEF

JANUARY: After December's electoral triumph by the Islamic Salvation Front in **ALGERIA**, the army seizes power. *wtMail*

FEBRUARY: A short-lived truce in **SOMALIA** is shattered. A failure of seasonal rains plunges **SOUTHERN AFRICA** into its worst drought this century. *23/12 - 29/12/92*

MARCH: **ZIMBABWE** passes a Bill authorising the government to set its own price for buying white farm land. A census in **NIGERIA** shows only 88-million citizens, about 20-million fewer than expected.

APRIL: Voters in **GHANA** overwhelmingly approve a new constitution.

MAY: After 28 years of one-man rule, **MALAWI** undergoes its first serious civil unrest.

JUNE: **ALGERIAN** head of state Muhammad Boudiaf is assassinated on June 29.

JULY: The **SEYCHELLES** holds its first multiparty elections since 1974. Incumbent Albert Rene wins.

AUGUST: The United Nations votes for urgent air lift of food to **SOMALIA** as an estimated 5 000 Somalis are dying each day due to famine.

SEPTEMBER: The first ever multiparty elections are held in **ANGOLA**. Unita rejects the results and threatens to renew civil war.

OCTOBER: **MOZAMBIQUE'S** warring factions sign a peace accord to end the country's 17-year civil war.

NOVEMBER: **KENYAN** president Daniel Arap Moi announces that multiparty elections will be held at the end of December.

DECEMBER: United States marines, under the auspices of the United Nations land in Mogadishu, **SOMALIA**.

Bandits delay food supplies to Somalia

Star Africa Service

STAR 25/8/92

NAIROBI — American food supplies to Somalia — part of an international relief campaign — will not reach starving Somalis until tomorrow, a spokesman for the American office of disaster assistance programme said yesterday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Donnely said his team was trying to deal with several security problems in Somalia before the direct airlift from the Kenyan port of Mombasa to various points in Somalia begins.

The unstable situation in Somalia, with marauding armed bandits confiscating supplies from relief agencies, is what is worrying the Americans. The security situation is said to be deteriorating

in the capital Mogadishu.

In Kenya, more than one million Kenyans and 360 000 Somalis and Ethiopians are facing death unless food reaches them immediately.

● The UN halted mercy flights to the besieged southern Sudanese capital of Juba yesterday after two rebel shells landed near a plane shuttling food to thousands of hungry civilians there, Sapa-Reuter reports.

World Food Programme spokesman Paul Mitchell said the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army fired two shells that exploded about 50 m from a UN-chartered cargo plane as it unloaded food on Sunday. Flights will be resumed today if the runway is cleared of debris.

'War crimes' writer stole explosives

Star Bureau

LONDON — A former soldier, who wrote a book

Recording of slaying traps killer

SYDNEY — A member of an extremist right-wing group pleaded guilty to murder yester-



INTERNATIONAL NEWS Flight of refugees slows down • Duchess puts on brave face

Africa in brief

A goat for a Swazi job

MBABANE - If you want a job in Swaziland, you'd better have a goat, or even better, a cow. According to reports, recruitment officials of many companies based in the country's industrial sites are demanding bribes of livestock, or even cash of up to R200 from job seekers.

The racket was uncovered by a disgruntled job seeker who paid R200, but did not get a job.

7 militants killed in Egypt

ASSUT - Egyptian security forces shot dead seven Islamic extremists during a siege of their hideout in Mangabad, southern Egypt.

Election material stolen

LOME - A convoy of vehicles carrying election material for a planned vote on a democratic new constitution was ambushed and its contents were

Food for starving millions

Sowetan 25/8/92
MORE AIRLIFTS International community

steps up efforts to feed famine-stricken Somalia:

AIROBI - Efforts by the United States to feed the Horn of Africa's starving millions grew yesterday with additional airlifts to Kenya's northeast.

United Nations officials said relief efforts inside Somalia had apparently slowed the flight of refugees.

Also yesterday, a 45-truck relief convoy from the United Nations World Food Programme arrived in Gclib, in southern Somalia.

The convoy carried 450 metric tons of food, the first to reach the community of 40 000 since the beginning of the year, said spokesman Paul Mitchell.

The United Nations convoy and United States airlift are the latest in stepped up international efforts to feed the millions of people starving in the region and to reach the famine stricken in Somalia's previously unaided remote villages.

Aid officials estimate 1.5 to 2 million Somalis suffering the effects of drought and warfare could starve to death in coming weeks if food is not delivered immediately.

Food is also needed by hundreds of thousands of refugees and drought victims in neighbouring Kenya and Ethiopia.

Slow to respond

Although slow to respond to the disaster which has been building since December when the International Red Cross issued its first warnings about the situation, the donor community in recent weeks has vigorously begun efforts to

stem the deaths. In addition to the United States and the United Nations, France, Britain and Italy are funding or operating airlifts that aim to infuse the region with food. Germany plans to follow suit soon.

The United States, which has announced plans to deliver 145 000 tons of food to the region, on Friday began flying food to the northeastern Kenyan town of Wajir.

The food is for distribution to Kenyan drought victims as well as the nearly 400 000 refugees living in camps along the East African nation's border, most of whom are Somalis. - *Sapa-AP.*

When bulls fight, the grass suffers

DISPOSSESSED. Homeless. Stateless. This is the tragic plight of most of the 45 000 Somali refugees living in the border refugee camp at Liboi, in northern Kenya.

"What does it mean to have nothing left?" sighs Mutassir Mahamut as he lies in the sand at the border post. "All my property was taken. The crops I planted have not been harvested. I had three children. They all died. I had a wife. We had to part. She is still in Somalia. I told her I was leaving and she refused to come with me."

Mahamut's family moved to Somalia from Kenya when he was five. He inherited his grandmother's mango plantation at Gosh, in the fertile Juba Valley. "I have no blood bond in Somalia. My family only went there by mistake," he says. Ethnically classified as a bantu, Mahamut is

U/M and 28/8-3/9/92

Thousands of outsiders are being trampled and forced into flight by the clan-based civil war that is destroying Somalia.

By MARK HUBAND

not from one of the numerous clans whose civil war has destroyed Somalia and forced some 320 000 refugees to flee to Kenya since January 1991.

"The Somali people all had a negative attitude towards the bantus," he says. "We were mistreated by the Somalis, who took us as their slaves."

"Then the war started. It was inevitable. And, as the saying goes, when two bulls fight, it's the

grass that suffers. We are the grass. I will never go back. I am prepared to live as a refugee forever."

As Somalia has imploded, it is the outsiders and the vanquished in the conflict who have been forced to flee. Their farms have been occupied by rival clans, their stocks have been stolen and hunger has driven them to walk for weeks to the border, where the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) has established camps.

In the men's ward at the Liboi refugee camp hospital, all but one of the patients are from the Darod clan of the deposed Somali president, Mohamed Siad Barre. The border region is predominantly Darod, so their numerical domination in the camp is partly explained by people simply searching for food. But they are also flee-

ing a country whose clan-based war has forced the beaten clans to leave.

"The people doing the fighting are the ones who have no cares about life. They are armed and they don't care. They aren't educated and they don't have anything to care about," comments one patient. Once a Darod farmer in Kismayu, he is now in the Liboi hospital suffering from yellow fever.

Beside him lies a malnourished supporter of the United Somali Congress, arch-rival of the Darods. "We are together now on this side of the border. Everybody here is sick, we don't have the strength to fight any more. It's better to be brothers," he says.

Outside the hospital, which is run by the French aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), a hot wind whips up the sand across the vast barren plain, sending the refugees inside the dome-shaped plastic-covered huts in which they have lived for up to two years.

The hovels stretch for kilometres on either side of an airstrip, where three times a week small aircraft arrive from Nairobi, Kenya's capital, carrying supplies of chat — the narcotic drug Somalis chew ceaselessly.

A crowd gathers around the aeroplane and is held back by Kenyan policemen as the bales of weed are unloaded into the back of a rusting Fiat. "There are about 15 to 20 bags of chat arriving each day," says the police chief in Liboi, Pascal Jakiat. "The Somalis like it very much. They chew it all night and then they go out and do their business."

The convoys of trucks which bring refugees to the camp are guarded by armed Kenyan police officers. Bandits have attacked the convoys and stolen what the refugees have managed to salvage from their wrecked lives in Somalia. Two weeks ago, an MSF ambulance was stolen by bandits and the chief of police in the Kenyan border town of Mandera was killed by bandits.

As more refugees flood in, at a rate of about 450 a day at Liboi, others have moved further south. A rise in armed crime in Nairobi has been blamed on the steady transport of weapons across the border from Somalia. Earlier this month, the Kenyan authorities rounded up 1 550 Somali and Ethiopian refugees in response to growing resentment among Kenyans about the refugees' presence. Most were released after a joint appeal by foreign embassies and the UNHCR.

Increased publicity about Somalia's crisis has led to increased foreign-aid pledges, but the attraction of relief-food supplies in Kenya and the displacement of thousands for whom Somalia can no longer be considered home will clearly worsen the refugee flood, especially as the pledges of new food aid have not been accompanied by any clear improvement in the security situation within Somalia itself. — The Guardian

Europe must redeem credibility

SPR 25/8/92

WHEN the European Parliament endorses the views of a dissident, discredited, minority faction of Ethiopian exiles, it is time to question the processes by which (as in this case) it rushes to conclusions.

A resolution adopted by the parliament expresses concern at the persistent violation of human rights in Ethiopia; at "the arrest of some 20 Ethiopian refugees expelled from Sudan, on no apparent charge", mentioning in particular Tadele Demeka, a student from the University of East Anglia, who was visiting the country under the auspices of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

The resolution goes on to note that "one year after the present EPRDF government taking power, Ethiopia is facing an unprecedented crisis with the danger of a widespread and bloody

civil war taking place there".

What is the reality behind the grave charges made by them and swallowed hook, line and sinker by the European Parliament?

Consider first, the case of Tadele Demeka. By the time the parliament's resolution was adopted, calling for her release, she was already free following representations by the British ambassador in Addis Ababa.

The much more serious aspect of the European Parliament's resolution is its warning about Ethiopia facing a crisis with the danger of bloody civil war.

The recent attempt to hold the country's first ever democratic elections for regional councils was not an unqualified success — as leaders in the interim government are the first to admit.

A much more serious development flows from the decision of

the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) to boycott the elections. The OLF is clearly a major political element in this current situation, but just how representative it is of the Oromo people (more than half of the country's population) has never been tested.

The European Parliament's resolution also lacks balanced judgement and objectivity on most of its other statements.

Firstly, the EPRDF government did not "take power" after the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam's tyranny; it is unique in being the only, armed liberation movement which, having won, decided to share power in a coalition government with all the other major representative groups in the country, including its opponents like the OLF. For this they deserve special credit.

Second, human rights in Ethiopia

are infinitely better today than at any time in the country's history.

Third, the description of a country suffering "as a whole" from insecurity is plainly untrue.

What seems clear is that an active lobby (reported to be the German Green Party) got a hurried resolution through the European Parliament on a day when something like 14 other resolutions were adopted. There appears to have been no proper debate.

In order to redeem its credibility as far as this major African issue is concerned, the European Parliament should now do four things: send a fact-finding mission to Ethiopia; on its return, arrange for a full debate; encourage the peace initiative by the European ambassadors; and address the most critical issue in the Horn of Africa — the situation in Sudan. □

Students from 10 Africa varsities meeting to discuss human rights ①

Education Reporter

Students from more than 10 southern African countries, including South Africa, will meet for the first time to discuss human rights issues in Harare from September 11 to 13.

The meeting is being organised by the Centre for Human Rights Studies of the University of Pretoria and all South African universities have indicated that they will take part in the three-day discussions.

A spokesman for the universi-

ty's centre for human rights, Professor Christof Heyns, said the discussions would be held in the form of a moot court competition. *SM 26/8/92*

Students from the universities of Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe are expected to attend.

In round one of the competition a typical bill of rights case will be argued before a panel of judges consisting of the deans of the various law faculties.

Somalia food aid being dumped

Red Cross warns against food relief

■ Half of food airlifted to Somalia already looted: ①

Suwayem 26/8/92

NAIROBI - The Red Cross said yesterday that large-scale dumping of food in Somalia could lead to further strife and urged greater coordination of international relief efforts.

The warning came days before the United States planned to start airlifting food into the Horn of Africa nation, where up to 2 million people are threatened with starvation.

Ms Renee Bafalis, a spokeswoman at US Airlift's headquarters in Mombasa, said the Americans would not be simply dumping food in Somalia.

She said they would move food to aid agencies already in Somalia, where and as it was needed. The aid workers would handle the unloading and distribution of the relief supplies.

Armed militia and independent gunmen roaming the country have looted relief supplies. Some aid workers estimate that half of all the food delivered this year has been stolen.

Although the Red Cross has delivered 100 000 tons of food to Somalia, it has been insufficient to feed the starving. - Sapa-AP.

Empty bowls, empty stomachs . . . starving Somali children are beaten as they become restive when it is apparent that there is not enough food to go round at a refugee feeding centre. Picture: AP

Food aid 'may intensify Somali strife'

NAIROBI (Kenya) — The Red Cross said yesterday that large-scale dumping of food in Somalia could lead to further strife and urged greater co-ordination of international relief efforts.

Also yesterday, Germany began an airlift into Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, with two Transall cargo planes, each carrying 10 tons of high-protein biscuits provided by the UN Children's Fund, said Paul Mitchell of the UN World Food Programme.

Mr Mitchell, whose agency is co-ordinating the German effort, said the two Transalls would make two flights each into Mogadishu from their base at Kenya's coastal city, Mombasa, today.

The Red Cross issued its warning days before the US planned to start airlifting food into Somalia, where up to 2 million people are threatened with starvation. Tens of thousands have already died from warfare and drought.

● An unidentified armed faction murdered 11 Somalis working with the Red Cross and the Red Crescent in what relief workers yesterday called a vendetta.

The attack in Kismayo, in southern Somalia, happened at the end of last week.

● The UN resumed mercy flights to the besieged southern Sudanese capital of Juba yesterday, two days after rebel shells exploded near a plane delivering food to 300 000 hungry civilians.

Guerrillas of the Sudan People's Liberation Army have tightened their noose around Juba, pounding civilian and military areas with devastating artillery. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Israel stands firm on

JERUSALEM — Israel's Bank yesterday, Mr Padin was asked about endorsement of UN Resolution 242 at the peace talks did not commit the Jewish state to giving up the Golan Heights, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said there were

MONTY

Source
7/6/8/92

Bloc facing problems

NAIROBI - The Preferential Trade Agreement, a trading bloc of east and southern African countries, says the region is facing insurmountable problems due to the unremitting drought, political instability and adverse economic conditions in member countries.

Africa boosts local tours

■ Air links to boost

SA visitors:

27/8/92

By Isaac Moledi

AFRICA is on the verge of becoming one of South Africa's most important tourism markets, said the South African Tourism Board.

Satur said about 1,5-million tourists from Africa alone were expected this year as compared to 1,1-million from the continent and the Indian Ocean islands last year.

"This total is not an unrealistic one judging from the current arrivals figures," Satur's chief director of tourism promotions Dr Ernie Heath said.

Tourist hot spots

Zimbabwe, Namibia, Kenya and Egypt were the main four priority incoming markets, Heath said.

"Although arrivals by air from Africa are less than 20 percent of the total arrivals from Africa, this figure is larger than the air arrivals from North and South America, Australia and Asia combined.

"This means that air arrivals from Africa could soon be on par with air arrivals from the whole of Europe, should the 1,5-million arrivals materialise," he said.

Heath said the interest in the country's political and economic future and in tourism by other African states had reflected a dramatic increase in visits to this country.

Added air routes

New air routes from Luanda (Angola), Antananarivo (Madagascar), St. Denis (Reunion), Moroni (Comores), Mahe (Seychelles) and Kinshasa (Zaire) to South Africa have been established to boost the movement of visitors.

Routes still to be developed include Dares Salaam (Tanzania), Brazzaville (Congo), Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Dakar (Senegal).

1 000 police using teargas and water cannons to defend the empty building, abandoned by residents after being partly destroyed by petrol bombs on Monday night.

More than 1 000 riot police remained on alert yesterday. In two incidents near the

riots as "a disgrace called on all demon hatred of able". But he ad are under the lo the Christian De had "made mis

US ponders food plan to revive Somali economy

MOMBASA — The US, preparing an emergency airlift to flood starving Somalia with food, plans to sell some of it instead of giving it away. *Blom 27/8/92*

Almost the only economic activity now taking place in Somalia is by clan gunmen stealing relief supplies or guarding them from rivals, American aid experts say.

Getting local merchants back into business with ample food on their shelves could save more lives than handouts by drawing hoarded stocks out of hiding, lowering prices and starting a revival of the economy, they say.

Drought and anarchy have wrecked Somalia since the overthrow of President Mohamed Siad Barre in January last year. Somalis are starving to death at the rate of 2 000 a week and more than 5-million lives are believed to be in danger, relief workers say.

US officials and relief advisers said they planned food drops worth an estimated \$200m to Somalia and bordering northern Kenya in the next two months as a stop-gap measure. But they saw little hope for the future unless long-term aid was crafted to revive food production and a functioning market economy.

The US is expected to make its first airlift into Somalia tomorrow. US transport aircraft have so far only ferried food to Somalis in Kenyan refugee camps.

But relief consultant Rick Hill said a new strategy was needed as the current system of just handing out food was "digging Somalia into a deeper hole" in view of its near-total anarchy and clan rivalry. — Sapa-Reuter.

Bomb kills
STAR 27/8/92
9 Algerians

ALGIERS — A powerful bomb killed nine people and wounded more than 100 at Algiers airport yesterday in the worst attack since a state of emergency was declared after Muslim fundamentalist unrest.

It reinforced fears that extremists blamed for killing more than 100 security force members were switching to "softer" targets.

The government described it as "a declaration of war against the Algerian nation".

The blast in the international terminal wounded scores of men, women and children, their bodies torn by flying glass or burnt.

Prime Minister Belaid Abdesselam said: "This crime unveils the authors' true objectives, aiming at the people as a whole." — Sapa-Reuter.

Security hinders Somalia aid

STAR 27/8/92

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NAIROBI — Security was the major problem hindering famine relief for starving Somalis, a US presidential aide said yesterday.

Andrew Natsios, President Bush's special co-ordinator for Somalia, described the situation in the impoverished Horn of Africa country as anarchic and chaotic.

"We cannot get food in to many areas nor will we be able to do so even with the arrangements we are now making," he said in an interview in Nairobi.

Mr Natsios, appointed to oversee an emergency US airlift to feed an estimated 1.5 mil-

lion Somalis at immediate risk of starvation, said it was too late for many people.

He rejected allegations that the airlift, flying food to refugees on the border with Kenya, would aggravate security problems by dumping food into famine areas ruled by marauding gangs of gunmen.

"We are not going to be dumping food anywhere. We are going to be carefully moving food into areas where there is an international or a non-governmental organisation presence," he said.

Some aid workers say the dispatch of US military cargo

planes for the airlift is late, hasty and ill-planned.

"We've got aircraft coming out of our ears, but not enough goodies to put in them," said a UN relief worker. "The US came all of a sudden and it's stretching co-ordination to the limit."

Mr Natsios said one of the major aims of the US operation was to drive down domestic food prices by selling US grain to Somali merchants.

He said making food available would cut prices presently "500 percent above normal" and improve the security situation. Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Africa given marginal role in global change

STEPHEN CRANSTON
JOHANNESBURG.

Prospects for investing in Africa are limited, not because there's no market but because of the structural constraints in the region, according to Dr. Fautu Cheru, professor of African Studies at the American University in Washington.

Centres that Africa would have a very marginal role to play in the changes in the world economy.

He said that in the 1980s sub-Saharan Africa experienced a negative growth of 1.7 per cent and agricultural growth had been at half the rate of population growth.

"The real culprit for the disaster has been the anti-peasant policies of African governments," he said. "There has been inadequate investment in agriculture, insufficient incentives to peasant producers, the breakdown of marketing and transport systems, lack of storage facilities and weak extension services."

"African peasants have been the principal generators of foreign exchange, but they have been cheated by the State to enable civil servants to import sleek cars and burgundy."

Dr Cheru said that between 1985 and 1990, Africa had lost up to 70 000 middle and high-level managers. Ghana, for example, had lost 60 percent of the doctors trained in the early 1980s. Sudan had lost 17 percent of its doctors and dentists, 20 percent of its university teaching

staff, 30 percent of its engineers and 45 percent of its surveyors in 1978 alone.

The professional ranks were increasingly filled by expatriates. There were now 30 000 in Africa, costing R4 billion a year.

Sub-Saharan Africa received just 6 percent of total foreign direct investment into the developing world and private investment flows fell from R6.7 billion in 1986 to R3.4 billion in 1989.

Africa was also burdened by debts, with a regional burden equivalent to 81.1 percent of GDP, compared with 45.8 percent for Latin America.

Africa suffered from a high level of dependency on commodities, which accounted for 70 percent of export earnings.

AFRICA BRIEFS

W. W. 2/18 - 27/8/92

①

Togo minister escapes gunmen

■ A TOGOLESE government minister escaped an assassination attempt on Monday night when gunmen chased his car through the streets of Lome.

Minister of Equipment and Mines Yao Amefia, a close aide to Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, was being driven home when armed men gave chase. A shot was fired, wounding Amefia's bodyguard.

Tension is growing in Lome in the run-up to a vital referendum on a new multi-party constitution, scheduled for Sunday.

UN sanctions hit Libya

■ LIBYA claims that sanctions, imposed by the United Nations in mid-April, have cost the country \$4.62-billion, according to Foreign Minister Ibrahim al-Beshari.

In a report to UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Beshari also said 100 infants and 150 other people had died because they were unable to receive medical treatment abroad.

Libya has been under UN air traffic, arms and diplomatic sanctions since April 15 after refusing to hand over two suspects in the 1988 bombing of a PanAm airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland.

Rebels vow to shoot relief planes

■ REBELS besieging Sudan's refugee-jammed southern capital of Juba have threatened to shoot at United Nations relief planes if they resume an emergency airlift to the city this week.

Head of the aid wing of the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army, Elijah Malok, said there was no agreement on safe passage for the flights, which were stopped a month ago after the SPLA accused the UN of flying in arms and troops.

The UN announced it would restart the airlift this week, flying in food and other supplies for 300 000 starving people trapped in the city.

Uganda sacks human rights lawyer

■ UGANDA has sacked top human rights lawyer Wasswa Lule from his post of government deputy inspector general. Lule's tasks included monitoring human rights abuses and corruption in the government.

Minister for Presidential Affairs Kintu Musoke said Lule was fired because of "irresponsible behaviour and indiscipline". However, diplomatic sources say Lule was sacked for saying President Yoweri Museveni's government was trying and detaining civilians under military law and had committed untold atrocities during its five-year bush war.

Protestors block observers

■ SUPPORTERS of a federal system for Madagascar occupied the northern town of Antsiranana on Tuesday, preventing election observers from the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists from reaching the town.

Demonstrations for federal rule have swept much of the island outside the capital of Antananarivo since last Thursday, rallying opposition to this week's referendum, which is seen as a plebiscite on President Didier Ratsiraka's 17-year rule.

Federalists, who support Ratsiraka, wanted this week's poll to offer a choice between federal and central rule, rather than a single constitution.

Where the world ends

By Monica Oosterbroek

STAN 28/8/92

Nothing prepared The Star's photographer Joao Silva for the absolute misery and complete anarchy in Somalia, a country which has been devastated by famine and civil war.

"Somalia is the end of the world and the beginning of hell — and I will never recover from the terrible experience of just being there," he said.

Arriving at the coastal capital Mogadishu, Silva, the first South African newspaper photographer to gain access to the war-torn country, was met by frightening chaos. Residents are ruled by gun-toting youngsters who ran around shooting indiscriminately, rioting and looting.

There are no formal structures left in the city and very few walls were left standing. Masses of walking skeletons and beggars roam the street and the only shops are stalls set up on pavements," he said.

Only those with guns get food, but weapons are cheap and freely available in the open-air gun markets lining the streets.

And if you can't afford to buy an automatic rifle, you try to steal one, Silva said.

He soon found out that photographers were not welcome in Somalia and attempts to shoot pictures resulted in youths trying to shoot him.

Silva travelled with Pulitzer Prize winner Greg Marinovich. The first thing they did was hire

four armed bodyguards, an interpreter and a four-wheel-drive vehicle.

Driving into rural areas, they saw thousands of emaciated and disease-ridden peasants trekking to UN-run food centres.

What shocked Silva most were the corpses littering the sandy roads in outlying areas as people failed to make it to relief centres. Nobody bothers to bury them and most bodies are eaten by starving animals.

Silva saw babies die in their

and hell begins

mothers' arms and children keel over and die on the doorsteps of feeding stations.

To give some idea of the massive death toll, Silva said more than 300 people died every day in the village of Baidoa, where people flock to get food.

"I don't stop shooting pictures for anything, but when I saw a baby die while the mother cried, I burst into tears. As she closed the child's eyelids, I had to look away and stop taking pictures because it was so up-

setting," he said.

But with death came life — and Silva saw one young woman who had just given birth to twins while waiting in the food line.

The countryside bore testimony to the civil war, with empty tank shells and anti-aircraft guns lining the main roads and empty cannon shells scattered everywhere.

Because of banditry and theft, only about 30 percent of the food gets to the various food

centres around the country, and the stations have to be very security conscious to protect their supplies.

Tanks and heavily armed security guards surround storage places and control the desperate crowds.

When food runs out, children start rioting and the guards beat them back into line, Silva said.

Only the hardest have any chance of survival — and even that's no guarantee.

Africa 'needs skills of SA accountants'

SA ACCOUNTING firms could provide expertise to the rest of Africa, usurping the role usually played by the UK, Canada and the US, Deloitte Pim Goldby's African board chairman Daniel Ndonge said yesterday.

Ndonge, who also heads Deloitte's Kenya firm, said "we see business to business services throughout the sub-Saharan region becoming much more closely associated, and SA can replace the usual sources of expertise now that she is once again part of Africa."

Services had to extend beyond traditional accounting to assisting trade relations and developing a common accounting strategy for the continent.

Deloitte found itself providing information as diversified as how to obtain work permits and what products would be competitive in each market.

He said cross-training programmes would give accountants the opportunity to participate in the daily life of host countries, while getting to grips with the financial environment.

London expert discounts Big Bang as JSE solution

A UK-STYLE Big Bang is not what the JSE wants or needs, says London Stock Exchange CE Peter Rawlins, who is on a brief visit to SA to advise on changes to the domestic market.

"We engineered a process of huge and wide-ranging reforms for reasons of our international competitiveness, which was under threat. The success of Big Bang is that we regained and enhanced our international capacity so that now two-thirds of all cross-border equity trading and 95% of all such trading in the European time zone goes through the London market," Rawlins said.

"The commercial threat which London had to respond to in 1986 was and still is very different to the scenario the JSE is facing. We did everything all at once in a great hurry.

"My advice to the community here is to make sure that the implications of the reforms you want to introduce are fully understood,

before you actually implement them.

"If you decide on dual capacity (brokers dealing as both principal and agent), for instance, do not lose sight of the fact that it will bring pressures and conflicts that do not exist in a single capacity (agent only) environment," he said.

"Management capacity was not adjusted and upgraded in line with the changes being introduced at the time on the London market. Looking back on Big Bang, an excess amount of money was poured into the great white hope of information and communication technology," said Rawlins.

"Many of the people taking the decisions at the time did not understand the implications of what they were doing.

"Had we had more technically literate senior management, they would have seen some of the problems that have since had to be sorted out."

Since Rawlins took the helm of the London Stock Exchange three years ago, he has whittled down the number of employees from 3 500 to 1 500. And, he added, there had been no mate-



London Stock Exchange CE Peter Rawlins in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

rial reduction in the nature of the services provided.

"My message to the JSE and the community here is to make sure you have the

management to deliver the goods when introducing reforms. Tomorrow's world may be very different to today," Rawlins said.

AFRICA BRIEFS

west. Many schools were closed in the capital as relief agencies converted them into camps and started feeding the famished refugees.

Germans join food battle

GERMAN military aircraft joined the battle to save Somalia's starving millions this week. Two German transport planes started flying emergency food supplies into the shattered capital Mogadishu from the Kenyan port of Mombasa on Tuesday. The week-long German operation will ferry high-protein biscuits into Mogadishu four times daily.

The relief drive gained another boost when the United Nations' special envoy to Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun, returned to the famished Horn of Africa country to pursue peace talks and co-ordinate world efforts to stop millions from starving to death.

w/w/can 28/8-3/9/92

Clan warfare ruins Somalia

Sowetan 2-8/89-7

■ ETHNIC VIOLENCE Tensions con-

tinue to bubble beneath the surface: ①

MOGADISHU - Different clans control different wards in Somalia's biggest hospital. If you're not a member, you sleep on the floor in the corridor.

The clan warfare which has dragged Somalia into anarchy and turned a bad drought into the world's worst famine for years has come to permeate all aspects of life in the Horn of Africa country.

Clans which united to drive out dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991 have turned on each other in vicious bloodletting. Ancient feuds are pursued with modern weapons and new hatreds are being born.

"There was always rivalry over things like grazing, water holes and so on - in a nomadic society it was a fight for survival. But it's all been magnified during the last couple of years,"

sociologist Seifulaziz Milas said.

A precarious ceasefire between Mogadishu's two main clan-based factions has held for some months, but relief workers say ethnic violence continues to bubble throughout the country. An armed gang snatched 11 Somalis including five aid workers last week from the protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the southern port of Kismayu.

The Red Cross was trying to evacuate the men because they belonged to a minority clan. It said they were probably killed. No one knows how many people died in fierce battles two weeks ago in the Medina district of south Mogadishu.

Aid workers said fighters backing major warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed surrounded and attacked a rival sub-clan in a jostle for territory. - Sapa-Reuter

Great white hope for democracy in Africa

① #24 29/8/92

KROONSTAD is a long way from the Senegalese capital of Dakar, and for André Zaaiman it has been a painful journey.

Mr Zaaiman is director of the Gorée Institute, on Gorée Island, 15 minutes by boat from Dakar. The island earned notoriety as a shipment point for millions of African slaves to the Americas.

This contrast is not lost on Mr Zaaiman. With a background steeped in apartheid, and from a place that has strong connections with slavery, he is running an institute that works for the advancement of democracy and understanding in Africa.

He grew up in a typically sheltered environment in the Free State, but his questioning of the status quo accelerated after he enrolled at the University of the Orange Free State, where he met like-minded students. "The crunch for me came in 1984," he said.

"That's when they sent the troops into the townships. I had to do my camp. I had to get myself into a Casspir to go to the townships to shoot people.

"Here I was, a young Afrikaner and I didn't like what I was see-

An Afrikaner boy from a Free State dorpje is flourishing in Dakar. **BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI** of the Weekend Argus Africa Service reports...

ing. What do I do?"

He had nobody to whom to turn. His parents, a National Party-supporting couple, did not take too kindly to what they saw as their son's waywardness. He has since learned not to discuss politics with them.

Confronted by this personal dilemma, his options were stark: Stay and fight, or emigrate. He went overseas, and made contact with several organisations involved with the South African issue, including the African National Congress. He returned a year later and went straight back to UOFS — "the defiance in me, perhaps".

Later, he enrolled at the University of Cape Town for post-graduate studies and there he helped to organise the trip to Lusaka by Stellenbosch University students to meet the ANC, an event that horrified the Afrikaner establishment. "That was something," he mused, shaking his head.

He spoke of the students' reaction to their first encounter in Lusaka

with Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

"You should have seen their faces when Joe Slovo walked into the room. This was the man who had been demonised by the system, and there he was in front of them, and he was absolutely charming. They just didn't know what to make of this."

The idea to establish the Gorée Institute was prompted by yet another controversial visit, this time to Dakar by prominent Afrikaners, which also was organised by Idasa in 1987.

Mr Zaaiman was working for Idasa when he was approached by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert about two years ago to do a feasibility study on the Gorée project.

"I came here literally with two suitcases and a smattering of French," said Mr Zaaiman.

After spending the better part of last year looking at the project, he concluded that it would be difficult, but possible.

He also was involved in negotia-

tions with the Senegalese government, with the result that the institute had a status almost akin to that of a diplomatic mission. Dakar agreed not to interfere with the institute, which was free to invite whoever it wished.

Mr Zaaiman travels on a Senegalese passport and this enables him to make extensive trips on the continent without the problems that a South African travel document would have caused.

He said President Abdou Diouf, who is keen to raise the profile of Gorée Island, had been very helpful — it was at his suggestion that Mr Zaaiman got a Senegalese passport. Mr Diouf also officially launched the institute recently.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told guests at the launch that the establishment of the institute, with its symbolism, was an act of defiance and an expression of commitment.

That historic journey to Dakar by a group of prominent Afrikaners in 1987 to meet and discuss the problems of their country with South African exiles, he said, took place against the wishes of the powers that be.



ANDRÉ ZAAIMAN: 'Democracy makes governments accountable. But, it doesn't follow that you'll also have development.'

The island of intrigue

A GERMAN visitor described the newer sections of Zanzibar as "East Germany with palm trees" — but the rest of the enchanting spice island still extends the spirit of the ancient Sultanate, when it was the centre of the infamous East African slave trade of the 19th Century.

Stolid grey blocks of flats built by East Germany in the 1970s now dominate the widened modern section of town — a reminder of the time Tanzania led the African section of the great socialist experiment.

But all over the continent things are changing rapidly, and Zanzibar is no exception.

Surrounded by dense palm groves, the port city of Zanzibar is situated on the western side of the island, only 32 km across an azure sea from Tanzania's capital, Dar es Salaam.

Sultan Sayyid Said of Oman moved his capital to Zanzibar in the 1830s to be closer to the source of much of his wealth — the prosperous ivory, gold and slave trade along the East African coast.

Zanzibar gained notoriety as the region's slave market. By the end of the sultan's rule more than 50 000 slaves were being brought each year to the island to be sold — a trade

Zanzibar may be poor and run-down today, but the island which was once the sparkling jewel of the Sultan of Oman still has the spirit and the natural bounty to regain some of its former glory. HANS-PETER BAKKER of the Star's Africa News Service reports.

STAR 29/8/92

which travellers said gave the town an overpowering smell of sweat, fear and human waste — until the British put an end to the business in 1873.

The old Stonetown, whose narrow streets were the centre of this infamous trade, is today still dominated by the palaces of the sultans. It is badly neglected and the once brilliantly whitewashed homes are grey and crumbling.

The giant House of Wonders near the docks has been taken over by Tanzania's ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution). Four old, dusty cars decorate the foyer, but the building still has the grandeur which earned it its name.

Next to it, the 17th Century Arab fort is in a sorry state. Its fire-blackened walls are standing firm, but the interior, where soldiers once paraded, is being used as a giant open-air toilet.

The island's administrators have realised the potential value of tourism and declared the Stonetown a preservation area. But dreams of renovating

the town have been held up by the dire shortage of money.

Tanzania is the world's second poorest country and it is grappling with a stringent IMF and World Bank-imposed economic restructuring which leaves little for such luxuries as renovations.

The island was a British protectorate from 1890 until independence in 1963, when it was handed over to an Arab minority government was overthrown during a marxist revolution in which more than 5 000 Arabs were killed, another 5 000 driven out and the rest dispossessed.

A radical socialist party took over and soon began receiving considerable help for its socialist programmes from the East Germany and China.

A few months later, in April 1964, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, influenced by the help he saw Zanzibar getting from Eastern bloc, agreed to unite with the island. A band of blue, representing the sea, was added to the Tanganyika

flag when Zanzibar joined with the mainland to become the United Republic of Tanzania.

The eviction of the Arabic community and the snuffing out of the last vestiges of initiative by the imposition of a stringent socialism was another nail in the coffin for Zanzibar's once-bustling economy.

After the slave trade, Zanzibar had held on to its international prominence by exchanging the stifling smell of slavery for the rich aroma of cloves.

In the 1970s it produced as much as 80 percent of the world's cloves. But by the mid-1980s the country's clove production had fallen steeply and Indonesia had taken over as the world's premier clove producer. When the bottom fell out of the world clove market, Zanzibar slipped even further into the economic quagmire.

Today economic restructuring is proving harder than expected. And although many light-skinned Arab traders have returned and can be seen plying their trades in overflowing souvenir shops, as cloth mer-

chants and in sweet shops, Zanzibar is still poor and contributes little to Tanzania's economy.

Efforts are afoot to get a coconut industry going and to boost tourism.

But a lot more is needed as long as tourists are warned not to eat or drink anything while visiting Zanzibar, and while the infrastructure is in such a deplorable state.

Politically, Zanzibar, and its satellite island, Pemba, continues to make life difficult for the regime. Despite disclaimers by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a separatist sentiment burrs fiercely on both islands.

A popular former chief minister of Zanzibar is expected to lead a separatist party in Tanzania's first multiparty elections in nearly 30 years — which are scheduled to be held before 1995 — and the Zanzibar issue may well become the central issue on which the election is fought.

Despite its economic decline Zanzibar has continued to draw attention to itself as an island of intrigue. Its lot — for now — seems to remain a thorn in Tanzania's side. With time and some effort it could develop into the most popular tourist destination on the East African coast.

AMERICAN planes have at last started to ferry food to starving Somalia, but a sinister force threatens the prompt and just distribution of aid.

THE US food airlift to Somalia got under way yesterday with four Hercules C-130 planes delivering 34 tons of food to the Somali town of Belet-Huen.

The food, brought from Mombasa, was handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross for distribution among the starving.

Two United Nations military observers were wounded yesterday in Mogadishu.

Witnesses said several jeeps converged on the UN car in the capital city and opened fire, wounding an Egyptian colonel and injuring another UN observer.

Somalia's main warlord has refused to allow the UN to send an additional 3,000 troops to protect food aid shipments and workers.

Reporters and UN World Food Programme staff interviewed General Mohamed Farrah Aidid at his headquarters in the town of Bardera, where scores are dying daily.

Aidid established his base in Bardera after failing to consolidate his control over Mogadishu. The fighting, and Aidid's lack of co-operation with international efforts to stem the starvation, have largely been blamed for the nation's catastrophe.

Tens if not hundreds of thousands of people have already died from the combined effects of starvation and warfare.

Aid workers estimate as many as 2 million more could die if food is not delivered immediately.

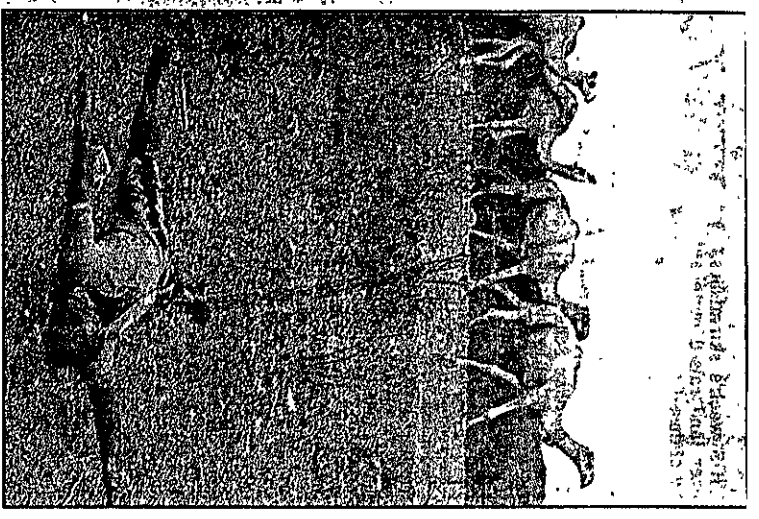
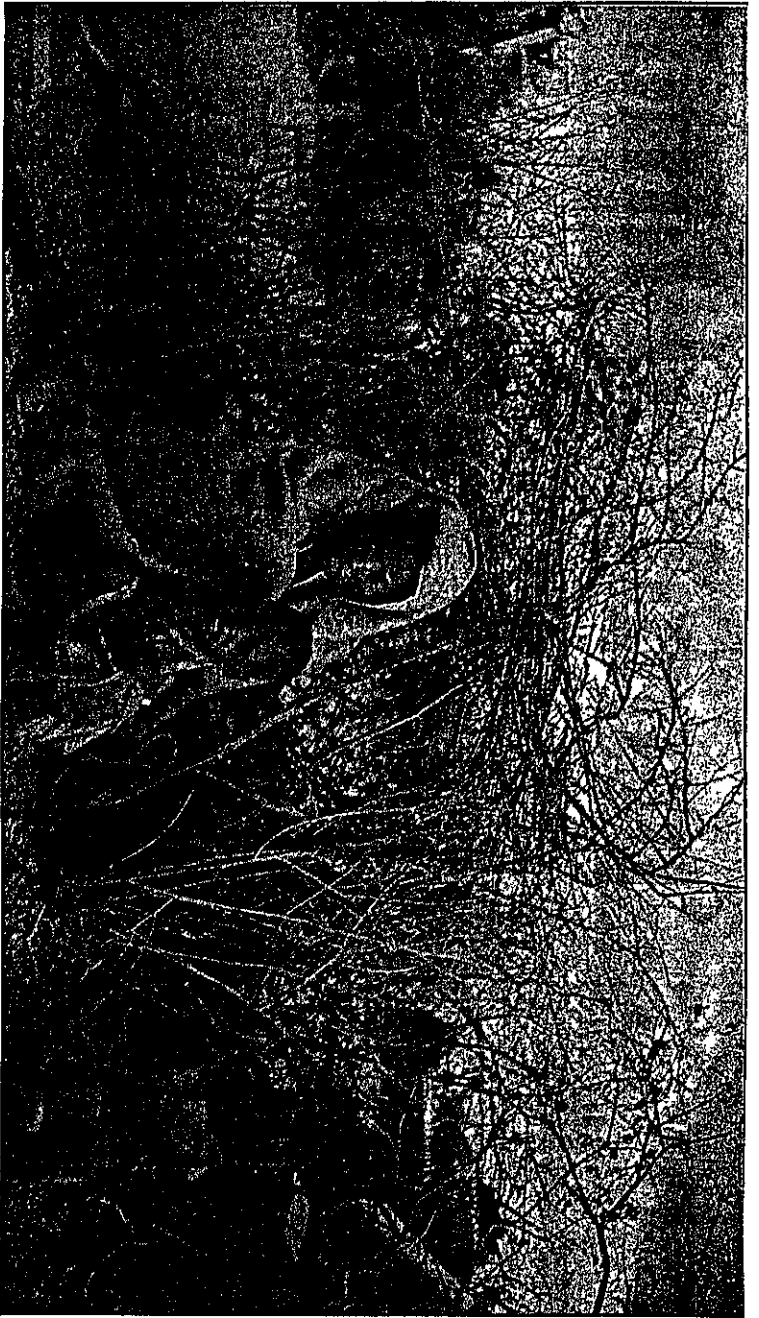
The rampant banditry, looting and general insecurity gripping the Horn of Africa nation has severely hobbled relief efforts. Some aid workers estimate as much as half of the food has been looted.

The UN only earlier this month won agreement from Aidid, whose forces are the most powerful in the fractured country and are largely blamed for the banditry, to send 500 UN soldiers to guard aid shipments and workers.

UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali this week recommended that an additional 3,000 UN troops be sent to guard relief efforts.

Aidid said additional foreign troops "could only create trouble" and repeated a demand that the UN train and equip a Somali police force to do the job, according to Paul Mitchell of the World Food Programme.

NO ROOM AT THE INN: In fact, there is no inn, and there are very few buildings left standing. The horn bush behind this refugee mother and child is their home. Thousands of desperate people live in the bushes around Baldoe, where the Red Cross has a feeding centre.



DREADFUL SCENE: The body of a Somali refugee next to the road between Gof Gadoof village and Baldoe.

Warlord's horde feasts amid famine

Staff 29/8/72



BRIGHT EYES: A malnourished child awaits recovery, or death, in an intensive care ward in Mogadishu.

Photographer JOAO SILVA

Aid officials have rejected that proposal, saying it would be little more than rearming and training Aidid's fighters. Aidid and his supporters keep themselves well fed in a heavily guarded compound, cloistered from the despair and dying all around them.

Mitchell said the conditions in Bardera were the worst he had seen in seven years' involvement in the world's worst tragedies.

"I've never seen so many kids die one after the other in front of us," he said.

Nobody knows how many people die every day in this war-torn country which has been further crippled by a harsh drought, destroying an estimated 75 percent of the country's crops.

The Red Cross runs more than 500 feeding kitchens in Somalia which feed an estimated 800,000 people two simple meals a day.

At one kitchen — no more than a few free-standing walls and large fires — the kitchen chairman, Mohammed Khama Ahmed, said of the America effort: "It is just a drop in the ocean."

Enthusiastic villagers smilingly show off an old woman curled up on the concrete floor too close to death to care about the absurdity of being flanked by piles of food and a host of well-fed outsiders taking pictures of her. — Africa News Service, Reuter, AP, AFP.

Africa ignored despite its many opportunities

S/Times (BUS) 30/8/92
①②③④⑤⑥

By CIARAN RYAN

ALBERT Nelissen, who opened more doors in Africa than the Department of Foreign Affairs, retires this week with a hint of disappointment about the world's growing lack of interest in the continent.

The outgoing chairman of Premier International finds SA's phlegmatic commitment to investment in Africa particularly irksome.

Mr Nelissen, 58, says: "After 12 years of flying around Africa I am exhausted and a bit disappointed. There are boundless opportunities in Africa.

"SA companies look all over the world for opportunities. Apart from one or two exceptions, they ignore Africa when it is throwing its arms open to us. Premier International demonstrated that trade with Africa was possible — and profitable."

Tone

While SA companies were abandoning their African interests, Mr Nelissen was in Lusaka to open trade avenues for Premier. On his second visit, he met former President Kenneth Kaunda, whom Mr Nelissen still counts as one of his closest friends.

Dr Kaunda introduced the affable Belgian to the ANC's Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki in the early 1980s when such contacts were viewed by the P.W. Botha Government as subversive, if not treasonous.

The temperate and conciliatory tone of the ANC leadership at that meeting conflicted sharply with National Party propaganda.

Mr Nelissen says: "I never discussed politics with anyone. My purpose was to establish friendships, build trust and open up communication."

"Oliver Tambo particularly impressed me. Were it not for his poor health, I think he would have a vital role in SA's future."

Dr Kaunda introduced Mr Nelissen to a host of African luminaries.

The art of doing trade with Africa is to hedge against coups and political insurrection by garnering support among existing and potential leaders.

Mr Nelissen established a working relationship with Dr Kaunda's successor, Frederick Chiluba, while remaining friendly with the former president.

He was a frequent house guest of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, but maintained a healthy dialogue with his rival and newly appointed Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi.

Denial

Mr Nelissen says Mr Mobutu has been unfairly maligned by the world press. It is claimed he has a personal fortune equal to the country's national debt of \$8-billion.

"I asked him if this was true and he emphatically denied it. He certainly has many assets, but insists he does not even have the cash to pay staff at his Monaco property."

When called on to send food to drought-ravaged central Africa, Mr Nelissen happily obliged, dispensing with the usual trade formalities.

In the past decade Premier built a trading empire in Africa worth an estimated R400-million a year. It pioneered the concept of bonded warehouses, a type of super-market where purchases are settled in foreign currency and declared to customs officials at the check-out counter.

Mr Nelissen concedes that trading in Africa is a fickle business. Contacts with Zaire have all but ceased in the wake of last year's riots.

Mozambique closed foreign-currency supermarkets on the instructions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which has taken virtual control of the economy.

"The IMF is responsible for a lot of suffering in Africa. It insists that governments do away with food subsidies when people have less money. It's not that easy. The result is food riots, undermining political leadership."

Golf

As chairman of Premier International, Mr Nelissen was almost impossible to track down: one day in Cairo, Maputo the next and the rest of the week in some dusty outpost looking for business opportunities. In 12 years he visited 43 countries.

"I haven't had time for a normal family life. I want to spend a few months in Europe, catch up with my reading ... and learn to play golf."

Already the job offers are rolling in from those seeking to tap his network of political and business contacts in Africa.

His advice to those who would follow in his footsteps? "Build long-term relationships, get to know the politicians, establish trust and discard the common notion that you have to bribe your way through Africa — corruption is on the decline."

UN fiddles while Somalia starves

S/Time 30/8/92

AS the last signs of life flicker from thousands of Somali children every day, the United Nations knows that much of the dying could have been prevented.

Although the world has finally woken up to the human tragedy — prompting a huge American military airlift and more Western aid money — the plight of the people has reached such proportions that for hundreds of thousands, it is already too late.

After pledging a further R500 000 in food aid this week, the famine relief agency Oxfam spoke for many welfare organisations when it said that for tens of thousands of people in Somalia, the UN's response had been "too little, too late".

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this month: "If only we had intervened last November ... now we are paying the price."

From
**Scott Peterson
in Mogadishu**

A UN-brokered American military airlift of food for the starving began this weekend when the first aircraft touched down in Somalia carrying more than 34 tons of food supplies.

But the battle will be to keep it away from looters.

This year more than 140 000 tons of food have been sent to the country, but not all of it has fed the starving.

Somalia's new warlords have been building their huge empires based, at first, on weapons — and now on looted relief food.

Relative peace has sparked an economic revival based on systematic and well-organised looting. For Somalia's profiteers, and the warlords who can offer them protection, that means big business.

At Kismayu port, a ship from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), carrying 3 000 tons of sorghum, has been looted on several occasions.

No one is certain what happened, except that sorghum has flooded the market, causing a collapse in the price.

"The ICRC organised convoys, but they never got to their destination," said a UN official in Kismayu.

Mafia

"It is too dangerous to monitor the food distribution, so the lorries are diverted along the way."

Gunmen hired for security are young mercenaries who would rather do battle than guard food.

"You can follow the distribution map by charting the casualties as they come into the hospital," said a relief worker who can

tell by the increased gunfire when a food convoy is passing nearby.

"In the past few months the petty and random looting that we had before has given way to a more systematic, more organised operation run by a few people.

"This local mafia releases food on to the market and tries to control the prices," he said.

But the Red Cross says food brought into the country, even if it ends up on the black market, is not wasted.

To protect food convoys from looting, at least in Mogadishu, the UN Security Council has authorised the use of 500 armed UN troops. They have yet to join 50 unarmed ceasefire monitors already in the capital.

And this week, Mr Boutros-Ghali — noting the gravity of the situation — requested the deployment of 3 000 more armed troops. — © *The Telegraph, London*

FORMER South African information secretary Dr Eschel Rhoodie has surfaced at the centre of an angry dispute over an organisation founded to protect "European culture" in Africa.

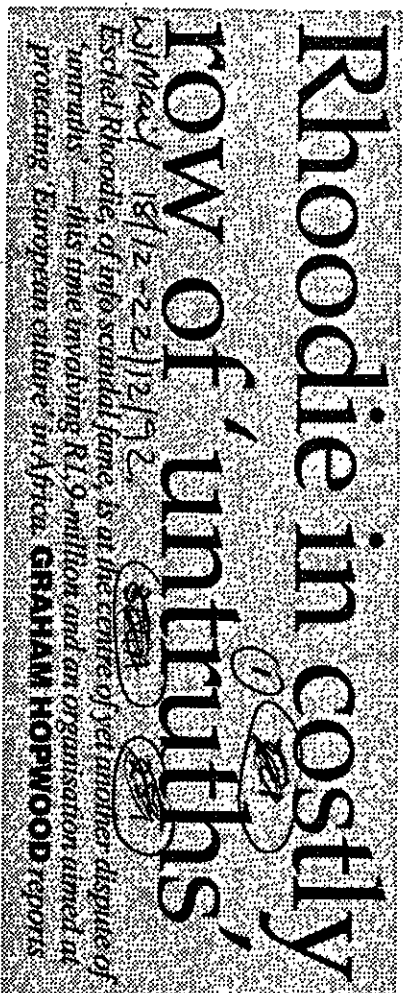
Rhoodie, best known for his role in the 1978 info scandal, has fallen out with former ally Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini — one of the American lawyers who drafted the proposed kwazulu constitution announced a fortnight ago by chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At issue is R1.9-million which, Oriani says, Rhoodie controls. Rhoodie counters that the amount is not hard cash, but merely an estimate of the money it would take to run the organisation for three years.

After working closely together in the organisation they founded in May, Oriani and Rhoodie now run separate groups promoting minority rights and federalism in Africa. Both say their groups promote "cultural diversity and human rights".

The organisation they founded jointly in May was originally called the International Centre for the Protection of European Cultures in Africa Inc (Ipecca).

Rhoodie was a trustee of Ipecca at its launch in May and in June he was elected chairman and president. The organisation became involved in several contentious issues in Namibia. Among them: the claim of the Rehoboth Baster community to land owned either by the community or by private individuals before Namibian independence. The issue is contentious because many people fear it could lead to a demand for a



degree of autonomy.

In June Oriani, as Ipecca spokesman, also accused the Namibian government of "cultural genocide" for seeking the return of R9-million granted by the former Administration for Whites to an organisation called Cultura 2000, set up to advance the cause of "western European cultures" in Namibia. He said he was reporting the Namibian government to the United Nations Human Rights Commission and Unesco for "violating cultural and minority rights".

The organisation ran into further controversy when nearly all the Namibian trustees listed on Ipecca's letterhead said they had never heard of the group.

By the end of the month, Ipecca had changed its name and its acronym — to Icpoda, International Centre for the Protection of Cultural Diversity and Human Rights in Africa. Days later, a power struggle erupted for control of the

organisation.

According to Oriani, speaking this week from the office of Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Suzanne Vos, Rhoodie had access to R1.9-million for funding Icpoda and wanted to use it to install himself as sole director, sidelining the others. Oriani said Rhoodie refused to reveal the source of the money, which Oriani believed came from a private party in South Africa, either to him or to other "leading figures" in the movement.

Rhoodie denied this week that he had R1.9-million available; it was, he said, only a notional figure based on a rough estimate made in June for the running costs of Ipecca over three years.

From his office in Atlanta, Georgia, he launched an attack on Oriani, calling him "untruthful, immature and irresponsible". He said Oriani had not registered the organisation as a non-profit making corporation, so legally it

never existed, and that Oriani had told "a string of untruths" about Icpoda to prospective donors. Rhoodie said he had fired Oriani because documentation he prepared for funds from the National Endowment for Democracy "lacked proper scholarship, was riddled with inaccuracies and contained untruths".

Meanwhile, Rhoodie has set up his own organisation, called the International Centre for the Protection of Minority Rights and Cultural Diversity, which he is planning to launch next year. He said it is not concerned with the Rehoboth Baster controversy; its major work in Namibia will involve the promotion of mother-tongue education.

Rhoodie also said his group will not work in South Africa and has no South African trustees or funding. It is "not interested in a particular race, group or country but in minority rights and cultural diversity all over Africa". It is planning 14 research projects, including one dealing with Namibia, Switzerland, Nigeria and Ethiopia, to prove the thesis that a federal structure provides better protection to minorities and a better safeguard for cultural diversity than a centralised governmental system does.

At the same time, Oriani is pressing on with another organisation, which he still calls Icpoda and which is funded, he said, by a private American group called the International Strategic Concepts Foundation. His organisation is dealing with the Rehoboth Baster issue and is advising the lawyers representing the Baster community.

BIDAY 11/9/92
Africans fear problems are being ignored

JAKARTA — As heads of state arrive in Indonesia for the 10th Non-aligned Movement summit, some black African countries are angry their problems seem to have been given a low priority.

One African official alleged racism among developed member countries.

Almost three days of talks were taken up with discussion of an Organisation of Islamic Countries move to have the Yugoslavian federation expelled from the movement. The move was opposed by African and Latin American countries.

Among the problems the African countries wanted to see discussed were ways of lessening debt repayment burdens, Somalia, South Africa and development aid.

Single commodity producers, who had seen prices fall sharply in recent months, wanted to find ways of dealing with price- and quota-fixing cartels. (1)

Although talks on African issues will continue on the summit's sidelines, African delegates doubt they will achieve all they wanted. — Sapa-AFP.

MEDIA SPOT

Free SABC satellite TV service for Africa

610AM 11/9/92

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

THE SABC's External Services is to go commercial, executive editor Lionel Williams announced yesterday.

This SABC division, which has changed its name to Channel Africa, also announced it would begin a daily satellite service to Africa, sending out a television broadcast from October 1.

Channel Africa says the new television service will be uniquely African. The programmes, initially half-hour slots in English and French, will consist of news, information and educational material.

The satellite programmes will be available to African broadcasters free of charge.

A spokesman said 12 to 15 countries had indicated they would use the satellite feed.

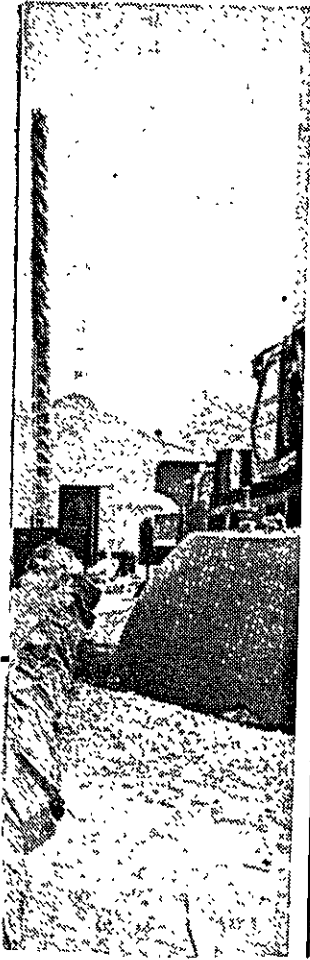
While Channel Africa would initially use its own material, it hoped to source programmes from African broadcasters and to act as a

distributor of African material.

The spokesman said that until now the division's budget had been covered by Foreign Affairs. This would continue, but Channel Africa was hoping advertising would bring in additional income and enable it to increase its budget. It hoped to attract local, multinational and African advertisers.

Radio RSA began broadcasting nearly 27 years ago. The External Services' television division started seven years ago and was initially packaged for the international market.

A spokesman said advertisers who wanted to market their products in Africa had few options. The new service, with advertising and sponsorship, would reach a potential 600-million listeners.



Africa beckons as a major trade market

BIDAY 1/9/92

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA companies were well positioned to win capital projects in Africa including World Bank project tenders, Department of Trade deputy director-general Gerrie Breyl said yesterday.

He said Africa offered vast untapped opportunities for SA products.

In 1991 only 11%, amounting to R5,1bn, of SA's total exports went to Africa. Yet in 1989 the figure had been R3,4bn and the increase was likely to quicken significantly, Breyl said.

Imports from Africa amounted to a mere 2% of total imports in 1991.

Prospects for expanded trade were particularly favourable in Kenya, Madagascar, Togo, Malawi and Angola, which had generous mining concessions.

"Trade with Africa has taken off to a point where we have trade ties with most countries on the continent and we hope to build further on what has been achieved so far," Breyl said.

On government trade representation abroad, Breyl said there were 65 economic representatives stationed in 41 foreign offices attached to embassies and consulates in 31 countries.

Five were stationed in African countries

— Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, Malawi and Kenya. Another would soon be based in Mauritius to develop trade ties with Indian Ocean islands.

During the past two years, offices were opened in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Turkey and Russia.

The department's representative in Moscow was working on ties with states within the Russian federation as well as with former Soviet satellite countries.

An economic office was also to be established in Finland to promote trade with Scandinavian countries.

Breyl said countries in Europe and the Far East had shown a keen interest in partnerships with SA companies to undertake joint ventures in Africa.

He said that during the current financial year, 320 SA companies would exhibit their products at international trade fairs.

Between April and August, 275 companies had made use of the individual assistance scheme to display products abroad.

Breyl said a total of R6,4m had been allocated to fund the exhibition schemes.

10th Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta, Indonesia. He spoke with his famous revolver at his side.

Africa in brief

50 rebels killed

DAKAR - Security forces killed 50 supporters of independence for the southern province of Casamance in a battle near Ziguinchor, official Senegal radio said yesterday.

Two soldiers were killed in the fighting on Tuesday. Sixty rebels and nine soldiers were wounded. Additional security forces had been sent to the region.

Thousands are dying

MOGADISHU - The head of the US food airlift to Somalia yesterday gave a harrowing eyewitness account of desperate children and old people dropping dead by the thousands in the starving nation.

Mr Andrew Natsios said it was the worst human suffering he had ever seen, exceeding even the Ethiopian and Sudanese famines of past years.

Human life imperilled

NAIROBI - A Kenyan academic yesterday warned delegates attending an international conservation conference in Nairobi that human life in Africa was imperilled as never before.

Dr Mohammed Isakakia, Kenya's director of museums, told the conference on biodiversity in Africa that the situation on the continent had become so serious that human life, natural habitat, soils and species were threatened to an extent never known before.

39192
UN adamant
on troops
for Somalia

NEW YORK — A further 3 000 UN guards will go to Somalia to protect relief aid despite the refusal of a Somali alliance to allow them to operate in its territory, the UN secretary-general said yesterday.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that if one faction did not agree with the presence of peacekeepers, the UN would negotiate with them.

The SNA, which claims to control some two-thirds of the war-torn Horn of Africa nation, declared through a spokesman in Rome on Tuesday that it would not allow UN guards for relief operations into areas under its control.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali told a press conference that there were several factions in Somalia but the world body would send troops "to the part of the country where the parties have agreed to their presence".

● The two-pronged US airlift of food to starving Somalia and to the hungry in Kenya's north-east should resume today after a brief pause, a spokesman said.

He said the day off would allow overworked personnel to rest. The Americans have not had a free day since they began arriving on August 17. — Sapa-Reuter.

16/DAJ 4/19/92

SAAF airlift to Somalia

THE SAAF will airlift 30 tons of medicine and food supplies to starving Somali refugees tomorrow as part of relief operations by the Jamiatul Ulama and the Africa Muslim Agency in Johannesburg. In addition, the SA Navy will transport a further 200 tons of supplies by sea on September 19.

Food airlift resumed

so welfen 4/9/92
■ DYING DAILY US, German planes have begun flying

food into one of starving Somalia's hardest-hit towns: (1)

NAIROBI - The United States resumed its airlift to Somalia yesterday after a one-day rest break while Germany began flying food into one of the starving nation's hardest-hit towns.

The Americans sent five military C-130 cargo planes to Belet Huen, a village on Somalia's western border with Ethiopia after taking a day off on Wednesday.

The break was to give overworked personnel some rest and avoid any potential mishaps from fatigue. The Americans had not had a free day since they began arriving on August 17.

Since starting the Somalia airlift a week ago, the Americans have used eight C-130s to deliver close to 250 metric tons of food to Belet Huen for the International Red Cross which estimates it is caring for up to 200,000 people there.

The US military sent home four C-141 Starlifter cargo planes on Tuesday because they were too large to use on the region's predominantly small, dirt airstrips.

The Americans are expected tomorrow to begin flying 27 tons of food daily to the town of Baidoa where hundreds are dying daily, said United Nations World Food Programme spokesman Paul Mitchell. - Sapa-AP.

Weapons, not lack of food, the problem

Star 4/19/72

Radical, even bizarre, solutions are being contemplated as warlords continue to intercept the foreign food aid intended for starving Somalis. Journalist STEVEN LANG reports from Mogadishu for The Star Africa Service.

SOMALIA appears to be hell bent on destroying itself despite the efforts of foreigners to help its starving people.

The capital, Mogadishu, has been reduced to a bullet-riddled husk of malice and fear. One measure of its degradation is the foyer of the central hospital, where goats step over fly-covered patients on the floor.

The basic problem is not lack of food but a glut of weapons. The skeletal victims of famine seen on TV screens are rare in Mogadishu, although they do exist alongside seemingly well-nourished inhabitants. There is enough food to feed the refugees; the problem is to get it past the armed gangs who have made relief supplies a form of currency, and the key to power.

Last week a cargo ship brought relief supplies from Djibouti to feed refugees in the Mogadishu camps. Almost as soon as the unloading of the cargo commenced, the looting began, and it paused only when a rival clan appeared with guns blazing to take over.

The next day the captain of another ship carrying relief supplies refused to put into the harbour for fear of putting his ship and crew at risk.



Ingratitude . . . an Egyptian UN observer, shot through the lungs by Somali gunmen, is taken from a rescue aircraft. Pictures: Steven Lang

over my head. Two unarmed UN observers were last week shot and wounded for no reason. Some semblance of order remains at Mogadishu airport, where relief food is unloaded from cargo planes of the German Luftwaffe. But never do the locals acknowledge the effort put in by the foreigners. After unloading the food they harass the crew for money, watches or mineral water. Gunmen, who appear often to

be under the influence of some narcotic, open fire for no apparent reason in Mogadishu. It is perhaps only a matter of time before some deranged teenager fires his grenade launcher at a plane taxiing down the runway.

The hostility faced by relief workers has caused some to question the value of the international relief effort.

The arrival of the 500 UN troops who were due to fly in from Pakistan this week might

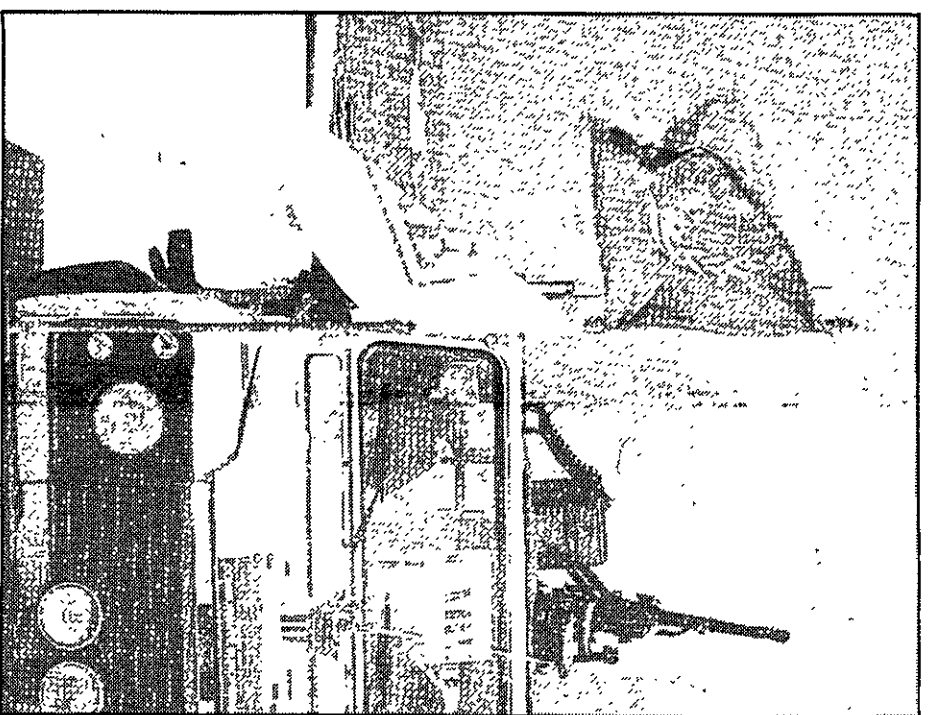
be sufficient to secure the port area of Mogadishu. The additional 3 000 UN troops proposed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will only marginally reduce the plundering. The outnumbered troops will make little impact in the worst-affected areas, for even a well-defended convoy can be neutralised by hit-and-run tactics.

The presence of armed UN troops will substantially increase the risk of shootouts with

local strongmen without solving the basic problem.

Foreigners I spoke to in Mogadishu believe that a problem as radical as this demands radical solutions. Some suggest intervention by a massive international force strong enough to blast away all those who refuse to put down their guns.

Another proposal is that the international community turn its back on Somalia and let the



Multiple insurance . . . a UN aid vehicle in Mogadishu bears a European Community sticker on its bonnet, a CARE sticker on the windscreen, CARE and UN flags flying from the bumper — and a machine-gun on the roof.

rival warlords shoot it out until one has achieved supremacy.

Yet another is that relief food only be handed over in exchange for weapons.

But none of these approaches will benefit the starving women and children.

The Special Representative of USAID in Somalia, Andrew Natsios, suggests giving local businessmen merchandise to sell on the theory that since

many of the raids on food supplies are promoted by traders, an alternative method of stocking their shelves would make the looters redundant.

But whatever the foreign do-gooders decide, it will be difficult to help the Somalis unless they want to be helped. If mortality ends at the barrel of a gun, then the abundance of AK-47s in Mogadishu does not bode well for the country's future. □

SABC's new voice sounds out Africa

5 JAN 29/92

(200) (1)

MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE SABC's successful external service, which has been broadcasting internationally for more than 25 years, is to become known as Channel Africa from October 1 this year.

This follows the completion of the repositioning of the station begun two years ago when it began broadcasting exclusively to African countries.

Hunt Lascaris subsidiary AM&C was responsible for creating the station's new image and for staging its launch in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Along with the name change and the revamped radio services will come a new daily television programme and, for the first time, the chance for companies to advertise on both the radio and television services, according to SABC External Services executive editor Lionel Williams.

"This will make Channel Africa the only major external broadcasting service (whose competitors are the BBC World Service, Voice of America and Radio



AFRICAN MAGIC: SABC External Services executive editor Lionel Williams at the Hunt Lascaris subsidiary AM&C launch of Channel Africa in Johannesburg recently. **Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER**

France International to name a few) which will carry advertising," he says.

Already many of South Africa's blue-chip companies who do business in Africa have expressed interest in advertising on Channel Africa.

The need for such a service has been growing since political reform in South Africa opened doors for trade with other African countries, Williams says.

"But until now companies wanting to advertise in Africa have had limited options. And to make matters worse, the logistical difficulties of ensuring and checking that the advertising runs as planned when planned has made this something of an ordeal," he notes.

Channel Africa will eliminate these problems as the radio broadcasts emanate from the SABC studio's in Johannesburg and the hour-long television programme will be sent out

via satellite with advertising as part of the package.

"We hope that Channel Africa will provide an effective means of communication between advertisers and the African markets they wish to reach," Williams says.

The station will spend about six months building a demographic profile before seeking advertisers. There are (officially) more than 20 million television sets in Africa, more than

105 million radios of which more than 85 percent are short-wave receivers. The population, excluding South Africa, tops 600 million.

Channel Africa's services will reach more than 50 countries — from Morocco and Egypt in the north to Lesotho and Swaziland in the south.

The television service will be accessible by any African broadcaster at no cost because of the multi-access satellite being utilised. The hour-long television programme is divided into two half-hour segments (one English, the other French) comprising news, information, services, education, features and documentaries. The radio services, broadcast in seven languages for 205 hours a week will reflect similar content.

"Initially we expect at least a dozen broadcasters to pick up the service and within the next six months this is expected to at least double," he says.

While the station will continue to receive funding from Government — as do all other external broadcasters — it will slowly move to increasing its independent income, he says.

N EIGHBOURING states are getting a bit nervous about what they call "bam-bazonke" once South Africa becomes a democratic state.

That's slang for big cities or countries dominating the small, drawing investment funds and jobs and being where the power lies.

Our neighbours have good reason to fear that South Africa, freed from apartheid, will try to dominate the region, attract all the investment and trade — and generally treat countries to the north as provinces.

Already South African government and big business are setting forth into the region to build contacts, promote exports and generally make their mark. In the process, they tend to be arrogant — "we can make everything you want" — and expect to be treated as saviours of the region's badly ailing economies.

Many neighbouring states, once staunch supporters of sanctions, are itching to get business, trade and finance links going with South Africa again — it is just so much closer than the distant European markets they have had to rely on.

But they also wonder about laying themselves open to being swamped by South Africa right now, before democracy, when they know from bitter experience that democracy itself is likely to be costly

Bambazonke, that's being a bad neighbour!

for South Africa — and it might not be as rich a country after democracy as it is now.

All these issues, and others, were discussed in Windhoek recently when heads of state and senior ministers and officials from the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) met.

The meeting was meant to revamp the 12-year-old regional grouping to meet the challenges of the vastly different economic environment of the nineties, including a post-apartheid South Africa.

The countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

With the backing of mainly European donors, SADC was established to co-ordinate mobilisation of aid for "Frontline" states to reduce dependence, mainly on South Africa but also the rest of the world. Its main success has been co-ordinating radical improvement in

transport and communication between members, but it has also done important work in co-ordinating research to ensure food security in a largely drought-stricken area.

Because Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (the so-called BLS states) also belong to the South African Customs Union (SACU), SADC initially left trade-related matters alone. Members worked out their own trade arrangements, if they chose, with South Africa. Namibia is also a SACU member.

But it was realised in the mid-eighties that it was no use improving transport and communication between member states if they did not also make things to trade with each other on those routes. This would also stimulate the economies of member states.

So attention was paid to promoting new industries and creating links between businesspeople in various states so they could know what they could buy and sell to each other.

In this they were influenced by the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), which covered all SADC states, except Botswana, and nine others in eastern Africa. Botswana did not join the PTA because SADC headquarters were based in Gaborone and, well, all it had to export was diamonds (bought by South Africa's De Beers) and it didn't mind buying things from the consumer paradise "down south".

PTA had been set up in 1980 to promote the development of a common market in the region and encourage industries and businesses to buy and sell from each other to help build each other's economies.

The rapid growth of protectionism in world trade — and the fact that developed countries are not all that keen to buy raw materials anymore because of various technological developments — and the effect of this on foreign exchange earnings, made such regional trade log-

cal. This was particularly so when the PTA introduced a system whereby member countries could buy from each other in their own currencies through their central banks, paying the way for monetary co-operation as in SACU.

Given these developments, and perhaps Botswana's reluctance to join the PTA and a general reluctance by some states to see a merger of PTA and SADC, SADC has now transformed itself into a Southern African Development Community (SADC).

SADC appears to have more or less the same aims and objectives as PTA, but for a smaller number of countries who see a link-up with the South African economy, possibly through an expanded SACU.

But SADC could also be an important forum through which the 10 member states could co-ordinate and harmonise economic policies, ensure strong regional growth and use some kind of muscle to ensure South Africa does not try to dominate at the expense of others.

Some say it is a pity SADC and PTA will now not merge. The cost of duplicating their efforts is something they can ill-afford, but each has different donors with different agendas.

And he who pays the piper calls the tune. — **Lynda Loxton**

Somalia aid

THE SA Navy is to transport more than 200 tons of medicine, sugar, mealie meal, milk powder, oil and beans donated by the SA Muslim community to Somalia in mid-September. The first shipment of aid for Somalia left yesterday on board an SA Air Force Hercules. (Times (bus))

Sasol spends more

SASOL's board has given the go-ahead for three projects, together costing R300-million and aimed at improving efficiency and lowering operating costs at its Secunda plants.

Sasol is also considering other projects costing billions of rands — over and above the R3-billion work now under way. *(Times (BUS)) 6/9/92*

Of the capex approved this week, R200-million is for an extra oxygen plant at Sasol Three at Secunda. It will come on stream by June 1994.

Another R50-million has been allocated for the installation of additional wash towers and propylene chillers in the Rectisol gas purification plants at Secunda.

The remaining R42-million will be spent on a project to facilitate continuous catalyst addition to some of the Sasol Synthol recators at Secunda.

Damp squib

A BRIEF spurt in instalment credit business in April and May has fizzled out and stagnation has set in, says Nedfin in its analysis of the banks' business in the second quarter.

Nedfin manager William Wolke says general banks are doing less business if activity in the second quarter is compared with the usual seasonal trends.

There has also been a shift from instalment sale and leasing to mortgage finance. *(Times (BUS))*

Although total credit business written by banks in the second quarter increased by R395,2-million on the first quarter to R32,7-billion, activity late in the quarter was miniscule. *6/9/92*

Directory deal

AC BRABY and Top Centre Novosti of Moscow have signed an agreement to publish a trade directory promoting South African goods in states that once formed the Soviet Union.

Novosti is one of Russia's leading information agencies and has now gone private. Top Centre is a consultancy and publication group with a trade promotion arm.

AC Braby, part of the Kohler Packaging group, will market the directory in SA.

Tax break

THE Government is considering removing the export requirement for companies claiming accelerated tax write-offs under Section 37E of the Income Tax Act.

This would in theory allow capital projects aimed at the domestic market to claim the tax benefit as soon as money is spent rather than when the business starts earning.

Dorbyl in oil

ENGINEERING group Dorbyl is edging its way into the West African offshore oil industry through a venture with a North Sea technology partner. Chief executive Dawid Mostert says Dorbyl group lifted its profit to more than R400-million in 1992 from R80-million five years ago. Capital spending on modernisation will top R130-million this year. *(Times (BUS)) 6/9/92*

Somalia aid

THE SA Navy is to transport more than 200 tons of medicine, sugar, mealie meal, milk powder, oil and beans donated by the SA Muslim community to Somalia in mid-September. The first shipment of aid for Somalia left yesterday on board an SA Air Force Hercules. *(Times (BUS))*

Revenue up

EXCHEQUER revenue collections increased by 4,9% in the first four months of the 1992-93 fiscal year over the same time in the previous year. The budgeted increase is 13,2% for the year. *(Times (BUS))*

A Central Statistical Service report shows consolidated fuel levies saved the day with a 49,7% increase. VAT collections fared worst, falling 17,8%. Income tax, excluding gold mining, rose 4%. *6/9/92*

Finalists

SIX businesses have been nominated finalists for the 1992 Sandton Community Investment Awards.

They are Justine Cosmetics, Nissan, Pick 'n Pay, Natalie Knight Galleries, Eskom, The Sandown Chronicle and Sandown Motors.

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Niger troops end arrests

NIAMEY — Munitous troops in Niger have stopped rounding up hostages suspected of aiding Tuareg rebels and have returned to barracks, state radio said. But there was no immediate word on 100 Tuareg suspects seized by troops last week.

Howefern 7/9/92

'Plan afoot to dump wastes in Somalia'

STAR
7/9/92

NAIROBI — The UN Environment chief has warned that Italian companies plan to profit from Somalia's chaos by illegally dumping toxic wastes there, further threatening health in the devastated nation.

And yesterday, US Air Force cargo planes delivered emergency food to eastern Kenya and to two villages in Somalia, where the famine is worsening.

The comments by Mostafa Tolba, head of the Nairobi-based UN Environmental Programme, were made on Friday and reported in the English-language Sunday Nation newspaper.

Mr Tolba was addressing the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry.

To protect his sources, he did not name the Italian companies or say where they planned to dump the waste, but he described the venture as "Mafia-like", said an aide.

Mr Tolba said the Italians were taking advantage of Somalia's lack of government and general instability.

Somalia has been riven with clan fighting, banditry and looting and been without any central government since rebels ousted dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January last year.

Mr Tolba warned that the dumping could aggravate the destruction of Somalia's ecosystem and threaten further loss of life in the ra-

vaged nation where tens, if not hundreds of thousands, already have died from the combined effects of drought and warfare.

Mr Tolba said the Italians were at present manufacturing two incinerators to be installed in Somalia that would handle at least two 500 000 ton shipments of toxic wastes next year for an estimated profit of about \$5 million (about R14 million), said the aide.

"He called it a kind of Mafia enterprise in that he meant it was a crooked business, not Mafia as such," said the spokesman. Mr Tolba himself could not be reached for comment.

The newspaper reported him as saying the toxic wastes already had been dumped, but the aide said that was incorrect and that Mr Tolba was speaking of plans under way.

Meanwhile, relief efforts to feed the hungry in Africa's horn continued, with the Americans making three flights of food to the Somali town of Baidoa, five to the western town of Belet Huen and one to the northeastern Kenyan town of Wajir.

The Americans have 10 C-130s and 535 military personnel based in the Kenyan coastal town of Mombasa for the emergency operation. Another four C-130s are expected to join the effort by tomorrow, said Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Donnelly. — Sapa-AP.

Eritrea firmly on road to freedom

STAR 7/19/92

(1)

The region of Eritrea, which was engulfed in war for 30 years, is currently the most peaceful part of the Horn of Africa. In the capital, Asmara, scarcely an armed person is to be seen.

The former fighters of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), who wore down the Ethiopian army in the longest war in African history, can now only be recognised by their green jackets, their Palestinian shawls, and their Afro hair styles.

There are no curfews and no travel restrictions in Eritrea. Officially this region on the Red Sea still belongs to Ethiopia, but in actual fact it is really functioning like an independent state.

The EPLF has set up a provisional government

Eritrea, part of the Horn of Africa, already functions like a state, a year before independence. DPA reports.

which refuses to accept any orders from Addis Adaba. Visitors have to show their passports and visas when they enter Eritrea and make currency declarations.

In 1993 the 3.5 million Eritreans will take part in a referendum on the future of the former Italian colony. "There is no doubt the result can only be in favour of independence," says the information chief of the EPLF government, Yemane Ghebreab. The EPLF is currently

basking in a blaze of enthusiasm. Its posters hang in all cafes and shops, but Eritrea paid a high price for the victory: nearly 50 000 Eritreans lost their lives in the conflict.

For the other side, the war was just as costly. This is illustrated by the "Mass Grave of the Ethiopian Army" in Massawa. Here, next to a tree, approximately 50 crates containing skulls, bones, boots and bits of uniforms from dead soldiers are piled up.

Many Eritreans feel the world abandoned them when Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie annexed the region in 1962.

Eritrea is today facing a new mammoth task, the war against hunger. The country is made up mainly of highland steppes and a strip of desert along the sea.

Massawa is destroyed. Just the frames of once-imposing buildings remain. Bombing has blasted away most roofs and knocked over the walls. The section of the imperial palace facing the sea is now mere rubble.

Only Asmara is undamaged and still preserves the charm of a small Italian city. The Eritreans have removed the word "Ethiopia" from company names such as

"Ethiopian Airlines" or "Commercial Bank of Ethiopia".

Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, is no longer the language of instruction at Eritrean schools. Tribal languages are now used and, as of the seventh grade, English.

The long war brought all Eritreans close together, with the result that differences between the nine language groups, or between Christians and Muslims, are now considered inconsequential.

If the situation in Ethiopia has stabilised by then — so the EPLF thinking goes — and Addis Ababa has agreed to Eritrean independence, then no country of the world will be able to withhold recognition.

Outdoor advertising an ideal medium for Africa

GAVIN DU VENAGE

OUTDOOR advertising may prove the necessary link between SA marketers and potential customers in the rest of Africa, says Outdoor Advertising Association of SA GM Tony Davidson.

Although outdoor was "small" in this country, it played a significant role in the rest of the continent. There were signboards outside stores in even the most remote areas.

Rent-a-Sign already has operations in Namibia and Botswana, and recently announced it had secured contracts for billboards at Maputo's airport and at sites within the city. *BIOA 8/9/92*

"Because you are dealing with a Third World market, signboards have an advantage over other media," Davidson said. Television services were erratic, and radios needed batteries and licences. But billboards, from a consumer's point of view, were free.

Botswana-based outdoor advertising contractor Creative People recently became the first foreign company to become a full member of SA's outdoor association.

Creative People MD Chris Mosinyi found SA clients were interested in signing contracts but hesitant to deal with a company that had no track record in SA.

Davidson said he expected further co-operation between SA and advertising companies in the region.

Rent-a-Sign marketing manager Bruce Palmer said the company was investigating markets as far afield as Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi.

SA exporters should look at aid agencies

FOR SA exporters, Africa offers almost limitless opportunity — if the locals had the means to pay. But some organisations active on the continent have plenty of money with which SA could do business.

Local suppliers have traditionally identified specific geographical units as their target markets. Safto executive Paresh Pandya says they now need also to start focusing on international aid agencies.

Last year the World Bank spent \$3,9bn in Africa, and a plethora of multilateral, bilateral and non-governmental organisations gave aid worth a collective \$5bn.

The EC will disburse about R40bn in Africa, the Caribbean and Pacific in a five-year period ending in 1995 — a healthy portion of it in Africa. Billions more flow each year from various UN agencies and the Commonwealth. Another major player is the African Development Bank, which last year spent some R3,9bn. SA access to the Abidjan-based bank's business, however, remains restricted by the country's exclusion from the OAU.

Pandya says aid agencies represent a massive, untapped market which SA is uniquely positioned to supply. Locals' advantages over other potential suppliers in-

clude shorter supply routes, their ability to supply appropriate technology, and knowledge of African conditions.

Traditionally, exporters have believed that groups such as the World Bank are simply off limits. But this country was a founder member, and is therefore eligible to take part in its projects.

Similarly, the EC's Lome Convention does allow non-signatories to take part in its projects. In terms of article 296 of the convention, non-signatories are allowed to render products and services if their participation meets certain conditions.

These relate to the proximity of the non-member to the project location, price, appropriate technology, transport, time saved, and the need to avoid excessive cost increases.

Pandya says these conditions could — as far as Lome IV is concerned — give SA suppliers a competitive edge as far north as Kenya, Zaire and Uganda.

The World Bank is about to launch a \$980m programme to rehabilitate 1 200km of Tanzanian roads — a golden opportunity for local suppliers and contractors.

8/9/92
PETER DELMAR



flood emergency relief supplies from an SAAF plane for in child refugees in Kenya. Picture: Jacob Rylkiff

Joining hands to feed the hungry

The last of two SA Air Force Hercules C-130 supply planes returned to the Waterkloof air base near Pretoria on Sunday after a 8 200 km round trip to northern Kenya to deliver 30 tons of relief supplies.

The operation was a joint effort of the African Muslim Agency (AMA), the Department of Foreign Affairs and the SA Air Force (SAAF). The Government paid the transportation bill.

Emergency relief supplies were delivered on Saturday evening to Wajir in northern Kenya, which borders strife-torn Somalia.

Included in the consignment were cereal, powdered milk and medicines to be distributed at 13 centres housing 13 000 child refugees in and around Wajir.

The success of the first phase of the relief operation — the second takes place on September 19-22 when a further 200 tons will be shipped to Mombasa en route to Wajir — was a commitment that transcended political and religious boundaries in South Africa.

Contrast

After a 10-hour flight from Waterkloof air base to Wajir, the reception accorded to the South Africans was in stark contrast with the country's years of political isolation.

When the aircraft landed, Kenyan aid workers rushed on to the military airstrip near Wajir and offloaded the consignment donated by South African Muslims.

More than 300 000 refugees have spill over the borders into Kenya, escaping the civil strife in Somalia and, to a lesser extent, the drought in Ethiopia.

Some 1,5 million to 2 million people in Somalia are at immediate risk of starvation in what is now recognised as the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

"This is an operation that has to succeed. We are aiming this consignment at children. There are 13 feeding centres in and

around Wajir with about 1 000 children each. Their plight is the most desperate," said Moulana Shabir Saloojee, who is coordinating the South African side of the relief operation.

While South African Muslims had donated the aid, the feeding project was for all, not only Muslims, he said.

Moulana Saloojee had high praise for Foreign Affairs and the SAAF. "Without them, this could not have been successfully concluded."

The aid was transported free of charge after several Muslim agencies, having collected the goods, approached the Government for assistance.

Foreign Affairs communications and marketing (Africa division) spokesman Roy Sherwood said he was overwhelmed by the response of the Kenyan government.

"It shows a further normalising of relations with the Kenyan authorities. Although we do not have a full diplomatic mission in Nairobi, the Kenyan authorities assisted us to their best ability.

"With regard to the members of the SA Air Force, the Kenyan authorities' attitude was outstanding. Our men in their air force uniforms did not raise any eyebrows, were not questioned and went about their duties as normal."

The project to bring aid to Somali refugees began in June when the AMA in Kuwait made a worldwide appeal for assistance for the destitute.

The call was taken up by the agency's office in Johannesburg and several other Muslim aid organisations in the country.

After receiving the donations — Muslim leaders claim there are up to 800 000 Muslims in South Africa — the AMA approached Foreign Affairs.

Lengthy negotiations took place between Government departments, Muslim organisations and later the Kenyan government. The deal got off the ground towards the end of last month. — Sapa.

UN guard for food

MOGADISHU - The vanguard of a UN force to protect food for Somalia's starving millions from looting will arrive in Mogadishu on Saturday, the leader of the force said yesterday.

Sowfan 9/9/92
Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen said 60 Pakistani troops would fly into Mogadishu on September 12 and that the rest was due on September 20.

forced them to flee the
Picture: AP

Sapa-Reuter.

Sudan accused of 'ethnic cleansing' ①

STAN 9/9/92

LONDON — The human rights group Africa Watch has called for a UN investigation into what it alleges is a campaign of "ethnic cleansing" by the Sudanese government in the Nuba mountains in northern Sudan.

In a seven-page report, Africa Watch said it had reliable evidence of a systematic campaign by the government of Sudan to forcibly remove the non-Arab Nuba people from their traditional homeland.

"The relocation plan envisages separating men and women; the men will be sent to la-

bour camps for large commercial farms and the women and children to work as domestic servants in northern Arab households," Africa Watch said.

The report alleged more than 40 000 Nuba had already been moved from the mountains to camps in the Kordofan state in convoys of trucks.

"Many facts point to a systematic campaign aimed at the eradication of Nuba ethnicity.

"This amounts to 'ethnic cleansing,' the British and US-based organisation said in its statement. — Sapa-Reuter.

p.

Troubled republic takes step towards democracy, writes Colin Legum

Lissouba's Congo looks West

STAR 10/9/72

THE Congo Republic has taken an important step forward towards a democratic constitution by electing a president on the basis of a genuinely free poll for the first time since its independence from France in 1960.

Since the beginning of Africa's Second Liberation — liberation from undemocratic indigenous rulers — in the late 1960s, three other presidents were ousted in free elections, in Zambia, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. So far, only one president, France Albert Rene of Seychelles, has been re-elected under a multi-party political system.

The Congo's new president, Pascal Lissouba, is not one of the new generation of African politicians who have risen in protest against the first generation of post-independence leaders. He was the Prime Minister in 1973 but lost his position and was subsequently arrested for alleged complicity in a plot. After his release he spent almost 20 years in exile, and worked for seven years for Unesco from a base in Kenya.

Mr Lissouba, the candidate for the Pan-African Union or Social Democracy (UPADS), won 61.23 percent of the votes in the contest with Bernard Kolelas of the Congolese Movement for Democracy and Integral Development (CMDID).

Mr Kolelas had opposed the communist tendencies of the previous regime for 20 years. This was a surprisingly large majority in a country that, since independence, has suffered from acute ethnic/regional conflicts between the more sophisticated and politically entrenched southern communities and the less economically developed northerners.

The Congo came to independence under an eccentric, defrocked Catholic abbe, Fulbert Youlou, who worked closely with the former French colonialists. After his overthrow, caused by a popular uprising in the two main towns of the Congo, it has experienced a dozen coups and attempted coups which produced hundreds of arrests, a number of executions, and the growth of an exile community of the educated elite.

The coups brought the military into politics, but they, too, were divided. But the Congo produced a strong, independent trade union movement, the *Parti Congolaise du Travail* (PCT), which became the country's single ruling party. Since the mid-60s, a rapid succession of temporary regimes professed allegiance to Marxist ideals and relied on military aid from the Chinese, Cubans and Soviets. They kept up a campaign against President Mobutu's regime across the river in Zaire, and

provided effective support for Angola's MPLA. They let the Soviets and Cubans use Point Noire for arms shipments to the MPLA in its struggle against Savimbi's Unita.

Now the old cycle seems finally to have been broken with the adoption of a democratic parliamentary constitution and a political orientation based on friendship with the West.

The ethnic divide remains a source of acute rivalries. The army remains a problem. On the day after his election, a dissident soldier attempted to assassinate Mr Lissouba. The trade unions are still influential and are capable of exploiting the country's economic problems; and because they derive much of their support from public sector workers, any attempt to cut back the number of the bloated bureaucracy is bound to be resisted.

Yet, Mr Lissouba promised in his first speech since being elected to tackle the problem of the overstuffed civil service. He is committed to forming a government of national unity and has promised to open negotiations with the opposition parties. Although the Congo is comparatively rich in oil, its economy is a mess. Mr Lissouba's election manifesto included a promise to draw up a structural adjustment pro-

gramme which, when it is completed, will involve his new government in negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. A principal plank in his plan is to prepare a development plan for each region to help overcome the neglect felt by the less developed regions, and to regionalise the civil service.

Meanwhile, the country is faced with a huge debt and angry civil servants who have not been paid for months.

Nevertheless, Mr Lissouba presents an optimistic face. The Congo, he says, has many more resources — other than oil — than many African countries. "How can I despair with so many resources available?" he asks. "We need good government and we will have to apply ourselves to that effect."

A promising sign for the future is the warm congratulations offered by the former president, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, to his successor, whom he described as the right man for the presidency.

As in Zaire, the negotiating process in the Congo was masterminded by a Catholic dignitary, Monsignor Ernest Kombo, who acted as chairman of the Higher Council of the Republic which drafted the new democratic constitution. □

Pakistani UN troops off to tense Somalia

BIPAM 11/9/92

Own Correspondent

MOGADISHU — Tension is high on the eve of the arrival of the first armed UN troops in Somalia, as starvation kills thousands each day despite massive relief efforts.

An advance force of 60 Pakistani UN troops — the first of 500 "Blue Berets" armed with light weapons to protect relief food from looting — will arrive in US military aircraft tomorrow.

They will fly into a city divided about their usefulness, amid a "force begets force" mentality in which all order has disintegrated.

The UN troops will deploy first at the airport, and at the port when their compatriots arrive on September 25.

Head of the UN operation in Somalia Brig-Gen Imtiaz Shaheen, has heard rumours that gunmen are preparing a "test" for his troops, to see how they respond under fire.

"This place is bad news," he said yesterday. Three gunmen were killed at the airport this week.

Relief workers hope the UN troops will end the cycle of violence and looting that has closed the port for nearly two weeks and now prevents 10 000 tons of desperately needed warehoused food from reaching the hungry.

An International Committee of the Red Cross relief ship has waited offshore for days for security clearance, while 200 ICRC feeding centres, running low on food, have cut their daily ration.

A group of 50 unarmed UN ceasefire

monitors deployed since June have watched gunmen — often hired as relief agency "security guards" — raid food stores. The port was closed on August 28 after two monitors were wounded when looters sealed the port to steal 300 tons of relief food and 199 drums of fuel.

Though a US, German and French military airlift to hard-hit famine areas in the interior is underway, Mogadishu port is a crucial channel.

In Baidoa, which should have received 1 000 tons of food from the port last week, 1 334 bodies were collected in lorries for burial in the first six days of September.

The UN Security Council has approved the deployment of 3 000 more UN troops, but Somalia's strongest warlord, who nominally controls two thirds of the country, including the port and airport, believes they are a vanguard for an even larger UN force.

Fresh in the mind of the arriving Pakistani soldiers will be the example of Bosnia, where two French UN troops were killed and three wounded in an ambush on Tuesday while protecting a relief convoy.

The success of the UN troops hinges on whether Somalia's main warlords can be convinced the UN wants to get food to the starving, not to occupy the country.

Critics of the UN troop deployment say that, in Somalia, force must be met with equal force. — Daily Telegraph.

Thousands of children in Masvingo face starvation

MWENEZI — Schoolchildren in the Mwenezi district of Zimbabwe's Masvingo province faint in classes from starvation, in spite of the introduction of supplementary feeding in June, according to reports.

The district administrator for the area, Tinaisha Chigiga, said a serious lack of food and water was threatening the closure of schools in the district.

"Since the opening of schools, we have been receiving disturbing reports concerning the shortage of water and food resulting in pupils fainting in schools. More than 10 000 children

are on the supplementary feeding scheme, but the food is not enough.

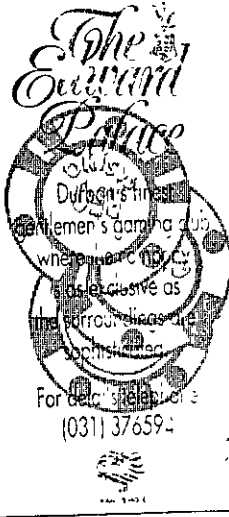
Chigiga said the water shortage was critical.

"Boreholes sunk in the area have begun drying up. The Mwenezi River (which feeds Manyuchi Dam and is a water source to thousands of people) is virtually dry."

The district had started dam construction projects under the public works programme expected to benefit 12 000 people.

The Lutheran World Federation was also assisting with maize, beans and finance to help more than 100 000 people ward off disaster. — Sapa.

BIG STAKES.
BLUE CHIPS.



For details telephone
(031) 376594

Unit trust switch parachute

STAR 11/8/92

232

LEVER investors are doing it, so why aren't you? Probably you nobody told you could, and you don't know how to.

I'm referring, of course, switching between different kinds of unit trusts.

Or more precisely, attaching your unit trust investments from a general unit-fund into a fixed-income or gilt fund.

Surge

As the accompanying graph from Old Mutual illustrates, clever investors towards the end of June/Beginning of July started moving their funds out of the general equity funds into its Income Fund.

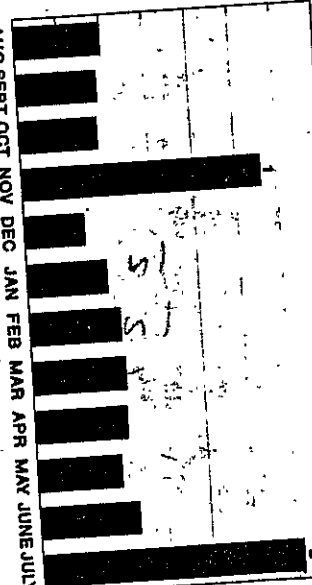
Last November the number of switches also increased dramatically, but this was mainly into

Mutual's new Top Companies fund, launched towards the end of October.

The huge surge in the number of switches in June/July indicates that prudent investors took the safe route out of equities into fixed-income and gilt funds, which are not affected by stock-market vagaries.

Other unit trust companies reported that switching on a similar scale took place, especially among investors with large sums of money who obviously were expecting some kind of a correction in the stock market.

So far, these investors must be feeling very pleased with themselves. From its June peaks, the JSE-overall market has declined by 7 percent, from 3743 to yesterday afternoon's level of 3436. The trend is not limited to Old Mutual, figures re-



Old Mutual unit trusts — number of switches: 1) Launch of Top Companies Fund; 2) Primarily switching to Income Fund.

MAGNUS HEYSTEK

leased by the Association of Unit Trusts show. While the industry reported its largest inflow in history, the UAL Gilt Unit Trust attracted R109 million in the quarter to the end of June, the largest net inflow for

any unit trust. "Smart money" was flowing into gilt funds well before the market started its current bout of weakness.

The decision to get into gilts seems to be vindicated by the subsequent bull market in the capital market. These investors have made handsome capital gains, and if the bull market con-

tinues, the gilt and fixed-income funds are likely to outperform equity-based funds for the rest of the year.

It's interesting to note that the UAL Gilt unit trust, with an annualised average rate of return of 17.4 percent over a five-year period, is the fifth best-performing fund among all unit trusts.

It is not generally known that the gilt funds outperformed all other unit trusts over a one-year period.

UAL Gilt fund was best at 20.19 (repurchase to repurchase price) followed very closely by the Metboard Income fund (formerly known as the Corbank fund) with 20.16 percent.

This compares very favourably with an inflation rate of 15.4 percent over the same period.

With interest rates at no stage over 19 percent for the 12-month period, investors who do not have an understanding of the gilt market will wonder how a performance of over 20 percent could be achieved.

These results are possible because the managers can make capital gains from falling interest rates.

It is not generally understood that capital gains can be made through falling interest rates. This is because gilts are quoted at their rate levels rather than their capital value.

Simply put, when interest rates drop it means the price of the gilt (called bonds in the United States) has risen due to increased demand from investors.

Says Alistair Colquhoun, UAL's investment chief: "The scenario for falling interest rates was brought about by a decreasing growth rate in the money supply, improvement in the gold and foreign exchange reserves, improvements in the trade surplus and a declining producer price index. This enhanced the perception that the inflation rate would fall in six months to a year."

Higher fee

"When the major financial institutions dropped the housing bond rates, it was a pretty sure sign that the Bank rate was about to follow. Gilt prices are subject to market forces, and with the demand for gilts growing on the back of perceived under-performance by equities and the expected reduced inflation, prices rose, which resulted in a drop in interest rates."

The costs to switch from an equity-based fund into any other fund is done at the repurchase price.

Some funds charge a small fee for making the switch—anything between 0.5 and 2 percent.

bound for Somalia

Somalis beg relief from UN

Sowetan 11/9/92
■ Toxic waste another problem for Somalia:

NAIROBI—A Somali pressure group, the Somali Peace and Resettlement Organisation, has appealed to the United Nations to stop the planned dumping of ten million tons of toxic waste in Somalia.

The organisation's chairman, Abdi Osman Mohamud, issued the appeal yesterday following the revelation this week by the UN Environmental Programme that two batches of Italian toxic waste, each estimated at 500 000 tons, were on their way to Somalia.

Mohamud said, if allowed, the dumping would seriously affect the health of the hapless Somalis already devastated by drought, famine and civil war. It would also destroy the country's ecosystem.

He alleged the Italian company came to an agreement with a Somali warlord who is understood to be strongman Ali Mahdi Mohamed, to dump the waste in Somalia.

appeal has been justified by fear of a military quagmire, but it also reflects a failure of analysis. The object of acting is to cause Serbian leaders

by. For Europe, and for America in Europe, the shape of the new world order is being determined now, by what the West will or not do in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Warlord Rules Over Starving

By Keith B. Richburg

Guardian/W [in w/mant] 11/9-17/9/92

BAARDHEERE, Somalia — In this desolate and starvation-wracked town, in a region of the country devastated by war, drought and famine, relief workers are using empty food sacks as shrouds for the dead. Meanwhile, the local warlord and his well-fed militia-men keep watch at the feeding stations, beating back crowds of hungry people.

The dead are kept in a dark room and wrapped in empty food sacks before they are taken to a back lot for burial. The food sacks are used because "we have nothing else," said Col. Mohamed Gelle, a Somali military official who provides security at the feeding center.

While the dead await burial, those still waiting to die line up in disorderly rows, hoping to be lucky enough to get a few meager spoonfuls of mixed bean and cereal soup before the daily ration is gone. Outside the gate, hundreds of Somalia's starving masses clamor for a chance to get inside and are beaten back by swaggering young militia-men wielding tree branches like batons.

Baardheere is the temporary headquarters of the country's most powerful warlord, Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed, whose United Somali Congress militia-men control the town's four feeding centers.

Perhaps nowhere in Somalia is the gap more evident between the powerful and the powerless, between those with guns and those without even a grain of rice. Baardheere is a town of two worlds, that of Aideed's well-fed militia-men and the other where the rest of the population is dying from starvation.

At one feeding center, the hungry

— mostly emaciated women, the elderly and badly malnourished children — line up for their turn to be fed from huge metal pots. To "control" the starving and force them to wait their turn, Aideed's young thugs with automatic weapons slung over their shoulders whack the people with canes cut from tree branches.

When the call came for the second feeding, one hungry young boy stood before his turn. A teenager wielding a stick struck the boy on the head and reminded him that pregnant women go first. An elderly woman, appearing near death from malnourishment, pushed her way to the head of the line begging for an extra portion, and she, too, was struck with canes and forced to wait her turn at the back. Even people who lingered too long when it was their turn to receive a handout were hit on the head with sticks.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 people arrive daily at the gates of this center, hoping for a cup of gruel. But the hospital's deputy director, Abdukadi Sharif Mohamed, said the rations, from the World Food Program, are usually enough to feed only about 3,000 people three times a day. Those not strong enough to move to the head of the line, or to push through the gates, are left to starve.

Aideed, who is often blamed for much of Somalia's current suffering and anarchy, talked to visiting journalists in his military compound not far from the feeding center. Over tea and bitter juice, seated on Arabic-style cushions in an expansive visitor's reception room, Aideed said his struggle against the old regime was a fight "for democracy, for peace, for development."

focus on development

AFRICA's economic recovery will largely depend on the rapid and vigorous development of small and medium sized businesses.

These sectors of business are vital to the economic advancement of the continent and especially if it is to compete with the rest of the world.

This is the view of the visiting general manager of the Africa Project Development Facility (APDF), Mr Alexander Keyserlingk.

He is here as one of the speakers at the *Sowetan* Small Business and Entrepreneurial Development Conference to be held at the Eskom Training College in Midrand on Sunday.

The APDF helps entrepreneurs set up business, expand or diversify existing ones, find local or foreign investment partners and secure debt equity finance. But it does not finance projects.

It is a project of the International Finance Corporation, an arm of the World Bank, the United Nations Development Project and the African Development Bank.

Keyserlingk's career in International Finance has taken him to many of the world's developing countries. He worked through transition periods in the Middle East, Asia, Columbia, Venezuela, Guyana and Mexico.

Since 1979, his activities have focused on Africa. His experience in managing IFC's Africa investment portfolios and in developing investment proposals prompted *Sowetan* to invite him to the conference.

Born in Oakton Village in the United States 40 years ago, he studied business and economics at various institutions. He has also worked for many companies as a chartered accountant and economic adviser.

He became the APDF general manager in 1986 and believes that Africa's economic recovery will depend on the cultivation of the spirit of entrepreneurship.

"Africa needs more entrepreneurs in order to be able to create job opportunities and wealth," said Keyserlingk.

"The continent will have to address the question of poverty in a more vigorous way."

The APDF has worked on 23 projects in African countries. The projects, which have totalled investment costs of about R144 million, are expected to result in the creation of 2 000 jobs.

In its five years of existence it has worked out 110 projects in various countries resulting in the creation of business opportunities for more than 11 000 people.

"We are on the great track to empower the people to become job creators rather than to depend on hand-outs from others," he said.

He was prepared to help people in the agricul-

Internationally acclaimed economist Alexander Keyserlingk, who has established 11 000 businesses in Africa, will address *Sowetan's* Entrepreneurial Development Conference. **Joshua**

Raboroko reports: *Sowetan* 11/9/92



Alexander Keyserlingk

ture, manufacturing, hotels and service industries. For the first time, projects in the West and Central Africa outnumbered those in East and Southern Africa.

He noted that African entrepreneurs continued to show the ability to implement and successfully manage a large variety of enterprises despite difficult conditions, including a severe shortage of equity funding in several countries.

The APDF was also doing great work in Asiatic, South Pacific and European countries.

He was optimistic that it would help many disadvantaged people in South Africa as soon as the country resolved its problems.

He stressed that South Africa had great potential to become a world economic leader because it had resources and manpower.

It also stood to get foreign investment. But violence and political instability were stumbling blocks

"We are eager to enter South Africa to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship so that people can create jobs and wealth," he said.

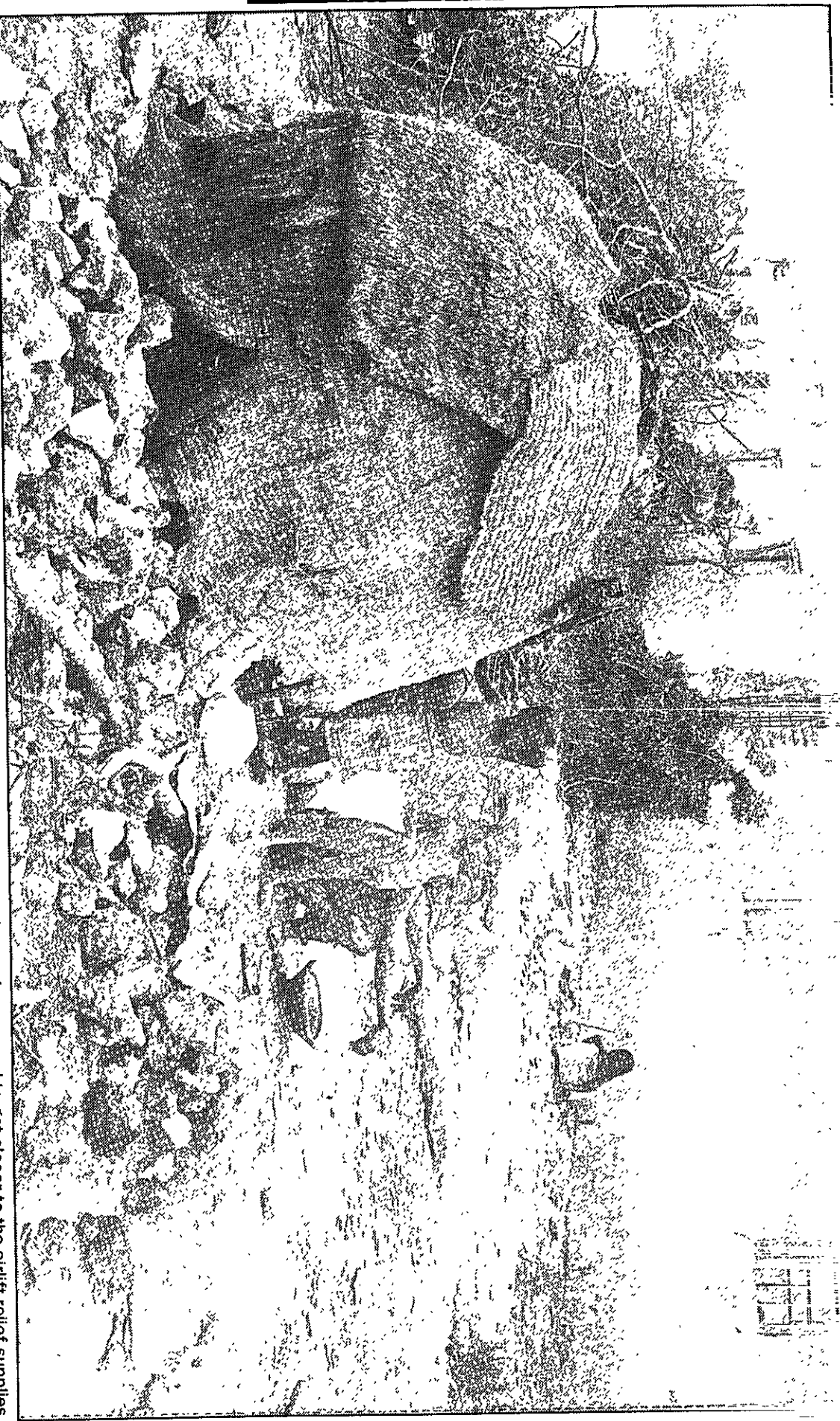
It was essential that South Africa joined the rest of Africa in trade so that they form the United States of Africa

But, he added, that depended largely on how they co-operated. Businesses were vital to economic development in Africa.

Africa should learn to create its own European Economic Community - a factor that would get the continent out of the dependency syndrome.

Many African countries received loans from overseas and the high interest rates they were expected to pay had resulted in their impoverishment.

In order to solve this problem Africans must create businesses, he said, otherwise the continent would remain poor.



Instinctive survival . . . a family of nomads makes camp in Hoddur to escape the desperate famine in the rural areas and to get closer to the airlift relief supplies.

The price of peace in Somalia

STAR

11/9/92.

(1)

AT UNITED Nations headquarters in Nairobi the town of Hoddur is held up as an example of how things could be in Somalia. But even here the large-scale, orchestrated theft of relief supplies and discrimination against minor clans is threatening to undermine a tenuous peace.

Relief aircraft act as magnets to many thousands of Somalis living in about 80 surrounding villages.

The town is little more than a pitiful collection of simple, dilapidated buildings and a fast-growing sprawl of beehive shelters. Yet its dusty, windswept streets have become crowded as the famine conditions in central Somalia deepen.

Rustic feeding kitchens are hard-pressed to keep up with the influx of hungry people.

Despite its appearances, Hoddur is something of a success story. There is some central control, unlike much of the rest of Somalia which has fallen into anarchy. There is little tension and, in spite of bands of armed

In the midst of near anarchy in Somalia, one community seems to exist in relative harmony — but at a price. HANS-PETER BAKKER reports from Hoddur, Somalia.

millitas, it has an air of peace in the midst of a country being torn apart by clan rivalry.

But even here all is not well. Some foreign relief workers are threatening to stop the food supply if more than half the food that is flown in continues to disappear. And feeding kitchens run by the local community openly discriminate against minority clans.

"Hoddur is where the war started," says regional officer Dr Abdulkader Muhalem Mu Alem, "but now we have peace. No shooting."

And there are plenty of incentives not to pull the trigger. If someone in Hoddur shoots once he is fined 10 000 Somali shillings (about \$4). If that person fires again he is fined \$8 and if he shoots a third time he is put into prison.

The man in control, and who laid down the anti-shooting law, is Mohamed Nur Shadok, governor of the district and "chief wise man" of the majority Hadame clan.

When the government of Mohamed Siad Barre fell in January last year, Mohamed Nur Shadok assumed command of the district, but without any real instruments of power.

Then the UN's World Food Programme (WFP) started flying in food. Without a presence on the ground, the food was handed to the titular head of the district who insisted on a "self-help" programme to feed his people.

The food gave him the instrument of real power and today his control appears absolute. He is in immediate command of a militia of about 2 500 members,

and an unarmed police force of about 100 patrol the streets of Hoddur. He determines who gets the internationally donated food and how much they get.

More recently, the international organisations CARE and CONCERTO have placed staff in Hoddur to manage the distribution of the WFP food.

A plane lands in mid-morning. By mid-afternoon half the food has gone to pay off the security guards, the drivers and the governor — and nothing to the skeletal nomads who trekked for days to get to the town.

The food that makes it to the storeroom is still not safe. The relief worker says the governor regularly orders truckloads to be taken to destinations unknown to him, and then the people in the kitchens who prepare the food and who watch over

the distribution also take cuts.

Some of the relief workers plan to halt the relief supplies until the governor gives them full control of the food. But others believe that would take away the governor's power and disrupt a relatively stable situation and turn the community against them.

Unlike many areas in Somalia, the governor has recognised the value of getting some of the food to the minority clans, "to keep them happy", says Dr Muhalem Mu Alem.

The relief workers have made some progress by reducing the number of feeding kitchens to allow for a better spread of the food distribution. But for now there is little they can do but appeal to the governor to reduce the amount of food that vanishes to his well-fed supporters.

According to one relief worker, "as long as the food finds its way into the markets, it will bring food prices down, but our fear is that it is being shipped to Kenya and Ethiopia." □

BRIEFS

tutes' homes and the offices of a women's group, saying immoral women were causing drought.

W/maul 119-1719192

Rebels attack peace troops

THE rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia led by Charles Taylor has disarmed all troops of the West African Peacekeeping Force (Ecomog) deployed in south-eastern Liberia, peacekeepers said this week.

Ecomog said the rebels had "acted against all norms of peacekeeping anywhere in the world".

Fundamentalists' fury

MUSLIM groups threatened trouble this week if a new constitution does not express Niger's Islamic identity.

In a memorandum to the transitional parliament, the main Muslim organisations said the new charter should stipulate, for example, that leaders like the president and prime minister must be Muslim.

Fundamentalists, who are gaining ground in the country, burnt prosti-

Somali crisis worsening despite airlift of food

Guardian [w/ in w/week] 11/9 - 17/9/92

By Mark Hubbard in Baidoa, southern Somalia

FROM every dark, paneless window, from every doorway, down every street in the town, the skeletal, rag-draped people stare as they wander starving among the rubble. In the space of a month, Baidoa has gone from a recognisable town hit by famine, to being a camp where dead bodies are as much a part of the rubble as the homes destroyed by civil war.

The streets are silent. Children whose age and sex are impossible to identify, drift around, too weak to beg or talk or react to anything. Upon the fire-charred bricks of a ruined building the dead body of a young man lies spreadeagled. On the main road to the hospital an old man lies dead clutching a walking stick. Beside him lies another old man. He is dead, too.

A hand reaches out from beneath a colourful shawl, just a hand held out for whatever might be placed in it by whoever is passing. But the people who are passing are dying, too.

A few weeks ago there were some healthy-looking people in Baidoa, which lies 140 miles north-east of Mogadishu. The contrast then between the living and the dying was stark and showed the awful injustice of a famine which allowed some children to play in the

street with toy guns made of wood or metal, while beside them refugees from the villages lay in the sand dying.

But now the children have stopped their games. Few faces are without marks of hunger and exhaustion. The faces of people too weak to continue stare from every direction as you pass.

In the shadow of a wall at the Bi Projects camp, a baby lies curled up peacefully on a sheet. Its mother is preparing to bury it. Flies hover round a 30-year-old man lying nearby, dead less than an hour. In this camp 70 people a day are dying. In Baidoa, its normal population of 30,000 swelled to at least 60,000 by displaced people from surrounding villages, there are about 500 deaths a day.

"The situation is worse than anything I have ever seen," said Phoebe Fraser, administrator in the town for a United States relief organisation, Care International.

"Once the rains come in the next week or two, it will be worse. The shelter in the town is appalling, and the displaced people are in an appalling condition."

The two US air force transports which began an emergency airlift of food into Baidoa

at the weekend were greeted at the town's airfield by local politicians, their accompanying gunmen and a handful of demonstrators carrying signs in English and Arabic saying, "Foreign Army No, Food Yes."

Abdi Warsame Isak, whose Somali National Movement is aligned with one of the country's main warlords, General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, welcomed the US airlift but said that his fighters should be left to arrange security for relief food, not the 3,000 United Nations troops proposed to protect the aid shipments. "It will be too much having thousands of foreign troops," Mr Warsame said. "In Baidoa, the security is improving, it is getting better."

Just before the US planes landed, carrying 19 tonnes of maize flour, a gun battle in the town had left one man dead. Soon after, an argument at the airfield's entrance saw two teenage gunmen pointing AK-47 rifles at each other.

Under its \$10 million emergency operation in Somalia, the US has so far airlifted 300 tonnes of food into the country and sent 1,600 tonnes to Somali refugees in northern Kenya. Since August 28, there have been 31 US relief flights into Somalia. Another

145,000 tonnes of US food is to be sent only after the beginning of the US financial year in October.

The US hands over its food to the relief agencies operating in Baidoa — considered the most insecure town so far reached by the airlift operation — and relies on gunmen hired by the agencies to ensure that the food is not stolen and sold.

While more food has arrived in Baidoa in the past month than in any previous month, due mainly to airlifts by the United Nations Children's Fund, the delivery of extra food has coincided with the arrival of hundreds more refugees in the town.

The UN special envoy to Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun, said last week that the Somali crisis was "much worse than we had previously thought". As relief agencies visit more villages, they are finding people who have died in their houses or are waiting to die, too weak to travel to where food is now being delivered.

Every time the scale of the crisis is assessed and more food arrives, the need becomes greater and the desperation grows worse. "People think this is just another African famine," said Phoebe Fraser, "but it's not".

CHAD South 12/9-16/9/72

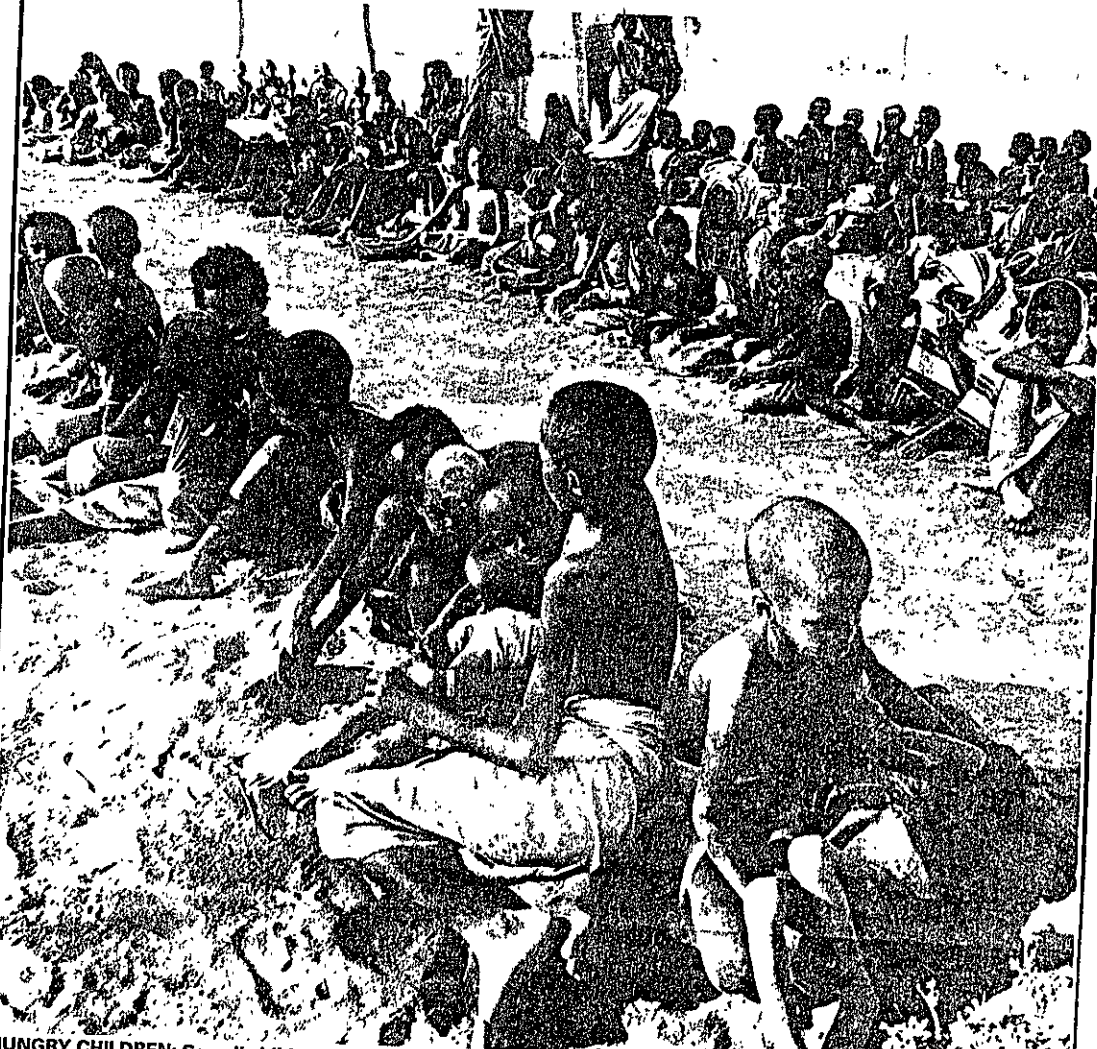
The Human Rights League of Chad has been chosen by the American Bar Association Section of Litigation to receive its International Human Rights Award. (1)

The litigation section's chairperson, Mr Theodore Tetzlaff, said the league had established itself as an independent voice promoting and defending human rights and respect for individual liberty.

The league had spoken out against torture, police harassment, secret detentions, executions and courts outside the established judiciary system, he said.

The league cut ties with the government after police killed five members of a Muslim sect last month. After the shootings the league demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman's government and called for an independent inquiry

West's eyes turn to Somalia



HUNGRY CHILDREN: Somali children in a feeding camp set up to alleviate effects of the famine sweeping the country

THE EYES of the world are turning towards Somalia. While Yugoslavia is still very much in focus, the loss of lives in Africa's Horn is now starting to receive attention from Western governments.

Last week three European Community (EC) foreign ministers visited Somalia, a day after a UN representative said the devastating famine gripping the country might be even worse than feared.

The European Community appeared likely to play a more active role in trying to end the misery of what has been called the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

Mr Douglas Hurd of Britain, Denmark's Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen and Mr Jose Barroso of Portugal visited feeding camps and saw the effects of a 20-month civil war which has left hundreds of thousands of people on the brink of starvation.

In Brussels, EC sources said ambassadors of the 12-nation bloc agreed in principle to allocate \$20-million to help pay for 500 Belgian troops to join a UN force to guard food supplies from looters in Somalia, where anarchic clan rivalry has thwarted relief efforts.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali won Security Council backing last month to

send 3 000 armed UN troops to Somalia to help 500 Pakistani guards already on their way to secure ports and airports and protect relief convoys.

The UN special representative for Somalia, Mr Mohamed Sahnoun, said last week the scale of the disaster was worse than feared and was only becoming apparent as relief operations penetrated the famished heartland.

It had been estimated that 1.5- to two million of Somalia's six million people faced starvation.

"We have so far seen only the tip of the iceberg. It is a dramatic discovery that we are making daily," Sahnoun said in an interview in Nairobi.

The EC pledged 185 000 tonnes of relief food and other aid for Somalia this year but two thirds of it has not been sent because of the uncertain security situation.

Diplomatic initiatives spear-headed by Italy last year failed to prevent Somalia from degenerating into anarchy after clan rebels ousted dictator Mohamed Siad Barre from the capital and fell on each other in an orgy of ethnic bloodshed.

Italy now wants the Somali crisis to be on the agenda of the next EC foreign ministers' meeting, scheduled for Britain at the weekend.

— Sapa-Reuter

Unit trust switch parachute

STAR 118192

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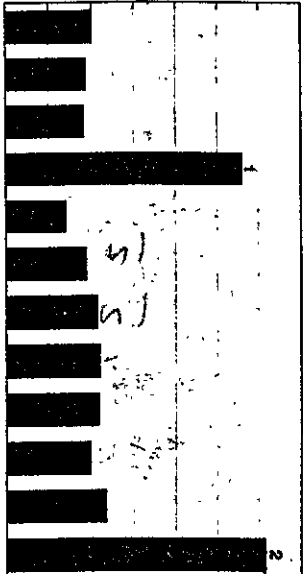
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Mutual's new Top Com-
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The huge surge in the
number of switches in
June/July indicates that
prudent investors took the
safe route out of equities
into fixed-income and gilt
funds, which are not affect-
ed by stock-market va-
garies.

Other unit trust com-
panies reported that switch-
ing on a similar scale took
place, especially among in-
vestors with large sums of
money who obviously were
expecting some kind of a
correction in the stock mar-
ket.

So far, these investors
must be feeling very
pleased with themselves.
From its June peaks, the
JSE-overall market has de-
clined by 7 percent, from
3743 to yesterday after-
noon's level of 3436.
The trend is not limited
to Old Mutual, figures re-



1991 TO 1992
Old Mutual unit trusts — number of switches: 1)
Launch of Top Companies Fund: 2) Primarily switch-
ing to Income Fund.

MAGNUS HEYSTEK

leased by the Association of
Unit Trusts show. While the
industry reported its lar-
gest inflow in history, the
UAL Gilt Unit Trust at-
tracted R109 million in the
quarter to the end of June,
the largest net inflow for

times, the gilt and fixed-
income funds are likely to
outperform equity-based
funds for the rest of the
year.

It's interesting to note
that the UAL Gilt unit trust
with an annualised average
rate of return of 17.4 per-
cent over a five-year
period, is the fifth best-per-
forming fund among all
unit trusts.

It is not generally known
that the gilt funds outper-
formed all other unit trusts
over a one-year period.
UAL Gilt fund was best at
20.19 (repurchase to repur-
chase price) followed very
closely by the Metboard In-
come fund (formerly known
as the Corbank fund) with
20.16 percent.

The decision to get into
gilt seems to be vindicated
by the subsequent bull mar-
ket in the capital market.
These investors have made
handsome capital gains,
and if the bull market con-

tors who do not have an un-
derstanding of the gilt mar-
ket will wonder how a per-
formance of over 20 per-
cent could be achieved.

These results are possi-
ble because the managers
can make capital gains
from falling interest rates.
It is not generally under-
stood that capital gains can
be made through falling in-
terest rates. This is because
gilt rates are quoted at interest
rate levels rather than their
capital value.

Simply put, when inter-
est rates drop it means the
price of the gilt (called
bonds in the United States)
has risen due to increased
demand from investors.

Says Alistair Colquhoun,
UAL's investment chief:
"The scenario for falling in-
terest rates was brought
about by a decreasing
growth rate in the money
supply, improvement in the
gold and foreign exchange
reserves, improvements in

the trade surplus and a de-
clining producer price
index. This enhanced the
perception that the inflation
rate would fall in six
months to a year.

"When the major finan-
cial institutions dropped the
housing bond rates it was a
pretty sure sign that the
Bank rate was about to fol-
low. Gilt prices are subject
to market forces, and with
the demand for gilts grow-
ing on the back of per-
ceived under-performance
by equities and the expect-
ed reduced inflation, prices
rose, which resulted in a
drop in interest rates."

Higher fee

The costs to switch from
an equity-based fund into
any other fund is done at
the repurchase price.

Some funds charge a
small fee for making the
switch— anything between
0.5 and 2 percent.

Book could open new chapter for Somalia

STAN 14/9/92

①

MOGADISHU — A looted book that turned up on a Mogadishu market stall could help aid workers find wells this week for 150 000 Somali famine victims in desperate need of water.

"It cost me \$60 (R188)," said Noor Hussein, a Kenyan hydrologist working for a UN children's agency.

The book is a comprehensive 1980s US survey of every well in the Bay region of central Somalia with maps, co-ordinates and details of how deep the water is, which is drinkable and which

dangerous.

Like most government records it was looted when the country descended into anarchy in January 1991.

Guided by it, the British aid agencies Oxfam and Save the Children and the American group CARE hope to get safe water running from eight wells.

● Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Salim has accepted that the OAU bore some responsibility for the tragedy in Somalia together with the UN.

— Sapa-Reuter/AFR



No end to Africa's woe

WASHINGTON — A population boom dampened the benefit of a 2.4 percent rise in Africa's gross domestic product (GDP) in 1991, the World Bank said yesterday.

Africa's sub-Saharan population grew by 3.2 percent between 1980 and 1989, allowing only a 0.6 percent growth in per capita GDP, the World Bank said. *STAR*

The population boom worsened the continent's woes, including poverty, starvation, AIDS and malaria. *169192*

The number of poor in sub-Saharan Africa has grown from 191 million to 228 million since 1985.

In most African countries, exports grew by 2.6 percent and imports by 3.5 percent in 1991. — Sapa-AFP.

Africa lagging, says IMF

WASHINGTON — The world's developing countries are poised for their strongest growth in more than a decade, but southern and eastern Africa will miss out on the boom, according to the IMF.

In its latest review of the world economy, published today, the fund says developing countries' economies are projected to grow more than 6% on average this year and in 1993 — their best collective performance since the end of the '70s.

"The only regions where the economic outlook has deteriorated are southern and eastern Africa, where a number of countries are suffering from severe drought and civil disturbances," the fund notes.

For other developing countries, the impact of the sluggishness of world demand

and the weakness of commodity prices has been mitigated by a mixture of windfalls and hard economic policymaking, the IMF finds. It singles out the favourable effect on debt-servicing costs of the decline in short-term interest rates in the US and Japan, and the series of recent agreements restructuring many Third World countries' foreign debt.

Reconstruction after the Gulf war is cited as a major contributor to economic recovery among Middle Eastern countries.

But beyond these special factors, the fund again attributes much of the economic revival among developing countries to

SIMON WILLSON

To Page 2

IMF

the adoption of economic structural adjustment programmes. As many as 35 countries — accounting for more than half the total output of the developing world — are classed as "successful adjusters".

The growing trend among developing economies towards wholesale economic structural adjustment is traced back to a core group of Asian countries that started their own economic reform programmes more than a decade ago. During the past three to four years, the fund notes, a growing number of developing countries in all regions have begun to overcome initial adjustment difficulties.

Their experience, the fund suggests, offers important lessons for other countries undertaking adjustment and reform.

"The key to their performance has been determined efforts to reduce fiscal deficits and to control inflation. Equally significant has been their recognition of the importance of market forces: most of these countries have acted to liberalise foreign trade, to cut subsidies and to privatise state enterprises."

For a growing number of developing

countries, recent improvements in economic performance have been accompanied by a reversal of capital flight and substantial capital inflows in the form of both direct and portfolio investments.

"The authorities need to recognise that the capital inflows can easily be reversed." The IMF recommends tightening fiscal policy to make room for higher investment and a reduction of the high interest rates that are often a major reason for capital inflows that can lead to overheating.

"Allowing a real appreciation of the currency may be appropriate in some cases."

For the least developed countries, most of which are located in Africa, the IMF review says progress in alleviating the burden of foreign debt has been slow.

"However, further measures are necessary to promote economic reforms and higher growth in the poorest countries, including an early implementation of commitments to raise official, financial and technical development assistance and to improve access for developing country exports in overseas markets," it says.

See Pages 6 and 8

From Page 1

Mugabe faces revolt over patronage system

17/9/92

MICHAEL HARRINACK

HARARE — As economic distress intensifies, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has been faced with an unprecedented parliamentary backbench revolt against the lavish political patronage system through which he has ruled since 1980 independence.

Restive members of Mugabe's own ruling Zanu party provoked what Senior Minister of Local Government Joseph Msika called "a constitutional crisis" by refusing to pass a R1.1m vote for the eight "provincial governors".

After furious late night scenes in parliament, they deferred consideration of the governors' salaries until the house completes a "committee of supply" inquiry on the entire R8m annual budget. Some backbenchers urged pay should be withheld until rains break Zimbabwe's worst drought in a century.

Despite a recent reshuffle, Zimbabwe still has one of the largest cabinets in the world with 46 vice-presidents, senior ministers, ministers of state, ministers, deputy ministers and provincial governors. Some of the ministers whose retrenchments were announced, as an economic example to the nation, have been retained on full

pay and allowances as "resident ministers" in their home provinces, tasked with co-ordinating drought relief.

Backbenchers pointed out that public service "provincial administrators" and provincial governors now duplicate the functions of the "resident ministers".

The immediate practical consequence of the revolt is to deny the provincial governors their R3 000 a month salaries and complex system of tax-free allowances.

The long-term political consequences are far greater, as Mugabe has for 12 years disarmed potential opponents and secured the continuing loyalty of adherents by spending about 54% of Zimbabwe's gross national product on a public sector riddled with patronage appointments. The public service has grown from 40 000 in 1979 to 189 000 and a World Bank expert, Khaled Sharif, said in July that to secure the jobs of 37 000 politically influential persons in nine top-spending parastatals, the Zimbabwean government had sacrificed R1.8bn in potential development funds over the past five years. Unemployment meanwhile grew to more than 3-million.

Baby booms offset benefits of GDP rise

17/9/92

WASHINGTON — A population boom dampened the benefit of a 2.4% rise in Africa's GDP in 1991, the World Bank said on Tuesday.

Africa's sub-Saharan population grew by 3.2% between 1980 and 1989, allowing only a 0.6% growth in per capita GDP, the World Bank said.

The population boom worsened the continent's woes, which already include poverty, starvation, AIDS and malaria.

The number of poor in sub-Saharan Africa has grown from 191-million to 226-million since 1985. In most African countries, exports grew by 2.6% and imports by 3.5% in 1991.

But in Nigeria, the most heavily-populated country in Africa, the GDP grew by about 5%. But shipping monetary and budgetary discipline and political instability undermined this growth.

The World Bank said in its report that the Nigerian government's economic adjustments and its agreement in January to reduce its \$5.3bn debt promised better results in 1992.

The GDP of the sub-Saharan countries in north-western Africa grew at 2%, below the 2.7% average of the past decade.

In the Ivory Coast, the GDP fell by 2%. The fifth straight year of GDP decline was caused by a weakening of the currency.

Botswana grew at 8.7% and Mauritius at 5% — the strongest performances in Africa.

The report noted that boycotts had ended against SA, where the GDP equalled half that of all the sub-Saharan economies put together. — Sapa-AFP.

PERMENDING the IMF's second look at the world economy this year, in its review published today, is its unabashed forceful promotion of the structural adjustment programme.

As a cure for many of the acute economic ills plaguing parts of the Third World, the concept of structural adjustment has many grudging proponents in developing countries but few truly devoted supporters. IMF president Michel Camdessus is committed to winning it some.

There is a marked change of tune in the new review to references to structural adjustments made barely five months ago. Back in May, the IMF said somewhat hesitantly: "... countries with fiscal adjustment have shown some improvement — or a smaller deterioration — compared with countries not undertaking adjustment".

In the October review now published, there is much less holding back: "There is encouraging evidence that stabilisation and economic reform efforts are beginning to bear fruit in an increasing number of countries."

This more upbeat assessment of one of the IMF's most controversial functions — that of emergency management of countries with economic problems — is based partly on the need to polish the image of structural adjustment, and partly on genuine signs that it is beginning to work.

The public relations side of an international agency entering a small and impoverished country to run its economy has always been a challenge. As long ago as 1988 the IMF brought out a booklet entitled *Ten Common Misconceptions About the IMF* in an attempt to improve its image. The booklet was revised and updated this year, and now goes aggressively for popular shibboleths such as "IMF-supported programmes are anti-growth", "IMF-supported programmes impose austerity on member countries" and "The IMF applies identical remedies irrespective of a country's circumstances". The IMF's image offensive has moved up a gear in response to bleak reports coming out of structurally adjusting developing countries in recent months.

Only three weeks ago, for example, a grim news agency dispatch from Zimbabwe caned the IMF mer-

IMF initiative to win over those it is trying to help

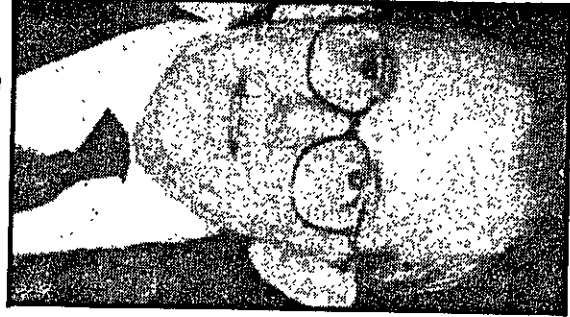
Simon Willson in Washington

cessfully linking the country's 18-month-old economic structural adjustment programme (Esasp) to 10,000 job losses in an economy with 75% unemployment in the formal economy. An embittered artisan was quoted in the dispatch as saying: "Esasp is killing us. Prices keep on rising because of this Esasp. I think there is going to be trouble."

If that is the typical perception of the IMF among its target market of entrepreneurs and small businessmen in African developing countries, it is hardly surprising that the fund has sought to raise hard, statistical evidence of the practicality and effectiveness of its programmes.

In its latest economic review, the IMF says major reforms of financial markets, institutions and the regulatory framework have been undertaken during the past five years in Argentina, Bolivia, Botswana, Chile, the Dominican Republic, the Gambia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mexico, Pakistan, Thailand and Tunisia. These reforms have aimed to enhance the mobilisation and allocation of domestic savings as well as to improve the monetary control system.

The IMF defends, first, its advocacy of positive real interest rates by classifying countries where real interest rates have been strongly negative from 1984 to 1991. Growth in these countries has been low or negative over the period. However, moderately positive real interest rates of between zero and 5% have been a feature of the highest proportion of developing countries with annual



□ CAMDESSUS

growth rates above 2% over the same period. Changes in tax policy, expenditure policy and public enterprise policy have, says the IMF, had a significant impact on resource allocation and growth in 13 of the 16 adjusting and restructuring countries classified in the review. Here the IMF rides to the defence of a second Esasp regular alongside positive real interest rates: VAT. Seven countries on the

list have moved from steeply progressive income and property taxes to simplified, broad-based and more neutral taxes on domestic consumption such as VAT.

"The pursuance of simplicity and neutrality in the tax structure has been a result of the recognition that complicated tax systems designed to achieve multiple economic and social objectives tend to generate costly distortions in resource allocation, provide scope for tax evasion that leads to loss of revenue, and increase the administrative burden of their enforcement," the IMF says.

Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, with the objective of maintaining a simple tax structure, introduced VAT at a single, uniform rate. Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Morocco and Tunisia had other tax objectives besides revenue-raising such as regional development or redistribution and had chosen a multiple-rate VAT.

"By simplifying the tax system, enhancing its neutrality and broadening the tax base, these reforms have reduced tax-induced distortions and have fostered productivity and growth as well as, in several cases, increasing tax revenues," the IMF review says.

A third IMF Esasp strategy to be defended in the new review is trade liberalisation. China, Colombia, the Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia and Mexico have eliminated quantitative restrictions (quotas) on trade flows. Others simultaneously increased their reliance on the price system by replacing quotas with tariffs and by

eliminating exemptions to existing tariffs. "This has the effect of increasing the transparency of the trade regime with a favourable side-effect of increasing the tax base," notes the review.

Supporting further liberalisation of trade regulations, the IMF stresses what it says is a "statistically significant relationship" between the degree of an economy's openness and its growth rate.

In Asia, a 10 percentage point increase in the degree of openness is associated with a rise of nearly one percentage point in the growth rate. In Middle Eastern and western hemisphere countries, however, the openness effect is less than half Asia's, and in Africa the effect is smaller still. The IMF thinks this may be due in part to the relatively greater flexibility of the Asian economies, which allows resources to flow rapidly into expanding sectors.

The fourth main Esasp strategy resolutely supported in the new IMF review is that of privatisation. The fund, again, does not mince its words. "In combination with other policies to create a more competitive environment, the benefits of properly executed privatisation have proved to be considerable," it says.

In the past six years, the review notes, Chile and Mexico have privatised a large number of government enterprises, while more recently Argentina, Korea, Laos, Niger and Vietnam have privatised telecommunications, airlines and transport companies. "Improved scope for expansion and diversification following privatisation has contributed to higher labour productivity, increased profits and faster growth in many of these countries," the IMF concludes.

What this well-researched, would-be vindication of the rigours of the average Esasp will mean to IMF sceptics such as the grizzled Zimbabwean artisan is open to question. The populations of the Esasp-implementing countries presumably want to see benefits in the streets and on the shelves rather than in the IMF's statistical appendices.

Irrespective of the partly justified triumphalism in parts of the IMF's new global economic review, it remains the organisation's stiffest task to win over to its cause the very people it is trying to help.

85 welan 17/9/92

Soldiers to help Somalis

MOGADISHU - Four US warships carrying 2 400 marines were sailing toward Somalia yesterday to support an American airlift of 500 UN soldiers in the starving country's capital of Mogadishu.

A spokesman for the US Naval Forces Central Command in the Persian Gulf said the group would arrive off the coast of Mogadishu within a few days and provide "seaborne command and control for US airlift operations," bringing a Pakistani infantry battalion to prevent looting of food shipments.

Colin Legum reports on Ghana's planned return to democracy

Can Rawlings outrun the political foxes?

①
Mar 17/1992

AFTER more than 10 years of military rule under President Jerry John Rawlings, Ghana will return to a parliamentary democratic system by the end of the year. The presidential elections will take place in November to be followed by parliamentary elections in December.

This will be the third attempt since Ghana's independence under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957 to establish a parliamentary democracy.

The key question in the run-up to the elections is whether Mr Rawlings will offer himself for election as president. He refuses to be drawn on his intentions.

Mr Rawlings has substantial achievements to his credit, but he also has much to answer for.

Under his disciplinary rule, Ghana has struggled out of the malaise into which it had fallen since Mr Nkrumah's hey-day.

It has regained much of its vigour and buoyancy, helped by the country's economic success since accepting the discipline of a structural adjustment programme under the terms set by the International Monetary Fund. It is the one African country where this collaboration has promised success.

The economy is again thriving; the formerly depleted shops are full of goods; hotels are full; traffic jams are the order of the day in Accra and Kumasi.

While it still has a long way to go to return to the cocoa-fuelled flourishing economy of 35 years ago, there is a marked return of confidence thanks to the leadership of Mr Rawlings, who led two military coups.

The downside of Mr Rawlings' rule has been its record of human rights abuses. The prisons, once notorious for torture, still hold political detainees. The formerly rampant corruption has been curbed, but is not yet ended. A question is whether this proclivity will be resumed once the iron hand of Mr Rawlings has been removed or, at least, lost its power.

Mr Rawlings undoubtedly enjoys a measure of public support, but his many challengers want to see him go. However, the political camp is broadly divided between supporters of the Eagle Club (corrupted to Eglé Club, an acronym for Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere), and the democrats.

These two broad tendencies line up with the earlier political division between supporters of Mr Nkrumah and of the veteran Dr J B Danquah.

The so-called Nkrumahists remain divided in splinter groups among contending old-time leaders from Mr Nkrumah's time — such as Dr Komla Gbedemah, the former president Dr Hilla Limamn, Kojo Botsio, and Kwaku Boateng (father of the British MP, Paul Boateng).

But there are also some newcomers such as Frimpong Ansa, a former governor of the Bank of Ghana; General Emmanuel Erskine, who commanded a United Nations peacekeeping force in Lebanon for a time; and Mr Nkrumah's son, Francis.

A more radical faction is led by the veteran trade union leader, John Tettegah.

The Nkrumahists are also internally riven between more conservative middle-class leaders,



Jerry Rawlings... has popular support despite poor human rights record.

Marxists, disgruntled unemployed, and trade unionists.

In addition to these drawbacks, the Nkrumahist parties lack funds to conduct an effective election campaign. Unless their efforts to achieve some kind of unity succeed — which seems unlikely — the Nkrumahists do not, at the moment, look like winning.

The immediate favourites are the so-called Danquahists (named after Dr Danquah, the lifelong opponent of Nkrumah).

Their short-term spell in office under Dr Kofi Busia was little short of disastrous. The Danquahists are also divided between the majority New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the breakaway New Generation Alliance and People's Heritage Party.

The NPP has the backing of the moneyed classes, and can count on substantial financial support.

It has solid support from the thriving middle-class, the rich cocoa farmers, and the traditional support in the Ashanti and Brong-Ahaho areas, the main constituencies of the anti-Nkrumah movement. The party favours economic liberalism and gives broad support to Mr Rawlings' structural adjustment policy. It is essentially a party of private enterprise and capitalism.

The NPP's leading presidential candidate is Professor Adu Boahene, a law professor and a founder of the Movement for Freedom and Justice in Africa.

Among its other luminaries are J A Kuffor and Odoi Sykes, both leading lawyers, and two medical doctors, Osane Selby and Sato Adu.

After his recent visit to Ghana, Alan Rake, editor of the London-based New African, summed up the situation as follows:

"Most educated, urban Ghanians think the NPP will win easily, but they may still be wrong. Rawlings' original ideals still burn deep in the remote parts of the countryside. Many have benefited economically from his decade of stable growth. Many want to continue under his patronage. But can he outwit the political foxes who already have a running start? And will he leave it too late?"

But even if Mr Rawlings should decide to run as president and manages to win, he would still be faced with a National Assembly in which a majority would be against him. He could end up as a lame-duck president. □

More UN soldiers guard Somali port

51m 17/9/92 ①

MOGADISHU — The last five soldiers of an initial contingent of 60 UN troops arrived in Mogadishu yesterday to protect relief food for the starving.

The five Pakistani soldiers stepped off one of four US Air Force C-130 cargo planes that also delivered tons of supplies and equipment for the eventual force of 500 men.

The rest of the Pakistani infantry battalion is expected to arrive on September 25, ferried to Mogadishu by US planes.

The battalion's chief task will be to secure Mogadishu's port, which has been hit down frequently by mauling looters and disputes between rival clans.

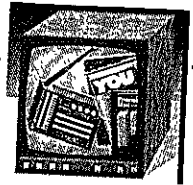
The UN hopes to move up

to 2 000 tons of food a day through the port when it is fully operational, far exceeding the amount being delivered by a multinational airlift.

The United States also sent four warships carrying 2 400 Marines towards Somalia from the Persian Gulf to support the American airlift of UN troops.

Yesterday an Organisation of African Unity official said he had met Somalia's main warlord, General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, and was optimistic he would accept an additional 3 000 UN troops to guard relief supplies in the chaotic nation.

The UN Security Council last month approved the deployment of an additional 3 000 troops. — Sapa-AP.



MEDIA

The scramble for Africa

1
FM 18/9/92

African economies are generally impoverished and inefficient but there are pockets of wealth all over the continent. Most of them are too small and dispersed to be of much interest to SA marketers but, if anything can tap these resources, perhaps it is broadcasting.

This, at any rate, seems to be the thinking behind a new scramble for Africa embarked on by SA media, following in the footsteps of ad agencies and even PR consultancies. Now joining the commercial safari are M-Net, SABC external services and outdoor advertising contractor Rent-a-Sign.

Media owners elsewhere on the continent have also got an eye on SA manufacturers as potential advertisers, and Johannesburg-based media representative Greenberg Mattheus & Associates has signed up the national broadcasters in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. GMA so represents Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho and some homeland broadcasters in SA.

The venture into Africa will intensify the competition between M-Net and SABC. M-Net has set up a pay-TV service, M-Net International (MNI), in several African countries while SABC external services are now going commercial on radio and TV.

But MNI is projecting a subscriber base of 155 000 within three years, which give it a clear edge. Subscribers can be reached in two ways: direct to individual homes with their own satellite dishes, and through re-broadcast deals with local broadcasters, hotels and consortia of businessmen.

M-Net projects 33 000 direct-to-home subscribers by December 1993 and 120 000 re-broadcast subscribers by August 1995. The targets are:

- Southern Africa 27 000;

- Central Africa 33 000;
- East Africa 25 000; and
- West Africa 35 000.

They will get a somewhat better service than subscribers in SA because it is a joint



Oxlee ... advertising potential is limited

venture with the new BBC World Service TV. The BBC service, a news and business report network similar to that of CNN, will fill air time between midnight and 9am and 5 pm-7 pm. M-Net is responsible for the rest and will also offer its Portuguese and East-Net services.

But at this stage, says deputy manager for commercial sales Pete Oxlee, there is no chance of SA viewers receiving the BBC.

Clearly, MNI is unlikely to be as profitable for M-Net as its existing service because of the limited scope for advertising. "Advertising won't generate the same amount of money that it does locally," says Oxlee. "Few multinational marketers co-ordinate their advertising across the continent. Even packaging tends to be different from country to country. Until they have pan-African budgets to which every country contributes, this will be a rocky road."

Nevertheless, M-Net wants the service to look commercial right from the start, and attractive rates will be offered until there is a worthwhile viewer base. Oxlee expects that to grow quickly. "I believe we will see the base grow fairly dramatically," he says.

SABC external services' venture into pan-African marketing, now to be called Channel

Africa, will start selling commercials on its radio services on October 1, and in addition is launching a daily hour-long TV programme via satellite. Executive editor Lionel Williams says there are about a dozen broadcasters considering taking the TV downlink, and after a six-month assessment period SABC will be looking at selling airtime on this service too.

TV programming will comprise African news, information and education. "We will bear the costs of the downlink. All they have to do is match the satellite pick-up. We hope it will become a commercial prospect."

Williams has modest expectations but any ad revenue at all will help offset the R31m a year which the Department of Foreign Affairs spends on the existing external radio service. There's no way of knowing how many people listen to the service, which goes out in six languages for 29 hours of broadcasting a day, but the 100 000 letters that pour in every year indicate there's a substantial audience out there.

"We estimate about 40m people throughout Africa listen to our broadcasts, most of them in southern Africa," says Williams. "But there is no major external broadcaster which is commercial anywhere in the world. This is an unknown but we feel there is potential. Africa is opening up to us and there is great interest among SA business, so it is worth trying. We haven't much to lose."

He hopes to attract advertisers of consumer products, exporters, construction companies, Transnet, and such companies as Barlows, Premier and SA Breweries.

Yet another foray into Africa has been made by Rent-a-Sign. Its associate company, Inter Africa Outdoor Advertising, has secured outdoor advertising rights at Mozambique's international airport.

OOPS!

It had to happen. In our table of leading PR consultancies (FM August 28), we omitted some companies big enough to be included. They are listed below.

MORE OF SA'S BIGGEST PR CONSULTANCIES

	Total staff	No of professionals	No of regular clients	Offices in SA
Range PR	12	5	18	CT
Str Comms	10	4	12	Jhb
Medcom	8	4	13	Jhb

Key Somali faction welcomes UN troops

Guardian (W) (in W/M) (1)

By Mark Huband

in Mogadishu

18/9 - 24/9/92
SENIOR officials from one of Somalia's most powerful warring factions on Monday welcomed the first contingent of United Nations troops sent to guard food relief convoys, and signalled growing acceptance of the further 3,000 troops expected to be sent to Somalia soon.

Thirty-six troops from Pakistan's Frontier Force, artillery and engineer regiments were brought by United States' Air Force C-130 transport planes from Islamabad via Djibouti. Another 20 troops are due later and 440 by September 25.

The troops' chief operations officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohammed Parvaiz, said his troops were there to guard the humanitarian relief effort which was aimed at saving the lives of the estimated two million people facing starvation.

In an important gesture, Abdulkarim Ali, the secretary general of one of the main factions in the civil war, the United Somali Congress, signalled its approval of the troops' arrival by greeting them at Mogadishu airport, which is under USC control.

"The USC doesn't feel that the UN is going to take over the country, but there are some people at the UN in New York who don't care about Somalia and don't know what is going on. Let them see the situation on the ground, like [UN special envoy Mohamed] Sahnoun. He knows the reality and we hope the UN will support him," Mr Ali said.

The USC had objected that any UN military deployment was an infringement of Somalia's sovereignty. But in an admission of the USC's inability to discipline even its own fighters, Mr Ali said the leadership was likely to accept the deployment of 3,000 more troops, though it would take time to convince its soldiers to accept them. A UN presence will deprive the soldiers of the opportunity to steal relief food.

The issue of UN troops has been complicated by internal conflict among Somalia's clan-based factions. The USC's main enemy, the interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed, called for 10,000 UN troops to be sent, and will treat the arrival of troops as a personal victory. The presence of the UN troops was also strongly criticised by some relief agencies, which believe it will raise tension and make food distribution more difficult. However Mr Sahnoun, does not believe there is any alternative if the current rate of looting of relief food does not stop.

The looting of 200 tonnes of food from Mogadishu port three weeks ago led the UN to halt all movement of food from the port to the city. Currently, 7,000 tonnes of food is in warehouses in the port and another shipment is expected in the next three or four days.

Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, Baroness Lynda Chalker, met the Pakistani troops during a three hour visit to Mogadishu.

• The international community, backed by UN troops, should move in and run Somalia because "it has no government at all", Philip Johnston, president of the American relief organisation Care, said in Washington.

Such a take-over would be justified, he said, under UN responsibilities towards Somalis as citizens of the world, with rights that should be protected. About 2,000 to 5,000 Somalis are dying each day, he said.

Rapid rise in Aids cases

ADDIS ABABA: Ethiopian authorities announced this week that Aids was spreading at an alarming rate in the country, with 20 new cases being reported every month. There were now about 20 000 Aids patients in Ethiopia, Radio-Addis Ababa said, adding that most of the Aids sufferers were between 20 and 40.

Rebels abandon cause

RABAT: Polisario defectors to Morocco said this week that the guerrilla movement was low on supplies and even lower in morale, and that its aim, an independent state in the Western Sahara, was a lost cause. *W/Mail 18/9 - 24/9/92*

A ceasefire has been in effect for a year but disputes over who should vote have delayed a referendum to let the population decide between independence and integration with Morocco.

Children Who Will Never Be The Same Again ^①

Guardian [W/in W/Man] 18/9-24/9/92

MOGADISHU, Somalia — This shattered country is still far from an end to the famine that is killing its people, and the prospects for peace seem as remote as ever. But already some foreign relief workers and Somalis are asking: What about the children who live through this crisis?

They wonder what will become of the emaciated 12-year-old boy in Baidoa who lives beneath a tree with his two younger siblings. The boy's parents have already starved to death; if he does not do the same, he faces life as an orphan in a country with no government and no "safety net" of social services to care for him.

There is concern about the future of a child at a feeding center who sees old people being beaten with tree branches by young armed thugs — for the simple act of begging for a few extra spoonfuls of rice. The child himself was thrashed on the head with sticks for standing up before his turn to be fed — an indelible lesson in the use of force and the power of the gun in a society that has descended into anarchy.

And there is despair for the 16-year-old boy at the Mogadishu airport who walked up to an unarmed security guard for a foreign relief agency and pumped four shots from an AK-47 assault rifle into the man's back, for no other reason than that the man belonged to a different clan.

In one sense, these children can be considered more fortunate than the rest because they have survived. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of Somalis are dying each day from famine and disease, and the vast majority are the children.

But for those who survive, there are troubling questions about the long-term scars they will carry, emotional as well as physical. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has estimated that some 95 percent of Somalis under age 10 — about 1 million children — are malnourished, half of them severely. Those who live will likely be physically and mentally stunted for life, one UNICEF official has said.

In addition, most Somali children have not been to a school in four years, many have lost their parents and siblings to war or starvation, and all are growing up keenly aware of the power and influence wielded by gun-toting militiamen often barely older than themselves.

"If we go on like this, they will adopt the system of these young gangmen who are now very prominent figures in the town," said Hussein Dahir Ahmed, manager of the Somali Red Crescent's Baidoa office. "The children will come up in

this kind of environment. They will form gangs if they do not get care."

As a result, many here are already referring to Somalia's "lost generation."

"It will be very difficult to rehabilitate them and bring them back," said Wilhelm Huber, regional director of the aid group SOS-Kinderdorf, which runs a Mogadishu orphanage and one of the only functioning schools in the country. "Even their values will never be the same — family values, religious values, community values... With smaller children, it may be easier. With bigger children, it's not so easy. You have a big social disaster on your hands."

By Keith B. Richburg

"At some point, they will cross over from the innocent child to the hardened one," said Josie Clevenger, a paediatric nurse from Oakland, Calif., who volunteered to come here with the U.S.-funded International Medical Corps. "It's very easy for them to become the looters and the killers."

"They've lost a generation of their children," she said. "These kids are going to be illiterate, uneducated. They're living at the hospital because they have nowhere else to go. You see 11-year-olds walking around with guns bigger than they are — and shooting them off... We're not talking handguns like in the United States. We're talking rapid-fire."

Clevenger spent time on the Thai-Cambodian border as a nurse with the International Rescue Committee after Vietnam's Christmas invasion of 1978. She remembers the stories of children who saw their parents killed by the Khmer Rouge, children who became killers in Pol Pot's army. "Here it is again," Clevenger said. "It's kids with guns and cigarettes hanging out of their mouths."

In Cambodia, children affected by the Khmer Rouge's brutal 3-year rule and the war that ousted them from power revealed their feelings through crude drawings. Children in orphanages would take crayons and paper and sketch the most grisly scenes of evil men clad in black pajamas slaughtering helpless victims with bayonets and axes.

The children of Somalia, it appears, are following much the same pattern. Teresa Hinkle, an American nurse who has worked here in the capital and in Baidoa, said that when she gives paper to children in the hospitals, they instantly draw the weapons of war — guns with detailed markings, and the omnipresent land cruisers straight

out of the movie "Mad Max," their tops chopped off and their beds rigged with cannon or heavy anti-tank guns.

"I give them paper, but I can't get them to draw anything other than a weapon," Hinkle said. "We've got to get them interested in something — a toy rather than an AK-47. A 5-year-old child here has seen more war, death and tragedy than any of these" aid workers from other countries.

Because even life's necessities are in short supply here, the children of Somalia make their own toys. And like their drawings, their toys bespeak the country's anarchy.

From old bedsprings, they make striking replicas of machine guns, down to the safety catches and identifying marks; for U.S.-made M-16s, they even include an American military insignia.

One group of children at Mogadishu's Digfer hospital used mud to duplicate walkie-talkies they see expatriate relief workers carrying. In Baidoa, the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, Smith Hempstone, bought from a little boy the wooden likeness of an AK-47, now on display in the ambassador's Nairobi home.

Hinkle said she became most aware of the problems that lie ahead for Somalia when she was dispatched from Mogadishu to the regional hospital at Baidoa. At a tea shop across the street from the hospital, she saw an angry teenager toting an AK-47, shouting at the waitresses and brimming with hostility. When asked about the weapon, the teen-ager said: "This is my best friend. This has been my best friend since I was 13. I sleep with this gun. I take this gun with me everywhere."

Rakiya Omaar, the Somali-born director of the London-based human rights group Africa Watch, said the effect of the long civil strife on children like that boy "is kind of the unspoken tragedy, next to the ones who died."

"I think the worst-affected are the 13-, 14-, 15-year-old boys especially," she said. "I think that generation is lost."

Even in the midst of such despair, however, some relief workers and Somalis said they see signs for optimism, if only in the resilience of children who have experienced unspeakable horror.

Outside the Red Cross compound in famine-stricken Baidoa five days ago, a group of children had found a ball and were playing soccer. They invited a foreign journalist to join them for a few passes. Afterward, a Somali translator named Adan Gedi Adan said, "When you see them playing football, there is a hope."

AFRICA BRIEFS



Compiled by
Quentin Wilson

South
Benin 19/9-23/9/92

TROOPS have put down a two-day mutiny led by the former deputy chief of the country's presidential guard. (1)

Captain Pascal Tawes and an estimated 60 followers fled without a fight as about 150 government paratroopers took back an army camp at Natitingou, northern Benin's second largest town.

Tawes, a northerner, is a former commander in the presidential guard. The force was dissolved after current President Nicephore Soglo defeated long-time dictator Mathieu Kerekou in a 1990 election.

WUCH blood has been shed since Somalia collapsed two years ago, but very little has been given.

In the operating theatres and clinics where gunmen and their victims are treated, there is a constant shortage of blood. Its donation is not part of the Somali culture.

But at Willy Huber's orphanage, it is not a problem. It is a place where foreign aid and Somali need have dovetailed, a little piece of heaven in the Horn of Africa's hell.

"We have a blood bank," says Italian Huber, the director of an orphanage and hospital which has operated — literally — in Somalia since 1984.

"All of our 400 employees have to give blood every three months. Elsewhere no Somali gives blood for anyone outside his family, and even then, very reluctantly.

"But our staff give it. We keep records of when it's their turn. It's a very positive development."

His SOS Kinderdorf, an Austrian-based charity, is, by common consent, a very positive development. It has never closed since it opened.

When faction fighting followed the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre 20 months ago, diplomats fled, aid agencies

A patch of heaven in hell

Salk 19/9-23/9/92

closed. But SOS stayed.

"We were never targeted. But there were gun emplacements all around us. There was constant shelling. Eight of our people were killed," says Huber.

The wards of his hospital were wall-to-wall filled with wounded from the streets of the capital.

"The kids — we have about 140 orphans — couldn't handle it. We couldn't keep them together in one place. It wasn't safe."

The charity runs an orphanage, a maternity centre with 3 000 deliveries a year, a school and children's hospital and a programme for victims of tuberculosis and a feeding programme.

It is situated close to the Green Line that divides the city into the fiefdoms of warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed and his rival, self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohamed.

It is a dangerous place. But step through the iron gates and normality reigns. There is no twisted metal

here, no gunmen, no broken glass or shell-pocked walls.

The buildings have permanent doors that shut comfortably with the click of steel on steel. Motherless children greet visitors with a smile and a handshake and a well-rehearsed English: "How are you, what is your name, where do you come from?"

There is the familiar clamour of children chanting lessons. The smell of capuccino mingles with the scent of bougainvillea.

Italian sisters in white uniforms smile beatifically like nuns on a weekend picnic in Tuscany.

Huber — young, tanned and relaxed — is the very opposite of the harried aid workers beyond his steel gates. They rush and sweat to plant their agencies flags on the Somali disaster. He beams.

An Italian businessman who fled entrusted him with a splendid boat for safekeeping. He towed it to the orphanage, installed a steering wheel and lets his orphans clamor

on it.

"When they guy comes back to claim it, he'll find it protected by 200 kids. Let's see how he gets on," says Huber.

SOS is a permanent structure. Most of the relief work in Somalia is band aid, a hastily-assembled collection of agencies trying to staunch a huge wound that Huber foresaw at the turn of the year.

"I went to Nairobi and talked to all the Western embassies and the non-governmental aid organisations on January 28 this year. I told them they needed UN troops and corridors of peace to deliver food.

"There was complete silence. They looked at me as if I was mad. It was like a classroom. Now, the UN troops are coming."

Fifty have arrived to monitor a ceasefire in force since March. Another 500 are due shortly and a total of 3 500 are expected, eventually.

"I'm not mad at the United Nations," says Huber, lines of anger registering on a boyish face. Many agencies say the UN acted too late.

"I'm angry at its member states. This is a man-made disaster. It's war that caused all this, not drought. And only men can solve it." — Sapa-Reuter

SA mounts biggest trade show

S(Time) (RUGS) 22/9/92

By ZILLA EFRAT

THE South African International Trade Exhibition (Saitex) — the largest international trade show to be staged in SA — will attract nearly 450 foreign exhibitors from more than 40 countries

Confirmed bookings have been received from 25 countries for space at the fair, which will be held in Johannesburg in October next year.

Saitex marketing manager Pep Joubert says the exhibition is being promoted in 96 countries and 480 000 invitations will be distributed.

SA is seen as a stepping stone to the African market and Saitex will bring buying missions to the show from 16 African countries, including Angola, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Madagascar.

Mr Joubert says the five-day show

will be of particular interest to SA visitors wanting to pick up import agencies or form joint ventures.

India has booked the largest exhibition space, followed by China, Brazil and Taiwan. Russia will be there and other CIS states have taken a combined stand.

Nowea International of Germany — the world's largest exhibition organiser — has booked space on behalf of 15 countries, which include all of SA's major trading partners.

Saitex is also expected to attract more than 400 SA companies which could boost the number of exhibitors to above 850. About 1 200 companies

usually take space at Saitex's consumer-oriented counterpart, the Rand Easter Show.

Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry Derek Keys says the objective of the exhibition is to promote trade between SA and the industrialised countries, as well as with the rest of Africa.

Mr Keys says SA has a wealth of products, services and technology to offer. The SA business community will have the opportunity to introduce products to international markets.

The exhibition will be divided into 12 industrial sectors, including mining, manufacturing, construction and information technology.

Mr Joubert says numerous trade missions visit SA on an ad hoc basis,

but Saitex aims to channel them into a single annual event.

Price Waterhouse Meyernel is organising a conference on trading opportunities in SA to run concurrently with the fair.

Mr Joubert says Saitex should play an important role in the future economy.

"Similar trade exhibitions in the Netherlands are responsible for 12,5% of that country's GNP," he says.

"Companies in Europe spend 25% to 35% of their advertising-promotion budget on trade exhibitions. SA companies spend less than 15%.

"Trade exhibitions are the most cost-effective marketing tool for companies wishing to enter new markets."

R1bn yearly for the new-look SA



HANS ENDERLE: Pioneer to continue expanding at the rate of two hotels a year for the next five years

Sol back on throne

By CHERILYN IRETON

ROLF Kerzner is back at the helm of Sun International. In a deal concluded this week, Sun International acquired a 50% stake in Mr Kerzner's foreign operation, World Leisure Management, paving the way for his return as chairman of the hotel and leisure group. The deal reunites much of the old Kerzner management team — separated when Mr Kerzner quit to head Royale resorts in 1987. The merged management will prepare for an assault on the international tourism market, says Mr Kerzner. Discussions are under way for the acquisition of a resort in the Caribbean. Mr Kerzner says: "It is a major transaction, but it is likely that negotiations will become final before the end of the year." Sun International will not

disclose the amount paid to Mr Kerzner for his half-share of WLM, saying it was not significant enough to warrant a formal announcement to shareholders. Mr Kerzner says: "The deal is significant from a growth point of view and because of the consolidation of management. If we can put some international deals together, with the combined financial backing of the two companies, then we will become an important global player."

The management reshuffle that follows the deal results in Saftren chief executive Buddy Hawton becoming deputy chairman. Sun International managing director Ken Rosevear will maintain control of the group's South-

ern African operations.

Peter Bacon, who was with WLM, has been appointed joint managing director and will take responsibility for Europe and the Indian Ocean operations, says a memo sent to executive staff this week.

Peter Venison, long-time right-hand man of Mr Kerzner, will be deputy managing director until early next year. He will return to Europe when the R300-million Lost City is up and running.

Mr Kerzner will continue to oversee the finishing touches to the project, but will focus more on international development.

SunBop managing director Peter Wagner will move to Sandton and become director of public affairs.

Mr Kerzner says it is non-

● To Page 3

THE African Development Bank (AfDB) is preparing to invest R1-billion annually in post-apartheid SA.

AfDB's Washington director Baelhadj Merghoub says the Abijan-based development institution will move swiftly once a transitional government has been installed. AfDB makes loans of \$3.5-billion annually to its 51 African members. It includes 17 non-African members such as the US, UK, China and France.

AfDB charges reasonable interest rates of 0.5% above its average borrowing rate in the preceding six months (at present 8%).

The triple-A bank provides its loans from finance raised on the capital markets of the US, Europe and Japan.

Mr Merghoub says: "We're extremely keen for SA to join the African family. SA has a contribution to make to the continent."

AfDB membership will depend on SA's becoming a member of the Organisation of African Unity. But this can happen immediately after a transitional arrangement has been reached.

"We're terribly disappointed at the recent lack of political progress."

Mr Merghoub says AfDB can play a role in stabilising SA, including dealing with economic disparities. It can also help an ostracised country "regain openness and competitiveness".

The AfDB's envisaged programme is ambitious, but SA has the capacity and the creditworthiness for a major loan programme.

AfDB has not quantified what loans SA might need, but Mr Merghoub suggests about \$300-million to \$400-million.

Housing

Nigeria is its largest borrower with new annual loans of between \$250-million to \$300-million.

Lending will not be the AfDB's only role in SA. Mr Merghoub sees it playing an active role in policy advice and research as well.

A total of 35% of AfDB's programmes are related to agriculture. Housing and infrastructural provision would also be important projects for SA.

AfDB has completed a 1000-page report on regional integration in Southern Africa. It will be sent to a steering committee before release.

Development Bank of Southern Africa chief executive Andre la Grange is on the committee.

AfDB makes loans of about \$500-million to \$800-million in Southern Africa.

Mr Merghoub says the report identifies the "substantial" benefits which should flow to the region from more harmonious relations after the collapse of apartheid.

Unlike some development money which is provided with painful conditions attached, AfDB's finance simply requires that a project comply with standards, such as safety and care for the environment.

AfDB also makes policy-



KEVIN DAVIE

Business Times Editor reports from Washington

based lending, but only in the context of World Bank-IMF-approved structural adjustment programmes.

Mr Merghoub says that in spite of Africa's economic problems, AfDB has a good record of payment from its members — "60% of the bank is owned by the borrowers, they have a vested interest in repaying".

AfDB has a good working relationship with the World Bank which co-finances some of its projects. The World Bank says the value of these projects more than tripled

from \$170-million in 1985 to \$525-million in 1991.

Its annual report says: "The two institutions have identified several key programmes and sectors such as women in development, private-sector development and regional economic integration to which they give particular concern."

"In addition the bank and AfDB will begin to co-ordinate their analytical and methodological approaches."

AfDB was formed in 1963 and allowed non-African members after 1982

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SYNDICATION PROPERTY	PERIOD ENDED
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* ROELAND PARK	29 Feb '9
* OLD OAK CENTRE	29 Feb '9
CINIBAR BUILDING	30 June '9
CITY HALL CENTRE	30 June '9
** ICS BUILDING	31 Aug '9
** CENTURION CENTRE	31 Aug '9
** STRAND STREET	31 Aug '9
** BSE CENTRE	31 Aug '9

* Audited Figures

** Proj

Considering the trading conditions we properties has been extremely satisfactory. I

THE United States airlift of food to Somalia and Kenya continued yesterday following the suspension of flights to one destination after an American cargo plane was hit by a stray bullet.

US personnel at a military base in Kenya's coastal city of Mombasa sent planes carrying food and supplies to the Somali towns of Baidoa and Hoddur and the northeastern Kenyan town of Wajir, according to Marine spokesman Lieutenant Brad Bartelt.

Lieutenant Bartelt said an American C-130 cargo plane had been struck by a stray bullet after it landed on a dirt airstrip at the western Somali town of Belet Huen on Friday.

He said the attack was not intentional, but it is being investigated.

Another Marine spokesman, Warrant Officer Hartman Slade, said there was no apparent gunbattle on or near the airstrip, but the "security situation on the ground deteriorated" as the plane was being unloaded.

Looting

"The crew reported seeing a lot of people, a lot of guns, a lot of chaos. They just wanted to get the plane unloaded and get out," he said.

Guns have become commonplace in Somalia since the January 1991 overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

Widespread insecurity and banditry have severely hobbled international efforts to feed the country's starving millions. Some aid officials estimate that as much as half the 150 000 tons of supplies delivered to the Horn of Africa nation have been stolen.

The C-130 returned safely to Mombasa after unloading 10 tons of rice, len-

STimes 20/9/92
From Didrikke Schanche in Nairobi

tils and cooking oil for the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Marine Brigadier-General Frank Libutti temporarily suspended the Belet Huen airlift until the situation in the dusty outpost near Ethiopia's border had calmed down.

The Americans began delivering food to Belet Huen on August 28 for the Red Cross, which says it is caring for 200 000 people in the area.

Red Cross officials at regional headquarters in Nairobi said the agency had already decided to suspend the airlift because of deteriorating security in Belet Huen.

Clans

Belet Huen is one of dozens of sites in Somalia where the Red Cross is feeding and caring for people in an effort to help stem deaths caused by a famine that already has killed more than 100 000 people.

Disputes among rival clans in the village have forced the Red Cross to suspend its airlift several times since it began early

US continues aid flights after stray bullet hits plane

this year, said spokesman Gregoir Tavernier.

Meanwhile, in a move unrelated to the airlift, American troops are expected off Somalia within 10 days to provide logistical support for 500 United Nations troops deployed to protect relief food from looting gunmen.

A US naval group of four ships is now in the Indian Ocean, according to Major

Marc Martens at US Central Command in Florida.

The flotilla carries 2 400 US Marines and Air Force commandos.

Although officials say the American operation is limited to offshore control and communications functions for the UN troops, the presence of US military hardware is sure to trouble Somali warlords who do not approve of UN troops in their country.

African countries queue for help from SA

ADAM 21/9/92

OBTAINING computers for the Sudanese government, increasing the size of midget Comores cattle and training dagga-detecting dogs for Mozambique. These are some of the projects SA's Foreign Affairs Department has involved itself in recently.

Operating with a technical and financial aid budget of R25,4m, the department's Africa branch was involved in 116 projects in 20 countries in the past financial year, a spokesman said at the weekend.

More than half the money went to Angola, mostly for feeding schemes, with the next biggest beneficiaries all in southern

(1)
PETER DELMAR

Africa. Other aid recipients were Equatorial Guinea, Cape Verde, Togo, Sao Tome, Zaire, Gabon, Sudan, Seychelles, Mauritius, Nigeria and Madagascar.

Formerly hostile countries were queuing up for help from SA, the spokesman said. These included Rwanda, Chad, Congo and Guinea Bissau.

The perception existed, he said, that SA could supply virtually all of the continent's needs. However, as needs inside SA required priority attention, there was little

likelihood of the department's African aid budget being increased.

The spokesman said SA's carefully targeted projects mostly shared SA expertise with other African countries.

Often there were tangible benefits for SA, such as the provision of computer equipment to Sudanese government departments. This had cost just R43 000, but had played an important role in securing overflying rights for SAA.

In the Comores, government experts had helped increase the size of the island republic's undersized cattle.

lems with getting Maastricht approved, the Danish as well," Mr Dankert said.
"I think the one big advan-

ter João de Deus Pinheiro welcomed the result but said the EC had to involve ordinary people more in its decision-making. — Sapa-Reuter.

Airlift of UN guards to Somalia postponed

Stamp 2119192
MOGADISHU — The start of a US airlift of 440 armed United Nations guards to the Somali capital has been delayed for 24 hours, officials said yesterday.

A US diplomat in Mogadishu said reasons for the delay were not clear but preparations for the elaborate operation might not have been completed.

"Twenty men and a lot of cargo will come in today," said Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen, commander of UN forces in Somalia.

US planes are to make 21 flights into Mogadishu over the next week to bring in the Pakistani "blue helmets".

A vanguard of 60 troops arrived last week and have set up camp on the edge of the derelict airport as part of an operation to stop bandits plundering relief supplies.

International aid efforts are still failing to reach many of the 4.5 million Somalis faced with starvation.

In a bid to raise world concern for Somalia's plight, film actress and UN goodwill ambassador Audrey Hepburn was due to fly to Mogadishu after visiting the southern port of Kismayu.

Relief agencies say the UN troops are vital to protect aid workers and relief convoys from bandits and clan militias who have torn Somalia apart since rebels overthrew dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January last year.

On Friday, US military flights of desperately needed food to the central town of Belet Huen were suspended after a bullet hit an American C-130 cargo plane. — Sapa-AP.

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African economies 'improving under IMF terms'

Blomby 22/9/92. ① ②

WASHINGTON — African countries implementing IMF structural adjustment programmes were showing "heartening" improvements in economic performance, IMF officials said yesterday.

Assessing the status of IMF enhanced structural adjustment facilities (Esaf) in sub-Saharan Africa, fund technical officials said positive progress was being made. Since the establishment of the facilities in March 1986, 27 countries had benefited from IMF-endorsed programmes.

A comparison of average economic performance by beneficiary countries in the three years preceding Esaf adoption with performance during implementation of the programmes had shown improve-

SIMON WILLSON

ments in several key areas.

Average annual economic growth had risen from 2% to 3,6%. Savings ratios — the proportion of personal disposable incomes saved had risen from an average 6% to 9%. The fund regards low levels of saving as one of Africa's most critical problems and, notwithstanding the intermittent reliability of some of the national data, officials are taking particular pride in the recovery of average savings ratios — even if from a very low base.

Current account deficits as a proportion of national income of adjusting countries had dipped by one percentage point on average, the IMF data revealed.

This improvement in the adjusting countries' external positions owed much to an average annual growth in imports of only 3% over the three-year adjusting period. When set against average economic growth of 3,6% for the period, the imports growth figure showed a "reassuring" decline in import elasticity (the proportion of additional national income spent on imports), officials said.

The adjusting countries began their adjustment effort with very weak foreign reserve positions, averaging fewer than two months' import cover. During the period of Esaf implementation, average import cover has risen to 2,5 months.

The budget deficits of the adjusting countries as a proportion of

GDP have fallen on average by one percentage point during the Esaf period, while the countries' average inflation rate eased by two percentage points.

The only key macroeconomic area not to show a perceptible improvement over the adjustment period was the average debt service ratio (the proportion of export earnings diverted into foreign debt repayments).

This had remained steady at around 60%, the officials said.

But, they added, cold statistics on gross foreign debt exaggerated African countries' net foreign debt burden, for failing to take into account the actual cash payments made after debt relief and rescheduling concessions from creditors.

No one listens to the Third World

WASHINGTON — A monetary turmoil of world proportions and a key vote on European unification in France are hitting poor nations on two fronts.

On one hand, the currency debacle that has left the European Monetary System in shreds is undermining developing nations' efforts at overcoming poverty, famine and debt crises.

On the other, Sunday's French vote on European unification took centre stage at the IMF-World Bank annual meeting, muffling the poor nations' calls for attention to their plight.

"Turmoil in industrial countries is devaluing our assets," Mohamad Imady of Syria, the first chairman of the Group of 24 developing countries, told a weekend press conference.

"It is affecting the terms of trade," he complained.

The plight of the Third World will be further pressed forward at a meeting of the Development Committee, a grouping that brings together 22 poor

and rich countries.

Their problems are many. First and foremost, a drought-related famine is wreaking havoc in East Africa. In Somalia alone, two million people could starve to death unless they get urgent international help.

The G24 urged Western nations to "provide adequate financial flows to ... improve their prospects for sustainable growth, poverty reduction, environmental protection, and the resolution of the debt crisis."

Officials voiced concern that the fallout from the crisis — weaker currencies and tighter budgets in Europe — would end up in cutbacks in aid for the world's poor.

The developing world is also concerned that their needs will be shunted aside in the rush by rich nations to help Russia and the other former members of the Soviet bloc.

The French "yes" to Maastricht might return some calm to the markets and eventually translate into re-

newed attention to Third World problems. But it took place during the IMF-World Bank conference, robbing poor nations of a prime chance to publicise their cause.

"This is all we needed," commented a Latin American official referring to the combination of a monetary crisis and a vote in France.

"This is the wrong place and the wrong time to come to ask for help," he added.

Still, and just in case anyone was hearing, the G24 asked industrial nations for "substantial debt cancellation and provision of adequate new financing ... to deal effectively with the interrelated problems of growth and debt."

Other problems such as a slow and uneven recovery of world output, the deceleration of global savings and the weak growth of world trade in 1992 are also making a dent on poor nations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Egypt bursting at its ancient seams

Star 22/9/92

The population explosion in Egypt has reached critical proportions, writes NEIL MOORHOUSE for The Star Africa Service in Cairo.

BY THE turn of the century the day will come when Egyptians will begin to eat each other, a prominent Egyptian writer said recently, commenting on the country's population explosion. Last month, it was announced that Egypt could now boast a population of 58 million, an increase of 1 million in just nine months.

The statistics of the country's population growth would be less startling if it were not for the fact that 99 percent of the population live on about 4 percent of the land, the narrow, fertile strip that lines the Nile River.

Cairo has absorbed a fifth of the country's population. The 1 023-year-old capital, built to accommodate 1.5 million people, is now bursting at its seams with an estimated population of 12 million. Another 2 to 3 million commute in and out of the city each day. Over-

crowding in Cairo is far too evident.

Yet more disconcerting for the authorities is the maintenance of the city's services and infrastructure. Many of the severely densely populated areas have water and electricity for only two hours a day. Lack of space encourages the building of extra floors on top of existing apartment blocks, usually structurally unsound. Schools are so overcrowded that they work in the morning and afternoon shifts.

What has contributed to the overcrowding in Cairo and the breakdown of the city's infrastructure are the rural poor who have migrated to the capital in search of a job and better standard of living. Many have built ramshackle, infor-

mal houses. Architects suggest that these shanties, built illegally to avoid tortuous bureaucracy, now accommodate the bulk of the city's population.

More than 500 000 people now live in the tombs of the City of the Dead, a medieval cemetery. Authorities have sought to ease the appalling living conditions by providing electricity and water.

In a bid to ease the seething population crisis in the capital, authorities have built huge modern satellite cities in Cairo's hinterland, designed to absorb population growth.

Fewer than a tenth of the projected number have moved into the settlements. Sadat City was commissioned more than 10 years ago to be

Egypt's sparkling new capital. Officials say only about 10 000 people have moved there so far.

According to the Kuwaiti publication, New Arabia, Cairo has 27 642 people per square kilometre. At that density, the entire population of the world would fit into the American state of California with room to spare.

The population explosion has implications outside Cairo. The Nile Valley is one of the most fertile areas in the world. But its meagre size means that Egypt now has to import much of its foodstuffs. This means that the country needs to generate income by relying more, for example, on tourism and receipts from Egyptians working abroad.

By the year 2025, a United Nations report says, Egypt's population will reach 90.4 million. With a rate of increase between 2 and 3 percent a year, it has one of the highest population growths in the world. On average a baby is born every 30 seconds. In the last 120 years, the population has increased by 300 percent while the arable area has increased by only 16 percent during the same period.

The population growth continues in spite of efforts to raise family planning awareness. In 1986 a "population clock" was added to the nightly news bulletin.

President Hosni Mubarak has sought to boost family planning by setting up the National Population Council in 1985. It was supposed to meet quarterly, but other, more pressing issues have distracted the president's attention. □

Food for Somali children cut off

① STAR 22/9/92

MOGADISHU — Clan fighting in southern Mogadishu has cut food supplies to thousands of starving children for more than a month and many may have died from hunger.

David Shearer of Britain's Save the Children Fund said yesterday that uncontrolled fighting in the Medina district had prevented aid workers reaching two feeding centres for 3 500 children for nearly five weeks.

Last week gunmen threatened to shoot a foreign aid worker trying to enter the area with a food convoy.

Gunmen of the Habre Gedir and Hawadle clans have surrounded members of the Abgal and Murusade clans in a maze of streets.

Aid workers said the fighting had sputtered on despite a five-month-old UN-brokered truce in the city.

A Medecins Sans Frontieres doctor who works at the Medina hospital said that between five and 10 people wounded in the fighting arrived for treatment each day.

Ethnic feuding has killed thousands since rebels ousted dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January last year.

Abgal warlord Ali Mahdi Mohammed, who is holed up in the northern district of Karan, last week accused Habre Gedir gunmen of slaughtering 120 people in southern Mogadishu on September 9.

Unconfirmed reports by Ali Mahdi aides said in one incident Habre Gedir gunmen stopped a bus at a checkpoint and forced the passengers to recite their family trees — the way Somalis identify their clan.

They said 33 Abgals were herded into a derelict building and shot dead.

"We heard about these allegations and we're trying to confirm them," said UN commander Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen.

On Sunday, freelance gunmen in heavily armed vehicles looted sacks of beans and sorghum just outside the capital.

No attempt was made to hide the looting, and guards on the food trucks bantered with the gunmen.

UN officials have appealed again to local warlords to help curb the lawlessness that is hindering the shipments of food. — Sapa-
Reuter-AP.



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Desmond Colborne asks if Africa, and South Africa, are being written off

Key question for 'lost continent'

WHEN will Afro-optimists brighten up and stop seeing Africa as a "lost continent" of conflict and catastrophe? This question is vital for South Africa, too often seen these days as going the African way: down the tube. It is also a question important to France which, of all countries outside Africa, is still most involved in the affairs of our continent.

Africa now represents only about two percent of the world's economic product and two percent of its trade, attracting less than three percent of international investment. What a change from the '60s when a country like Ghana produced as much as South Korea and when decolonisation catapulted leaders like Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Senghor on to the world scene. But in those days Africa in general, and South Africa in particular, was not only a question of

conscience but a source of wealth.

These days, Africa as a whole is seen as a source of problems, AIDS and unwanted immigrants. It has been well and truly marginalised, relegated to the sidelines. But less so in France than elsewhere. There are still 8,000 French soldiers based in Africa, the economies of francophone African countries are part of the France zone and francophone leaders attach great importance to their annual summit meeting with France — one is due next month, in Gabon. Last week in France meanwhile, Africa was again, as in the "good old days", enjoying more attention. A number of television programmes and a big conference of Africanists, in the French Senate (involving senior officials, officers, professors, analysts and businessmen) focused on Africa. Even in France, such a focus is, nowadays, unusual. Too many

other questions are in the forefront and Africa is out of sight.

And when Africa is in the news these days, it is more and more as a disaster zone. Charities ring the alarm bell over Somalia today and perhaps the drought in the south tomorrow.

Even the dramatic events in the Cisken attracted only the briefest flurry of media interest, and the story, outside Britain, was hardly ever in the headlines or on the front pages. As a story, it faded fast. Europe's attention span for African affairs is becoming shorter and shorter.

So the one-and-a-half day conference in the French Senate was an unusual opportunity to reflect on Africa's destiny and provide some well-meaning advice. Here are some of the conclusions reached.

(1) Time horizons have to be expanded. 30 years is a blink of an

eye in the history of Africa, the birthplace of the human race. So the failure of the post-decolonisation period is hardly conclusive.

(2) Africa has been geopolitically devolved by the end of the cold war. It is no longer of particular interest ideologically, diplomatically or economically.

(3) African economic development has lagged far behind that of the other parts of the developing world. "Asia is an antheap — at work. Africa is an antheap — at rest."

(4) Africa's capacity for economic development? A much talked about book by a young Cameroonian woman, Axelle Kabou, is titled "And If Africa refuses to develop?" At times there seems to be almost a "repulsion" towards productive investment. Dependency hang-ups and cargo cults abound — they have to go. A former Senegalese Cabinet Minister quoted

SA 22/9/92



①



Senghor: "As long as we Africans don't think for ourselves, we will become increasingly dependent on the outside world."

(5) For economic growth to resume, the economy should go private and the state should go public. The state too often served private interests and should be "nationalised", while the economy needed privatisation.

(6) Aid was now conditional, depending on economic and political progress in recipient countries. A French Cabinet Minister has even spoken about "the right to interfere."

(7) Although the Organisation of African Unity was somewhat discredited, there had to be more inter-African solidarity. African economic spaces had to be enlarged, as in the rest of the world. Regionalism is an increasingly important factor.

(8) There should not be exaggerated expectations about South Africa's role. Apart from current political problems, its economic capacity in world terms is modest, with a gross national product only half the size of Austria's. Development at home would take priority. If however, a major problem for Africa was marginalisation, South Africa could combat this, as a major hub, linking southern Africa to Europe, Asia and elsewhere. But South Africa could not go it alone. As an engine of growth, it needed petrol (investments, trade) to keep going. As a gateway to the region, it should be part of trilateral arrangements. Would France, as the country outside Africa with the biggest investment there, cooperate more with South Africa in the broader interests of the continent? □

● Desmond Colborne is Paris Director of the South Africa Foundation.

focus on Africa

PPRIVATE enterprise has long been recognised as a key factor in the development process in Africa.

Owners of capital innovate and assume risks. They employ hundreds of people and manage large labour forces. They open up markets.

They find new combinations of materials and products. They initiate change and facilitate adjustment in dynamic economies.

Yet, private business ownership has been played down in many African countries over the past 30 years. In part this has occurred because indigenous entrepreneurs were presumed to be scarce and foreign businesses were distrusted.

During his visit to South Africa Harare-based manager of Africa Project Development Facility (APDF) World Bank Mr Omari Issa put it aptly: "We have demonstrated that African entrepreneurs are plentiful."

Earlier, the belief was that African men/women were confined to the informal sector. In a short period of time, APDF has confirmed the existence of small and medium-sized businesses that are owned by Africans.

Sowetan and Development Bank of Southern Africa last week presented a three-day summit that focused on Business and Entrepreneurial Development in Africa.

Participants were African entrepreneurs; Commercial and Development Finance Bankers; International Finance and Development Agencies; Representatives of the APDF; liberation movements and chambers of commerce.

The conference focused on how indigenous African entrepreneurs could work together and promote/cultivate the spirit of competitive business on the continent.

APDF general manager Mr Alexander Keyserlingk said as soon as a political settlement was reached in South Africa "we will enter with the aim to help business people".

After his visit to some of Soweto's entrepreneurs, he said there was a great potential for business to create jobs and wealth.

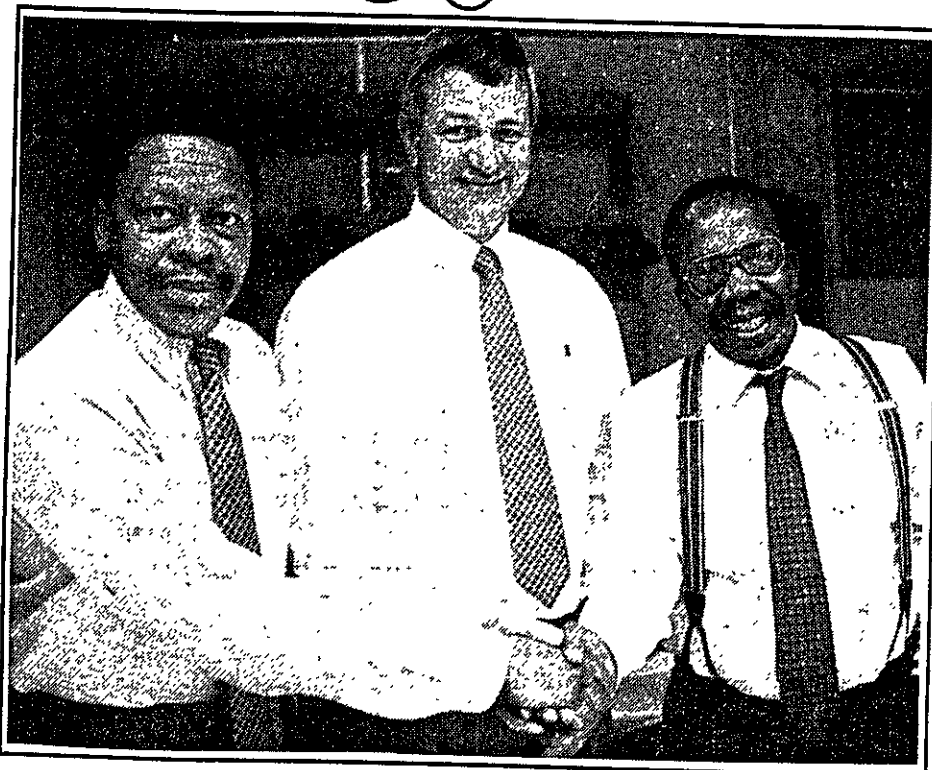
"This shows that Africans are genuine entrepreneurs. The success of many businesses depends directly upon a climate supportive of vigorous small businesses.

"APDF, by assisting African entrepreneurs in taking advantage of new opportunities, contributes substantially to the creation of that nurturing business environment and the new jobs that are an important consequence."

The conference outlined the problems encountered by African entrepreneurs in obtaining debt and equity financing.

This problem was appropriately put by SBDC general manager Mr Jo Schwenke when he said: "In South Africa we have a dilemma that many businesses cannot be viable with high gearing while those same businesses would do moder-

Sowetan 23/9/92.
Private enterprise has only received lip service in Africa, says **Joshua Raboroko**, who reports on the **Sowetan/Development Bank SA summit** on business and entrepreneurial development in Africa:



Mike Mohohlo and Frans van Rensburg of the Development Bank meet Sowetan Day Editor Thami Mazwal. The three organised the three day conference.

ately well if financed with equity.

To solve this problem, he said, it was proposed that the Government each year for five years grant R2 billion, which would be invested into properly constituted development venture capital funds.

The role and importance of promoting more African women entrepreneurs were highlighted by women who have a long tradition of commercial activity in the African private sector.

Businesswoman Mrs Mokgadi Tlakula said women grew more than half the food produced in the world; yet governments and aid programmes tended to exploit their labour without supporting it, maintaining it, or enhancing it.

She said black women could not hold title to land, married women were not legally capable of entering contracts without the consent of their

husbands.

For example, she said, rural black women in the Northern Transvaal have carved a niche in making candles, making clothes, producing food, making sweets, vaseline, bricks, building latrines and houses, baking cakes, bread, selling liquor and achaar.

Eventually, she added, they would capture some of the business and make it their own, the only thing was that competition was unfair.

She urged the Government and industrialists to consider giving contracts to women.

The conference felt a massive affirmative action must be embarked upon by the corporate world business.

Premier Group chief executive Mr Peter Wrighton said many companies had affirmative action on their agenda.

Food aid aborted to protect workers

■ **SLOW RELIEF** Workers fight losing battle against banditry as efforts to feed starving Somalians are thwarted: (1)

MOGADISHU - Rising clan tensions, heavy looting and unsafe runways in rural Somalia yesterday forced aid workers to seek safety in one town, cancel food airlifts to a second and slow down relief flights to two others.

The developments were a major setback for international relief efforts to feed Somalia's starving. More than 100 000 people have died from the effects of drought and warfare and another 2 million are threatened.

The incidents left airlifts continuing only to Mogadishu and the small central towns of Sacowain and Uegit, where the UN World Food Programme has been delivering food for a week.

Food supplies and deliveries draw bandits like magnets and instances of banditry and looting have increased with intensified efforts to address the catastrophe, officials said.

Clan clashes, banditry and chaos have been rife there since the January 1991 ouster of dictator Mohamed Siad

Barre, with at least a score of relief workers killed and wounded trying to alleviate the nation's suffering. Some aid officials estimate as much as half the 165 000 tons of food delivered to Somalia this year has been stolen.

The main body of a 500-strong armed UN force from Pakistan began arriving on Monday, charged with preventing similar attacks at Mogadishu's port and airport. The entire force, being airlifted by US military planes, is expected to arrive by Friday. Sapa-AP.

Altech lands Central African deal

SA telecommunications group Altech said yesterday it had signed a contract which could result in orders of R34m from the Central African republic of Burundi.

The initial contract — to supply a radio-based rural telecommunications system — is worth R7m and will be funded by the World Bank. The company believes an expansion of the system will bring in additional contracts worth R27m.

Altech group executive Keith Crosby said the contract had been obtained in the face of strong foreign competition. It was the company's first participation in a

DUMA GQUBULE World Bank tender and its first major contract in Central Africa.

The radio-based phone system, Ruritel, is already used in mountainous areas in southern Africa.

Crosby had been impressed by Central African telecommunications authorities' positive attitudes towards establishing commercial and technical links with SA.

The Altech group recently announced it was to embark on a major export drive into sub-Saharan Africa.

810007 23/9/82

Central African Republic ①

AN estimated 100 000 people attended the funeral of an opposition leader killed last month when soldiers broke up an anti-government demonstration.

The funeral followed a one-day general strike and the start of a three-day doctor's strike, both called to protest against the beating to death of Jean-Claude Conjugo Bathomas, a leading member of the Alliance for Democracy and Progress.

South 1919-23/7/92
The Confederation of Democratic Forces (CDF), which sponsored the protest, has rejected the government's announcement of an official investigation into Bathomas' death. The CDF want an international inquiry instead.

Refugees flood Ethiopia ①

ADDIS ABABA - More than 100 war-weary and hungry Sudanese refugees are streaming into Ethiopia every day after a two-month trek, a United Nations official said yesterday. Sudan 23/9/92

"They arrive in very bad shape, half-naked or in rags and suffering from extreme hunger, fatigue and despair," Marwan Khoury of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees said. He said the refugees from the small Uduk tribe were fleeing civil war in southern Sudan to find sanctuary at Gambella, a riverside village on Ethiopia's south-west border.

Drought brings hunger and misery

SPM 23/9/92

MORE THAN half the population of southern Africa — from Angola in the west to Mozambique in the east — is on the brink of starvation.

Health workers on the sub-continent fear that if good rains do not fall soon, tens of thousands of malnourished people, particularly the very old and young, could die from diseases ranging from gastro-enteritis to pneumonia.

Thousands are surviving on the roots of plants and many have to walk kilometres in search of water.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which is co-ordinating relief work in the region, has figures which show that 18.1 million people in 10 countries south of the equator — excluding South Africa — are now dependent on food aid. Without it, death would be inevitable.

In South Africa, Operation Hunger alone feeds 2.2 million people, pushing the figure to more than 20 million.

ICRC regional disaster prepariness delegate Dr Alise Holloway said from Harare this week that half the population of Zimbabwe — about 4.6 million — were receiving food aid. However, the government had

More than 20 million people in southern Africa are dependent on food aid and if good rains do not fall soon, many could die. Economic reforms are needed to pre-empt droughts, writes WINNIE GRAHAM.

been forced to cut basic food rations from 15 kg of maize meal a month to 3 kg.

The position in Malawi, where 3.7 million people could not survive without assistance, was no better. In Mozambique another 3.2 million were starving in Zambia 1.7 million and in Angola 1.4 million, she said.

The problem in Tanzania, where 500 000 needed help, was not as acute. According to the ICRC 250 000 people in Namibia 75 000 in Swaziland and 170 000 in Lesotho needed aid.

"Botswana is probably the least affected of southern African countries, probably because it does not have an agricultural based economy," Dr Holloway said. "Just 100 000 people need assistance there."

She believed the worst effects of the drought had yet to be felt. Subsistence farmers, who usually grew enough maize for their own needs and a little extra for cash, had had a crop failure two years in a row, leav-

ing families without food reserves or money.

"People are now being forced to sell their draught animals. When the rains come they will have no means of ploughing their fields," she said.

People in the rural areas were sending their children to town so that family and urban dwellers with jobs were sending food parcels to family members.

"We are not in a Somalia situation — yet. But there are bad months ahead. It is difficult to know if anyone has actually died of starvation. Hunger makes people weak and susceptible to all kinds of diseases."

Dr Holloway said drought relief programmes were expensive. About R2 billion would be spent during the next year simply keeping people alive.

Economic reforms in most southern African countries were desperately needed so that similar disasters could be averted

in future.

"Donors cannot be expected to keep finding money for people starving in Africa. We all know the drought is likely to be repeated. The kind of money being spent on relief would have an enormous impact if similar amounts could be used for drilling boreholes, building clinics and improving housing," Dr Holloway said.

The drought situation in South Africa is considered "far worse than anticipated" by Operation Hunger executive director Ina Perjan. She described field trips as "journeys of discovery into previously uncharted depths of misery, human suffering and want".

Yet South Africa was better off than other countries in the region, mainly because hunger relief was being linked to long-term development.

Mrs Perjan said: "It has been a hard 12 months and the next 12 can only be worse. I believe our determination to have rapid-response structures in place when the early-warning lights started flashing in January have paid off. But even if it rains in October, there is no such thing as an instant crop. People will still need help, at least until February 1993 at the earliest." □



Feeding the starving . . . Transvaal youngsters receive food aid from Operation Hunger.

Malagasy jitters as voters poised to pick new leader

STAR 23/9/92

①

HAVING rejected federalism in favour of a unitary state in a referendum last month, Madagascar's voters are preparing to go to the polls again in a presidential election.

The new unitary constitution was approved by a 3-2 majority in the referendum which saw more than 70 percent of the 6 million voters turn out.

In the week preceding the voting, several of Madagascar's provincial towns proclaimed their opposition to the referendum and announced they were in favour of a federal system for the country.

Although the federalists succeeded in disrupting polling in about 300 districts nationwide, the total number of voters prevented from voting was less than 2 percent of the total. However, the go-ahead for a new unitary constitution does not necessarily mean that any improvement in Madagascar's unstable economy and government is in sight.

Like many African nations, Madagascar's political evolution in 1992 has involved a struggle between an old regime and a new opposition. Unlike many that had socialist regimes, however, Madagascar has never been a one-party state. Even so, President Didier Ratsiraka has shown little inclination to hand over complete power to his opponents.

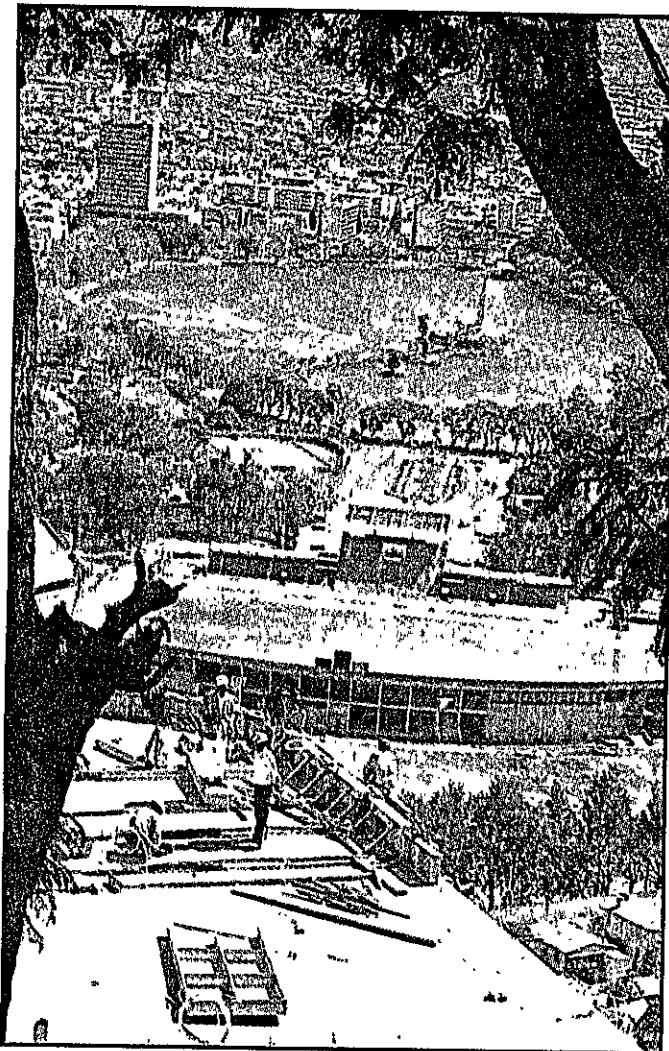
The August referendum was the climax of a year in which the transitional government wrested control of the State from Mr Ratsiraka. The ratification of the referendum on August 29 means that the country must now prepare for presidential elections within 60 days.

Mr Ratsiraka has already registered as a presidential candidate. So far 12 other candidates have put down their names, including Rafine Tsiranana, grand-daughter of Madagascar's first president, Philibert Tsiranana.

Civil disorder in provincial towns in the run-up to the referendum indicates that the road to the Third Republic may be a bumpy one.

The men who forced Mr Ratsiraka to hand over control of the country's bureaucracy and legislature in November 1991 have been governing the coun-

A public referendum has rejected federalism in favour of a unitary state and set Madagascar on course for a presidential election. But there are fears of a coup, reports TIMOTHY ECOTT, Star Africa Service.



Holding thumbs . . . presidential elections may bring political stability to Madagascar and its picturesque and hilly capital, Antananarivo, whose central lake is shown here.

try under a cumbersome system known as the High Authority of State, known by its French initials Haute Autorite de l'Etat (HAE).

The figurehead of the HAE is the opposition coalition leader, Zafy Albert. He is joined by a Ratsiraka-appointed prime minister, Guy-Willy Razanamsy. Between them they campaigned wholeheartedly to convince Malagasy voters not to listen to federalist demands for a boycott of the referendum.

When opposition to Mr Ratsiraka's autocratic government and his ruling Arema party first began in early 1991 it was a popular movement of poor citizens of Antananarivo who staged mass demonstrations against him. Led by religious groups and politicians in a grouping known as the Forces Vives, they staged huge demonstrations, involving up to a half a million people, demanding that Mr Ratsiraka resign.

They succeeded in paralysing

Madagascar's formal economy with a seven-month general strike, but Mr Ratsiraka would not resign. He did eventually agree to the transitional phase leading up to the August referendum.

During the intervening period the Forces Vives have squabbled among themselves and many Malagasy have become apathetic about their sincerity and ability.

South African investors expressed keen interest in Madagascar two years ago. They, like other foreigners, are now unwilling to invest in a country whose political future is still uncertain. According to Ray Fergusson, managing director of South African Trade Promotions in Madagascar, there is no new trade between the two countries.

A new president might stimulate the economy. On the other hand it has been suggested that Mr Ratsiraka has enough loyalty from coastal regions to make a good showing in the coming elections. If he wins, it is unlikely the opposition in the capital will accept him. If such a stalemate arises, many Malagasy fear that the army, neutral until now, might be forced to mount a coup d'etat.

Whether an election or a new president will do anything to hasten the recovery of Madagascar's crumbling economy is uncertain. The world's fourth largest island, twice the size of France and home to just 12 million inhabitants, is ranked among the poorest dozen nations in the world.

And yet the "island continent" is rich in natural resources, mainly timber, chrome, vanilla and coffee. Once a net exporter of rice, the island now imports it. State monopolies have made private enterprise in Madagascar rule-bound and inefficient.

Above all, the country's infrastructure is in a poor state. Massive investment in roads, railways and port facilities is needed to make export trade more viable.

In the run-up to the presidential elections, a devaluation of the Malagasy franc of up to 20 percent is expected. Such a move is likely to make life for the ordinary people harder than ever. □

Key role in relieving agony of Africa

By David Canning

NEW YORK — South Africa had a key role to play in relieving "the agony of Africa, and of its own people," Conrad Strauss, chairman of Standard Bank, said at a National Foreign Trade Council Foundation seminar here. *STAN 24/9/92*

He said that while there naturally were fears that SA would dominate its neighbours, many opportunities for mutually-beneficial co-operation were opening up between it and other countries in the region.

Trade with Africa had grown by 25 percent a year in recent years.

While there was a strong imbalance in favour of South Africa, there also was considerable scope for correcting that problem. South Africa could benefit, for example, from some of Africa's resources like water and potential electricity generation.

Multi-nationals were increasingly using SA as the logical entry point for doing business with the continent, as it had the only really viable first world economy in Africa.

It accounted for a third of the

continent's trade and its infrastructure was being developed to facilitate linkages with Africa.

"If you put South Africa into the Southern Africa Development Conference, it would have 70 to 75 percent of the combined GDP."

The next most important country would be Angola, with eight percent, and then Zimbabwe, with six percent.

Nigeria, often described as the giant of Africa with three times South Africa's population, had a GDP only one third the

size of South Africa's — \$32 billion against SA's \$102 billion.

Financial sanctions in a sense had produced a positive spin-off in helping South Africa to establish a sound external balance sheet.

The debt service ratio was only about six or seven percent and foreign debt at \$18 billion was 17 percent of GDP and 65 percent of exports.

In comparison, the Australian debt service ratio was 42 percent and debt, as a percentage of exports, was 240 percent.

Moi to send Somalis home ①

NAIROBI - Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi has announced plans to send Somali refugees back to Somalia where he said the United Nations would be able to help them, newspapers reported yesterday.

Moi was addressing a rally in Mandera, on the Somali border. About 50 000 refugees from war and famine in Somalia are camped on the outskirts of Mandera, a town of about 20 000 people.

About 330 000 Somali refugees have flooded into Kenya in the 19 months since Somalia's former ruler Mohamed Siad Barre was overthrown and the arid Horn of Africa country collapsed into civil strife and anarchy, a spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said in Nairobi. *Sowetan 24/9/92*

300 executed in Sudan ¹ report

STAN 24/9/92

LONDON — Government forces in Sudan have deliberately killed at least 300 unarmed civilians and prisoners in the besieged southern city of Juba, Amnesty International said in a report in London yesterday.

Hundreds of southern Sudanese soldiers, police and prominent civilians had also been arrested, apparently on suspicion of sympathising with the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), Amnesty said.

"Many of those detained appear to have 'disappeared' and, with reports of bodies seen floating in the White Nile, there is considerable concern that detainees have been secretly and extra-judicially executed," it said.

The executions followed intense fighting between government forces besieged in Juba and the SPLA.

There were reports of soldiers stopping civilians in the streets, interrogating and then shooting them, and of

night-time executions and torture in detention centres in Juba, Amnesty said.

The army had also burnt down some of the most densely populated housing in the city to create "free-fire zones", as a result of which more than 100 000 people had been reduced to squatting in "appalling" conditions.

"The Sudanese government is allowing its forces to exercise a flagrant disregard for human rights," Amnesty said. — Sapa-AFP.

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Africa helps Congo cash-flow

Sowetan 25/9/92 (1)

■ Congolese civil servants paid - first time in five months:

BRAZZAVILLE- Congo's new government has begun giving the country's 80 000 civil servants their first salaries in five months. The Banque Commerciale Congolaise (BCC) opened especially to pay them.

Payment of August salaries has been made possible by a loan of six billion CFA francs (23,7 million dollars) from the Banque des Etats d'Afrique Centrale and a further sum from an unspecified source.

Oil and ordinary income has furnished the treasury with three billion CFA francs (11,8 million dollars), the payments began on Wednesday.

President Pascal Lissouba, elected

last August 16, pledged that August salaries would be paid and that he would negotiate a timetable for the payment of May, June, July and September wages with unions.

Lissouba promised payment of salaries in future but yesterday it was unclear how he would manage it. Government workers' wages total 13 billion CFA francs (51,3 million dollars) monthly and state income is just over half that.

BCC counters had been closed for two weeks because of liquidity problems. A government plan to restructure the bank cuts 40 percent of its staff of 600. - Sapa-AFP

Human suffering worse than holocaust of last war

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2579/92

■ Somalia is the worst human catastrophe in living memory says Hepburn:

NAIROBI - Actress Audrey Hepburn broke down and wept yesterday after a nightmare visit to Somalia which she termed more harrowing than the suffering she saw in Europe during World War 2.

"In Somalia's second port of Kismayu, all the babies had gone, al-

most no infants. Mogadishu is totally destroyed," Hepburn told a news conference in the Kenyan capital Nairobi.

"I saw more suffering in Somalia than in Europe during World War 2 - with all the horrifying torture, starvation, atrocities in German camps and exploitation," said Hepburn, the United Nations good-

will ambassador for children.

Hepburn said there was still hope of saving Somalia's famished millions: "Since I survived five years of torturous life in the Europe of World War 2, there must always be hope for the world's wretched. - Sapa-Reuter.

Refugees to be repatriated

NAIROBI: Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi has announced plans to send Somali refugees back to Somalia where he said the United Nations would be able to help them. Some 50 000 refugees from war and famine in Somalia are camped on the outskirts of Mandera, a border town of about 20 000 people. Meanwhile, in rural Somalia, rising clan tensions, heavy looting, rain and unsafe runways forced aid workers to seek safety in one town, cancel food airlifts to a second and dramatically slow relief flights to two others. *w/mem 25/7 -1110192*

Sudanese flee to Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA: More than 100 war-weary and hungry Sudanese refugees are streaming into Ethiopia every day after a two-month trek, a United Nations official said this week.

"They arrive in very bad shape, half-naked or in rags and suffering from extreme hunger, fatigue and despair," Marwan Khoury of the UN's High Commission for Refugees said.

The refugees were fleeing civil war in southern Sudan to find sanctuary at Gambella, on Ethiopia's southwest border. Sapa-AP-AFP-Reuter

SA man leads bid to revive ravaged farms

STimes 27/9/92

①

SOUTH African Alex Wilson was flipping through the "help wanted" ads in a weekly newspaper a few months ago — and the next thing he knew, he was working to jumpstart war-torn Somalia's farms back to productivity.

That's no small task in a land where two million people face starvation after two years of civil war.

Many farms that once produced mangos, pawpaws and bananas are deserted. Whole villages migrated to towns in search of food and most of the refugees have remained at the feeding centres or else died along the road.

Few have returned to their farms to begin planting, even though the rainy season has started.

Mr Wilson has just spent his first two weeks in Somalia as an agricultural consultant for the British-based charity, Oxfam.

He visited farmers who live in Somalia's fertile crescent — the land between the Lower Juba and Shebele rivers. There, he said, he found farmers willing to work and land prime for cultivation.

Corpses

"Parts of Somalia are as productive as the western Transvaal," said Mr Wilson. "The farmers here are more skilled than black farmers in SA."

But many once-productive farmers have been reduced to begging in the feeding centres established by aid agencies.

To the west of Mogadishu, in a region once considered the country's breadbasket, the town of Baidoa has become a slum full of hungry people from rural areas.

Skeletal humans squat in the overcrowded streets because there is no running water and no latrines.

Picture report from Jennifer Griffin in Mogadishu

Smoke from fires pollutes the air and corpses line the road.

Mr Wilson was shocked by the number of over-qualified Somalis who applied to be his technical assistant. He spent a day interviewing diplomats and agriculturalists who worked for dictator Mohammed Siad Barre's government before the war.

Many of those interviewed live in refugee camps near the overcrowded feeding centres, despite their masters and doctorate degrees.

"Those people would have been hiring me in South Africa," said Mr Wilson, who received his bachelor's degree from Ascom Bryan College of Agriculture in England.

Before moving to Somalia, he spent two years setting up a co-operative vegetable farm for sacked workers in Howick, Natal.

His task in Somalia is even more difficult. There the famine is largely man-made. Armed bandits have stolen food and equipment needed by farmers to cultivate the land. Looters have roamed the country since Siad Barre was ousted last year.

Farmers who have stayed on their land despite the famine remain fearful of looters. They don't have guns.

On the road to the seaside town of Merca, south of Mogadishu, fertile farmland lies abandoned because people don't have the implements or seeds to begin planting again.

"There's a lot of standing maize," said Mr Wilson. "The potential is here for the country to develop a large agricultural industry, just like before the war."

from Plat, near Dubrovnik, to Visegrad has been established and the highway Gacko-Foca unblocked. The Serbs are trying to es-

been set back before it even begins. All experts agree it is very late for winter," said Adnan Abdul-Razek, spokesman for the UN Protection

world to help his people. "We have many friends in the world, some warm, some cold," he said on his arrival at the start of a two-day visit to Pakistan. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN envoy set to discuss Somali crisis

Star 28/9/92.

MOGADISHU — The UN starts consultations with Somalia's neighbours this week to try to end civil war and mass starvation in the Horn of Africa country.

Special ambassador Mohamed Sahnoun was due to fly to Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan to discuss peace initiatives and plans to feed millions of starving people, UN sources said yesterday.

Mr Sahnoun, UN special representative for Somalia, would meet Kenyan Presi-

dent Daniel arap Moi in Nairobi today.

They would assess prospects for bringing Somalia's warring clans to a round table in the Kenya capital, UN officials said.

Somalia's clan warlords have so far refused either to meet each other or attend talks outside their country.

The UN initiative has assumed added urgency because of concern for 400 000 Somali refugees in Kenya. Relief officials said they

were alarmed by reports the Kenyan government wanted to start repatriations.

● The International Red Cross resumed its airlift to the western Somali town of Belet Huen, eight days after it was suspended when a US relief plane was struck by a stray bullet.

Also yesterday, US military personnel manning an American airlift from the coastal Kenyan town of Mombasa achieved a record number of flights on a single day. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Rebels kill aid worker

NAIROBI - Relief agen-

cies withdrew staff from Sudan's south yesterday, one day after officials confirmed that rebels had killed a UN employee and a Norwegian freelance journalist. *Sowetan*

A Kenyan driver for the United Nations and a Filipino woman working for the aid group InterAid were still missing. *11/10/92*

Aid work will be reduced in Sudan's south until relief officials are assured the safety of their staff can be guaranteed. - *Sowetan Africa News Service and Sapa-Reuter-AFP.*

①
STAN
1/18/92
**Threatened
aid workers
quit Somalia**

MOGADISHU — Relief agencies said yesterday they were evacuating staff from the southern Somali port of Kismayu after constant threats by gunmen trying to loot food meant for the starving.

"The very people who are supposed to be protecting relief staff are holding guns on them," said a top United Nations official.

The official said planes were being flown into Kismayu, 450 km south of Mogadishu, to pull out all UN foreign staff and personnel from other independent relief organisations.

Aid workers had been blockaded in a UN compound as virtual hostages since Monday by their own Somali guards because of several disputes involving money, UN sources said. The details of the dispute were not immediately known.

"It's institutionalised extortion," said an official of the British charity Oxfam, which is suspending a vital project to grow and distribute seeds to farmers.

About 15 000 malnourished children are being fed at Kismayu by aid agencies such as the International Red Cross and World Concern, and aid workers say efforts have to be stepped up to prevent children from dying. — Sapa-Reuter.

World in k

Canada to rescue (1)

MOGADISHU - The United Nations is sending 750 Canadian troops to the north-eastern Somali port of Bossaso after a breakthrough agreement with the clan in control of the region.

The UN commander of troops in Somalia, Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen, said the troops would be deployed within three to four weeks to guard famine relief operations. Somali warlords have agreed to the use of 500 Pakistani UN troops in Mogadishu, but deployment of an extra 3 000 throughout the country has been delayed by objections from warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed.

Sandoza 21/10/92

A new secret army threatens Algeria

ALGERIA has been swept by a particularly bloody wave of violence over the last few months, beginning with the assassination of President Mohammed Boudiaf on June 29 and culminating with the indiscriminate bomb attack at Algiers airport on August 26, which killed ten innocent people.

To many older Algerians, it is almost as if the clock had been put back three decades, to the period of terrible violence orchestrated by the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS), the French terrorist group which opposed Algerian independence (and whose founder, Pierre Sergent, died on September 15). History seems to be repeating itself with a completely different cast of characters.

The new secret army is by no means under a single leadership, though its various factions share the desire to destabilise the present regime. As an editorial in the weekly *Algérie Actualité* pointed out, under the headline "OAS": "Big traffickers, crusading fundamentalists, and dethroned dignitaries are all standing shoulder to shoulder defending the same interests."

The most extreme Islamic fundamentalist elements set the process of violence in motion, but now no longer seem to be in complete control of it. They prefer not to claim responsibility for shootings, bomb attacks, or acts of sabotage, thus maintaining an atmosphere of uncertainty which, they hope, will work in the interest of their cause.

One thing is certain: the breaking up of armed groups of fundamentalist guerrillas has not had the effect of "terrorising the terrorists", as the government has claimed. On the contrary, the assassination of members of the security forces has become an almost daily occurrence, and other representatives of central authority (magistrates, councillors, trade unionists) — not to speak of the victims of the airport bomb — are now in the fundamentalists' line of fire.

Personal revenge has motivated a fair proportion of the murders. Many have died because they were thought to be overzealous either in cracking down on the fundamentalists or in seeking to root out corruption. For example, the head of a gendarmerie squad in El Tarf, on the Tunisian border, was killed in Algiers while apparently trying to throw light on a case of corruption involving his brother, a former regional director of customs.

In the last account, it matters little whether fundamentalists, racketeers or corrupt politicians are behind the recent violence. The government is facing a very serious problem of organised crime, whose scale it cannot admit to because it is sapping the very foundations of the state.

Investigations into Boudiaf's murder have made little headway. The government seems tempted to believe the highly debatable hypothesis that it was "an isolated act" — at a time when 23 members of the presidential guard are behind bars. As for the airport attack, all the indicators are that the

authorities are in no particular hurry to identify its perpetrators.

The government seems powerless, despite the introduction of new anti-terrorist legislation behind which it has taken refuge. In a recent interview with the daily newspaper *El Watan*, Interior Minister Mohammed Hardi said he was keen to set up a "security apparatus" capable of tackling the problems facing the country.

"This exclusively security-oriented approach has been shown to have limitations," says Mustapha Bouhadef, acting secretary-general of the Socialist Forces Front (FFS). "I'm afraid it may only result in showing the fundamentalists in a favourable light."

Security issues will be central to the "bilateral discussions" that the High State Committee (HCE) announced it would initiate on September 21 with the country's most active political elements, but only on condition the latter publicly and clearly condemned violence.

According to the government, whose spokesmen slip easily into old-fashioned political jargon, the talks should result in the creation of an "internal front" and the construction of a "patriotic wall."

The announcement of the talks

On September 21, the Algerian government began talks with the leaders of several parties in an attempt to solve the mounting political and economic crisis. Its decision to hold negotiations was announced four days after the bomb attack at Algiers international airport which killed ten people on August 26. Members of the outlawed fundamentalist party, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), were not expected to be invited to the talks.

Jacques de Barrin reports

came only four days after the airport attack and could have been interpreted as a simple manoeuvre by the HCE to tie the hands of the political parties and stay in power by any means.

Noureddine Boukrouh, president of the Algerian Renewal Party (PRA), says there is no question of his party playing "bodyguards" to the regime. The FFS is equally wary: it is reluctant to let the present government take the credit for organising the talks, and continues to call for a "shared management of the transitional period on the basis of a national contract for democracy".

Mouloud Hamrouche, former prime minister and member of the politburo of the National Liberation Front (FLN), believes that "the only real issue that deserves to be discussed is that of government: how people should accede to it, and how it should be exercised and kept under control." In his view, the process of national dialogue could produce "some very pleasant surprises" if conducted with complete honesty.

One cannot help suspecting, however, that the whole enterprise is something of a wild dream, given the ferocity of the struggle between different factions, which is mobi-

lising the political community at a time when the country stands on the brink of disaster.

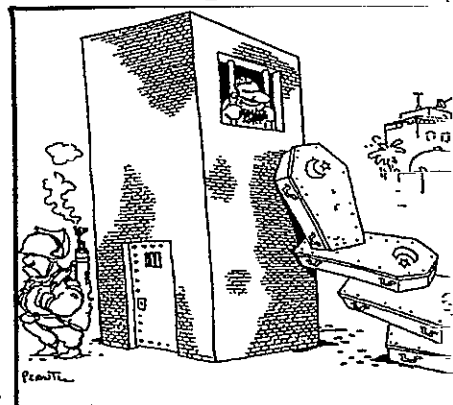
In the meantime, Prime Minister Belaid Abdesslam is preparing, two months after taking up his post, to unveil "a programme for getting out of the crisis" which, official sources hint, will combine "economic rigour with social justice".

But all the evidence suggests to many Algerians that Abdesslam, a moody nationalist and lingering survivor of the old doctrinaire Socialist school, is probably not the right man for the job at the mo-

ment, though some believe he may reluctantly decide to go down the road of pragmatism.

Abdesslam's initial moves — his ousting of Hadj Nacer, governor of the Bank of Algeria and one of the architects of liberal reforms, and his attempt to bring the management of foreign currency back under central control — would suggest that despite his long spell in the wilderness the prime minister is still just as convinced an interventionist as he ever was.

Whatever the case, it is generally admitted that he has very little



Possibly the mos in the

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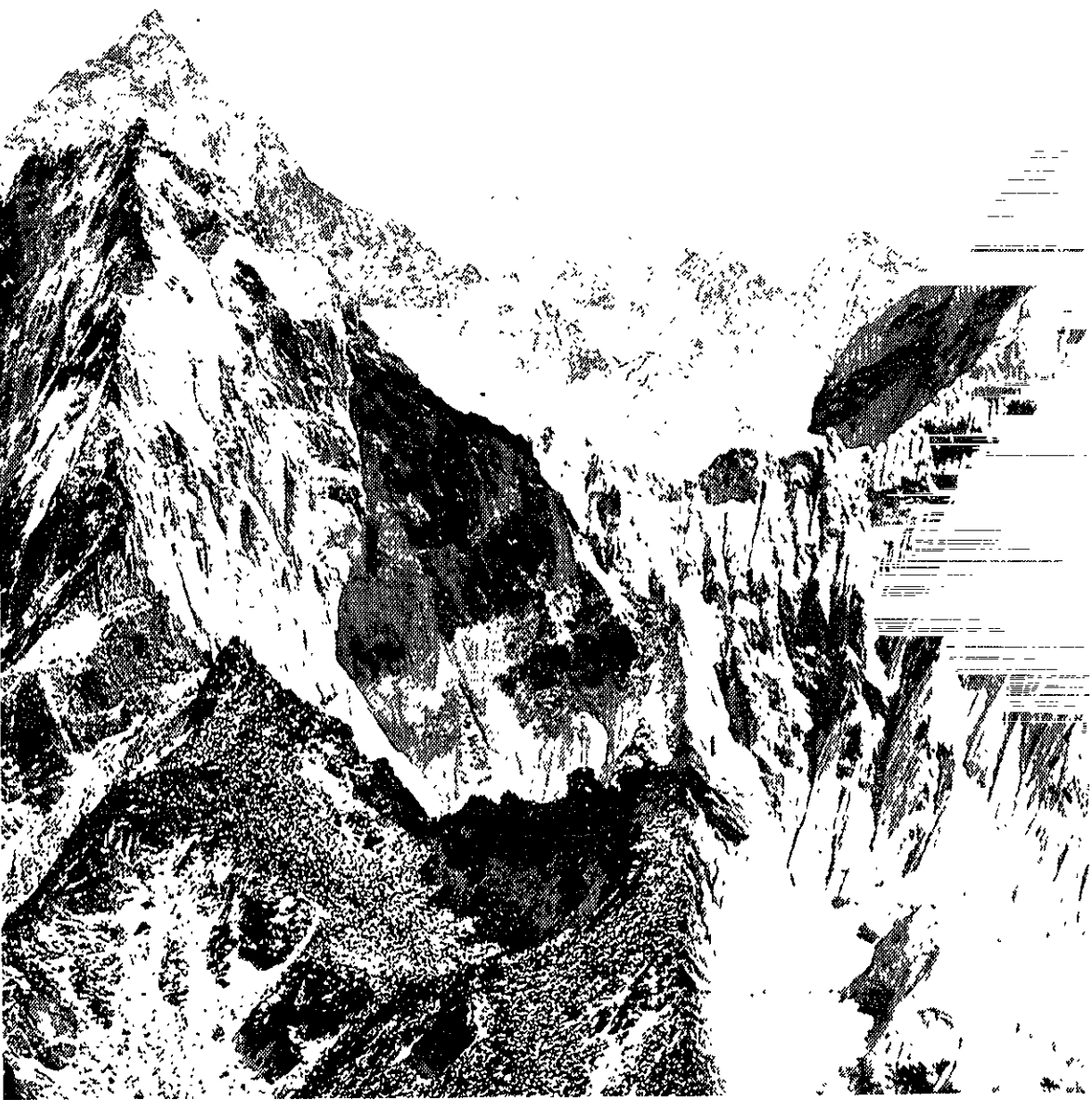
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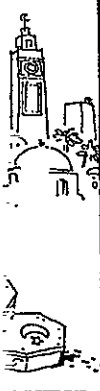
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1



room for manoeuvre, and that a policy of complete austerity, without massive imports to crank the economy into action again, could not be sustained for more than a few months.

Hamrouche feels that too much shilly-shallying has meant that it is now vital "to go one step further than the reforms, and strike while the iron is hot". The General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA) says that over 100,000 government employees have been experiencing between one and seven months' delay in getting paid, and that

50,000 of them are in danger of losing their jobs.

"We refuse to give a blank cheque to those who want to strip down the public sector," says Sidi Saïd, the trade union's second in command. "We can't rule out any form of action if there is no guarantee on the government side." He has told his restless rank and file, who have been infected by the Islamist virus: "We cannot be attacked. We have never compromised with the government."

Buffeted by wave after wave of protest, the ship of state seems set

to founder at any moment, and those at the helm are finding it difficult, despite their self-imposed isolation, to conceal their doubts and divisions.

For example, at the same time that he has been adopting a hardline approach, Interior Minister Hardi has announced the imminent release of "virtually all" fundamentalist prisoners and appealed to the Islamists to join forces with the government to cure the "cancer" now affecting Algeria.

Others in positions of responsibility feel that Hardi has rather

overstepped the mark, and that "things are much more complex than he makes them out to be." With the situation as uncertain as it is, the idea that the army might resign itself to the fact that it will have to run the country directly, instead of indirectly (through politicians) as it does now, is beginning to gather momentum.

The regime does its best to reassure itself by indulging in a bit of wishful thinking. "What's happening to us is a sign of good health," one leader says. "Unlike Moroccans, Algerians are rebels; they are great complainers constantly seeking improvement. Our country has been in a permanent state of crisis since the riots of October 1988, and it has managed to keep going despite that."

In official circles, however, attempts are made to identify scapegoats. The era of "Algeria's greatness," when Houari Boumediene was leader, for example, is compared with the liberal decadence of the Chadli Benjedid years.

But the political and military nomenclatura had in fact already begun to carve up the country, even before that "black decade," under the cloak of triumphant Socialism. Another regime trick has been to mutter darkly about

"the hand of foreigners," as Abdeslam did insidiously after the airport attack.

There has also been a ranting press campaign against Algeria's "enemies of yesteryear", and in particular France, which is described as "revenge-seeking," "warmongering," "ungrateful," "heartless", and in the last account a friend of the "bearded ones".

Generally speaking, the population at large seems to pay little attention to the official line. Many Algerians are simply fed up with the wheeler-dealing of both the "democrats" and the Islamists, and admit they find it very difficult to come to terms with the assassination of Boudiaf, who "was at last going to punish the thieves".

A great number of Algerians of all ages and classes are obsessed with the idea of crossing the Mediterranean. "I'm going to France," said one young Algerian I spoke to, "and I'll become a harki".

But is history really repeating itself? "In 1961-1962, behind all the violence there was a wonderful sense of hope, hope of independence", says one seasoned observer of the Algerian scene. "Nowadays there's no hope at all behind the violence, nothing but a gaping vacuum."

(September 19)

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American Growth	1st	20	2nd	46
Far Eastern Growth	4th	23	19th	30
Japanese Growth	7th	114	-	-
European Growth	4th	25	29th	40
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Hardline Islamists put out feelers

Guardian (w/mail) 2/10-8/10/92

ALGIERS — It was no coincidence that Rabah Kébir, the "appointed" spokesman of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), in an interview with Le Monde on September 18 (which was conducted in a European country that he insisted should not be named), stressed the fact that his party was prepared to enter into a "sincere dialogue" with the Algerian government. For it so happened that the High State Committee (HCE) had announced it would enter into discussions on September 21 with "personalities, organisations, and political associations" as long as they publicly and unequivocally opposed violence — a condition which would bar the FIS's participation.

It is also significant that Kébir's remarks came only two weeks after Interior Minister Mohamed Hardi, in a newspaper interview, promised his "Islamist brothers who are in good faith" that the return to the electoral process, which had been interrupted in January 1992, would be speeded up "if they completely dissociated themselves from the practice of terrorism".

Kébir's timing, then, was much more important than the content of his remarks. For he continued to hedge the question of the FIS's possible responsibility for the wave of attacks and acts of sabotage that has swept the country.

What is more, after announcing that the FIS was prepared "to make a friendly gesture for civil peace and to enter into a dialogue as long as it is sincere", Kébir tacked on four conditions: the release of all prisoners; the ending of arbitrary arrests; reparations for all injustices committed, including damages to victims, and the restoration of elected FIS representatives to their posts; and the organisation of the second round of the January election which the government cancelled.

The regime could not possibly accept such conditions, for the simple reason that, if it did, it would enable the now outlawed Islamist party to make a spectacular return

to the centre of the political stage. In fact the FIS has never ceased to lay down conditions. At the beginning of August, in a secret letter to the government, it had already offered to embark on a "sincere dialogue" so as "to save Algeria", but it also warned that it would not be able to restrain its feelings of anger indefinitely.

A few days later, through similar channels, the fundamentalist party threatened to set up a provisional government and to turn "the armed Islamic movement into a veritable liberation army".

Is dialogue with the fundamentalists really feasible against such odds? The main political parties are urging the government not to slam the door in the face of the FIS, even if it means taking extra security measures.

Kébir was once president of the FIS executive council's committee

By Jacques de Barrin

for political affairs and foreign relations and is now the party's official spokesman. A teacher, and a man widely regarded as a moderate, Kébir belongs to the so-called "Algerianist" wing of the fundamentalist party.

It is hard to say whether he adroitly outwitted his guards three weeks ago in Collo, the small coastal town in eastern Algeria where he had been under house arrest since the spring, or whether he was given a helping hand to leave the country.

Another political figure seems to be prepared to offer his good offices: Taleb Ibrahim, a member of the FLN's central committee and a former foreign minister.

Within the ruling political and military leadership, there still seems to be considerable debate about what to do: some favour getting down to serious negotiations with the FIS, others prefer to pick and choose their Islamist negotiators, and others again are in favour of strong-arm tactics against all fundamentalists. The question is: can a weak government still choose which policy to pursue?

(September 19)

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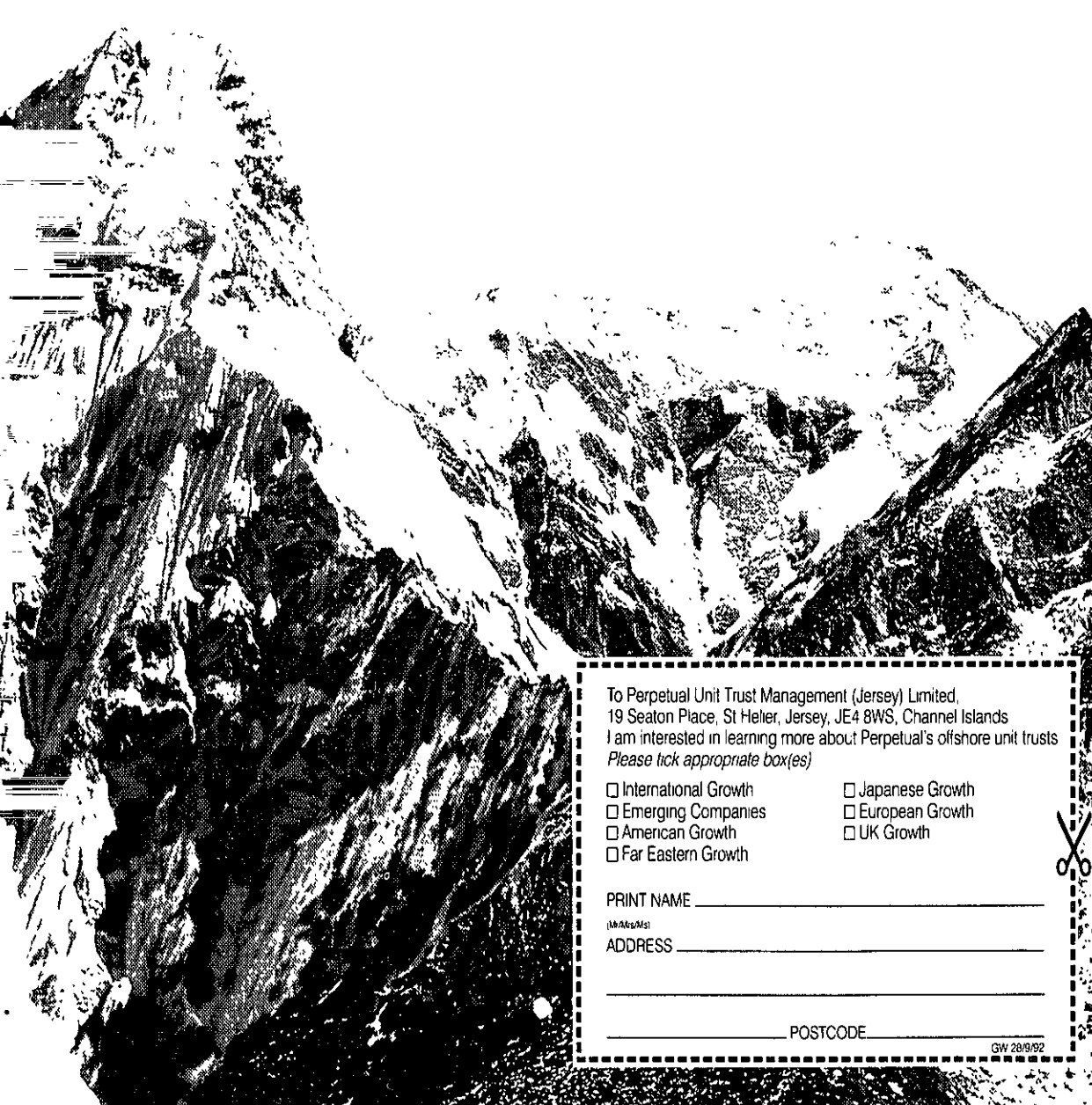
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GW 28/92



Pik offers Mozambique SA's help with ceasefire

SA WOULD consider taking part in overseeing Mozambique's ceasefire if asked, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He told a news conference on his return from Rome, where an accord ending 16 years of civil war was signed on Sunday, that various commissions were being created to monitor the ceasefire and help Mozambique along the road to democracy.

"We would be prepared to sit on some of these commissions, but only if asked," he said.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama signed the ceasefire after more than two years of peace negotiations in Rome mediated by the Roman Catholic church and the Italian government.

Botha warned that difficult times still lay ahead for Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries devastated by war and the worst drought of the century in the region.

"This agreement has now been signed, but it doesn't mean implementation will be easy," he said.

"We are relieved that this impor-

tant step has now been taken."

Relief officials said refugees were still fleeing the famine in Mozambique into Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and SA. More than 2-million Mozambicans are refugees in neighbouring states, while millions more of the 15-million population have fled their homes within the country.

Botha said a return of refugees would have to be discussed with Mozambique's leaders.

Now, after the major events in Angola and Mozambique, SA was being challenged to solve its own problems and to stop the violence, Botha said.

He called on political parties to put SA's interests first, and not their own narrow party political interests.

Asked about his meeting in Rome with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Botha said prospects were good for diplomatic relations eventually being established between the two countries.

However, Pretoria would not push for the opening of relations, but would wait for an improvement to come about naturally.

He said trade and communication links between the two countries were already good.

On Cahora Bassa, Botha said if the water project was resuscitated, about 15 000 workers would be needed to remove the vegetation underneath the power lines.

The Mozambique peace agreement would not only improve trade in the region, but would also pave the way for holidaymakers who wanted to visit the region.

The Foreign Minister said that while in Rome, he had discussed with a senior UN official the UN observers' function in SA and how they should co-ordinate their work with local structures such as the Goldstone commission.

Meanwhile, in Maputo, the Mozambican defence ministry has ordered all military units to adopt a strictly defensive position because of the signing of the peace agreement.

Immediately after Sunday's signing of the accord, Defence Minister Alberto Chipande ordered the armed forces to call a halt to any offensive actions. — Sapa-Reuter.

Banda rules out change in Malawi

LILONGWE — President Kamuzu Banda has ruled out a multiparty system in Malawi, saying it was unsuitable and would cause corruption and strife.

"There is no question of multipartyism here," Banda, president for life of the central African nation, told a convention of his ruling Malawi Congress Party at the weekend.

Malawi would remain a one-party state whether the country's "friends or enemies like it or not", he said, according to the official Malawi News Agency.

Banda, who has banned opposition parties and ruled Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964, said pluralist politics "bred corruption, political instability, poor economic performance and civil and tribal strife". — Sapa-Reuter.

Breakaway gunmen seize key points in Madagascan port

ANTANANARIVO — Breakaway gunmen have seized control of key installations in Madagascar's main port town, Toamasina, in continuing violence in the runup to multiparty presidential elections next month.

Travellers returning from the port said groups of gunmen had taken over Toamasina Airport and were threatening to shoot down any aircraft attempting to land.

Travellers said the government sent troops to Toamasina at the weekend and to Toliara, 600km to the southeast, to end violence by supporters of regional rule.

Returning travellers from both towns said the gunmen were in control of local radio and television stations which they were using to broadcast demands for regional rule.

In Toamasina, they said they

planned to take over banks, the local treasury, the railway network and power and water plants to back demands for a federal state.

The transitional government announced on Sunday that presidential elections would be held on November 25, pitting Didier Ratsiraka, who has ruled for 17 years, against some 15 hopefuls from Madagascar's six provinces.

Madagascar has been in a state of political and economic upheaval for more than a year since Ratsiraka bowed to the democracy movement sweeping Africa and agreed to share power with a transitional government before general elections.

Toamasina, birthplace of Ratsiraka, has been the focus of violent opposition to a continued unitary state in recent weeks by supporters of regional rule.

Kersaf turnover breaks through R2bn barrier

MARCIA KLEIN

MAJOR new developments, notably the East City and Carusel projects, should enable leisure group Kersaf to achieve "acceptable earnings" in financial 1993, executive chairman Buddy Hawton says in the annual review.

Kersaf, whose major interests include Sun International, Interleisure and Douglas Green Bellingham, reported a 10% rise in attributable earnings to R181.4m in the year to end-June as turnover exceeded R2bn for the first time in the group's history.

Kersaf spent about R830.4m in the year, and would spend a further amount of more than R550m.

Funding of capex in the year ahead would "necessitate an increase of approximately R150m in external borrowings". Hawton said these borrowings should not materially change the gearing structure of the group, and gearing should not approach the self-imposed 60% limit.

Sun International reported a 22% rise in revenues and an earnings increase of 12%. Room occupancies of 63% were 5% lower than the previous year.

Offshore division Royale Resorts, which has direct holdings in three Mauritian resorts and one offshore casino, as well as indirect investments in several offshore casino operations, showed a 42% increase in earnings off a low base.

Hawton said in line with the objective that offshore earnings should show satisfactory long-term growth, Royale had reached agreement to acquire a 50% stake in Sol Kerzner's World Leisure Group, which held management contracts for offshore casinos.

Leisure and entertainment group Interleisure's earnings declined by 6% to R38.3m. It would spend R66m in the coming year, mainly in Star-Kinokor. Douglas Green Bellingham, in which Kersaf has a 50% stake, had a disappointing year with revenues down by 15%.

Trencor cautious in forecasts

MICHAEL

EDWARD WEST

TRENCOR would be more than satisfied if earnings were maintained in the current financial year, chairman Neil Jowell said in his latest annual review.

However, he was unable to make a meaningful forecast because of uncertain trading conditions.

Domestic trading conditions were unlikely to improve this year, and the group's container exports were also facing difficult markets which were unlikely to improve in the short term, Jowell said.

On the other hand, Trencor's overseas operations were looking toward a modest improvement in profits.

The rand/dollar exchange rate had a significant effect on both the export and overseas operations and trends over the next 12 months were difficult to predict, he said.

Trencor's overseas and export operations, which contributed 60% of

Murray & Roberts optimistic about Africa

GLENN

EDWARD WEST

ENGINEERING, construction and material supplies group Murray & Roberts says it sees reasonable prospects for new business in Zambia, Kenya, Ghana, Zaire and Angola.

Group commercial director Jeremy Ratcliffe told an investment presentation Murray & Roberts was gearing up for a renewed thrust into export markets and would set up permanent operations in selected countries, which he did not name. It had completed considerable in-

Trencor's R130m attributable income in the 1992 financial year to end-June compared with R105m in 1991, comprised the export of containers and trailers and their components built by Henred Fruehauf.

The international container market had continued to soften.

The main pressure on margins had been the creation of new manufacturing capacity in countries where exports were growing strongly.

Trencor's transport division continued to operate in depressed markets. Competition had intensified and Jowell believed many transport operators were not achieving returns that would keep them economically viable in the long term.

The express business Crosscape would take longer than projected to reach profitability, but overall, a

investigative work in Zambia, Kenya, Ghana and Zaire which indicated "reasonable prospects for future business", he said. A recent school construction project in Angola's Cahinda province had gone so well that more work there was anticipated.

Ratcliffe declined to specify the projects the firm had lined up in other African countries. He reiterated that trading conditions in the current financial year to end-June 1993 would be as tough as in the past year, when

moderate improvement in the dividend's contribution was forecast.

The group's tyre operations Tycon and Trencor were expected to generate a good performance in the future, but structural changes in the industry would critically affect their ability to improve results this year.

Profit margins and competition in the group's trailer manufacturing markets — with volumes down to levels of 20 years ago — were such that returns were below economically sustainable levels.

The container manufacturing market had become so competitive that dollar prices had declined.

In addition, inflationary costs in SA were eroding manufacturing margins because selling prices were set in foreign currencies which were not depreciating in line with inflation rate differentials, said Jowell.

share earnings dipped to 458c (500c previously) after an increase in shares in issue to fund acquisitions.

"It will be a struggle to maintain earnings over the year ahead, but we are positive about growth prospects over the next three years to enable us to maintain dividends."

Total budgeted capex for the next three years was R2bn, which would be financed comfortably from operating cash flows, he said. — Reuter.

Deal for African bank

STANDARD Bank confirmed yesterday that negotiations to acquire the African branch network of ANZ Grindlay's bank would be concluded within the next week.

The deal will set the group up as the largest SA bank in Africa, with branches in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Uganda, Ghana, Kenya and Zaire.

RIP
26/10/92
CWE
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Americans approve relief

NEW YORK - Two-thirds of Americans approve of President George Bush's decision to send US troops to Somalia, according to a *Newsweek* poll, released at the weekend. *Somalia* 7/2/92

The poll said 66 percent of Americans support the decision to send US troops to help in the relief effort.

The Gallup survey, released ahead of publication today, showed Americans were almost evenly divided on whether the United States should restrict its activity to ensuring the delivery of relief supplies or engage in an expanded role to help restore order and political stability.

Attacks on tourists alarm Egyptian officials

CAIRO — Egyptian officials are scrambling to contain potential damage to a booming tourism industry after a series of attacks on foreign visitors by Muslim extremists.

A record 3-million tourists visited Egypt last year. The \$3bn they brought in made tourism the most lucrative sector of the economy.

The flood of tourists continues. Hotel bookings are hard to come by. Flights from Europe and elsewhere are full. And officials hope to double the visitor figures within five years to create new jobs and solve some of the country's grave economic problems.

This is why eight recent attacks by extremists — until now far less seri-

ous than bombings and other terrorist incidents in some European countries — is causing concern.

By far the most serious of the attacks occurred on Tuesday: an explosion in the bathroom of a train at a station in southern Egypt. The interior ministry said the device killed the bomber and an Egyptian father with his three-year-old son, and wounded 10 people.

On October 2, four extremists shot at a steamer carrying 140 Germans on a Nile cruise through southern Egypt. Three Egyptians were wounded, none of them seriously.

No foreigners have been seriously injured in the attacks.

Tourism Minister Fouad Sultan played down the importance of the extremist threat in a recent speech.

"There isn't an area in the world where you do not have some kind of trouble," Sultan said.

The minister promised the security forces would "crack down" on the fundamentalists.

But in Cairo's state-owned newspapers, this attitude is seen as part of the extremist problem.

Some commentators criticise the government for handling the burgeoning Muslim militancy as nothing more than a security question, without addressing underlying economic and social failings. — Sapa-AP.

focus on Somalia

BAIDOA, SOMALIA - Most of the corpses tossed on to the body wagon that plies its dreadful daily round of Baidoa are those of children.

An orphanage set up five months ago in this famine-hit southern Somali town is starting to change that, relief workers say.

Six or seven of the most severely malnourished children out of the 10 to 15 arriving at the orphanage each day die before they can be revived, staff say. But that is better than the 15 to 20 who were dying daily a few weeks ago.

"These are the survivors. Their parents probably died on the trek in or in the streets," said Josie Clevenger, medical coordinator of the US-based International Medical Corps (IMC) of doctors, which wants to provide medical care at the orphanage.

Acts of humanity are rare in Somalia where bloody tribal feuding over the past 20 months has devastated the nation and led to the current famine.

Yet seeing 570 children being nurtured back to health in a square of bombed-out buildings moves visitors to tears.

Malnutrition has bleached the orphans' black hair. They are vulnerable to worms, skin diseases, coughs and measles, which can kill despite the availability of food.

"Some of them don't even have enough strength in their jaws to chew food" when they arrive, said Mohamed Iman Aden, director-general of the orphanage run by the Institution for Disabled and Orphaned Children in Somalia (IDOCs).

Aden (44) was a civil engineer before rebels ousted brutal dictator Mohamed Siad Barre from the capital Mogadishu and rival clans plunged the country into bloody anarchy.

"Until we regain stability I can do this - it only needs commonsense," Aden said, standing among a crowd of children giggling at mealtime.

Other IDOCs centres care for several thousand children, mothers and adult women in Mogadishu and four other regional famine-hit towns.

Aden uses the word orphan loosely to describe children who have lost their parents or those who come from families too poor to take care of them.

"We are a welfare organisation so we can't differentiate. After four to five months some can go back to their families and the rest will stay with us," he said.

His underfunded group wants foreign help - agencies such as the International Red Cross already provide food - to start caring for another 2 500 orphans already in Baidoa.

The orphanage's Somali staff have had to cut blankets in half and clothe children in any material they can find.

The effects of malnutrition will pursue the

Sowetan 8/10/92
Children are the worst-hit victims of the Somali tribal warfare and the famine that has devastated the country. But food relief and a new orphanage have cut down the numbers who die daily from 15 to seven: ①



STARVING CHILDREN ... An emaciated child crouches at a feeding centre in Baidoa, Somalia, waiting to be fed. Although aid is reaching Baidoa, the number of deaths through starvation and disease still exceeds 250 a day.

younger children into their adulthood. Many have suffered brain damage and their growth will be stunted.

Older children, their tongues stuck out as they concentrate deeply, learn how to read and write Islam's Holy Koran on wooden boards - the only schooling available in Somalia today.

"We don't want to be spoonfed," Aden said while listing proposals to build schools, dig wells and start farming a plot of land outside the town.

But the southern Bay region, which surrounds Baidoa and is inhabited by a peaceful farming clan called the Rahanwein, is believed to have

been hit worst by the famine.

Some 300 000 to half-a-million people are thought still to be alive in Bay. Relief officials say that nationwide, about two million Somalis suffer from severe hunger.

At the orphanage those lucky enough to live are becoming plump with health again.

A few weeks ago between 15 and 20 were dying every day. A third of that number of graves are now dug daily outside the compound for the little bundles to be laid in on their sides, their faces turned east to Islam's Holy city of Mecca.

"There are no tears lost, so many have died," Aden said. - Sapa-Reuter

The aid show hits Somalia

STAR 8/10/92

①

International aid has finally come to Somalia, but experts warn against creating an aid-dependent society. JONATHAN CLAYTON reports.

AFTER months of hesitation, the international aid show has finally come to Somalia and is playing to packed houses.

In the space of a few months, the bombed-out capital of Mogadishu is a city transformed.

Virtually every street now has a feeding centre or makeshift hospital, many hastily set up after the world's conscience was pricked by television pictures of dying babies.

Mogadishu airport is busier than it has been for years with military transport planes loaded with grain vying for space with light passenger aircraft ferrying in teams of aid workers.

"Things are beginning to go very well now. The other day the airport was like an international one," the UN's special representative for Somalia, Mohamed Sahnoun, said.

Since his appointment earlier this year, Sahnoun has struggled hard to force the world to treat the Somali tragedy with the same urgency it has attached to other world crises, from Cambodia to former Yugoslavia.

"If we had come earlier we could have avoided so much

and our work would have been so much easier," he said during Sunday's visit by Irish President Mary Robinson.

Robinson was the first head of state to witness at first hand one of the worst famines of the 20th century.

She too attacked the UN for having been slow to help "the devastated and bleeding people of Somalia".

But the message appears to be getting through.

Hardly a day now passes without the arrival of a senior delegation of one sort or another. Teams of newly-arrived volunteers from non-governmental organisations tour the capital looking for premises to serve as base camps.

But for the Somalis, the newcomers are good news, and not just for the rows of hungry in the feeding centres. Their arrival has meant a massive influx of funds into the destroyed economy.

Houses rented out in the "aid enclave" of south Mogadishu cost on average \$3 000 (about R8 400) a month. Somalis have been employed as secretaries, fixers, cooks, cleaners and chauffeurs.

While praising the developments, many aid experts caution that the world community must act quickly to avoid creating an aid-dependent society. "We have to give them the incentive to go back to the land," said Ian Macleod of the UN Children's Fund.

"It is essential for the international community to provide long-term support," he said. □

810M 9/10/92

Promoting trade links

AN AMBITIOUS plan to bring 2 000 African businessmen to SA next year to forge trade links with their SA counterparts was launched yesterday.

Africa Initiative board of trustees chairman Prof Roy Marcus said at a fundraising function at Nasrec last night it would bring together key decision-makers "who influence and finance business in Africa."

Africa Initiative administrator Jo Melville said the R1m needed to get the project going would be raised through corporate sponsorship by SA companies.

Violence

In reality, as the statement itself concedes by the use of "continuing", this differs little from the current administration's approach. Elsewhere, the philosophy is identical.

On the question of violence, no fingers are pointed and a distinction is drawn between "those responsible" and the government of President FW de Klerk.

There is a pledge to provide assistance — already offered by assistant secretary for Africa Herman Cohen — to "local peace-keeping structures" and to support "Nelson Mandela's call for international monitoring".

"When the transition to democracy is assured, the Clinton administration would begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically-elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid," says the policy statement.

The only difference here with present policy is that the Bush administration has already started developing such a programme.

Campaign propaganda is not, of course, a completely reliable guide. How a new team will really

US Africa policy: anybody's guess

BARRING a miraculous turn-around, America will elect a new president in three weeks' time.

Foreign policy has been such a side issue throughout the campaign that the implications for South Africa remain uncertain.

Some in the State Department have privately predicted that as president, Bill Clinton would toss Africa, like a bone, to the Congressional Black Caucus and the Jesse Jackson/Randall Robinson wing of the Democratic Party.

Senior ANC officials on visits to America have made it clear they relish such a prospect. Economic planning chief Trevor Manuel, for example, has said the balance of forces will shift in the ANC's favour after election day on November 3.

But few of the statements the Clinton campaign has issued on South Africa would seem to bear out Mr Manuel's optimism.

One policy statement pays obeisance to state and local sanctions and to "continuing current restrictions on South Africa's access to ... the IMF".

From **Simon Barber in Washington**

behave depends, to a large extent, on who wins the policy battles in the post-election transition.

As the far right saw Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory as an opportunity to seize control from the centre, so the Democratic left will seek to ride piggyback on Clinton's election.

On foreign policy, however, they will find few allies among those already in the Clinton camp.

Thus far, there is no obvious candidate for Mr Cohen's job.

Among those mentioned are the Aspen Institute's Dr Pauline Baker, Michael Clough, until recently resident Africanist at the Council on Foreign Relations, and former UN ambassador Don McHenry.

But the selection could just as easily be made from the ranks of the career foreign service, as was the case with Mr Cohen.

A common reading is that Clinton is chiefly interested in domestic reform, knows himself to be an innocent abroad, and will therefore seek to place his foreign policy in professional hands.

S/Times 11/10/92
Caution

He is smart enough to know that a novice can ill afford to be advised by wheel-reinventors.

An alternative view is that the new president's caution would not extend to Africa, a region so marginal to US interests that it can readily be given to those, like the Black Caucus, who seem to want it most.

Life in the town of graves

The gun rules in war-ravaged Somalia, a country racked by a man-made famine and corruption. Visiting US Journalist JENNIFER GRIFFIN reports on her experiences in an anarchic and dependent on international aid, where most of the population is simply waiting to die.

CPW 11/10/92 ①

A BODY lies motionless on the dusty ground as stick-like figures move past it in slow motion, each searching for food along the main road of this desert town called Baidoa.

The "death truck" will be along soon to collect the frail remains of yet another victim of this man-made famine.

During the truck's daily rounds, which begin at dawn, a handful of sturdy men - the few left in starving Somalia - pile bodies into the vehicle.

On average they collect 200 bodies a day, but that figure is rising as disease sweeps through the town.

During one stop at an abandoned house taken over by hungry Somalis who migrated to Baidoa's feeding centres from their decimated rural villages, the men from the truck found 49 bodies wrapped in dirty rags.

In traditional Muslim culture an untouched white sheet would have been placed over the corpse after the body had been washed. But with water and fresh sheets at a premium, Baidoa's dead must be buried in whatever scraps of cloth can be found.

The skin and bones of a starved child lay wrapped in an old grain bag that read USA sorghum - brought in by one of the international aid agencies.

The rusted truck moved to its next stop before depositing the fly-covered bodies at one of Baidoa's four cemeteries.

Islamic laws say there should be a ceremony if a person dies, but since the deaths have become uncountable, a person is just buried in the nearest place without any ceremony," said Ali Ibrahim Mursal, whose wife and three children died when his house was shelled during the Somali civil war.

By 11 am, gravediggers had deposited 185 bodies at the cemetery.

By 11 am, gravediggers had deposited 185 bodies at the cemetery.



GRIM END... This man never made it to the Unicef aid centre (insert), he died of starvation before reaching Baidoa.

Picture: JENNIFER GRIFFIN

Each week the number of deaths grows despite increasing food aid from the international community.

In early August the deaths in Baidoa ranged from 13 to 47 people a day, according to Aden Mohamed Isak, assistant manager for the Somali Red Crescent Society - the Muslim counterpart of the Red Cross. By September 1, the numbers varied from 168 to 287 deaths a day.

"Disease is the number one cause for the rise in deaths," said Unicef emergency aid co-ordinator Rupert Lewis.

The town faces further catastrophe if people do not return to their homes and begin farming their fields when the rains come.

Once called the Switzerland of Somalia by colonial Italians, Baidoa has become a sprawling slum - a magnet for people from rural villages waiting their turn to die.

Fragile figures sit in the shade provided by a parked vehicle. Their heads turn slowly to watch the aid workers who drive down Baidoa's flooded streets in Land Cruisers packed with armed guards.



ARMED PROTECTION... A feeding centre is protected against looters by armed guards.

THE FAT CATS OF SOMALIA

THEY may be the only overweight people left in Somalia.

Hundreds of men and women stood on an airstrip 50 kilometres south of Mogadishu waiting to meet the daily "khat" planes that bring the twig-like drug chewed by Somali men.

"People are flying in khat, while others are dying of hunger," said a Unicef worker named Hassan, who requested his surname be withheld.

In a country where virtually nothing functions, a regular supply of drugs flows in, though food flights remain sporadic and are cancelled at a moment's notice by the sub-clans that control the airports.

Every morning six planes arrive from Nairobi filled with burlap-covered bundles of drugs and land on a rocky airstrip out-

side Mogadishu. Every day the same well-fed - even plump - Somalis greet the planes, buy the khat, and drive like maniacs back to town where they sell it at an outdoor market.

In the bustling khat market a 10-year-old boy threatens a crowd of people with his loaded AK-47 as they try to buy khat from women with babies on their backs. The young boy had been chewing the mildly narcotic drug which acts as a stimulant.

Ali Ibrahim Mursal, an American-educated Somali, described the effects of chewing the bitter twigs.

"My IQ may work double or triple as before," he said.

But by the last afternoon in Mogadishu the khat-chewing teenagers, who use machineguns to stop cars at makeshift roadblocks, do not appear any

smarter, just more surly.

In a country with no laws or policemen it's not surprising that khat is legally bought and sold. Even before the civil war that ousted dictator Mohammed Siad Barre, the drug was legal.

The widespread use of the drug caused Somalia to lose valuable productivity.

"The person who is chewing all night is tired in the morning and doesn't want to attend work," said Mursal, who began chewing when he was 10.

One bundle of khat goes for \$4 or \$5 (roughly R11 or R14) and consists of a handful of bitter-tasting twigs and leaves.

Every afternoon the drivers and guards who escort aid workers and journalists make a detour to pick up their daily khat allowance. This routine occurs even if the aid worker is busy delivering food to the feeding

centres or the journalist is busy with an interview.

The Somalis chew especially large amounts of khat on Friday - a holiday to all Muslims.

Despite the recent famine, khat remains the drug of choice throughout the region.

In Yemen, across the Gulf of Aden, government office buildings have rooms where people go to chew khat in the afternoon, according to a former World Bank official. "It was true democracy," he said. "You could ask government ministers anything you wanted once you were seated in that room."

In Somalia nothing is democratic and individuals manage to get fat as the khat trade continues to flow steadily and undisturbed. Meanwhile, mountains of food sit in warehouses because it cannot be distributed safely by international aid agencies.

Hooyo's lonely vigil for the dying children

THE coughing children with tuberculosis call her "hooyo" - the Somali word for mother.

Other aid workers in this war-shattered country refer to her as the Mother Teresa of Somalia.

Italian Annalena Tonelli has treated sick Somalis for 23 years and plans to press ahead with her mercy mission in this sandswept, seaside town despite a lack of supplies, a shortage of staff and threats on her life.

Grey-haired and fair-skinned, the saintly mother of

Merca's sick runs a TB clinic for 400, a paediatric hospital housing 100 children, a feeding centre where 2,500 hungry kids eat each day, and a school for recovering patients. She does it all with only one doctor, one nurse and a handful of untrained Somalis.

Despite her heroic work, she is realistic about the bleak prospects for Somalia, where two million face starvation.

"It's terrible because there is no hope for the people of this country.



The good ones have gone. Others are dead," said Annalena as a tiny sick child clung to her shoulder for security.

Three-year-olds hold the hands of one-year-olds as children march from the armed guards at the gate to the other rows of children sitting under trees in the centre's shaded courtyard, holding empty oilcans, waiting for their meagre portions.

Smoke from the fires under the vats of boiling rice wafts through the doorway into the courtyard where the children wait, singing songs of Allah. They clap when the adults arrive lugging the large pots of food.

Most of the food donated from Western nations intended for centres like Annalena's never makes it.

"Sometimes it's stolen from the beginning. Sometimes it's stolen later," said Mario Neri, an Italian doctor - the only doctor - working with Annalena.

Armed locals frequently threaten Annalena, attempting to force her from the clinic so they can reclaim for themselves the old buildings that house her patients.

On September 8 an armed faction evicted 400 of Annalena's TB patients from their beds in the church that she had converted into a hospital.

Recently a bomb exploded outside her room on the second floor of the clinic, a white-washed stucco building that once served as the Bank of Rome office. The blast caused her to move across the street where Dr Neri lives above his sick children.

At the paediatric hospital children with distended bellies stand in line waiting to see the doctor. In the dimly-lit halls between the maze of overcrowded rooms, children - most of them skin and bones - lie on grass mats side-by-side along the floor.

One frail stick figure lies motionless on the ground, staring blankly ahead as he receives intravenous support, too weak to swat the flies that cover his face.

In July alone 154 children died in the hospital.

"In the future of this country there will be nothing - only anarchy," said the ponytailed Neri, a self-proclaimed communist who has devoted 12 years of his life to working among the poor in Africa.

This diplomat is no mere glorified head waiter

FORN 12/10/92

FILM star Peter Ustinov once said that a modern diplomat was nothing but a head waiter who was allowed to sit down occasionally.

It's hard to think of a more inappropriate description of SA's new senior non-political diplomat, Rusty Evans, who took over as Foreign Affairs director-general at the beginning of this month.

Evans emerged from a school of diplomatic practice in which the aim was to get things done, rather than to be a quasi-observer of foreign events.

While holding the post of deputy-director for Africa, Evans set a goal that was considered almost impossible at the time: ensure that SA's new acceptability in Africa found concrete expression.

Through direct contact with African leaders and frenetic efforts, the door that African leaders opened a crack was prized open further, and SA's role in Africa is now widely considered pivotal.

His energy is reflected in the fact that, at times, his own department was not sure which African country he was visiting.

Evans's success in Africa had a lot to do with blind luck: President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech made

possible what was impossible before. Almost at the same time, Europe began to lose interest in Africa as eastern Europe competed for European leaders' attentions.

In addition, SA's role in the Namibian independence process, widely regarded as positive, laid a solid foundation for the development of the country's relations with Africa.

But the existence of an opportunity and an achievement are two different things. The peculiar sight of African leaders adopting a non-confrontational stance towards SA at the UN is, to an extent, the fruit of his efforts. The notion that SA's destiny lies in Africa has become generally accepted, he says, indicating that it has been necessary to change some minds at home.

He was deeply involved in the development of a policy of prioritising certain African countries which were considered of particular importance because of their economic strength and positions on the continent. The countries were Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya and Morocco.

The policy was subsequently taken up by Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida, who suggested that these countries, including SA, might become "focus points" within their re-

TIM COHEN

gions, with benefits flowing outward from these points.

The idea was not received with enthusiasm by smaller countries because they felt threatened by the idea of "power points".

But it was a tribute to Evans that the idea was supported by Babangida, one of Africa's most prominent leaders. He was quoted as saying that there was not a single OAU member country with which SA did not trade.

In his last portfolio before becoming director-general — deputy director-general for overseas affairs — Evans brought another novel position to the fore: a focus on the Far East, eastern Europe and Russia as major areas for SA involvement.

The West's commitment to SA had probably reached a ceiling and was more likely to decline than increase. It took a back-seat to dynamic areas of the world which were also making a new start. The result of these two developments was that SA trade with Africa and the Far East

emerged as the major growth points in an otherwise gloomy economic scenario.

The past three years have seen a fundamental reorientation in SA's posture towards international affairs, he says. SA's main traditional relationships, with Britain and the US, although important, no longer enjoy the priority they did in the past. SA's main trading partners are the EC and the Far East, and our main potential trading partner happens to be Africa, he says.

Evans is unusual in another way. Of remote Welsh descent, he is one of the few English speakers in an Afrikaans-dominated bureaucracy. When he joined the department in 1966 he could not speak a word of Afrikaans. However, after postings in Brazil, Washington and London, (and marrying an Afrikaans woman) he is now fluent.

Whereas his predecessor, Neil van Heerden, has been philosophical and always diplomatic, Evans is more pragmatic. He enjoys politics and the pursuit of political relations. He admits frankly that he will not enjoy the large amount of administration involved in his new job.

The man who is credited with coining the term "veldskoen diplomat" is

not armed with traditional diplomatic tools: rigid protocol, patience and finesse — probably the strongest assets of his predecessor.

He points out in his defence that the nature of diplomacy is changing worldwide (although this is probably wishful thinking).

"Old world diplomacy is totally ineffectual," he says tartly. "Why send aide memoirs in the diplomatic bag when you can send a fax?"

Evans comes from a strict Catholic background. He spent four years in a seminary after leaving school. He divorced his first wife, Kathleen, with whom he had four children, and married Gerda, a Foreign Affairs staffer from a conservative background.

With an interim government just around the corner, there is a possibility that his term in his current job will be short, but Evans's reaction is typically offhand. "I regard myself as dispensable to government, whatever government that is.

"I will continue to place my services at the disposal of the government of the day," he says.

Like Van Heerden, the government of the day might find he has talents and support in unusual areas which cannot be disposed of lightly.

Mercy work in jeopardy ①

NAIROBI - Two dozen relief agencies met yesterday to discuss the future of mercy work in rebel areas of south Sudan after three relief workers and a journalist were killed. *Sowetan 12/10/92*

Moroccan 'repression' ①

ALGIERS - Moroccan security forces have "violently repressed" a wave of popular unrest that broke out on October 6 at Smara, in the Western Sahara, Polisario Front foreign affairs spokesman Mohamed Ould Salek said in Algiers at the weekend.

He said several people were arrested, tortured and wounded during the repression of demonstrations in Smara in the past four days. - *Sapa-Reuters*

Sowetan 12/10/92

UN rains food on Somalia

NAIROBI — The UN has expanded its air drops of food into inaccessible rural areas of Somalia. (1)

A UN world food programme statement said a Canadian military transport plane on Sunday dropped 12 tons of wheat at Dinsor, a remote village which had not received food aid since the famine began. (2)

About 1 000 tons of food would be air-dropped in several areas of central and southern Somalia in the coming weeks. Mobile teams would travel to air drop zones to help with distribution.

The air drops were to provide a "flexible response" to the rapidly changing emergency in war-ravaged Somalia, where 1 000 people a day are reportedly dying of famine and disease.

The UN had sent nearly 210 tons of supplies into Somalia in the past six weeks. However, it could only reach places with airstrips suitable for large transport planes. 15/10AM 13/10/92.

Moving food overland was difficult because of poor roads, looting, shortages of trucks and spares and extortionate transport and security costs — about \$110 a ton of food delivered. — Sapa-Reuter.

Safto seeking ties with development body

SAFTO intends to start a major campaign to interact with the Africa Project Development Facility, beginning with a visit to its head office in the Ivory Coast in late November.

Safto Africa division head Paul Runge said yesterday he was very impressed with the progress made by the organisation, which was jointly sponsored by the African Development Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the UN Development Fund. *B10AM 16/10/92*

The organisation was set up in 1988 and its aim was to move away from being involved in larger, cumbersome commercial projects towards identifying and addressing the needs of smaller commercial ventures of

SHARON WOOD

between R5m and R10m, Runge said. It provided advisory services to private African entrepreneurs in preparing for viable projects.

While the organisation does not provide project financing, it works with entrepreneurs to secure financing from banks and appropriate sources of capital. It also helps them to obtain technical and managerial assistance to start up projects.

SA companies had already been involved with projects identified by the organisation and some of the banks were involved in talks aimed at setting up co-financing arrangements, he said.

Runge said Safto would also pro-

mote trade between the two countries during the visit. "There is a lot of business there and it is a major link to the region," he said.

A spokesman for a company involved with the Development Facility said the organisation was approaching SA companies to conduct feasibility studies on projects in the neighbouring countries.

The organisation's southern Africa regional manager Omari Issa said Cape-based Engineering Management Services had been commissioned to conduct a market study for a manufacturing facility in one of the Southern African Development Community countries. He could not reveal further details.

AFRICA BRIEFS

Ethiopia frees its press

ADDIS ABABA: Ethiopia has adopted a new law ending four decades of press censorship and loosening government control on news.

The country's transitional government approved the legislation on Sunday. The new law is in line with plans by President Meles Zenawi to liberalise the economy and ease the state's hold on all key social, economic and political institutions.

Gunmen trap aid workers

MOGADISHU: Plans to save Somalia from starvation were thrown into confusion on Tuesday when gunmen loyal to toppled President Mohamed Siad Barre seized a key southern town and trapped aid workers feeding 200 000 people.

Relief organisations believe there is no way of stopping the famine if there is a re-run of the warfare by marauding desert armies that drove Siad Barre from power in January 1991.

Rebels' demand rejected

KIGALI: The Rwandan government has rejected a rebel demand that it resign in favour of an all-party cabinet to bring an end to two years of civil war.

But the cabinet has accepted demands from the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) for a radical shake-up of the civil service and power-sharing at all levels of public service.

Rebels called on France to withdraw its 300 troops, saying it had taken sides in the war. France says the troops are there to protect foreign nationals.

w/m... 16/10 - 22/10/92

Grain operation is hi-tech

By FRED KHUMALO

WITH many parts of the country in the throes of one of this century's most severe droughts, Spoornet has started a massive project to transport food - maize and other cereal - to drought-stricken areas.

The operation is to bring 5,4 million tons of grain to SA and another 5,4 million tons to 10 similar drought-ravaged countries in southern Africa to help fight starvation.

It is estimated that 11 million tons of grain will be needed to stave off the looming food crisis.

So far, four million tons of grain have been brought to these shores. The programme is expected to end in April 1993.

"A lot of the food has safely reached its intended destination. Distribution will soon start - but our role is just the transportation to the recipient areas," said Portnet's grain operations control centre manager, Simon Swanich.

The operation initiated by the United Nations World Food Programme is being co-ordinated by Spoornet in conjunction with representatives from Botswana and Zimbabwe.

The massive operation has been

made possible by satellite technology and sophisticated software systems, used in post-war Kuwait, which facilitate the speedy off-loading of thousands of tons of grain on to railway trucks which then transport the grain as far afield as Malawi.

About 8,5 million tons will be routed through the South African ports of Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town, with the balance going via the Mozambique ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala as well as the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salam.

Much-needed food

"We believe the food will reach the people in time," said Portnet's Willem Burger.

But he warned that bad weather, possible labour unrest and port and border bottlenecks could cause delays.

At least 3 000 railway wagons have been taken out of mothballs to provide sufficient rolling stock as ships from countries as diverse as the US, Canada and some parts of Europe keep coming to local ports to deliver the much-needed maize and other cereals.

The railway authority expects 6 000 trainloads to be used in the

year-long operation. Combined, these trains would be 3 000 km long. CIPRES 18/10/92

To guarantee professional efficiency, a 20-man team, with the aid of computers linked by satellite to a mainframe in the US, monitors on a 24-hour basis the movement of every ship from the time it leaves port, mainly in the Americas, until it arrives in SA.

The same computer-based monitoring applies to every trainload and truckload until the shipment reaches its destination.

"In the cases of countries such as Malawi this can be up to three months from the arrival of the ship (in Durban harbour)," said a Portnet spokesman.

Malawi has received 126 000 tons of grain; Zimbabwe has received 812 000 tons; Zambia 195 000 tons; Namibia 82 000 tons; Botswana 93 000; Swaziland 33 000 and Lesotho 70 000.

Angola has received only 2 000 tons - and these have been delivered only in the Unita-dominated southern part of the country.

"Our job is to transport the food. We can't take decisions as to the amount of food to be sent to different destinations," Swanich said.

brief

Sowetan 19/10/92

The riot followed days of protests over perceived government slowness to respond to the earthquake that killed at least 541 people and made thousands homeless.

19/10/92

Fights bar food aid

MOGADISHU - Fresh fighting between rival clans kept famine victims in a huge area of Somalia beyond the reach of help from the outside world.

Quake victims riot

CAIRO - Egyptian police sealed off part of central Cairo and fired tear gas at stone-throwing protesters as unrest sparked by last week's earthquake boiled over into a riot.

About 50 people were arrested in the flare up.

One of the country's fiercest warlords, Mohamed Farah Aideed, warned aid workers not to return to Bardere in the south until his militias had wrested the strategic town from ethnic foes who overran it last Tuesday. - Sapa-Reuter.

African markets 'ripe'

5/20/92
21/10/92

PETER GALLI

(42) (1)

LOCAL entrepreneurs were losing millions of rands in sales and many opportunities to participate in projects in Africa, Safto Africa head Paul Runge said yesterday.

He told the annual Bifsa conference at Somerset West that Safto helped about 250 local businessmen move into African territories each year and had established a strong core who traded there regularly. (45)

However, local businessmen were hampered by factors such as a lack of deployable personnel and a lack of income to send people looking for work.

A lack of African contacts and ignorance of the local scene were other hindrances. "Africa is a continent in which little business is done until the right contacts are established, which is partly due to the fact that so many African countries have been ripped off in the past by their European partners," he said.

The legacy of apartheid was also a contributing factor, still making it difficult for locals to gain access to certain sources of funds and expertise, as well as to deal with certain governments.

"Time and again local businessmen have shown that they have better quality and less expensive services and products to offer other Africans. However, they lack the financial packages to make it possible for prospective customers to buy," Runge said.

Safair lends a hand

Sowetan 22/10/92 (1)

■ The new order in Africa makes more relief work possible:

BAIDOA, Somalia - The unthinkable has happened. The plane on Runway One is South African. It is ferrying food for victims of Somalia's famine.

Two years ago its presence would have caused a diplomatic incident. African ambassadors to Mogadishu might have been abruptly recalled for consultation.

But in Africa's new order, the Safair private plane is just another Hercules chartered to bring more aid to the unprec-

edented disaster area that Somalia has become.

In English rich with the broad vowels of his native Afrikaans, captain Hennie Engelbrecht told a visitor: "It's good to be here. We've got close to 19 tons of rice on board."

Dripping with sweat, a team of Somalis unloaded the cargo, enough to feed close to a quarter of a million people camped around Baidoa, dubbed 'the City of Death'.

as continued restriction to IMF resources.

Democratic Party purs unspecified diplomatic until he is satisfied far enough.

rently leading President in the polls for the election, gave his clear far of SA policy in a of the US magazine

it Americans need to attention to the struggle in SA.

there are high, and in SA will inevitably prospects for democracy growth in the rest of

work to help end the has ravaged black threatened the Codesa just firmly insist that government invests those responsibility, target some of toward strengthening eping structures, and n Mandela's call for monitoring.

when the transition to democracy is assured, his administration will start to develop a programme of aid and provide investment incentives to assist a "democratically elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid".

Most analysts and pundits here predict a Clinton victory. Some are talking of a possible landslide.

Energy

It is expected in Washington that a Clinton administration would probably want to nominate an African American to replace Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen.

In his article, Clinton says: "If we are to lead the global alliance for democracy, we must be willing to work as hard in Africa as we are working in other parts of the world.

"That means putting the same kind of energy into helping South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid as we do into helping the peoples of the former Soviet Union overcome the legacy of communism." — Sapa.

paid their last respects on Tuesday morning after a long battle with cancer.

Court backs shipping company with SA ties

SAN FRANCISCO — A federal appeals court has ruled that a shipping company that does business in SA should be exempted from the San Francisco's anti-apartheid ordinance and allowed to dock.

The appeals panel upheld a decision by the city port commission to let Nedlloyd Lines berth its ships regularly in San Francisco. The court said the Dutch company purportedly maintained direct shipping lines with SA.

The ordinance states that the ban does not apply where it would conflict with federal law or regulations, an exemption required by the supremacy of federal law under the US constitution.

The appeal court said on Tuesday that the San Francisco ban would conflict with a federal law that governs international shipping.

The 1986 ordinance prohibits San Francisco from doing any business, including signing leases or permits for the use of city property, with anyone who has business relations with SA.

A ban on shippers doing business with SA "might be justified as a matter of public policy, but it is forbidden by the (federal) Shipping Act," said Judge D King in the 3-0 decision. — Sapa-AP.

African links now all in a day's work

BAIDOA — The unthinkable has landed. The plane on Runway One is South African and is ferrying food for Somalia's famine.

Two years ago its presence would have caused a diplomatic incident. African ambassadors to Mogadishu might have been abruptly recalled for consultation.

But in Africa's new order, the Safair plane is just another Hercules the better-off world has chartered for a disaster without precedent for decades.

"It's good to be here," Capt Hennie Engelbrecht told a visitor in English rich with the broad vowels of

Afrikaans. "We've got close to 19 tons of rice on board."

Dripping with sweat, a team of Somalis unloaded the cargo for close to a quarter of a million people camped around Baidoa, dubbed the City of Death by aid workers.

The plane is under charter to the French government and is operating out of the Red Sea state of Djibouti, one hub of an emergency operation which also revolves around the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. It has flown daily sorties to Somalia for nearly two weeks.

The SA Air Force has

also flown food and drugs to Somali refugees in northern Kenya, a donation from SA Muslims to fellow believers now streaming across the border in search of peace and food.

Pretoria has also flown aid to Mozambique and Angola in recent times as part of its attempts to make peace with African states.

Last year SAA began scheduled flights to Nairobi as part of a drive to seek markets hitherto closed by sanctions. ANC supporters bitterly oppose such trade.

But commerce has its own logic. SA businessmen have set up shop across Africa and are also looking to the Gulf states.

The history of SA air links with the rest of the continent is cloak and dagger stuff. The government is thought to have bypassed a ban on landing in much of Africa by operating through "front" companies.

Somalia played a part too. SA managed to get round the ban in the late 1980s by establishing an airline on the Comores Islands in the Indian Ocean. It refuelled in Somalia, said aviation sources.

"They also operated under the cover of Air Gabon and even flew beef and wine to Libreville when the president there had some kind of shindig," said one such source.

That "shindig", Africans recall, was an OAU summit which ended, like all the body's gatherings in those days, with a ringing denunciation of apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter.

WANTED

MALE & FEMALE GO-GETTERS

NEWS Africa helped to free South Africa - Tutu

Africa lauded for role in struggle

■ **GLOOMY FUTURE** Africa may be marginalised while

West aids former east bloc countries: ①

A RCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu, the president of the All-Africa Churches Conference, yesterday praised African countries for contributing to the liberation of South Africa, the national news agency *Ziana* reported.

"We want to say a big thank you to you, our sisters and brothers in Africa, for your magnificent contribution to our freedom.

"We pray that violence will end and freedom will come soon," he said.

Addressing delegates to the sixth assembly meeting of the AACC in Harare, Tutu said when South Africa was free, perhaps the rest of Africa would become "truly free because Africa invested a very great deal in the South African liberation struggle".

He expressed concern about Africa's problems saying the continent was still undermined by human rights violations as well as still producing the vast bulk of the world's refugee population.

Sowetan 26/10/92
Africa was still suffering from the enormous debt burden and now it was the drought.

"We are suffering as the result of the devastating drought which has laid waste so much of our continent and we are in danger with the rest of the so-called Third World to be marginalised as the north concentrates on rehabilitating eastern Europe," he said.

Tutu said the Harare meeting was being held under a different context from that of the AACC's last meeting in Togo in 1987.

"The Berlin Wall is no more. Germany is united. We have seen the spectacular collapse of communism and Gorbachev and there is no longer a Soviet Union," he said.

He said without doubt some of these developments had affected what had taken place in other parts of the global village.

The events in eastern Europe had given a stimulus to the desire for democracy and multi-partyism, he said. - *Sapa*.

● Somali relief withdrawn

Fighting stops food aid

NAIROBI - Fighting has cut the lifeline of hundreds of thousands of Somali famine victims, threatening the United Nations' 100-day rescue plan while UN troops in Mogadishu seem powerless to intervene, relief officials said yesterday.

The United States air force sus-

Spwetam 27/10/92 ①
■ Lifeline for thousands of starving Somali famine victims is cut as US suspends food airlift to Baidoha:

pende its food airlift to Baidoha, a crucial distribution centre to about 200 000 starving civilians after one of its C-130 transport planes was hit by a bullet near its fuel tank on Sunday.

Food deliveries also stopped to some 100 000 starving people around the southern port city of Kismayo because gunmen fired at two relief planes on Sunday.

- Sapa-AFP.



PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke addresses the Press with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Gaborone last week.

Plummeting on Africa's chart

■ South Africans are reviled by their African 'brothers' for being unable to end the violence:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE young man behind the counter flashes a broad smile that says: "Welcome to Botswana, sir." But the expression on his face changes as soon as we answer his next question: "We are from South Africa."

Naturally, one would expect outsiders to sympathise with our pathetic lot because of the gnashing of teeth and the weeping.

But no, this smile and many others, I would realise later, vanished because of contempt.

Africans, to put it mildly, are getting fed-up with South Africans, especially with the black liberation movements.

A journalist covering last week's Gaborone summit between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government told me:

"You guys must just shut up. You can't even agree on a basic thing like finding a common solution to end the violence."

'I thought he was crazy'

I thought he was crazy and also discourteous.

As if this was not enough.

I was lamenting the fact that the rand had very little value even in Botswana, which is about the size of Transvaal, when a man I did not know said to my face: "Stop the violence and we will start respecting you again."

How the hell can he speak like that? The man is obviously ignorant of the disparate nature of South African politics.

I concluded that he was probably born many years after his country got independence from the British. Does he know what apartheid has done to our minds, our very being? Man!

"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. I mean, what's stopping the African National Congress from discussing their differences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?"

Forces of destabilisation

"Forget the 'third force'. It exists throughout southern Africa. In fact, the forces of destabilisation exist across the continent."

In essence he said that while Botswana citizens understood our dilemma, they felt liberation movements here emphasised the differences rather than accord.

A couple of years ago a colleague returned from a conference of photographic journalists in Harare and told this story:

"At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organisers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my open-

ing remarks when I was shouted down: 'Tell us about apartheid, you black boer'."

My colleague said he felt his African counterparts were despising him because they thought he was not concerned about fighting to end the system.

How else could he justify affording luxuries such as attending conferences while his country was burning?

You can feel this growing disdain everywhere you go in Africa.

In 1990 this conversation took place between a soldier at Yamoussoukrou Airport in the Ivory Coast and me:

"Are you black or white?"

Obviously, I thought the man was mad. "Of course I am black."

Same plane with FW

"Then how can you afford to fly in the same plane with the apartheid President?" He was referring to FW de Klerk during his visit to that country.

"I don't understand. How does my colour come into this?"

"You see, we are told that in South Africa whites are wealthy and live in proper houses, while blacks are poor and have insufficient shelter. Therefore you are white, a beneficiary of apartheid."

"I still don't see how you arrived at this analogy."

"You see, we are Africans and do not talk about black and white. So if you say you are also Africans why don't you speak with one voice against apartheid, especially if you are agreeable that it is a political evil?"

I thought this was rather far-fetched and reminded this soldier that he was living under a dictator who suppressed freedom of association, dissent, etc.

Pro-democracy movement

He said: "Well, dictators don't last. Haven't you heard of the growing multiparty democracy movement in Africa?"

The man was right on that one.

On a more political note, the Organisation of African Unity wants to see black unity, at least a principled united front of liberation movements, to tackle the Government in unison.

The constituent assembly is one of the unifying issues between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

And, for goodness sakes, they all agree that the violence is bleeding the black nation to death!

And finally, if the ANC and PAC do not exploit their points of commonality, we may as well forget about being free. And so it goes for the rest of the continent.

Egypt, Sudan meet to talk ①

CAIRO - Egypt and Sudan, bickering neighbours whose relations have deteriorated for two years, met again yesterday to try and resolve a long-simmering border dispute.

Sudan 28/10/92
Sudan's assistant foreign minister Ali Mohamed Osman Yassin met President Hosni Mubarak's chief political adviser, Osama el-Baz, to discuss Halaib, the disputed area, and other problems.

'Terrorists' held

■ Algerian police arrest Muslim preacher's followers:

Edweta 29/10/92

ALGIERS - Algerian police have arrested 10 members of a "terrorist" group led by a Muslim fundamentalist preacher, the official news agency APS said yesterday.

Five members of the group, which operated in the western area of Tlemcen near the Moroccan border, are still being hunted.

The agency said the gang sabotaged telephone links, set ablaze official vehicles and several buildings and sent threatening letters.

The men, arrested earlier this month, face charges including undermining state security, subversion and possession of firearms.

In the past two weeks,

① security forces in a nationwide crackdown have arrested more than 450 fundamentalists.

Most have been linked with the outlawed Islamic Salvation Front who have been blamed for killing more than 150 members of the security forces since last February. - Sapa-Reuter.

large extent it has been built up with the assistance of development con-

areas like telecommunications, in which SA companies are already in-

lieved to be considering extending it to cover SA industry in general.

Opportunities for 'adventurers'

STORY 29/10/92

THERE are opportunities for SA information technology companies wanting to export to other African countries, but they are advised to be "patient adventurers".

This was made clear at last week's Computer Society of SA seminar on computers, communications and trade in Africa.

Tara Systems director Seni Williams said his Nigerian software and consultancy company operated in several west African countries. SA could provide valuable expertise in assisting with many local technical problems, he said.

The infrastructures of many countries were ill equipped to deal with communication breakdowns because of a lack of investment in diagnostic and fault-finding systems.

"However, central governments are aware of these problems, and realise that poor communication systems are helping to kill many local businesses, which are all highly decentralised," Williams said.

There was a drive towards privatisation of some of the more special-

ised forms of communication, such as data links and networks.

He said west African governments were the biggest spenders on computer systems, except in Nigeria. "Business trends are now changing, with the drift towards privatisation."

In Anglophone countries, utility type computer systems hardly existed, and much assistance could be offered in this sector.

"The most glaring problem in the region is the lack of capable, reliable and dedicated human resources, so there are opportunities for SA companies — but not if they are faint-hearted," he said.

Kenya-based Computer Applications MD Mike Eldon told the conference Kenya's finance sector was highly competitive, and about 30 banks were spending large amounts on computer systems.

He said there was a large, dynamic private sector with about 60 computer vendors chasing business in SA.

A lack of funds was causing bottlenecks in the communications field, and the country was about four years

behind in its move towards digital systems.

"There are opportunities for third parties to assist in the telecommunications industry.

"However, because decision-making is generally a slow process in Kenya, it would be wise for SA companies to be patient adventurers into our country," said Eldon.

BMI-TechKnowledge director Alan Paul said Africa was slipping further and further behind in all infrastructural development, including telecommunications.

"However, the demand for communications is very high, and with regional co-operative development on the cards, there could be some major projects."

Paul said there were significant opportunities to provide telephone services to southern Africa, with the goal being to provide phones within walking distance of the total regional population. This would mean an installation of about 4-million phones, or 500 000 lines a year, which translated into a \$2,5bn a year market.

chase of land by a subsidiary Whitehall Court (Pty) Ltd to provide | per: A O BRICKER

Germans assist film producers

Sowetan 29/10/92

■ German television network will also co-produce and finance production of films in African countries:

C CHILDREN'S films from Africa are getting increasing attention in Germany. This is because of some new initiatives to co-produce films with directors from Africa and promote the African cinema at leading international film festivals in Germany.

The German television network Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF) has made a good beginning initiating co-operation with African countries in the field of children's films with its One World project.

The project offers the possibility to co-produce and co-finance children's films in Africa and to buy the German rights for films by African directors.

The One World project has helped to generate greater

awareness in Germany about the creative talent of the filmmakers in Africa, and has also made important contributions to promote inter-cultural dialogue.

The international film festivals in Berlin, Oberhausen, Mannheim and Munich have a long tradition of promoting the Africa cinema and many renowned directors in the continent were first discovered by these festivals.

The 10th International Munich Film Festival, held in June, focused on the children's film production in Africa by presenting six examples from Burkina Faso in the children's films section. They included films by Gaston Kabore, Idrissa Quedraogo, Djibril Diop Mambety and Moustapha Dao. The intention is to improve film production in Africa.

Thursday October 29 1992 SOWETAN

BUSINESS Delegates from 15 countries in response to growing trade links

High-powered

African bankers arrive

Sowetan 29/10/92
Trade ties prompt visit by French-speaking financiers:

By Joshua Raboroko

A GROUP of high-powered bank executives from French-speaking African countries arrived in South Africa this week to establish contact with local bankers, business and political organisations.

The visit is in response to the trade that is beginning to take place between South African companies on the African continent.

Major banks

Delegates include presidents from most major banks in the French speaking countries and will also familiarise themselves with local banking systems.

Representing 39 different institutions, the delegates come from 15 countries, including Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti,

Madagascar, Rwanda, Niger, Chad and Zaire.

The group is being brought to South Africa under the auspices of the Centre International de Formation de la Profession Bancaire (CHFPB) based in Orleans, France.

CHFPB is an international banking institution, which was formed by French banks to meet their specific training and consulting needs.

It provides education for over 60 000 people annually and has developed a number of training centres.

A spokesman for the group said that the group was scheduled to meet representatives of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, African Bank, Nedbank, Government officials and the ANC.

During their week-long visit, they will hold talks with leaders in Cape Town and Natal before flying to Maputo on November 1.

NEWS Town fears return to siege that claimed 60 000 lives during civil war in Liberia

Rebels terrorise Monrovia again

SPORTING LOOTED BOOTY - from straggly wigs to gas masks and headphones attached to nothing - groups of fighters with names like Captain Blood have returned to Monrovia and are terrorising its people. Residents of this war-torn city remem-

ber the last siege, in 1990, when two rival rebel groups and the Armed Forces of Liberia went on looting and killing sprees.

LOOTED BOOTY Fighters return to a terrified town that remembers a siege.

Forces of Liberia went on looting and killing sprees.

They remember finding headless bodies of Gio and Mano tribespeople sympathetic to Charles Taylor, the guerrilla leader with the biggest army in the country. Taylor invaded Liberia from Ivory Coast in December 1989, and Libe-

ria's civil war began. About 60 000 people have died in what grew into a tribal war, 40 000 of them of starvation during a siege of Monrovia in 1990. West African nations halted the siege temporarily - *Sapa AFP*

Sowden 30/10/92

NEWS Tribute to African art from p

Consumer organisations unite

Sowetan 30/10/92
■ To present education boards with course outlines intended for schools: *(EB) (1)*

A LIAISON group of African consumer bodies was established on Wednesday after the first meeting of the Conference of African Consumer Organisations (COA).

The three-day conference in Kempton Park, co-hosted by South Africa and Kenya, was attended by delegates from Ghana, Mauritius, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Bophuthatswana and the

Transkei.

SA Consumer Council's Jan Cronje said countries should share experiences.

COA will present educational boards with course outlines to be studied at schools and also utilise non-governmental organisations.

Kenya Consumers Organisation's Dr Jasper Okelo said a working committee would liaise with the International Organisation of Consumer Unions. - *Sapa*

SA told to join Africa

Savelen 30/10/92

■ Research shows this will create economic opportunities;

SOUTH Africa has been urged to enter into new economic pacts with the rest of the continent.

A study commissioned by the SA Chamber of Business and released in Johannesburg this week has outlined the crucial importance of co-operation with African States.

The Africa Institute of SA, which carried out the research, says progress towards full international acceptance will strengthen commercial and other

bonds.

Researcher Dr Erich Leister says the African countries welcome these developments and look forward to South Africa joining regional groupings such as the SA Development Community and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA).

Western leaders and development agencies hope that South Africa will help to promote development and stability in the region.

SA delegation in Gabon

LIBREVILLE - A South African delegation headed by a top foreign affairs official arrived in the oil-rich west African state of Gabon on Wednesday.

The seven-member delegation, led by Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman, is to meet President Omar Bongo and to discuss possibilities for cooperation between the two countries.

36/10192

Africa in brief

Sowetan 30/10/92
R80-m boost for Somalia ①

MOGADISHU - The World Bank has announced it is donating about R80 million in grants to support United Nations efforts to feed thousands of Somalis dying of starvation.

Mr Francis Colaco, a World Bank director, told a news conference the bank did not usually get into relief aid or peacekeeping activities. But he said they were motivated by the situation in Somalia which had no functioning government that would allow the bank to institute loans or credits for development projects.

Powersharing on the cards ①

NAIROBI - Rwanda and its rebel foes agreed yesterday to the broad lines of an agreement to share power and end a ruinous two-year war.

But the two sides failed to agree on the formation of a new legislative assembly and promised to meet again in two weeks to put the finishing touches to the accord. Officials at the four-week old talks said the government delegation, led by Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira and rebels of the Rwanda Patriotic Front clinched the accord after days of difficult bargaining.

Boniface 30/10/92

Liberian orphans trapped ①

MONROVIA - Three hundred children in an orphanage in the Liberian capital of Monrovia have been cut off by fierce fighting between rebels of the National Patriotic Front and West African troops.

Workers with Unicef, the UN Children's Fund, said they had been without news of the orphans for a week, and were going to try to reach them by yesterday.

Dwight 3/10/92

blacks in business

Company provides loans to buy taxis

Sowetan 30/10/92
 ■ Members will also be helped to start other businesses:

By Joshua Raboroko

THE Nafcoc-affiliated National African Federated Transport Organisation has launched a scheme involving millions of rands to help their members buy vehicles and start businesses.

The organisation has formed the Dewline Enterprise Long Distance Transport Company Ltd which will make loans available to potential taxi owners and shopkeepers.

The company already has R4 million in its coffers.

At a Press conference this week the company's managing director, Mr Lebina Mofokeng, said the company

consisted of 28 Nafco associations in the Transvaal and Orange Free State who wanted to improve the standard and quality of the taxi industry.

Members were expected to buy the maximum of 6 000 shares. The money would be deposited in a bank and be used to buy vehicles.

About 150 of their more than 4 000 members had already benefited from the scheme, he said.

The company offered security and provision would also be made for old vehicles to be improved and be insured against theft, riot damage and robbery.

Lebina said that the association had built three large supermarkets in Petrus Steyn, Kroonstad and Vereeniging.

SA told to join Africa

Sowetan 30/10/92
 ■ Research shows this will create economic opportunities:

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Western leaders and development agencies hope that South Africa will help to promote development and stability in the region.

... year ended ... per share (100) ... 107 cents

AFRICA BRIEFS

Western exploitation, may stand for Nigeria's civilian presidency, say political sources.

Abiola has ties with military President Ibrahim Babangida, whose Armed Forces Ruling Council this month scrapped fraudulent presidential primaries and sacked elected officials of the two army-created parties vying for political power.

The sources say Abiola, who opted out of the race in March, is now keen to run and is having talks with the Social Democratic Party.

More attacks on police

ALGIERS: Gunmen have made four attacks on Algerian policemen in less than 24 hours, killing three and wounding two, says the official news agency APS.

The attacks are the latest of many apparently carried out by a Muslim fundamentalist underground movement. More than 150 policemen or gendarmes have been killed since the authorities stopped fundamentalists win-

ning general elections in January.

APS say the authorities have arrested 21 members of an armed Islamic group in the remote southern town of Ghardaia for possessing arms, explosives and subversive propaganda.

No responsibility for drinkers

TRIPOLI: Libyans who drink alcohol, play cards or are married to foreigners cannot become ambassadors or assume other positions of responsibility, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi has announced.

Speaking to an assembly of committees overseeing the country's new "commune" system of local government, the maverick leader said drinking and playing cards were distractions from work and could not be tolerated in public officials.

Alcohol was banned in Libya shortly after Gaddafi came to power in 1969. — Sapa-Reuter

Millionaire eyes presidency

LAGOS: Mashood Abiola, a millionaire champion of African demands for reparations for

AFRICA

Ivory Coast

South 31/10-4/11/92

THE GOVERNMENT has again rejected a call by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for sharp reductions in salary outlays for civil servants.

During a four-hour interview on national television this month, Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara said his government "cannot accept a major reduction in civil service spending".

The IMF suspended a \$120-million (about R336 million) standby credit agreement with the West African nation in June, saying the government had failed to meet budgetary targets.

The IMF wants authorities to cut the government payroll, increase tax revenue, and eliminate price supports for coffee and cocoa, the principal exports.

Stanbic clinches African deal

MELBOURNE — The Australia and New Zealand Banking Group (ANZ) is to sell its African operations to SA's Standard Bank Investment Corporation (Stanbic).

An announcement was made by ANZ's CEO Don Mercer at the weekend.

ANZ had agreed a price of A\$53m, which represented a premium on the book value of the operations, Mercer said in a statement reported by the Australian Associated Press. BIDAM 2/11/92

Stanbic MD Eddie Theron said yesterday full details of the deal would be released in Johannesburg.

The businesses to be sold include ANZ's 100%-owned operations in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire and Botswana, its majority-owned operations in Kenya and Uganda, and its minority interests in Ghanaian and Nigerian operations.

The sale involved total assets of more than A\$600m and risk-weighted assets in excess of A\$500m, Mercer said.

The sale was part of an ANZ strategy of selling non-core operations and expanding into the Asian region.

"When our new branch in Vietnam opens later this year, it will increase our Asia-Pacific representation to 18 countries."

All of the more than 1 100 staff employed in Africa would be retained, Mercer said.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Great debate appeal

YAOUNDE - Cameroon's President, Paul Biya, sworn in for his third term yesterday after much-disputed elections, said a "great national debate" would be held to discuss major changes to the constitution. (1)

Biya, who declared a state of emergency in the north-west after violent protests by opposition supporters, called for the great debate during his swearing-in ceremony. - *Sowetan Africa News Service and Sapa- Reuter-AFP* *Spullen 4/11/92*

Africa 'must work hard to become a world player'

6:10 AM 4/11/92

JONO WATERS

TOTAL factor productivity remained constant between 1960 and 1987 in subSaharan Africa against increases of 1.9% a year in East Asia, National Productivity Institute executive director Jan Visser said yesterday.

Delivering the keynote address, he said that since 1980, growth in productivity had accounted for a small proportion of output growth for most developing countries.

Visser said the World Bank had predicted there would be an increase of nearly 100-million poor people in subSaharan Africa which would make 30% of the developing world poor, compared with 16% in 1985.

"The correlation between productivity and economic growth is strong and positive, and Africa will simply have to increase productivity if it wants to become a world economic player," he said.

GDP in the subSaharan region decreased by 1.2% a year between 1980 and 1989, while it increased in all other regions except Latin America. The growth rate of 1% a year achieved by the subSaharan region was not high enough to accommodate the high population growth rate of



● VISSE

3.2% a year.

Visser said that in recent years, East Asia had grown rapidly through expansion in trade. Annual growth in real exports increased by more than 10% from East Asia, while they declined in subSaharan Africa.

Since agriculture provided Africa

with 33% of Africa's GDP and 40% of its exports, the continent had a clear comparative advantage and it offered the best immediate opportunity for raising incomes, he said.

"Agricultural growth must be doubled to 4% a year to be able to increase Africa's standard of living." He said that even when full account was taken of the environmental limits to land exploitation, the scope for expanding production was great.

Over a longer period, policies should aim at fostering private investment and entrepreneurship in the industrial sector, he said.

Visser said education would affect productivity and growth, as a better educated person absorbed information faster and applied new processes more successfully.

Visser said the adult literacy rate in subSaharan Africa was only 48% compared with 71% in East Asia, and fewer than 50% of children were enrolled in primary school in the subSaharan region.

Visser concluded that to have an African productivity association dominated by governments and politicians would be fundamentally wrong, and he was pleased that no politician had been involved in the first assembly.

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Democracy first priority

S/Time

15/11/92

United States President-elect **BILL CLINTON** spells out his policies towards Africa and South Africa

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A REVOLUTION is under way in Africa. From South Africa to Ethiopia, from Kenya to Zaire, Africans are struggling to achieve political and economic freedoms that we Americans often take for granted.

If we are to lead a global alliance for democracy, we must be willing to work as hard in Africa as we are working in other parts of the world. That means putting the same kind of energy into helping South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid as we do into helping the peoples of the former Soviet Union overcome the legacy of communism. It means opposing political oppression across Africa as firmly as we oppose political oppression in Asia and the Middle East. Over the past three years, Africans have made great strides towards democracy. But we should not allow this progress to lull us into complacency.

As recent events in Ethiopia and South Africa have reminded us, the road to democracy in Africa, as in other parts of the world, will be long and difficult.

Africans must take the lead in addressing the underlying causes of the continent's

failure to develop stable democratic governments and prosperous economies. Among those causes are failed statist economic policies, bureaucratic corruption and one-party rule. A growing number of African leaders are beginning to take up these challenges and they deserve our strong support.

Our top priority must be to foster democracy. We cannot guarantee the success of the democratic experiments, but there are several actions we could take that would improve the chances that those experiments will succeed.

First, we must reform our aid programmes to ensure that the assistance we provide truly benefits Africans and encourages the development of democratic institutions and free-market economies.

In the 80s the Reagan and Bush administrations provided record amounts of aid to Africa. But much of that aid was used to support corrupt, dictatorial regimes. I am confident that Americans will support generous assistance to Africa if they believe that it will be used effectively to assist those struggling for democracy and economic opportunity — and not to cur-

ry favour with their oppressors.

We must also reform the way we deliver aid to Africa. The existing structure is too large and cumbersome and too much money is spent on bureaucracy and consultants.

A second step we should take to encourage progress in Africa is to support measures to strengthen UN peace-keeping capabilities.

War is the enemy of democracy. Unless we are willing to commit ourselves to creating international mechanisms that preserve the peace, we are likely to witness an unending series of humanitarian crises.

Finally, we need to devote special attention to the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The stakes there are very high and what happens in South Africa will inevitably affect the prospects for democracy and economic growth in the rest of the continent.

We need to do three things to encourage the transition to democracy in South Africa.

First, we must work to help end the violence that has ravaged black townships and threatened the Codesa process.

We must firmly insist that

the De Klerk government investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence, target some of our assistance towards strengthening local peace-keeping structures and support Nelson Mandela's call for international monitoring.

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We should also continue the current restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, until this goal is reached.

Finally, when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration will begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid.

● This is an edited version of an article which first appeared in Africa Report. Copyright (c) 1992 African-American Institute.

Africa 'must work hard to become a world player'

B/D BY 4/11/92
JONO WATERS

TOTAL factor productivity remained constant between 1960 and 1987 in subSaharan Africa against increases of 1.9% a year in East Asia, National Productivity Institute executive director Jan Visser said yesterday.

Delivering the keynote address, he said that since 1960, growth in productivity had accounted for a small proportion of output growth for most developing countries.

Visser said the World Bank had predicted there would be an increase of nearly 100-million poor people in subSaharan Africa which would make 30% of the developing world poor, compared with 16% in 1985.

"The correlation between productivity and economic growth is strong and positive, and Africa will simply have to increase productivity if it wants to become a world economic player," he said.

GDP in the subSaharan region decreased by 1.2% a year between 1980 and 1989, while it increased in all other regions except Latin America. The growth rate of 1% a year achieved by the subSaharan region was not high enough to accommodate the high population growth rate of



● VISSER

3.2% a year.

Visser said that in recent years, East Asia had grown rapidly through expansion in trade. Annual growth in real exports increased by more than 10% from East Asia, while they declined in subSaharan Africa.

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with 33% of Africa's GDP and 40% of its exports, the continent had a clear comparative advantage and it offered the best immediate opportunity for raising incomes, he said.

"Agricultural growth must be doubled to 4% a year to be able to increase Africa's standard of living." He said that even when full account was taken of the environmental limits to land exploitation, the scope for expanding production was great.

Over a longer period, policies should aim at fostering private investment and entrepreneurship in the industrial sector, he said.

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Standard invests in Africa

■ Corporation acquires ^{Sowetan 5/11/92} R165,71 million interest in Grindlays:

By Joshua Raboroko

STANDARD Bank Investment Corporation (SBIC) has acquired about R165,71 million African operations of ANZ Grindlays Bank with effect from November 2.

SBIC will assume equity control of ANZ Grindlays banks in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, Botswana, Uganda and Zaire.

Significant minority interests in banks in Nigeria and Ghana are also part of the acquisition.

The banks together have 25 branches and almost 1 400 staff members, all of whom will be retained.

The operation will be managed from Johannesburg as part of the Africa Banking

Group within SBIC, which presently includes banks in Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg this week, SBIC's group managing director Mr Eddie Theron confirmed the deal and said it was an important step.

He said the acquisition of the operation further strengthens SBIC's capacity for helping trade flows in Africa and, taken with its newly established operations in London, Jersey and Isle of Man, enhances its capability to serve clients internationally.

As a strategic initiative, the acquisition is in line with the Group's stated intention to play a more significant part in regional development on the African continent.

Rawlings is president-elect

Sowetan 6/11/92 (1)

ACCRA - Ghana's head of state, Jerry Rawlings, was poised to win presidential elections after partial results from first round polling on Tuesday gave him a commanding lead over four challengers.

Election officials yesterday said with ballots from 177 out of the 200 constituencies, Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings, who retired from the military in September, has won about 2 091 996 of the 3 562 342 votes cast.

His closest opponent, retired history professor Albert Adu-Boahen, took 29,9 percent with about 1 065 309 votes, the officials said.

Former president Hilla Limann, whom Rawlings overthrew in a December 1981 coup, is third with 244 696 votes.

Businessman Kwabena Darko has 103 625 votes for 2,9 percent and retired Lieutenant-General Emmanuel Erskine had 56 716 votes for 1,6 percent. - Sapa-AFP

Liberian rebels fight peace force

Guardian/W [in w/mant] 6/11-12/11/92 (1)

REBEL forces besieging the Liberian capital Monrovia fired rockets at a Nigerian plane carrying reinforcements for the multinational west African peacekeeping force under attack at strategic points around the city. Members of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) fired at the Nigerian Okada Air plane as it landed at Spriggs Payne airfield, witnesses said. The rockets failed to hit their target.

The NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, has said he will continue firing at peacekeeping force aircraft with the aim of bringing them down. The United States condemned the slaughter of five American nuns who were shot last week in NPFL territory, three outside their convent in the Monrovia suburb of Gardnersville and two further inside NPFL territory. The embassy stopped short of specifically blaming the NPFL and Mr Taylor's radio station claimed on Saturday that the murders were carried out by a retreating member of the

peacekeeping force. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Monrovia, Michael Francis, one of the few outspoken critics of atrocities throughout the war, said of the nuns' killers: "They are destroyers, not builders. They have done nothing for their country. We

By Mark Huband in Monrovia

prayed for these wicked people, liars, who kill us and murdered the sisters."

The NPFL, which invaded Liberia in December 1989 and has been attempting to seize Monrovia since June 1990, launched its current offensive on October 15. Mr Taylor, who has become increasingly belligerent, appears to have dropped all intentions of abiding by peace agreements he signed last year in the Ivory Coast. According to one of his closest advisers he is determined to use all his military force in the attack on Monrovia,

where rival military factions which have been bombarding him constantly are concentrated. The combined strength of the 9,000-strong peacekeeping force, the remnants of the former national army, militias loyal to the interim president Amos Sawyer, and tribal supporters of the murdered former president Samuel Doe, have failed to halt the NPFL advance.

Earlier this week the NPFL forces were fighting the peacekeepers in the suburbs of Paynesville to the south and Gardnersville to the north. According to sources recently in Mr Taylor's territory, the 10,000 strong NPFL guerrilla army has acquired armoured personnel carriers Nigeria, which dominates the peacekeeping force with its contingent of around 6,000, has bombed NPFL targets with Alphajet fighter aircraft. More than 100,000 refugees have fled in the past two weeks to Monrovia, which is facing an increasingly serious water shortage.

Cameroon's poll 'victor' under house arrest

Guardian/W [in w/mant] 6/11-12/11/92 (1)

CAMEROON'S opposition leader, John Fru Ndi, who claims to have won the presidential election, said that he had been placed under house arrest with more than 100 relatives and followers. "They don't even let a dangerously ill girl screaming on the bare floor out to hospital," he said by telephone from his home in the western highlands town of Bamenda.

About 150 paramilitary gendarmes have surrounded Mr Fru Ndi's house in a crisis triggered by the proclamation that President Paul Biya had been re-elected on October 11.

By our Correspondent

A doctor allowed into the house said that officers enforcing new emergency orders had refused his request to evacuate the sick.

"I have examined 11 people so far," said Dr Paul Achu. "I wanted to evacuate one 20-year-old girl who has cerebral malaria, but the commandant at the gate said he could not give authorisation."

Mr Fru Ndi, who came out of hiding and was allowed back into his house, said he had not tried to step out since but was sure he would be stopped.

"I don't want to descend to argu-

ing with a small recruit at my gate," he said. "I am here, waiting, still making my point known — how Paul Biya has stolen the victory of my people."

The communications minister, Augustin Kontchou Koumegni, confirmed that Mr Fru Ndi was under house arrest. "If he were free this would be a danger for all the country," he told the BBC.

Since the result of the election was announced, unrest has engulfed strongholds of Mr Fru Ndi's Social Democratic Front in the north-west, which was placed under a three-month emergency, and the port of Douala.

Somali town waits to die as warlords feud

Guardian (W) (in w/mail)
By Mark Huband in Mulid camp, near Bardera ①

6111-12/11/92

ALI lies alone under the hot sun as the sweating men hack at the hard ground that will become his grave. All morning they have been digging the loose earth on the top of the dyke beside the river bed. They chase away sightseers who peer at Ali's body.

"This is the death people. Come and see. This is the death people," says Hassan Mahmud Mohammed, chairman of Bardera's relief committee. He was appointed to the job when fighters of the Somali National Front faction seized Bardera last month.

Before the town fell, aid agencies had reduced the daily death rate from starvation to 50. The fighting led to relief flights being suspended and the withdrawal of all relief workers. Now there are 258 bodies waiting to be buried. That was the death toll from the previous night.

Sometimes the daily rate is as high as 400.

Ali's hole on the dyke is flanked by graves which stretch out of the town and into the scrub.

The seasonal rains have started and the dyke will become sodden. The earth will slip away and the sightseers will be back to see the corpses exposed.

"We are tired of digging. We think only of digging. We bury them on the top of the mound because the ground is softer on the top. We dig quickly. One day we buried 323 people," said Abdukader Yassin, the only doctor in Bardera — a doctor with no medicine and few means of treating the people whose illnesses he diagnoses.

Bardera is trapped between a minefield to the west and the front line of fighting to the east. The Somali National Front which holds the town, is led by General Mohammed Sayeed Hersi Morgan, son-in-law of the country's deposed dictator, Mohammed Siad Barre.

SNF forces camped for four months in the hills west of Bardera waiting for the leader of the faction then controlling the town, General Mohammed Farah Aideed, to leave Bardera on a visit to Mogadishu. Then they marched in. Gen Aideed has declared his aim of recapturing Bardera, and his troops are only 30 miles away. When he lost the town, Gen Aideed told the United Nations that all the civilians had fled. This was a lie intended to discourage the UN from sending food aid. The UN believed him for a few days, and the people

of Bardera started to die. Then the UN realised they had been tricked. They had not expected Somali leaders to be that callous.

The minefield, which was laid by the SNF when they were planning their siege of Bardera, has also stopped relief agencies arriving by road from Kenya. There are up to 60,000 people in Bardera and the surrounding area who are eating rapidly depleting relief food left behind when the aid agencies departed. The only activity in Bardera is grave-digging.

Children lick cornmeal from where it has spilt in the sand at Mulid camp, a mile outside Bardera. A man in a camouflage jacket chases them away with a stick. There are 11,000 people in the camp and they are all starving.

Maymouna Mahamed is in a dome-shaped hovel made of thorn bushes.

Her movements are so slow it is as if she is floating. "I need some sugar. I can eat sugar. And

milk. I can't digest what the people bring me," she murmurs. Everybody has left her village of Jaware, 20 miles from Bardera. A month ago the people there were receiving a steady supply of food, sent out from Bardera on trucks by the US-based relief organisation, Care International.

"Everybody is dead in the village. There's nobody left. I came here walking. Now I can't walk. Please bring me to the hospital. They have food," she says.

In hut after hut, baking under the scorching sun, drenched when the rains pour people lie waiting to die or to bury the dead. Mulid is a death camp for people in danger of being forgotten. Bardera is a town waiting to be rescued.

The last food to arrive was brought in by a German military aircraft on October 24 as part of the multinational airlift.

The SNF, responsible for organising the composition of the relief committee, had omitted one of the 25 local sub-clans thereby depriving members of that sub-clan of their cut of the food automatically looted by the warlords.

During unloading cooking oil and high protein Unimix, an aggrieved member of the excluded sub-clan fired a missile over the plane which exploded beside the runway. The plane immediately took off and further relief flights were suspended.

Muslim militants arrested

ALGIERS: Police have arrested 28 Muslim militants suspected of providing arms, funds and forged documents to anti-government commandos, state radio reported this week. (AP) (11-12-11) 1/2

The radio said the arrested supporters of the banned Islamic Salvation Front included a doctor, a Muslim clergyman, several engineers and a university professor in the eastern city of Constantine.

More than 530 people, most of them supporters of the fundamentalist Salvation Front, have been arrested since new counter-terrorism measures were decreed in late September.

Africa's new hope for the famished

CP News 8/11/92
AN American winner of the Nobel peace prize, Norman Borlaug, whose high-yield dwarf wheat changed the face of food production in Asia, believes a solution to Africa's horrendous food shortage is in sight.

Experiments carried out under his guidance in various parts of the continent gave surprising results. Yields have risen, on average, by no less than 2,5 times.

Borlaug has been experimenting extensively in the Sudan, where wheat and sorghum crop yields have increased dramatically. In March this year the Sudanese harvested no less than 800 000 tons of wheat compared with a previous total of around 160 000 tons. In Ghana maize production has increased by about 40 percent and indications are that this figure will steadily rise in the future.

Other areas where 78-year-old Borlaug's scientists are operating include Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Benin and Togo.

Borlaug, who became famous as a plant breeder in the American state of Iowa, believes African leaders can play a key role in increasing production of food by taking a few simple steps:

- Make it a priority that fertiliser reaches African villages at least six weeks before the planting season starts.
- Provide the farmers with credit to pay off debts.
- Ensure that they receive a fair price for their produce.

Africa has two major problems that inhibit food production. Firstly, its soil is acidic and in great need of fertiliser. Secondly, its farming methods are generally primitive. More than 80 percent of the continent's farming is still done by hand, consisting mainly of slash-and-burn cultivation with sickles, sticks and hoes. About eight out of every 10 farm workers are women.

Only about 16 percent of African farms are cultivated by animal power. If one considers that without animal power only about 2,5 acres can be cultivated by one family, then it becomes clear why most of Africa's agriculture consists of subsistence farming.

A mere four percent of cultivation is done with machinery.

But while Africa has the lowest farm output in the world it possesses the most unused and uncultivated land.

If farming methods can be improved while more unused land is cultivated, the continent should be able to overcome its present problem of widespread starvation. Combine the foregoing with the knowledge the Borlaug team has built up since its programme in Africa started in 1986 and food production can even increase spectacularly.

New high-yielding strains of important crops are gradually appearing on the scene. With further development and hard work these strains can change the face of Africa.

Borlaug says he has no instant solution to Africa's food problems. But by scientifically marshalling all available knowledge on Africa's crops, the use of fertiliser, insect and weed control, and the optimal use of available moisture a solution is in sight.

Breakthrough as Ghana opens doors

PETER DELMAR

THE SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) has been invited to exhibit at a major trade show in Ghana in what is described as SA's biggest breakthrough into west Anglophone Africa.

The Ghana International Trade Fair draws 3-million visitors and is being held for the fourth time in February and March.

Safto Africa manager Paul Runge said of this 'major breakthrough': "The invitation to Ghana opens the door into Anglophone Africa, which has previously been closed to SA".

Runge said more than 400 local and foreign exhibitors were expected from the agricultural, building and road construction industries. Hotels,

catering and tourism would also be well represented.

Runge said Ghana was a particularly important African market for SA, having maintained a 5% annual growth rate over the past 10 years.

"Ghana is a favourite of the IMF and World Bank for its successful structural adjustment programmes," Runge said.

Ghana, which recently lifted person-to-person sanctions against SA, had a liberal system of foreign exchange, operating through a network of foreign exchange kiosks sanctioned by the government, he said.

9/11/92
10/11/92

West Africans clamp down

ABUJA - West African leaders have called for a ceasefire in Liberia, imposed sanctions on the country's warring factions and urged United Nations involvement to help end the three-year-old conflict.

The measures, similar to others flouted in the past by main rebel leader Charles Taylor, were announced on Saturday after a meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, of a committee set up by the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States. *Sowetan*
9/11/92

AFRICA VS AIDS:

It's time for war

SOUTH 14/11 - 18/11/92

Ignorance is the biggest killer in Africa. **Justin Pearce** looks at the issues faced by educators trying to combat the Aids epidemic:

THERE is no such thing as Aids. It is a means of propaganda used by governments to promote smaller families through the use of condoms.

This is one of the false and dangerous rumours that are encouraging the spread of Aids in Africa, says Dr Elizabeth Ngugi.

Ngugi, of the University of Nairobi in Kenya, is one of Africa's leading authorities on Aids and on how to prevent it. She was speaking recently at a conference in Johannesburg of the National Aids Convention of South Africa (Nacosa) on the topic of "Aids — the African perspective".

Of the 10 million people infected with HIV worldwide, six million are in Africa. This means that one in every 40 adults in Africa is infected. In addition, 750 000 children are infected with HIV. Given the poor health services that exist in Africa, most of these children will die before their fifth birthday, says Ngugi.

Another serious problem for Africa is that the age group that is most economically productive is worst hit by Aids.

Ngugi calls for "speed and dedication" in tackling a fast-spreading epidemic. She suggests four steps to be taken in developing a programme to counteract the virus:

- Assess the current state of the epidemic and develop a surveillance system to monitor its spread.

- Identify and prioritise the risk



AT RISK: African children stand a higher chance than most of being born with the HIV virus

factors, such as sexual practices or intravenous drug use.

- Have a policy of screening donated blood for HIV.

- Establish a good working relationship between the providers of health care and those who receive it.

If the hospitals can be relieved of the burden of Aids patients, so much the better.

She says that more and more people infected in the eighties will start getting sick. Eventually, 80 percent of hospital beds in adult medical wards could be occupied by patients with HIV-related diseases.

"Thus there is an urgent need to build the capabilities of individuals and families so that sufferers can be cared for by the community."

Ngugi endorses the "bottom up" model of Aids care that emerged from discussions at the Nacosa conference. In terms of this model, Aids strategy is driven by the needs of communities and health workers, not by the dictates of government.

"This approach will give you greater success if you take into account right from the beginning the general population and those with special needs," Ngugi says.

Among people with special educational needs, Ngugi identifies young people. In Kenya, drama, music and print media have targeted school pupils. In Uganda, Aids education is a compulsory examinable subject in primary schools.

"This is aimed at eight to 14 year

olds to save the next generation," Ngugi says. "The youth out of school are in a far more difficult situation. They are not organised."

She said non-governmental organisations in Kenya have had some success in mobilising youth, using drama and other culture-based programmes.

Women are particularly threatened by Aids because the inequalities they face make them powerless to protect themselves from Aids, Ngugi says.

Economic and educational inequality, with the fact that "women do not have negotiation power for safer sex" make them a vulnerable group.

Poverty can drive women into prostitution, making them more vulnerable still. Education can produce results here, says Ngugi. She says that in parts of Nairobi, half the prostitutes have started using condoms after an educational programme.

But men also need to be targeted in Africa, as they are more likely than women to have multiple sexual partners. In cultures that tolerate polygamy, educating men is all the more difficult.

Educational programmes need to be addressed to particular groups of men such as long-distance truck drivers, who tend to have many sexual partners.

Looking at the various means of transmitting Aids education, Ngugi identifies electronic media as the most important.

In Kenya, radio reaches far more people than television but, she says, "television is still important because the people who watch it are the policy-makers who will influence funding and political support".

The print media are also important in reinforcing the message of the electronic media.

Aids information, unlike the disease itself, is also orally transmitted. Ngugi says that over half the Kenyan population has acquired knowledge of Aids from talking to friends. Merely creating a climate in which people feel comfortable about discussing Aids can help educate people about the epidemic.

Kenya, like South Africa, regards tourism as an important source of income. This had made governments reluctant to speak out about Aids, for fear of scaring away tourists and investors.

"These industries must be protected by all means, but not at the expense of our communities," says Ngugi.

"After all, what we are supposed to promote is the history and beauty of our countries rather than sex tourism.

"Let South Africa emulate the concept of 'action today' rather than 'wait and see'. Tomorrow will be too late to save millions of men, women and children.

"Be bold and implement the Aids control models that have worked elsewhere, as well as developing new ones," she says.

Democracy first priority

S/Time

15/11/92

United States President-elect **BILL CLINTON** spells out his policies towards Africa and South Africa

①

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As recent events in Ethiopia and South Africa have reminded us, the road to democracy in Africa, as in other parts of the world, will be long and difficult.

Africans must take the lead in addressing the underlying causes of the continent's

failure to develop stable democratic governments and prosperous economies. Among those causes are failed statist economic policies, bureaucratic corruption and one-party rule. A growing number of African leaders are beginning to take up these challenges and they deserve our strong support.

Our top priority must be to foster democracy. We cannot guarantee the success of the democratic experiments, but there are several actions we could take that would improve the chances that those experiments will succeed.

First, we must reform our aid programmes to ensure that the assistance we provide truly benefits Africans and encourages the development of democratic institutions and free-market economies.

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the De Klerk government investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence, target some of our assistance towards strengthening local peace-keeping structures and support Nelson Mandela's call for international monitoring.

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● This is an edited version of an article which first appeared in Africa Report. Copyright (c) 1992 African-American Institute.

the nation

in brief

Sowetan 17/11/92

300 families left homeless

MORE than 300 families at Brooksby in Bophuthatswana have been left homeless following severe thunderstorms that have raged in the area for the past two weeks.

The defence force has supplied them with tents as temporary accommodation.

Eight on fact-finding tour ①

EIGHT South Africans will undertake a two-week fact-finding tour of East Africa from tomorrow, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said yesterday.

Mrs Shelagh Gastrow, head of Idasa's Africa Programme, will lead the tour, which will include a visit to Kenya as observers to the first multiparty elections. The tour will also include a visit to Eritrea and Ethiopia. The tour party comprises Gastrow, Mr Cas Coovadia, general secretary of the Civic Association of Johannesburg, Mr Jerome Ngwenya of the Independent Mediation Service of SA, Ms Ilse Olckers of Lawyers for Human Rights, journalists Barney Mthomboti and Thoraya Pandy and Idasa staffers Henning Myburgh and Simon Ntombela.

Sowetan 17/11/92

5 charged for 24 murders

FIVE men appeared in Durban's Regional Court yesterday in connection with last month's massacre at Folweni in which 24 people were killed.

They are Mr Lucas Ngubane (19), Mr Mlungisi Nzama (21), both of Umbumbulu, Mduduzi Ngcobese (18), Mr Bongani Hlatswayo (19), both of Folweni, and Mr Sfiso Mthambeni (22), of Chesterville. They are charged with 24 counts of murder, 24 of attempted murder and several of the illegal possession of explosives, firearms and ammunition.

Sowetan 17/11/92

April is DP's vice-chairman

THE Democratic Party has re-elected Mr David Gant as chairman of its national council while former Labour Party parliamentarian Mr Chris April was elected as vice-chairman of the council.

The DP announced the elections yesterday. The party's two-day national congress, which ended on Saturday, resolved that party structures at all levels should reflect the nonracial nature of the DP's current membership and support base.

Africa and resources ①

ABUJA — African capital markets, yet undeveloped, were looking to foreign resources to help them grow, said delegates to an international conference on promoting capital markets in Africa which ended in Abuja at the weekend.

The participants, who came from 18 African countries and five others (Oman, the US, Sweden, Britain and France), said African markets should aim for "self-reliance" and "less dependence" on external aid.

"The continent is at a crossroads at which African governments and their people will need to make important, and sometimes painful, decisions needed to revitalise their economies," the UN economic and social council said at the gathering. *BOM 17/11/92*

The "heavy dependence" of Africa on external resources to finance development and the attendant erosion of political and economic sovereignty of its nations were some of the "formidable challenges" facing the continent in the 1990s, the agency said in a paper titled "The African Economies in Perspective".

— Sapa-AFP.

WORLD

Somalians land in Yemen

ADEN — A dilapidated freighter crammed with thousands of desperate refugees from Somalia's civil war arrived yesterday at Yemen's port of Aden, officials reported.

Doctors of the French-based Medecins Sans Frontieres planned to inspect the estimated 2 500 refugees, then send the healthy to a refugee camp. (D)

Health officials were especially concerned about 400 children believed aboard. It was not clear what would happen to any ailing refugees.

Thousands of Somalis have fled clan fighting and a famine that has left at least 300 000 dead this year and about 2-million facing starvation. — Sapa-AP:

Tutu tries to aid Cameroon

8/10/92 20/11/92
YAOUNDE — Archbishop Desmond Tutu had urged Cameroon's President Paul Biya to form a government of national unity to defuse a political crisis after disputed elections, state radio said yesterday. ①

But opposition leader John Fru Ndi, who is under house arrest, immediately rejected the proposal and said the constitution must be completely changed.

Tutu has been acting as a mediator between Biya and Fru Ndi, who both claim to have won last month's presidential election.

The government has cracked down on opposition protest and clamped a state of emergency on Fru Ndi's home area, North-West province.

State radio said the archbishop, on a five-day visit to Cameroon as head of the All Africa Conference of Churches, suggested a unity government in a written note to Biya. He left to return to SA yesterday.

There was no immediate government reaction.

But Fru Ndi said his Social Democratic Front (SDF) could not join a government with Biya.

"No, no, no! I told him (Tutu) that a union government with the SDF will not work because we don't have the same programme," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa 'ready for funds'

BRUSSELS — Africa was more prepared for investment that would help create free market economies than Eastern Europe, African Development Bank president Babacar Ndiaye said on Wednesday. (1) (2)

Africa and Eastern Europe were in competition for investment from Western firms, just as funds were drying up with the global recession biting and companies tightening their belts. (3) (4)

"If we compare Africa and Eastern Europe, I would say our continent is more prepared for a market economy," Ndiaye told a conference of Belgian businessmen in Brussels. 8/001 20/11/92

He said Africa had greater experience with market economies than Eastern Europe.

He was also optimistic about the economic future of Africa, saying the continent was ready for what he called "more practical management", primarily through the privatisation of public industries.

Ndiaye reiterated that he saw SA as the root of a tree of potential African development, with central Africa as the trunk while western, northern and eastern Africa were the branches. — Sapa-Reuter.

Africa's experience highlights choices

SOUTH Africa needs a new con-
sitution which will solve a range
of problems which are similar to
those faced by a number of African
states after they had gained inde-
pendence.

Most countries in Africa have
suffered the ravages of colonialism,
with its accompanying problem of
white supremacist policies.
Colonialism unilaterally imposed
new borders without regard for
existing tribal borders. Through

the policy of divide and rule, it
deliberately exacerbated ethnic
divisions, and plundered the eco-
nomic resources of African coun-
tries with no regard for the eco-
nomic well-being of the indigenous
inhabitants.

Education and social services
were provided mainly for the colo-
nial population. Even where some
provision was made for indigenous
peoples, it was of an inferior stan-
dard, and aimed primarily at

equipping a potential labour force
with the minimum of skills.

The result was that by the time
independent African governments
came to power, they were faced
with a legacy of poverty, ignorance
and illiteracy among the indige-
nous population; worsening rela-
tions between ethnic groups;
racism and vast imbalances in the
quality of life between white and
black citizens.
Because South Africa faces simi-

lar problems, we can draw from
the experiences of African states
and learn why they adopted certain
models of constitutions to rebuild
their countries after independence.

The African states which faced
similar problems to South Africa,
adopted different approaches to
solve them.

Some opted for a unitary state
to overcome racism and ethnic
divisions, while others opted for a
federal constitution.

South

2111-

25/11/92

(1)



Rwanda talks to resume

Sowetan 23/11/92

NAIROBI - The Rwanda government and its rebel foes are due to meet in Arusha, northern Tanzania, today for another round of peace talks aimed at ending a two-year bush war in the tiny central African state.

Rwanda Patriotic Front leaders and Rwandan government officials, who last month signed a partial powersharing deal, told reporters the talks would focus on the

■ Foes make determined efforts to end two-year bush war:

formation of a new legislative assembly, on rebel demands that refugees be allowed to return home and on the integration of rebel forces into the national army. - Sapa-Reuter.

World in brief

India blasts kill 40

NEW DELHI - Forty people were killed, many of them burnt to death, when two remote-controlled bombs exploded almost simultaneously in the Indian city of Guwahati.

Police said yesterday that at least 38 people died after a bomb left in a paper bag beside the driver's seat exploded as a bus was about to leave a crowded market late on Saturday. Two people were killed and six injured when a bomb planted on a parked motor scooter exploded minutes afterwards in front of a guest house where state legislators stay.

Aid for Somalia ①

NAIROBI - Sophia Loren, one-

Sowetan 23/11/92

Sowetan 23/11/92

time street urchin turned glamorous film star, arrived in Somalia yesterday on a UN mission to highlight the plight of starving children there.

Loren, accompanied by representatives of the UN High Commission for Refugees, will visit the southern town of Baidoa where aid workers are struggling to help thousands of homeless, destitute and hungry people.

Faith turns violent

JERUSALEM - An Arab woman stabbed a Jewish seminary student before being shot and wounded in the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem's Old City yesterday.

The incident took place not far from a spot where last week an attacker believed to be a Jew tossed a grenade into a crowded market, killing one Arab and wounding 12.

It to refugees by Serbians

starve it into surrender. In the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, there was sniper and machine gun fire in the old town throughout the night, and shelling of Muslim suburbs.

Bosnian radio reported a severe infantry attack on Saturday near the village of Turbe, 5km from Travnik where the defenders are making their major stand.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told the UN Security Council the Serbians might be deploying ground-to-ground missiles in the area.

Travnik, an ancient town surrounded by mountains, has been overrun by retreating and freezing outside for lack of accommodation.

The head of the International Committee of the Red Cross office in Split, Croatia, said: "Should there be a change in the front line (in the Travnik region) we'll have another refugee shock to absorb."

The capture of Travnik would open the road to Sarajevo, which has been under Serbian siege for seven months. — Sapa-Reuter.

US deficit may grow

LITTLE ROCK — US President-elect Bill Clinton had not ruled out a short-term increase in the federal deficit if needed to revive the economy in January, a senior aide said at the weekend. *5/10/92 23/11/92*

"The details have not been worked out," Clinton's communications director George Stephanopoulos said. Questioned on whether Clinton would be willing to drive up the deficit in the short run in order to get the economy moving, Stephanopoulos said: "I haven't ruled it out."

On the stimulus package, Stephanopoulos said that Clinton had not settled on any specifics and had asked advisers for a list of policy options by mid-December, about the time he holds his economic "retreat" for academics and business and labour representatives.

Clinton has indicated that if the economy is showing little growth by January, he will probably try to push through an immediate jobs package which will speed up the availability of federal dollars for road and bridge projects and give tax breaks for business investment. — AP-DJ.

Farm subsidy deal not acceptable France

PARIS — The agricultural accord struck between the US and the EC on Friday was "unacceptable", French premier Pierre Bergevoy said at the weekend. *5/10/92 23/11/92*

Bergevoy stopped short of saying France would exercise its veto to torpedo the accord. "We have before us difficult negotiations," he said in a statement released by the prime minister's office.

Bergevoy's comments echoed those of agriculture minister Jean-Pierre Soisson, who also called the accord unacceptable. But Soisson said a "definitive position" would not be taken until Parliament and the EC had been consulted.

Farm groups also rejected the agreement, calling for immediate demonstrations. Some urged France to use its veto power to scuttle the accord.

Farmers in Dijon set fire to bales of straw and tyres and tried to attack a MacDonald's hamburger outlet — as a symbol of US commercial interests — in protest against the trade deal.

France is asking the EC to verify the compatibility of the accord with the Common Agricultural Policy. The EC is to meet on Wednesday, the same day the French National Assembly is to open debate on the state of GATT negotiations.

Soisson said government would then seek a meeting of the EC's council of ministers "at which the foreign and agricultural ministers (of the EC) would set the definitive position of France and the EC". Hours before EC and US negotiators concluded their agreement, French Trade Minister Dominique Strauss-Kahn took swipes at Britain and the US, saying they were largely responsible for the deterioration in trade relations between the EC and Washington. "They (the US) want to become the world's biggest exporter of food products and to wield a kind of food weapon over the rest of the planet," Strauss-Kahn said. "We want to resist that, and it goes well beyond defending the interests of French or European farmers."

A French farm group said on Friday that the US demands would halve the EC's share of the world grain market by 2000.

The General Association of Wheat Producers said in its November newsletter that it based its estimate on studies by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Bank and International Wheat Council.

Meanwhile, in Tokyo, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, having welcomed settlement of the farm subsidy dispute, said Japan would stick to its ban on rice imports.

"Japan for its part will present its own assertion," said Miyazawa when asked about Japan's rice policy in the Uruguay round of GATT talks. There would be no change in Japan's opposition to a proposal that it instead levy high tariffs that should be reduced gradually.

The GATT committee is expected to resume talks in Geneva next week. — Sapa-AFP.

Agreement between coffee groups likely

ABIDJAN — African coffee producers are ready to compromise with consumer countries on export controls in a new world coffee pact, producer sources say.

The 25-member Inter-African Coffee Organisation voted last week to recommend that producers take the main responsibility for stopping illegal exports when talks between producers and consumers resumed in London this week. *5/10/92 23/11/92*

"It's a compromise with the consumers," said Ivory Coast Commodities Minister Guy Alain Gauze after a four-day meeting in Abidjan.

The African producers met before the International Coffee Organisation gathers in London this week for the latest round of

talks aimed at clinching a new agreement to boost low world coffee prices after price-supporting mechanisms in the previous pact broke down in 1989. *5/10/92 23/11/92*

Until now, producers have pushed for the burden of policing export controls to be shared, saying consumer countries should be ready to turn away illegal shipments. Consumers said producers had to block illegal exports at their own ports.

Delegates agreed that consumers should have the right to use any coffee, legally or illegally shipped, once it arrived. The consumers' role would be to document all imports and report shipments exceeding any country's quota. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola may shun Unita with new parliament

LUANDA — Angolan political parties, including the ruling MPLA, have decided to form a new parliament with or without Unita, which they have urged to end military moves threatening to plunge the country into renewed civil war. *5/10/92 23/11/92*

A congress of a dozen parties attended by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the MPLA agreed on Saturday to call parliament on Friday this week at the latest, after which a new government would be formed, Information Minister Rui de Carvalho said.

A final communiqué called on Unita to refrain from force and respect May 1991 peace accords which ended 16 years of war.

It also said Unita chief Jonas Savimbi should accept the results of a September 29-30 election which his organisation said was rigged.

Carvalho told reporters that Unita failed to show up at the meeting in a Luanda congress hall and had only itself to blame for ignoring the government's invitation.

"Unita isolated its own self," he said.

Savimbi had expressed concern over safety following the capture or deaths of leading officials in battles in Luanda three weeks ago. He had also sought safety guarantees for officials travelling to the capital from the group's central headquarters of Huambo.

Diplomats said the government had made little effort to include Unita at the congress, although the real test would be whether the group would take its seats at parliament.

A high-level government delegation, probably to be headed by Armed Forces commander General Antonio Franca "N'dalu", planned to visit Savimbi in Huambo next week to try to open a dialogue.

In the first promising move in weeks of political impasse, Savimbi said earlier this week he would accept the legislative results, although he still considered them fraudulent, and face a second round. But he declined to say whether he would respect the peace accords. — Sapa-Reuter.

DEEDS OF SURETYSHIP ARE THEY VALID?

Seven judgments recently handed down in the Supreme Court have commented on the validity of deeds of suretyship.

Specific reference is made to specific clauses of deeds of suretyship.

All seven appear in the December issue of Commercial Law Digest. Price R60 + VAT, Tel 011-3375380/3154134, Fax 3154550.

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EXCITATIVE

B1 DAY 23/11/92

NEWS IN BRIEF

~~SA~~ (1) Streamlining Mauritius

SENIOR Mauritian finance ministry official Rajun Jugurnath has just concluded a four-day visit to SA to investigate the possibility of the National Productivity Institute (NPI) helping his country streamline its public service.

NPI spokesman Jan Syfert said Jugurnath's visit was part of a plan to build an industrialised economy in Mauritius on the lines of the Singapore model.

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Disgraceful!

What drought scandal did to baby Maureen

Sowetan 24/11/92

NO, THIS IS NOT SOMALIA. This picture of 13-month-old Maureen was taken in a hospital in Lebowa - about 300km from Johannesburg. She is one of hundreds of children who are victims of a drought relief scandal exposed by a *Sowetan* investigation. Our probe has revealed frightening hunger and

suffering caused by bias in the application of drought relief. It showed that while 15 million blacks share a state subsidy of R200 million, whites affected by the drought are the beneficiaries of more than R800 million.

For the full story and pictures, see pages 2, 8 and 9.



Pic: Operation Hunger

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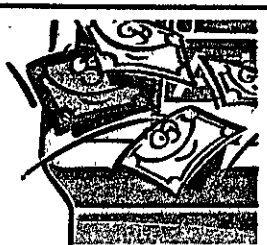
WASHING MACHINE R1399

TUMBLER DRYER R969

300 Litre FRIDGE R1499

This is today's clue in the Standard Bank Stick-A-Pic contest. Stick it on block No 11 of the form published on November 9. The first correct entry wins R20 000 in a Standard Bank AutoBank PlusPlan Account.

Standard Bank



Somalia ① landmine danger

Sowetan 25/11/92

■ Legs of 1 000 people amputated after landmine injuries:

NAIROBI - Landmines blanketing parts of northern Somalia pose a continuing threat to thousands of people, a US human rights group said yesterday.

The Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights called on the incoming Clinton administration in the United States and the international community to step up efforts to address the problem.

The organisation estimated that about 1 000 people, mostly children under 16 and women, had had their legs amputated because of landmine injuries.

Demining exercise

Since August 1991 the European Community, aided by the US and Britain, has funded a demining exercise in the arid region astride Africa's horn.

But Physicians for Human Rights, which based its report on a two-week visit to the region in February, described the exercise as inadequate and said more people would die because of the mines. - Sapa-AP.

Cameroon's first election ends in failure

STAR 26/11/92

THE first multiparty elections in Cameroon for almost 20 years have ended in failure.

They proved conclusively that "multipartyism" is not of itself a guarantee of democracy without institutional changes and guarantees under the constitution for an independent judiciary, an impartial electoral commission, and a code of human rights.

None of these basic elements of a democratic political system accompanied the promise to end the country's single party rule. Nor was provision made for independent observers of the elections as is now the general practice in countries moving towards democracy.

The results of the elections, as officially announced, are that President Paul Biya was re-elected on a minority vote of 45 percent, against 33 percent for John Fru Ndi of the Social Democratic Front (SDF) and some 20 percent for seven smaller challengers.

These official figures have been denounced as fraudulent by the opposition parties. The SDF claimed a substantial majority for Ndi, but when they sought to challenge the voting figures in the unreformed Supreme Court their petition was quickly rejected.

Instead of creating a more stable political and economic climate in this reasonably well-off West African republic, the elections have had a disastrous effect. They have further eroded the authority of Biya and his government, produced a state of turbulence and conflict, widened the gulf between the French-speaking south of the country (with which Biya is identified) and the English-speaking north-west, which voted overwhelmingly for Ndi.

The Muslim community, too, continues to feel itself marginalised; its candidate failed to get 20 percent of the vote.

Every canon of democratic rights was ignored after widespread demonstrations against the election results, with only isolated violent incidents.

Ndi was placed under house arrest along with a claimed 500 of his supporters, including most members of the SDF national executive. Witness accounts report beatings in prison of those detained. No judicial procedures were followed in implementing the decision to detain them.

Although Ndi's house was surrounded by armed security men, the government insisted that he was not under house arrest. But attempts by Ndi to leave his home, and by others to enter it, were blocked by the guards.

"If I am not a hostage, tell me what I am doing cut off in my house, surrounded by soldiers?"

asked Ndi.

Fearful of popular demonstrations against the installation of the president for a further term, Biya extended the repression of opposition politicians to the media, thus keeping up the regime's unsound record on press freedom.

Three independent newspapers — Le Messenger, La Nouvelle Expression and Challenge Hebdo — were banned under censorship notices. Two directors of independent newspapers had their passports withdrawn when they were on the point of leaving for Germany and the US.

Le Messenger editor Michel Epe responded to the censorship ban on his paper by saying: "Independent papers are an impediment to the government because they make public certain facts that could obviously reveal more truth, and they shed light on certain practices that have been in existence for a number of years."

There seems little prospect at present for any reconciliation between the president and the SDF leaders. The Minister for Communications denounced Ndi as "undemocratic, unpatriotic, irresponsible and dangerous". Ndi, on his side, described the president as "a very dishonest man who has never kept his word on anything he has said in the past".

Apart from the discrediting of the promise of a multiparty parliamentary democracy by the fudged elections, and the continual lack of international confidence in the country's economy, the biggest harm done by Biya's methods to remain in power has been to sharpen the cultural gulf between the north-west and the southern parts of the country.

Before Cameroon's independence in 1960, the north-west was a British trusteeship territory governed with Nigeria. Its people were educated in English and had close economic links with their Ibo neighbours.

The south was a French colony, and its residents were schooled in French culture. Before the country became independent, British Cameroon voted to join with French Cameroon, but within a federation which guaranteed language and other rights to both provinces.

Later, this federal arrangement was scrapped and a secessionist movement gained strength in the north.

Ndi's SDF, which swept the polls in the north-west, is anti-secessionist but the feeling among Anglophone Cameroonians that they will always have to play second fiddle to the Francophone electorate is very likely to stimulate secessionist sentiments. □

Minister expects 26% rise in trade with Africa

GAVIN DU VENAGE

TRADE with Africa was expected to increase 26% this year, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman told the North Coast Regional Development Association in Tongaat yesterday.

Exports to the rest of the continent last year amounted to R18,35bn compared with R15,75bn in 1990 and R8,94bn three years ago.

Schoeman said that the "positive developments on the political front internally" and SA's reintegration into the international community meant "countries were no longer shy to be associated with us".

"Trade was taking place with virtually every country on the continent.

"As the countries of the northern hemisphere are tempted to turn their backs

on Africa, we of this continent are being forced more and more to find solutions to our problems.

The Natal-KwaZulu region's two harbours were a natural door to the Indian Ocean Rim.

Our political staff reports that Schoeman said a window of opportunity has opened up for Natal, with its well-developed infrastructure and expertise, to take advantage of the new climate of rapprochement in our relations with Africa and the Indian Ocean Rim.

"Imagine the potential market not only of the Indian Ocean Islands but also of India, with 900-million people, and Pakistan, Africa and Indonesia."

26/11/92

Bandits hamper aid groups

26/11/92
■ Relief organisations may pull out of Somalia unless UN provides better security:

MOGADISHU - Aid groups are finding it increasingly difficult to work in Somalia because of attacks by bandits and may have to pull out unless the United Nations provides better security, relief organisations have said.

InterAction, an umbrella group of private humanitarian agencies, yesterday said the UN had allowed itself to be taken hostage by clans and warlords who dominate various parts of Somalia.

"It's time for governments and the United Nations to take Somalia seriously," said John Hammock of Oxfam America, one of more than two dozen organisations pro-

viding aid in Somalia. ① ②

About 3 500 UN troops have been authorised to provide security for relief shipments but most have not been deployed because of problems in negotiating security agreements with clans.

"We are asking for adequate security so we can get a bowl of rice to the people of Somalia so they will not starve to death," Hammock said.

The call for security help came as a UN-chartered ship carrying food was hit by an artillery shell as it approached Mogadishu harbour. - Sapa-AP.

Food aid - Loren adds her voice

■ **RESTORE PEACE** Film actress joins in worldwide growing call for action to protect convoys in Somalia:

NAIROBI - Italian film actress Sophia Loren added her voice yesterday to growing calls for major international action to protect food convoys and restore peace in the "hell we call Somalia".

"The United Nations cannot do it alone. The international community has the power to bring peace to Somalia, I only pray that it finds the political will to do so," Loren said.

She was speaking at a news conference at the end of her visit to Africa as a goodwill ambassador for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Asked whether she would support a direct international military intervention in Somalia to stop warlords hampering world relief efforts, the actress added:

"It's up to the United Nations Security Council. We need peace, peace so that humanitarian convoys can reach those in need before we lose an entire generation of children, if we have not already."

Late on Wednesday night, the Cable

News Network (CNN) reported that the United States had offered to send up to 30 000 armed troops to Somalia to help protect relief operations.

The network said Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger made the offer during a surprise call on UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali on Wednesday.

The security situation has deteriorated sharply in the last few days in Somalia where gunmen from rival clans steal food shipments and hijack trucks used by relief agencies.

International Red Cross flights delivering up to six tons of food a day into the southern Somali port of Kismayu have been suspended because of shooting at the airport, relief sources said.

During her visit, Loren saw the hungry and dying in the southwestern town of Baidoa dubbed the "city of death". It is at the centre of one of the worst famines this century which claims 50 victims a day. - Sapa-Reuter.

Sowefun 27/11/92

Liberia's peacekeepers join the civil war

STAR 27/11/92

Africa's first attempt to interpose a regional truce-enforcement team into a local dispute has run into trouble. HILARY ANDERSON reports for The Star's Africa Service.

In the turbulent West African state of Liberia a spiral of events has thrust the leaders of Africa's maiden regional peace-keeping force into a precarious position.

Ecomog, the West African peacekeeping force sent into Liberia in 1990 by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), has become heavily embroiled in fighting with Liberia's main faction — Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

Recently the UN only partly endorsed Ecomog's neutrality by backing the West African arms embargo on the NPFL, but not its call for economic sanctions. However justified its reasons, Ecomog has ended up fighting one side in Liberia's civil war.

The sound of heavy artillery has been a feature of everyday life in the capital, Monrovia, for almost a month, as the fighting has intensified daily.

Ecomog has carried out air raids over the main towns in NPFL-held territory — known as Taylorland — and in return the NPFL has bombarded strategic targets in the capital, including the port and the only functioning airport.

Civilians are fleeing in all directions, and Monrovia — seen as a safe haven whether it is or not — is overflowing with refugees.

More than 140 000 citizens have fled from its suburbs to the small remaining safe havens near the centre of town. Every evening before curfew, the streets of the city become lined with people seeking a place to sleep.

Houses which a month ago



Friend or foe? ... Ulimo fighters wear an assortment of uniforms but are well armed. The man in the centre is wearing a wig. Ulimo troops have been known to don nun's habits and women's clothes as a disguise against enemy bullets. The soldier on the left has "Rambo" written on his helmet, which is also adorned with juju charms.

had only one resident, now shelter 40 or 50.

The main water supply plant was hit in an artillery attack, leaving the city short of water, and in four weeks only one ship has dared approach the port with emergency food.

At the front of the minds of all are the cataclysmic events of 1990, when, following the overthrow of Samuel Doe by the NPFL, 40 000 starved to death as the city was cut off from food and civilians were killed in their hundreds in the streets of the capital.

It was the scale of the 1990 nightmare that finally brought West Africa together to form a peacekeeping force. The formation of Ecomog was generally hailed as a noble initiative, even by Liberia's warring factions.

So what went wrong?

The blame could be pinned down to a group calling itself Ulimo — the United Liberation Movement. This amorphous organisation emerged out of obscurity to take large parts of Western Liberia from Charles Taylor in August.

Ulimo said it was formed out

of Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone who had become disgruntled with life under Taylor.

But Taylor preferred to believe that Ecomog had created Ulimo out of former Liberian supporters of President Doe.

It may seem strange that creating such a force would be in Ecomog's interests. But the NPFL argues that it all makes sense.

Ecomog is, after all, dominated by Nigerians, and Nigerian President Babangida — a nasty West African imperialist in the view of the NPFL — used to be

a good friend of Samuel Doe. Deep mistrust has built up over the years between Taylor and the other West African leaders.

The rest is simple. As Ulimo was attacking the NPFL and Ecomog had set up Ulimo, the NPFL could attack Ecomog, which in turn could now counterattack to force Taylor's forces into another ceasefire.

And the UN, already involved in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Angola and elsewhere, is reluctant to take on more African wars so all over the continent its attempts at peace are failing. □

NEWS FEATURE *US is about to turn its back on Africa to concentrate on its own salvation*

Into the back burner of politics

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THERE is a tendency among Western intelligentsia to promote the Cold War as having been "a good war" similar to the global perception in this realm of World War Two.

As the World War Two had "rid the world of the tyranny of Hitler" so, too, did the Cold War "rid the world of the tyranny of communism" one American academic said after the collapse of the East Bloc and subsequently, the Soviet Union.

Be that as it may, the fundamental difference between World War Two and the Cold War is the belief that the latter left no victims.

That is perhaps too cynical a view of the Cold War; because while it can be argued, relatively successfully, that the Cold War was primarily an ideological one, there was a battlefield and indeed millions of victims.

The difference between the two wars was that the victims in the former were not in the backyard of America, the lauded victors of the Cold War, they can be found in the Third World.

Besides also the ravaged East Bloc, Africa bore the brunt of the Cold War. The alarming thing is that as America prepares itself for a period of domestic reconstruction through the more liberal Democratic government of president-elect Bill Clinton, Africa could quite

BATTLE OVER Victims of the "good war" are found in

America's backyard - the continent of Africa:



easily slip into the back burner of global politics.

It is a simple case, perhaps, of: The battle is over, the war is won. Let the soldiers return to their families and their lives.

In his victory speech on November 4, president-elect Bill Clinton told his fellow Americans exactly that.

Face the challenges

"This election is a clarion call for our country to face the challenges of the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the next century, to restore growth to our country and opportunity to our people, to empower our own people so that they can take more responsibility for their own lives, to face problems too long ignored, from Aids to the environment to the conversion of our economy from a defence to a domestic economic giant," Clinton said.

If the Americans are turning inward, to their own problems, what, then, of the battle-scarred continent where that country was involved in proxy battles of the Cold War?

Can the US now simply turn its back on ravaged Africa after having fought some of its fiercest battles of the Cold War on the continent?

In principle, yes.

Worst still, in the New World Order of the incumbent president of the United States, there is no room for sick partners in the global economy, for example.

President George Bush has also declared himself an ardent advocate of zero population growth and is a staunch supporter of planned parenthood, a concept which first emerged during the 60s, when the drive for population control first surfaced through a tidal wave of propaganda about the so called population bomb and the "limits of growth".

There are arguments that suggest that planned parenthood was, at the time, a creation of the eugenicists - a group which aspired to the "improvement of the human race by careful selection of the parents" through the method of eugenics.

Bush's father, Prescott, was senior partner in the Brown Brothers, Harriman, investment bank. It is believed that the Harriman and other established families created the eugenics movement in America, which, it is said, instituted the mass sterilisation of the "feeble minded" and "racially inferior" during the 1920s.

If it is also on record that Bush helped set up a programme in the 1970s which resulted in the escalation of involuntary sterilisation - especially among black

Americans and other minorities.

In a court ruling in 1974, US Judge Gerhard Gesell established that: "Over the last few years 100 000 to 150 000 low-income persons have been sterilised annually under federally funded programmes."

Voluntary basis

"Although Congress has been insistent that all family planning programmes function on a purely voluntary basis, there is uncontroverted evidence... that an indefinite number of poor people have been improperly coerced into accepting a sterilisation operation under the threat that various federally supported welfare benefits would be withdrawn unless they submitted to irreversible sterilisation."

Gesell concluded that "the dividing line between family planning and eugenics is murky".

Africa is ailing, and poor, and heavily populated... The New World Order, in other words, is nothing but bad news for Africa.

What is needed on the continent, and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, is a Marshall Plan not unlike the 1947 idea which encouraged European nations to work together for recovery after World

War Two.

In terms of the original Marshall Plan - its real name was actually the European Recovery Programme - the United States agreed to aid Europe if its countries would co-operate in the redevelopment of that continent after World War Two.

However, Africa's recovery, without some kind of regional Marshall Plan, not necessarily devised by the West, will be a difficult passage.

Besides the drought, which is expected to continue its devastating swathe across the sub-continent, economic growth in Africa has to rise by 4 to 6 percent a year in real terms for living standards to be effected positively, according to the United Nations and World Bank surveys.

The World Bank and UN argue that while the full impact of the drought has not been felt yet, sub-Saharan Africa cannot, in the near future, expect to achieve even half of the envisaged economic growth.

Sub-Saharan Africa is therefore dry, even by the parched continent's standards.

"Sub-Saharan Africa's limited stock of capital in equipment, infrastructure and human resources precludes any sharp improvements in living standards... By the year 2000, per capita gains in real income will be minimal for the region as a whole and may be negative in some countries," the World Bank argues.

Aids arrives in Seychelles

■THE Seychelles, once dubbed "the islands of love" and one of the world's smallest nations, has confirmed its first case of full-blown Aids.

Health ministry officials said a total of 28 people had tested HIV-positive out of a tiny population of 70 000 on the chain of Indian Ocean islands 1 600km east of the African coast.

The Aids virus could have reached the islands through Seychellois who were infected while travelling abroad or through tourists — 100 000 visit each year — who had sex with local people while on holiday, the officials said. They also said infected blood may have been donated to the islands' blood banks by foreign sailors.

Relief problems in Somalia

■AID groups are finding it increasingly difficult to work in Somalia due to attacks by bandits and may have to pull out unless the United Nations provides better security, relief organisations say.

InterAction, an umbrella group of private humanitarian agencies, charged this week that the UN has allowed itself to be taken hostage by clans and warlords who dominate various parts of the ravaged African nation.

"It's time for governments and the United Nations to take Somalia seriously," said John Hammock of Oxfam America, one of more than

AFRICA BRIEFS

W/M and 27/11-3/12/92. ①

two dozen organisations providing aid in Somalia.

Some 3 500 UN troops have been authorised to provide security for relief shipments, but most have not been deployed because of the inability to negotiate security agreements with clans.

Sudan ready for talks

■THE Sudanese government is ready to begin a second round of peace talks with southern rebels next week, a senior Sudanese diplomat in Lagos said this week.

The official said the three factions of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) were yet to accept fully the Nigerian government's invitation to attend the talks. The first talks in Abuja ended in June with agreement to continue to seek an end to the nine-year conflict.

The SPLA has been fighting since 1983 against what it sees as domination of the mainly animist and Christian south by the largely Moslem and Arabised north.

African children worst off

■MORE than four million African children under the age of six die annually because of insufficient health care and food, according to United

Nations Children's Fund (Unicef) officials in Lagos this week for a conference on children.

Despite efforts under way, 10 times as many under-fives perish in Africa than in the industrialised world, officials said.

More than 500 delegates gathered for the three-day meeting, which is to bring together donors and the officials and relief workers involved in health and education programmes.

WHEN harvests failed in Ethiopia during the 1983-84 drought, farmers who were forced off the land took care to store the seeds.

They sealed the seeds in urns and buried them in a safe place. For those who survived the famine, the seeds would be ready to be planted when the first rains fell.

Those farmers had probably never heard the word "biogenetics" — it is one of those bits of eco-jargon that mystify most people who hear it. Yet biodiversity is exactly what those farmers were aiming for. By storing away the seeds, if the seeds had been left to rot, it would have meant the loss of valuable genetic

The more, the healthier

The genetic diversity — biodiversity — of species is increasingly under threat as genetic engineers strive to produce "better" seeds by means of artificial breeding techniques that combine genetic material only from selected members of a species.

If nature were left to its own devices, every living organism would have a unique genetic structure. But why, for example, no two human beings are exactly alike? Genetic engineering is becoming increasingly concentrated in the

hands of a few companies, which consequently limits the genetic material available. There is an urgent need for farmers to assert control over the varieties of seeds which they plant, as the Ethiopians were doing by storing their seeds.

Biodiversity is healthy. Resistance to diseases may be genetically programmed. If all the members of a species are genetically identical, there is a strong possibility of the entire species being wiped out by a disease to which the species has no resistance.

In the 19th century the population of Ireland was decimated when all the country's potatoes — the nation's staple food — were destroyed. The plants fell prey to the disease because they had all been bred from a few plants imported from America, where the potato originates from.

The modernisation of agriculture has involved narrowing down natural genetic diversity. Plant species are genetically engineered to create High-Yielding Varieties (HYVs) of seeds. The process of genetic engi-



neering involves the careful selection of genetic material for breeding — and a consequent loss of biodiversity.

"The reality is that biotechnology is controlled by transnational corporations which have gone beyond democratic control," says Chilean agro-economist Miguel Altieri.

In some countries the only seeds certified for sale are HYVs. This means that the big companies have complete control over which seeds are available.

Zimbabwe is one country where only HYV seeds are approved. Farmers who choose to grow other varieties may not market their produce. In other countries farmers cannot get credit or loans to grow non-HYV seeds. But HYVs are only "high-yielding" under optimum conditions, which do not exist for most farmers.

British researcher Mr Alan Gear speaks of how high-tech farming has eroded the variety of plants available in developed countries.

A new development could see the first world research laboratories securing a "copy-right" on the types of seeds they manufacture. Farmers will have to pay for their seeds when they first plant them. And when the farmers plant the seeds that come from the first year's crop, they will also have to pay "royalties" on the patented genes.

The result would be a flow of cash from poorer countries to richer countries. The third world farmers, whose low-tech agriculture provided the genetic material used in the high-tech genetic engineering, receive no remuneration. They are forced by legislation to contribute to the profits of the big corporations. "Broadening the circle of social control over how genetic resources are managed and used is central to tomorrow's food security," says Michael Pimbert, head of the biodiversity programme at the World Wide Fund for Nature. "This may be a rather uncomfortable message for the corporate gene traders. But that's a small price to pay for the food security of everyone."

— Justin Pearce and Penos

**CAR voting
next year**

Sowetan
30/11/92

BANGUI - President
Andre Kolingba ex-
tended his mandate un-
til February when the
Central African Repub-
lic will try again to hold
multi-party presidential
and parliamentary elec-
tions. - *Sapa-Reuter*. (1)

Focus on ethnic conflict is wrong

STAR 30/11/92

"Democracy Dies in the Womb" proclaimed The Independent on Sunday, London, in a headline over a survey of the current situation in Africa by Richard Dowden.

The headline over-dramatises Dowden's conclusions; unfortunately, the impression gained by most readers usually comes from headlines rather than from a careful reading of an article.

What Dowden actually wrote was that "democracy in Africa, a candle of hope which flickered briefly, is guttering" — ie, not yet stillborn. He continued: "Ethnic conflict and an increasingly harsh economic climate are driving more and more African countries into intolerance and strife."

It is unarguably true that economic conditions account for many of the major difficulties of African countries, but to single out "ethnic conflict" as the other major cause of "intolerance and strife" is misleading. What is fundamentally wrong with the kind of analysis offered by Dowden is its failure to describe the dynamics of change in societies at a stage of transition as a process.

There are certain political phenomena that are universal to all societies undergoing fundamental change. The collapse of strongly-centralised regimes inevitably ushers in a period of disintegration: new competing forces emerge, and long-repressed grievances come to the surface. The ensuing power struggle over the shape of a new political system is conducted at a time of a weak and crumbling central authority.

The inevitable result is turbulence and conflict.

This is what is happening not only in Africa. In what was the Soviet Union there are currently 32 major ethnic and regional conflicts, and a weak divided centre. Yugoslavia is an extreme example of what happens when an authoritarian system collapses.

In situations such as these, the

crumbling old regimes, or their immediate, usually temporary, successors use whatever means they still command to retain as much of their power as possible, while their challengers employ whatever methods open to them to mobilise support. One feature of this phase of the struggle is an appeal to ethnic or regional constituencies. But while ethnicity is a crucial factor in power struggles it is not the only factor.

In fact, in the majority of African countries ethnic communities have combined to strengthen their bargaining power. In Angola, for example, the ethnically based Unita was defeated by the multi-ethnic forces of the MPLA.

To concentrate too exclusively on inter-ethnic conflict results in a distorted picture of the nature of on-going power struggles.

The key element to understanding the difficult transition from single party and military regimes to multiparty democracy is to see it as a continuing political process. There is no straight line from authoritarianism to democracy; it is a wavering line of ups and downs, sometimes curving back on itself like a parabola. Freezing the frame of the focus at any particular stage is to lose sight of the momentum of on-going change.

Setbacks are inevitable. The residual power at the centre can be relied on to engage in every trick to retain as much of its power as possible while the challengers not infrequently resort to pressure tactics that enhance conflict.

The road to a true democratic society is a long and stony one. It takes time — at least a decade. The African continent has only just begun its journey; to write it off now, as a "guttering candle" is to miss the incandescence of the hope that has begun to shine right across the continent. □

● David Walker is at large, and his column will resume when he returns.

Despot facing downfall

STAR 2/12/92

MADAGASCAR'S president has emerged humiliated from a first round of elections and diplomats doubt he will be able to extend his 17 years in power.

Returns from almost all the 14 000 polling stations showed opposition leader Albert Zafy scooping nearly 47 percent of the vote in last Wednesday's presidential election — but not enough to avoid a run-off.

President Didier Ratsiraka has won around 29 percent with the remaining votes shared among six no-hope contenders.

So powerful is the tide of feeling against Ratsiraka that, with counting going on until mid-week, he is ahead in only one of the six provinces — his home region of Toamasina on the east coast.

"If the opposition had

The vote in Madagascar indicates the feeling against the premier, reports ANDREW HILL.

put up one candidate instead of seven, who knows what might have happened? Zafy could have been on the way to the palace this week," commented one envoy.

The presidency of the Indian Ocean island will be decided by a run-off contest between Zafy and Ratsiraka in mid-January.

The vote was seen as a popular guilty verdict against Ratsiraka for presiding over the coffee and cloves state's slide from poverty to ruin over the past decade.

Western diplomats said they believed only a coup or a dramatic change of policies could

keep Ratsiraka in power. His exit would spell the end of the military-backed governments in Madagascar since independence from France in 1960 and plant the roots of democracy.

Diplomats see a coup by the island's 30 000-strong military which backed Ratsiraka as a last and unlikely resort.

Ratsiraka, a one-time Soviet acolyte and anti-Western gadfly, bowed to pressure for change last August. Strikes and protests led to demonstrations, outside his North Korean-built palace, in which 31 people were killed.

There is lingering suspicion among his opponents and some embassies that he will not give up power easily.

They believe a shadowy, federal separatist movement could jeopardise the democratic process. — Sapa-Reuter. □

Gold bugs go to work in Ghana

LONDON. — Ashanti Goldfields Corporation of Ghana will employ the proceeds of a complex \$140 million syndicated loan to become the world's leading user of bacteria to produce gold.

The naturally occurring bacteria, *Thiobacillus ferro-oxidans*, will release 300 000 ounces of gold a year by munching away at difficult (or refractory) ore which otherwise would have to be treated by expensive roasting or pressure oxidation. *STAR 2/12/92*

The project is part of a 305 million, three-year expansion programme that will take Ashanti's gold output above one million ounces a year in 1995 and place it among the world's top ten producers.

Sam Jonah, Ashanti's managing director, said yesterday in London that his company always had the ability to innovate and "now we are at the cutting edge of both gold production technology and financial engineering".

Ashanti will use a bio-leaching process developed by Gencor of South Africa.

Ore is ground into a powder which is mixed with water in tanks into which the bacteria are introduced. — Mining Correspondent.

World trade volumes 5% up in first half

GENEVA — World trade grew 5% in volume in the first half of 1992, GATT economists said yesterday.

However, they forecast slower expansion in the second half because of weaker economic recovery.

Sweden's ambassador Lars Anell, serving as chairman of GATT's annual meeting in Geneva, also called on trade delegates to wrap up the Uruguay round of trade negotiations by year-end.

Opening a two-day annual GATT meeting, he released moderate growth figures prepared by the secretariat's economists.

"While GATT economists have estimated that the volume of world merchandise trade in the first half of 1992 was more than 5% higher than that of the corresponding period in 1991, the gain for the year as a whole will be smaller because the strength

of the economic recovery has slackened."

He gave no precise figure for trade volume expansion in the second half of 1992, nor a closer estimate of an annual rate.

Imports into North America, Latin America, the Middle East and Asia — with the exception of Japan — buoyed trade in the first six months of the year.

"The somewhat downbeat assessment for the rest of the year reflects, in particular, weakness in demand in western Europe and Japan," Anell said, quoting the economists.

Trade between members of the Commonwealth of Independent States "virtually collapsed" in the first half of 1992.

However, imports to the EC from eastern Europe had risen sharply.

Of the Uruguay round, he said: "As

never before, we appear to have both an opportunity to conclude the round and — at the highest levels of government — a substantial political will to settle."

Last week the trade negotiations committee, the steering organ of the six-year round, agreed to try to reach a "successful political conclusion" to the talks on liberalising trade in agriculture, industry and services by year-end.

"It is also clear that a successful conclusion of the round would give — both for psychological and economic reasons — a much needed boost to the world economy.

"In fact, it is one of the few decisions governments can take without economic risks in order to stimulate the world economy," Anell said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Somali warlords meet aid groups

ADDIS ABABA — Western aid agencies and Somali clan leaders meet under the shadow of UN military intervention today to discuss the slow progress of relief efforts in the starving African nation.

The meeting in the Ethiopian capital, scheduled since October, takes place

as a three-ship US battle group takes on provisions in Kenya ready to sail for Somalia as the advance guard of a UN plan to get food through by force.

The UN aid agencies and Western donors are disgusted by the clan gunmen who demand increasingly high payments to guard food convoys in Somalia and are widely blamed for looting up to 80% of the relief that arrives.

Sources close to the talks said at least 22 Somali clan leaders had accepted invitations to attend and were being flown to Addis Ababa at UN expense.

But the key protagonists — self-styled interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and rival warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed — were unlikely to attend as they consolidated their claims to rule Somalia before the UN intervention.

The Security Council reached broad agreement on Tuesday to authorise a

US-led military operation in Somalia because of Western exasperation at the wholesale plundering of food aid meant for 2-million people starving to death.

The role of the force and its size are still taking shape but it will overshadow the three-day discussion in the Ethiopian capital of a 100-day plan launched in October to speed up help for Somalia.

"Inside Somalia, more than 2-million Somalis continue to be at grave risk and some 500 000, mostly displaced women and children, remain on the brink of starvation or death from disease," said a UN report to be discussed at the talks.

"Compounding the situation, threats from armed gangs against relief workers, extortion and robberies have made the delivery of relief assistance increasingly hazardous," the report said. — Sapa-Reuter.



THE LIFE

ended 30 September 1992

Six months to 30 September (Unaudited)		
1992	1991	%
R million	R million	change
109.1	74.0	47.4

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UN sends peace force to Somalia

STAN 4/24/92

NEW YORK — The United Nations launched the world's biggest armed humanitarian rescue last night, sending a force led by 28 000 Americans to silence the guns of Somali bandits and help feed hundreds of thousands of starving people.

President George Bush ordered United States forces to prepare to go.

An announcement was expected after he consulted Congress today.

Once Bush gives the order, 1 800 troops on board a three-ship strike force floating in the Indian Ocean could land on Somali beaches within hours, and the full force of 28 000 could arrive within weeks.

The 15-member UN Security Council, outraged by the plundering of relief aid destined for refugee camps filled with the dying, voted unanimously for the huge operation, and asked other member states to contribute troops and money.

France was to send about 2 000 soldiers. Belgium, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Kenya also offered troops. Italy promised aid.

For all the boldness of the move, it came more than a year after severe food shortages and civil unrest were first reported in Somalia.

And the UN Security Council mandate was vague: to use "all necessary means" to create "a secure environment" for relief operations.

The resolution did not say if that might mean creating some kind of UN-controlled civil government in chaotic Somalia, or whether the troops would try to disarm

bandits and militiamen.

It said nothing about who would pay for the operation, or how long it would last.

"No longer than is necessary," US ambassador Edward Perkins said, adding that troops would steer away from political interference.

"It is for the Somali people to decide their own future," Perkins said.

Somalia, a country with no functioning government, was represented at the meeting by Fatun Hassan, the charge d'affaires of the Somali UN mission.

It was not clear which clan leader, if any, she represented.

The clans have been battling in Somalia since the collapse of President Mohamed Siad Barre's rule in January last year, worsening a famine that has killed 300 000 people and put 2 million at risk of starvation.

Well-armed militias, mostly untrained young men and boys, have stolen at least half of the food and medicine shipped to Somalia, and paralysed a 500-member UN peacekeeping force in place since September.

The port and airport of Mogadishu — the country's two main delivery points — have been virtually shut down by the threat of banditry.

The maddening delays created by the port's closure could be seen yesterday at a beach north of Mogadishu, where the Red Cross unloaded a ship filled with rice donated by French schoolchildren.

The food was put on board fishing boats and tugged within 10 m of the beach. — Sapa-AP.

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Somalia's power vacuum

STAR 4/12/92

AFTER Somalis are fed and peace is restored, the United Nations faces a longer and potentially more controversial problem: how to fill the power vacuum in a country that has no government.

Diplomats said it is too early to talk about exactly how the United Nations could help Somalia restore political stability. The immediate need of sending troops from the United States and other countries to safeguard emergency food shipments takes precedence.

But several Security Council members, as well as Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, have stressed that national reconciliation should go hand-in-hand with emergency humanitarian relief.

"The operation cannot be only a military operation," said French ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee. "It has to have some political purpose. Be it disarming the factions or trying to give birth to some sort of political structure in Somalia, certainly it has to be there."

Venezuela's ambassador agreed. "In a nation where there are no structures, it would be foolish to think that only

Who will rule this country with no government other than warlords when the famine is vanquished, asks ANDREW KATELL from the United Nations.

through humanitarian assistance we're going to solve the problems," Diego Arria told reporters.

Several diplomats said the United Nations' pioneering political involvement in Cambodia could serve as a model in the east African nation.

Under an agreement among the Khmer Rouge and three other factions, the UN controls administration of virtually all aspects of Cambodian interim government: foreign affairs, defense, finance and public security. The UN is to conduct general elections in Cambodia next year.

Such direct involvement in a country's internal political structure was unprecedented, and it may be needed again in Somalia.

Anarchy prevails, and clans headed by warlords exercise control by force over regions. The United Nations may be the best hope for getting the warring parties to sit down and ne-

gotiate, set up an interim government and supervise elections. Without a political settlement, diplomats worry, when foreign troops leave, warlords will take power again and starvation will return.

Ambassador Andre Erdos of Hungary, a member of the Security Council, believes the Cambodian approach might be possible in Somalia, but not easy.

"I foresee more difficulties as far as Somalia is concerned because of the fragmentation of society and the country, and the existence of so many warlords and armed factions."

Cambodia was more clear-cut because there were only four groups involved, and they were organized, he said.

"Meanwhile, in Somalia you have gangs and young people rampaging all over the country. It's very hard to talk to them."

UN officials have already had trouble trying to negotiate with

the warlords. They have been unable to persuade the clans to accept additional UN peacekeepers for safeguarding relief shipments.

African nations worried about the precedent of UN political intervention on their continent might resist. And China — one of the five Security Council members with veto power — might also be hesitant because of its overall policy of non-intervention. It is also particularly sensitive because of its own humanitarian problems in Tibet.

But diplomats could try to overcome the objections by stressing it is Somali factions themselves which must settle their problems, and that the United Nations would only be helping. And the critics would be hard-pressed to convince others that famine would not recur in a power vacuum.

An important African member of the Security Council, Ambassador Simbarashe Mumbengegwi of Zimbabwe, said that no matter what form it takes, the United Nations must provide a "mechanism for creating national reconciliation." — Sapa-AP. □

US Marines stand by to help feed Somalis

WASHINGTON — An amphibious task force of 1 800 US Marines arrived off Somalia yesterday and was standing by to spearhead an expected UN military operation to provide food to starving Somalis, the US Defence Department said.

The US amphibious warships Tripoli, Juneau and Rushmore also carry 23 transport and attack helicopters.

They could provide an initial launch base for a more massive military operation to protect humanitarian shipments.

The UN Security Council was scheduled to resume debate yesterday on a resolution to authorise use of force to protect humanitarian food shipments from warring factions and bands of gunmen.

That resolution is expected to put the military operation, which could include as many as 20 000 international troops — most of them Americans — under US command and UN oversight.

In Mogadishu, Somalis looked to US troops to bring feuding warlords to heel while relief agencies stockpiled supplies for a 1 800-man advance guard of peacekeepers.

The capital city, lashed by the first heavy rains of the season, was calmer than it had been for weeks as residents awaited the final UN decision to send troops to the famine-stricken country.

Some Somali warlords resisted deployment of an earlier 4 200-man UN force, intended to protect relief convoys from marauding bands of gunmen.

Bound by strict UN rules that required the warlords' approval for any move in Somalia, a Pakistani contingent of 500 troops has been largely confined to barracks since it arrived in September. It has moved only as far as the airport.

810AM 4/12/92
Last Friday Mogadishu warlords Mohamed Farah Aideed and his bitter rival Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who jointly overthrew dictator Mohamed Siad Barre last year but then fell to feuding, said they would welcome the US-led force.

But last week rockets were fired at the base of the Pakistani contingent in the UN force. Three mortar bombs landed near the soldiers' camp, causing no injury.

Not since the Katanga crisis in the Congo (now Zaire) in the early '60s has the UN sent armed troops to a conflict in Africa. The move could establish a precedent in the post-Cold War era on a continent beset by famine, ethnic unrest and war.

Tens of thousands of Somalis have died in the war and about 300 000 were killed by starvation in the last two years.

Relief agencies in Mogadishu stockpiled food and readied hospital operating theatres ahead of the troops' arrival.

Canadian deputy commander of some UN forces already in the country Colonel James Cox, said: "We have rations for about two weeks," adding that two operating theatres staffed by two surgeons had been set up in case of emergency.

In addition to the Pakistanis, the UN staff in Mogadishu includes 94 unarmed military truce observers, staff officers and members of a logistics support team and about 200 civilian workers.

There are about a further 200 foreign civilian staff working for independent relief agencies.

Cox said that if UN medical facilities were overstretched the world body would call for help from the foreign medical teams that have been struggling to cope with the sick and war-wounded for the last two years of civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mocambique needs \$1,1 bn

MAPUTO — The Mozambican economy needs foreign funding in 1993 of \$1,198bn if it is to continue with the economic and social recovery programme, according to a World Bank report.

The report, prepared for next week's meeting in Paris of the consultative group on Mozambique, says this figure includes emergency food aid and presupposes that this year's severe drought does not continue. 810AM 4/12/92

Of the total, \$419m is debt rescheduling.

The report stresses that the finance for programmes arising out of the peace agreement with Renamo — demobilisation of troops, resettlement of displaced people and refugees, and preparations for the country's first multi-party elections should not be at the cost of the economic and social recovery programme.

Demobilisation costs are estimated at \$11,1m to \$14,3m for food, infrastructure and administration of assembly points and

a further \$41,5m to \$58,9m for demob pay and transporting demobilised troops to their home areas.

The report puts the costs of next year's elections at between \$40m and \$80m. Support for resettlement of displaced people and refugees will need donor finance of up to \$87m.

The World Bank report takes an optimistic view of the impact of the recovery programme on the Mozambican economy, despite poor growth rates since 1990. In the first three years of structural adjustment (1987-1989), GDP grew at an average annual rate of 5,4%. But from 1990 to 1992, the bank estimates the average annual growth rate at 0,8%.

It attributes the decline to the continued war, the 1991/92 drought and reduced foreign support. The bank estimates that if drought had not devastated this year's harvests, there would have been 5% growth in GDP. — Sapa-AFP.

A U.N. Protectorate For Somalia?

Guardian with the world

By Sharon LaFraniere

4/12-10/12/92

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — As U.N. officials continued to consider options for an expanded role in Somalia, a senior Bush administration official suggested the United Nations may be compelled to install an interim government and organize elections in the east African country, now devastated by war and famine.

A proposal by the US for a large-scale military operation to deliver food and medicine may need to be followed by an ambitious U.N. effort to end anarchy in Somalia.

"Somalia has no government now, none. It needs some kind of structure," said the official, who traveled to Kennebunkport with President Bush for the Thanksgiving holiday. "You may need . . . a U.N. protectorate, which the U.N. would manage and (then) try to turn back into a state."

As a possible model for such an arrangement, the official cited the United Nations' involvement currently in Cambodia, "maybe even something longer-term . . . where the U.N. would go in and actually set up an interim government and hold elections."

It is not clear whether Bush wants actually to recommend such a course to the United Nations. In fact, the whole question of Somalia's ability to govern itself may be left to the incoming Clinton administration, while Bush advisers spend their final two months in office trying to ensure the delivery of relief supplies.

The senior administration official said U.S. troops could "probably" be out of Somalia in less than a month, although Pentagon officers have estimated the operation could take three to six months to complete. In any case, the official

suggested that the upcoming change of administrations in Washington means a decision must be made quickly.

"It's a complicated situation given the time and our own transition. So if something were to be done and the U.S. were to be a part of it now, it sort of has to be done fairly rapidly," he said in the interview, which took place late Saturday.

"It's not fair or even possible to ask the Clinton administration to participate in any serious way. They don't have the people in place, other than the president-elect and the vice-president elect, to analyze in any kind of detail . . . if this is something they want to do."

The division of ground troops offered by the United States is intended to serve only in the initial phase of the operation, which U.S. officials expect would also involve military forces from other nations. The U.S. troops would be used to secure strategic sights such as ports and air strips, guard relief vehicles, and protect food distribution centers.

U.S. officials have stipulated that any American forces sent to Somalia would have to remain under U.S. command but, as in the case of Operation Desert Storm against Iraq last year, could act under a broad grant of U.N. authority. The U.S. proposal envisions that the American troops would after a short period be replaced by an international peacekeeping force.

The military action "could be repeated as necessary," the senior Bush administration official said. "Having had that kind of operation would be a pretty good object lesson. It would create a new environment."

Why Rambo's boot has no place on Somalia's door

By Martin Woollacott

Guar clean for in
WHEN THE staff of the American embassy in Mogadishu bundled up the flag in January 1991 and climbed on their helicopters to fly to the safety of US warships off the coast, it was as if, a former ambassador has said, the United States "turned out the light, closed the door, and forgot about Somalia". Three weeks later, the Siad Barre regime fell, and Somalia entered fully into the long period of suffering which has continued to this day, a travails which was indeed largely ignored by the United States, by other Western nations, and by the United Nations until African countries and the aid agencies forced it on to the international agenda.

The American government's readiness to contribute a large number of troops to a UN force for Somalia at least recognises, by implication, the special responsibility for the plight of that country borne by the United States. Siad Barre offered his country to Washington on a plate in 1977 after the ignominious failure of his war with Ethiopia for the Ogaden and after the Soviet Union transferred its support from Mogadishu to Addis Ababa. The United States accepted — without great enthusiasm, since Somalia was close to being the booby prize in the struggle for the Horn of Africa. But it was some kind of counter to Ethiopia, and the port of Berbera was a useful base for the Rapid Deployment Force, then in its early days. American aid was vital to the

W/M aid 4/12-10/12/92
Barre government, underpinning the regime's repressive apparatus and providing it with funds for patronage as the economy went into decline for reasons both of mismanagement and of ecological change. These were the years of Barre's increasing degeneracy, the years in which the dismal foundations for today's anarchy and social strife were laid. His opportunistic embracing of capitalism and the American connection after his proclamations of "scientific socialism" had stripped him of any ideological legitimacy. His ill-judged war against Ethiopia had cost him his military reputation. And his early attempts to run a government, civil service, and army based on merit rather than on a division of spoils between the Somali clans had been succeeded by blatant manipulation of the clan system that was worse than anything under the old civilian government.

Somali society regressed badly under Barre, and the United States assisted in the process. First it sustained him, while making no serious attempt to persuade him into reform, and then, abruptly, it undercut him as the contest with the Soviets dwindled away and Berbera's value seemed dubious. With Barre's collapse, the country did not revert to the old rivalry between clans which has always marked Somali society, as is some-

times suggested, but to a new kind of social violence, still clan-based, but with vicious differences. First, the main actors were not traditional "big men" from the clans, but upstart leaders without the same responsibilities or background. Second, the fighting was mechanised: armed vehicles re-

The United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has recommended that the Security Council approve the use of military force to deliver food and emergency supplies to the starving people of Somalia. The move opened the way for United States ground forces to be in Somalia before Christmas, depending on the Security Council's response later this week.

placed camels, machine guns replaced rifles. Third, traditional institutions which had mitigated and mediated clan rivalries, like the blood price system, had withered away. Fourth, the violence was now commercially sustained by a complex trade in which drugs, mainly the local favourite, gat, and food, including the aid shipments, are traded off for the fuel, ammunition, and other supplies necessary to maintain the armies and patron-ages structures of the warlords.

now has a social and economic base which cannot be simply squashed by a military steamroller. All those who have been concerned in this tragedy believe that outside military force is indeed a necessary instrument, one which must be available, and one which will undoubtedly on occasion have to be used. But it has to be part of a flexible array of policies aimed at coaxing the warlords into dependence on new kinds of income and gradually taming them and their men, bringing the older clan structures back into play, and finally recreating a role for the educated, technically qualified and middle class people whose relative freedom from clan loyalties would enable Somalia to make a political new start.

The American offer of troops in substantial numbers undoubtedly reflects the view of the American Joint Chiefs that the penny packet approach is both ineffective and dangerous. A large, disciplined force, judiciously used — mainly as a deterrent rather than in actual operations — could be a very great help in Somalia. But the danger signals are there, in that American predilection for the swift use of overwhelming force and its equally swift withdrawal which we know of old. This is not Grenada or Panama. Nor is it Yugoslavia, where intervention now would indeed have to be primarily military. It is a country that needs sustained international attention and political reconstruction over a long period, and a great deal of money spent, much of it not for military deployment. It needs, too, an international proconsul of the kind Mohammed Sahnoun, the previous UN special envoy, might have become and still could become, if he were to be re-appointed — a wily weaver together of broken threads, a clever negotiator, and a power broker whom the local forces can trust and they know will be around for a long time.

We desperately need to establish a tradition of effective international intervention in a world where the internal breakdown of societies has become as serious a problem as conflicts between states. America switched out the light in Somalia in 1991 and now, with President Bush's decision to offer US troops in such large numbers, it is commendably ready to switch it on again.

But this must not be, and cannot be allowed to be, Rambo's boot on Somalia's door, otherwise we could, at worst, have another "Mad Mullah" campaign on our hands. The United Nations should have reliable and substantial armed forces available to it in Somalia, but military force should not become a substitute for the other and more important kinds of action through which this society can, we must hope, be rehabilitated.

‘South Africa will inherit a system burdened by decades of injustice. The ANC should not burden those problems by appearing to countenance greed’

WILL the leadership of a post-apartheid South Africa rise above the greed, cruelty and ostentatious living that have dogged the leaders of many African countries? Recent revelations about financial improprieties in the African National Congress, well-founded criticisms of the lifestyles of some ANC leaders, credible reports detailing the torture of ANC dissidents and the extravaganza of Nelson Mandela's daughter's wedding are not encouraging signs.

Corruption is often seen as an impediment to economic progress. It is also seen as perpetuating injustice; when resources are siphoned off, the most vulnerable groups in society — the poor, refugees, the disabled and prisoners — are denied their basic needs. There is less awareness of the extent to which corruption is also a principal reason why governments abuse human rights.

Corrupt governments are necessarily secretive and repressive. Foreign aid has enabled authoritarian regimes in Africa — of both the right and the left — to maintain a wide network of patronage and to create formidable machinery for violence.

Corruption and human rights abuses thrive on each other everywhere in Africa. In Kenya, corruption in high government circles first became an international issue after the murder of the foreign minister, Dr Robert Ouko, in January 1990. But Ouko was not the only victim of powerful politicians anxious to conceal the extent of their greed.

In 1990, Reverend Alexander Muge, bishop of Eldoret, launched a public campaign against official corruption. He focused on illegal land acquisitions by senior ministers. He compiled detailed records of relevant cases and collected photographs of killings by the police during illegal evictions of squatters. He accused a “clique of ministers” of “unashamedly grabbing public resources”. At the top of his list was Nicholas Biwott, minister of energy and President Arap Moi's closest advisor. Muge gave specifics on land grabs, such as the Crowel Farm in Uasin Bishu, where, he claimed, Biwott's agents had confiscated a maize farm belonging to a squatter family settled there since 1962. He also called for a declaration of personal wealth by leaders.

Biwott was described as a “prime suspect” in Ouko's murder by the British detective called in to investigate the case. Throughout 1991, Biwott was repeatedly accused of serious corruption scandals. He was fired from his cabinet position, perhaps in anticipation of a major donors' meeting in Paris in November 1991. He is now accused of using his money to stoke ethnic violence which threatens to disrupt the country's chances of having genuine multi-party elections.

In August 1990, Muge was threatened with death by then minister for labour, Peter Okondo. Muge took the threat seriously and issued a press statement on the danger he confronted. The next day Muge was killed when his car was hit by a truck. Few Kenyans believe that Muge's death was an accident.

Life-President Hastings Banda of Malawi's capitalist policies have made him a favourite of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and of Western governments. Prominent among Malawi's political detainees, however, have been critics of the corrupt tactics Banda has used to build up vast personal wealth. In October 1987, an apolitical veterinary surgeon, Goodluck Mhango, was arrested and severely beaten by police. This followed the publication, by his exiled brother, Mkwapatira, of an article accusing the upper echelons of the national

women's organisation, the Chituko Cha Amai Mu Malawi (CCAM) of corruption. Particularly sensitive was Mhango's analogy between the unpaid work of rural women for the CCAM and *thangata* — the hated colonial system of forced labour. On October 13 1989, Mkwapatira Mhango's house in Lusaka was fire-bombed. He died, along with nine other members of his family. The government is widely suspected of being behind the murders.

There are countless other examples in Africa. The Zimbabwean army stationed inside Mozambique and along important supply routes has long been accused of poaching and involvement in moving ivory, rhino horn and other goods between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Now, the family of Edwin Bhundani Nleya, a 35-year-old captain, has accused the army of murdering him, saying he had threatened to expose the army's involvement in these activities. Several other people, some of them investigating these illegal practices, have died under suspicious circumstances.

As elsewhere in the world, many of Africa's wars are driven, to a large extent, by predatory commerce. In Sudan, merchant-officer partnerships making fortunes out of artificial scarcities and looted goods have been an important reason for prolonging the long-standing bloody war in the south in which hundreds of thousands of people have died from war and famine. In Somalia, traders make a killing from selling guns and diverting and hoarding food meant for hungry people. Protection rackets for international aid agencies are now a major money-spinner for the warlords — a jeep-mounted heavy machine gun with operators rents at \$100 a day and is rising.

It is not help to the starving in Somalia to express horror at the misuse of humanitarian assistance. Such practices do not come from nowhere. For 21 years, Somalia suffered a dictatorship sustained by rampant corruption. The world turned a blind eye to the evidence that the money and the armaments were being used to kill and silence the people of

Somalia. Somali children are now paying the price of that neglect.

Neither corruption nor violence are, of course, new to South Africa. Throughout 1992, the government has been embarrassed and weakened, domestically and internationally, by reports of corruption, as well as atrocities carried out by the security forces. This included allegations in mid-year that millions of rand had been squandered through theft, incompetence and fraud by the Department of Development Aid, implicating senior politicians close to President FW de Klerk. But the ANC, whose actions and words will be subject to merciless scrutiny — often for the wrong reasons — cannot hope to compare itself to its predecessor and get away with it — at home or abroad.

South Africans will inherit a system warped by decades of injustice, cruelty, mistrust, official corruption and wildly unrealistic expectations. The ANC should not burden those problems by appearing to countenance greed, financial improprieties or nepotism. This will facilitate abuse of power and betray the trust and legitimacy it has so far enjoyed.

Insisting on accountability now is the only check against a drift towards the arrogant and arbitrary exercise of power, as well as the culture of corruption, secrecy and militarism.

●Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal are, respectively, the director and the associate director of the human rights organisation, Africa Watch.

Don't
fall in
the
greed
trap

A warning to the African National Congress from two African human rights activists: corruption leads inevitably to human rights abuses.
By RAKIYA OMAAR and ALEX DE WAAL

The Cavalry Option

US troops fly to the aid of Somalia, which warlords have made ungovernable

From Simon Barber in Washington
STW 6/12/92

with somewhat strained logic — that it was “the magnitude of the human tragedy” in Somalia which constituted the “threat to international peace and security.”

Extreme measures were necessary to “restore peace, stability and law and order, with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the United Nations”, the council

He said 1.5-million people were in danger of dying. “The people of Somalia need our help, especially the children. We must help them live. We must give them hope.”

General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, explained that US troops would arrive ready to “dominate” the country if necessary. Their orders were not only to secure and protect the relief pipeline, but to be ready to take “pre-emptive action”.

He likened the expedition to “the cavalry which comes to the rescue”. Once the US force had completed its task, “marshalls” — a UN peacekeeping force — would move in to “restore order”.

He added: “We are pleased that the factions have indicated they will co-operate. It would seem that the decision to deploy so large a force has begun to pay dividends.”

The Security Council has insisted on having a small liaison presence in the US HQ, mainly to assuage the fears and wounded pride of the African bloc, but the show will be run in the main by Powell, with Marine Lieutenant-General Robert Johnston on the ground.

Scotts-born Johnston was General Norman Schwarzkopf's chief of staff in Operation Desert Storm. The Pentagon brass, with Defence Secretary Richard Cheney's support, have also made it clear that they will not be hurried by Bush's wish to have the operation concluded by the time he hands over to President-elect Bill Clinton on January 20.

Then, to the Somalis, he said: “I promise this: we do not plan to dictate the political outcome. We respect your sovereignty and independence.”

It is hard to see how putting 28 000 troops on the ground with a view to ending anarchy is not tantamount to helping dictate some kind of political outcome.

The logical scenario, already adumbrated in the UN resolution, is that once pacification is in hand, the Security Council will turn Somalia into a trusteeship and ready it for another stab at independence. Have the winds of change started to blow backwards?

SOMALIA-BOUND ... a US sergeant says goodbye to his son

MORE than 28 000 American troops will begin deploying in fam-racked Somalia this week in what may turn out to be one of the great defining events of the post-Cold War era. In ordering the intervention late last Thursday, the UN Security Council effectively reserved the right to occupy nations deemed by the international community to be incapable of governing themselves or serving their citizens' basic humanitarian needs.

The extraordinary step was taken in terms of chapter seven of the UN Charter, which in the past has been used to justify multilateral military action against identifiable human actors — most notably the North Koreans and Iraq's President Saddam Hussein.

Algerians stay in after dark ①

ALGIERS - Algeria's third curfew in four years was clamped on the capital Algiers and six nearby provinces yesterday, confining people to their homes overnight. *Sowetan 7/12/92*

The curfew is part of a crackdown by the army-backed government on Muslim fundamentalists, who want to make Algeria an Islamic state and have been blamed for killing more than 170 members of the security forces in the past 10 months. Algiers radio said no incidents had been reported during the curfew which ran from 10.30pm on Saturday to 5am yesterday.

Innocents killed in militia crossfire

MOGADISHU — Gunmen fighting each other killed 24 people in a famine-stricken Somali city yesterday.

A spokesman for the international agency CARE said the 24, mostly innocent bystanders, were shot in crossfire between two rival clan families in Baidoa, 200 km north-west of Mogadishu.

Some people were apparently crushed when an armoured car of militiamen rammed into a crowd.

"They (militias) are shooting the place out. There's nothing else to do," said CARE official James Fennell, describing how packs of clan gunmen had flooded into Baidoa.

"It's an extremely dangerous place," he said, when asked what advice he would give the hordes of foreign journalists who have descended on Mogadishu to cover the arrival of the multinational task force.

The militias were either returning from an offensive against rival clan fighters south of the town or had fled there to avoid confrontation with 1,800 US Marines about to arrive in the capital.

US officials say they are waiting offshore. French officials say their 2,000-strong contingent in an eventual 30,000-strong force will be the first to land.

The Baidoa incident highlighted the violence which has hamstrung relief and forced the United Nations to abandon a low-key approach to Somalia's civil strife.

The 30,000 troops, most of them American, are massing to enter key relief centres across the country and break the logjams blocking relief distribution.

Extortion, looting and clan fighting have reduced flows of food to a trickle over the past two months, despite the UN's promises to flood the country with food. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Americans approve relief

NEW YORK - Two-thirds of Americans approve of President George Bush's decision to send US troops to Somalia, according to a *Newsweek* poll, released at the weekend. *Somalia* 7/2/92

The poll said 66 percent of Americans support the decision to send US troops to help in the relief effort.

The Gallup survey, released ahead of publication today, showed Americans were almost evenly divided on whether the United States should restrict its activity to ensuring the delivery of relief supplies or engage in an expanded role to help restore order and political stability.

Somalia is await 'peaceful' invasion

Star 8/12/72

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The impending UN-initiated Somalian pacification, to save Somalis from themselves, is unprecedented, says HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Star Africa Service in Mombasa.

ELIEF workers and Somalis alike wait nervously for what amounts to an American invasion of Somalia.

The world — through the UN Security Council — has sanctioned the use of force as a means to end the human tragedy in Somalia.

But because something like this has never happened before, nobody knows what to expect. Exactly what the crack American troops will do when faced with the random banditry in Somalia remains to be seen.

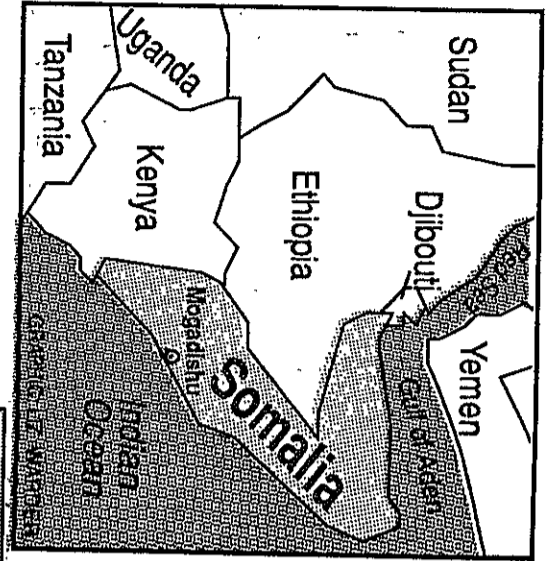
The UN has given its support for whatever force is necessary to secure the supply of food to the nearly 2 million Somalis who face starvation.

Concerned

The very real danger is that the Somali gunmen, many of whom have made a living off the aid industry, will turn on anyone from outside.

One relief worker, who asked not to be named, said she — along with the innocent Somalis — was very concerned about just how much force the 1,800 US Marines, and the 20,000 to follow, will use.

For now, Somalia is out of the hands of the United Nations and only the US can determine how it will use its extensive powers. It could go in swinging and end up slashing the limited successes achieved by months of not years of work by relief agencies. Or it could get to know the delicate clan alliances and the confidences established between aid workers and many thousands of Somalis.



The US does not have a reputation for pussyfooting. Defence spokesman Marine Warrant Officer Hartman Slate made no bones of the intentions.

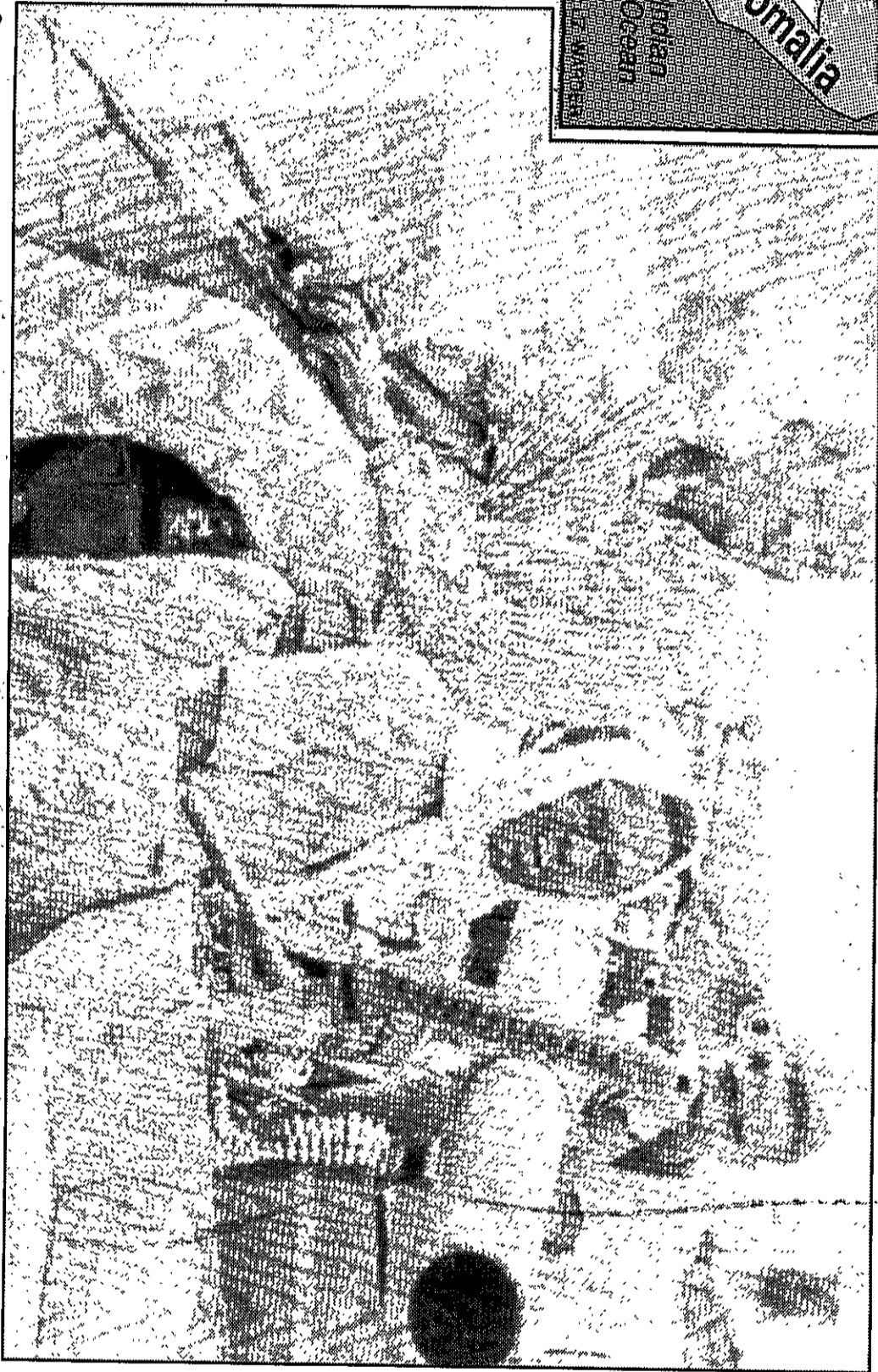
"We have publicly stated that we will not be shy to use aggressive force. The best thing for the Somali gunmen to do when they see the coalition force is to put away their guns.

"Somalis may be used to shooting at one another, but they also have to see, in Operation Desert Storm (in Iraq), what we can do."

The relief worker echoes the uncertainty this new direction in world affairs has instilled in Somalis.

"Everybody knows something has to be done. We could not go on as before.

But the Somalis hear the news of vast numbers of troops poised to land in their country. People are scared. There is a mixture of hope and fear." □



On guard . . . gunmen loyal to Somali warlord General Mohammed Farrah Aidid guard the entrance to Mogadishu harbour as a convoy of trucks carrying relief supplies moves out of the port for the first time in more than a month. Picture: AP

US marines bide their time offshore

UNITED States marines are not likely to land in Somalia before today, according to a US defence spokesman in Mombasa.

Warrant-Officer Hartman Slate said a 1,800-strong force of marines waiting at sea in three ships about 80 km from the Somali capital of Mogadishu was not likely to launch its offensive for at least three or four days.

"We will only change the game plan if something happens on the ground that forces us to go in sooner," he said.

The country has degenerated into anarchy with rival clans vying for control of internationaly donated food aid.

In an unprecedented move last week, all 15 permanent members of the UN Security Council voted for what amounts to a US-led invasion of the desert country in an attempt to get the food to famine-racked Somalis.

After the initial landing in which the marines are expected to establish a bridgehead in or near Mogadishu, an estimated 20,000 US troops as well as soldiers from several other countries will be shipped to Somalia.

Once the US forces gain control they plan to hand over to a UN peacekeeping force.

Thousands of people 300,000, according to UN estimates — have already died in the fighting and famine which followed the breakdown order.

A severe drought has exacerbated a crisis in which millions more face sure death unless something is done soon to overcome the stranglehold that Somali warlords and roaming bandits have over the food.

Only a trickle of the thousands of tons of food donated by the international community gets to the afflicted Somalis.

Between 50-80 percent each assignment stolen armed gangs is used as payment for presents to warlords. One of Somalia's most famous warlords, Mohammed Farrah Aidid, earlier denounced the landing of US troops.

But, one of his close aides Asman Hassan Ali, has welcomed the US decision and said he would co-operate fully.

However, Slate said he has received unconfirmed reports from aid agencies in the central Somali town of Baidoa that renewed fighting had flared among supporters of General Aidid.

Meanwhile, Operation Provide Relief, a US military aid program, is going ahead.

"It's business as usual," said Slate.

The slide into statelessness in Somalia was precipitated by the ousting, led by an alliance of clan-based rebel groups, of strongman Mohammed Siyad Barre in January last year.

Escaped

Days after Barre escaped into neighbouring Kenya, the rebel groups turned on one another and in the fighting which followed reduced the once picturesque capital — and much of the rest of the country — to ruins.

A UN-brokered peace treaty this year between the principal rivals in Mogadishu, Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohammed, brought an end to the all-out war. Relief food could be brought in, but clan rivalries continued in low-level clashes, and the hijacked relief food soon became a means to power. Looting of supplies increased unabated and a UN plan to force the price down by flooding the market has been only partially successful. □

Mogadishu cheers swooping US jets

B/DAY 8/12/92 ①

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MOGADISHU — Western military planes swooped over Mogadishu yesterday on an apparent reconnaissance mission for a US-led multinational force that will police the distribution of aid to Somalia's starving people.

Two planes, believed to be US F-14s, dropped flares as decoys for any attack by surface-to-air missiles, then disappeared over the horizon where a US task force with 1 800 marines was waiting.

However, an Italian UN worker was seized and held by security men of Somalia's strongest warlord, Mohammed Farah Aideded, yesterday in what one UN official called Somalia's first "hostage scenario" soon after the overflight.

Women stopped and cheered when the planes flew over.

"I welcome the Americans. It may mean peace," said 24-year-old Mohamed Nur, a Somali relief worker.

US marines are expected to land in Somalia tomorrow morning local time to prepare for the arrival of the international military force.

US officials said plans called for elements of a force of 1 800 marines now offshore to begin moving into the capital of Mogadishu after dawn tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon said, the US was sending ambassador-at-large Robert Oakley and Marine Brig-Gen Frank Libutti to Mogadishu yesterday to discuss the situation with rival clan leaders and officials

of relief agencies providing food and medicine to the anarchy-torn country.

The operation was primed to start against a background of continued factional fighting in the central town of Baidoa, capital of the worst-hit Bay region.

Forty-eight people were killed and 50 were wounded yesterday in fierce clashes between rival Somali clan gangs in the town, relief workers said.

International agency Care spokesman James Fennel said: "The fighting is in the centre of town, which is quite worrying. Hospitals there are taking in a lot more gunshot wounds than normal."

Baidoa's tarmac airstrip and the port and airport at Mogadishu, about 200km away, will be key targets the force seeks to secure when it arrives, US defence officials say.

The US is providing 28 000 troops for a force which will total 36 000.

The key warlords in Somalia's two-year civil strife, Aideded and self-styled interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, have said publicly they will co-operate with the intervention force.

But there are fears among UN officials and aid workers that the operation might cause skirmishes which could lead to aid workers being taken hostage or attacked.

Care pulled out all but three of its male staff from Baidoa last week after the theft at gunpoint of wages worth about \$20 000.

— Sapa-Reuter.

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FOR THE benefit of those not yet fully comfortable with the emerging realities of the New World Order, the UN Security Council's unanimous resolution authorising the deployment of US forces in Somalia begins with a disclaimer. The Somali crisis, it states, is "unique ... requiring an immediate and exceptional response".

Without this figleaf, African and other developing nations might have, at best, abstained, fearing the precedent. But that is all it is: a figleaf — which the succeeding paragraph promptly shreds by laying out the reasons for the intervention, and with them the rationale for others like it. The council has determined that "the magnitude of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Somalia ... constitutes a threat to international peace and security".

This is the language of the UN Charter's chapter seven, which empowers the international community, acting through the Security Council, to take extreme measures ranging from mandatory sanctions to outright military action to preserve the peaceful enjoyment of sovereignty by member states. Hitherto, chapter seven has been brandished against identifiable human agents engaged in activities — transborder aggression, apartheid — that could legitimately be argued to pose a risk of regional or general war.

Never before has the council voted to use its ultimate powers unless invited by a party with a direct interest in the matter or unless the sanctity of the existing geopolitical map was at stake. Even the dispatch of armed forces to protect the Kurds and Shi'ites in Iraq against Saddam Hussein following the Gulf war could be justified under these criteria. Saddam's aggression against his own population was not just a humanitarian problem: it threatened the stability of the entire region, one that the rest of the world depends on for much of its energy supply.

By contrast, the starvation, brigandage and collapse of order in Somalia are not an international security concern. There have not

US intervention in Somalia bears the whiff of colonialism

BDM 8/12/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

even been massive cross-border migrations in search of food that might endanger surrounding states. As President George Bush put it, "there is no government in Somalia", much less one with designs on its neighbours. What there is is a zone of misery and lawlessness whose human toll, flashed daily around the world by television, has been deemed an affront to modern civilisation. In the words of the UN resolution, "the situation is intolerable".

Affronting civilisation is not a phrase found in chapter seven, so the Security Council has had to stretch the meaning of the words contained in the charter to mount the present expedition. There should be no doubt, nonetheless, what the expedition is about: it is an exercise in multilateral missionary colonialism to save a population from savagery and give it a respectable government.

Naturally — because this is a difficult notion to swallow, one that does not accord with fashionable modes of thought — many of the responsible parties are attempting to prettify the truth. The resolution's insistence that Somalia is "unique" is only one aspect of the disguise.

In announcing the deployment of 28 000 US troops, Bush said: "To the people of Somalia I promise this: we

do not plan to dictate political outcomes. We respect your sovereignty and independence." This is precisely what the official American line that the force will merely nip in, secure harbours, roads and airports, deliver emergency relief where it is most needed and then hand over to the UN's blue helmets.

Bush may be loath to admit that he is committing US forces (and his successor Bill Clinton) to an open-ended operation when he himself has only a few weeks left in office, but UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whom the Security Council has granted overall responsibility for running the show, is less constrained. He has made it completely clear that he expects the Americans to pacify the country before they leave.

"The mistake we made in the past," he said after the historic council vote, "was to try to promote peace while the factions were still armed and fighting. We will not repeat that mistake. Disarmament is essential and it will take time."

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

Staff, Gen Colin Powell, is on the same page. In his briefing after Bush's announcement, he said the Americans were going in as "the cavalry" to pacify the restless natives and their warlords — by "dominating" the country. If necessary — so that the UN could then get on with the task not only of providing food and medical relief but of establishing a viable political and civil administration.

If Somalia's elites do not cooperate, their country may well be turned into a protectorate, effectively returning it to the status it held before independence in 1960. The resolution leaves the option open, stating that the council is "determined to restore peace, stability and law and order with a view to facilitating the process of a political settlement under the auspices of the UN".

For nearly half a century, the UN has echoed with windy pronouncements about self-determination and non-interference. As long as governments kept their unpleasantness within their own borders and had the requisite champions among the major powers, most were free to do pretty much as they liked to their own people. No longer. As Boutros-Ghali remarked in his June 1992 re-

port, "An Agenda for Peace, 'the time for absolute and exclusive sovereignty has passed'".

Of course, for many Third World countries, especially in Africa, sovereignty was always a bit of a fiction. Many of the states that emerged from the winds of change were held together by generous quantities of external aid, military, economic and ideological, the transfer of which to a large degree dictated national policies. The self-governing ability of not a few states was a polite myth kept alive for the purposes of their being pawns in the superpower chess match.

The end of the Cold War and the discrediting of undemocratic centralised government has removed the external support and legitimisation that kept many countries together. As an article in the current edition of Foreign Policy puts it: "From Haiti in the western hemisphere to the remnants of Yugoslavia, from Somalia, Sudan and Liberia in Africa to Cambodia, a disturbing new phenomenon is emerging: the failed nation state."

In a tightly interconnected world, the consequences of such failures cannot remain local. Even where they do not have a direct transnational impact — by unleashing floods of refugees or triggering broader conflict — they are instantly served up around the globe in the form of horrifying television pictures, causing more fortunate electorates to demand action despite the fact that their own immediate interests are not affected: action up to and after Thursday's UN vote, including *de facto* recognitions.

Two points are worth considering in this regard. First, the candidates for intervention will probably be chosen primarily by the US, the only nation with the ability to project the required military power. Second, they will tend to be "primitive" countries whose rescuing does not appear to risk more than a few American lives. Somalia, Liberia, Haiti — yes Yugoslavia — unless the Somali exercise inspires a tremendous fit of hubris — no.

Marines ^① to land in Somalia

MOGADISHU — Hungry Somalis began a countdown today to a US-led multinational military mission they hope will end two years of famine and murderous clan rivalry.

With relief workers reporting 48 Somalis killed in fresh feuding in the town of Baidoa, US defence officials said hundreds of US Marines would fly into Mogadishu after dawn tomorrow.

The Marines, they said, would be the vanguard of Operation Restore Hope, codename for the UN-mandated mission to ensure famine relief gets to more than a million starving Somalis.

In Paris, French military sources said advance elements of their 2 100-member contribution to the operation would move into Somalia as early as today.

"The day has passed when the gun rules. The gunmen should get out," said Phil Johnston of the relief agency CARE.

The dispatch of troops reflects the West's anger at Somali clan leaders and gunmen who have been trying to cash in on the world's worst humanitarian crisis.

A total of 28 000 US troops will spearhead the operation — the first from 1 800 Marines waiting off the coast.

Ordinary Somalis, even some with guns to protect their lives and their clan, cheered yesterday when two American planes swooped over the capital to scout the terrain for the landing of amphibious troops.

Clan warlords, whose feuds have ruined the country, have pledged not to attack the troops but there are widespread fears skirmishes could occur because of trigger-happy youths high on the local narcotic, qat. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Mogadishu cheers swooping US jets

B/DAM 8/12/92 ①

MOGADISHU — Western military planes swooped over Mogadishu yesterday on an apparent reconnaissance mission for a US-led multinational force that will police the distribution of aid to Somalia's starving people.

Two planes, believed to be US F-14s, dropped flares as decoys for any attack by surface-to-air missiles, then disappeared over the horizon where a US task force with 1 800 marines was waiting.

However, an Italian UN worker was seized and held by security men of Somalia's strongest warlord, Mohammed Farah Aideded, yesterday in what one UN official called Somalia's first "hostage scenario" soon after the overflight.

Women stopped and cheered when the planes flew over.

"I welcome the Americans. It may mean peace," said 24-year-old Mohamed Nur, a Somali relief worker.

US marines are expected to land in Somalia tomorrow morning local time to prepare for the arrival of the international military force.

US officials said plans called for elements of a force of 1 800 marines now offshore to begin moving into the capital of Mogadishu after dawn tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon said, the US was sending ambassador-at-large Robert Oakley and Marine Brig-Gen Frank Libutti to Mogadishu yesterday to discuss the situation with rival clan leaders and officials

of relief agencies providing food and medicine to the anarchy-torn country.

The operation was primed to start against a background of continued factional fighting in the central town of Baidoa, capital of the worst-hit Bay region.

Forty-eight people were killed and 50 were wounded yesterday in fierce clashes between rival Somali clan gangs in the town, relief workers said.

International agency Care spokesman James Fennel said: "The fighting is in the centre of town, which is quite worrying. Hospitals there are taking in a lot more gunshot wounds than normal."

Baidoa's tarmac airstrip and the port and airport at Mogadishu, about 200km away, will be key targets the force seeks to secure when it arrives, US defence officials say.

The US is providing 28 000 troops for a force which will total 36 000.

The key warlords in Somalia's two-year civil strife, Aideded and self-styled interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, have said publicly they will co-operate with the intervention force.

But there are fears among UN officials and aid workers that the operation might cause skirmishes which could lead to aid workers being taken hostage or attacked.

Care pulled out all but three of its male staff from Baidoa last week after the theft at gunpoint of wages worth about \$20 000. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA sets up 'hard sell' trade missions

BIDM 8/12/92

PETER DELMAR

THE Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) yesterday announced what it called two "hard sell" trade missions to Kenya and Zambia.

The DTI said the visits would be the first in a series of trade missions to Africa planned by the department for next year.

It was co-operating with its counterparts in these two countries and the visits would be "hard sell" ones and not geared to "merely exploring markets", the DTI said.

News of the visits follows the recent announcement of the first DTI-led trade delegation to the US and the announcement by the SA

Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) that it would stage separate SA-only exhibitions in four West African countries next year.

A Sacoh delegation left at the weekend for a nine-day visit to Morocco and Tunisia. This year Morocco became SA's biggest trading partner on the continent beyond southern Africa. In the first 10 months of this year official SA exports into Africa grew from R3,5bn to R5,1bn, although experts believe that trade which is not officially recorded could double

this figure.

Trade with the Ivory Coast increased 30% and trade exports to Burundi, an important regional distribution point, by 300%.

Sapa-AFP reports that United Arab Emirates businessmen will visit SA early next year to discuss investment and tourism co-operation.

Abu Dhabi's civil aviation director Sheikh Ahmad ibn Saif al-Nahayan said at the weekend that the visit would be organised by Gulf Air — owned jointly by Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and Abu Dhabi.

Deepening dilemma on the Horn

Star 9/12/92

International relief aid often does more harm than good, reports BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI for The Star Africa Service from Asmara, Eritrea.

THE situation in the Horn of Africa has deteriorated to such an extent that even the huge injection of humanitarian aid will not help, but instead drive these countries to anarchy as warlords and their armed militias use the food as a weapon in the fight for power.

This is the view of aid workers, who say the international community should address the root causes of the instability instead of flooding the region with relief supplies.

"The Horn is a disaster. Meditation is now more important than bringing in relief supplies," said Hierry Durand, representative of the Nairobi office of Médecins Sans Frontiers.

"The different factions in all these countries should be brought together, otherwise there will be no peace in this region," he said.

In any case, not all the aid reaches the needy. For instance, up to 70 percent of the international aid poured into Somalia is allegedly confiscated by clan warlords.

Ironically, it was the fall of dictators in the region which plunged these countries into further bloodshed and anarchy.

The overthrow of Said Barre in Somalia two years ago opened the way to civil war there.

Groups that had fought together to unseat their principal enemy suddenly turned their guns against each other.

"Somalia does not exist anymore," said Durand, whose organization was the only one to remain in the country during the worst of the fighting.

"There is no government, no services, and no hope. It is a total disaster. All these forces are now fighting each other on a clan basis."

Durand said the situation would not have deteriorated so badly had outside mediators, like the UN, moved in quickly to resolve the problem during the early stages of the conflict.

The Somali conflict was also affecting Kenya, itself going through an acrimonious transition to a multiparty system.

More than half a million Somali refugees have fled to Kenya, seriously affecting the security situation along the bor-

der. In fact, Durand said, people were safer in Somalia itself than on the frontier, where lawlessness was rife.

"There is really no border because the same people live on either side, and militias are rampant," he said.

The fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia last year has also led to greater instability, especially in southern Sudan.

Mengistu was the main supporter of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which is fighting the Muslim-dominated government of Omar Hassan al-Bashir in Khartoum.

Al-Bashir in turn offered support to Mengistu's opponents, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the TPLF, which was fighting from the Tigray region of Ethiopia.

Mengistu's undignified flight to Zimbabwe in May last year, and the subsequent fall of his government, deprived the SPLA of its main arms supplier.

The organisation, was also booted out of its Addis Ababa

headquarters by the new rulers, friends of Al-Bashir.

Immediately after these developments, the Al-Bashir government launched a major campaign in the south against the SPLA, obviously to catch them reeling in the wake of Mengistu's fall.

According to Durand, this campaign has displaced thousands, if not millions, of people in southern Sudan. Thousands more refugees, mostly SPLA supporters, were forced to leave Ethiopia and return to Sudan.

"The war in Sudan is now back to where it was in 1983-84. People are on the run again," he said.

The situation in Ethiopia, itself, after a lull following Mengistu's escape, is back on the boil. The people of Eritrea go to the polls in April to decide whether to break away from the rest of Ethiopia and indicate that they will vote for secession.

Other nationalities, such as the Oromos, are also agitating for independence.

The tiny state of Djibouti is also hovering on the edge of civil war as the country's two main clans fight for control. □

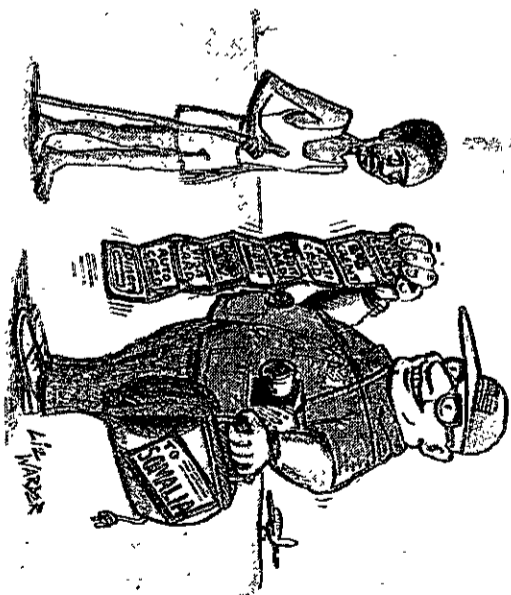
A ticket to the land without law

HUGH ROBERTSON reports from Washington.

SOME Americans planning to go to Somalia, among them journalists and would-be relief workers, are muddling travel authorities with questions so naive and uninformed that there is fear for their safety should they get to the Horn of Africa at all.

Many find the concept of no civilian authority so outlandish, they refuse to accept official notification that they do not require visas to enter the country. Some persistently contact other African embassies in a quest for some sort of official entry document, and are nonplussed when told that there is nobody to issue Somali visas, let alone to check them at the other end.

Some have become exasperated when told, by banks that there is no official exchange rate, and no official value on any currency. Others



have asked for lists of hotels, shops and restaurants where credit cards are accepted. According to travel agents, some Americans — among them journalists from news-papers funded by church groups

and religious organisations — are aghast when they are told that it is pointless to take out medical insurance: that the few doctors who are in Somalia are more than fully occupied. Others have become so an-

gered by a lack of reliable information that they have switched travel agents in an effort to find the answers to such questions as what electric current is needed for hairdressers, and what rates are being charged by car hire firms.

"It is altogether beyond their understanding that there is no government, no civilian authority, no law and order, no policeman to call if you are mugged, no doctor to call if you get a stomach bug, often no electricity for a hairdresser, and no reliable value to place on the dollar," a travel agent said.

"The sort of questions we are being asked? Well, they range from whether credit cards will be accepted by bandits as a payoff, to whether hotel guests need formal clothes for dinner. The naive is staggering. Those Americans who do decide to go ahead, tend to be ones who know what to expect, insofar as anyone can know at this stage." — Star Bureau. □

Marines seize airport, harbour

STAR 9/12/92. ①
MOGADISHU — Mobbed by media rather than militiamen, US marines came ashore under a full moon early today to begin an armed mission of mercy to feed the millions of starving Somalis.

Troops moved swiftly to seize Mogadishu's air and sea ports.

Brown and green amphibious vehicles came out of the Indian Ocean, rolled over the dunes and up on to the tarmac. Troops poured out and raced into position near the airport's single landing strip.

A helicopter hovered close to the ground and soldiers climbed over the sea wall. Shortly afterward, there was repeated thumping of a heavy-calibre machine gun, but it was not clear who was firing, or at what.

The marines were taking control of the airport and harbour in the first step of a plan to seize vital gateways for international aid, and get food, medicine and other supplies moving to those Somalis who need it most.

More than 300 000 Somalis already have died in one of history's most savage famines and 2 million more are at risk of starvation.

Four hours earlier, a reconnaissance team of 20 Navy frogmen and marines had come out of the sea at Mogadishu, a broken, shattered city ruled by the gun and reeking of decomposed bodies, some half buried.

The special forces team, faces smeared with black and green camouflage cream, and armed with automatic rifles, anti-tank missiles and machineguns, was caught in the glare of television lights and surrounded by 50 to 75 journalists.

Although the marines expected no major confrontations with Mogadishu's thousands of armed young militiamen, they were taking no chances.



Coming ashore . . . Marines hit Mogadishu beach today where the only "enemies" they found were waiting newsmen.

Picture: AP

STAR 9/12/92
They captured six Somalis at an airport hangar and marched them away.

The US troops didn't know whether they ultimately would be fighting or feeding Somalis. And they didn't know how long they would stay. The Bush administration has spoken of ending the operation by January 20, but many expect it to extend many months into President

Clinton's term.

Scores of clansmen departed the airport with their heavy weapons well before the US arrival. They were leaving behind a cash cow they had milked for months through exorbitant demands for landing and cargo handling fees.

Once the ports are firmly under control, the way will be paved for an airlift of up

to 27 000 more US troops to seize other key installations and protect truck convoys of food to the nation's hard-hit interior.

They will be part of a US-led coalition that will include troops from France, Canada, Italy, Belgium and Egypt, all operating under UN auspices.

Mogadishu's two major warlords, Mohamed Farrah

Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed, had both pledged to co-operate with the US troops, but they are not in full control of the city.

Many of the gunmen owe no particular allegiance to either warlord, plying their looting trade under the direction of wealthy merchants who control the city's open-air markets.

Those markets are awash

in stolen food aid — wheat from Canada, Australia and the European Community, rice from Thailand, sorghum from the United States, sugar and dates from Saudi Arabia.

Looters have stolen up to half of the more than 220 000 metric tons of food and other supplies sent to Somalia so far this year. — Sapa-AP.

No fighting, Somali warlord assures US

MOGADISHU (SIPA) 9/12/92 — Somalia's most powerful warlord told the US his militia would not fight a US-led intervention force due to descend on the country from today.

The reassurance was given to Robin Oakley, US special representative for Somalia, yesterday by Mohamed Farah Aided, who controls much of southern Somalia.

"There will be no resistance," Aided's main supporter, Osman Ali Ato, told reporters after the two men met in a shell-smashed suburb of the Somali capital.

"We are telling Somalis just to stay calm, not to feel threatened," Aided's foreign relations spokesman, Mohamed Awale, said after the talks with Oakley.

Aided, he added, would instruct his militia not to go to the airport and port of southern Mogadishu, which an advance force of 1 800 US Marines are keen to secure first.

Oakley said he was happy with the talks. "We had a good conversation and we're very, very pleased," he told reporters. "The important thing is to get the job done."

He then left for talks with Aided's rival, self-declared interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who controls the Karan suburb of northern Mogadishu but whose "government" is recognised by no-one but himself and his militia.

US defence department officials said the UN-mandated operation, codenamed Restore Hope, would be launched early today.

More than 35 000 troops from up to a dozen countries — including 28 000 from the US and 2 000 from France — will deploy throughout Somalia to stop gunmen looting famine relief.

Ordinary Somalis appear to welcome the troops because they are weary of two years of civil strife. But UN officials and aid workers had voiced concern that the arrival of a heavily armed foreign force might spark skirmishes with local clan militias.

Many of the gunmen depend upon the relief effort for salaried jobs.

They guard aid workers from attack by rival militias or thieves and might resent moves to loosen their grip on the operation, aid workers say.

Residents say many gunmen have buried their weapons, fearing that the force may try to disarm them.

"Everyone has hidden their weapons at home," said prominent businessman Ahmed Fidon. The weapons, he added, would only be dug up if former colonial power Italy sent troops. Italian participation is blocked by a cabinet debate in Rome.

"We have reserved the guns for the Italians — the US Marines are okay," Fidon said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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— Sapa-Reuter.

West Africa beckons SA

By Leigh Hassall

Businessmen will have the chance to trade with West African countries via an exhibition to be held next year in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire.

This was revealed in Johannesburg last night by Exhibition Management Services.

It has the blessing of both the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Commerce and Industry of the Cote

d'Ivoire. The exhibition should draw businessmen from the whole of West Africa.

In 1990 the total value of imports for the target market countries was \$13 740 million.

The major imports by West Africa comprise machinery and equipment, agro-industrial related products and mining technology and equipment.

At the launch a keynote address was made by Valence Sahouet, Director

for External Trade Promotion in the Ministry of Trade and Commerce of the Cote d'Ivoire.

He stressed the positive attitude his country had maintained towards South Africa over the years at a time when many other countries were closing their doors to it.

"Abidjan is the most industrialised area in the region, with excellent facilities and a natural port of entry for goods," Sahouet said.

STP 10/12/92

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gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Aids in Africa warning ~~1992~~

STAR 10/12/92
PARIS — Aids is afflicting Africans at the rate of one every 30 seconds. This appalling figure was given today to delegates attending the 7th International Conference on Aids in Yaounde, Cameroon. Professor Lazare Kaptue, chairman of the conference, warned: "At the rate that Aids is spreading throughout our continent, some African countries will be wiped off the map."

● Reports by Star Foreign Service, Sapa, Reuter, Financial Times, Associated Press and AFP.

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A television crew witnesses the arrival of a member of the US military special forces on Mogadishu's beach.

Picture. AP

Lights, cameras, action as Marines take Mogadishu

MOGADISHU — Hundreds of US Marines took Mogadishu in a bloodless, stage-managed landing yesterday. They seized the harbour and airport, the hub of Somalia's relief operation hijacked by warlords.

Three gunbattles broke out and the Marines came under fire on arrival at the port. But there were no casualties and little shooting was heard.

The six-hour landing was launched just after midnight under the glare of television arc lights. Camera crews chased commandos up the beach.

It heralded the start of a unique operation to stop food for Somalia's starving millions being stolen by gunmen from feuding clans.

George Bush, who authorised Operation Restore Hope in one of the last acts of his presidency, was said to be "pleased at the success of the initial stage" of the plan.

A few hours after a scouting party of commandos hit the beach in motorised kayaks, US forces began an airlift to bring 28 000 American troops to Africa.

Transport planes began landing at

the airport with equipment for the enlarged force. Somali citizens, who have avoided the area for two years because of civil war, milled around the tarmac. The mood was one of national holiday and the Americans hoisted the stars and stripes over a temporary US embassy.

The next phase of the operation is a co-ordinated push to the interior towns Bardere and Baidoa and the port of Kismayu in the south, where clan war has added to a daily death toll caused by famine.

A night of looting and shooting gripped Kismayu and about 13 foreign aid workers were being evacuated, a UN World Food Programme spokesman said in Nairobi.

One relief agency source in Nairobi said there had been a lot of fighting in Kismayu and added he believed it was related to the arrival of US troops in Somalia — "not everyone is happy with the Americans coming".

About a dozen countries ranging from France to the United Arab Emirates have pledged to provide troops in a show of international solidarity unmatched since Washington's Gulf War coalition.

The marines, who had been waiting in ships off the coast for several days, took no chances. They forced dozens of Somalis to surrender their guns. Dozens were arrested and made to lie on the ground at gunpoint at the harbour and airport. They did not understand the terse orders barked at them in English — "Get down, spread your legs, palms up in the air where I can see your hands."

Later the World Food Programme flew food into Somalia in a dramatic illustration of the success of the US intervention.

Now that the marines control Mogadishu's main entry points, they will turn their attention to getting the seaside airport ready for a long stream of air force cargo flights.

Transport planes will ferry tons of supplies and commercial airliners chartered by the military will start bringing in the Marines.

In Washington, Defence Secretary Dick Cheney said Operation Restore Hope was off to a good start.

"We've been pleased with how smoothly it's gone," Cheney said. "I'm delighted things have gone that well."
— Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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focus on 1992

NEW YORK - Voters in the United States, worried about a lingering recession, dumped President George Bush in favour of Democrat Bill Clinton.

Israelis ousted Yitzhak Shamir for Yitzhak Rabin, who promised greater flexibility as prime minister in peace talks with the Arabs.

But Britons returned the Conservatives for a record fourth consecutive term and left Prime Minister John Major at the helm.

In general, 1992 was a year of political change and widespread turmoil. The tremors shook many of the former Soviet republics, which split apart in 1991. Some countries in Eastern Europe held their first free elections since toppling communist rulers - and voted ex-communists back into power.

Some African countries also held their first democratic elections since independence. But Somalia, Mozambique and Sudan were wracked by violence and famine.

Clinton, the 46-year-old Arkansas governor, ended 12 years of Republican domination of the White House by beating Bush in the November 3 election. With a Democratic-dominated Congress behind him, Clinton promised to "zero in like a laser" to get the US economy rolling again.

Before turning over the reins of government, Bush ordered 28 000 US troops into Somalia, with UN backing, to guard a food relief operation threatened by rival warlords.

Israeli voters denied Shamir another term in June after 15 years of right-wing Likud government. But instead of electing a new face, they brought back the 70-year-old Rabin, a former defence minister who led Israel to victory in the 1967 Middle East war.

Major extended his party's grip on power that Margaret Thatcher began in 1979. Despite a painful recession, Major won in April by convincing voters that the Labour Party would raise taxes and government spending.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin staved off impeachment by former communists angered by his free-market economic reforms at a tumultuous session of the Congress of People's Deputies. The December uproar mirrored unrest and uncertainty throughout the former Soviet empire.

Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, returned to power in his native Georgia in March, after President Zviad Gamsakhurdia was ousted in a violent battle.

Lithuanians voted out the Sajudis movement that led the Baltic nation to independence in favour of former Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas. In nearby Estonia, Parliament chose Lennart Meri as president over an opponent who was a former communist.

Muslim groups in the central Asian republic of Tajikistan ousted old-style communist Presi-

An updated report by *Sapa-Ap* on the state of the world shows that 1992 was marked by political turmoil that saw the downfall of several dictators in Africa, the return of communists in Eastern Europe and several countries wracked by civil war: *Sovieten 10/12/92. (1)*



John Major ... back in the pound seats.

dent Rakhman Nabyev in August. Ethnic fighting raged elsewhere in the volatile southern regions of the former Soviet Union.

Politics bubbled in Eastern Europe.

In Poland, Parliament ousted Prime Minister Jan Olszewski in June and replaced him with Hanna Suchock, the first woman to head a Polish government. In Romania, President Ion Iliescu, a former Communist who has led the troubled nation since the downfall of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989, easily won presidential elections in September.

After less than three years as a democratic state, Czechoslovakia in June decided to split into Slovakia and the Czech Republic by the end of this year. In war-torn former Yugoslavia, two political newcomers emerged to challenge Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Serb-born American businessman Milan Panic was chosen premier of the smaller Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. Milosevic's socialists failed to defeat Panic in two parliamentary votes of no confidence. Panic announced he would run against Milosevic for Serbia's presidency in December 20 elections.

In Croatia, President Franjo Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Union won August elections, retaining a grip on power gained in 1990.

In Slovenia, President Milan Kucan won the first elections since independence last year.

In North Africa, Algeria was convulsed by two major political events in 1992. President Chadli Benjedid was forced to resign when the army seized power in January and replaced him with a High State Committee. In June, the head of that committee, Mohamed Boudiaf was assassinated.

In Africa, more than 20 one-party rulers have been ousted or forced to permit opposition parties since 1989. But elections this year brought mixed results.

In March, Mauritania's military government won nearly all the seats in the first democratic elections in more than three decades. In the Congo, Pascal Lissouba, a former prime minister, won that nation's first democratic election. In Kenya, President Daniel arap Moi, in power since 1978, promised multiparty elections on December 29.

In Angola, guns thundered. The governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola trounced the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola in September elections. But loser Jonas Savimbi refused to accept the outcome and fighting flared again, threatening to renew 16 years of civil war.

In Asia, Islamic fundamentalists overthrew Afghanistan's president, Najib, in April and established an Islamic state after 14 years of civil war. However, the coalition was unable to unify all its factions, and some renegades fought the new government.

In the Philippines, voters in May chose former Defence Minister Fidel Ramos to succeed Corazon Aquino as president. Ramos - who won a crowded field with only 23 percent of the vote amid allegations of fraud - was unable to claim a mandate.

In Latin America, three countries experienced political turmoil.

Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori closed Congress and suspended the constitution in April, claiming he needed special powers to fight poverty, drug trafficking and leftist guerillas. In November, Fujimori's allies won control of Congress.

Brazilian lawmakers impeached President Fernando Collor de Mello on September 29 and forced him to step down while the Senate weighs corruption charges against him.

US blacks to help in Somalia

Sowefam 10/12/92 

■ **Servicemen are eager to participate in humanitarian effort:**

SOMALIA - Like other black servicemen and service-women bound for Somalia, Petty Officer Carl R. Small says he considers saving starving Africans more than just a military mission.

"I think every black man wants to go to Africa," said Small; among 124 Seabees scheduled to leave yesterday from the Navy Amphibious Base at Coronado, California.

"Plus, it's the first time we're getting a chance to help people as a military force. For me, it feels good."

Some 10 000 army soldiers from Fort Drum, New York, were getting ready to join the multinational effort to get food through.

"I'd hoped someday to see Africa and

this is a chance - but not with people dying on this scale. I wanted to see the good part," said Sergeant Donald Moore, whose unit will improve and protect food transportation routes.

"This is going to be worse than on TV. It's not something I'm looking forward to seeing but it's a job that needs to be done," he said.

A large number of US troops in Somalia will be black. Blacks account for nearly 21 percent of the armed forces, although they make up about 14 percent of the 18-24-year-olds in the United States.

Nearly 30 percent of the army's soldiers are black.

The UN must beware of the fine line between aid and peacekeeping, argues Colin F...

Helping hand or mailed fist?

STAR 11/12/92.

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WHEN the international community fails to act effectively in responding to famine and war-related tragedies, condemnation is universal; but when there are proposals to act forcefully (that is, by military force) criticisms come from two different quarters — aid relief workers and those whose outlook urges care "not to get sucked into conflicts in which foreign intervention only multiplies the problems".

There is also a third view — call it the Dag Hammarskjöld doctrine — that UN peacekeeping troops should never shoot except in self-defence. This doctrine has hitherto prevailed.

The choice of options open to the international community was limited during the period of the Cold War since the two superpowers invariably took different sides — even when the issue related only to the provision of humanitarian aid. Now, with the end of

the Cold War, a more rational approach is possible in considering the UN's role and responsibilities. The opportunities for achieving consensus at the UN have never been greater than at present.

The central issue of the current debate is whether the UN should ever agree to the use of military force in situations requiring urgent humanitarian aid and/or peacekeeping operations. These two challenges usually present themselves as separate issues. For example, in the case of Somalia the issue is only how to deliver humanitarian aid effectively, whereas in the case of Bosnia, it is difficult to separate the issues of aid and peacekeeping.

The challenge in Somalia is a stark choice between getting relief to two million people who are starving to death (300,000 have already perished), or allowing gunmen to prevent food and Americans from reaching the dying; it is not primarily a question of peacekeeping. However, the introduction of a military force with the right to

shoot and, if necessary to kill, will possibly result in armed conflict between the UN force and either or both the rival armed camps in the country.

The challenge in Bosnia is different. There, food is used as a weapon of war by the Serbian forces who seek to establish the dream of a greater Serbia by forcing non-Serbs out of their homes through a policy of genocide, euphemistically called "ethnic cleansing".

The greater Serb movement, therefore, sees the relief effort as weakening their war aim; they can be counted on to resist militarily any international force that has the right to shoot in order to protect relief columns.

The situation is even more complex than that since a military-supported relief programme for Bosnia will almost certainly involve the Serbian army. Unlike the forces in Somalia, the Serbian army is an effective fighting force. The reason why Nato has refused

to support military intervention is because of its fear of getting "sucked into" the wider conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

And yet, the core of the problem in Bosnia is the same as in Somalia: it is whether to allow gunmen to prevent food from reaching starving populations.

The generous US initiative to commit 30,000 American soldiers to a UN operation has provoked angry reactions from two different quarters: the non-governmental relief agencies, and the knee-jerk anti-American lobby led by Iran and Iraq. The latter suspect American motives — an attitude allowing no rational argument.

The harder case to answer is the widespread fear of the humanitarian lobby that the introduction of a strong military force will jeopardise the work and safety of relief workers. Such fears are well-founded. But what alternative policy does the humanitarian lobby have to offer? The present level of military

support to protect the transport of food and medicines in Somalia is limited by the constraint on them not to shoot except in the case of self-defence. This constraint has resulted in only 20 percent of relief aid getting to the actual victims; the rest is looted by gunmen who use the food either to enrich themselves or to bolster the strength of the combatants at the expense of the starving.

This is clearly unacceptable. The two predictable results of continuing with a policy of "no shooting" are that up to 2 million people will perish miserably, and that the looted food will strengthen the capability of the two rival forces to continue their civil war.

If the humanitarian lobby is right that the safety of relief workers will be jeopardised as a result of military intervention, the choice is between accepting the withdrawal of relief workers, or ensuring that the maximum amount of food gets into the stomachs of those in need.

The second choice must be the better one. There is no reason why the interventionist military force should not itself take over the function of distributing food — a task within the capacities of the army's well-organised supply service units. But — and this is crucial — the purpose of the UN force should be limited to ensuring the safety of the food shipments — not to act as a peacekeeping force engaged in keeping the rival Somali forces from continuing their struggle. external forces cannot resolve the internal problems of Somalia. Those who talk about the UN taking over responsibility for Somalia as a temporary mandate damage the chances of a successful operation. There is no way in which the OAU and the wider membership of the non-aligned movement will tolerate even a temporary colonial role for the UN. The quicker this idea is firmly scotched, the greater the chance of ensuring an effective UN operation. □

Billions of dollars 'wasted' in Africa

STAR 11/12/92

①

Aid to Africa has failed reports JAMES TOMLINS

A FRENCH expert on Africa has warned that 30 years of international aid totalling \$660 billion (about R1 980-billion) "has been a complete waste".

"The Gross National Product (GNP) of Africa, excluding South Africa, is about equal to that of Belgium, but with more than 450 million inhabitants."

Professor Bernard Lugan, who has a chair of African history at Lyons University, noted in the daily newspaper Figaro: "In 1960, just before decolonisation, the continent accounted

for nine percent of world exports. Today that figure has fallen to three percent.

"There is also an appalling educational crisis, with 75 percent illiteracy, despite the fact that the EC trains professional cadres. Unfortunately, more than 70 000 African doctors, teachers and engineers have 'deserted' by preferring to remain in Europe rather than return home. They are replaced by whites sent out under co-operation projects."

He concluded: "We must realise that Africa is a failure everywhere except Morocco and South Africa. In 1960, Africa was able to feed itself — today, 150 million face starvation." — Star Foreign Service. □

NEWS FEATURE *Hatred of other ethnic groups*

Gun law scourge of Horn of Africa

Sowetan 11/12/92

(1)

NAIROBI - Anarchy in Somalia where US Marines landed this week to end gun law mirrors the endemic conflicts that have gripped Horn of Africa states since independence more than 30 years ago.

■ MILLIONS PERISH *Anarchy has reigned supreme since independence.*

Millions killed

Wars and famine have killed millions of people, made several millions more refugees and kicked away the crutches of limping economies.

"The region's troubles stem from the failure of state authorities and other groups to recognise each other's ethnic differences," Nairobi University political analyst Nick Wanjohi said.

"These countries have not developed a culture of violence as such but there is a phenomenon of violence developing that is based on hatred of other ethnic groups," he said.

"The problems have been compounded by the lack of government that ensures regular free and fair leadership elections."

A crash into anarchy

Somalia crashed into anarchy after rebels toppled military dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991.

The rebels then turned their guns on each other and a subsistence economy collapsed.

More than 300 000 people starved to death before the United Nations decided to send in a US-led force of some 36 000 troops from a dozen countries.

About 1,5 million Somalis face starvation and nearly a million others have fled to neighbouring states.

The sketch for the other Horn of

from power struggles among a group of army officers who had seized power in 1974, toppling feudal chieftain Haile Selassie.

Hundreds of refugees

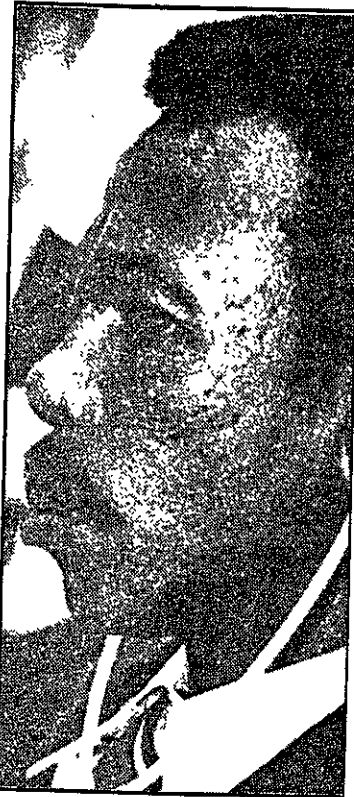
The 30-year war between government troops and rebels in Ethiopia's strategic Red Sea region of Eritrea created hundreds of thousands of refugees and ruined the impoverished country's economy.

Sudan - A mainly Muslim country, it has been reeling from armed insurrection by Christian southerners since 1983. About a third of southern Sudan's population of six million has been displaced and hundreds of thousands have fled the country.

Djibouti - Djibouti has been riven by fighting between government troops and rebels over the last year.

Kenya has been an island of relative stability and prosperity. Last year President Daniel arap Moi bowed to opposition and western donor pressure to introduce a multi-party system. But there has been fighting in the interior between pro and anti-Moi factions.

Wanjohi said the first multiparty general election in Kenya for 26 years on December 29 could point the way forward. "All the countries in the region will be watching the elections closely to see how they are held. If they are conducted properly, this will help other countries such as Somalia and Ethiopia," he said. "If there is cheating and violence, then we are headed for a tragic situation." - *Sapa-Reuter*



Mengistu Haile Mariam

Africa nations is as follows:

Uneasy peace

Ethiopia - An uneasy peace exists after rebels from the north shot their way into the capital Addis Ababa last year to overthrow Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Mengistu had emerged victorious

JONATHAN D. YVES SAINT-JIRENT CERRUTI

Sowetan 11/12/92
Assassin not alone ①

ALGIERS - The assassin of Algerian head of state Mohamed Boudiaf carried out the killing alone but he could have been a hit-man for Islamic fundamentalists or thwarted politicians, an official inquiry found.

Urgent appeal to relief force

MOGADISHU — Relief agencies yesterday appealed for the swift dispatch of foreign troops to two Somali towns where they said at least 60 people had been killed in looting and shooting sprees.

Their pleas for US-led forces to crush marauding Somali gunmen coincided with an announcement by one of Mogadishu's two warlords that he would meet his rival today in an effort to end the feud which has wrecked the country.

Snipers shot at French legionnaires and a Cobra attack helicopter in the capital during the night but there were no casualties.

The Belgian-based charity Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) said in Nairobi at least 60 people had been killed and 40 wounded in fighting over the last four days in the southern port of Kismayu.

Gunmen had also been on a looting

spree in the central town of Baidoa, at the heart of Somalia's famine which has killed more than 300 000 people, aid agencies said.

The looting classes are trying to get their last licks," said a spokesman for the charity World Vision. "The aid agencies want those troops on the ground quickly."

As newly arrived US Marines fanned out around the capital, warlord Mohamed Farah Aidede issued a statement saying he and his blood rival Ali Mahdi Mohamed had accepted an invitation from US ambassador Robert Oakley to meet in the capital today.

It will be the first meeting in a year between the men, former allies who turned their guns on each other following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991.

Aidede, would-be president of the country, has refused to attend talks with Ali Mahdi, who holds sway over

north Mogadishu, as long as he calls himself interim president.

Marines and French paratroopers patrolled the city to fly the flag of Operation Restore Hope, the UN-mandated plan to stop the plundering of relief for the starving.

Only about 1 000 marines and 100 French troops have landed so far out of an expected 35 000 troops from a dozen countries. But UN officials said the constant clatter of their helicopters and presence at checkpoints was meant to give the impression of a much larger force.

Mogadishu adjusted slowly to its new military masters.

Armed gunmen in a car fired shots at a French road block during the night. The legionnaires fired back, but no casualties were reported.

A Jamaican UN radio operator was recovering and in a stable condition after being shot on Wednesday, officials said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Another disaster awaits in Sudan

W/maul 11/12-17/12/92

AS 30 000 United States-led combat troops invade Somalia for the benefit of its starving citizens, another humanitarian disaster is unfolding in the Horn of Africa. Sudan, which is separated from Somalia by Ethiopia, is in the throes of war-induced apocalypse that has gone largely unheeded by the international community.

Some three-quarters of a million have already died while an estimated two thirds of southern Sudan's six million population have been uprooted from their homes.

Hundreds of thousands of Dinka, semi-nomadic cattle herders who live in the Joglei swamps, have been forced to flee attacks from the Nuer and are at risk of starvation.

The disaster is the result of a long-running civil war between the Khartoum-based Arab government and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, a southern rebel group. For the greater part of three decades, the African southerners, who are either Christian or animist, have been in revolt against their Muslim overlords.

The fighting reached a new intensity earlier this year when government troops overran a dozen rebel-held towns in an offensive that included a scorched earth policy against the local inhabitants. Behind the offensive lies a fanatic brand of Islamic fundamentalism.

Sudanese president General Omar Hassan al-Bashir has said he is waging a holy war against the SPLA infidels. Suppression of the rebellion is his first step in a drive to Islamise black Africa, according to those who have spoken to Bashir. Next in line may be Uganda and Kenya, two predominantly Christian countries that lie along Sudan's southern border.

Bashir is backed by Iran, which has provided military advisers and arms, including Chinese-made MIG fighter jets. Another government offensive is expected when the dry season starts this month.

The United States considers the Khartoum administration one of the cruellest and most repressive in the world. Bashir's military junta has imposed Islamic sharia law in the north. It calls for the amputation of a hand or foot for theft and public floggings for those who drink alcohol or consort with prostitutes.

Bashir has been purging the army of moderates and replacing them with leftist fanatics known as the mujahidin. The mujahidin's atrocities against non-Muslim Sudanese bear the hallmarks of "ethnic cleansing". Young Nuba boys from central Sudan have been shipped to Khartoum to be educated as Muslims while their parents have been herded into detention camps. Dinka men who enter government-held towns in search of food risk execution unless they submit to circumcision.

A military solution to the guerrilla war is as unlikely as a political one for logistical reasons. The southern third of the country is a wilderness area of swamp and 3m high elephant grass. During the nine-month rainy season, the greater part of the war zone is inaccessible except on foot or by dugout canoe.

What little infrastructure Sudan once enjoyed has collapsed. The roads were made by Arab slavers last century and have received little maintenance since then. For most of the year, they are a morass of glutinous mud. Trucks delivering emergency food supplies to the displaced are often bogged down for weeks at a time.

There is no electricity or piped water and not a single telephone. There is no currency, and aid agencies pay local employees with soap and salt.

It is this neglect that may ultimately prove the rebellion's undoing. The war has been further complicated by a split within the rebel ranks. The Dinka support SPLA founder Colonel John Garang, who seeks a united but secular Sudan.

The Dinka's ethnic cousins, the Nuer, have formed the breakaway Nasir faction. It is headed by Riak Machar, who is believed to have struck a secret pact with the Khartoum government. Machar's suggestion of a referendum on secession is impractical but attractive to many exhausted southerners.

Meanwhile, armed Nuer militia have been massacring thousands of Dinka and burning their homesteads. People who visited the devastated villages said the Nuer had disembowelled some of their victims, smashed in the heads of others and thrown children down wells.

As a result, hundreds of thousands of Dinka are on the march in search of food and shelter. "I have never seen anything like this before," said Malith, an official of the rebel-run Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association. Malith organised a mass exodus from the Bor area because people were reduced to eating grass and berries. The Nuer had burnt their crops and the seed set aside for the next planting season.

Given the scale of the disaster, the number of relief workers in the area and the resources they have available to them are horribly inadequate. Yet at this stage, tens of thousands of lives could be saved with a comparatively small financial outlay.

The displaced Dinka are hardy and resourceful. They want fishing line so that they can fish the Nile and seeds and hoes so they can plant before the onset of the next rains. And until the harvest next November, they will need supplementary food rations.

The West has yet to demonstrate it heeds early warnings. Southern Sudan continues to be overshadowed by the crisis in Somalia and funds earmarked for the Sudanese relief effort have been diverted there. Last October a UN world food programme operation that flies 90 tons of food a day to the besieged southern capital of Juba was grounded for a month. The reason — the money for the flights had been diverted to the famine relief effort in Somalia. Five hundred civilians die each month in Juba from hunger and disease.

If and when Sudan hits the headlines, it may be too late as was the case in the diplomatic debacle of Somalia. Will the consequences of the failure to acknowledge tragedy in the making mean another costly military intervention? Let us hope that it doesn't come to that.

The civil war in Sudan is dragging the country towards a disaster on the scale of Somalia. Will the West ignore the situation until it is too late, asks MARY ANNE FITZGERALD

The undoing of the UN

Guardian

11/12 - 17/12/92

By Jonathan Eyal, director of studies,
Royal United Services Institute

THE DECISION of the United States government to make its troops available for humanitarian efforts in Somalia is a quantum leap in the history of United Nations operations. Unfortunately, it is also a move accomplished with little thought of its long-term consequences. For, even if the effort in the Horn of Africa is ultimately crowned with success, none of the fundamental questions about the role of this international organisation, raised in their most acute form in the case of Yugoslavia, would have been answered.

Despite high-flown ideas about a "new world order", the reality is that the UN remains an instrument of last resort. When war broke out in Yugoslavia in June 1991, it was the European Community which assumed responsibility for solving the conflict. Brussels bureaucrats negotiated unproductive ceasefires and warned of dire consequences if violence continued. Serbia correctly assumed that the filing cabinets in Brussels did not represent a military threat and continued with the war regardless. Thus, the UN was called upon to intervene only after all other efforts had failed. And, in the words of a senior Western diplomat, the Yugoslav operation continues to

resemble a dog's breakfast.

The UN swiftly moved in to support a precarious ceasefire. The Serbs, who claimed to defend their compatriots, were appeased by the promise that peace-keeping forces would defend the Serbian-populated enclaves in Croatia and the Croats were assured that the presence of UN forces would never affect their republic's frontiers. The UN troops in Croatia were supposed to disarm all local militias and allow for the return of refugees. In fact, nothing of the kind has happened: bereft of political support, the UN has merely succeeded in postponing the ultimate day of reckoning between Serbs and Croats.

Croatia is determined to ask the UN forces to leave when their original mandate expires early next year. Members of the Security Council hope to avoid this issue by putting pressure on Croatia not to ask for the peace-keepers' withdrawal. They may succeed, but they are already failing in preventing a wider confrontation between Serbs and Croats. Indeed, the UN presence may actually fuel further war: Croat military incursions into Bosnian territory are designed to encircle Serbian enclaves from the south in preparation for future war.

Yet the biggest mistake was to assume that the Yugoslav conflict could be handled piecemeal. From the beginning, the Security Council concerned itself only with Croatia and pretended that bloodshed in Bosnia could be averted through the simple expedient of having the UN headquarters in the Bosnian capital. The trick did not work and after a few abortive ceasefires European states turned again to the UN. But the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, refused this time to pull the politicians' chestnuts out of the Bosnian fire.

Boutros-Ghali lacked the resources to mount such an operation. But, more fundamentally, the UN Secretary-General was determined to show that his organisation cannot become the dustbin of the world's insoluble problems without the necessary political backing. Thus began the second phase of peace-keeping operations in Yugoslavia which promises to end in disaster.

Since no central UN support was on offer and public opinion demanded action, governments asked their military to do "something". The generals, aware of the pitfalls, over ensured by providing troops with equipment for every eventuality.

The result was a huge cost and massive overlapping of resources, especially in communications systems: for the first year, the Bosnian operation cost \$500 million. The UN did ultimately help by providing financial experts who identified the common costs (such as transport and food) which could be shared by all participants. Yet, although these may amount to 12 per cent of the total, all bills still have to be paid by the participating states rather than centrally by the international organisation.

The worst may still come. First, no country knows how long it could maintain its present commitment. The Canadians, who have contributed so much to UN operations over decades and got little political credit in return, know better than most that, once established, peace-keeping forces are difficult to disband. The UN operation in Cyprus has lasted for 28 years. And the same could happen in Bosnia. Despite all the statements to the contrary everyone knows that the old Bosnian republic cannot be reconstructed and that refugees cannot return to their places of residence. At best, a Muslim Bosnian state will be created on some territory, a country which will need international protection for many years.

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More importantly, there is still little co-ordination between governments as to what should be done if troops in Bosnia come under fire. To complicate matters even further these troops are unlikely to be presented with a straightforward choice between returning fire or beating a retreat. In an ominous development last week, peace-keeping troops in both Bosnia and Cambodia were kidnapped by supposedly unknown groups. Kidnapping soldiers may well prove to be the way of the future, for the tactic avoids outright military confrontation but is just as effective in sapping the morale of troops on the ground. And the wider reality is that peace-keeping operations can never be confused with war-making capabilities and cannot provide for long a fig leaf to governments who are not prepared to consider other options. Quite apart from their heavy costs, peace-keeping forces are best at freezing a situation on the ground and little more. The UN forces in Cyprus started by trying to dismantle road blocks erected by fighting ethnic communities. They then accepted these barriers with resignation and ultimately even painted them with the UN's own colours since no political

Continued on page 9

The undoing

Guardian, 11/12/92

of the UN

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Continued from page 8

alternative was on offer. The same is likely to happen in Bosnia.

Secondly, peace-keeping operations must remain an expression of collective security and must be financed internationally. Clearly, European states and institutions should bear the major burden of any conflict on their continent. Yet such operations must be co-ordinated on the large scale for otherwise they would lack the staying power which is essential for long-term success. The participants in the Bosnian operation are shortly proposing to pass on the begging bowl to other states. They will quickly discover that Japan will refuse to contribute, claiming that it is already doing enough in Cambodia, and that Middle Eastern states will impose impossible conditions for their support of Bosnia.

Behind the scenes, a furious dispute about sharing the costs of UN operations has been going on for months. The US has suggested that, instead of outright financial contributions, it should help, in kind, by placing its vast quantities of military equipment pre-positioned around the world at the UN's disposal. However, nobody is able to agree on the costing mechanisms for such payments and little has been done.

For more than a year, the UN Secretary-General has tried to start a debate about his organisation's future peace-keeping operation. Apart from soothing words, no reply ever came. Instead, from Yugoslavia to Somalia, the UN was asked to approve a series of haphazard moves, a set of incremental steps which, although well meaning, provide no long-term solution. The operations in Yugoslavia indicate that the notion of UN collective security is in need of an overhaul. For the present precarious operation, straddling peace-keeping and peace-making promises at the same time and bereft of political support, will collapse.

Former Leaders Waiting To Return To Power

MOGADISHU, Somalia — Every morning here in this violent capital, about a dozen once-powerful men have escaped the chaos in the streets by gathering in the posh and expansive living room of Abdullah Ahmed Addou, Somalia's former ambassador to Washington. Sitting barefoot, they sip tea, exchange the latest gossip, and discuss the prospects of forming a future interim government in Somalia.

Most of the men were either business leaders or senior officials of the regime of Mohamed Siad Barre, Somalia's deposed dictator. Siad Barre's last interior minister has been a regular at the morning gatherings. So has the past president of the Chamber of Commerce. Until they returned to Somalia from exile last month, they held their daily talk sessions in Cairo. "But we were powerless," said Addou. "Number one, we were out of the country, and number two, we were not the ones with the guns."

This group's luck may be about to change; the scenarios and contingencies they have been debating for the last two years may get the chance to be tested. With the imminent arrival of the first of up to 30,000 American combat troops here, the balance of power in Somalia is set for a dramatic change.

The men with the guns — the warlords and their youthful, marauding militiamen — who have held sway over a defenseless popu-

lation for nearly two years may finally be forced to retreat. And if an interim government is to be formed, its members will likely be drawn from what remains of Somalia's educated elite, the former politicians and businessmen such as those at the daily informal gatherings.

The goal of the U.S. military intervention has been described in strictly humanitarian terms — to break the logjam in relief aid and take food to the starving. President Bush, in his White House address last week, insisted, "We do not plan to dictate political outcomes."

But many Somalis hope that the American soldiers, by taking away the unchallenged authority of Somalia's warlords and gunmen, also will break the political logjam that has stalled all previous attempts to peacefully reconcile Somalia's myriad warring clan factions.

"The world image is that Somalis are either looters or starving people, but there are many good people in between and they could be used," said Hussein Mursal, a Somali working with Save the Children Fund. "You might ask why these Somalis didn't speak out before."

The reason, he said, is that Somalia's warlords "were big and they had guns. If the Americans neutralize everybody with guns, then these people to speak out."

U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and senior White

House officials have spoken in recent days of the possibility of establishing some kind of "transitional authority" in Somalia, similar to the U.N. transitional government now in place in Cambodia. But many educated Somalis — from politicians and businessmen to relief workers like Mursal — call foreign imposition of a government on Somalia unacceptable. "We are intimidated by these gun-

By Keith B. Richburg

men," said Mursal. "But we don't want to change Somali warlords for foreign warlords."

However, they said, the prospect of foreign powers installing a government in Mogadishu may be the needed impetus to persuade the warring clans to give way to a temporary administration of leaders not involved in the current bloodletting.

"Somalis are very nationalistic," said Addou, the former ambassador. "Even though they welcome foreign forces, they say nonetheless it is time to expedite the reconciliation." The U.S. military intervention "will enhance the prospects for the various groups to come together," he said. "All people need is stability. I think the Somalis will come together and set up at least a temporary administration until there can be elections."

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Addou said the best hope for peace was using the American intervention to work for a resolution of the deadly power struggle between the two factions of the United Somali Congress, represented by Somalia's premier warlord, Mohamed Farah Aided, and interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who have carved up this capital into armed camps.

The United Somali Congress was the umbrella group that toppled Siad Barre's regime in January 1991 but split when Ali Mahdi was named interim president at an international conference in Djibouti. Aided, the organization's chairman and leader of the military offensive that captured Mogadishu and caused Siad Barre to flee, refused to accept Ali Mahdi's appointment and tried to oust him from power.

Their rivalry for power flared into several brutal artillery duels during 1991, the most vicious beginning in November 1991 and lasting four months, leaving most of the capital in ruins and killing thousands of civilians. The chaos in Mogadishu prompted the north of the country to break away and declare independence as unrecognized Somaliland. The fighting also worsened the famine in the countryside.

"It's key," Addou said. "If we get Ali Mahdi and Aided together, the Somalia problem is solved." Addou and others said that while the in-

terim government can be made up of noncombatants and Somali intellectuals, it still must have the backing of all the warring factions to have any chance of survival.

The major hurdle is in identifying the individuals who would serve in such a government, since, in the words of Sam Tousseif of the International Medical Corps here, "There's no such thing as a neutral Somali."

Some of the possible candidates for key roles in an interim administration are considered tainted by many Somalis because they held a variety of key positions during the two decades of Siad Barre's regime. Besides Addou, who was also a finance minister under Siad Barre, there is Abdi Kasim Salad, Barre's former interior minister and a regular at the daily tea-and-gossip gatherings; Gen. Mohamed Sheikh Osman, a former member of the ruling council; and Osman Ahmed Roble, a former president of the Somali Chamber of Commerce. They are able to meet every morning and talk politics for long hours, Addou said, because "we have nothing to do — we have no employment."

"If the Americans come and work with the Somali nationals who are here — the intellectuals — then that will make life easier for them," said Mursal of Save the Children. "If they pick up those people from the outside, it will be a disaster."

The 1,800-man French contingent assisting in the Somalia aid mission, drawn largely from units stationed in Djibouti, will be under American command. Meanwhile, the situation in the capital is particularly complicated, with newcomers, many of them nomads straight out of the bush, taking over entire neighbourhoods vacated by their original residents. Things may become even more tense with the restoration of peace when the original owners of houses and apartments now appropriated by squatters return to claim their property.

Surviving in Mogadishu

By Jean Hélène

MOGADISHU — The cannon-armed pick-up truck screeches to a halt in front of three breeze-blocks placed across the asphalt road and several teenage boys jump down. Two of them take up covering positions behind a hunched-down wall. The militiamen on the lookout are motionless as the foreigner crosses the demarcation line. They watch him silently as he clambers into the truck which then swings round, while the cannon does a 180-degree arc to keep its target — the next crossroads — in its sights.

This is "Checkpoint Uganda" where "Bernuda" begins, the enclave which scares many people and "the other side", "Bernuda" is right in the heart of the southern part of Mogadishu and it has stood up to all the assaults of General Aidid, the powerful leader of the faction holding the southern part of the Somali capital. In a fit of rage the general once allegedly screamed: "It's like the Bernuda triangle here, nobody comes out alive."

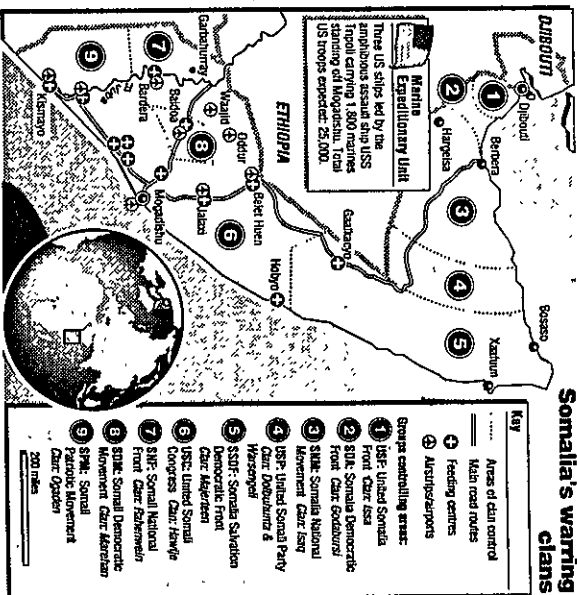
Artillery fire has spared none of the low-built houses under the old acacia trees in this working-class neighbourhood. Rows of collapsed roofs, sheet metal huts flattened in the dust, here and there an adobe wall or a roof split open still stands. In the alleyways invaded by weeds and along the line marking the front not a living soul is to be seen. Equally deserted is the once bustling Maka Mukarrama Avenue and its rows of abandoned buildings their walls blackened by smoke dominated by the "Interim President", Ali Mahdi. But he is presiding over the destinies in the north of the city and has not shown up in his

By Jean Hélène

place symbolised the courage and determination of the We'ysays (an Aqsa) who had grimly defended their stronghold.

"Aidid's attack caught us unprepared," said Ibrahim Maalin, "and Ali Mahdi, pinned down in his barracks in the north, couldn't help us." Several times he had to negotiate the tricky passage across the battle lines to buy munitions from the Murusadays who control the weapons depot of former president Siyad Barre. The Murusadays sell weapons to the highest bidder. "They were trying to get me to compete with General Aidid's financial backer, Osman Ayo," said Maalin.

The place has been calm again since the March 3 ceasefire, but its 6,000 residents survive among the ruins thanks to relatives abroad or area. Both phrases mean practically the same thing here. People



Somalia's warring clans

has presidential ambitions ("It's a foretold" ambitions say his enemies), has promised the Habar-Gudir clan the city of Mogadishu in return for their support. The capital may not have had any electricity for the last two years, but it is a deal which lights up these nomads' eyes.

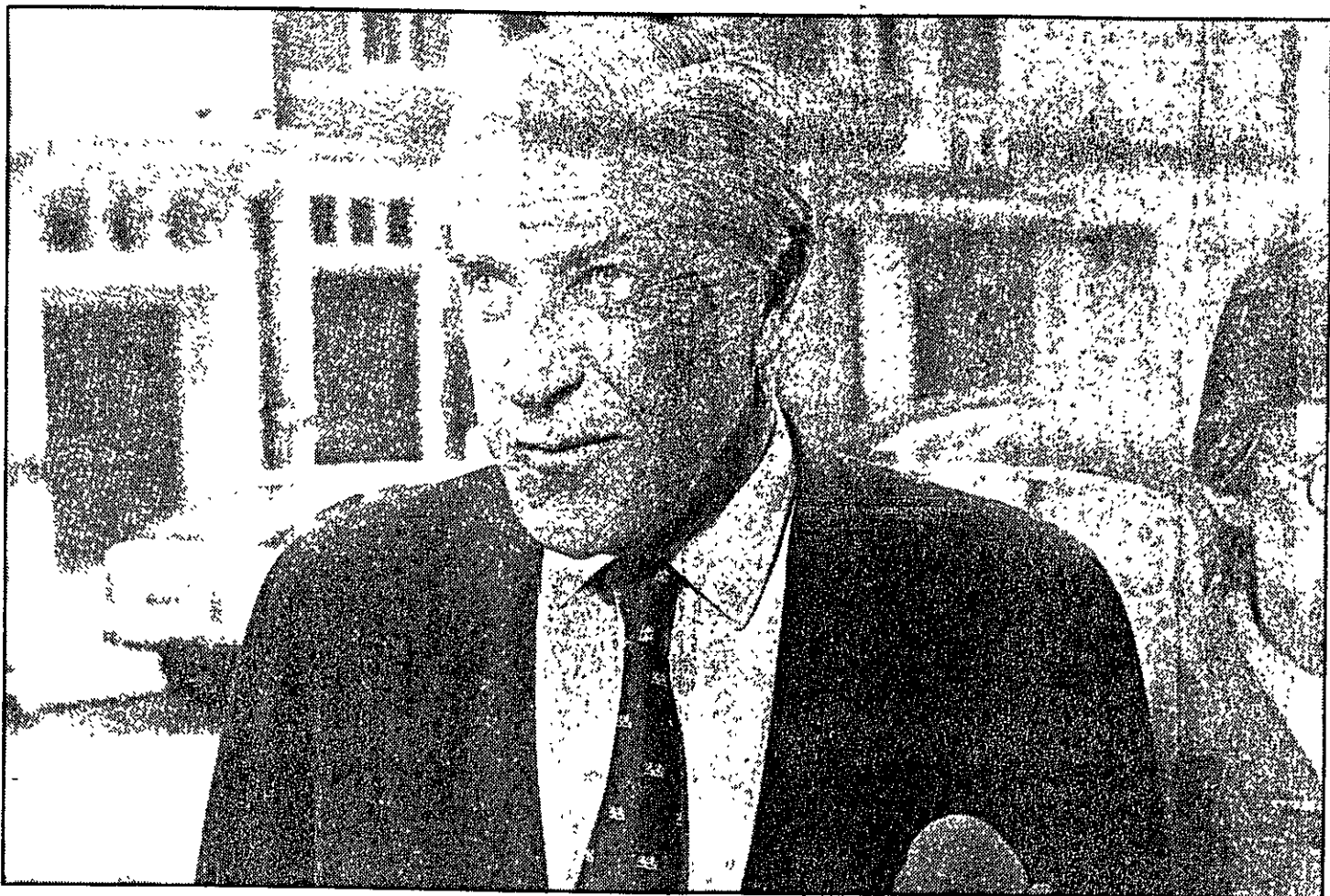
Thousands of bush-dwellers have swarmed out of the semi-desert region of Mudung with their wives and children and moved into luxury homes in the wealthier neighbourhoods; horses abandoned by prominent figures of the former regime and by the Diarods, a clan that fell victim to ethnic rejection when Siyad Barre was ousted from the presidency.

Despite his military superiority General Aidid has been only partly successful. He is running into desperate resistance from the Aqsa who, like the We'ysays in "Bernuda", are fighting tooth and nail to hold on to their patch. "If peace is restored one day, the people who have gone into exile are going to come back and claim their property," pointed out one observer,

"and there are very few chances of the present occupants agreeing to vacate the premises." And another added: "Short of destroying the whole city, they're not going to get them out."

But the "Bernuda" residents are cobbling together strategies in which the Hawadays, who are holding the airport, are going to join up with Bernuda and Medina" (another enclave that is holding out). They are confident the "enemy will back down, because he's not on his home territory in Mogadishu". They are even dreaming of a country rid of Aidid whom they describe as "Somalia's cancer". You cross "Checkpoint Uganda" just as warily in the return direction. A return to a city with its screaming markets outside every hospital, its militiamen bustling around noisily in their Mad Max vehicles, its refugees humiliated under the flags of humanitarian organisations, its foul-smelling waste lots dotted with graves. Another world, but the same tragedy.

(December 4)



TINY ROWLAND: The Lonrho chief executive deserves honorary membership of the pantheon of Africa's post-independence leaders. However, he does not have the same links with the new generation as with the old, who are mostly dead or exiled.

Change takes its toll on Lonrho

LONDON — "Tiny's in town." For three decades the cry has gone up in towns and cities across Africa, from Cape to Cairo, from the lips of politicians, businessmen and journalists.

If the pantheon of Africa's post-independence leaders allowed honorary membership, Tiny Rowland (75), Lonrho's chief executive, could take his place for granted.

Ready to nominate him would be Dr Hastings Banda of Malawi; Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's president until his election defeat last year; the late Samora Machel of Mozambique and his successor, Joaquim Chissano; Uganda's Milton Obote and Sudan's Jaafar Nimeiri; Joshua Nkomo, Zimbabwe's deputy president; and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi.

New generation

Yet all those leaders are dead, or dying, exiled or exiting. Age has taken its toll, but so has democracy, with autocratic leaders buckling under domestic and international pressure and succumbing to demands for multiparty elections.

It was with these men that Rowland worked closely. It is said that he does not have the same links with the new generation of African leaders.

And Africa is changing in another respect. Structural adjustment under the scrutiny of the International Monetary

AS TINY Rowland prepares to make his exit from Lonrho, MICHAEL HOLMAN of the Financial Times looks at the multinational giant's changing links with Africa, the continent that made Lonrho what it is.

STAR 12/12/92. ~~STAR 12/12/92~~

Fund and World Bank is creating fewer opportunities to exercise presidential power.

The high hopes that marked the emergence of independent African states in the 1960s were dashed in the 1970s. Today those hopes are at their nadir.

All these changes have taken a toll on Lonrho's assets, however efficiently managed. Post-Rowland, Lonrho as a company, with Dieter Bock as its new driving force, will find business in Africa harder and potentially less profitable.

Lonrho has become increasingly dependent on profit from Africa. They accounted for £150 million (about R704 million) out of group pre-tax profit of £207 million for the year ended September 1991. Activities include, in South Africa, platinum, gold, coal and asbestos mining, motor dealer-

ships and sugar investments.

Further north Lonrho has a wide spread of mining, agricultural and commercial assets spread across at least 16 countries. Prominent is the Ashanti gold mine in Ghana, but the list extends to tea, beer, pharmaceuticals, sugar, farming, textiles, soft drinks, timber, paint and hotels.

Yet questions shadow many of Lonrho's businesses.

Kenya's economic difficulties and political uncertainties put question marks against Lonrho's hotel and motor vehicle interests. Plantations in Mozambique depend on successful implementation of a UN-supervised peace plan. In Zambia Lonrho companies are dependent on the success of a fragile economic adjustment programme, as in Zimbabwe, where Lonrho has substantial interests.

Political risk

The future of investments in Malawi is heavily dependent on what happens after Banda, now in his mid-90s, passes on. Lonrho's companies in Nigeria are hit by economic crisis and uncertainty about the handover to civilian rule.

Weak currencies, political risk and hold-ups in remittance of profits and dividends make many holdings worth less than their book value. If sold, it would be difficult to repatriate the proceeds.

New strain of HIV found

YAOUNDE (Cameroon) — Researchers have found a strain of the HIV virus that causes Aids which is very different from the two known forms — HIV-1, found worldwide, and HIV-2, found mainly in west Africa.

But researchers say it is too early to tell whether it is a third form of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) because the full genetic sequencing of the virus "isolate", which has been called MVP-5180, is not complete.

The preliminary findings, presented at the seventh International Conference on Aids in Africa held in Yaounde, come from Lutz Gurtler and colleagues at the Max von Pettenkofer Institute at the University of Munich, working with a team from

000
CYNTHIA JOHNSON

Cameroon's Blood Transfusion and Testing Centre.

"The data point to evidence that the isolate MVP-5180 is a highly divergent strain, nearly equally remote from HIV-1 and HIV-2, but perhaps closer to HIV-1," Gurtler said.

The isolate came from a Cameroonian patient who had died of Aids.

The sample was collected through the World Health Organisation's Network for HIV Isolation and Characterisation, which was set up to gain a better understanding of HIV variability worldwide and to help develop and evaluate candidate vaccines. — Sapa-Reuter.

5 MAR 12/12/92

Graham Linscott reports that Somalia could become a UN mandate

Kicking the Strategic Horn again



①

AMERICAN marines wade ashore to take possession of the Land of Punt. No, that's not Naas Botha's Northern Transvaal (which is rather landlocked anyway), it's what the ancient Egyptians used to call what is now known as Somalia.

How the world has changed, and not just since the days of ancient Egypt. A few years ago the mere suggestion of 28 000 American troops landing in an independent African country, for whatever reason, would have had Nato and the Warsaw Pact on full nuclear alert and the Non-Aligned Group at the United Nations in hysterics. All right, the current operation in Somalia is a UN one, just as the fact that the military command and the bulk of the troops are

American really has nothing to do with it. Yes — tell it to the marines.

Somalia is the strategic Horn of Africa. It commands the Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea and the northern reaches of the Indian Ocean. It is a bridgehead to Africa and a jumping off point to the Arab world. Few regions are as geopolitically sensitive. For decades the CIA and the KGB played nasty games to decide who should control the strategic port of Berbera.

Yet suddenly it doesn't matter. This is, of course, an outcome of the collapse of communism and the end of the bi-polar international system and the Cold War. It is more or less what we have come to expect.

But almost as astonishing — and barely remarked upon so far

— is the way something that looks very much like a version of neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism is being tolerated by the African continent. Africa has a history of its inhabitants first being sold into slavery, then being placed under colonial rule. It has been hypersensitive, since the post-war process of decolonisation began, to the slightest suggestion of neo-colonial dependence — let alone allowing in Yankee soldiers.

Yet there is serious talk of Somalia becoming a UN mandate once the American, er UN, troops have secured the situation, whenever that might be.

And the Somalis have been that route before. The country is made up of former British Somaliland and former Italian Somaliland, which became a UN mandate

after the defeat of Mussolini in World War 2. They united to take independence in 1960.

Suddenly they are back to foreign occupation and probably dependency status for the foreseeable future. It's surely not a judgment on the Somalis themselves that their country should have lapsed into such a condition of banditry that international/American intervention was required to save millions of people from famine. It is rather a judgment on the cynicism of the Cold War and the arms supplies that accompanied it. All-out war with neighbouring Ethiopia was certain to degenerate in the end into internal warlordism.

They've been kicked around a lot in the Land of Punt. □

Star 14112192

PEOPLE'S LIVES

10-year slide from poverty to ruin



Sowetan
14/12/92

■ BAD PLANNING

Economy is wrecked:

ANTANANARIVO, Madagascar - Her name means "A Sweetness People Love". But there is a look in 13-year-old Maminina's coal black eyes that says she doesn't believe in names.

Her father deserted her one night last month in a street of the Madagascar capital, leaving her in charge of three sisters and two brothers, one six months old.

She begged for three days and nights, then walked into a haven run by a priest called Pedro who has heard stories like hers four thousand times.

Ragged children pleading for money

It is impossible to stroll through tumbledown Antananarivo without attracting a train of ragged children pleading: "Monsieur, give me money."

Visitors and residents all talk about the "quatre mis" - an ironic name for the homeless. It means "four walls".

"Some nights I drive down this street to the office and I just can't look," said a Malagasy resident.

"I don't want to see them sleeping on the pavement or begging in doorways. I can't bear it but I just can't change the world on my own."

Nor can Pedro. But his eyes say he will try.

Two years ago he came to Antananarivo and found families living from the compacted rubbish of the municipal dump. They burrowed in, found bones and sold them for animal feed.

He got land from the government and created a village called Manantenasoa — "A Better Life". His organisation now provides four real walls for 4 000 of the "quatre mis".

And they keep coming. "We get 25 more families every month. It never stops. I reckon there are 250 000 people in this town who don't even get enough to eat," Pedro says.

"It's a disgrace. This isn't Somalia. Somalia is a desert. But this is a rich agricultural country. It used to export food. But these people have been abused for years. It is a crime."

The reason is not just the influx of job-seekers from the countryside that has created shantytowns around cities all over Africa.

From poverty to virtual ruin

Madagascar has gone in the past decade from poverty to virtual ruin.

Slash and burn farming has wrecked the land. The collapse of prices for coffee, vanilla and cloves has made the crops scarcely worth growing.

Soviet-style central planning, grandiose but unproductive projects and big military expenditure by President Didier Ratsiraka have brought the economy to its knees, diplomats say.

"We hope that one day Antananarivo will build factories. That there will be jobs. That this will be an industrial town. But until then..." Pedro's attention is distracted by a new arrival seeking the comfort of a broad arm round his small shoulder.

"This town has doubled or trebled in size in the past few years. But at the same time only a couple of hundred houses have been built," said Pedro, a Slovene who worked in the Madagascar countryside for 20 years before attacking the capital.

The United Nations' World Food Programme, World Bank and Madagascar's transitional government announced a five-year R36,4 million plan last month to ease the plight of the urban poor in Antananarivo, where some 50 000 are thought to be homeless.

Pedro's Akamosa organisation provides shelter and food in return for work in nearby quarries or on handicraft projects. Parents come with entire families, sometimes a dozen people.

Others have not heard of the bearded priest and abandon their children or worse. "A woman walked up to our night guard the other day and tried to sell her child. It was wrapped under a shawl. When we lifted it, the child was naked," said a businesswoman.

The arrivals are rehabilitated, educated, helped to overcome frequent drug or alcohol problems and given the opportunity to go back to the land if they have relatives with cooking and farming implements, a bus ticket and minimal pocket money. - *Sapa-Reuter*.



Food for 'city of death'

Massacre of 89 Kenyan nomads

NAIROBI - Sudanese tribal raiders massacred 89 Kenyan nomads, mostly women and children, in a remote area of north-west Kenya before making off with their livestock, police said.

The raiders, who belong to the Toposa and Dongiro tribes and attacked a manyatta (nomadic settlement) at Kokuro near the Sudanese border on Saturday, were armed with sophisticated firearms and other weapons, police officials added.

They killed 15 men, 32 women and 42 children and stole more than 7 000 head of cattle, goats, camels and donkeys, the officials said.

Clashes between local tribes are common in this semi-desert area but

Sowetan 14/12/92
■ 32 women and 42 children among victims of Sudanese tribal raiders: ①

Saturday's raid was the most serious in several years.

In 1988 a gang of 400 armed raiders from Sudan killed 191 Kenyans and stole thousands of cattle. On that occasion, Kenyan police intercepted some of the raiders and killed 20.

Meanwhile, four Western ambassadors walked out of Kenya's main independence celebrations accusing President Daniel arap Moi of turning the event into a political rally for the embattled ruling party.

In nearby Somalia, more than 200

US Marines swooped on a military air base in Somalia's interior to secure it for the US-led armed intervention to get food to the starving, a spokesman said.

It was the marines' first thrust into Somalia's lawless and famished interior since they reached the capital on Wednesday. The airfield at Bali Dogle, about 160km from the capital, is likely to be used as a staging post to secure relief operations for Baidoa, dubbed Somalia's "city of death". - *Sapa-Reuter.*

An examination of the scale of international efforts in Bosnia and Somalia

Setting the pattern for intervention

THE spectacle of American special forces sneaking up the beaches of Somalia into the full glare of TV lights should not obscure the seriousness of the enterprise and the issues it raises.

This is a large, risky and unprecedented operation that will profoundly affect how — and even whether — American power is deployed in the post-communist world. Success will generate confidence to repeat the experiment. Failure will encourage already strong pressures towards isolationism. Somalia could set the pattern for the next decade.

The moral case for the operation is overwhelming. There is no need to look for motives much beyond pressure from the American people, who could not face tucking into Christmas dinners while watching Somali children starving on TV. Their support (66 percent,

according to polls) shows the American character at its best — generous, brave and imaginative. During the Cold War these qualities were too often frustrated or contaminated by power politics.

But what are the chances of success? The tactics are as typically American as the motivation: deploy overwhelming power, fix the problem and get out quick. The size of the force is out of all proportion to the actual task of protecting aid convoys, but it makes sense in so far as it is calculated to render opposition unthinkable and thereby reduce casualties. Its initial effect has been to send the armed bands running for cover. The more serious problems will come when it starts to withdraw. Ideally, it will leave behind a functioning Somali government. More probably, substantial forces will be needed for some

time. At that point the burden will have to be shared more equitably with other members of the United Nations.

For the moment, the contrast with Bosnia could scarcely be starker. It is not hard to imagine the thoughts of the Muslims there, freezing, starving and dying, as they hear of the massive forces deployed to save Somalia. Why are they not entitled to the same help?

The short answer is feasibility. The Americans judge Somalia to present a simpler problem. Militarily and politically, it offers the chance of a quick fix. Bosnia is a quagmire. But the question cannot be disposed of so easily. The western alliance has more at stake in Bosnia than in Somalia: its credibility is in jeopardy and the danger of a Balkan war is growing. Yet the scale of effort has become

inverted. The forces deployed in Bosnia would be nearly sufficient to bring food to Somalia, while the quantities landing in Somalia could overwhelm the Serbs.

Without suggesting close parallels, the discrepancy of effort is worrying. In Bosnia, western forces suffer daily humiliation because they have been dragged in piecemeal without receiving the authority or fire power to prevail. If the Americans were to enter the conflict on the same scale as in Somalia, primarily from the air, the Serbs would probably be as much as the armed bands in Somalia. Although the long-term outcome would be as difficult to guarantee, the risks are coming to seem less than those of continuing the present level of ineffectual intervention. — The Independent News Service. □

Eritrea battles to rise from ashes ①

Star 15/12/72

After three decades of extraordinarily vicious war, Eritreans have learnt to cherish peace — so much so that visiting South Africans find it more tranquil than back home. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI reports.

WALKING down the streets of Asmara, capital of Eritrea, it is difficult to believe that this is a country emerging from 30 years of bitter war. The streets are neat, the people cheerful, and there is not a soldier or policeman in sight.

Asked why there were no policemen in the streets, a government minister replied: "Oh, we're still training them." The authorities say criminal acts are rare.

Eritrea is now, incredibly, an oasis of peace in a region racked by civil wars, recurrent drought and famine. For a country whose economy has been totally devastated by the war, there are not even beggars in the streets.

Commented one man among a group of visiting South Africans: "It's so peaceful. It's not like back home where everyone carries a gun, and makes a point of showing it off."

Just over a year ago Eritrea was awash with Ethiopian troops and MiG fighters were pounding the countryside in a vain attempt to reverse gains made by the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) against Mengistu Haile Mariam's government.

The loss of the war to the Eritreans led to Mengistu's flight from Ethiopia to Zimbabwe last year. A referendum is to be held next April to formalise Eritrea's independence from Ethiopia.

Government ministers say the 30-year long war to secede from Ethiopia has taught Eritreans to appreciate the value of peace.

Sehbat Ephrem, now governor of Asmara and reputed thinker of the revolution, says Eritrea is a "confusion" of almost all the great powers.

"The Romans were here, the Greeks were here, the Turks were here, the Portuguese, the Italians, the Brits, the Americans, the Russians. You name any super-power, any great power, any great civilisation... they have all contributed to this nation, be it negative or positive.

"And because of this Eritrea has become different from the rest of Africa, from even its neighbours, Ethiopia or Sudan."

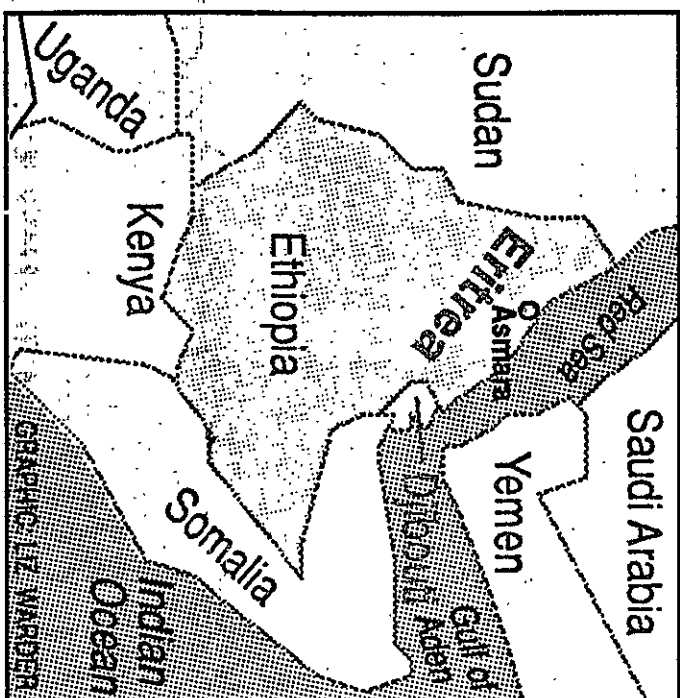
What is so remarkable about Eritrea is that they triumphed in the face of total hostility from other African countries, and against a government armed to the teeth by the eastern bloc, and had Soviet and Cuban advisers directing operations on the battlefield.

Apart from a base in nearby Sudan, no country supported them. The OAU shunned them; secession is a dirty word within the organisation.

After winning the war, the EPLF inherited a country virtually on its knees. The Minister of Education, for instance, says he has no budget. There is no money.

All the Ministers and the former fighters who are now manning the civil service are working without pay. The bulk of the soldiers have been deployed in the countryside to build roads and other amenities.

Haile Woldemense is Minister of Economic Development and Co-operation. He says farming,



which accounts for more than 80 percent of the economy, has been totally destroyed by the war.

The Ethiopians, he says, specifically targeted peasant farmers and planted mines in their fields. The land, prone to erosion, is now degraded.

"The rural population is now dependent on food aid. Commercial farming is totally destroyed. Agriculture is the mainstay of our living, so you can imagine the state of our economy."

"When we liberated the country," Woldemense says, "we were prepared to start from zero. But we soon discovered that everything was below zero."

The country had good roads and railways, infrastructure built by the Italians, but the rails were dismantled to reinforce trenches by both sides during the fighting. Manufacture

"We would like to create an environment where each ethnic group will be able to celebrate its culture while at the same time feel privileged to be part of the country.

"People should feel safe to move anywhere, to express any view. The rule of law should take precedent.

"The country is in ruins and we want to put it back on its feet. Reconstruction is of paramount importance."

But not everybody is happy with Eritrea's impending break with Ethiopia. Some people, especially in the south, see this as a northern conspiracy to break up the whole of Ethiopia. (The government in Addis Ababa is dominated by people from Tigray, a northern province which borders Eritrea, and the Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF, and the EPLF fought together against Mengistu.)

Ephrem dismisses the charge with contempt. "No Eritrean will agree to be called an Ethiopian. It's an insult."

Amare Tekle, the referendum commissioner, says the poll in April to decide the future of Eritrea cannot include all Ethiopians because doing so would be like "inviting the rapist to decide on the fate of his victim."

The best guarantee for a free and fair poll, he says, is a free press and the presence of international observers. Many observers, including some from South Africa's Isasa, have been invited. But Yemant Gebreab sounds a note of caution. Listening to people praising Eritrea's achievement makes him scared.

"There is a lot of euphoria here. There was also a lot of euphoria in Mozambique and Angola at independence. Look what happened there." — Star Africa Service. □

focus on ubuntu

THE views that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is reneging on the Africanist philosophy turns logic upside down.

What Apla is doing and what Africanism is all about are two different issues.

As early as 1959 Sobukwe said: "Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

Those wise words still hold good even today. Right up to now the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is the only organisation that preaches and at the same time practises non-racialism in the true sense of the word.

The doors of PAC are open to all the aborigines of Africa who are prepared to abide by a rule of an African majority.

For so-called whites to refuse to come and sit with us under the same tree and become branches of this big tree cannot be blamed on Apla. Actually, what Apla is trying to do, is to force them to leave their privileged positions and to come and identify themselves with the dispossessed and exploited African masses.

What we do not have in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians. Instead we promote Africanism.

To say that Apla has launched attacks on unarmed white civilians is not a correct statement. There is a law in the country which empowers whites to buy as much as 27 pieces of weaponry over the counter. Consequently, in 1990 alone, no less than 2,5 million guns were bought by whites.

Compare the number of weapons bought over these years and you realise the seriousness of the situation.

And these weapons are bought for "swart gevaar". They are not bought to thwart an invasion.

Instead they are intended for local inhabitants. And to compound the situation the regime has mercenaries assembled in military barracks throughout the country - mercenaries in the form of Buffalo Battalions 32 and 31, Koevoet, Selous Scouts, Renamo bandits together with the CCB and Askaris.

These killers are armed and paid by the so-called unarmed civilians.

Patrick Laurence in his article on Sobukwe's Ubuntu which appeared in *The Star* of December 12 is also accusing the PAC leadership of being silent over these attacks.

This also is not true. The PAC leadership has been on TV and the radio on numerous occasions where our case has been put clearly: that matters on Apla should be referred to Apla, and PAC matters are best dealt with by PAC.

What the PAC leadership will not allow is

What the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is doing and what Africanism is about are two different issues. To say that Apla is reneging on Ubuntu is not the truth. **Walter Xweya**, a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, explains his party's attitude to Africanism:

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Robert Sobukwe ... he never said Africans would not kill.

trial by the media.

This thing about misquoting Sobukwe whenever it suits the likes of Laurence does not impress us. Sobukwe did say, on the eve of our campaign in 1960, that Africans were not ready to kill; but he never said they would never kill. Far from it.

On the contrary, those who worked with him closely just before March 1960 tell us that he rejected the idea of armed struggle simply because they had not prepared for it.

Incidentally, I happen to be one of those who confronted him on this issue. Therefore to say that he would have never advocate what Apla stands for is to state an untruth.

Laurence is correct in saying that whites should abandon their identity as colonists or settlers and to accept Africa and its indigenous peoples without qualification.

Have the whites abandoned their identity? Is it Apla that has named the so-called British Settlers Monument in Grahamstown, the Settlers Way in Cape Town, etc.?

If Laurence's intention is to marginalise the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania from the people of this country, then he is backing the wrong horse. PAC is the African people and the African people are PAC.

Right now we are inundated with calls for membership forms from throughout. Indeed we are finding it difficult to cope with the demand.

If by marginalisation he means we will not be invited to a *bosberaad*, then I may as well say that we prefer meetings in open spaces to those in terrorist surroundings.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania together with its component structures - Apla, Awo, Azanyu and Paso - firmly believe that there is only one human race and that is the human race to which we all belong. If the whites believe they are a superior race (*a Herrenvolk*), then it is for them to decide whether they will be happy in the shade of this big tree.

PAC leader Robert Sobukwe never said Africans would not kill.

MEDIA SPOT

No 'innovator' chosen for 1992

Report by MARGIA KLEIN

SA CONSUMERS were being bombarded with more than 1 200 messages a day, double the number of 15 years ago, Media Director's Circle (MDC) chairman John Montgomery said last week.

Although this indicated that new ways had to be found to reach consumers, no one had risen to the challenge, he said. Because of this, MDC had not chosen a media owner or individual for the Media Innovator of 1992 award.

This was unfortunate, as innovation was the life blood of the industry, he said. "In our opinion there has never been a better opportunity for creative media thinking than in this past year."

One of the reasons for the lack of innovation was that most media types were dominated by monopolies, making media "more expensive, less targeted, less flexible and more complacent".

The industry had to "continue to demand free enterprise in media... and encourage competitors to enter media environments dominated by too few contractors", Montgomery said.

The National Association of Broadcasters had made proposals to lead broadcasting regulators "out of the

Reports by
MARGIA KLEIN

dark ages", but these had not progressed because of political inertia. Free enterprise and commercial broadcasting principles were in everyone's interest, particularly that of marketers who funded 80% of broadcasting.

Agencies also had a role to play, as conventional media strategies had become inadequate.

Promise

Montgomery said CCV, which had the ideal opportunity to position itself as the television station of the future SA, had not capitalised on the new political climate.

In addition, TV's promise of better, brighter programming and innovative sales packages had not materialised.

"Instead, we are faced with a fall in prime time and total white, coloured and Asian TV viewership."

Recently announced programme, channel and rate structures had moved radio backwards, Montgomery said, and outdoor, cinema and print groups had also not provided enough new media opportunities.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Ad of the month

OGILVY & Mather RS-T & M. Cape has won the Association of Advertising Agencies' (AAA's) October ad of the month award for radio for its Prince Charles ad for Car Magazine, and in the outdoor category for its Crash Test ad for VW SA.

Cape-based agency The White House won in the magazine category for its No Files ad for Opel, and it won the AAA and Newspaper Press Union's newspaper award for its You're Looking at Them ad for Woolworths. Hunt Lascaris TBWA won the TV ad of the month for its Fill ad for the SA Optometric Association.

Reckitt account

DARCY Masius, Benton & Bowles has been appointed to handle a substantial part of the Reckitt's Household account. This year the agency won the Plascon, Tabletop, Schwegges, TV1 and Reckitt accounts.

Partnership

PARTNERSHIP has been appointed to

Eurospace Africa's billings hit R140m

MEDIA company Eurospace Africa has been awarded the handling of media planning and buying for Smith and Nephew's, Artix and Labello brands, bringing its billings to nearly R140m since it opened its doors two months ago.

Eurospace Africa is a joint venture by local directors Franco Barocas and Lyndall Campher and Eurospace International, a partnership of TBWA and French company Carat.

Eurospace Africa deputy MD Campher said that in addition to the original R100m in billings acquired from Hunt Lascaris TBWA, the company had acquired more than R38m of media planning, buying and co-

ordination, including a deal with Media Graphics.

She said the first year's target of R200m would be met ahead of expectations. Barocas said the company was the fourth largest media spender in SA.

But he added that "panic and hysteria" in SA over the entry of French company Carat was groundless. In France, Carat could buy media space in bulk at discounted prices and then sell it to advertisers. But this was not the case in SA.

Campher said the joint venture gave the local company access to Carat's research and its international buying muscle, which was useful for SA businesses looking for international media deals.

ROOBERG TIN LIMITED

(Registration No. 497022-6/1963)

DIVIDEND ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to the present financial position of the company, it has been decided not to declare a final dividend in respect of the year ending 31 December 1992.

75 Fox Street
Johannesburg
2001

By order of the board
GOLD FIELDS
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Secretaries

Dispute ^{STAN} threatens relief work ^{16/12/92}

PARIS — French media said yesterday that differences between the United States and France over disarming Somalia's warring factions threatened to wreck a UN-mandated relief operation.

Several French newspapers said the work of the UN forces in Somalia was threatened by a dispute between France, backed by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali, and Washington over whether to disarm Somali gunmen.

The White House said on Monday that disarming the Somali forces who had been fighting in anarchy until the US-led intervention was not part of the mission of the 28 000 American troops.

But the French foreign ministry said disarming the warring factions was part of the UN mandate.

Newspapers also said the attempted lynching of a Somali woman accused of consorting with French soldiers showed the culture gap between Western forces and the Muslim Africans.

Supporters of Mogadishu's most powerful warlord have detained the woman, the ron-eoed newsheet Xog Ogaal, which serves as a newspaper, said.

Militiamen of General Mohamed Farah Aidid's United Somali Congress (USC) were interrogating the woman, named as Leila Hassan Sedik. The woman has "confessed to spending Sunday night with the legionnaires", the newsheet said. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Nightmare

Labour may never again govern Britain and therein is a lesson, argues Stanley Uys from London

Can Africa survive socialism?

Star 17/12/92.



IN THE latest issue of the African Communist, I came across these immortal words:

In October an important step will be taken to re-establish a re-ovated Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A draft programme has been published ... (1) declares: "The CPSU of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze no longer exists. But the CPSU of millions of Communists dedicated to the ideals of social justice is alive." Among its main points it calls for a return to the socialist path, for a rebirth of the USSR.

Well, October has come and gone, and while Yeltsin's position is precarious, no evidence has been adduced yet to suggest that communism can arise phoenix-like from the ashes to deliver the goods Yeltsin has been unable to deliver. That communism can seize power again in what used to be the Soviet Union and eastern bloc is not impossible.

But can it deliver the goods? In most parts of the world, socialism has been ceremonially buried.

The guru himself, John Kenneth Galbraith (a Labour supporter),

commenting on Labour's four successive defeats at the hands of the Conservatives, declares that all that remains for the British Left is to assure that we are the political community that can make the modern mixed economy work — that the priority of the Left on both sides of the Atlantic is not to find an alternative economic system, but simply to improve the one we have got.

The question Galbraith asks (in a lecture delivered to the Institute of Public Policy at the House of Commons on November 24) is why the British electorate supported the Conservative Party so stolidly in the midst of a painful recession.

"In the last half-century ... we (the Left) have been the initiators and leaders in the social revolution that has taken the cruel edge off capitalism and that has made a large part of our voting population comparatively comfortable and secure.

"Old age insurance, unemployment compensation, medical care, public housing, improved public services, the end of the once-cruel exploitation of women and children, the minimum wage and effective trade unions have made



Neil Kinnock ... couldn't win power even in a recession.

capitalism, more precisely the modern mixed economy, an acceptable economic system.

"The anger and militant political antagonisms it once provoked are gone forever."

And, says Galbraith, "this

change which saved capitalism, which brought a substantial part of the voting population to its acceptance and support, was what we on the Left did to ourselves. We authored and initiated ... the legislative and other action that saved capitalism from itself. The lesson is clear: We must learn to live with our own achievement.

"We are no longer in search of an alternative economic system. Nor is it any longer clear that one exists. We are concerned with making more effective and more tolerant and equitable the economic system we have. Our claim is not violent change, certainly not to revolution. It is to a socially better performance by the existing system.

"... we must give up some of the attitudes of the past ... ours is an age of constructive pragmatism ... we are for what works best. Similarly, there is no general case for or against government intervention. Here, too, decision must be on social merits."

Galbraith is by no means alone in his thinking. The last years of Neil Kinnock's leadership of the Labour Party practised what Galbraith preaches.

I have been reading, too, Patrick Cosgrave's "The Strange Death of Socialist Britain" in which he points out that, in its 1992 general election manifesto, for the first time, the Labour Party did not once use the word socialism.

Cosgrave says "the stark fact that Kinnock faced on the morning of the 1987 general election was that the left-wing policies which he had espoused all his life made it virtually impossible for a Labour government to be elected".

Cosgrave believes that the Labour Party died during the course of 1986: "Thereafter, it would never again be a potential party of government."

This prophecy remains to be fulfilled, but it is astonishing that at a time when everything is going wrong in Britain, Labour is still not being spoken of as an alternative government, and the verdict on its new leader, John Smith, is that he is a dud.

The African Communist, of course, will have none of this. It still thinks socialism is a self-standing economic system. Nor is it alone in its view. Among like-thinking comrades are the Cubans,

the communists of Calcutta and Italian communists (the BBC, in its splendid World Service, has just dealt with this theme).

But on what grounds does the African Communist think it is right when it says socialism is the world's (and South Africa's) answer and Galbraith is wrong when he says the best the Left can do is tame and humanise capitalism?

If the African Communist believes the disparities of wealth in South Africa are so vast that only a strong, interventionist, socialist government can correct them, then it must explain into what new resources of wealth and income a socialist government would tap that are not already available, and whether the resource base under socialism would shrink or increase.

This is the question that is never answered.

Perhaps, in its next issue, the African Communist will answer it: Does it want to take the cruel edge off capitalism, which is a reformist path, or does it want to introduce socialism, which in South Africa, at least in philosophical terms, would be a revolutionary path? □

Anger amid 'jubilation' in Somalia

Star 17/12/92

CHILDREN moving from one foreign relief agency compound to the next chanting "French troops stay out" may be one of the early signs of the political quagmire in which the coalition forces have landed in Somalia.

American President-elect Bill Clinton will face a tough problem in this war-ravaged country in the Horn of Africa. Even here in the small, dusty town of Bardera, where foreign troops have not yet landed, the word is out that the outsiders — in this case the French — may turn out to be a threat rather than angels of mercy.

In the capital, Mogadishu, gunmen are grumbling that they have lost their jobs as security guards now that the foreign troops have arrived. A local news-sheet depicts a doler-waving foreign journalist kicking a Somali child. The next day the news sheet shows troops blasting away at a truck filled with Somalis, reflecting the news that French troops have opened fire on a truck of unarmed Somalis, killing two and wounding seven. This incident turned many locals against the French legionnaires — and it did not seem to matter that the French shot at a truck which apparently tried to break through a roadblock.

It is too early to know what lies ahead for the masses of foreign troops still waiting to take over the security of Somalia, but their reception is likely to become steadily more hostile.

That does not mean most Somalis will not welcome the life-saving food and safer streets that will come with the interference. But resentment is virtually inevitable when the outsiders appear to have so much and the Somalis so little: when the American military machine simply steps over the feared local militias and lays claim to the country's lifelines; and when a flood of another breed of outsiders, journalists, with prying lenses and pockets full of dollars, insult their men and shock



Rations . . . a French soldier from the 2nd Foreign Legion Airborne Regiment distributes food. Picture: AFP

Foreign troops who yesterday relieved the Somalian terror town of Bardera were greeted with jubilation. But HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Star Africa Service reports from Bardera that elsewhere in the country resentment is beginning to show as the American-led coalition force tries to define its purpose.

He flat on their faces while they remain proud while having to beg. And it is hard to have your shame — the abyss into which Somalis have dragged their country — splayed open, naked for the world to see.

The Americans invaded Mogadishu's international airport and its harbour with a massive show of armed might. At first it was surreal, even funny. Scores of journalists were waiting to ambush the crack US Navy Seals with blinding camera lights and stick microphones in their faces as they set foot on the beach in the early hours of the morning. They ignored the demands of the commandos that they clear off — until giant amphibious assault vehicles roared out of the dark sea and up over the dunes, sending the journalists scattering.

At the harbour, a US Marine landing party was likewise met by a host of journalists and flashing cameras but here the nervous GIs rushed them, shooting over their heads, and at gunpoint ordered the newsmen to

continued with their work.

The first reaction from the Somalis in the area was one of wonder and joy, for only the day before their streets had been bristling with military hardware that made the only law the law of the gun. Then anybody wishing to get into the harbour or airport would have had to face several rudimentary road blocks manned by rag-tag gunmen who were easily angered and would just as easily pull the trigger.

Now, in a remarkably short time, the guns were out of sight and Somalis could move freely into areas which had been barred to them for months. At the airport the Americans, always sensitive to public relations, allowed Somalis on to the apron in what turned out to be an impromptu airshow in which brawny marines played with the children and the locals could get a close-up view of the formidable US firepower.

The first sign of anger — or maybe it was frustration —



Great expectations . . . marines control an enthusiastic crowd at Mogadishu International Airport.

came when the Americans, hours after coming ashore, publicly staked their claim to their gifted embassy. It was their first sortie out of their beachheads and they staged an emotional ceremony to raise the stars and stripes on the roof.

It remains an open question whether the purpose of the mission — to secure the food supply to the famine-wrecked country — can be fulfilled despite the growing hostility.

Expectations are high in Somalia and stretch way beyond what even the most optimistic American plan envisions. A headman in Bardera, Hassan Mohamud Mohamed, expects

the Americans to pay teachers and build schools, roads and dams.

Former history teacher Hassan Sheikh Mohamed in Mogadishu expects no less, but as one of the many Somalis who suffered severely in the wars, he also insists that the Americans disarm his countrymen.

"If they don't, the fighting will go on when the Americans leave. The United States must stay here as an occupying force until we are politically mature enough to hold democratic elections," he said.

Such wild expectations are bound to be disappointed and when that happens the resent-

ment will become even more widespread.

Mark Stirling, Unicef representative in Somalia, tells of how a few weeks ago the relief workers in the small town of Bardera thought they were making progress.

The normal population of 10 000 had swelled to more than 45 000 people as the insecurity and the drought in the surrounding villages forced the skeletal survivors closer to the relative security of the town, where foreign relief organisations supplied water and food.

"We began supplying food to about 100 outlying villages and in a short time the people re-

sponded by moving back to their villages and the population in the town dropped to about 15 000," says Stirling. "We wanted to move to the next phase in which the people begin producing their own food again and we were just starting to supply the people with seed and tools to begin planting in time for the rains, when fighting resumed here and all the people fled back to the town and we were back to square one."

The plan following the US invasion of Bardera is to enforce security in the region long enough for the relief workers to steer the occupants away from mass starvation, get food out to

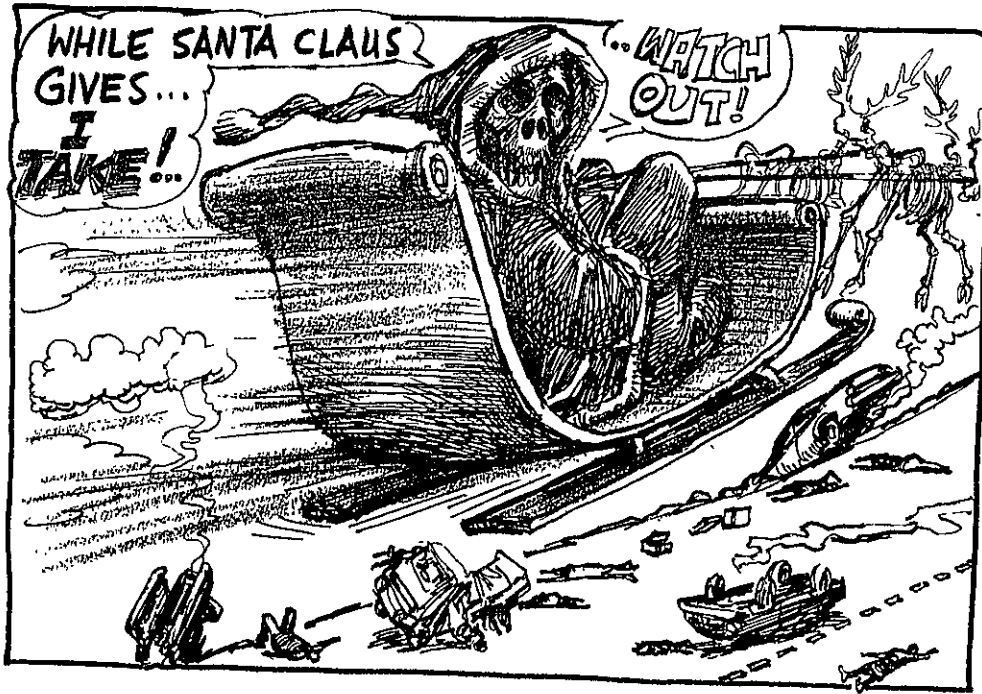
the villages and allow the farmers to get seed into the ground in time for next year's rains.

In the meantime the UN and the international community are expected to use the opportunity to develop local and national political initiatives and to begin establishing a UN-controlled police force to maintain law and order. By the time the US leaves, so the plan goes, the UN must be in a position to continue without them.

The United States-led coalition forces cannot — and will not — stay for very long, especially as resentment against them develops. □

Picture: Hans-Peter Bakker

FOCUS *Why does the OAU allow America to usurp its function?*



focus on Somalia

“CRY AFRICA, CRY.” Was it poet Ingoapele Madingoane who wrote those lines? Or was it Don Mattera in his lament over the Nkomati Accord when he also said: “Was hunger so great that you had to eat the crumbs from the tables of these brutes?”

These thoughts have been haunting me since US troops landed on the shores of Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity

In a nutshell, this is what has been giving me sleepless nights: Where the hell is the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), that body that brings together all African states to preserve life and limb on the continent?

Somalia disintegrates

We have witnessed, as if in slow motion, the disintegration of Somalia.

Bare bones, or as one man put it, walking corpses that look like death warmed over, were paraded on international television screens day in and day out.

Warlords took over the country and made it impossible for relief to be distributed to areas of need.

And indeed, the emaciated and dying children came to represent the face of Somalia, with the only physically strong and well-fed people in that country seemingly the gunmen in their jeeps.

International aid organisations tried, yes they tried, to bring in relief but it ended up in the stores of the gunmen who ruled Mogadishu airport and harbour

And the OAU did nothing. As more and more people died, it was left to Butros Butros Ghali, the UN secretary general, to call for armed aid from afar.

And so we see today American troops landing in Mogadishu in a blaze of publicity and the gunmen disappear from the scene.

It is like the recolonisation of Africa

These American troops land in Somalia and disarm the gunmen. They are cheered by the emaciated thousands and seen as saviours.

OAU nowhere to be seen

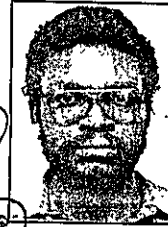
And the OAU is nowhere to be seen. Is it impossible for the OAU to muster an army that could go into Somalia and do what the Americans did?

I always thought that Africa may be impoverished in many respects but the soldiers were always there. How do African leaders feel when they see Africans cowering before these G-men and their armaments?

What are the psychological effects of this invasion by America? As the gunmen disappear from the scene, we see sleeping men being rudely awakened from their sagging beds.

Sowetan 17/12/92.

The Organisation of African Unity has been silent about the suffering and death in Somalia. But the local representative of the OAU has been quick to condemn the killing of four whites in King William's Town. **Mathatha Tsedu** asks why



A Somali, in disagreement with the military intervention in his country, argues with a heavily armed US Marine in Mogadishu.

A lone man tries in vain to stand up and speak about how he does not want to be shoved around by strangers and foreigners - but even the caption says he argued "briefly".

It was the picture of this man that really touched my heart. Here was a solitary man making a stand that was to have been made by the OAU, as far as I am concerned.

But they were not there. Instead, here at home, we see an OAU representative, Mr Lekgwaila Lekgwaila, waffling loftily about the deaths of four whites in an attack in King William's Town.

OAU concerned about peace

The OAU, he pontificated, was concerned about peace and life. Hence their condemnation of the King William's Town attack. Like hell, I think, they are concerned but is it the lives of whites that they are worried about and not the Somali gunmen who were effectively killing thousands?

Lekgwaila went on to speak against armed

struggle as if this country was already free and under a democratically elected government

Principles thrown overboard

Long-standing principles and positions of the OAU and contact and recognition of the settler minority and racist regime here are being thrown overboard in an apparent scramble to embrace the white oppressors of this country.

Legitimate struggles by black people against economic exploitation and political oppression are being criminalised in the name of peace. Whatever happened to justice being the prerequisite of peace.

Where was Lekgwaila and the OAU when Savimbi refused to accept the results of a democratic election in Angola

Instead we saw Pik Botha, the messenger of aggression, suddenly wearing the mantle of peacemaker, with the OAU sidelined.

One could go on about the OAU and speak about Liberia, Mozambique and Sudan. But the Somali invasion by America takes the cake.



War zone . . . a Mogadishu street reduced to rubble in the no-man's land between the two factions fighting for control of Somalia. Picture: Hans-Peter Bakker

Somalis cheer as troops arrive in 'terror town'

STARZ 17/12/92

BAIDOA (Somalia) — Jubilant Somalis and relief workers cheered the arrival of United States and French troops in this desperate town yesterday, expecting it to end a looters' reign of terror that has kept food from many starving people.

With the marines ensuring the safety of the 257 km road from the capital, Mogadishu, and securing Baidoa's airfield for cargo planes, aid agencies prepared for an influx of hundreds of tons of food.

Children stood along the roadside and waved as the 70-vehicle convoy entered Baidoa. The US flag was flapping on the lead armoured vehicle.

Helicopter gunships flew cover as F-14 jets and A-6 tankbusters streaked across the sky.

Armed Somali youths and

their battlewagons — known as "technicals" — who have terrorised the town, vanished ahead of the force's arrival.

Colonel Werner Hellmer, a marine liaison officer, was mobbed by Somalis trying to shake his hand as he arrived for his first talks with aid workers.

"We are here . . . to get relief convoys out as soon as possible, and we're going to do whatever it takes," Hellmer said.

Relief workers, many of whom had complained that the marines had been too slow in coming, joined in a tumultuous welcome that made Baidoa's main road look more like a parade route than the gateway to one of Somalia's worst famine areas.

The scene contrasted with the situation in Mogadishu,

where gunmen are beginning to complain that they have lost their jobs as security guards now that the foreign troops have arrived.

Similar discontent found expression in a local news-sheet's depiction of a dollar-waving foreign journalist kicking a Somali child.

However, the situation in Mogadishu is far removed from that in Baidoa which, in the days leading up to the troops' arrival, earned a reputation as a bandit-crazed town where gunmen stormed relief agency compounds late at night to steal food, medicine and money.

Colonel Fred Peck, the marine spokesman in Mogadishu, said Baidoa was declared secure yesterday 40 minutes after the first troops arrived. — Sapa-AP-Reuter.

● Anger amid jubilation —

Foreign troops' dilemma ①

MOGADISHU - The public beating of a Somali woman suspected of consorting with French troops has highlighted the dilemma facing foreign troops trying to keep food aid out of the reach of pillaging gunmen answerable to no one.

Legionnaires looked on and did nothing while a frenzied crowd tore off the woman's clothes, then beat and kicked her to the ground outside a Mogadishu hotel filled with journalists.

The ugly attack, which the woman survived when she was dragged off to a nearby former police station on Monday, was a graphic example of the anarchy that stalks Somalia after two years of clan killings and gun rule. *Sowetan 17/12/92*

Germany will send troops to Somalia

From 18/12/92 (1)

FRANKFURT — Chancellor Helmut Kohl announced yesterday his intention to send armed German troops to Somalia to reinforce United Nations' humanitarian operations.

Japan has promised financial aid for the operation, but will not send troops.

Up to 1500 troops in all, mostly engineers and medical staff, but reinforced by light infantry for "self-defence", should be offered to the UN, the German Chancellor said.

This would be the first time since World War 2 that German troops will serve outside the Nato area.

It represents the most significant attempt so far by the increasingly impatient conservatives in the government to break out of the restrictive interpretation of Germany's constitution.

"This is hugely important for Germany's image in the world," said Mr Kohl, alluding to the ridicule directed at Germany when it chose not to participate in the US-

led international force that ousted Saddam Hussein's army from Kuwait in 1991.

From Tokyo it is reported that Japan pledged \$100 million (R299 million) to the United Nations aid effort for Somalia today, but refused to join the United States and other nations sending troops.

Japan has been anxious to reach a quick decision on aid to avoid a repeat of its bitter Gulf War experience, when it was widely criticised as stalling on sending money or men to the allied effort against Iraq.

Somalia's gunmen defied US military might this week by plundering relief supplies within minutes of troops delivering food.

The looting demonstrated the problems facing the US-led force, due to number 35 000 men, in its efforts to battle hunger in a nation awash with weapons after two years of ethnic civil war and famine which has cost an estimated 300 000 lives. — The Independent News Service, Sapa-Reuter.

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EC body confirms role in GATT talks

BIDAM 18/12/92

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INCE

BRUSSELS — In a bid to reassert its authority as trade negotiator for all EC members, the Brussels-based European Commission said yesterday it would continue to negotiate in the Uruguay Round of world trade talks.

"There is no ambiguity in the position taken by the commission and the EC," said commission spokesman Nico Wegter. "We will continue to negotiate."

France dealt a potentially devastating blow to the talks on Wednesday by announcing it would block EC offers to cut import tariffs on farm products. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said Paris regarded the proposals submitted by the EC's executive commission as "null and void".

The commission had exceeded its negotiating mandate by striking a deal with the US that would cut EC subsidies to farmers.

Dumas's move and the commission reaction underline the division within the community over the accord with the US. A commission official, seeking to minimise the appearance of disarray, said yesterday that Dumas's remarks were meant for a domestic French audience.

Wegter said yesterday negotiations on agriculture, and the 14 other areas covered by the GATT talks, continued in Geneva. The commission had presented its schedules of farm production for 1993, enabling the agricultural talks to continue.

French officials said on Wednesday the schedules were invalid because they had not yet been approved by farm ministers.

But Wegter said: "There is no formal indication that would prevent us from presenting the schedules."

He added the commission was negotiating "within the limits of the reform of the (EC's) common agricultural policy".

Earlier yesterday, GATT director-general Arthur Dunkel called a meeting of top negotiators for today in the knowledge that there was no chance of meeting the end-of-year deadline for a Uruguay Round conclusion. The meeting had originally been planned for December 23 in the hope that

negotiators would be able to announce broad political agreement on the 108-nation trade accord.

Dunkel had set an end-of-the-year target for overall political agreement, leaving technical details to be sorted out by the end of February. The US administration's special negotiating authority from congress runs out on March 3.

The Uruguay Round talks, launched in 1986, should have ended two years ago but were blocked by an US-EC farm row.

A November 20 deal between the two boosted hopes that an overall accord was finally in sight.

However, optimism has faded rapidly as new hurdles have appeared and there is no chance that an accord will be reached before christmas.

In Paris, French Prime Minister Pierre Berezogovoy and his Finance Minister Michel Sapin said separately yesterday the franc would not be devalued.

Sapin, speaking against a background of renewed pressure against the currency, rising French interest rates and a promise of tough monetary policy by the Bundesbank next year, also said that monetary co-operation with Germany was to be strengthened.

Berezogovoy said that in the light of "new information" about the world economy, such as the "brutal" slowing of activity in Germany as forecast by the OECD, he would draw "conclusions" at the beginning of next year.

"There will be no magic wand," he said. "The European economic situation is not good and that will hold consequences for the French economy."

Berezogovoy told a news conference: "I condemn any logic of devaluation and of the flotation of European currencies."

He said "the government must keep cool" and "you know my determination".

In Frankfurt yesterday the German Bundesbank said in its monthly report it would have to maintain a "severe" monetary policy next year to control inflation. — AP-DJ, Sapa-AFP.

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Marines expand food aid

BAIDOA — Marines in Baidoa moved yesterday to take food to outlying Somali villages, and aid workers urged the troops to secure a southern port said to be exploding in clan fighting. BIDAM 18/12/92.

CARE spokesman Angela MacKay said the militia in Kismayo was "out of control". And UN spokesman Ian MacLeod said tensions were rising in the north. He said agencies were encouraging troops to move to the north.

The troops are concentrated in southern Mogadishu and US plans call for troops to reach Kismayo and Bardera in the last stages of operation Restore Hope after first moving north from Baidoa.

In Baidoa yesterday, Somalis loaded sacks of wheat on to trucks that Marines were to escort to four villages within 50km of the town. In all, 10 trucks were to carry about 100 tons of food, enough to feed about 7 500 people for a month.

US special envoy Robert Oakley said the troops were prepared for trouble, although the operation so far had been nearly trouble-free. — Sapa-AP.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Heavy load for marines

Difficult task for troops in Somalia

Sowetan 18/12/92

①

■ RELIEF CONVOYS Delivery of aid

into interior where looters ran amok:

MOGADISHU -- Marines were yesterday determined to get on with one of the most difficult parts of their mission: to bring food to the starving in outlying villages cut off by looters and clan warfare.

"This is a chance to get things into this more dangerous area," Mr James Fennell, a spokesman for the international aid agency, Care, said yesterday as Somalis loaded bags of wheat on to trucks that the Marines were to escort to four villages within 50km of the town of Baidoa.

Ten trucks were to carry about 100

tons of food to feed about 7 500 people for a month.

The last time Care attempted to reach the villages its trucks were ambushed, 480 bags of food lost and five bandits killed in a gun battle with Care's Somali guards.

US special envoy Robert Oakley said the troops were prepared for trouble, although their arrival both in Mogadishu last week and in Baidoa

on Wednesday was nearly trouble-free and they were warmly received by the Somalis.

"We do know the operation in Baidoa went beautifully, without a hitch," Oakley said. But parts of the interior is "where there is more trouble, where the situation is more tense".

The looters and clan gunmen who have terrorised the area have lain low since the troops arrived. - Sapa-AP.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Holiday resort in competition

Senegal tourist mecca shut down

Sowetan 17/12/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

TERRORIST THREAT 4 000 - bed

resort considered unsafe due to unrest:

DAKAR - A major holiday resort on the West coast of Senegal, built to compete with South Africa, has been closed down because of insecurity.

The huge 4 000-bed hotel complex, including a Club Mediterranee, frames the sandy white beaches of Casamance, southern Senegal.

But terrorists of the Casamance liberation movement have made the region unsafe. Last October 27 an armed gang killed 32 locals a mere 100 yards from the Club Mediterranee.

French, German and Scandinavian

tourists were warned not to stroll on the beaches at night and a general atmosphere of insecurity spread around the hotels. The largest, Eldorado, run by Jet Tours, as well as Club Mediterranee, shut down with a dozen others.

Senegalese Tourist Minister Jacques Baudin promised this week: "We will reopen in October 1993." But international travel agencies have crossed Casamance off their lists.

The region is a six-hour flight from

Paris, with a change at Dakar, and French financiers and bankers hoped to attract sun-seekers who otherwise would have taken the longer haul to South Africa.

Meanwhile, French tourists have also been advised to keep away from Kenya "where it is unsafe to walk through the streets of Nairobi at night".

The weekly *L'Echo Touristique* noted that special police in Kenya have been formed to patrol the vicinity of tourist hotels and national parks.

Somalia is helped before us, social workers tell Ramsay Milne in New York

Why no Marines in US ghettos?

SMR 18 11/2/72

LESS than two weeks after US Marines waded ashore in Somalia and began a mission to save the lives of starving Somalis, self-critical Americans are pointing out an unhappy paradox.

If the United States, possessing the largest armed civilian population in the world, cannot disarm itself (and in many cities cannot feed its own citizens), why, they are asking, should the United States launch itself on a mission to disarm and feed people in a distant African country?

It is not a cheap and shallow question as that some times asked of the US space programme ("Why send men to the moon when so many things need to be done here on Earth?"). The question is being posed with

considerable anger from social workers and other spokesmen for the poor in many American cities, particularly loudly in such squalid inner-city ghettos as New York's South Bronx, where gunfire is as commonplace as stereo music and where many hungry people line up daily at soup kitchens — else, like the Somalis, they would starve.

People living in the many ravaged neighbourhoods of this kind that are such a blight across America, speaking with bitterness born of their own harsh experiences, say they can identify with the struggle of the Somalis to survive, but they wonder about their government's priorities.

They, too, live in forlorn places — their poverty both masked and highlighted by the abundant

wealth across other parts of America — plagued by young boys with guns, rampant crime and long food lines. Small wonder they ask why, if the government can send troops halfway across the world to ensure food and relief supplies get past armed bandits to starving Somalis, it cannot help the people in its own inner cities.

These dissenters are not the new equivalent of pacifists objecting to a war. They are as much moved as other Americans by the plight of the starving Somalis.

But they see almost exact parallels between themselves and the Somali victims of guns and starvation that US troops — at huge cost — have been sent to help.

Listen to one social worker, Ro-

bert Gray, who helps serve soup at an aid centre near his home in the South Bronx:

"This is a war zone," he says, pointing down a rain-swept avenue where ruthless young drug dealers taunt passers-by and cold-bloodedly gun down their "turf" rivals.

"You've got 13 and 14-year-olds walking around with Uzis and the police can do nothing with them. If they cannot disarm the people in New York with guns, how are they going to go over to some other place and do it?"

"Gunfire is the music around here. You've got to help your own first."

In the hallowed halls of Washington, the statement raises questions few would care to answer. □

'NEW WORLD ORDER'

FM 18/12/92 -

Take me to your larder

The proposal to send 8 000 UN monitors to Mozambique to preside over the hoped-for cessation of hostilities brings a little closer to home the interventionist nature of what George Bush called the New World Order. Such exercises have ranged from full-scale warfare — Operation Desert Storm — to the handful of observers in SA.

Not even in the case of Somalia do they amount to what was once termed neo-colonialism. The interventions are primarily on humanitarian grounds, though they are unquestionably dependent on the will of the US to provide the major military framework without which elements of the UN are simply swept aside by the Israelis, Bosnian Serbs or whoever.

This circumscribing of the powers of the intervening forces is natural, given America's experience of Vietnam. It allows the UN to gauge — as objectively as possible — how much sheer firepower is needed to achieve specified ends and, if possible, to place a time limit on its presence.

Excluding the Gulf action, the operation in Somalia is certainly the most ambitious to date. It is rightly justified on the basis that millions will die unless it takes place, which is another way of saying that "pacification" of unruly and artificial nations is again in the lexicon of the great powers, such as they are, under the UN flag.

The dangers are obvious. Even if everyone in Somalia who can be saved is saved, what then? Who will pay for and restore their infrastructure, including law and order, and sow the crops? Even if the US troops are withdrawn, they would almost certainly be replaced by OAU troops — which could mean the recolonisation of an African nation by other African nations.

Indeed, the success of Operation Restore Hope in Somalia might mandate the use of a third force through Africa in tempestuous, increasingly ungovernable countries. Candidates would be Zaire, Angola and Mozambique. The 8 000 blue berets in Mozambique will have the same task they had in Angola — determining whether elections are free and fair — with, quite possibly, the same unfortunate outcome.

It has not gone unnoticed that swift and decisive action has not been mandated in Cambodia and Yugoslavia, where any outside troops would be unable to quell factions weaned on guerrilla warfare:

At least, in current circumstances, no-one will call on South Africans to go forth and do good in neighbouring States. Perhaps this is for the best; unless we can forge and maintain peace for ourselves, someone may want to come along and do it for us. ■

FORMER South African information secretary Dr Eschel Rhoodie has surfaced at the centre of an angry dispute over an organisation founded to protect "European culture" in Africa.

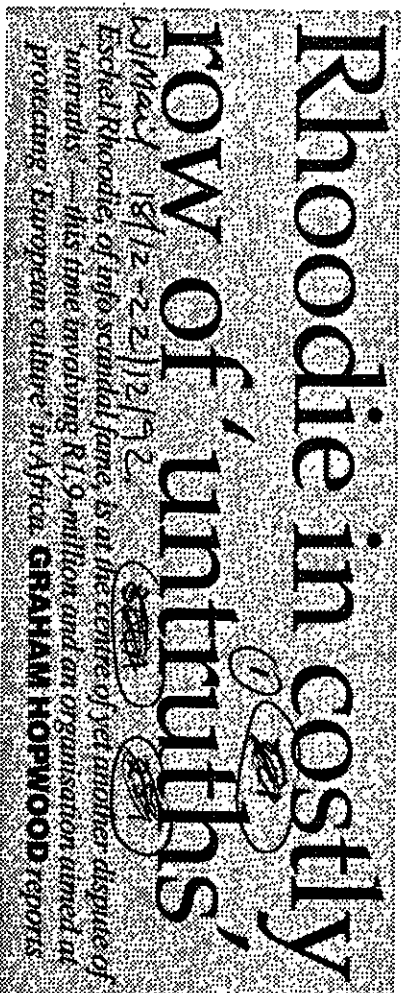
Rhoodie, best known for his role in the 1978 info scandal, has fallen out with former ally Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini — one of the American lawyers who drafted the proposed kwazulu constitution announced a fortnight ago by chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At issue is R1.9-million which, Oriani says, Rhoodie controls. Rhoodie counters that the amount is not hard cash, but merely an estimate of the money it would take to run the organisation for three years.

After working closely together in the organisation they founded in May, Oriani and Rhoodie now run separate groups promoting minority rights and federalism in Africa. Both say their groups promote "cultural diversity and human rights".

The organisation they founded jointly in May was originally called the International Centre for the Protection of European Cultures in Africa Inc (Ipecca).

Rhoodie was a trustee of Ipecca at its launch in May and in June he was elected chairman and president. The organisation became involved in several contentious issues in Namibia. Among them: the claim of the Rehoboth Bastler community to land owned either by the community or by private individuals before Namibian independence. The issue is contentious because many people fear it could lead to a demand for a



degree of autonomy.

In June Oriani, as Ipecca spokesman, also accused the Namibian government of "cultural genocide" for seeking the return of R9-million granted by the former Administration for Whites to an organisation called Cultura 2000, set up to advance the cause of "western European cultures" in Namibia. He said he was reporting the Namibian government to the United Nations Human Rights Commission and Unesco for "violating cultural and minority rights".

The organisation ran into further controversy when nearly all the Namibian trustees listed on Ipecca's letterhead said they had never heard of the group.

By the end of the month, Ipecca had changed its name and its acronym — to Icpoda, International Centre for the Protection of Cultural Diversity and Human Rights in Africa. Days later, a power struggle erupted for control of the

organisation.

According to Oriani, speaking this week from the office of Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Suzanne Vos, Rhoodie had access to R1.9-million for funding Icpoda and wanted to use it to install himself as sole director, sidelining the others. Oriani said Rhoodie refused to reveal the source of the money, which Oriani believed came from a private party in South Africa, either to him or to other "leading figures" in the movement.

Rhoodie denied this week that he had R1.9-million available; it was, he said, only a notional figure based on a rough estimate made in June for the running costs of Ipecca over three years.

From his office in Atlanta, Georgia, he launched an attack on Oriani, calling him "untruthful, immature and irresponsible". He said Oriani had not registered the organisation as a non-profit making corporation, so legally it

never existed, and that Oriani had told "a string of untruths" about Icpoda to prospective donors. Rhoodie said he had fired Oriani because documentation he prepared for funds from the National Endowment for Democracy "lacked proper scholarship, was riddled with inaccuracies and contained untruths".

Meanwhile, Rhoodie has set up his own organisation, called the International Centre for the Protection of Minority Rights and Cultural Diversity, which he is planning to launch next year. He said it is not concerned with the Rehoboth Bastler controversy; its major work in Namibia will involve the promotion of mother-tongue education.

Rhoodie also said his group will not work in South Africa and has no South African trustees or funding. It is "not interested in a particular race, group or country but in minority rights and cultural diversity all over Africa". It is planning 14 research projects, including one dealing with Namibia, Switzerland, Nigeria and Ethiopia, to prove the thesis that a federal structure provides better protection to minorities and a better safeguard for cultural diversity than a centralised governmental system does.

At the same time, Oriani is pressing on with another organisation, which he still calls Icpoda and which is funded, he said, by a private American group called the International Strategic Concepts Foundation. His organisation is dealing with the Rehoboth Bastler issue and is advising the lawyers representing the Bastler community.

The green twigs that let Somalis forget

By Mary Gooderham
 Millions of Somalis are

addicted to qat, a little-known drug that makes life bearable but is destroying the economy.

By MARY GOODERHAM

YOUNG men huddle at the edge of the Baidoa airstrip in the late afternoon sun, machine-guns slung loosely over their shoulders, oblivious to the roaring plane full of foreign food aid they are supposed to help unload. Their eyes are glazed but the conversation is animated, led by a man in an orange T-shirt that reads: "I'm the Boss." A wad of green paste bulges in the side of his mouth.

A few more twigs of qat are added to freshen the wad, fuelling the amphetamine high, quickening the discussion and dulling any desire to work.

It is the fourth hour the men have spent doing little else but chewing qat. The more they chew, the farther they will be transported from the hellish reality of Somalia. Ideas and solutions, like the talk, come easily. Around them once proudly Italianate buildings have been reduced by looting and shelling to a few crumbling walls. Their chewing session will last long into the night.

The United States intervention in Somalia puts scenes like this under threat. The US army, now moving on Baidoa, is threatening to ban qat at this and other airstrips, as well as at Mogadishu airport. But the qat habit has Somalia in its grip and will be hard to break.

The euphoria of qat is experienced each day by millions of people in the Horn of Africa, the Arabian peninsula and other parts of the world — including Britain.

Its exploding use in Somalia in the last three decades, however, has proved shattering. Qat has crippled the economy and enraptured a generation. It exacerbates the present culture of



Somalia's worst enemy ... Qat (in the man on the right's hand) combats fatigue, curbs hunger and exacerbates a culture of guns and violence.

"It creates a volatile atmosphere,"

said Gabriele Palm, a relief specialist for the Horn of Africa based in Nairobi who worked as a doctor in northern Somalia for six years. "People get very alert, they cannot sleep, they get heart palpitations. They take qat instead of food and they spend their money to buy it instead of feeding their families."

But Somalia's addiction has proved to be its neighbours' gain. Qat is grown in northern Somalia, but only enough to supply the local area. So tons of the leaves and twigs from the catha edulis tree that grows in the highlands of Kenya and Ethiopia are flown and driven in to be consumed by Somalis.

It is chewed for its stimulating effect, helping to combat fatigue, curbing hunger and inducing a pleasurable high. But its negative effects have become all too obvious.

Photo: GREG MARINOVICH

at collection points along the main road.

Between Meru and Mogadishu the distribution of qat must be rapid. Otherwise, it withers and loses its potency.

The qat trade is the only institution still functioning in Somalia. An official of the World Health Organisation in Somalia said that £170,000 worth of qat grown in Meru alone is brought into the country each day — a total of £47-million a year. "You're talking about a lot of money changing hands."

The average man chews two "kilos" of qat over the course of several hours, at a cost of 45,000 to 60,000 Somali shillings, about £2 to £3.

Many aid officials are reluctant to discuss the topic for fear of threats from influential people involved in the

trade.

"Those who produce the qat and those who grow it, they are so powerful that nobody would start campaigning against it," said one official who did not want to be named. "It's like the Mafia in Italy and the cocaine producers in Colombia."

In 1983, calling qat a "slow poison" then costing Somalia the equivalent of £30-million a year, former president Siad Barre declared that it must be eliminated and called on countries which grow qat to replace it with food crops.

But the ban was simply a way for the president to wrest the qat trade from the border-controlling Ysaad clan and give it to his own government and Darod clan. His ban was repealed in 1990.

Today, small chartered planes loaded with Meru qat fly into Somalia through the day from Nairobi, beginning well before dawn. Larger planes chartered from Ethiopia Airways bring in qat grown in the highlands of eastern Ethiopia. When the planes land they immediately get the attention of workers on the runway.

Looted wealth in the hands of common people has spread the qat culture; stolen relief supplies are sold to merchants by the militias to purchase qat.

The price of the drug is believed directly to affect the rate of crime in the country. In September, in an effort to reduce killing and looting by bandits, President Ali Mahdi Mohammed's government imported two tons of qat from Kenya, flooding the market and lowering the price.

Mohammed Farah, a doctor on the Kenya-Somali border, said some people are stimulated to work harder under the influence of qat but he allowed that the drug has damaged Somalia. "It's only good for a few people who make it their business," he said. — The Guardian

African election furore

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93

AFRICANS are voting in record numbers in a pro-democracy push that has already forced more than two dozen authoritarian leaders to share power or leave office.

Balloting is taking place across the continent in what has been described as Africa's second independence, 30 years after the end of European colonial rule.

Like Africa's first break with the past, the latest traditions have not been easy. Sometimes they have fallen short of popular dreams; other times they have become bloody.

But the first fragile democracy campaigns have spread, inspiring the continent and giving Africans the hope of futures where choice and tolerance are routine elements of political life.

Africans are finding that pressing for elections — or even holding them — is only one battle in a long campaign for democracy. Current developments in west Africa highlight the challenges.

In Nigeria, president Ibrahim Babangida announced a delay in presidential elections from December until next June.

The rescheduling came after the ruling military council set aside the results of September elections which was criticised as fraudulent.

Many Nigerians blame Babangida's regime for the problems in the transition process. The military leaders managed the electoral arrangements — establishing two political parties and banning all others, placing restrictions on candi-

dates and redrawing state borders.

Babangida disqualified the 73 candidates who ran in the September primaries and dismissed the leaders of both political parties. Inauguration of an elected president is now set for August 29, 1993.

In Ghana, the first presidential election in 13 years has precipitated a major political crisis.

Albert Adu Boahen, a history professor, campaigned against Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, Ghana's military ruler for the past 11 years.

But Rawlings shocked many Ghanaians by soundly beating his four opposition contenders with 58 percent of the vote, compared to Adu Boahen's 30 percent.

Opposition leaders claim the vote was rigged — although international observers judged it fair — and have announced a boycott of next week's parliamentary polls.

The planned boycott led to outbreaks of political violence. The worst incident was a clash last month, leaving 40 people wounded by gunshot.

The outcome of national voting in Cameroon is even more controversial. Opposition leaders claim that the government of president Paul Biya rigged the October vote, and international observers have agreed that the elections were fraught with irregularities.

Biya has imposed a state of emergency on the Northwest province, the opposition's stronghold, following post-election violence that left at least ten people dead.

ORT OF THE MATLA TRUST

US intervention in Somalia has sparked a heated debate in diplomatic circles in the UN and in the US. JOAO SANTA RITA looks at the issues.

In a growing and heated debate over the implications of US

intervention in Somalia, SA has been mentioned as one of the African countries which could soon "qualify" for foreign intervention because it is sliding into chaos.

The UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, and analysts agree that the concept of sovereignty is dead and the international community has the right to openly and actively interfere in a country's internal affairs.

Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has already dubbed the new thinking as the doctrine of "humanitarian intervention" - although he warned there were dangers in such a doctrine.

Former US president Ronald Reagan proposed that the new American policy should be a "velvet glove backed by a steel fist of military force".

Somalia opens up a new ball game

CP News 20/12/92

"The world's democracies must enforce stricter humanitarian standards of international conduct," he said.

Analysts, however, point out that the US is presently the only country in the world with the capability of rapid intervention on a large scale.

Therefore if the new Clinton administration doesn't choose an isolationist policy, the US will have to be in the forefront of the new interventionist policy.

US military intervention followed by some sort of international political authority in the targeted country is advocated by many as the right solution.

Conservative historian Paul Johnson wrote recently that one way to solve the African problems was to resurrect the trustee-

mandate system in some form, "if not with individual trusts then with collective Security Council ones".

He warned that SA was "now in danger of joining the ranks of the African casualties".

An article written in the prestigious *Foreign Policy* magazine, by former US diplomat Gerald Helman and US State Department official Steven Ratner, has caused a stir in the UN.

They argued that traditional forms of help to those newly independent states had failed and that in some cases the international community had no option but to take over control of certain countries.

Jeffrey Clark, a consultant on refugee problems, said America should "lead a wholesome

reform of the UN so that next time, 300 000 people won't have to die before nations find the will to act".

Ghali supports the right of the UN to actively intervene in countries in distress.

American and UN intervention in Somalia has also had the public support of many leading black American liberals who, in some cases, have supported the idea of some kind of international trusteeship.

Michael Clough, of the New York-based Council for Foreign Relations, pointed out, however, that to support a trusteeship over a given territory would amount to support the introduction of modern-day colonialism.

"Church and relief groups could end up in an odd political alliance with

the US military establishment which is on the lookout for a new global mission to justify its intervention capabilities," he said.

While warning that trying to impose internationally prescribed constitutional arrangements for Africa would not work, Clough supported the idea that the UN and the US should take the lead in "pushing" African leaders to address their problems.

However, some conservative commentators have come out against this new policy of intervention.

Writing in the conservative *Washington Times*, commentator Samuel Francis said the new interventionist policies would amount to give UN the power to intervene in any country.

"The Somali adventure is a precedent, the first step toward realising this transnational monstrosity, a New World Super Power, independent of any and all nations that would supersede nationality and independence," he wrote.

World in brief

Famine after floods

Sowetan 21/12/92
NAIROBI - Up to 180 000 people in north-east Kenya are in urgent need of food supplies because floods have cut roads there.

Kenya radio yesterday quoted the District Commissioner at Garissa as appealing for an airlift to move food to areas cut off after several weeks of heavy rain.

The local famine relief committee estimated that 180 000 people were at risk as it was not possible to transport food supplies to feeding centres.

The radio said the Kenya army was being asked to organise an airlift.

Food for Baidoa

Sowetan 21/12/92
MOGADISHU - United Nations trucks carrying 300 tonnes of food left under armed US escort for the Somali town of Baidoa.

Two helicopter gunships hovered above the convoy of 20 white trucks, which carried enough wheat to feed 100 000 hungry mouths for a week. It will be the first big convoy of food to reach Baidoa, the "City of Death" at the epicentre of Somalia's famine, since July. The last convoy, on November 11, was hijacked on the outskirts of the southern town.

RPP rules Djibouti

DJIBOUTI - The ruling party of President Hassan Gouled Aptidon swept to victory in Djibouti's first multiparty election. Results of Friday's parliamentary election in the small Red Sea state showed the People's Rally for Progress (RPP) won nearly 75 percent of the vote.

Mobutu riots toll

Sowetan 21/12/92
KINSHASA - Authorities in Kinshasa said three people died in a day and night of street protests against President Mobutu Sese Seko in the Zairean capital. The Zairean Human Rights League said five people were killed while an opposition newspaper reported eight deaths.

Gaddafi's forecast

NICOSIA - Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi said North Africa was doomed and its people must eventually move to other Arab countries or at least acquire water from their neighbours.

Traore case break

BAMAKO - A Malian court trying ex-president Moussa Traore for "blood crimes" has adjourned the case until January 4. Lawyers said defendants needed a rest over the holidays.

MPLA

troops on alert

Sowetan 21/12/92
Shuttle diplomacy to prevent war:

LUANDA - Angolan government troops were put on general alert last Saturday and ordered to respond with full military force as Unita rebel troops were reported advancing on the central region.

Rebel forces were building up around Malange, a provincial capital 350km east of Luanda, and Cuito, 300km further south, Angolan state radio reported.

Military spokesman General Higinio Carneiro said: "Regional commanders have been ordered to respond aggressively to any offensive military manoeuvre by Unita."

The military alert came as US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Jeffrey Davidow began a second day of shuttle negotiations between the government and rebel leaders, trying to resolve the crisis that has pushed Angola to the brink of civil war.

Government and rebel troops have been at an armed impasse since Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi accused the government of rigging multiparty elections in September. - Sapa-AP.

AFRICA NEWS Marines take Soviet-built port

Troops push into Somali interior

Sowetan 21/12/92.

(1)

KISMAYU [Somalia] - American and Belgian troops consolidated their grip on the Somali port of Kismayu yesterday after surging ashore unopposed to secure new routes to speed food to the starving.

About 2 000 Somalis turned out to watch as United States Marines in amphibious armoured vehicles splashed up the beach at 6.30am yesterday.

Minutes later Belgian commandos piled out of helicopters on to a pier to be followed by other men and vehicles in air-cushioned landing craft.

The mission of the landing force, led by Belgian Lieutenant-Colonel Marc Jacquemin, was to take over the

■ NEW ROUTE Display of military

might to dissuade looting gunmen:

Soviet-built port and airport and prevent lawless gunmen from plundering relief food for famished southern and central Somalia.

"It's going very well," US amphibious assault commander Captain John Peterson said.

"No gunfire has been reported. The beach is secure and vehicles are on their way to the airport."

Two years of clan warfare and anarchy in Somalia have created Africa's worst famine this century, killing 300 000.

Kismayu, where over 60 people were killed in clan feuding last week, has been a nightmare for aid groups. They say they have lost up to 80 percent of some food convoys to looters.

Peterson said the display of military might was "to dissuade anyone from doing anything foolish".

The force consisted of 100 Belgian commandos and 230 US Marines.

A total of 460 Belgian troops will fly directly from Brussels to Kismayu, which is 380km south of Mogadishu.



Where the living's expensive, but life's cheap

STAR 21/12/92

Hundreds of journalists rushed to Somalia to witness the landing of the first of the US marines. HANS-PETER BAKKER, of The Star Africa Service, reports from Mogadishu on the far-from-normal working conditions there.

IN A small, dirty room, a group of stick-wielding men crowd over the cowering figure of a boy whose screams grow louder and more desperate as blow after blow rains down on his legs until they lie limp and shattered.

That is Somalia today. Life and limb mean little when so many have already died and when a country has lost its hope in a future. In Mogadishu, where the health system simply is no more, breaking the boy's legs has condemned him to almost certain deformity.

The boy had made the near fatal mistake of being caught trying to steal from a foreign correspondent.

The American invasion drew journalists from all over the world to this out-of-the-world city. Two days before the marines arrived, estimates of the number of foreign journalists in Mogadishu varied from 200 to 300, but with the arrival of the peacemakers, that figure more than doubled.

Some came on a shoestring budget as freelancers, while others, like the American television networks, chartered cargo planes and brought in tons of equipment and scores of people. The American network NBC chartered more than five cargo flights to bring in its 60 people, all their provisions, and the equipment necessary to run two satellite feeding stations so that the folks back home could

see live footage of their boys in Africa.

Somalia is one of the more difficult places in the world to do a normal day's work. The tragedy of the country becomes immediately clear on landing in its ruined capital, Mogadishu.

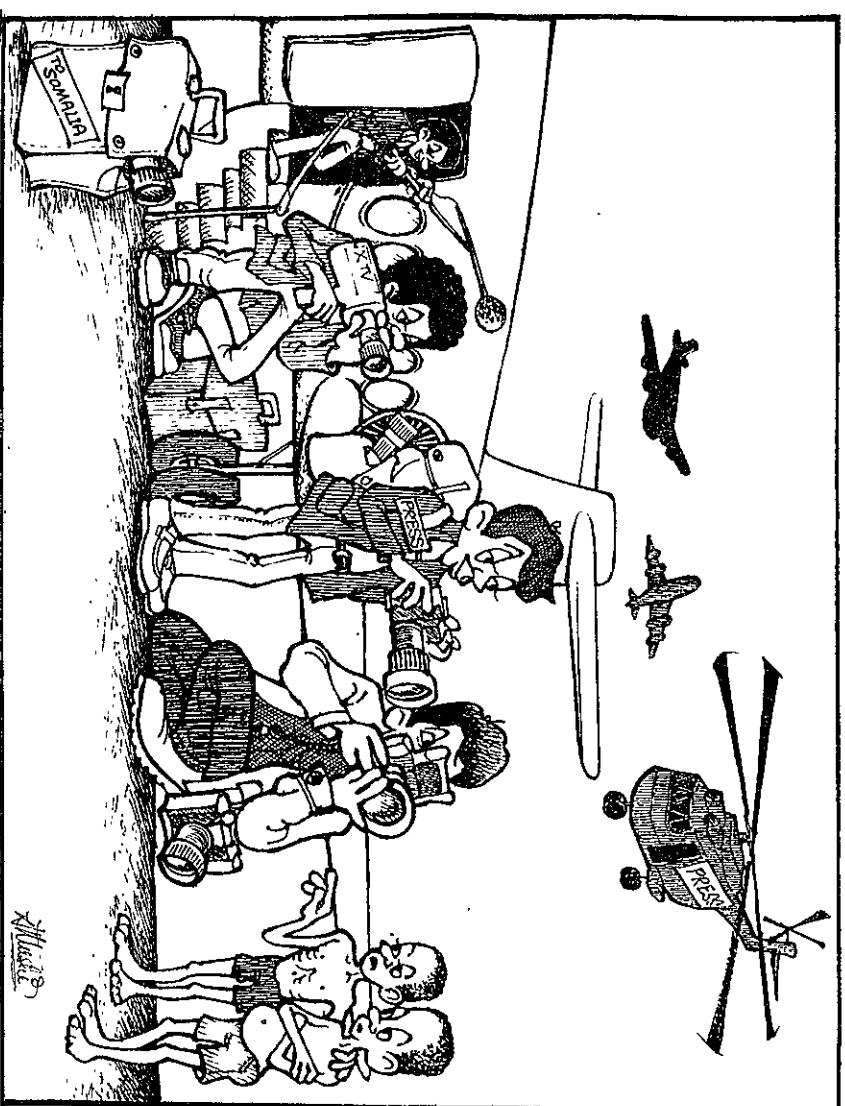
There is no order, no civil authority, and gangs — only some of which are controlled by warlords — hold sway over the million people now living in the city.

The only relatively safe places are inside the well-armed compounds of the relief agencies. Here one can sip a cup of tea in an air-conditioned lounge and talk about food shipments and humanitarian assistance. But leave the compound and the hot bustling chaos of Mogadishu, bristling with military hardware, overwhelms you.

It is true that within hours of the US marines landing, the guns disappeared from some of the city's main roads, but just a few metres from the streets patrolled by the foreign troops the guns re-appeared and business continued as usual.

The first few hours and days are the hardest to overcome on assignment in Mogadishu.

On a desert runway about 10 km north of the city, the pilot of a relief flight from Mombasa says goodbye and good luck before taking off again, leaving me with three Italian journalists to face the desert and the handful of grinning gangsters



guarding the runway. The Italians have friends in town and their lift arrives two

hours after they get a radio message through to their compatriots. I am left alone and not

just a little frightened. After negotiating with the gangsters over a far-from-mod-

est fee to take me and my baggage to town, we set off, machine-gun mounted on the roof, careening along a winding road littered with burnt-out vehicles.

The swirling town with its masses of armoury takes one's breath away. But it did not take long before I too joined the pack of gunslunging militias by hiring my own personal bandits.

Finding accommodation in a city with no hotels and where relief agencies could hardly be blamed for blankly refusing to put up journalists can be another headache. But the flood of reporters, spending so many dollars that in a single day the street value of the currency halved, was the kick-start a local hotelier needed to reopen a hotel where about 150 journalists could be accommodated. Before long the roof was covered with satellite dishes, generators and journalists who could not find a bed inside.

Most people choose to stay far away from the no-man's-land marking the border between Somalia's two principal warlords, spitting Mogadishu in two, but my newly acquired driver, Mohamed, had other ideas and took me on a two-hour tour of the border.

The tension is clearly perceptible and the deserted, badly shelled buildings tell their own story.

After a number of confrontations with bands of freelance gunmen, my patience began running out. I was convinced that Mohamed was either mad

or very high on the drug quat, a green plant chewed by almost all Somalis and often held responsible for the afternoon flare-ups which inevitably leave more dead.

I demanded to be returned to the relative safety of the other side of town, but Mohamed begged to show me just one more thing.

That "one more thing" led to a tense confrontation with a band of gunmen from the other side. Two of my gunmen were captured, while the third, Mohamed and I only just managed to escape. Hiding behind our vehicle we could see how our guards were being shoved around, and for a moment we held our breath when it looked as if they would be executed.

Then Mohamed ran forward waving his arms in the air in an effort to save the petrified guards. Afterwards he told me that he had many "contacts" on either side of the border.

With his intervention, the near execution turned into a heated dispute which still threatened to spill over into bloodshed, but after an hour-and-a-half, the tension eased and my gunmen and driver were allowed to return to the car.

Having survived that, Mohamed, now considerably sobered up, raced back to the safety of the crowds, and in the rush knocked down a child who was sent flying like a rag doll. Mohamed hardly blinked. His only reaction to yet another dead child in Mogadishu was a string of curses. □

Food for Baidoa

Sowetan 21/12/92
MOGADISHU - United Nations trucks carrying 300 tonnes of food left under armed US escort for the Somali town of Baidoa. ①

Two helicopter gunships hovered above the convoy of 20 white trucks, which carried enough wheat to feed 100 000 hungry mouths for a week. It will be the first big convoy of food to reach Baidoa, the "City of Death" at the epicentre of Somalia's famine, since July. The last convoy, on November 11, was hijacked on the outskirts of the southern town.

Black states keep things cleaner

STAR 22/12/92

I was walking in Johannesburg city centre the other day when I was suddenly seized by a desire to cart the city fathers en masse off to Asmara in Eritrea, or Lusaka, Zambia.

South Africans keep saying: "What can those people teach us." Cleanliness, I'd say. They keep their streets clean and you're not likely to collide with a rotten cabbage on the pavement or skid on a banana skin and break a leg in the main street.

This is a rather delicate area which calls for some diplomatic language.

The new South Africa is at hand and has ushered in all these freedoms which we need not, dare not, trample upon. People are coming out from all walks of life to claim the turf, so to speak, long denied them.

But if I can help it, I give the city centre a wide berth, especially now during the festive season, when people fight for every little space on the pavement.

The other day I knocked over one poor fellow's box of samoosas. I wasn't amused, I can tell you. Neither was he.

This is obviously a subject that will concentrate serious minds for some years to come. Robert Mugabe discovered, when he came into power, that he had to demolish some squatters' shacks, much to the delight of his detractors. I can see it happening here.

When the taxi business started some years ago, those who worship the market cheered. Now black taxis are something to be feared by both passengers and motorists.

But a trip to Eritrea would be an eye-opener. The streets are spick-and-span and free of crime.

Politicians, former fighters and the general populace are all pulling together to build their war-ravaged country. Can you imagine our politicians working without pay? Or ex-guerillas building roads for nothing but food and accommodation?

And they fought a real war. The trenches and the weapons have now been turned into tourist attractions.

Out of Africa

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI



The Eritrea experience certainly puts the word "struggle" in its proper perspective. We haven't seen anything like it here.

□ □ □

One man who made the trip to Eritrea is Actstop activist Cas Coo-vadia, and he brought himself a memento: a 1982 copy of The African Communist, mouthpiece of the SA Communist Party.

Cas was browsing in a bookshop in Asmara when he came across the booklet, dedicated to the ANC's 70th anniversary.

"I just had to buy it," he chuckled.

The contents are enough to water the buds of every true comrade. A man who goes by the unlikely name of Bamb'uzulekhona writes a treatise from Maputo on "Why I want to join the Communist Party".

Athol Fugard gets a pasting from a reviewer for a reference to authors like Camus, Sartre and Beckett while not making mention of Nyerere, Ngugi and Fanon.

□ □ □

Some Ethiopians say they know why the rains haven't been falling in their part of the world. It's all Mengistu Haile Mariam's fault.

Ethiopia experienced one of its harshest droughts during Mengistu's reign. Now, more than a year after he was overthrown, Ethiopia has good rainfalls and a bumper crop is expected.

But, in the meantime, southern Africa where Mengistu fled to, has had one of its harshest droughts.

Here are some interesting statistics on Ethiopia: the country has 42 million sheep and goats; seven million horses and donkeys; a million camels; 42 million poultry and 27 million cattle. It has a population of 51 million.

As one man asked: "So why are people starving?"

Good question. □

Aid workers
urge troops *Sowfen 22/12/92*

MOGADISHU **(L)** Aid workers in the Somali port of Kismayu, secured by US and Belgian troops, want soldiers to put on a show of force against gunmen stalking the remote and starving countryside.

"It doesn't need much because they are so overpowering. Send a couple of tanks and you've done it," said Sean Devereux, the UN Children's Fund project officer in Kismayu.

NEWS FEATURE Poverty and dictatorship once again plunges the continent into turmoil

Autocrats threaten Africa

Sowetan 23/12/92 ①

TEETHING PROBLEMS After a good

start, the democratisation of Africa has de-

veloped a serious speed wobble. Barney

Mthombothi of Sowetan Africa News

Service surveys the latest ups and downs:

If 1991 was the year when the democratisation process really took off in Africa, 1992 was the year when it began wobbling.

The gains made since the process started in earnest more than two years ago now seem threatened by economic deprivation or autocrats who are refusing to roll over and die.

While 1991 closed on a high note following the defeat of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, this year goes out with civil war threatening in Angola, American tanks rumbling into Somalia, Mobutu Sese Seko still exercising power in Zaire and Babangida's promises to give up power in Nigeria still just promises.

Against the odds

The situations in Liberia and Sudan have taken a turn for the worse. Several other conflicts are straggling or raging in various places on the continent.

Kenya, one of the more significant countries on the continent, goes to the polls at the end of the month after a campaign which stands out more for its acrimony than any attention to issues.

One of the few rays of hope was in Mozambique where the ceasefire was holding against all odds and the United Nations, learning from the debacle in Angola, had decided to send a substantial force to monitor the peace process. There was also cause for optimism in Ghana and Burkina Faso where military regimes re-emerged under new civilian garb.

The year began with great promise for Angola, with negotiations culminating in the signing of the peace agreement in May. The agreement provided for a cessation of hostilities between the MPLA and UNITA, the formation of a new unified national army and the holding of elections.

However, hopes for an end to the 16-year-old civil war proved flimsy when

UNITA refused to accept its defeat in the elections in September and vicious fighting broke out. Senior UNITA members, including vice-president Jeremias Chitunda, were among those killed in the violence.

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is still held up in his stronghold of Huambo but has said he is prepared to take part in an arm-off-for-the-presidency provided the United Nations takes charge of the whole electoral process.

A great divide

Observers say the refusal by UNITA to accept the result of the elections set a depressing precedent for the continent.

Another unsatisfactory poll was the presidential election in Cameroon, where sitting president Paul Biya squeaked through amid accusations of election rigging by the opposition. What complicates matters in Cameroon is the great divide that exists between Francophones and Anglophones.

Ghana's military leader, Jerry Rawlings, succeeded in outsmarting his opponents. He delayed his presidential challenge until the eleventh hour, thus allowing himself the privilege of retaining all the apparatus of the state, including its propaganda media, firmly in his own hands. He then resigned from the army, stood for election for the presidency and triumphed over a divided opposition, thus neatly transforming himself from a military dictator to a civilian president. His opponents, however, say the elections were rigged.

Rawlings was following in the footsteps of Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso. But Compaore won a hollow victory because the opposition boycotted the elections.

The situation in Togo, Ghana's neighbour, has remained confused since a national conference last year reduced president Gnassingbe Eyadema to a



GUN POINTING ... A Somali man argues with US Marine Lieutenant Andy Millburn after his assault rifle was confiscated near the Mogadishu sea port. The marine patrol confiscated five assault rifles from Somalia on Monday.

nominal figurehead and vested all powers in prime minister Kofi Koffi. The army, which is still loyal to Eyadema, has tried several times this year to remove Mr Koffi without success. It remains an uneasy co-existence.

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Revert to savagery

Another running sore, Liberia, looks likely to revert to the savagery of two years ago. The decision by rebel leader Charles Taylor in October to march to the capital Monrovia in a last-ditch attempt to remove the interim government of Amos Sawyer led to fierce fighting in which many people were killed.

Nigerian jet fighters, under the Economic banner, have repeatedly bombed Taylor's strongholds.

The turmoil in Liberia has also destabilised its neighbour Sierra Leone, where president Joseph Momoh, was

overthrown by junior army officers. The military have promised free and fair elections, but nobody believes they will keep their promise.

Another tinderbox which could explode at any time is Sudan. The government has at last gained the upper hand in its war with guerrillas of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the south.

For a number of years, the south was a no-governor for the government in Khartoum, but the split into three factions by the SPLA earlier this year has enabled the government to mount a successful campaign against the guerrillas. The government has now retaken more than a dozen towns in the south which were in the hands of the SPLA.

Threatening to explode

The SPLA has also suffered from the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia who was their main backer.

The situation in Ethiopia itself, after a hull following Mengistu's flight, is again threatening to explode. The new government has carved up the country into different ethnic entities, and some communities are threatening to secede. The fate of Somalia is now in the hands of the international community,

more specifically the Americans. What will happen there is anybody's guess. A more immediate concern is to get food supplies to the starving.

Kenya goes to the polls this month. President Daniel arap Moi was finally prevailed upon by foreign donors who refused to release any aid unless he introduced political reforms.

Concern over violence

Even international observers have expressed concern at the level of violence in the country in the run-up to the elections at the end of this month.

Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, a staunch opponent of multiparty democracy, this year finally agreed to a referendum to test the opinions of Malawians on the issue. His opponents have welcomed the announcement but the jailing of Chakifwa Chikwanda, one of President Banda's harshest critics, for two years recently has cast doubts on his motives.

One country that is relatively calm is Tanzania. Swaziland too is looking around for an alternative to the no-party system. The military in Lesotho has committed itself to giving up power in favour of a civilian government.

Rush for fuel as pumps run dry in Bulawayo

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Filling stations in Bulawayo were yesterday desperately seeking fresh supplies of petrol and diesel after the state-run national oil company failed to make deliveries to local depots of major commercial oil companies.

As word spread of pumps running dry, there was a rush by motorists, reminiscent of the nationwide 1982 crisis when overnight queues formed at garages.

Despite recent heavy rains breaking the worst drought in decades, there is still a water shortage in Zimbabwe's second city, with households rationed to 400l a day.

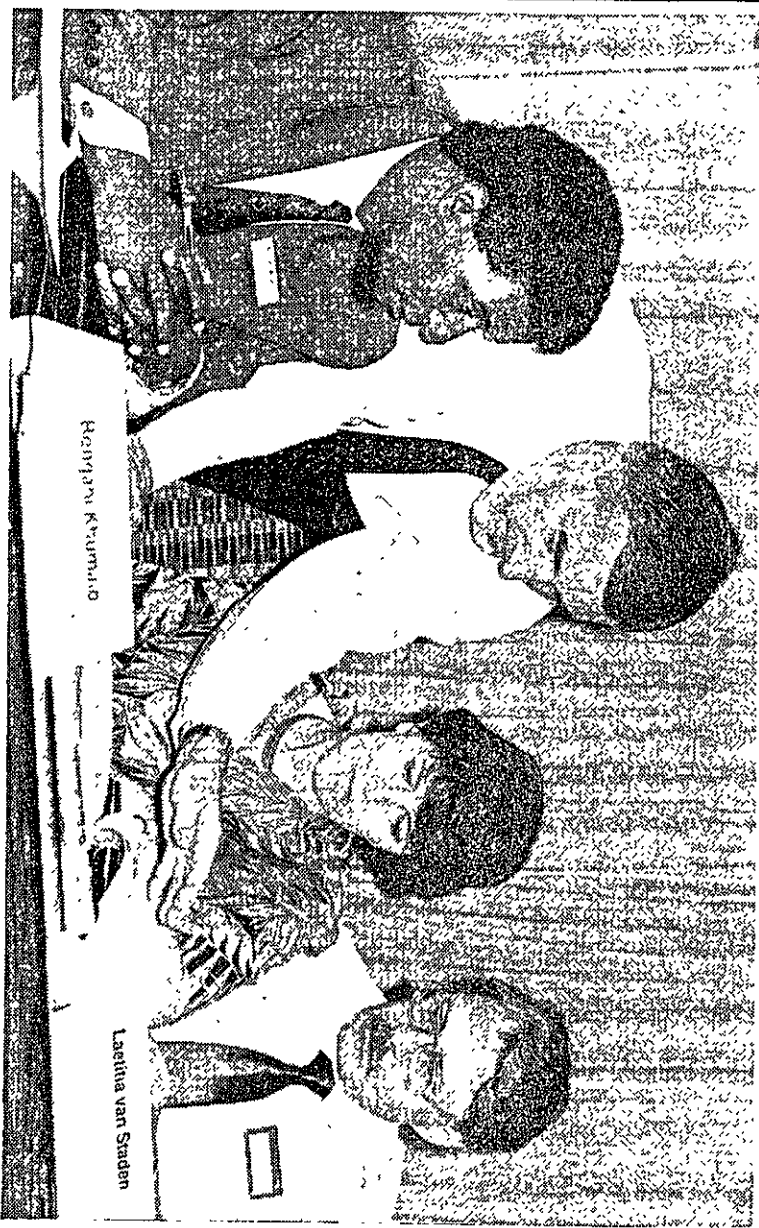
Meanwhile, hungry villagers surviving on the government's monthly 5kg maize meal handouts have braved armed police guards to attack maize shipments from SA near Mwenzezi.

Hordes of villagers recently swarmed onto a train 140km south of Masvingo and made off with considerable amounts of the estimated 1 000 tons cargo.

Local Zanu (PF) leader Joel Machaya blamed erratic delivery of government drought relief for the upsurge in theft from trains.

Sapa-Reuter reports that police in Harare confirmed the incident.

Zimbabwe has been in the grips of a drought which forced more than 5.4-million people, half the country's population, to depend on government food handouts.



Eskom's team at yesterday's media conference included, from left, corporate communications manager Bongani Khumalo, Johannesburg distribution manager John Bradbury, East Rand sales and customer service manager Martin Opperman, and national electrification negotiations manager Laetitia van Staden. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Eskom seals Congo deal

PETER DELMAR

ESKOM said yesterday it had concluded a co-operation and technical assistance agreement with the government of Congo, the 17th African state to open its doors to the utility.

ESKOM also announced that its CE Ian McRae would hold talks early next year with Uganda and Egypt.

In terms of an agreement to be signed early next year, Eskom and the Congolese government and its Societe Nationale d'Electricite (SNE) will co-operate in a number of fields. These include training and development of staff, a technical study on the Congo's power systems, improving the reliability of SNE's power supply, assistance with protection against lightning, and rural and urban electrification.

Eskom said McRae had "expressed satisfaction with the latest milestone achieved in the establishment of an economically robust and socially stable southern Africa and indeed Africa, supported by effective and inexpensive electrical energy".

Eskom recently signed a similar co-operation agreement with Tanzania. It has started talks on co-operation with each of the 12 SADC states and has formal co-operation agreements with Zambia and the Ivory Coast.

Council resists takeover bid

THEO RAWANA and STEPHEN COPLAN

ESKOM yesterday told the Vosloorus Town Council to hand over the running of electricity services to the utility before January 7, or face court action over the R40m it owed.

The council refused to restore the electricity supply to residents even after Eskom had offered to supply it free to the East Rand township until January 7 as a gesture of goodwill.

Eskom's Johannesburg sales and customer service manager John Bradbury told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday the Vosloorus Civic Association members who were staging sit-ins and threatening hunger strikes at Eskom's Germinston offices, were targeting the wrong people.

The council was to blame for the crisis, Bradbury said.

At another news conference, Vosloorus councillor Sidwell Mofokeng

said his council had decided to restore electricity and services to the township for 10 days only.

The takeover issue was raised two years ago when it had become clear that the council was unable to pay Eskom. But up to now, the council had refused to sign the agreement, Bradbury said.

Eskom corporate communications manager Bongani Khumalo said: "Once the council signs the agreement, the legal action will be rescinded and the R40m debt put aside."

Sapa reports that Vosloorus Civic Association president Ali Maziyva said it was unlikely that residents would pay the R100 service charge required as they had decided in November to pay only R20.

He said most residents had paid their electricity charges in accordance with a 1991 agreement between the civic association and the council.

He claimed the council cut off electricity supplies three weeks ago to force residents to pay for other services such as water and refuse removal.

Residents refused to be blackmailed by electricity cuts into paying for these services. They demanded the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate claims of corruption and maladministration in the council, Maziyva said.

Vosloorus residents will picket the council's offices today, demanding the council sign an agreement allowing Eskom to supply electricity directly to residents and the immediate resignation of all councillors.

Dark Continent on a tough trek

Star 23/12/92.

In 1991 WAS the year when the democratisation process really took off in Africa, 1992 was the year when it began wobbling.

The gains made since the process started in earnest more than two years ago now seem threatened by economic deprivation or by autocrats who are refusing to roll over and die.

While 1991 closed on a high note following the defeat of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, this year goes out with civil war threatening in Angola, American tanks rumbling into Somalia, Mobutu Sese Seko still exercising power in Zaire and Bangida's promises to give up power in Nigeria still just promises.

The situations in Liberia and Sudan have taken a turn for the worse.

Several other conflicts are simmering or raging in various places on the continent.

Kenya, one of the more significant countries on the continent goes to the polls at the end of the month after a campaign which stands out more for its acrimony than attention to issues.

One of the few rays of hope is in Mozambique, where the ceasefire is holding against all odds and the United Nations, learning from the debacle in Angola, has decided to send a substantial force to monitor the peace process.

There is also cause for optimism in Ghana and Burkina Faso where military régimes re-emerged under new civilian garb.

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However, hopes for an end to the 16-year-old civil war proved flimsy when Unita refused to accept its defeat in the elections in September and fighting broke out. Senior Unita members, including vice-president Jeremias Chilunda, were among those killed in the violence.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is still holed up in his stronghold of Huambo, but has said he is prepared to take part in a runoff for the presidency provided

After a promising beginning, democracy in Africa developed a speed wobble in 1992 and may have to slow up at least initially in the new year, says BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service.

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Observers say the refusal by Unita to accept the result of the elections has set a depressing precedent for the continent.

Another unsatisfactory poll was the presidential election in Cameroon where sitting president Paul Biya squeaked through amid accusations of election rigging by the opposition. What complicates matters in Cameroon is the great divide that exists between Francophones and Anglophones. The Anglophones, who have tribal affiliations with neighbouring Nigeria, have always felt left out of the political process in Cameroon. Their candidate stood and lost against Biya.

The year now says there will be civil war unless the UN intervenes.

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The situation in Togo, Ghana's neighbour, has remained confused since a national conference last year reduced president Gnassingbe Eyadema to a nominal figurehead and vested all powers in Prime Minister Kokoh Koffifioh. The army, which is still loyal to Eyadema, has tried several times this year to remove Koffifioh without success. It remains an uneasy co-existence.

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limbo for three years while the divided opposition struggles unsuccessfully to dislodge him from power. It does not seem there is any prospect that Zaire's problems will be resolved soon.

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One country that is relatively calm is Tanzania. Although there are agitations for democracy, the acrimony seems to be missing. Swaziland too is looking around for an alternative to the no-party system.

The military in Lesotho has committed itself to giving up power in favour of a civilian government. Logistics seem to be the only aspects delaying the holding of elections.

Democratisation in Africa faces more obstacles than in any other continent because of the poverty and the large number of autocratic régimes. As Professor Rene Lemarchand of the University of Florida pointed out in a recent article, the disintegration of authoritarian rule may even be followed by a descent into anarchy or intensified corruption.

"With nothing to eat, the right to vote is derisible," he says.

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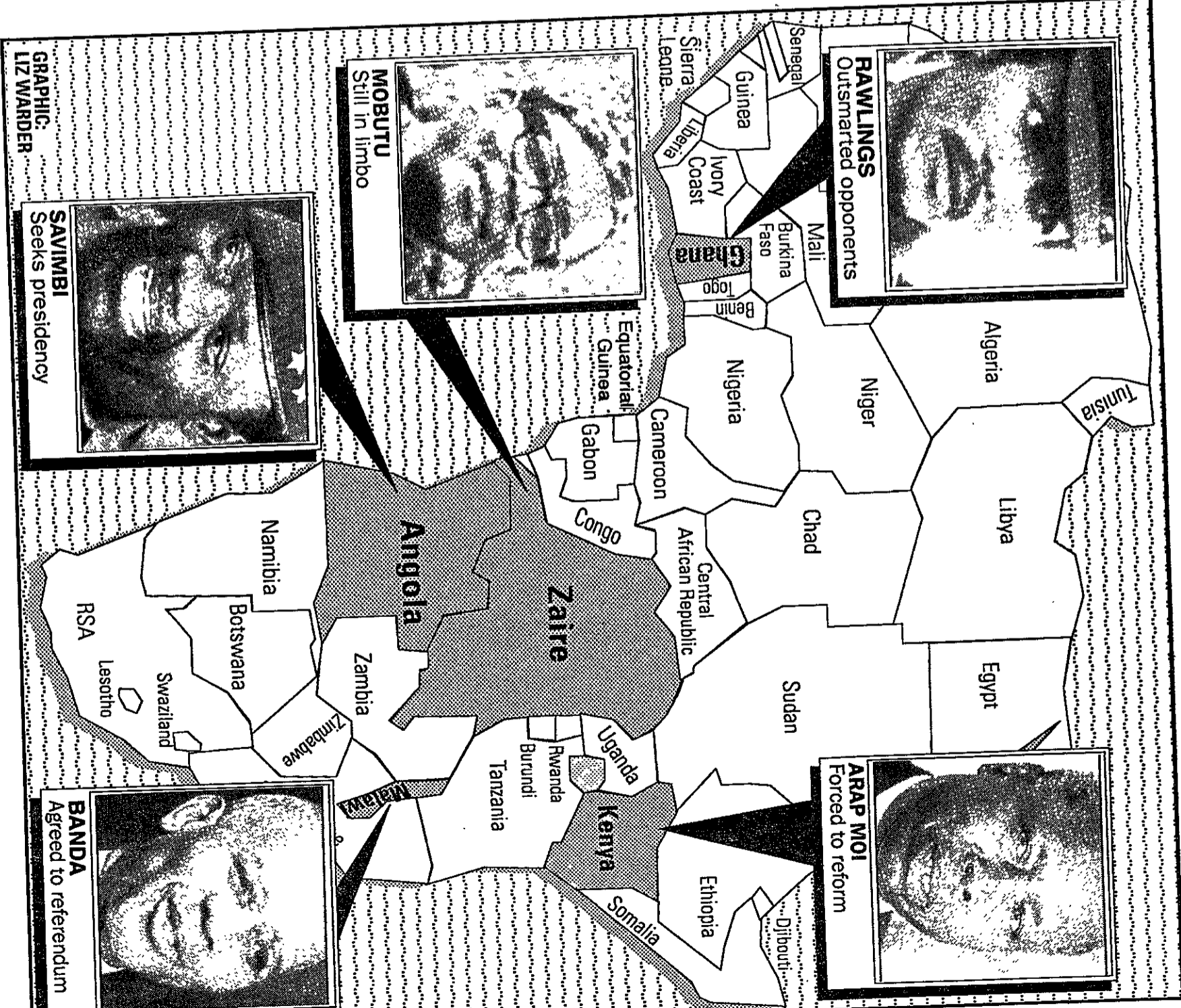
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GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

recorders

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his bags and returning to the United States, where he made a fortune in the pharmaceuticals business before returning this year to take up the

The latest, incomplete, results awarded Milosevic 56 percent of the votes and Panic only 35 percent. — The Independent News Service.

US cuts number of troops in Somalia

STAN 23/12/92.

MOGADISHU — The United States has cut the number of troops it will deploy in Somalia to oversee the distribution of food aid.

An estimated 28 000 US troops had been expected to spearhead a multinational coalition which began securing Somali towns, ports and airfields on December 9.

Marine Colonel Fred Peck, military spokesman for Operation Restore Hope, said yesterday that the total would be cut by an unspecified number.

Peck said so many other countries had offered to join the force, expected to total 35 000 soldiers, that fewer American combat troops would be needed.

The task force was facing less resistance than expected from the feuding clan militias and the first phase of the relief drive was two weeks ahead of schedule.

In Washington, the White House said George Bush would visit Somalia for New Year to meet US forces. — Sapa Reuter.

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Foreign troops come to the rescue

MOGADISHU - About 1 000 US marines and French troops left Mogadishu in columns of vehicles at dawn yesterday at the start of a Christmas push into Somalia's famished interior.

The biggest thrust inland of Operation Restore Hope, began at 5.30am with the departure from Mogadishu airport of

Sowetan 23/12/92 (1)
■ **US and French troops deployed to save the starving:**

French soldiers in over 35 vehicles, followed by a first convoy of marines.

US officers said the troops would head for Baidoa, 250km west of Mogadishu and then fan out.

A French military spokesman said

the units were expected to enter the towns of Bardere and Hoddur by Friday, Christmas Day.

The US-led task force is trying to deploy in areas at the mercy of rapacious gunmen. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Rivals are winners ①

ANTANANARIVO - Madagascar's President Didier Ratsiraka and his fiercest critic, Albert Zafy, were declared winners of first-round presidential elections yesterday and will fight out a second round in January.

Madagascar's Constitutional Court announced that Ratsiraka, in power for 17 years, won 29,22 percent of votes in the November 25 election and Zafy 45,16 percent. The second-round duel will take place on January 22. *Sowetan 23/12/92*

Task force hoping to relieve Somalian towns by Christmas

Blomby 23/12/92
MOGADISHU — About 1 000 US Marines and French troops moved out of Mogadishu in convoys at dawn yesterday, beginning a push into Somalia's interior.

The biggest thrust inland of Operation Restore Hope began at 5.30am with the departure from Mogadishu of French soldiers in more than 35 vehicles, followed an hour later by a first convoy of Marines.

US officers said the troops would head for Baidoa, 250km west of the capital. From there they would fan out. A French military spokesman said the units were expected to enter the towns of Bardere and Hoddur by Christmas day.

The US-led task force, at the urging of aid agencies, is trying to deploy in areas at the mercy of gunmen.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called on Monday for a wider and longer US involvement in Somalia than originally envisioned by Washington, saying US troops should fan out around the country to disarm warlords and gangs.

In a report to the UN Security Council he welcomed the excellent working relationship between the UN and the US government, but rejected a request from Washington to plan for UN troops to replace US forces when they began to withdraw.

Boutros-Ghali said he explicitly posed outgoing US President George Bush two conditions for a measured transition to a wholly UN-staffed operation in Somalia: first, "the

heavy weapons of the organised warring factions (be) neutralised and brought under international control;" second, "the irregular forces and gangs (be) disarmed."

The first of an estimated 20 000 US troops landed in Mogadishu on December 9 to keep relief supplies for thousands of starving Somalis from falling into bandits' hands.

Meanwhile, the main warlord in north Mogadishu, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, was to move his "technicals" — jeeps mounted with guns — outside Mogadishu yesterday under a peace deal with his rival Mohamed Farah Aideed, who drove his vehicles to the city's outskirts on Monday.

US officials see the agreement, which implements part of an accord reached on December 11, as a breakthrough in their efforts to pacify the anarchic city. "We are trying to get the factions to bring their arms under control so we do not have a confrontation between the combined task force and the Somalis," said Col Michael Hagee. "This is a Somali agreement and it's being implemented by Somalis." Armed gangs not controlled by either militia leader would also have to get their "technicals" off the streets fast.

In Baidoa, starvation and disease continue to inflict a gruesome toll.

Operation Restore Hope gathered pace as troops from a dozen nations poured into Bali Dogle, Kismayu and Mogadishu.

"Aircraft are coming in 24 hours a day," said Hagee. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN chief warns of rapid pull-out from Somalia

Secretary
Gwarawan
W/way

23/12 - 29/12/92

CP

UNITED NATIONS Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on Monday that despite Washington's insistence for a rapid pullout of US troops from Somalia, he still is not prepared to endorse such a move until security conditions in the famine- and violence-wracked country can be better evaluated. In a 22-page report to the Security Council that he described as a "conceptual plan," Boutros-Ghali said his discussions with US officials, while "useful," have brought to light "certain differences" of approach concerning the timing of any withdrawal.

The secretary general's report, mandated when the Security Council authorized the US-led rescue operation which began on December 3, constituted the latest entry in a running debate between Boutros-Ghali and the Bush administration over how soon US troops should be withdrawn and replaced by a UN force. The administration repeatedly has said the bulk of the US forces will be out by the time President-elect Clinton is inaugurated on January 20.

"I share the United States authorities' wish that this work should be undertaken as soon as possible," Boutros-Ghali stated. "But in my view the moment for it has not yet come."

"The (US-led) Unified Task Force has been on the ground for only 10 days and it is too soon to make an evaluation of its success in establishing a secure environment for humanitarian operations and of the resources that will be required to enable (the United Nations) to maintain that environment."

The secretary general also reiterated his belief that US forces should gain control over all of Somalia and not just those areas where the famine is most severe. He said that if Somalia's armed gangs retreat to areas outside of US control, the objectives of the international effort will not have been achieved because the gangs could resume their harassment at a future date.

In an effort to bridge the gap with Washington on some points, Boutros-Ghali suggested that rather than carry out a complete disarmament, US troops should focus on heavy weapons by either concentrating them in certain areas

for observation or destroying them. He said the United States and "thereafter" UN troops should "do all they can to induce individuals" to hand over their weapons.

In his report, Boutros-Ghali suggested that something more than a conventional UN peace-keeping force ultimately will be needed once the United States pulls out. He said one option involves an entirely new kind of intervention — what he called a "peace-enforcement" operation that would be similar to the current US force except that it would be under UN command.

By Trevor Rowe

Boutros-Ghali said such a force has been urged by Washington because traditional peace-keeping forces rely on the goodwill of all sides, something that cannot be counted on in Somalia. He said Washington has recommended that the UN force's proposed "mandate, concept of operations, level of armament, and rules of engagement ... be little different from those of the Unified Task Force."

"It was argued that a force man-

dated and organized on normal peace-keeping lines would not be capable of protecting humanitarian activities from factional forces or gangs which would not have been neutralized or disarmed during the presence of the Unified Task Force in Somalia."

In his report, the secretary general did not commit himself to any specific option for a future UN force. Rather he simply stated the need to rethink the mandate of the current peace-keeping force there, which numbers about 560 troops. However, he did suggest that any force created to replace the US-led operation be made up of "substantial" numbers of troops in order to minimize the risk of any deterioration in the security established by the Unified Task Force.

Boutros-Ghali also suggested that any US pullout be done progressively. First, he said, some kind of political process must take hold in the shattered country, and US troops should be reduced "as the political process advances and the new national army and police force become operational."

"Without improved security the political process cannot prosper,"

Boutros-Ghali said. "But there is little prospect of a sustained improvement in security unless the political process does prosper."

However, the secretary general did not specifically spell out the precise conditions needed before he will feel comfortable with a US withdrawal. He did say that one indicator will be the meeting on January 4 of Somali clans and political factions in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

"It would be a tragedy if the premature departure, or remodeling, of the Unified Task Force were to plunge Somalia back into anarchy and starvation and destroy the fragile political progress of recent weeks. For all these reasons, I recommend that the Security Council defer a decision on these questions until the situation on the ground in Somalia becomes clearer."

He noted that he has told US officials that some American logistic units will be asked to stay on to support the UN operation. He also said that the overall success of the UN operation will depend on whether sufficient countries are prepared to volunteer troops.

— Washington Post

The Moushington Post

Somalia's Fundamentalists Fear The Worst

MERCA, Somalia — At the run-down port in this steamy coastal town, scores of workmen, shirtless and sweating, struggle under silver tins of cooking oil and heavy sacks of rice. They are unloading a Red Cross barge, under the watchful eye of a handful of sullen sentries, some with red and white Arab-style kaffiyehs covering their heads, all with AK-47 automatic rifles dangling from straps on their shoulders.

The port guards are members of the Islamic Union Party, or Itihad, Somalia's armed Muslim fundamentalist group, which has established a foothold here in this Indian Ocean trading post where, according to legend, Islam first touched Somalia's shores.

Since their arrival here earlier this year, the fundamentalists have been credited with establishing a strict security system that has all but eliminated wholesale looting of relief food meant for the country's millions of starving people.

Food still gets stolen in Merca, usually from truck convoys the moment they exit this port. But inside the port's perimeter, the Union Party exercises strict discipline and control. "For security, they are good," said Jama Ali Kahn of the Somali Red Crescent relief group. "They are popular because before they came there was a lot of looting."

Elsewhere around the country, cities have been torn by anarchy, looting, and clan violence; in the few pockets where the fundamentalists have moved in, they generally have managed to impose order on the chaos. The Union Party arrived in the small Wadajir district of Mogadishu, the Somali capital, six weeks ago and imposed its own strict brand of sharia, or Islamic law, and, said Somali journalist A.M. Ali, "it was very,

very successful — no theft, no problem." In accordance with sharia, looters captured by Union Party members in Wadajir had their hands amputated.

"They are harsh, but they are extremely structured and they are disciplined," said Rakiya Omaar, a human rights activist and former executive director of Africa Watch. "People are sick and tired of war, they are sick and tired of looting, and no one is providing social services."

The Union Party is still considered a minor faction in Somalia, a fringe movement at best that so far has attracted little popular support. But its method in Merca, in its northern stronghold, and elsewhere has been to move into locations where there is a power vacuum and win converts by demonstrating how a return to Islamic fundamentalists can bring an end to the kind of violence and banditry that have wracked this country for nearly two years.

The fundamentalists' goal in Somalia, according to a Union Party spokesman here, is to establish an Islamic state based on sharia. "Islam and sharia," said spokesman Abdullahi Abdulle. "We want people to obey the sharia."

But now, the Union Party feels a threat from an unexpected source: the intervention in Somalia of U.S. and other foreign combat troops who have come to protect relief supplies and help feed this country's starving millions.

The Bush administration and U.S. military officials have called the intervention strictly humanitarian, a response to the

searing images of emaciated, starving women and children digging into the ground for a few extra grains of rice. But to the Muslim fundamentalists, the intervention is akin to an invasion, whose ultimate goal is to crush the budding Islamic movement.

"Of course it's an invasion — nobody asked us," Abdulle said. "Strange enough, the Americans during the Reagan administration used to help (ousted dictator Mohamed) Siad Barre. But when the war came to Mogadishu, they left. Now they are coming with 30,000 men.

Most of the guns are from the United States. Most of the mortars that destroyed Mogadishu are from the United States." During Siad Barre's rule, according to Abdulle, Islam was suppressed as the regime tried to impose the ideas of the West. After two years of bitter clan warfare that has created one of the modern world's worst famines, Abdulle said, "Now, we are seeing the whole society wants Islam as a way of life... Everybody is saying they want sharia. We have tried capitalism — it failed. We have tried communism — it failed. We know there is no other solution, but Islam. That is why the West is intervening because they see Islam coming to power in Somalia."

This viewpoint is shared by other fundamentalists and their sympathizers. "We are very suspicious," said Abdiikhadir Abdi Gutali, a reporter for Qaran, one of Mogadishu's daily newspapers. "We worry they will be here a long time, and maybe make a new colony."

Since the first Marines came ashore, the troops have been greeted like conquering

heroes. But if there is any opposition from any sector, if the initial heady expectations wear thin, it will likely come from these fundamentalists.

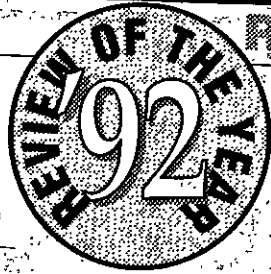
Union Party adherents are not saying they will fight the American intervention. They concede that the arrival of U.S. troops here is still widely popular among a people beaten down by continuous warfare and hunger. But that popularity, they predict, will change. "We want to orient our people," Abdulle said as other Muslim clerics and Koran scholars seated around him nodded their heads in agreement. "If the society becomes ready, maybe we'll fight." Abdulle said the Union Party already is working to turn Somali opinion against the U.S.-led intervention.

The prospect of Islamic fundamentalists waging a holy war against U.S. Marines on a faraway, hostile shore immediately raises the image of Beirut in the early 1980s, where U.S. troops first arrived as "peace keepers" and later became the target of terrorist bombs and mortar attacks.

Here in Somalia, the threat looks distant. The intervention is still welcomed, the fundamentalist movement still considered small. But it is a threat that lurks in the minds of many American military and diplomatic policy makers.

During the recent Somalia aid conference in Addis Ababa, special U.S. envoy Robert Oakley told a reporter he was "sure" the American military presence in Somalia would be used as a propaganda tool by the fundamentalists. But he said he also was certain that an "overwhelming majority" of Somalis would reject the fundamentalist appeal.

Other analysts are not so certain the fundamentalists can be easily dismissed.



AFRICA IN BRIEF

JANUARY: After December's electoral triumph by the Islamic Salvation Front in **ALGERIA**, the army seizes power. *wtMail*

FEBRUARY: A short-lived truce in **SOMALIA** is shattered. A failure of seasonal rains plunges **SOUTHERN AFRICA** into its worst drought this century. *23/12 - 29/12/92*

MARCH: **ZIMBABWE** passes a Bill authorising the government to set its own price for buying white farm land. A census in **NIGERIA** shows only 88-million citizens, about 20-million fewer than expected.

APRIL: Voters in **GHANA** overwhelmingly approve a new constitution.

MAY: After 28 years of one-man rule, **MALAWI** undergoes its first serious civil unrest.

JUNE: **ALGERIAN** head of state Muhammad Boudiaf is assassinated on June 29.

JULY: The **SEYCHELLES** holds its first multiparty elections since 1974. Incumbent Albert Rene wins.

AUGUST: The United Nations votes for urgent air lift of food to **SOMALIA** as an estimated 5 000 Somalis are dying each day due to famine.

SEPTEMBER: The first ever multiparty elections are held in **ANGOLA**. Unita rejects the results and threatens to renew civil war.

OCTOBER: **MOZAMBIQUE'S** warring factions sign a peace accord to end the country's 17-year civil war.

NOVEMBER: **KENYAN** president Daniel Arap Moi announces that multiparty elections will be held at the end of December.

DECEMBER: United States marines, under the auspices of the United Nations land in Mogadishu, **SOMALIA**.

NEWS Young artists beat the odds ● 65 percent of HIV cases in Africa

Staggering Aids figures

6 weeks 24/12/92

■ KILLER DISEASE Twenty

times more than current ex-

penditure is needed:



Sowetan Reporter

AFRICA has 65 percent of the world's HIV cases, the World Bank has said.

In a news letter published this month, the World Bank (WHO) statistics which estimate that the total number of adults infected with HIV is 10 million.

Africa, the WHO explains, has 6,5 million adults that are infected with the HIV virus.

It is estimated that the world figure could rise to between 40 and 100 million.

Nutrition division

Dr Anthony Measham, chief of the health and nutrition division of the World Bank's Population and Human Resources Department, explains that the developing world is in a precarious position because of rampant poverty and lack of sufficient funds and infrastructure.

"There are hospitals in Africa now where one half of the beds are occupied by Aids patients.

"It is expected that mortality rates

will surge and life expectancy rates will fall, especially in African countries," Measham says.

Poverty is compounded by unemployment and because Aids robs any country's labour force of economically active workers in their best years the poor get poorer.

The World Bank has its own programmes to fight Aids.

Aids control projects

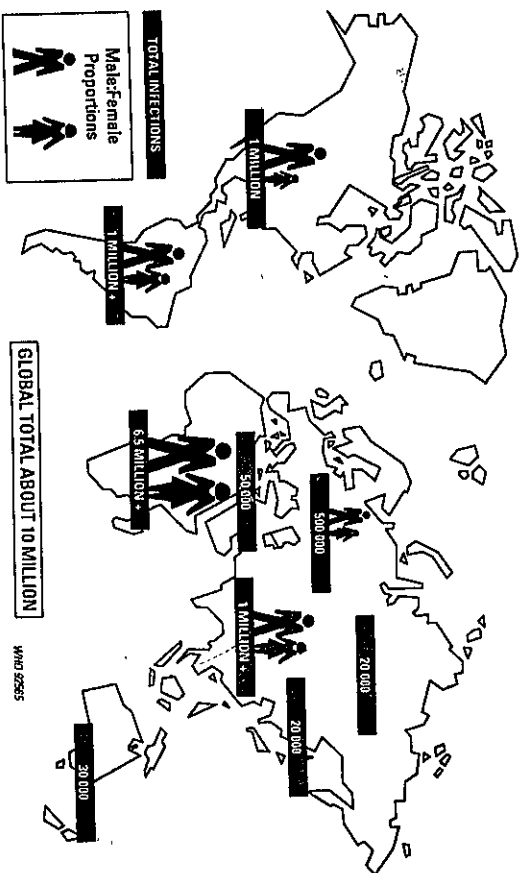
The bank first wants to publicise the disease, to bring it to the attention of its borrowers.

"The bank is also involved in lending for Aids control projects, analysing the impact of the disease on countries' health-care systems and assessing the economic impact of Aids.

"We are joining with other members of the international community in an effort to fight this disease.

"The World Bank's role in fighting

Estimated Global Distribution of Adult HIV Infections
January 1992



Source: WHO Global Programme on AIDS: 1991 Progress Report

Aids will continue to grow because the demand for financial resources to deal with the epidemic is growing very quickly, especially in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean," Measham says.

It is estimated that up to 20 times more than is presently being spent needs to be spent to stem the tide of Aids in the world.

Governments need to campaign more vigorously against the spread of the dis-

ease through developing programmes that involved the public and private sectors and non-governmental organisations.

The estimated number of actual Aids cases is three times greater than officially reported, the WHO believes.

"Ignorance is a major barrier that needs to be overcome. "People need to realise that anyone can get the disease," Measham says.

US official dies in Somali blast

MOGADISHU — An American civilian was killed and two were injured yesterday when their vehicle hit a mine in the southern Somali town of Bardere, a US official said.

It was the first death of a US government official involved in the American-led UN intervention in Somalia to protect supply lines to starving millions from bands of marauding gunmen. *B/DAM 24/12/92*

The Americans were apparently among an advance team of US government employees who went to Bardere earlier this week to scout the terrain ahead of the planned arrival of 1 000 US marines today.

US military sources said the injured were flown to hospital on the amphibious assault ship Tripoli. The extent of their injuries was not clear and a formal statement was expected later in the day.

"An American who is not from the military was killed in the area of Bardere airfield when a vehicle hit a land mine," the US official said. "Two

other people were injured." ①

US special envoy to Somalia Robert Oakley travelled to Bardere from the Mogadishu yesterday to meet community leaders in preparation for the entry of the marines late today.

Roads in central and southern Somalia are littered with mines sown during two years of warfare that has spread anarchy and famine since the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

Barre's son-in-law, Gen Mohamed Siad Hirsi Morgan, controls much of the area around Bardere — 150km south of the inland town of Baidoa — from where the Marines will set out at first light today.

Cable News Network television reported that the Americans were on a road that was thought to be clear when their vehicle hit an anti-tank mine.

Later another anti-tank mine was found and cleared.

Bardere has seen some of the worst

excesses by Somali gunmen during the two years of civil war and famine.

US marines and French paratroopers are ready to clamp down on the diversion of aid in Baidoa and Bardere, the worst-hit towns in a famine threatening 1-million Somalis with starvation.

Since October, Bardere has been the scene of a showdown between Morgan and warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed.

Morgan captured Bardere from Aideed in late October but Aideed, who rules much of southern Somalia, vowed to retake the town.

Aid workers and UN diplomats said Morgan's troops were bogged down in heavy rain not far from Bardere when the US-led operation was launched to stop gunmen from plundering relief aid.

Troops from a dozen countries are expected to take part in the operation to end the anarchy that followed Siad Barre's overthrow by rebels who then turned their guns on each other. — Sapa-Reuter

NEWS ROUND-UP

SA doctors help out in Somalia ^①

S. Times 27/12/92.
MORE South African doctors are volunteering their medical and humanitarian services to the suffering people of Somalia, despite the threat of violence, intense heat and primitive working conditions.

Volunteers already there, who faced a rampant epidemic of tuberculosis and malnutrition among the poverty-stricken community, say the mortality rate has declined from 15 a day to four.

There has also been a noted decline in malnutrition and kwashiorkor.

Four doctors — all members of the Islamic Medical Association, went to Somalia in October after the Jamiatul Ulama, a body of Muslim theologians, and the Africa Muslim Agency, an international relief organisation with its headquarters in Kuwait, requested medical aid for Somalia's starving population.

Colin Legum looks at Africa, politics and oil

Opportunities for new investment

Star 28/12/92.

THE possibility of new investment by multinational oil companies in African countries was envisaged by M A van den Bergh, a group managing director of the Royal Dutch/Shell Companies in an address he delivered to the Oil and Monetary Conference in London. He said that although progress on the economic front remained patchy, an increasing number of African countries had embarked on reforms which offered some hope for an economic reawakening.

The presence of oil in the Blue Nile province of Southern Sudan continues to prove to be one of the major stumbling blocks to ending the country's bitter civil war. The Khartoum regime has insisted in confidential talks with would-be mediators that it would resist any

idea of losing control over the rich oilfields in the Blue Nile province, which falls within the Southern Sudan, in negotiations for either a federal or confederal constitution.

Strapped for oil — and indeed for most other urgently required imports — the Khartoum regime has entered into extensive agreements with Iran. In exchange for regular shipments of oil, as well as for military supplies, exclusive rights have been granted to an Iranian syndicate to take over the management of Port Sudan. Radio Cairo has carried reports suggesting that this concession is only a small part of a wider agreement giving the Iranian navy permanent access to Sudan's Red Sea ports.

Iran's expanding involvement in Sudan is causing serious concern

to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as well as to the country's other neighbours, Ethiopia and Eritrea. The former two suspect that Iran is exploiting Sudan's economic and military weakness to secure a foothold in the African continent from which to promote their Islamic revolutionary ideas.

Despite Tehran's denials, there is strong evidence to support allegations that Iran is supplying not only arms but also military instructors and possibly also some fighting cadres to assist the Sudan army in its war against the rebel forces in the South.

Zaire, which has its own limited oil resources, and more that could be exploited once the country achieves a measure of political stability, has entered into an agreement with Kuwait for a 12

months' supply of oil.

The Belli oilfield in Tunisia's Nabeul Province has come on stream. The oil was first discovered by the US Marathon company in June 1991. Its recoverable deposits over seven years are estimated at 3 million tons, and its present output capacity is reckoned to be 10 000 barrels a day.

Tunisia is keen to interest other multinational companies to carry out further explorations. It recently granted a drilling licence for hydrocarbons over 3 932 square kilometres in the Mednine Province.

Eritrea, which is due to become independent after a referendum next April, is giving a high priority to oil exploration along its Red Sea coast where earlier findings have proved promising. □

Ivor Sarakinsky examines De Klerk's purge in the context of similar activities in Algeria

Blockings road to democracy

SMR 28/12/92

①

PRESIDENT de Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SADF have engaged in illegal activities designed to hinder the transition to democracy confirms what many have for some time suspected.

Subterranean networks within the security services, set up during the reign of P W Botha and his inner-circle of Total Strategists, pursued a private agenda in a changed national and international political environment.

The Algerian experience sheds some light on these revelations. Its path to independence was the subject of intense analysis in South African military academies and strategic studies institutes. Also, the formulation of the Total Strategy doctrine owes much to the French military and the events surrounding the struggle for independence.

Coincidentally, in the late 1950s, Magnus Malan and Nelson Mandela were in Algeria — the former training with the French forces under General Beaufre while the

latter was canvassing the Algerian National Liberation Front for support.

More importantly, the similarities between the path to Algeria's independence and South Africa's passage to democracy are startling. In both cases, a white elite with European settler origins attempted to maintain its political dominance and economic privilege over the indigenous population, resulting in protracted wars.

Furthermore, negotiated settlements unexpectedly emerged as the means for the resolution of these bitter conflicts.

The Goldstone Commission's uncovering of the Directorate of Covert Collection as well as the exposure of Project Echoes, authorised by the Chief of the Army, General Meiring, to compromise the ANC, marked the opening of a Pandora's box of dirty tricks.

After swift investigations, De Klerk announced that a number of high-ranking SADF officers as well as associated civilians were engaged in illegal activities aimed at "delaying a new dispensation"

while "promoting conflict".

In Algeria, when it became clear that the French authorities had begun negotiating with representatives from the FLN, the military mounted a major rear-guard action. As it had increasingly been drawn into the governing of Algeria during the conflict, it resented being sidelined. Coups were plotted to seize control from the politicians and when they failed, numerous underground movements emerged. The first meeting between the French authorities and the FLN was overshadowed by a concerted campaign of reactionary urban sabotage.

The most infamous of these groups was the Organisation Armée Secrète. It comprised former paratroop commanders and high-ranking officers all trained in covert warfare. In the words of Alistair Horne, author of "A Savage War of Peace" — a definitive account of Algeria's struggle for independence — the OAS used their collective skills to "render peace talks impossible by killing off the remaining men of good

will, the moderates of both sides, and by random outrages against the Muslim population which would create an atmosphere in which neither negotiation nor compromise could exist".

As the politicians moved closer to granting Algeria independence, the OAS began to attack civilians and elements within the French Army in Algeria and France. It was only through decisive action that the authorities were able to decapitate the movement.

Ironically, the activities of the OAS accelerated the pace of change as both parties soon realised that the costs of delaying a settlement were too high. Many OAS members were never captured and sporadic acts of violence in Algeria and France continued for some time after Algeria became independent.

The covert tentacles of the SADF units and their civilian accomplices were set in place in 1988 (CCB) and (DCC). At the peak of the state of emergency, these units had carte blanche to act against those that they defined as

enemies of the state.

The institutions associated with the National Security Management System were engaged primarily in co-ordinating security and resources for township upgrading to win the hearts and minds of residents. This same strategy influenced military thinking in Algeria after the armed wing of the FLN was destroyed.

In South Africa, the political changes that came during and after 1990 did not penetrate the covert forces. Brought up on Total Strategy, they could not accept an accord with their enemies, and identified with the right wing.

Whereas the OAS raised its funds through official channels and bank heists, the covert networks in South Africa, according to former managing director of the CCB, Colonel Joe Versteyl, had access to R100 million from secret defence accounts to destabilise a future government.

Covert action over a two-year period had already strained the negotiation process. Mandela's attack on De Klerk at Codesa for

not controlling the security forces shattered their personal relationship and almost caused the collapse of the first phase of negotiations. Continuing allegations have partially bedevilled talks since then and now, finally, it appears as if a major stumbling block in the way of negotiations has been removed.

Violence, fomented by covert action, has exacerbated the economic recession and reduced South Africa's appeal as a centre for international investment. With unemployment and crime at record highs, a sense of realism has permeated the minds of the politicians and there is consensus on the need for a speedy settlement.

In revealing the existence of, and acting against, illegal activities within the SADF, De Klerk has, at one level, been able to nip in the bud plots to abort democracy in South Africa. Whether the covert forces have been able to establish viable and self-supporting front companies so that they can continue their destabilisation campaigns remains to be seen. □

Somalia today, SA tomorrow?

STAFF 29/1/92

①

GEORGE Bush takes his final salute amid the destruction in Somalia this week before he leaves the White House next month. But his decision to send American soldiers to east Africa will leave observers scratching their heads long after his departure. While the decision will afford him the opportunity to leave office in a blaze of glory, some fundamental questions will be left begging for answers.

Why a march into Somalia by an administration which has shown only indifference to African concerns all these years? If Somalia, why not Liberia? Or Bosnia, or even Angola? Or will it be South Africa at some future date? And the fundamental question that African diplomats and observers are asking is: what is America's current African policy? Does it have any policy at all?

Much of America's foreign policy was driven by the Cold War. It was simply to compete against the Soviet Union for influence — the Monroe and Reagan doctrines rolled into one. That was a simple enough policy for even Ronald Reagan to understand. Whoever was a friend of the Soviets was America's enemy, and whoever opposed them was a friend. And America would use all its power to make life hell for all who went to bed with the communists.

The demise of the Soviet empire has of course made nonsense of this policy. Russia, shorn of its reluctant appendages, is now not only sucking up to Uncle Sam, it has, with its begging bowl in hand, joined the long queue for American aid. The US is now unchallenged as the only superpower.

The new situation has therefore left America's lackeys around the world, and especially in Africa, sore and confused. Whereas in the past they were guaranteed generous American aid and support regardless of their behaviour, they have now been told in no uncertain terms to clean up their act in order to earn the American embrace.

It is doubtful whether multiparty democracy would have been introduced in Africa had the Soviet Union not collapsed. The disappearance of the Cold War has encouraged the West, led by the US, to read the riot act to its African acolytes. Even dinosaurs like Ma-

**Out of
Africa**

BARNEY
MTHOMBOTHI



lawi's Hastings Banda are showing signs of responding to the chill winds of disfavour from Western capitals.

The decision to send troops to Somalia is of course enmeshed in internal American politics. The marines should have been dispatched to Liberia two years ago. Liberia has long-standing ties with the US, having been ruled for years by former American slaves. But troops weren't dispatched — the US was otherwise engaged in the Gulf.

It is also difficult to imagine George Bush sending the troops before the elections. Now he has nothing to lose, and whatever mess that may follow will sit on somebody else's lap. He may also want to teach the young upstart who is to succeed him that foreign policy does matter.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali seems to have shamed members of the Security Council into focusing their attention on the tragedy in Somalia when chided for spending an inordinate amount of time on what he called the rich man's war in Bosnia.

Why not Bosnia too, then? Dick Cheney, Bush's defence secretary, said Somalia was "militarily doable". In other words, Bosnia could have the makings of a Vietnam for America. Somalia is safer. But can America walk in, feed the hungry, and walk out? Who walks into the vacuum after the Americans have left, and if that happened, would the intervention have served any purpose?

There are whispers in certain quarters of a new colonialism. Those should be disregarded. It is only heartening to see America for a change using its unchallenged position in the world, and its resources for a humanitarian cause.

The action also proves that it is a bit premature to talk of Africa, as being a marginalised or forgotten continent. □

Plan to eradicate *STAR 29/12/92* 'last great obscenity'¹

LONDON — The biggest disaster of 1992 was not seen on television or splashed across world newspapers. The disaster went unnoticed because it was not particularly new. According to Unicef, the greatest disaster was the ordinary everyday hunger and disease which affects children in poor communities throughout the world.

The scale of the disaster is seen in the figures. Each day of the year an average of 35 000 children are killed by diseases caused by malnutrition and poverty.

This is roughly equivalent to a jumbo jet crashing every 15 minutes with the loss of everyone on board.

"No famine, no flood, no earthquake, no war ever claimed the lives of 250 000 children in a single week," says Unicef's executive director James Grant. Now, with the disaster set to continue into 1993, Unicef is calling for a halt.

"With today's knowledge, this tragedy is no longer necessary."

In a new report, "The State of the World's Children, 1993", Unicef puts forward a "\$25 billion bargain" to create a breakthrough in what it calls the "last great obscenity".

Meeting the needs of all the world's children for nutrition, clean water, basic health care and primary education would cost an extra R75 billion a year, estimates the report.

This money would fund low-cost strategies to control diseases such as measles, pneumonia and diarrhoea, halve the rate of child malnutrition, and bring clean water and safe sanitation to all communities.

It would enable family planning services to be made available to all and provide almost every child with a universal education. And the extra money would save about 4 million children's lives a year.

In an unusual move for a UN body, the Unicef report calls for a worldwide popular movement for this cause.

The report points to six ways to spend R75 billion. The sum is less than Americans spend on cigarettes

The greatest tragedy of 1992 was also the quietest: the death of 250 000 children every week from hunger and disease. Now, as JOHN MANDLEY reports, the United Nations Children's Fund is launching a R75 billion worldwide campaign to save 4 million lives a year.



Kindred spirits . . . two brothers playfully embrace each other in a Somali orphanage. They have been inseparable since the loss of their parents in the civil war. Picture: AP

every six months and less than Western Europeans spend on alcohol every three months.

It is less than businessmen in Japan spend on entertainment each year and less than the support package for Russia agreed to this year by the G7 group of countries.

Yet this sum is what it would take, says Unicef, to meet the most basic needs of all the world's children by the end of the decade.

"The time has come to banish in shame the notion that the world cannot afford to meet the basic needs of almost every man, woman and child," says Grant.

Progress is already being made. Child deaths have been cut by more than half in the past 50 years and the proportion of children starting school has risen from less than half to more than three-quarters.

More than three-quarters of children in devel-

oping countries are being immunised against polio, measles and tetanus. A million children who would have been crippled by polio are now growing up normally.

In total, the Unicef report estimates, immunisation is saving more than 3 million lives a year.

Unicef is suggesting that two-thirds of the R75 billion total could be met by developing countries, with the rest coming from the West — although, in the case of Africa, the proportion of outside help would need to be considerably higher.

The sum would be available, it says, if a fifth of all international aid and a fifth of government spending was allocated to meeting basic needs such as food, water, sanitation, basic health care, education and family planning. — The Observer News Service.

New-look approach on Africa called for

GENEVA. — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has urged fresh approaches to spread prosperity and democracy in Africa, both by the continent's countries and by rich nations.

"Some are inclined to write Africa off as hopeless," he said. "I reject such views. It is our approach that has failed." (1) AUG 29/12/92

The UN chief spoke at an inaugural meeting of a nine-member panel of experts, whom he said he appointed to advise "how development in Africa can be better co-ordinated and focused".

He said three issues "must be tackled afresh" if African economies were to grow: cutting crushing debt burdens, boosting markets within Africa's regions and moving economies away from reliance on a small range of exports. — Sapa-AP.

Critical year ahead for reform

STAR 29/1/92

AFRICA has not had much luck since it began throwing off its colonial bonds 30 years ago and its harshest critics will say that it did not deserve any, having squandered its assets on harboured Marxist economists, corruption and pointless power struggles.

That may be largely true, but Afrophiles can argue that the continent earned some good fortune when it began reforming a few years ago, adopting free enterprise and democracy and accepting — in principle at least — the work ethic that powered the Asian economic miracle.

If Africa is going to get lucky there could not be a better time for it than 1993, when the major reforms that have been put into play will enter a crucial period.

Imposed

Democracy and free enterprise came to Africa through the grassroots, so to speak, not imposed by enlightened leaders as much as through public pressure from peoples who had become fed up with hopeless poverty and dictatorship.

Yet democracy and free enterprise are in a sense on trial. For if the people decide these principles are not working, they are likely to turn against them. What would be put in their place is hard to guess, but it is quite likely to be a return to strong central control.

The crucial point is not necessarily going to be reached in 1993, for these matters do not develop as precisely as that.

But certain African countries are likely to get close to a crucial point this year, and which way they then turn will have a strong influence on developments in other countries.

Zambia is a case in point. Having thrown off Kenneth Kaunda's one-party socialism in 1991, Zambians entrusted to Frederick Chiluba's MMD party the task of restoring their fortunes through free-market economics.

But repairing the damage of excessive state control is not something that can be done quickly. It is almost inevitable in such a situation that before the lot of the people can be improved, it has to get worse for a while — as the Russians have discovered. Like Mikhail Gorbachev, Chiluba soon found himself having to plead with his constituents for more time to put things right.

That has so far been given to him, even though Zambians saw shortages persisting and prices rising faster than their incomes. Whether their tolerance will be maintained during 1993 is going to be the major question hanging over Chiluba and his government. It will be almost impossible for him to make major improvements in the life-style of his constituents before next Christmas; the best he can expect is that he will be able to give them enough hope to persuade them to suffer patiently for at least another year.

Chiluba's efforts are being followed closely by leaders in other countries where centrist economic policies are being re-

Time is running out on Africa's chances of outside help, and developments in 1993 will have a major influence on whether it runs out faster or slower, says GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star Africa Service.



Chiluba . . . needs progress to free market economy.



Moi . . . election defeat could precipitate economic turmoil



Mobutu . . . has lost power but is blocking change

placed by free-market ones, such as Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. If he fails, the free marketers in these countries will find it more difficult to sell their ideas to their own people.

These ideas are being promoted in Africa not only by local prophets but also by Western donor nations, who increasingly have attached free-enterprise strings to their economic aid in Africa, and by the International Monetary Fund.

Dictating

The IMF, strictly dictating policy changes to recipients of its aid, has become perhaps the major force for economic reform in Africa.

But while the IMF may be able to persuade African governments of the rightness of its thinking, it has little power to

influence the attitudes of the voters who elect or depose those governments.

It is not only the fate of those governments that is at stake in Africa but the fate of IMF interventionist policies. Next year will not be a make-or-break year for those policies but they will be deeply affected by what happens to African economies during 1993.

Because free-market economies have been so closely linked to multiparty politics, the future of democracy in Africa will to some extent depend on happenings on the continent itself.

And, to an important degree, it will come down to something as basic as rainfall. The drought of the past few years has left much of southern and central Africa at a point where another crop failure will be economically catastrophic. Good rains in

1993 — either in the present summer, or the next, or both — could make the difference between economic revival and economic disaster, and between the growth or retardation of democracy.

Economic decline inevitably increases the possibility of external intervention in a country and 1993 is likely to see a growth in this phenomenon. It will not necessarily be along the lines of America's military intervention in Somalia but in terms of multinational monitoring and manipulation through aid strings.

Africa has already seen, in addition to the Somali episode, the placing of UN monitoring forces in Namibia and Angola and one of the biggest such forces ever sent to the continent will be deployed during 1993 in Mozambique to supervise the election there.

An African peacekeeping force made history when it was deployed in Liberia but has had indifferent success and the concept seems unlikely to be used elsewhere in the conflicts that may well break out in certain parts of the continent.

Waned

As 1992 waned, Kenya seemed ripe for trouble as President Daniel Arap Moi's long-entrenched Kanu government faced the possibility of defeat in the country's first multiparty election in 26 years. Zaire, too, seemed to be moving closer to political chaos, with President Mobutu Sese Seko having lost his dictatorial powers but having retained enough to block meaningful reforms.

These two countries occupy key positions, economically and politically, in Africa and the

pressure for external intervention will be great if either of them degenerates into civil conflict.

There is a good chance that 1993 will see the departure from the political stage not only of Moi and Mobutu but also of another of the continent's great dictators — Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi. Banda is facing not only the inescapable fact of his own advanced age but also growing internal opposition to his autocratic rule and growing foreign support for his opponents.

Malawi is a classic example of the new mode of indirect external manipulation of political forces in Africa through the levers of aid. Banda having been forced by the withholding of foreign aid to relax some elements of his dictatorial rule.

A major problem faced by Western donors in seeking to impose democratic solutions in Africa is that the form of democracy that works fairly well in affluent and stable Western countries has not always worked as well in the poor, ethnically-divided countries of Africa.

Nigerians, for example, have again had the promise of a return to civilian rule snatched away from them in 1992 by the military government of General Babangida, ostensibly because he had been unable to find a suitable democratic formula.

The problem will dominate Nigerian affairs in 1993 and will be felt elsewhere, too, notably in Angola, which goes into the new year with its hopes of

peace hanging by a thread after the virtual collapse of the election that was supposed to end the long civil war.

As has been the case so often in Africa, Angola's difficulties arose from a fatal multiplicity of ethnic divisions and armaments. The problem confronting the country in 1993 is to find a way of installing a democratic solution in the presence of strong, well-armed rival forces that tend to discourage the compromise that is the essence of democracy.

It is the same problem that faces Mozambique, Somalia, Liberia and Sudan and the extent to which any of them resolve it during the year could have an important influence on the others.

Willing

Foreign intervention, through the UN or other influences, can not be relied on to help Africa resolve its problems, for the continent is simply running out of chances in a world growing weary of the continental propensity for failure. Unless big strides are made in resolving the political and economic problems of Africa in 1993, foreign disillusionment will increase.

The message that will be heard next year is that while the rest of the world is still willing to use conditional aid as a means of bringing the continent to its senses, it is fast losing patience.

Time could run out a little faster for Africa in 1993. □

Top UN team to tackle Africa's economic woes

Blom 29/12/92
GENEVA — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday called for fresh approaches to spread prosperity and democracy through Africa.

"Some are inclined to write Africa off as hopeless. I reject such views. It is our approach that has failed," he said.

Boutros-Ghali spoke at the inaugural meeting of a nine-member panel of experts, whom he appointed to advise on "how development in Africa can be better co-ordinated and focused".

He said three issues "must be tackled afresh" if African economies were to grow: cutting crushing debt burdens; boosting markets within Africa's regions; and moving economies away from reliance on a small

range of exports. ①

The group's tasks included looking at how Africa's raw material exports could be marketed more aggressively, and how to promote foreign investment.

He urged African countries to co-operate more in building a common infrastructure such as roads and telecommunications, and to link up industries.

Democracy and human rights had to be the basis for development.

To diversify their economies, African countries had to gain more expertise in investment decisions but rich countries also had to open their markets wider to goods from poor countries.

The panel is expected to submit recommendations to Boutros-Ghali next summer. — Sapa-AP-AFP.

Tight security for Bush's Somali visit

STAR 30/12/92

①

MOGADISHU — US forces are clamping down on gun rule in the Somali capital ahead of a visit by President George Bush tomorrow to a country steeped in anarchy.

"I don't think any American president has ever visited a nation in such a state of turmoil, in such a state of anarchy as President Bush will be visiting here in Somalia," US military spokesman Colonel Fred Peck said yesterday.

Bush starts his two-day

visit on New Year's Eve in a city where shootings and lootings are still common, despite the presence of the US-led military task force since December 9.

In Washington, the State Department said it believed reports of a massacre of 100 people in the southern port of Kismayu to be true.

Sporadic gunfire reverberated around Mogadishu last night, and on Monday US troops shot dead a Somali who opened fire on them

near the airport where Bush will land.

In recent days, US military officials have promised to get tougher on lawlessness around the bombed-out city, capital of a country which has had no government for two years.

Yesterday, US troops seized two caches of weapons, including one from a building opposite the wrecked American embassy which Bush will visit.

The US Air Force also

dropped 100 000 leaflets on Mogadishu, warning residents that machineguns, mortars, recoilless rifles and "technical" battlewagons, with or without their weapons mounted, would no longer be tolerated.

The UN-mandated force, in Somalia to ensure food aid gets past looters to the more than one million people threatened with starvation, now numbers more than 22 000 troops drawn from 18 countries. — Sapa-Reuter.

Relief workers shot by Somali gunmen

B/DAM 30/12/92

MOGADISHU — Gunmen have shot dead five Somalis working for international relief agencies in Mogadishu, aid workers said yesterday.

They said the killings on Monday and other shootings pointed to mounting tension in the Somali capital, where outgoing US President George Bush will arrive tomorrow for a New Year visit to US troops.

Four of the dead were in a bus used by the International Committee of the Red Cross to collect locally-hired staff in south Mogadishu and take them to work in the morning.

"The bus was stopped and a party started shooting at the bus. The driver and a person next to him were killed immediately and two other people who were badly injured died later," Red Cross spokesman Horst Hamborg said. The gunmen fled.

CARE, the international agency which helps distribute food to famine victims for the UN, said one of its local security guards was killed when bandits hijacked an agency car at the Green Line war boundary which divides Mogadishu.

Two other CARE workers, the Somali driver and a passenger, were wounded and the hijackers sped off with the car, CARE spokesman Cynthia Osterman said.

The attack came just four hours after rival warlords Ali Mahdi Mohamed and Mohamed Farah Aided led 10 000 people on a peace march to

the Green Line.

"What we feel and see is that tension is increasing," Osterman said. "The troops' arrival had a chilling effect but now people are more used to it. It is a period of testing."

The new peace pact, initially agreed on two days after the first US Marines arrived in Mogadishu on December 9, has kept the warlords' fighters and "technical" gunwagons out of sight.

The intervention forces say they will now use that truce to single out gunmen responsible for frequent lootings, muggings and shootings in Aided's southern stronghold and Ali Mahdi's north Mogadishu enclave.

Similar pronouncements over recent days have done little so far to halt the lawlessness.

With their primary military objectives secured, American and allied troops yesterday began doing in earnest what they came to Somalia for — feeding the hungry and extending their authority.

US Marine foot patrols were crossing the Green Line and moving for the first time into northern Mogadishu, a haven for the lawless.

Marine helicopters were being used to hopscotch across minefields and deliver food to the starving in five villages within an 80km radius of Bardera, one of six vital inland aid distribution centres. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Africa loses out to eastern Europe

BIDM 30/12/92

KATHRYN STRACHAN

AFRICA was losing annual earnings of more than \$130bn as a result of foreign assistance being directed to eastern Europe, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) development centre president Louis Emmerij said.

In a report in the Development Bank of Southern Africa's latest newsletter, Emmerij said Africa was becoming increasingly cut off from the global economy, largely as a result of political and economic restructuring in eastern Europe.

Foreign direct investment, food aid and commercial credits from the developed countries to Africa had dwindled, said Emmerij. The IMF had continued to syphon financial resources away from Africa. This had amounted to \$4bn in the past seven years, he said.

Although the amount of development assistance to the southern countries was about \$55bn annually, the number of export barriers in developing countries, especially for agricultural products, and the trade barriers regulating multifibres, meant these countries had foregone annual earnings of more than \$130bn — almost three times the amount of development assistance.

The UN Development Programme's report had included other

items, such as international migration, bringing the total forgone earnings to \$500bn a year.

Africa had been further marginalised by the developed OECD countries of the world because of "disturbing" human and natural tragedies.

In addition a marked failure in economic, social and political management over the past 15 years had resulted in an external debt burden of more than \$270bn in 1991. But there was no satisfactory solution in sight, nor did creditors have the political will to take action.

"This has led some Africans to believe the debt situation is being used by creditors to control African countries politically and economically, leading to hardly disguised neo-colonialist practices," said Emmerij.

Not only were African countries young by comparison to developed nations, but independence came when there were sharp ethnic divisions, little or no education for the majority of the people and virtually no trained African administrators. Taken together, the extent to which some African nations had held themselves together after independence had been a major achievement, he said.

Peace brings its own difficulties to Tigre

By Catherine Simon

MAKALE — "So long as she's in good health, she'll have babies," ruled one of the men seated in the shadowy light. His companions, three or four men from neighbouring villages who had come to greet the *farany* (foreigners), nodded agreement. The woman herself appeared to agree with that. A brief smile crossed her features. The baby she was suckling at her breast was her ninth.

In Metogo, as in all the Tigre region's small villages, the dogma of grinding poverty has not changed for decades. Built 45 years ago, the house had stood up to the passage of years better than its occupants. Seen from afar, its high ochre-colored stone walls gave it an almost solid air. A large patch of greenery heightened the illusion. What looked like a vegetable patch was in fact a field of cactus whose fruits were a normal standby in periods of drought when food and water run short.

Nevertheless death continues to reap its grim harvest, sweeping away hundreds of very small children every year. United Nations estimates put the mortality rate for children under five at 212 per thousand for the whole of Ethiopia. Appalling though this is, the record in Tigre is "much higher," said local government officials.

The interior farmhouse interior, with its alcove constructed of mud-brick and straw (the conjugal chamber) and big sacks of grain piled up in the middle, afforded a medieval level of comfort. A ray of grey light filtering in through the wooden door faintly lit the walls

hung with basketwork sieves, a shawl, and an old pair of yokes. The children had their own "room" — a simple stone enclosure at the edge of the courtyard where they slept along with the family donkey.

Here as elsewhere, it is the boys who are more likely to be sent to school. "Two of mine attend school," said the peasant woman. What about the girls? "No," she whispered. "I'd like to..." She herself could neither read nor write. There was one book in the house, David's psalms, but it remained a mystery to her. As for television, it was an unknown luxury. Just as inaccessible were sugar and meat, which were eaten only twice a year — "For Christmas and Easter."

But Metogo's inhabitants have two good reasons for being proud. The first is the radio set. The village pooled its resources to buy it and appointed one of their number "to keep track of the news." The second is the water pump installed at the entrance to the village — a veritable revolution which now spares the women a two-to-three-hour slog every day to the nearest water hole. Since January 1992, some 40 such pumps have been installed all over Tigre with UNICEF help.

"After 17 years of war and frustrations, everything has to be rebuilt — roads, schools, hospitals," said Aragash Adane, rapping out each word with equal emphasis. Nearing 40 and austere in course, this veteran Tigre guerrilla has become, as a result of the regional elections held in June, one

of the region's political leaders. "I work 10 to 12 hours a day," she admitted without any false humility. She is secretary at the regional administration and supervises the work of 240 members of the local "parliament."

A heap of files lay on her plastic-topped desk. The tone was set by a red-and-yellow flag of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Tigre (PFLT), the flag of Ethiopia's new masters. They are "democrats", but "not socialist", emphasised the Tigre activist with some irritation. Though forced to soft-pedal their pro-Albanian and pro-Stalin convictions, the men who brought down the Mengistu regime — ousted in April 1991 with American help — are nevertheless determined to keep a firm hold on power.

This presents little difficulty in their backyard in Tigre. They have put their stamp on the place. The Marxist trinity of Marx, Engels, and Stalin still adorning some public buildings in Makale, the regional capital, offends no one. The Tigreans have always preferred their own symbols to imported ones. The high plateaus of northern Ethiopia, the "cradle of Ethiopia", are a museum in themselves. Axum, Lalibela, Adua are all so many jewels in the rich chronicle of Ethiopian history. Makale, a more modest place, piously conserves the still lovely ruins of Emperor Johannes IV's castle (1872-1889). The carved wooden throne,

the gold- and silver-embroidered ceremonial attire and the lion-skin cloaks are all there intact.

Mussolini's bronze head lies incongruously in the grass like a piece of crumpled, greasy paper at the castle entrance. The forgotten Duce continues to stare into the sky with unseeing eyes. The five years of Italian colonisation which began in 1935 have left various traces. A few roads, the discovery of spaghetti, and a new border arbitrarily laid down between Tigreans and their Eritrean cousins.

Anxious to perpetuate the tradition of building prestigious monuments cheek-by-jowl with the starkest poverty, Makale's leaders have erected one to the Tigre guerrilla movement's "heroes". A huge column in black stone and white marble, commemorating the bloody period of the PFLT guerrillas who cast off the chains of oppression, has been erected on an embankment built on the edge of the town.

"The first time I saw PFLT guerrillas was in 1991 when they entered Addis Abeba," recalled Makale Hospital's new administrator, Dr Yikunnamlak Yizgaw, 32. He wore a white coat, had a thin moustache and gold-rimmed glasses. "Politics never interested me much. But, as a citizen, I appreciate the efforts made here."

Arriving in the Ethiopian capital right after the war, he is one of the very few doctors present in the region. "Without the PFLT and the medicines it provides, the hospital wouldn't function," he readily admitted. His prime concern is the shortage of staff. Built in the 1950s,

the hospital which is supposed to accommodate a maximum of 80 patients, today receives almost 200.

"In 30 years, only the budget hasn't changed," Dr Yizgaw said with a smile. Of the three or four aid organisations operating in Tigre, none are left today. "Medically, the Europeans did a great job. They went away after the war, I don't know why," he added much to the displeasure of the PFLT "officials" present in his office.

The authorities blame the Western aid organisations themselves for their absence — it is surprising considering that the region has been made safe — and accuse them of wanting "to work only in urban zones, the moment there's any question of locating in a rural area, there are no takers." The charges are vigorously rejected by the charities. "The fact is," they say, "Tigrean leaders, like the Eritreans moreover, no longer want foreigners operating on the ground. They readily accept money and material assistance from international organisations, but that's all."

In Makale's eating-houses, nobody appears to be interested in such high-level wrangling. Youngsters play ping-pong under the eucalyptus trees, old men sit around sipping their tea. *Magic Legs*, a karate film, is showing as the Adua Cinema, but nobody wants to see it. Night falls swiftly as do temperatures. "At least you sleep peacefully without fear of bombs," said one resident with a smile. "You can stroll around and speak freely. That's already something."

(December 19/14)

A Chance For The Children

Guardian / w su w/m at 30/12/92 - 7/1/93
FEELING grim about Somalia? But at least its agony got discovered, and international help is on the way. The fact is, its ordeal is merely a more dramatic and televisable form of the desolation that is the normal and largely unattended condition of several billion people.

The number of Somali deaths that has galvanized the world — 300,000 — is about the number of preventable child deaths that is quietly racked up every week every year in the poorest reaches of the Third World.

It is sobering to contemplate the quirks by which crisis deaths can draw more sympathy and resources than routine deaths, although underdevelopment is the root cause of both.

One who refuses to be numbed by the irony is James Grant, single-minded chief of UNICEF, the international lobby for children. For his holiday gift he has brilliantly packaged, in his annual report, the contention that it is now possible to achieve "one of the greatest goals that humanity could ever set for itself — the goal of adequate food, clean water, safe sanitation, primary health care, family planning, and basic education for virtually every man, woman, and child on Earth."

You read it right. Grant terms it feasible within a decade to give almost all the world's children a fair start — "to bring to an end the age-old evils of child malnutrition, preventable disease, and widespread illiteracy." Money-wise, it would take about \$25 billion a year extra, he figures, to be spread among poor countries, rich countries, and the international banks.

Grant is a preacher, but here he is not just preaching; he is drawing an analysis from some little-noted developments of the past decade.

The success of UNICEF and others in extending immunization programs lets him say that the "outreach capacity" now exists to put the basic benefits of scientific progress at the disposal of the vast majority of the world's poor — and even in the poorest countries. Here it matters greatly that community health workers are cheap to train and field.

Falling fertility rates let him argue that with the annual number of births soon to be stable or de-

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

clining, health and education providers can break out of the discouraging trap of having to run just to stay in place.

By the world leaders' summit for children it organized in 1990, UNICEF helped local advocates extract an extra measure of pro-child commitment from their political leaders. To steer that commitment from paper to reality is the promise now. With his eye on the global surge of democratic, women's and environmental movements, Grant suggests that popular demand can alter the ethical climate and make the current daily toll of 40,000 preventable child deaths as repugnant and unacceptable as racism.

In the big development agencies there is a tendency to admire (though sometimes to bristle at) Grant's style of advocacy and to feel that he emphasizes the small picture of child health over the big

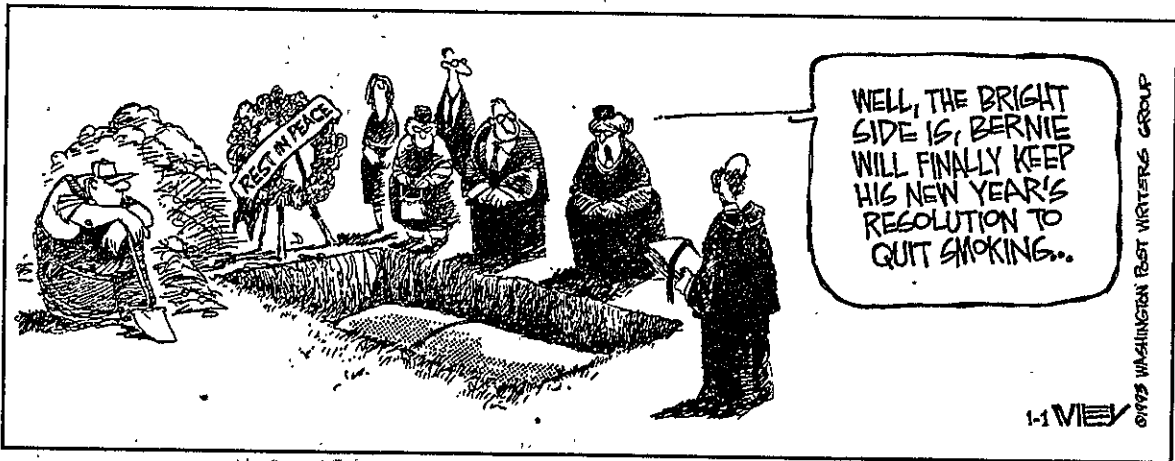
picture of society-wide development. Grant finds this argument "inhuman" for denying the poor the "few dollars per capita" that would prevent their children from becoming "malnourished, blinded, crippled, mentally retarded"; and off target in failing to recognize that childhood afflictions are causes as well as symptoms of poverty.

You will see that this is not simply a discussion of differences in the development set, although it is partly that, but a political argument. Not that they're ideologically hard-hearted, but the development agencies necessarily speak first for their bankers, the developed countries. Grant, a missionary's son, runs an international agency but speaks first for a "constituency" of at-risk children.

This is how he becomes impatient: with economists who oppose his preference for "specific targeted interventions" for children; with an international order that puts expensive weapons into the hands of poor governments and that expects those governments to pay their debts; and not least with journalists who do not meet his call for "a new kind of journalism-against-poverty."

"If today's obvious and affordable steps are not taken to protect the lives and the health and the normal growth of many millions of young children," says Grant, "then this will have less to do with the lack of economic capacity than with the fact that the children concerned are almost exclusively the sons and daughters of the poor — of those who lack not only purchasing power but also political influence and media attention."

Abrasive, overstated, and, at its core, true.



Bush flirts with danger

STAR 31/12/92



MOGADISHU — George Bush sets foot in one of the most dangerous places for a US presidential visit today to honour American troops battling bugs, bullets and broiling heat to get food to Somalia's starving.

"I wouldn't invite my family down here," said US military spokesman Marine Colonel Fred Peck.

"It's a dangerous proposition when you travel around Mogadishu ... but we're going to be taking adequate and thorough precautions to ensure his safety."

The New Year visit will be Bush's swan song as commander-in-chief of the US military before he hands over to president-elect Bill Clinton on January 20.

He is due to arrive at Mogadishu airport from Jeddah

in Saudi Arabia.

Speaking before leaving Washington, Bush said he hoped his visit would demonstrate "the concern that all Americans feel for Somalia".

"These are humanitarian concerns. And in my view it is proper that the president show this concern to the people over there," he said.

The two-day visit to the Somali capital, the inland famine town of Baidoa and a Soviet-built airfield at Bali Dogle will limit Bush's contact with life outside task force bases to a massively protected minimum.

Bush will spend his two nights in Somalia offshore on the amphibious assault ship Tripoli and travel everywhere by helicopter except when he switches to an armoured car to visit orphans

of famine and war in Baidoa.

But the US military is taking no chances with Bush's safety in a city where, until the arrival of US-led forces, one of few constraints on looting gunmen was the fact that bullets cost a dollar each.

Sandbagged machinegun posts and barbed wire went up yesterday outside the gates of Mogadishu airport, where US troops watched from the roof of the terminal building and on top of shipping containers that lined the approach road.

US troops shot dead a gunman who fired on them near the airport gates on Monday.

Bush ordered US troops to Somalia this month to stop gun-toting bandits and unruly militias from pillaging food for one million victims

of a famine brought on by two years of clan warfare, gun rule and anarchy.

Though lootings and muggings remain part of daily life in Mogadishu, heavy weapons and the "technical" gunwagons that came to symbolise Somalia's killing have virtually disappeared since the first Marines arrived on December 9.

Troops from the United States and 18 other countries in the Somalia task force are now cracking down on the freelance gunmen left on the streets after Mogadishu's top two warlords ordered their men out of town.

"If people aren't carrying weapons openly and if every time they do we seize them, this (Mogadishu) will be like Dodge City after Wyatt Earp," Peck said.

Bush, whose presidency began with the collapse of communism in Europe and his dream of a "new world order", will see some of the weapons troops have seized in Baidoa — a legacy of the old Soviet-US rivalry on the Horn of Africa.

The final foreign curtain on Bush's term continues to fall when he flies from Mogadishu to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the country from where US and allied troops thrust into Kuwait to expel Iraqi forces in the Gulf War.

From there, Bush continues to the Russian Black Sea resort of Sochi. He and Russian President Boris Yeltsin will sign a second strategic arms reduction treaty that will scrap some of the world's most destructive nuclear weapons. — Sapa-Reuter.



Finishing touches ... Mogadishu residents work on a George Bush poster in preparation for his arrival in Somalia today.

Picture: AP