

Somali garlands for moved Bush

MOGADISHU — President George Bush made a New Year's Day visit yesterday to a Somali orphanage and addressed troops at Mogadishu airport.

"One of the great joys of being president has been working with the US military. This one is a new one. It's a humanitarian mission and I think you've done a superb job," Bush told 1500 cheering US and other foreign troops.

Bush's brief address was a swan-song as commander-in-chief of the US military before President-elect Bill Clinton takes over on January 20.

Waving Somalis in rags lined the decrepit streets from Baidoa airfield chanting "President Bush, President Bush" as he passed in a light armoured vehicle on his way to an orphanage for 725 victims of Somalia's war.

Children gave Bush a garland of purple bougainvilleas and welcomed him with songs. The death rate at the orphanage has fallen over the past few weeks to about one child a week from more than 10 a day in September.

But Bush witnessed the scourge of a famine that has killed 300,000 Somalis when he visited an intensive-care room off the

main yard where about a dozen children, some with shrivelled legs and listless eyes, sat on the floor being helped to eat.

"It's very emotional, I don't know how to respond," said Bush, a devoted grandfather.

Bush has committed up to 25 000 servicemen and women to the operation in Somalia to protect humanitarian relief.

Aid workers in Baidoa, 250 km west of Mogadishu, said the presence of US troops had driven gunmen from a town previously ruled by fear.

"I was sceptical about what the troops could do, but it has worked. I am going to tell him 'thank you'," said Canadian James Orbinksi, a doctor with the medical charity Medecins sans Frontieres, just before meeting Bush.

Bush told troops at Mogadishu airport he did not know how long their mission would last "but I do know it is not an open-ended commitment".

"The definition of our mission is clear under the United Nations guidelines, the United Nations resolutions," Bush said.

Today, Bush flies to Moscow to sign a treaty with Russian President Boris Yeltsin that will slash long-range nuclear arsenals. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Protestors in Somalia invade UN compound

MOGADISHU —About 1 000 stone-throwing demonstrators climbed over the wall of the compound of the UN forces building in Mogadishu yesterday.

The protest was staged after secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrived in Somalia. The demonstrators tore down the blue-and-white UN flag.

The secretary-general who first visited a relief centre northwest of Mogadishu, was due to hold a news-conference in the UN forces' building.

The demonstrators, supporters of Gen Mohamed Farah Aidid, one of the principal warlords, first blocked the entrance to the building, then replaced the UN flag with a Somali flag.

The protesters accuse the UN and the secretary-

general of supporting Aidid's main rival, Mohammed Ali Mahdi.

Boutros-Ghali arrived in the Somali capital Mogadishu yesterday to visit a famine relief centre and later, to meet representatives of the UN Operation in Somalia (Unosom).

He was due to spend three hours in Somalia before flying to the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa to chair peace talks today and tomorrow between feuding clan factions that have wrecked Somalia.

Aidid's organisation, one of Somalia's main political factions, announced yesterday that it would attend the peace talks.

But it did not say if Aidid would attend.

Mahdi has agreed to attend the conference. — Sapa-AFP-AP.

4/1/93
BIP/PAW

Somali warlords give nod for talks

STAR 5/11/93

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ADDIS ABABA — Feuding Somali warlords and factions said late yesterday they had agreed to organise substantive talks on a future government for their war- and famine-ravaged country.

But few expect anything resembling a ceasefire when delegates from the 14 groups return home from peace talks in Ethiopia.

Spokesmen for various clans said there was agreement in principal on the formation of a standing committee in the Somali capital Mogadishu.

The United Nations wants faction leaders to agree on a date, place and agenda for a national reconciliation conference that will lead to the formation of the first government since rebels ousted dictator Mohamed Siad

Barre in January 1991.

Several delegates said they were close to determining a date for the first substantive meeting on forming an interim government and a police force to help restore order.

They met privately yesterday following an official opening ceremony with speeches from African leaders and heads of regional organisations. They are due to present their conclusions today.

As the Somalia conference opened, Ethiopian troops fired on students protesting against what they view as UN involvement in the break-up of Ethiopia. Some witnesses said up to seven people were killed but only one body was seen in city hospitals. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Four groups boycott Somalian peace talks

6/10 AM 5/11/93
ADDIS ABABA — Informal peace talks between 14 Somali groups opened in the Ethiopian capital under UN auspices yesterday and immediately ran into procedural problems.

An alliance of four groups boycotted the opening session in protest against UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's failure to invite three other allied groups. The alliance, dominated by the Darod group of clans from southern Somalia, later said it would take part, and UN officials said one of the three extra groups could attend.

To avoid such quarrels Boutros-Ghali had called the talks informal and set no agenda. "Fragmentation and fighting in Somalia have made dialogue nearly impossible. It is crucial that this occasion be used to exchange ideas and promote mutual understanding," he said, urging the groups to take part in a peace process without preconditions.

Some factions asked the UN to extend the talks but Boutros-Ghali said it could not afford to.

The UN wanted faction leaders to agree on a date, place and an agenda for a national reconciliation conference that would lead to the formation of the first Somali government since rebels ousted President Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

A statement prepared for the talks on behalf of nine factions said the reconciliation conference should be held as early as February. Several of the groups also wanted the UN to set up an interim trusteeship until the Somali economy recovered.

The OAU, the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and Western observers were attending the talks.

□ The US would relinquish command of Operation Restore Hope to the UN by January 20, when President-elect Bill Clinton would be inaugurated, a French military source in Mogadishu disclosed yesterday. Neither the US nor France would take part in the new operation. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Colin Legum reports that there are serious implications for the region in Sudan's ethnic and religious conflicts

Another African powder keg waiting to be ignited

SPAL 6/11/9 5

HEWING closely to the anti-Western line of its only two allies, Iran and Iraq, the Sudanese military regime has denounced the American-initiated UN military intervention in Somalia as "a sinister plot" against, among others, itself.

This paranoia stems from a visit to Khartoum by the US Assistant Secretary for Africa, Hank Cohen, when he warned General al-Bashir's regime against encouraging Muslim fundamentalists in the Horn to oppose the UN humanitarian operation.

The Khartoum regime's militions of opponents — both Christian and Muslim, as well as Arab and non-Arab — will be disappointed to learn that neither the US nor any other Western power is even remotely thinking of acting against the regime, despite all the horrors being witnessed in Sudan because of the unending civil war, the dictatorial enforcement of Islamic fundamentalist practices and laws, and a wrecked economy which has put many basic foods way beyond the reach of all but the rich.

These economic hardships, even more than the cruelties of the war and political discontent, are likely



General al-Bashir . . . warned not to interfere by the US.

to bring down the military regime.

A new initiative by Nigeria's president, General Babangida — acting on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity — to bring the warring parties together, has had to be postponed because of the reluctance of those invited to attend.

Meanwhile, Sadiq el-Mahdi, the former Sudanese Prime Minister

and titular head of the Ansaris — the largest of the Muslim communities in the country — has sent an emissary to London with detailed proposals for ending the civil war and preparing the country for a return to democratic government.

El-Mahdi himself is still under house arrest in Omdurman, a fate he shares with leaders of the two strongest Muslim-centred parties, the UMMMA and the Democratic Unionists. His seven-point programme for "a just peace", which has also been delivered to the Sudanese regime, says:

- The people of Sudan will establish the Bill of Rights which will detail and protect the rights due to all the citizens.

- The Sudanese state is a democratic, decentralised state. The degree of decentralisation between regional government, federation and confederation is to be decided by popular plebiscite.

- Legislation in the Sudan is a democratic process. The various national groups are entitled to advocate the legislative programme of their choice, provided they respect the provisions of the Bill of Citizen Rights and respect the

limits established by the chosen degree of decentralisation.

- The system of government adopted for the whole of the Sudan is to uphold human rights, basic freedoms and espouse genuine democracy.

- The Sudanese economy is to be radically reviewed to achieve the following:

- (a) To make the economy viable to achieve sustainable development.

- (b) Realise regional and sectional social justice.

- (c) Rehabilitate and reconstruct the war-torn areas.

- (Sudan must) review and revise the institutions of administration, defence and security in the country in order to realise the just participation of all national groups.

- Sudan's foreign policy is committed to regional and international charters. It upholds Arab, African and Islamic solidarity and dispenses its various commitments in a balanced way.

This programme is to be discussed by a national constitutional conference, which is to be an all-Sudanese forum whose components would be the political forces represented in the constituent As-



General Babangida . . . unable to get parties to talks.

sembly of 1986-89; the present regime in Sudan; the SPLM/SPLA; the National Democratic Alliance.

In a letter to the UN Secretary-General, four of the most prominent church leaders in Africa denounced the "callous and cynical oppression of Christian citizens and religious leaders in Sudan".

The signatories are Archbishop Kirina, chairman of the Association of Member Episcopal Confer-

ences in Eastern Africa (AMECEA); Cardinal Ounga, the Archbishop of Nairobi; Archbishop Spata of Kasama, Zambia; and the Archbishop of Addis Ababa, Paulos Cardinal Tzadua.

Their letter points out that "very little information is available to the outside world, and the cover-up in that ruthless dictatorship is very effective. The only weapon which finally changed the situation in Eastern Europe was the truth and constant international concern and pressure. This letter requests you (the UN Secretary-General) to go behind the details of the Sudanese government and find out what is happening."

The conflicts and economic and social breakdown in Sudan and Somalia have wider regional implications, by Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi at the recent conference on humanitarian assistance to Somalia: "Whatever happens in Somalia is bound, in one way or another, to affect the countries in the Horn of Africa."

The danger is even greater with Sudan because of the nature of its ethnic and religious conflicts, and its alliance with Iran and Iraq! □

Tension over a disputed region is straining relations between Egypt and Sudan, reports The Star Afr

Oil and Islamic fundamentalism spell border tr

Star 11/19/73

SCRATCH the surface of an African territorial dispute and there is a good chance that you will find oil.

So it is in a dispute that has endangered relations between Egypt and the Sudan. But there is more behind the dangerous deterioration in relations between the two countries than competition for oil wealth. There is also a question of Islamic fundamentalism.

The row between Cairo and Khartoum is partly over a barren patch of land only 320 sq km in area and inhabited mainly by nomads. The area, known as the Halayib triangle, is thought to have rich oil reserves. Earlier this year, Sudanese authorities allowed a Canadian oil company to begin research along the area's

Red Sea coastline, but Egypt reacted so strongly that the operation was suspended.

There are suspicions that, besides the oil issue, Egypt is using the dispute as an excuse to bully Sudan's Islamic fundamentalist regime. Cairo has a problem with its own Muslim fundamentalists and does not want them to get any encouragement from across the borders.

Egypt's claim to the Halayib triangle is based on an accord signed in 1899 between Egypt and Britain. During that time, Britain had colonised both Sudan and Egypt and was responsible for drawing the countries' borders. For their part, the Sudanese base their claim on an accord signed with Britain in 1902 which Egypt

did not ratify.

The government in Cairo had tolerated Sudanese administration of the area while still claiming total sovereignty.

In an attempt to solve the dispute, the countries set up a joint committee which first met in April but has not yet produced a consensus.

Egypt has now occupied the Halayib triangle and deployed border guards. To assert its sovereignty it has begun beaming national television programmes to the area and registering mosques there.

Relations between Cairo and Khartoum began deteriorating when Islamic fundamentalists seized power in Sudan in 1989, and worsened as Sudan stepped up

relations with fundamentalist

Iran.

Egypt has been trying for three years to drive a wedge between Sudan's military government and the Islamists, but to no avail.

Sudan has made no secret that, like Iran, it wishes to export the fundamentalist revolution. Having a fundamentalist government on its border is worrisome to the Cairo government, which this year has been waging a guerilla war against fundamentalists in Upper Egypt (southern Egypt).

Cairo has also concerned itself with the civil war in southern Sudan which has been running for three years between government forces and the rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA). The SPLA is pushing for an inde-

pendent state in the south, which would have natural consequences for Egypt since that state would have control over Egypt's life source, the river Nile.

Both government and opposition newspapers say tension between Egypt and Sudan has been heightened by reports that Sudan is training "Egyptian terrorists". Egypt is said to be keeping a close watch on its southern border for fear that the terrorists will infiltrate with weapons.

The government newspaper, Al Ahram, reports that Sudan, with Iranian funding, is training Egyptian fundamentalists in sabotage activities.

Egypt is not the only Arab country to express such fears. Tunisia, Algeria, Kuwait and Saudi

Arabia all say Sudanese-trained Islamic extremists have slipped into their countries. According to reports in Egypt's opposition press, government officials from Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria have had dealings with Sudanese SPLA rebels in order to overthrow of the fundamentalist government in Khartoum. Sudan has also accused Egypt of holding a forum for the Sudanese SPLA rebels. The tension between Egypt and the Sudan has not yet reached the point where a military attack on Sudan is probable. But the possibility of such an attack serves as a continuing threat to Sudan not to antagonise its northern neighbour beyond tolerance. □

The unbearable schlep of living dangerously

W/Word 8/1-14/193

Journalists in Somalia are living up to their stock image as insanely intrepid crusaders for the story. But it's not half as glamorous as it looks in the movies.

By NEIL MCMAHON

WHILE the eyes of the world have been focused on the military effort aimed at saving Somalia's starving people, there has been another relief operation going on in the Horn of Africa country — the one aimed at restoring hope to the media army that invaded along with the foreign troops.

It has been a massive logistical exercise aimed at making life bearable for the hundreds of media workers sent to the country in their hundreds to cover the military relief effort.

Media proprietors have spent a small fortune bringing in equipment and supplies to sustain them through what could be a long ordeal.

One of the more bizarre aspects of the exercise has been the arrival of dozens of satellite dishes, which have sprouted from rooftops of buildings wherever the media has gathered.

The dishes enable TV crews to dispatch footage and allow for the use of satellite telephones, which in some cases are being rented out to poorer journalists for sums starting at 100 US dollars (R300) a minute.

Japanese media workers have imported every electronic gizmo imaginable, but are being fairer in their business dealings with less well-off colleagues. "I don't want to make a profit," said one Tokyo journalist as he provided access to his "sat-phone", as they have been dubbed, at a far cheaper rate than his American counterparts.

The arrival of such electronic wizardry in Mogadishu, along with the presence of sophisticated military hardware, create a strange paradox in a city with no electricity, dirty water, roofless houses and massive poverty and famine.

Also odd, given that the journalists are here to cover a military operation aimed at safeguarding the delivery of relief supplies to the starving, has been the unimpeded delivery of sustenance to the media hordes. Case upon case of bottled water has been ferried in on charter flights, along with fruit juice, tea, coffee and food.

Both CNN and ABC have paid small fortunes for houses in which to accommodate the dozens of staffers brought in to cover the story. Rumour has it that European broadcasters paid about 70 000 US dollars (R210 000) for a house — which would explain why they then charged 100 US dollars (R300) a night, seven nights minimum, paid up front for a mattress on the floor.

But while little has been spared in making it as comfortable an experience as possible for them, the Somalian media pack are working under



Catching zzzzs ... US mattresses take a quick nap in the open while journalists pay through their noses for a mattress in a packed hotel room — either way Somalia is a nightmare

Photo: THE GUARDIAN

some of the most bizarre conditions imaginable. "I've never done anything *this* weird," said one veteran correspondent.

Weird means not being able to step outside without being pounced on by scores of Somalis, some trying to sell cigarettes but most offering their services as drivers — a must in a town where walking involves dodging old men with donkeys and teenagers with high-powered guns. Prior to the Marine invasion, you also needed

of choice — most often a Russian-made AK-47 — with wild abandon.

Nor should you be nearby if your technical gets angry — a Danish TV crew hired a driver, who slept outside their rented house each night. One morning, he awoke to find his spare tyre had been stolen — and promptly fired off a few rounds, narrowly missing a journalist and puncturing the tyres and radiator of another car. His outburst was perhaps uncalculated for considering he can no doubt afford another tyre — these drivers and guards are being paid a small fortune for their services, the rate having gone through the roof after the American networks jelted in and paid whatever was asked of them.

Most media personnel are staying in one of Mogadishu's few undamaged buildings, the never-used Sahafi Hotel, as it is properly known, although Hotel Journalist has become the popular shorthand on the streets. "Comfort, safety, luxury, for business or discreet weekends. London. Tokyo. Mogadishu," boasts the establishment's letterhead.

Media organisations opened negotiations with the building's owner soon after the possibility of United Nations intervention was announced.

"You won't have an empty room," they told him. Sure enough, he hasn't, nor an empty piece of floor or roof. The building is overflowing and many reporters, like this one, are writing their stories sitting on mattresses on the floor.

Others have opted for the cooler roof area, from where they have a bird's-eye view of a Marine roadblock where shooting incidents have occurred. There, jostling for space with satellite dishes and malaria-laden mosquitoes, they punch words of wisdom into laptop PCs.

Laundry service is available, though what goes out in a neat plastic bag comes back in a giant heap through which you must scrummage, and good luck if it is all there.

For 85 US dollars (R255) a night for a small room, or 50 US dollars (R150) for a piece of floor, you also get three meals a day and an intermittent water supply for showering — a necessity when you work, and sweat, 20 hours a day.

In short, the media is surviving, if only just. The major problem is finding stories. After the feast of material at the time of the invasion, the relatively incident-free aftermath of the marine landing has left many reporters facing the kind of famine they hate most.

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Rescue team for Africa

STAR 8/11/93

Pretoria Correspondent (1)

One of the largest international medical rescue services has relocated its operations centre to Grand Central Airport, midway between Pretoria and Johannesburg, and claims to have the edge in rescuing travellers north of the border.

With African countries attracting a large number of South African travellers, the incidence of people becoming ill or being injured and requiring repatriation is on the increase, said Munro Deysel, managing director of Europ Assistance SA.

Last year the company han-

dled 1 000 air evacuations of travellers from African countries, transporting them back to South Africa where the medical care is more sophisticated and reliable.

Deysel said they expected the number of evacuations to rise substantially this year.

The company has its own R4,5 million Bell Long Range Helicopter and a road ambulance based at the airport.

Ready to be loaded at any time is R2,5 million worth of miniaturised aviation medical equipment, kept in a hangar at the airport. This includes an incubator, ventilators, basic life monitors and pulse oximeters.

President Albert Rene is rethinking his rejected constitution, reports Tim Ecott from Victoria

Seychelles is on a long, slow road to democracy

Star 8/1/93

A political controversy rages in the Seychelles, President Albert Rene has announced that the country's Constitutional Commission will reconvene on Monday.

This follows the rejection by recent referendum of a constitution drafted by the commission — whose members came largely from Rene's Seychelles People Progressive Front (SPPF).

The proposed constitution would have led to presidential elections on December 18, but the failure of the document to achieve a 60 percent "yes" vote means these will be delayed indefinitely. The result is that Rene's 15 year presidency, labelled a "dictatorship" by his opponents, will also be prolonged indefinitely.

In the interim, questions are being asked about the political stamina of Rene's long-time rival, former president Sir James Mancham, and about the unity of his Democratic Party (DP) and that of the other six opposition parties.

The Seychelles opposition campaigned vociferously against Rene for most of last year, reveling in their new-found legality since Rene abandoned the strictures on press and political freedom that he introduced during the years of the socialist revolution.

Despite the small size of the population, political debate is fierce. Many Seychellois harbour bitter grudges against a president who seized land and property to redistribute to the masses when he embarked on his reign.

After the referendum results were announced, many supporters of the DP waved the old Seychelles Independence flag, and some carried Union Jacks — evidence of support for Mancham's pro-British anti-independence stance when he was in office.

The problem for the smaller opposition parties, notably the Parti Seselewa led by Rev Wavel Ramkalawan, is that the electorate refuse to sway from their emo-



Albert Rene, his rule prolonged.

tional support of Mancham or their "unthinking allegiance" to Rene. The democratisation process drags on slowly in Seychelles. The failure of the SPPF to get its constitution approved came as a shock to Rene, whose advisers-

had predicted the Bill would win at least 62 percent of the electorate's support. In the election in July, the SPPF romped home with 58 percent of the nation's votes while the nearest rivals, the DP, got only 34 percent.

Like many long-term heads of state, Rene got it wrong in the referendum. But with the political skill which even his most bitter detractors envy, he has already begun to repair the damage.

The SPPF erred in attempting to draw up a constitution with little independent technical assistance. The final document was cumbersome and vague, allowing the opposition to convince ultimate legislative power for himself.

Even the Catholic Church, in the form of prominent local clergy, came out against the document, claiming that it would allow legalised abortion to be introduced. As more than 85 percent of Seychellois are Roman Catholic,

the church has a significant impact.

Mindful of the loss of face the "no" vote had caused, the next day Rene announced a 20 percent increase in old age pensions. To silence those who claimed the SPPF had railroaded the new constitution through as fast as possible, ignoring the input of the DP delegates to the commission, Rene announced that next year's sessions would be televised.

Under the old one-party system, Rene was limited to three five-year terms in office. His time is up in 1994. Paradoxically, the new multiparty system works in his favour, allowing him to stand again and return to office legitimately for another five years.

Although the seven opposition parties co-operated to urge their supporters to vote "no", Rene hopes their unity will fizzle out. Mancham's DP is undoubtedly the party with the most support, but the smaller parties gained an im-

plicit promise from the DP that in return for a united campaign policy they might be rewarded with a seat or two on the DP bench when the Constitutional Commission reconvenes. While Mancham may be willing to indulge them, there are signs that his own party is nervous at giving away even a small part of its claim to sole credible opposition status.

Even Mancham admits that he does not object in principle to Rene winning a presidential election, as long as his powers are curtailed by an adequate constitution. For a man whose home and family wealth were destroyed by Rene, Mancham remains surprisingly statesmanlike and intellectually. "Some people can aspire to nobility", he says.

With such restraint from the opposition and with the prospect of another constitutional referendum in 1993, before Rene has to face the ballot box, political argument looks set to last. — Star Africa Service. □

Awakening giant threatens Africa, reports Ramsay Milne from New York

No clinking glasses over Somalia

THERE was an air of satisfaction at the United Nations as the last units of US Marines began to leave Somalia this week, their job of rescuing virtually an entire nation from starvation and restoring the country to some semblance of order accomplished.

These were part of the original force of 25 000 American troops who landed on Somali beaches on December 9 last year. Now they are down to a handful, with their places to be taken by an unspecified number of United Nations forces which, under a UN mandate, will implement the next, more difficult phase: helping to set up orderly government and an agricultural economy to allow Somalis to feed themselves. The Somalia they will leave be-

hind is an encouragingly different country to the Somalia of 1992, where an estimated 350 000 people died through fighting and famine.

But the real question is what Somalia will hold for its people in 1994 — or the year 2000? International peacekeeping forces cannot be rushed to all war-torn and starving countries to preserve fragile ceasefires.

Nor is Somalia the only African country needing international aid — Sudan, Angola, Mozambique and Liberia are other impoverished countries on a massively underdeveloped continent. But Somalia's current plight — a painful crawling back from national starvation to what is at best a pathetic level of elementary sustenance — highlights a much larger problem for all of Africa.

It is not that further foreign aid cannot be expected. The question is whether international aid can achieve its goals — and whether it can be paid for.

Official UN figures disclose a disturbing picture. In 1990, \$880 billion (about R2 700 billion) was spent worldwide on weapons and preparations for war, 15 times the total of all non-private development assistance to needy countries.

Military purchases by the poorest nations quintupled in the past three decades, so that they are now almost three times the amount of humanitarian aid they received.

Less than 10 percent of this multilateral aid went to provide such basic needs as education, health, clean water, shelter, sanitation and nutrition.

Worse still, all foreign debt in the Third World has skyrocketed. Even if Somalia, along with Mozambique and Sudan, exhausted their mines and forests, their total annual exports would fail miserably even to meet their interest payments on foreign "aid" — and all this has been in the "good times".

Before they raise their glasses in the delegates' lounge at the UN's headquarters and toast the "success" of the Somali operation, world leaders might just ponder how Somalia and the rest of Africa can be expected to fare against this decade's awakening giant: a fiercely competitive, technological, advanced world economy in which only the strong and the best are likely to prevail. □

STMR 30/4/93

Minister warns on school invasions

6/10/93 30/4/93

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE threat to occupy white schools and universities could delay change in SA, Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais said yesterday.

Marais said the threats — aimed at forcing government to address the crisis in black schools and to establish a national education forum — were misdirected and irresponsible.

The southern Transvaal regions of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), the SA Students' Congress and the Congress of SA Students have said they will disrupt classes and bring education to a halt at white institutions from May 26.

The CP and white parents have warned that such action will be met with force. The ANC, in turn, has distanced itself from the plan, and has urged students instead to step up constructive campaigns to open schools to all.

Marais said the threats were inappropriate as government had repeatedly committed itself to "meaningful advisory structures" and had held preparatory talks to this end.

But National Education Conference (NEC) spokesman Ahmed Essop dismissed Marais's promises. The NEC conference had held meetings on the issue with government for almost nine months, he said, and had failed to extract an agreement.

Marais claimed he needed time to consult various players, such as homeland education ministers, before making such a commitment. But Essop argued that these consultations had taken place months ago.

At the centre of the controversy lies the role of such a structure.

Government refuses to move from the concept of an advisory forum made up of

experts, while the NEC demands a representative body of all stakeholders, including students.

Marais said government could not agree to anything which was tantamount to abdicating its responsibilities during its term of office. Although there were negotiating forums on housing and economics, he said education was a far more sensitive issue and had to be handled sensitively. But Essop said the NEC envisaged a forum which made decisions on the basis of consensus.

"The forum will work co-operatively with government to attain its objectives, and will not force any decisions on Parliament," he said.

Meanwhile, opposition to the threat of occupation grew yesterday.

Transvaal Education Department executive director Ken Paine said the necessary steps would be taken in conjunction with the police should any attempt be made to disrupt schools.

Free State executive director of Education Gert Heyns said all schools in the province had discussed plans to deal with any emergency situation arising from the NECC threat.

CP youth leader Andre Vorster said the party's youth council would act with other right-wing organisations to stop the proposed invasion.

Sapa reports the right-wing Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) warned yesterday occupying white schools would cause a civil war. BWB leader Andrew Ford said "boers" would protect their children "to the death".

● Comment: Page 8

Drugs 'useless' in malaria battle

KATHRYN STRACHAN

MEDICAL science is making little progress in its battle against the deadly malaria epidemic sweeping across Africa.

The greatest obstacle for researchers is the drug resistance emerging throughout the continent, says Medical Research Council malaria research programme leader Brian Sharp.

Although there are four strains of the virus, more than 90% of cases are cerebral malaria — falciparum plasmodium which does not recur.

Falciparum plasmodium has become resistant to chloroquin, the standard drug used for all four strains, says Sharp, and other drug combinations.

A new drug, mefloquine, is used in Europe but has not yet been approved by local health authorities.

It must be taken under medical supervision and is not prescribed for children or pregnant women, says Sharp.

The MRC believes the drug has been insufficiently studied, and cases of resis-

tance have also been reported.

Sharp says the drugs, not only often ineffectual, can mask infection and complicate the disease. If malaria is diagnosed early it can be cured easily, but it kills if left too late.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that about 30 patients in the Pretoria region are receiving treatment for malaria.

Namibian health authorities yesterday warned tourists and residents to take precautions against malaria, which had killed 27 people in the territory this year.

Health Ministry Internal Medicine Department head Prof Oockie Oosthuizen said laboratories were diagnosing up to 60 new cases every day. On Wednesday, 57 people were admitted to two Windhoek hospitals suffering from the disease, he said.

Sharp's advice to travellers is to see a doctor even if only flu-like symptoms and diarrhoea are experienced, as they could be symptoms of malaria.

African airlines losing ground to competition

1310PM 28/11/93
VICTORIA FALLS — African airlines experienced a marked reduction in traffic during the past five years as a result of free market trends in major domestic African markets, African Airlines Association (Afraa) secretary-general Mohammed Ahmed said yesterday. ①

He told delegates to the association's 25th annual assembly at Victoria Falls Afraa members carried only 6,7-million passengers in 1991 compared with 9-million in 1987. Freight amounted to 69 700 tons in 1991 compared to 102 500 tons in 1987, with an average annual decline in domestic operations for passenger and cargo of 5,7% and 7,2% respectively during the same period.

Afraa members registered a decrease of 3-million passengers in 1991, bringing the total number of passengers carried to below the level achieved in 1987.

Revenue passenger kilometres and available seat kilometres had dropped 7,3% and 8,7% respectively in 1991 compared with the 1990 performance.

Regional Airlines Association for Southern Africa president and Air Botswana CE Capt Brian Pocock warned that some African airlines would experience a contraction in services and jobs unless they entered into joint ventures.

The airline industry was headed for tough times and there was a need for African airlines to translate vocal commitments towards co-operation into action.

He said some local airlines would experience losses as they continued to operate under increasingly harsh economic environments compounded by rising input costs and increased international competition. — Sapa.

WORLD

'Africa requires \$950bn to cure its economic ills'

ADDIS ABABA ^{Bl/AM 28/4/93} A top African economist said yesterday the world's poorest continent, hit by civil wars, drought and debt, needed \$950bn in aid in the 90s to emerge from its cycle of economic ills.

UN Economic Commission for Africa executive secretary Layashi Yaker told a meeting of economic experts in Addis Ababa that Africa had to start by mobilising its abundant resources.

"They (African states) must increase their own efforts to mobilise domestic resources and boost the efficiency and productive capacity of their utilisations," Yaker told delegates.

"It also requires political commitment and sacrifices by the African countries if their dismal economic performances are to be improved," he added.

Infrastructure

Yaker said Africa needed up to \$950bn in external development funding from 1993 to 2005. With that money the UN had targeted its annual growth at 6%.

"The task of mobilising these resources is a shared responsibility between Africa's peoples and governments on one hand and its development partners on the other," he said.

Political conflicts and civil wars had inflicted "incalculable damage on the existing fragile infrastructure while economic activities virtually came to a stop in many of its conflict-ridden countries," Yaker added.

Western aid officials say living standards have fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden has grown in spite of \$105bn of net development assistance in the 80s.

Debt has doubled to \$280bn since 1982, although African countries have paid more than \$200bn in debt service between 1983 and 1991 — more than the whole debt burden in 1982.

Yaker called on African countries "to focus with renewed vigour" on strategies which would help launch sustainable development.

The four-day meeting of economic experts would prepare an agenda for a conference of African economic and finance ministers in Addis Ababa next week, commission officials said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Fighting rages on in Somalia

DRIVING up the road from Mogadishu to Afgoi the car slows at a crossing and a skinny man runs out, shouting something, a piece of wood in his hand. No, it's a rusty panga. He takes a vicious swing at my friend's arm, misses.

"What was he shouting?"
"He said, 'You drive white people'."

Somalia is all sewn up, according to the papers. The marines are in, the city is secure, the food aid is getting through.

But I go to bed to sniper fire and wake to the boom of rockets.

I'm supposed to be visiting a famine relief centre outside town but it's ruled

From STimes 10/11/93
Martyn Harris in Mogadishu ①

too risky. "Technicals", the crazy militia jeeps mounted with heavy machineguns and manned by teenage crews, have been banned from the city by the Americans, but still no European travels anywhere without his hired gunman — usually a boy of 13 with a rusty carbine, whose loyalty fluctuates with his wages.

My guard is 14-year-old Ali. We find an American armoured column drawn up along the road, taking sniper fire from a walled

enclosure to the north. According to Marine Colonel Fred Peck, this is one of the "registered cantonments" — military stations — assigned to Somalia's chief warlord, General Aidid, to keep his technicals out of the city.

Last night a US patrol was fired on, and Aidid's men were ordered to surrender their weapons by dawn today or have them confiscated by the marines — which they are doing.

It is the biggest fire-fight the Americans have had since they landed a month ago, but by mid-morning it is all over. One marine has been wounded — by another — and maybe a

couple of dozen Somalis. There are no bodies.

The Aidid men have melted away. Outside in the road a crowd of women and kids has gathered, jeering at the marines, and throwing tiny stones.

"Why are they mad?" I asked a Somali interpreter.

"The Americans have killed their brothers and fathers."

It's hard to believe. After years of terrorism, the population is starving and the rest is living in bin bags. Yet they're throwing stones at their saviours and holding aid workers hostage. — © *The Telegraph, London.*

BUSINESS DAY SURVEY

Rebels ⑤

Candy and flowers, but not the ring

W/mael 29/11 - 4/2/93.

(11A) (159) (154)

Israel's new ambassador to South Africa has been spending more time at Shell House than in the Union Buildings, negotiating a rocky path between a jumpy South African Jewry and a sceptical ANC. MARK GEVISSER quizzed him about what seems a major policy shift

Alon Liel, Israel's new ambassador to South Africa, is only the second Israeli Oliver Tambo has met. The first was a garage owner to whom the former African National Congress president took his car the early 1960s before he went into exile. "And that," comments Liel, "gives you some of just how bad relations have been between and the ANC."

Liel is a career diplomat who ran Israel's Africa Desk in 1987, when the country joined international sanctions against South Africa. He was given his posting to Pretoria almost immediately after the Labour Party came to power in Israel last June. His instructions were to befriend the ANC.

"My presence here," he says, "is a reflection of the new mood in Israel. The previous ambassador was a political appointee of the (right-wing) Likud government and, for the past three years, there has been no attempt at creating meaningful relations with the ANC."

Liel's predecessor, Zvi Gov-Ari, was decorated by the South African government, but criticised by liberal Jews and the liberation movement alike. "Anything that changes the Israeli mood of the past few years is a breath of fresh air," says Adi Assabi, the rabbi who began formal contact between the South African Jewish community and the ANC by inviting Nelson Mandela to address a Friday night congregation at the synagogue in 1991.

One haunting Liel's work is that image of Yasser Arafat in fraternal embrace. The relationship between him and the realisation of his mission is not only the historical friendship between South African and Palestinian liberation movements, but also Israel's history of support for military and otherwise — for the apartheid regime, and the love-affair that continues between the Israeli government and Chief Minister Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

"I won't lie," says Liel. "It hasn't been easy. For many years, the ANC has been exposed to Israel propaganda because of its friendship with the Islamic and communist worlds. We must be naive to think that just because the government sends a nice guy with a nice face, things are going to change."

In the past couple of months, bemused officials at Shell House have witnessed a steady stream of visits: Liel has presented his credentials to Mandela, officially inviting him to Israel, Cyril Ramaphosa, to Tambo and to Walter



Dr Alon Liel ... 'I am helping the ANC see that Zionists are not monsters'

Photo: MARK GEVISSER

Sisulu.

"He's so un-Israeli," comments one official, who has met a few more than Tambo. "He's so eager to please."

Liel's task has not been made easier by the recent deportation of 400 Palestinians from Israel. Neither has it been helped by the statement, issued in Tel Aviv this week, by the ANC Youth League, which is currently on a tour of Israel encouraged by Liel himself. The league declared that official relations between the ANC and the state of Israel "remain a remote possibility" because of the latter's continued oppression of the Palestinians.

"The statement was quite a blow," says Liel. "It is one-sided and it plays right into the hands

of those who say that relations with the ANC are impossible; people in Israel and South Africa who say that the ANC hates Israel and that it is anti-semitic."

Despite the harshness of its tone, there is nothing anti-semitic about the league's statement — nor does it challenge Israel's right to exist. But the strong and swift reaction it has drawn from South African organisations like the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board of Deputies demonstrates, once more, the anxiety of the South Africa's Jewish community.

On paper, South African Jewish organisations have given Liel their unequivocal support: "We are behind him all the way," says Seymour Kopelowitz, national director of the Jewish

Board of Deputies. "By trying to establish open and friendly channels with the ANC, he is doing what we have been doing for ages."

But Liel notes that "at least one third of each working day is taken up explaining to the Jewish community why I'm doing this". Certainly, he says, "I'm not nearly as unpopular now as I was when I implemented sanctions against South Africa in 1987, and most South African Jews do support my initiative. But what resistance I have met has come from within the Jewish community." This has run to the occasional anonymous hate-mail printed in the local Jewish press.

A leader of the South African Jewish establishment, known for his conservatism, nevertheless supports Liel's initiatives: "No matter what my personal views of the ANC are," he says, "my priority is to make sure that relations between South Africa and Israel remain friendly in the new South Africa. The last thing we want here is what happened to the Jewish community in Zimbabwe after independence there, where Mugabe broke ties with Israel."

A well-placed official in the ANC's Department of International Affairs notes that, despite the Youth League rhetoric, there is little chance of this happening in a new South Africa. "The ANC has stated categorically that it recognises Israel's right to exist. But it also recognises the Palestinian right to self-determination." And, he adds, "the fact that we are talking to the Israelis does not mean we approve of their policies."

Liel is trying to demonstrate to the ANC that there is more in Israeli policy to approve of now than before: "I am helping the ANC see that Zionists are not monsters. Our present government has the reputation of being the most peace-seeking Israel has ever had. It has announced that it is ready to trade land for peace in the Golan Heights, and it has announced general elections in the occupied territories."

Liel's posting is undoubtedly a function of a change in Israeli foreign policy — both in the Middle East and in southern Africa. But whether this personable man who clearly enjoys adversity (he was the head of Israel's mission in Turkey at the time of the Lebanon invasion) can single-handedly reverse Israel's notoriety among the majority of South Africans depends on how quickly Israel resolves its own regional problems.

And this is something that Liel himself recognises. "My progress with the ANC depends, ultimately, on one thing: the successful resolution of the peace process in the Middle East."



Why Somalia bites hand that feeds it

Muslims resent US 'invasion'

By **RICHARD DOWDEN**

THE gunmen are usually friendly. When you knock at the great steel doors which protect every home in Mogadishu, a man with a gun peers through a hole and, if you are a foreigner, lets you in.

They greet you, and some smile. But at a mother-and-child clinic this week, the gunmen shouted: "Go away, Americans. We don't want you here."

Excessive

Since most Somalis in Mogadishu say they welcome the Americans and, since these gunmen were guarding a mother-and-baby clinic, this seemed excessive, but this clinic is run by Al Dawa al Islami, the Islamic aid agency.

Al Dawa has its headquarters in Sudan and is known to have close links with Al Itihad, the last-growing Islamic fundamentalist movement in Somalia. They are known to oppose the American "invasion", as they call it, and their leaders were in many cases unwilling to talk to journalists.

Abdirahmān Bakheili Ahmed is a softly spoken doctor from Sudan who runs four feeding centres in Mogadishu and two

ON THE face of it, the situation is absurd. Just months ago, Somalia was rapidly slipping back to beyond the Middle Ages, with armed gangs roaming the country, pillaging, raping and looting. Unknown

thousands were starving to death while the same gangs stole foreign aid shipments of food and exported huge amounts from aid organisations just for the fight to try to save their fellow countrymen. The

combined US and UN presence in the country would seem to the outsider to have given the country a chance for salvation if might never have had — yet in the capital of Mogadishu mobs

have protested against the UN secretary-general, reviled and spat at aid workers — and US soldiers have been shot at. Two reports from journalists in the country give an indication of the complexity of the situation.



FOOD AT LAST: A French soldier from the 2nd Foreign Legion Airborne Regiment distributes rations to young Somalis. US troops from the Expedition Unit and the Legionnaires drove into the famine-stricken bush town meeting no resistance from gunmen.

The port's stand empty, but down the coast from Mogadishu at Dambe the MV Adventure, a Kenyan freighter, is moored about 1.5 km offshore. In a scene reminiscent of

after box and sack after sack from the little boat to porters on the shore. A group of porters kneeling on the sand, saying their midday prayer. This is the emergency food supply of the international Red Cross which is trying to feed about a million people in and around the capital. Further up the shore, Sean Brennan, an Irish Red Cross worker, sits under a thorn tree supervising the operation. He said the 3000 tons on the Adventure should take about 10 days to unload. "You can't hurry things here," he observed.

The Red Cross is determined to maintain its own primitive supply lines — not only to ensure they keep flowing, but also to maintain a political distance from the American operation. — The Independent

Failings of UN peace bid exposed

By **JULIAN OZANNE**

ADDIS ABABA — The round of Somali peace talks which ended earlier this week has exposed the shortcomings of United Nations peacemaking efforts and undervalued difficulties facing the world body in arranging an accord in the deeply fragmented country.

In another critical test of UN capability in dealing with the Cold War legacy and ushering in a new world order, the UN has emerged bruised and is now faced with having to reconsider its long-term political role in Somalia.

The UN and Boutros Boutros-Ghali, its secretary-general, have also been hard pressed to fight attempts by Somali warlords to exploit real and imagined divisions between the world body and the US.

In a statement distributed to the conference, General Mohamed Farah Aided, Somalia's most important warlord, said on behalf of his Somali National Alliance (SNA) that UN bureaucrats, from the secretary-general downwards, had failed time and again to demonstrate an understanding of the intricate problems.

Last Sunday he organised an angry and unpleasant demonstration against Boutros-Ghali during his humiliating visit to Mogadishu.

Harvest of neglect

Senior UN officials said that since then the UN had received further violent threats against its personnel who are based in the southern part of the city controlled by Aided.

Chiefs say the UN is reaping the harvest of its neglect of Somalia during 1991 when the country first slid into anarchy and state war, and its subsequent inactivity. Many UN officials privately share the criticisms of the shortcomings of the UN. They point to their own rapid successes made in the past month since UN troops first landed in Somalia, including restoring relative order, ferrying serious peace talks.

Serious divisions have emerged between the US and the UN and few observers expect the ambiguity of the UN-US relationship to be clarified before Bill Clinton takes office later this month.

But in the meantime, the UN has suffered a further loss of credibility at the peace conference which might hamper its future efforts. — Financial Times

COMMENT

Africa is voting ①

Guardian W in W Man 8/1-14/1/93

AFRICAN ELECTIONS are not yet an everyday tale, nor always what they seem. The post cold-war message, forcefully backed by the World Bank and the aid donors, is that democracy is now essential. But it can come in very different shapes and sizes. In Kenya, an opposition with every reason to call foul is agonising over reluctant acceptance. Britain's Foreign Secretary, winging briefly through Ghana and Nigeria, may meanwhile have time to reflect on different types of electoral ambiguity. In Ghana the opposition chose to absent itself, handing victory to Jerry Rawlings in an overly clean sweep. In Nigeria the real opposition has not yet even been given the chance to present itself to the voter. In unhappy contrast, the generally fair and unambiguous result of the Angolan election continues to be thwarted by armed rebellion, and the international community seems unwilling or unable to do much about it.

The evidence of electoral abuse in Kenya was already overwhelming weeks ago, with government intimidation of candidates and vote-buying. An inadequate number of international monitors — less than 200 for the more than 7,000 polling stations — still managed to report widespread fraud at the polls. Western diplomats in Nairobi had talked in advance of an "acceptable level of rigging and violence". Keen to keep President Moi on board if he is going to be there anyhow, they are now rather too quick to condone the "irregularities". But though a minority, the new generation of young professional politicians will be well placed to monitor the government's excesses and to energise the previously tame parliament. Mr Moi is now too exposed to resort to easy threats and violence.

The Ghana election was "genuine" (D. Hurd) as far as it went. But here the opposition has badly misplayed its hand. Whatever the defects of the electoral register (which was revised after complaints), the opposition did fight on its basis in the presidential contest in November. To then boycott the legislative elections looks like mere pique at Mr Rawlings's success.

In Nigeria, however, there is little or nothing to be labelled genuine so far. In a country dominated for most of its years by army rule, there is bound to be scepticism as to whether the new Transitional Council really will pave the way for a restoration of civilian rule without a lurking military role. The issue is not so much one of the electoral timetable, pushed back by General Babangida from this month to August, as of the eventual electoral choice. The presidential primaries last year which led to the postponement were not only corrupt but limited to two "authorised" parties. Real democracy means real alternatives to corrupt elites, whether they wear army or civilian hats.

The pen is mightier than the AK47

W/Word 8/1-14/193.

Freedom of the press is an ideal—but far from reality for Mogadishu editor Hussein Mohammed Moalim. By NEIL MCMAHON

THE time-honoured newspaper philosophy of publish and be damned takes on a whole new meaning in a country like Somalia, where publishing is a logistical nightmare and there is no shortage of people ready to damn you for trying.

Just ask Hussein Mohammed Moalim, 28-years-old and possibly the bravest newspaper editor in the world. Consider the following occupational hazards.

Two months ago, according to Hussein, his father was kidnapped and has not been seen since. Then, his younger brother Abdul was run down by a car while out gathering information on the anarchic streets of the capital, Mogadishu, and is laid up with a broken leg. And a month ago his aunt, who lived in Yemen, was shot dead by gunmen. All this, Hussein says, was the fault of powerful enemies he has made through the pages of his daily newspaper, *Midimo*, meaning unity.

And despite it all, he still has faith that the pen is mightier than the AK47 or any of the other weapons of death available "like cigarettes", as he puts it, on the streets of Mogadishu. That belief has been strengthened over the past month, with the successful deployment of American-led troops in the Horn of Africa hellhole.

Hussein is a realist, and acknowledges that the concept of democracy and freedom of speech are going to take a long time to be accepted in a land ruled by the gun for so long.

"My people don't know what freedom of the press means. They can just shoot you for only



Weapons for Africa ... Although guns are as readily available as cigarettes in Somalia Hussein still believes that it is words that can save his people

Photo: JOAO SILVA

one word," he said. "My father was kidnapped because of what I wrote. It was horrible. I've never seen him again.

"I wrote that we Somalis want to be independent and what we are searching for is freedom. The warlords don't want that. They are fighting for the top ranking. I don't want any position. I want to save my people."

Hussein prints his newspaper in a dilapidated building in southern Mogadishu. In a cramped

... an insignificant figure until you consider the conditions under which it is produced and the city in which it is being sold.

Taking into account the complete collapse of Somali society, the presence of a newspaper is actually something of a miracle. Hussein's staff gather information from the streets and through constant monitoring of a short-wave radio, tune into the Voice of America and other international services.

The deployment of US-led forces under the Operation Restore Hope banner — and the accompanying invasion of journalists — have given Hussein a crash-course in how the big guns of the international media operate.

At a recent military press briefing, he managed to get past the soldiers guarding the area, who mistook him for a trouble-making Somali, and then jostled for space with the American TV networks. Unfazed, he stepped forward to ask a stunned Colonel Fred Peck exactly what it was the US planned to do for his country.

Peck, recovering from his initial surprise, then happily fielded a series of blunt questions from the Somali as the foreign reporters looked on, impressed.

Hussein's newspaper was born when former president Siad Barre fled the country two years ago. "For a long time we didn't have freedom of speech. We were a dictatorship. When we found out Siad Barre had fled the country it was the first time we could publish a free press."

As it happened, freedom of any sort has proved harder to attain than many Somalis thought when Barre's government collapsed. Somalia's descent into clan warfare saw to that, but with Operation Restore Hope proceeding apace, Hussein's hopes of liberty appear within reach.

"Thirty years ago (when Britain and Italy cut their colonial ties) was the formality of independence. Today is the reality," he said.

Africa poised to become forgotten continent in new US Congress

HUGH ROBERTSON

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The United States Congress that was sworn in this week has so little interest in Africa that the House of Representatives proposed dissolving its Africa sub-committee, which strongly influenced policy on South Africa in the previous Congress.

Only a last-minute appeal

from the Congressional Black Caucus to keep the body going succeeded in averting its dissolution — but there was so little interest in serving on the sub-committee in the black caucus itself that only one new black member could be persuaded to join.

The caucus now has only two representatives on the eight-person body, which was creat-

ed at the behest of black members of Congress in the 1970s, and neither was willing to serve as chairman, a post that demands attendance at every sub-committee meeting.

The result is that a white moderate Democrat, Mr Harry Johnston, who represents the affluent West Palm Beach constituency in the House and who has a military background, was

elected chairman. A black member of the previous Africa sub-committee, Mr Donald Payne, who agreed to remain on the new sub-committee, had the seniority to be elected chairman but declined.

One new member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Mr Alcee Hastings of Florida, was persuaded to join the sub-committee at the last minute and

congressional sources say the Democratic Party leadership was forced to help to encourage the remaining new members — all whites — to serve. According to sources in the newly elected black caucus, overwhelmingly preoccupation with domestic and economic policies and while they sympathise with Africa's problems,

they see unemployment, education and health care as their primary concerns.

In this they differ markedly from the previous black caucus, which displayed a vigorous interest in Africa. Regular hearings on South Africa were held at which administration officials were closely questioned on policy issues.

AP 8/11/93

British aid worker is shot dead in Somalia



A BRITISH aid worker murdered in Somalia was shot dead by a lone, unknown Somali gunman 30 yards from the United Nations Children's Fund office in the southern port of Kismayu.

Charity officials said there was no obvious motive for the killing of Sean Devereux, aged 28, the officer in charge of Unicef in the town, but it was known that he had spoken out strongly against the feuding warlords who have done so much to bring about Somalia's present plight.

He had recently told reporters about eyewitness accounts he had been given of a massacre of more than 100 people by supporters of one of the warlords on the eve of the American troops landing at Mogadishu in December. He had called for the deployment of a large UN force to disarm all the gunners. His father, Mr. Dermot Devereux, said his son was always careful. "We talked a lot about the risks, but his

response was: 'While my heart beats I have to do what I think I can do to help those less fortunate than ourselves.'"

Unicef is withdrawing all its international staff from Kismayu, leaving a team of national staff to maintain essential feeding, medical and other support to women and children caught in the civil war.

The charity said Mr. Devereux, from Camberley, Surrey, was the first foreigner to be murdered since the US-led military force arrived last month to protect famine relief. He had worked in Somalia since September.

Hella Pick adds from Addis Ababa: At least one Ethiopian student was killed on Monday and more than 30 were badly wounded by police and army units during a mass protest against Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary-general, who is in Addis Ababa for talks among the Somali factions. The events were triggered by an attempted march to protest against

Dr. Boutros-Ghali's plan to visit Eritrea later in the week.

The students, opposed to Eritrean independence, wanted to register their resentment of the UN decision to send observers to the independence referendum scheduled for March in the former Italian colony.

Between 1,000 and 2,000 students had gathered for the protest. Scarcely had they left the university campus before police and soldiers armed with bayonets and rifles charged into the students. The campus gates were closed, cutting off the students' retreat.

Three miles away, at the Somali conference, the Organisation for African Unity, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, and other African and Arab organisations joined Dr. Boutros-Ghali in rounding on Somalia's political and clan leaders, declaring that the time had come "to put aside their deadly rivalries". Their animosities were largely

responsible for the collapse and misery of Somalia, they were reminded. "It follows that those who are the key elements of the problem must be vital elements in the solution," declared Ethiopia's president Meles Zenawi, even though the international community must also prepare itself for a long supporting role.

Dr. Boutros-Ghali envisages that a peace-keeping force of between 15,000 and 20,000 will have to be kept in Somalia for a prolonged period after most of the American forces — which at present make up the bulk of the force — have left.

The US defence secretary, Dick Cheney, said in Washington that the US would withdraw some troops from Somalia this month. But most would remain in place, he said, as the situation was still too dangerous for a takeover by UN peacekeepers.

By the end of the first day's talks in Addis Ababa between the Somali leaders — who were left

alone after the opening session — there had been no walkouts, and it even looked as if they were prepared to continue their talks a day or two beyond their planned conclusion.

Fourteen of Somalia's factions, including the two key figures and arch-rivals General Mohammed Farah Aided and Ali Mahdi Mohammed, are participating in the talks, in which Dr. Boutros-Ghali is playing a delicate mainly backstage role.

President Zenawi admonished the Somali leaders, saying: "There is no lack of agreements and communiqués among you which are invariably breached before the ink dries up."

He added four fundamental points that the Somali leaders must address: ceasefire throughout Somalia, the re-establishment of a neutral police force, the controlled reduction and destruction of arms, and the establishment of a provisional government.

WHILE the eyes of the world have been focused on the military effort aimed at saving Somalia's starving people, there has been another relief operation going on in the Horn of Africa country — the one aimed at restoring hope to the media army that invaded along with the foreign troops.

It has been a massive logistical exercise aimed at making life bearable for the hundreds of media workers sent to the country in their hundreds to cover the military relief effort.

Media proprietors have spent a small fortune bringing in equipment and supplies to sustain them through what could be a long ordeal.

One of the more bizarre aspects of the exercise has been the arrival of dozens of satellite dishes, which have sprouted from rooftops of buildings wherever the media has gathered.

The dishes enable TV crews to dispatch footage and allow for the use of satellite telephones, which in some cases are being rented out to poorer journalists for sums starting at 100 US dollars (R300) a minute.

Japanese media workers have imported every electronic gizmo imaginable, but are being fairer in their business dealings with less well-off colleagues. "I don't want to make a profit," said one Tokyo journalist as he provided access to his "sat-phone", as they have been dubbed, at a far cheaper rate than his American counterparts.

The arrival of such electronic wizardry in Mogadishu, along with the presence of sophisticated military hardware, create a strange paradox in a city with no electricity, dirty water, roofless houses and massive poverty and famine.

Also odd, given that the journalists are here to cover a military operation aimed at safeguarding the delivery of relief supplies to the starving, has been the unimpeded delivery of sustenance to the media hordes. Case upon case of bottled water has been ferried in on charter flights, along with fruit juice, tea, coffee and food.

Both CNN and ABC have paid small fortunes for houses in which to accommodate the dozens of staffers brought in to cover the story. Rumour has it that European broadcasters paid about 70 000 US dollars (R210 000) for a house — which would explain why they then charged 1 000 US dollars (R300) a night, seven nights minimum, paid up front, for a mattress on the floor.

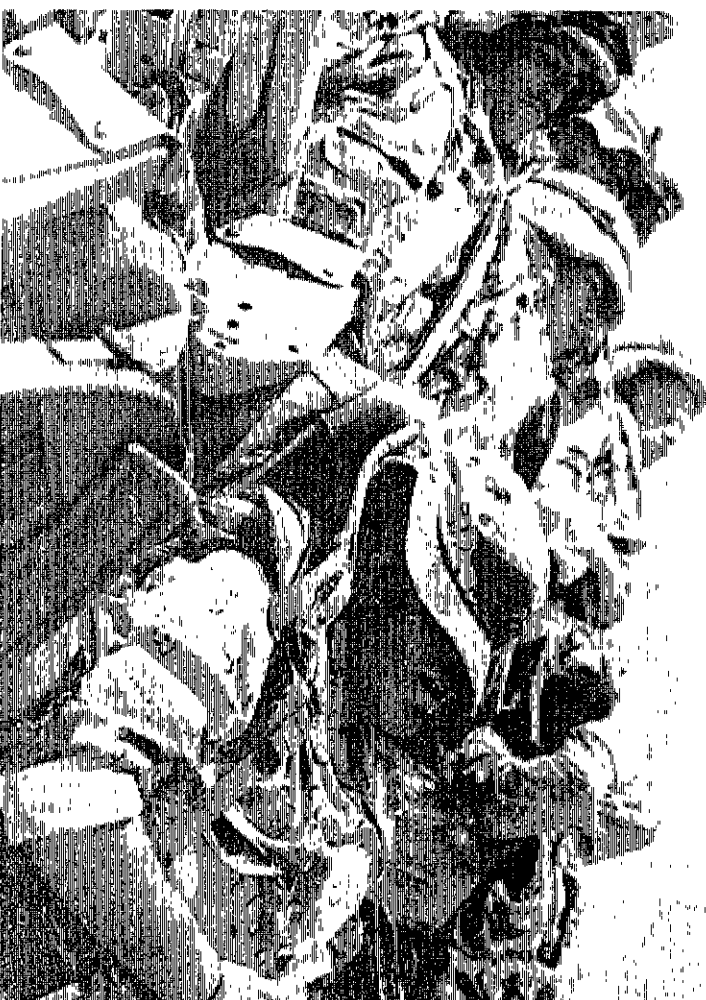
But while little has been spared in making it as comfortable an experience as possible for them, the Somalian media pack are working under

The unbearable schlep of living dangerously

W. W. W. 8/1-14/193

Journalists in Somalia are living up to their stock image as insanely intrepid crusaders for the story. But it's not half as glamorous as it looks in the movies.

By NEIL MCMAHON



Catching zzzs ... US marines take a quick nap in the open while journalists pay through their noses for a mattress in a packed hotel room — either way Somalia is a nightmare

Photo: THE GUARDIAN

some of the most bizarre conditions imaginable. "I've never done anything *this* weird," said one veteran correspondent.

Weird means not being able to step outside without being pounced on by scores of Somalis, some trying to sell cigarettes but most offering their services as drivers — a must in a town where walking involves dodging old men with donkeys and teenagers with high-powered guns. Prior to the Marine invasion, you also needed

of choice — most often a Russian-made AK-47 — with wild abandon.

Nor should you be nearby if your technical gets angry — a Danish TV crew hired a driver, who slept outside their rented house each night. One morning, he awoke to find his spare tyre had been stolen — and promptly fired off a few rounds, narrowly missing a journalist and puncturing the tyres and radiator of another car. His outburst was perhaps uncalled for considering he can no doubt afford another tyre — these drivers and guards are being paid a small fortune for their services, the rate having gone through the roof after the American networks jettied in and paid whatever was asked of them.

Most media personnel are staying in one of Mogadishu's few undamaged buildings, the never-used Sahafi Hotel, as it is properly known, although Hotel Journalist has become the popular shorthand on the streets. "Comfort, safety, luxury, for business or discreet weekends. London. Tokyo. Mogadishu," boasts the establishment's letterhead.

Media organisations opened negotiations with the building's owner soon after the possibility of United Nations intervention was announced.

"You won't have an empty room," they told him. Sure enough, he hasn't, nor an empty piece of floor or roof. The building is overflowing and many reporters, like this one, are writing their stories sitting on mattresses on the floor.

Others have opted for the cooler roof area, from where they have a bird's-eye view of a Marine roadblock where shooting incidents have occurred. There, jostling for space with satellite dishes and malaria-laden mosquitos, they punch words of wisdom into laptop PCs.

Laundry service is available, though what goes out in a neat plastic bag comes back in a giant heap through which you must scrummage, and good luck if it is all there.

For 85 US dollars (R25) a night for a small room, or 50 US dollars (R150) for a piece of floor, you also get three meals a day and an intermittent water supply for showering — a necessity when you work, and sweat, 20 hours a day.

In short, the media is surviving, if only just. The major problem is finding stories. After the feast of material at the time of the invasion, the relatively incident-free aftermath of the marine landing has left many reporters facing the kind of famine they hate most.

Fighting rages on in Somalia

DRIVING up the road from Mogadishu to Afgoi the car slows at a crossing and a skinny man runs out, shouting something, a piece of wood in his hand. No, it's a rusty panga. He takes a vicious swing at my friend's arm, misses.

"What was he shouting?"

"He said, 'You drive white people.'"

Somalia is all sewn up, according to the papers. The marines are in, the city is secure, the food aid is getting through.

But I go to bed to sniper fire and wake to the boom of rockets.

I'm supposed to be visiting a famine relief centre outside town but it's ruled

From *STimes*
Martyn Harris
in Mogadishu ①

too risky.

"Technicals", the crazy militia jeeps mounted with heavy machineguns and manned by teenage crews, have been banned from the city by the Americans, but still no European travels anywhere without his hired gunman — usually a boy of 13 with a rusty carbine, whose loyalty fluctuates with his wages.

My guard is 14-year-old Ali. We find an American armoured column drawn up along the road, taking sniper fire from a walled

enclosure to the north. According to Marine Colonel Fred Peck, this is one of the "registered cantonments" — military stations — assigned to Somalia's chief warlord, General Aidid, to keep his technicals out of the city.

Last night a US patrol was fired on, and Aidid's men were ordered to surrender their weapons by dawn today or have them confiscated by the marines — which they are doing.

It is the biggest fire-fight the Americans have had since they landed a month ago, but by mid-morning it is all over. One marine has been wounded — by another — and maybe a

couple of dozen Somalis. There are no bodies.

The Aidid men have melted away. Outside in the road a crowd of women and kids has gathered, jeering at the marines, and throwing tiny stones.

"Why are they mad?" I asked a Somali interpreter.

"The Americans have killed their brothers and fathers."

It's hard to believe. After years of terrorism, the population is starving and the rest is living in bin bags. Yet they're throwing stones at their saviours and holding aid workers hostage. — © *The Telegraph*, London.

Standard in Madagascar

Finance Staff

Standard Bank has continued its expansion in southern Africa with the opening of a new bank in Madagascar last week.

The bank, Union Commercial Bank SA, is a joint venture between Standard and the Mauritius Commercial Bank.

Standard says the bank will concentrate on providing letters of credit, foreign exchange and related financial services, mainly to business customers.

Standard Bank last year acquired the African operations of ANZ Grindlays. *STAN* 11/193

Africa fades from American eye

SMN 11/1/73



THE new US Congress which was sworn in last week has so little interest in Africa that the House of Representatives proposed dissolving its Africa subcommittee, a body which strongly influenced policy on South Africa in the previous Congress.

Only a last-minute appeal from the Congressional Black Caucus to keep the body going, succeeded in averting its dissolution. But there was so little interest in serving on the sub-committee in the black caucus itself that only one new black member could be persuaded to join.

The caucus now has only two representatives on the eight-person body, which was created at the behest of black members of Congress in the 1970s, and neither was willing to serve as chairman

— a post-demanding attendance at every sub-committee meeting.

The result is that a white moderate Democrat, Harry Johnston, who represents the affluent West Palm Beach constituency in the House and who has a military background, was elected chairman.

A black member of the previous Africa sub-committee, Donald Payne, who agreed to remain on the new sub-committee, had the seniority to be elected chairman but declined.

One new member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Alice Hastings of Florida, was persuaded to join the sub-committee at the last minute and congressional sources say the Democratic Party leadership was forced to help encourage the remaining new mem-

bers, all whites, to serve.

According to sources in the Congressional Black Caucus, newly elected blacks have an overwhelming preoccupation with domestic and economic policies, and while they sympathise with Africa's problems they see unemployment, education and health care as their primary concerns.

In this, they differ markedly from the previous black caucus which, although it was somewhat smaller, displayed a vigorous interest in Africa — and especially South Africa. Regular hearings on South Africa were held at which Administration officials were closely questioned on policy.

The previous sub-committee also maintained close contact with the State Department on developments in South Africa and

was instrumental in helping shape policy in many areas. The former chairman of the sub-committee, Mervyn Dymally, a member of the previous black caucus, did not stand for re-election in last year's congressional elections.

The new sub-committee chairman is a lawyer, who attended a military school and served in the US Army from 1953 to 1955. He is a prominent member of the Presbyterian Church and is regarded as a moderate Democrat.

The senior Republican member of the sub-committee, Dan Burton, held the same position on the previous sub-committee. He is regarded as a conservative and in the past often was critical of the Democratic majority's views on South Africa. — The Star Bureau. □

Somali factions in fragile truce pact ¹

STAR 11/1/93

MOGADISHU — Warring Somali factions said a truce was in effect today, one day after visiting US congressmen came under sniper fire and Marines killed three Somalis in a shootout.

Dozens of Somalis were wounded in clan fighting yesterday in some of the heaviest clashes in Mogadishu since Marines landed a month ago to secure food distribution routes.

It was unclear whether the ceasefire was being observed or whether armed bands could even have been informed of the pact because of poor communications.

Fourteen Somali factions, meeting in the Ethiopian

capital of Addis Ababa, said a ceasefire began at midnight. They also agreed to disarm their militias by March 1. But there also was the question of whether clan leaders have any control over freelance bandits terrorising and stealing.

On Sunday, snipers took aim at US forces in the capital in more than half a dozen attacks, including an attempted ambush in the dark outside the walls of the former US embassy compound, now Marine headquarters.

Alerted by a spotter on a tall building, the Marines fired first, killing three Somalis. No Americans were injured. — Sapa-AP.

UN negotiates Somali ceasefire

ADDIS ABABA - Somali warlords yesterday agreed to declare an immediate ceasefire and to start disarming their militias of heavy weapons.

A statement issued at the end of United Nations-brokered talks said 15 factions meeting for the past week in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa also agreed on an agenda for national reconciliation talks starting on March 15.

The statement said the ceasefire and the process of disarming militias would start immediately and would be monitored by a

Sowetan 12/11/93

Warlords agree to disarm their militia before peace talks: committee made up of faction representatives and UN military observers.

But delegates to the talks have repeatedly said the warlords do not have firm control over their fighters. They doubt such a sweeping accord can be implemented.

The talks were held against a background of increasingly tough action by an American-led intervention force to strip the country's gunmen of their arms.

Yesterday some 900 US Marines swept through Mogadishu's main market to close down a gun bazaar where weapons from pistols to anti-tank guns were on sale.

The statement said: "A ceasefire monitoring group comprised of United Nations troops shall be established immediately."

"There shall be a liaison group composed of representatives of the warring factions to interlocate with the monitoring group and observe the implementation of

the agreement."

But conference sources said the warlords were deadlocked over who should attend the reconciliation talks, an issue which has dogged the Addis Ababa meeting since it started.

Mogadishu warlord Mohamed Farah Aided wants them to group only the leaders of Somalia's main militias.

But the United Nations and Somali groups want them to include traditional leaders such as elders and political groups. - *Sapa-Reuters*.



Ceasefire agreed in battered Somalia

STAR 12/19/92

Somalia

● FROM PAGE 1

MOGADISHU — Somalia's two main warlords yesterday announced an immediate ceasefire and said they would withdraw their armed loyalists from the divided and battered capital of Mogadishu within 48 hours.

The two called for "all Somalis to commit themselves to ending hostilities".

A spokesman for All Mahdi Mohamed and Mohamed Farah Aided read out a communique on Cable News Network television saying the two men had agreed on a six-point plan to stop the violence.

Among the points are an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of militiamen from Mogadishu and a ban on hostile propaganda between their groups.

Unity committee

It was also agreed that a "unity committee" should be urgently reconvened and that the "Green Line" dividing Mogadishu should be dismantled.

The announcement, however, did not call on clan gunmen to surrender their weapons and stop fighting, and looting in the countryside continued to stall aid to the starving.

Minutes after the agreement was announced, the warlords smiled, embraced and shook hands. The meeting was their first after more than a year of fighting which plunged the country into anarchy. At least 300 000 people have died from famine and disease.

American helicopter gunships, tanks and armoured personnel carriers escorted self-proclaimed president Ali Mahdi to the US-brokered meeting with blood enemy Aided.

As All Mahdi's convoy wound its way through Mogadishu's battered streets, onlookers clapped and cheered. Ali Mahdi has been holed up in his northern enclave of Karaan since last month, when Aided's militiamen moved in from the bush.

But some Somalis were outraged by the apparent reconciliation between the two warlords. "After all they have done to us, they embrace. This is shameful," angry shopowner Mohamed Hassan Mohamed said.

All the armed roadblocks set up in the city since Wednesday by the French Foreign Legion were lifted yesterday after consultations with Lieutenant General Robert Johnston, commander of the US-led intervention, a French spokesman said.

The decision to lift the roadblocks followed an incident at a French roadblock on Thursday, when a truck full of Somalis crashed through it. The French soldiers then opened fire, killing two. American command-

● TO PAGE 2

ers yesterday defended the shooting, saying the troops had orders to "use whatever force necessary" to end the plundering of famine relief supplies by gunmen.

As American and French troops got together to discuss security in the city, a French spokesman said the lifting of the roadblocks did not mean that a close watch was not being kept on traffic.

Where the roadblocks had been, armed legionnaires with their distinctive green berets could be seen watching out, mainly for the makeshift "Mad Max" armed vehicles which had become the scourge of the city.

Looting

It is not clear whether the warlords' call for peace will be heeded. Somalia is rife with gunmen, many of them freelancers, who have looted relief convoys and terrorised Somalis and relief workers. The rival clan leaders stress that they do not control all the gunmen in the capital, nor in the country as a whole.

Somalia remained a dangerous place yesterday, two days after US and French troops came ashore.

In the famine-stricken interior, armed looters attacked relief operations and relief workers pleaded for the Marines to come swiftly to their aid.

US troops are spearheading a 35 000-strong force in an unprecedented humanitarian action, drawn from about 17

countries, to ensure food aid gets to the country's starving millions.

About 2 000 American and French troops tightened their grip on Mogadishu yesterday, fanning out from the port and

airport and dealing firmly with any sign of trouble.

Aid workers want the troops to move into the interior as quickly as possible to end a famine where death rates are among the highest recorded.

In Nairobi, international aid agencies said yesterday they were ready to boost their mercy mission to Somalia once there was an end to gun law.

"Discussions are going on to see how aid agencies can get army escorts from the UN troops in Somalia to move the food to the worst affected areas in the interior of the country," said World Food Programme official Brenda Barton. "We are ready to move in quickly, within days, once we get clearance."

Maura Barry of the charity CARE said: "We are looking to boosting our relief effort once we are assured about security."

Food

Barton said: "There is plenty of food donated by various governments and organisations. It's now just a matter of quickly moving it to people inside Somalia."

It is reported from Bonn that Germany is set to send "immediate help" to rebuild Somalia's shattered infrastructure.

However, it would not provide troops because of constitutional constraints.

Chancellery Minister Friedrich Bohl said yesterday that the first phase of technical assistance would aim at building roads and laying water pipelines and electricity cables, with the help of German military engineers. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP, The Independent.

force at ket test

ROBINSON

that this applied from the opened at midday until This means the tradi- of mini-cricket in the out- the supper break will be

parking is concerned there available in Winston Oaklands Road, in ad- usual limited public park- Club. If the VIP parking on the rugby Fairways Primary is wa- not available, these tick- should also go to Winston

congestion along Corlett urged spectators to ar- as early as possible.



PINTASSIGLO: Former Portuguese PM.



SUAREZ: Former Spanish president.



OBASANJO: Former Nigerian head of state.



DE LA MADRID: Former Mexican president.

Statesmen put heads together over Africa

OCT. 13/1/93

By COLIN LEGUM

CAPE TOWN will host the largest gathering of world statesmen in the country's history from January 21-23. The principal theme of their meeting will be *The Marginalisation of Africa* but the participants are also interested in following the progress of the negotiations for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The meeting is being sponsored by the InterAction Council, established in 1983 as an independent international organisation to mobilise the experience, energy and international contacts of statesmen who have held the highest office in their own countries.

They intend to try to reach agreement on practical solutions for the world's political and economic problems.

The council has 36 members, all but one former presidents or prime ministers. Among those who have agreed to come to Cape Town are Lord Callaghan, former British Prime Minister; Helmut Schmidt, former German Chancellor; Takeo Fukuda, former Japanese Prime Minister; Maria de Lourdes Pintassiglo, former Portuguese Prime Minister; Giulio Andreotti, former Italian Prime Minister; Kamal Hassan Ali, former Egyptian Prime Minister; Pierre Trudeau, former Canadian Prime Minister; Malcolm Fraser, former Australian Prime Minister; Jacques Chaban Delmas, former French Prime Minister; Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, former French President; Miguel de la Madrid, former Mexican President; Olusegun Obasanjo, former Nigerian head of state; Ola Ullsten, former Swedish Prime Minister; and Adolfo Suarez, former Spanish President.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said he would like to be present if conditions in Russia permit his absence. It is doubtful if former American President Jerry Ford will be able to make the journey.

Apart from General Obasanjo and the Egyptian Kamal Hassan, the other African members are Ahmed Osman, former Moroccan Prime Minister; Daniel Lisula, former Zambian Prime Minister; and Lopo do Nascimento, former Prime Minister of Angola.

There have been nine InterAction Council meetings since 1983. The Cape Town meeting will be the first in Africa.

Some of the specialist papers for the Cape Town meeting question the validity of the conference theme that Africa is indeed at risk of being marginalised. This is likely to be an issue of controversy during the meeting, which will focus attention on the future policies of the international community towards Africa.

Fears about the possible marginalisation of Africa stem from four main causes:

- The priority being given by the West to the need to stabilise Eastern Europe after the collapse of communism by concentrating more aid and investment there at the expense of Africa.
- A loss of confidence in the ability of Africans to achieve political stability and economic growth, which has produced the reaction that "it is a waste of money" to pump in more resources.
- The contraction in real monetary terms of the aid programmes of most donor countries because of depressed economies.
- The greater perceived opportunities for private capital investment in Eastern Europe, the Pacific Rim and some Latin American countries than in most African countries.

Despite their generally poor reputation in Third World countries, it is the World Bank and International Monetary Fund which are taking a leading role against pessimism about Africa and in emphasising international responsibility for the continent.

Disappointing progress

Michael Camdessus, former managing director of the IMF, is at the forefront of those who argue that "the responsibility for development and for economic adjustment is a shared one" that cannot be left to African governments alone. "The industrial countries in particular," he insists, "have a special duty to Africa."

While Mr Camdessus acknowledges that the IMF's policy of encouraging structural reforms have not, and cannot be expected, to produce their full results quickly, it is possible to show that after 20 years of disappointing economic progress in much of Africa, there is evidence of a turnaround in a number of those countries that have prudently managed their resources and/or steadfastly pursued their reform programmes.

They are experiencing positive real growth, the steady transformation and improvement of their economic structures and systems and improvement in the living standards of the rural population. He adds that such progress will not succeed unless the developing countries receive adequate financial support from the rest of the world.

This modestly upbeat view is echoed by the hard-headed World Bank vice-president for Africa, Mr Edward Jaycox, who says African countries have "taken a grip on their own problems as never before". But he says that if Africa cannot demonstrate good government and a significant measure of sustained economic development, external donors may shift support to more promising regions.

Despite concern that donor countries and the international agencies may be losing interest in helping Africa, Mr Jaycox pointed out that the level of financial aid going to sub-Saharan Africa grew, on average, by about 3% a year in real terms between 1985 and 1989, while the region's share in worldwide net overseas development assistance disbursements increased from 28% in 1980/81 to around 36% in 1988/89.

Terrible drought

However, he pointed to the colossal problems faced by Africa in overcoming past legacies. The region's foreign debt now exceeds its total gross domestic product and there is still worse to come: despite rescheduling and write-offs of foreign debt, the World Bank forecasts that the region's debt is still likely to climb above last year's figure of \$173 737 million (R529 897 m). The total external debt almost tripled in nominal terms over the past 10 years.

Although the aggregate gross domestic product rose from 1.3% in 1991 to 2.4% in 1992, this was insufficient to prevent the further impoverishment of people in the region because the rate of population growth was higher than the rate of economic growth — a major factor that was further

damaged by the terrible drought over much of sub-Saharan Africa in the past 18 months.

Poverty is a worldwide phenomenon by no means confined to Africa. One-fifth of the world's population still languishes in poverty despite some significant gains made in recent years, according to the World Bank's managing director, Mr Sven Sandstrom.

Worldwide average per capita consumption has risen by 70% over the last 30 years, life expectancy has increased from 51 to 63 years and primary school enrolment is up by 89%.

While acknowledging that poverty remains a persistent problem, Mr Sandstrom has outlined two elements of a World Bank strategy to deal with it.

The first element is to encourage a pattern of economic growth that promotes the use of the poor's abundant asset: labour.

The second element is the widespread provision to the poor of basic social services — especially primary health care and education, nutrition and family planning.

The first element provides opportunities for the poor; the second increases the capabilities of the poor to take advantage of those opportunities. The two elements are reinforcing; one without the other is not sufficient.

□ Colin Legum is the editor and publisher of *Third World Reports*.



Gunfight takes first US soldier to die in Somalia

Star 13/1/93

MOGADISHU — A US Marine died yesterday in a clash with Somali gunmen, the first American soldier killed during the US-led effort to help feed the starving in war-torn Somalia.

And at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, the country's warring factions remained deadlocked for a ninth straight day in ceasefire negotiations. In Washington, a US de-

fence department official said the soldier's death occurred when a Marine unit was on patrol and "took some fire. They returned fire and pulled their people back."

When the unit regrouped, one Marine was missing. The Marines returned to the scene of the fight and found their comrade's body.

The death was the first of a soldier since US forces arrived in Somalia on December 9. A civilian US army employee was killed on December 23 near the city of Bardera when the vehicle in which he was passenger hit a

landmine. Earlier, Marines concentrated on rounding up weapons in Mogadishu.

In the last two days, the Marines reported carrying away 16 truckloads of weapons and ammunition from gun markets and caches, including 265 rifles and assault

guns and 55 machineguns. A spokesman for Marine commander Major-General Charles Wilhelm said his chief hoped for a safer Mogadishu by February 1, with more arms off the streets so that relief workers could move around without armed guards.

In Addis Ababa, negotiators from 14 Somali factions remained unable to reach agreement on the number of representatives from each side and the agenda for a broader conference on reunifying the country.

During yesterday's session, Ethiopian President

Meles Zenawi called the groups to his palace but was unsuccessful in his mediation bid.

The conference, scheduled for March 15 in Addis Ababa, hinges on whether the warring sides can sign the draft ceasefire and disarmament agreement currently before them. The proposal calls for the factions to turn in their weapons by March 1. Sapa-AP.

Uncertainty over Somalia's crucial peace talks

MOGADISHU — US Marines continued to comb the capital for weapons yesterday in a push to restore law and order by month end. But crucial talks among Somalia's warring factions appeared to have broken down.

UN spokesman Farouk Mawlawi said the meeting in Addis Ababa had reached a "crisis stage" on Monday night. He was uncertain whether the 14 parties had been able to sign any agreement since then.

According to Mawlawi, the factions had reached a preliminary ceasefire and disarmament agreement but were unable to concur on other details, thus negating the earlier breakthrough.

A US-led international force that

arrived on December 9 under UN auspices has been trying to restore order and protect food aid shipments.

Yesterday's intensified patrols came after a sweep of the Bakara weapons bazaar — the biggest in the country. Mawlawi said weapons and ammunition from the operation, along with the haul from other searches, filled 16 five-ton trucks.

He said Marines yesterday moved into an area of northern Mogadishu where weapons were believed to have been secreted.

The northern half of the city is controlled by forces loyal to Ali Mahdi Mohamed, while the southern half is held by perhaps the country's most powerful figure, Mohamed Far-

rah Aidid. (1)

Somalia's warlords are held responsible for two years of civil war, which, with famine and disease, took the lives of 350 000 people last year.

Marine commander Maj-Gen Charles Wilhelm said he hoped a safer environment could be possible in the capital by February 1, Mawlawi said.

Somalia is one vast arsenal, most of it stocked during the Cold War era by both the Soviet Union and the US. Ousted dictator Mohammed Siad Barre used superpower rivalries to obtain a range of weapons and other aid from both countries at various times. — Sapa-AP.

61074-1 13/1/93

Democracy gets off to a slow start

Is Africa ready for democracy? At a time when South Africa is approaching the test of democracy, HANS-PETER BAKKER of Argus Africa News Service examines the continent's many failures and few successes are causing concern.

WITH every apparent failure of the "free world" ideology in Africa, more and more people wonder if the besieged continent is ready for democracy?

A revolution has broken out in much of Africa as its people attempt to break away from the strangle-hold of dictators and from the manipulation which characterised the Cold War era.

The ideology of the day is Democracy. No longer are countries divided into capitalist and communist camps. Warring groups no longer compete over "isms". Now they cross swords over just who is more democratic.

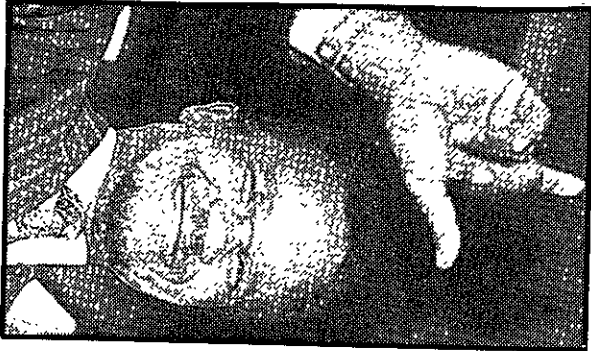
There are those sages who insist that democracy is foreign to Africa. That it stands no chance of succeeding because the traditional African is easily impressed by authority and that the tribal identity in Africa is too strong to allow for true people's democracy.

But then there are those, who claim to be equally in the know, who insist that grassroots African society has always been democratic. That chiefs ruled through the will of the people.

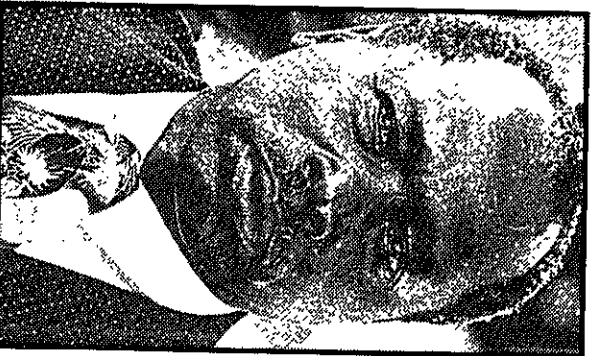
Whatever the truth about traditional Africa, the fact is democracy has taken hold of the imagination of millions throughout the continent, helped along by the end of the Cold War and often forced on by an increasingly mono-cultured international community.

There is no doubting the fervour with which Africans have embraced today's ruling ideology, but, sadly, that fervour has more often than not been rewarded by failure and death.

Angolans were eager to cast their votes — their first opportunity ever to do so — in the elections of September 29 and 30 last year. Hours after the polls closed on a generally successful campaign, the country began a slide back into civil war. Many thousands have already died in vicious



Frederick Chiluba — an African success story



Daniel arap Moi — returned to power

fighting which snuffed out any hope of a peaceful transition to democracy.

And the reasons for the failure in Angola? There are many, but some of the more obvious include the rush-job in merging the two armies, and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi's refusal to accept defeat.

As far as he was concerned, the only possible reason for his defeat was that the formerly Marxist government — now champions of free enterprise and the democratic way — cheated him out of victory.

The continued thwarting of a hand-over to an elected civilian government in Nigeria has convinced many that civilian rule will just not be able to control Africa's most populous and fragmented nation.

In an effort to undermine the ethnic, religious and regional domination that has plagued Nigeria the military government created — and wrote the manifestoes — of the only two legal political parties.

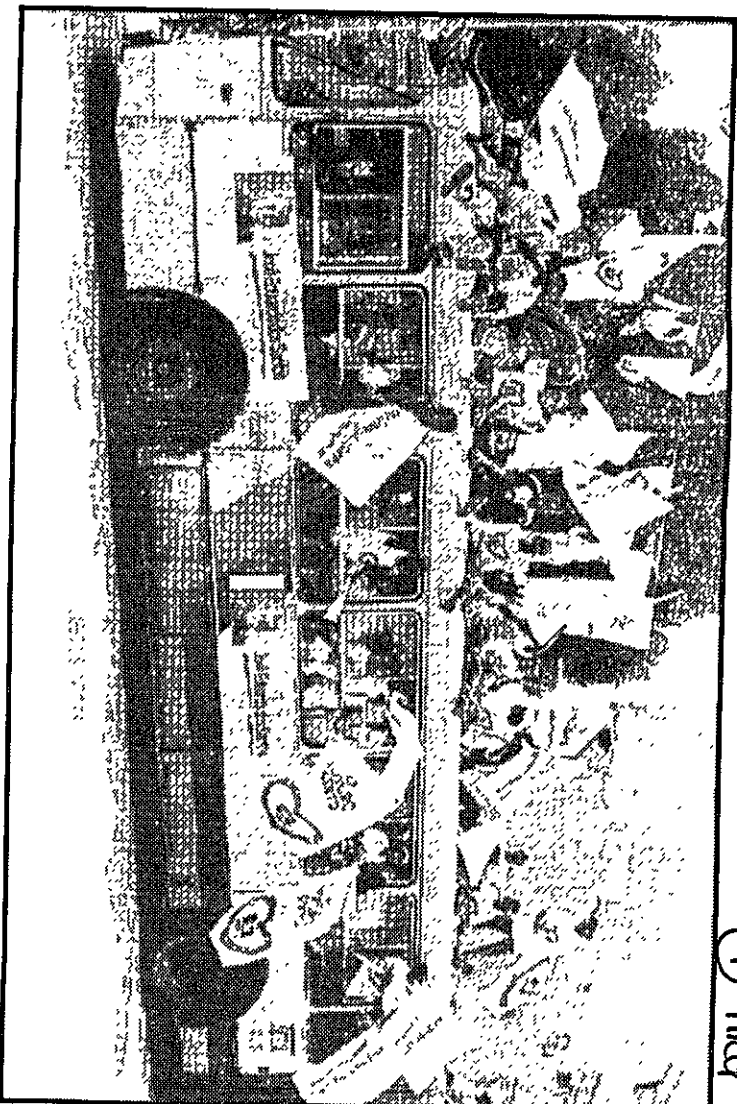
Two attempts at presidential primaries, contested by 23 candidates, have failed after widespread

irregularities which included bribery and violence.

Ethnic clashes between the Muslim Hausa people and the mainly Christian Katas claimed several hundred lives last year and in May Lagos, Nigeria's commercial capital, was paralysed for two days as unemployed youths took over a peaceful march by university students and smashed cars, looted and extorted money from people who failed to carry green leaves as a sign of solidarity with the protest.

A promise of a hand-over to civilian rule by January 2 this year has not materialised and few believe that an extended cut-off date for an end to military rule in Nigeria on August 27 will be realised.

Kenya has just completed an election process which was marred by ethnic violence and ballot rigging. Prior to the election, some opposition nominees were kidnapped to allow the ruling party candidates to run unopposed. Despite glaring abuses at the polls, the international monitoring committees did not have the courage to proclaim the elections a failure.



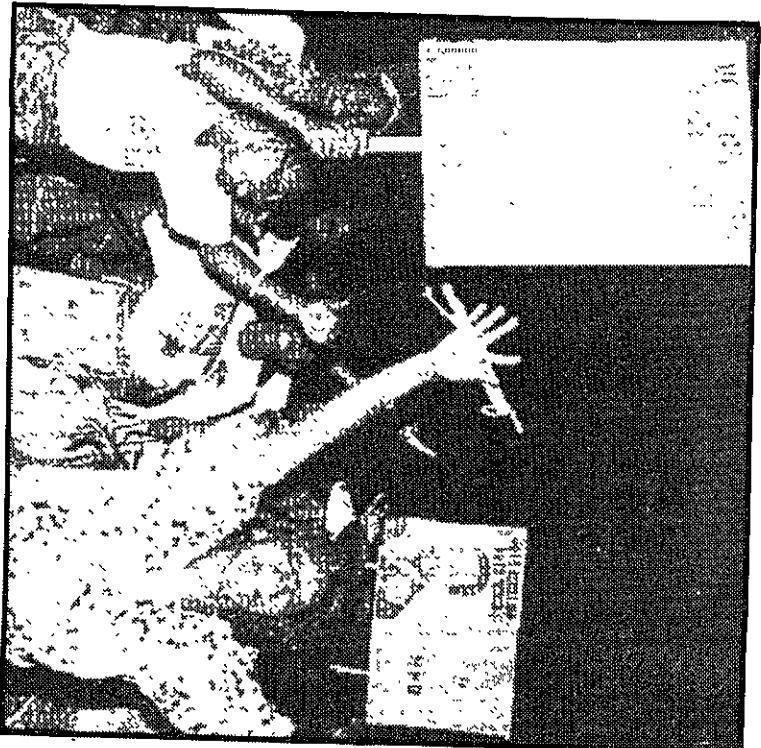
CAMPAINING: A bus load of supporters for the MPLA get into the swing of the campaign trail in Angola — an election which led straight back to civil war. Below: Joyous Zambian voters celebrate the victory of a new president, Frederick Chiluba.

Tribalism turned out to be a significant factor in the elections. Apart from the ethnic clashes which left many hundreds dead, President Daniel arap Moi can thank the fact that the majority Kikuyu tribe's vote was split between two other presidential candidates for his return to power.

In the troubled Zaire, all attempts to change from dictatorial control to a more representative government have resulted in tragedy as strong-man leader Mubutu Sese Seko continues to exercise control over the country's security forces and hampers any attempts by the interim government, led by Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, of restoring order.

There is little doubting that democracy has had an ominous beginning in Africa. But it has by no means been an outright failure.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda handed over to a democratically elected government after peaceful elections, showing that demagogic leaders could be toppled. Slowly the new president, Frederick Chiluba, is resurrecting the economy and



turning the country into one of Africa's success stories. Zambia was lucky. It had a leader of the stature of Chiluba and it had a generally peaceful post-colonial era. In Kenya, although the

elections were marred, President Moi now has to rule with a very vociferous opposition. His days of dictatorial rule are over. And the tragedy in Angola taught the United Nations a very expensive lesson. It is

And more than a decade of effective — and mostly democratic — trade unionism has instilled a sense of what democracy is all about in millions of South Africans.

Incidents of intolerance or tribal violence are too easily attributed to the African way of doing things.

The theory that Africa — and therefore South Africa — is too tribal and its electorate too unsophisticated to succeed in its drive to democracy and better governance does not stand up.

The slaughter of Bosnians and Serbians in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans should be a reminder that such failings are human rather than limited to Africa. It is simply too easy to lump together the failed attempts at democracy and to proclaim Africa not ready for the ideology of the "free world".

Three decades of dictatorial rule and flagrant abuse of power have dragged the continent down as far as it can go.

Now Africa has no other alternative but to struggle on toward democracy. Even a far-from-perfect democracy is preferable to the blatant abuses of the past.

Marines kill Somalis in Mogadishu gunfight

US Marines killed three Somali gunmen in a back-alley shootout in Mogadishu on Sunday and clan militias fought near the city's Green Line despite peace talks in Addis Ababa. US military spokesmen reported other minor clashes and sniper attacks which coincided with a visit to the Somali capital by seven US congressmen. The delegation leader, Pennsylvania Democrat John Murtha, praised the work of US forces but sharply criticised the United Nations for failing to help Somalia to end the violence and famine. He made no mention of the American role in Somalia during the Cold War, which helped to create the violence and famine in the first place.

One key faction, the Somali National Movement, did not take part in the Addis Ababa talks, where leaders of 14 warring

groups agreed to a ceasefire, which would begin at midnight local time, and to start disarming their militias as soon as possible.

In Mogadishu, Chief Warrant Officer Eric Carlson said a Marine on top of a six-storey building known as K-7, a few hundred yards away from the US embassy, spotted seven armed Somalis in what he called a patrol formation. A Marine foot patrol was sent there, but the Marine at the observation post saw the Somalis preparing to ambush it.

"At that point, the observer himself fired, hitting two Somalis, killing one and wounding another," Mr Carlson said. The Somalis then fired at the Marine patrol, which shot back killing two more Somalis.

Earlier, Marines had made their second assault on Somali weapons stores with an attack on an arms market in Mogadishu.

They were reinforced by psychological warfare teams who offered food to Somalis who turned in their rifles voluntarily.

The raid on the gun market in an area of Mogadishu under the loose sway of Ali Mahdi Mohammed followed the US assault on two weapon-packed compounds of gunmen loyal to his blood rival Farah Aideed.

Attack helicopters buzzed overhead as about 450 Marines in armoured vehicles pushed into the so-called Argentine gun market and seized all the munitions they could lay their hands on, Marine Colonel Michael Hagee said.

They burst into store-rooms, in one case blowing a lock off a door with a bullet, and took a small tank, two armoured personnel carriers, several "technical" battlewagons, 250 rifles and machine guns, as well as

mortar rounds, rockets, and shells. "The object was to take all the weapons we could find," Col Hagee told a news conference.

Meanwhile it emerged in New York that the US is prepared to contribute up to 5,000 logistical, transport, and engineering soldiers to the multinational UN force being drawn up to replace the US troops now in Somalia. This would be the first US participation in a UN peace-keeping mission.

US and UN officials said that the offer represented an effort to ensure a successful transition to the next phase of the UN drive to restore stability in Somalia. While Pentagon officials expect the first US units to begin leaving Somalia at the end of the month, official sources said no dates or targets have been set for the changeover to a UN force.

Farce and tragedy, nightmare and fantasy

HORROR made Somalia famous. When you're there, you can't believe it's real. The hunger, the killing, and the pain are too much to comprehend.

I looked out of the window of the Hercules transport aircraft at an airstrip 50 kilometres from Mogadishu. It was early August and my first morning in Somalia. The aircraft was leased to the Save the Children Fund by Southern Air Transport, a front company for the CIA during the cold war. Now SAT flies mercy missions to the hungry victims of conflicts in the former client states of the cold war superpowers. Mercy missions at a price. To lease a plane costs \$6,000. Mercy is lucrative. Hunger is money.

It was cold on the runway. The propellers continued to spin. The planes could take off quickly if there was trouble. Porters unloaded sacks of food from the cargo hold and carried them to waiting lorries. The lorries, the porters, the armed guards to protect the food from other peoples' armed guards, the massively inflated petrol price, and the right to use the airport, all had to be agreed with those Somalis who perpetuate their country's horror by insisting on their right to make money out of the devastation. These payments amounted to another \$6,000 — per flight. The foreign relief agencies paid. No choice. Profiteers from the hunger in Somalia rank among the cruelest people in the world.

I stayed in a house owned by Somalia's most successful drugs dealer, Osman Atto. He owns many of the large houses in Mogadishu, and rents them to the relief agencies. He has earned hundreds of thousands of pounds from the proceeds. He also controls the import of the narcotic drug "qat" from Kenya. The gunmen and criminals who run the country are usually high on "qat" when they slaughter the innocents and steal food from the hungry. The gunmen drive around in armoured "technical", mounted with recoilless rifles. Osman Atto owns these vehicles too.

Before the war he was the representative of the American oil company Conoco. Now Conoco's office is being used by the American special envoy to Somalia, Robert Oakley. It was there on December 12 that two of Somalia's rival leaders — General Mohamed Farah Aideed and President Ali Mahdi Mohamed — met to arrange a hasty rapprochement when they realised they could use the US military presence to protect themselves from each other's troops.

Osman Atto, General Aideed's financier, organised the meeting on the Americans' behalf. He also owns the building where it happened. It has a large, landscaped garden and a tennis court where US officials play before the sun gets too high in the pale blue Somali sky. It's not known how much the American government is paying to rent it while the US embassy, looted and ransacked during the war by Osman Atto and General Aideed's troops, is refurbished.

By the early afternoon Osman Atto's speech is slurred. He invites his friends to his house, where they sit in an air conditioned room, chewing qat and deciding on the country's future. By late afternoon it is useless visiting him because the effect of the qat makes rational thought impossible. Even so, he remains the richest man in the city, and one of the most powerful men in the splintered and shattered country. Somebody the United States is doing business with in pursuit of its international rescue mission for Somalia.

That mission was launched on December 8 and the media blitz began in earnest. In time for the arrival of the American marines, the American television network, NBC, brought in a staff of 79 reporters and technicians. ABC rented a mansion from one of Osman Atto's rivals in the property business. The Save the Children Fund had wanted to rent the house to accommodate its staff, but ABC outbid them.

Matching the outlay of ABC, CBS promised dollars in its search for an adviser on Somalia who could compensate for their reporters' ignorance. A journalist with experience of Somalia was paid \$400 a day and allowed to spend up to \$3,000 a day on logistical arrangements without having to justify his expenditure in advance. In less than three weeks, a CBS source said, the company spent \$2.5 million on covering Somalia.

Not to be outdone, CNN brought in six camera crews to record the marines' arrival.

In the dying days of his presidency, George Bush barnstormed into Somalia to boost the morale of US troops. His trip was the high point of a media circus which, in some cases, has seen networks spend more on television coverage than the cost of the food aid itself. MARK HUBAND reports from Mogadishu, where hunger means money, and profiteers grow rich on the starvation of their countrymen.

At a cost of \$15,000 they rerouted a London-Nairobi Kenya Airways flight via Cyprus to pick up other members of their reporting team. A passenger aircraft was chartered to fly to Mogadishu carrying lorry-loads of recording equipment and satellite facilities to establish a live link with CNN Center in Atlanta, Georgia.

In August the United States government committed 146,000 tonnes of food for the international airlift to Somalia. The food was due to arrive after October 1, to fit in with the start of the US fiscal year. To date, none of this food has arrived, according to the World Food Programme spokesman Paul Mitchell. American military aircraft airlifting food from neighbouring Kenya have meanwhile been flying half empty for safety reasons, or at least to minimise the risk of prosecution by crew members or the bereaved should one of the planes crash.

On December 9, as dawn broke over Mogadishu following the marines' landing, the full scale of the military operation became clear. The marines had invaded an airfield which had been secured by United Nations forces from Pakistan six weeks beforehand. There was nobody to meet the marines except the 100 journalists assembled on the beach.

By midday the airport was deemed safe. No shots had been fired. There was no enemy. It was a farce, which was to cost the American taxpayer \$400 million. The only violence took place when marines bound and beat some unarmed Somalis sleeping in a hangar. Meanwhile, the network reporters spoke to their viewers as if they were in a dangerous war zone. But there was no danger. Everybody — soldiers, marines, reporters, technicians, financiers — everybody was pretending.

At 3pm the first relief flight appeared over the newly-liberated airport. It was a UN World Food Programme flight: the first for weeks to arrive at Mogadishu international

airport. It circled for over half an hour to give Mitchell, the WFP man on the ground, time to ensure that all the television cameras were trained on the aircraft's WFP insignia. It landed. It slowly edged its way along the tarmac. It taxied for 20 minutes. It usually takes five minutes to manoeuvre from the runway to the airport apron but the UN had to get its publicity just like everybody else. Mr Mitchell was heard saying with elation how he had secured more live television broadcasts for WFP than his "rival" UN agency, UNICEF.

That first night after the fake invasion the black, star-speckled sky hummed and buzzed. Until then the streets had been where the noise was — guns, arguments, screaming. Now US Marine Cobra attack helicopters buzzed across the city, two hundred feet up. They were painted black, invisible against the night sky, just traced across the darkness by their deafening sound. Then a flare would be launched, suspended

beams. It is a museum commemorating the end of the cold war.

First Lieutenant Robert Van Hoesen of the US army drives past in his armoured car — called a "Humvie" — to see the sights. His stars and stripes gleam on the shoulder of his combat uniform. He is a conqueror driving across a silent airfield strewn with the debris of his enemy's military hardware. He stares at the Russian Migs which, had things been different, might one day have set their gunsights on him. What did it feel like to be victorious?

"Right now I'm just a soldier in the United States army. I don't get paid to think big thoughts like that. As a soldier it's kind of a shame to see these planes falling apart. It's the first time I've seen a Mig this close, and I can say that they're not as good as anything we've got," he said. A few days later, he left for Baidoa. Against a dark sky streaked with early morning red and green and inky blue, US and French troops halted outside the town that has become a death camp. Donkey carts trundled past as the convoy prepared for another victorious entry into the horror. Two marines mounted an enormous stars and stripes on the leading armoured personnel carrier.

"What did you say this place was called?" said a marine as he filed off a helicopter at Baidoa airstrip later that day. French foreign legionnaires lounged smoking on their jeeps as the US troops leapt on to the tarmac, guns at the ready, looking for the enemy. They fanned out across the airfield and took up combat positions, while the French, the press, and the US troops who had arrived unopposed on that morning's convoy, watched the ritual.

Two star General Wilhelm Charles, commander of the US Marine forces in Somalia, left the airfield bound for Baidoa's Al-Amin orphanage (later to host a visit from President Bush). His convoy consisted of four Humvies and two armoured personnel carriers. He strode into the orphanage in full battle dress, and a few sacks of rice were ritually handed over to the orphanage head, Abdu Nur Ali Hassan.

The soldiers interrupted the children who were chanting the Koran as the "gal", or "infidels" as white people are called by Somalis, entered the muddy courtyard. Their chanting was replaced by a new song. Over and over again they repeated the line: "Welcome with open hands the American troops."

A hundred journalists followed Gen Charles. They were staying at the Bikiin Motel on the edge of town. CNN spent \$1,300 per day for armed protection, transport, and the right to pitch its tents in the hotel garden when there were no more rooms. "Frankly we'd have paid twice that if we'd been asked," said a CNN reporter.

The satellite telephone at the Care International office, within sight of the hotel, rang for the fifth time that morning. It was CNN calling from the hotel. A satellite phone call costs \$20 per minute.

Relief workers and CNN reporters established that the CNN coverage cost more than the entire food relief operation mounted by Care International in Baidoa, the town worst-hit by the famine, where 100 people a day are dying of starvation. Meanwhile marines, media, satellites, and money have attempted to replace the Somali nightmare with a new array of fantasies to keep reality at bay.

THE WEEK

Iraqis ignore warning on UN violations

By Simon Tisdall in Washington and Mark Tran in New York

A VIRGINIA convict who is confined to a wheelchair will go to the electric chair the day before president-elect Bill Clinton's inauguration, the state's Democratic governor, Douglas Wilder, has decided. If the execution of Charles Stamper, aged 39, who was convicted of three murders in 1978, goes ahead, it may cast a deep shadow over the inaugural celebrations which take place across the Potomac river in Washington DC on January 20.

A KILLER OF three children, Westley Allan Dodd, was hanged in Washington state's Walla Walla prison after appeals that the execution was "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore unconstitutional failed. He was the first person in the US to die by the noose in nearly 30 years.

A FEDERAL judge ruled that a White House plan to destroy some computerised records is unlawful, and ordered the National Archives to prevent the Bush administration from erasing most records contained in the White House computer system.

AVIATION experts in India launched an investigation into the crash of a Russian-made airliner in New Delhi. Although the plane ploughed through landing lights, cartwheeled on to its roof, disintegrated, and caught fire, none of the 163 passengers and crew was seriously injured.

AT LEAST 29 people were killed in a renewed upsurge of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims in the western Indian cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad.

PAKISTAN'S army chief, General Asif Nawaz, died of a heart attack while out jogging, leaving the country's liberals, who viewed him as their champion in the wings, bereft of their leading protector. Meanwhile the government in Islamabad has ordered the closure of all Afghan mujahedin offices in the country, saying it is time to put the Afghan experience behind.

GIULIO ANDREOTTI, Italy's former prime minister and leader of post-war Christian Democrat party, has been summoned to appear before the country's anti-Mafia commission. The move comes three weeks after a cautionary warrant was issued for Bettino Craxi, the Socialist leader, in connection with the Milan corruption scandal.

THE trial in Berlin of Erich Honecker on manslaughter charges, already delayed by the issue of the former East German leader's health, suffered a further setback when the presiding judge, Hansgeorg Brautigam, was removed from the case for prejudice.

AT LEAST 60 passengers died near Santo Tome, 600 miles north of the Argentinian capital of Buenos Aires when one tourist bus tried to overtake another on a bend and collided head-on with a third coming the other way.

ZHENG YI, the dissident writer who became the target of a nationwide search in China after helping to lead the Tiananmen Square democracy movement, arrived in America after dodging the Beijing authorities for more than three years.

A TOTAL of 59 people were executed in China, 45 of them in the city of Canton, in what was mainly part of a crackdown on rising train and highway robberies.

THE Algerian government has freed six journalists gaoled after their French-language daily paper reported the killing of five police officers enforcing a crackdown on Muslim fundamentalists.

In another development, an Algerian military court sentenced to death 19 men, most of them members of the defence forces, for setting up an armed group and conspiring against state interests.

WOMEN in Hungary have launched their own political party to push for better conditions for full-time motherhood.

THE United Nations security council gave President Saddam Hussein final notice on Monday that Iraq's recent violations of UN resolutions, including a second incursion into Kuwait, must cease immediately on pain of "serious consequences", presumed to be of a military nature. But his response was: another raid on its neighbour.

The CIA director, Robert Gates, meanwhile pointed to yet another area of possible confrontation with Baghdad when he revealed that Iraq was moving around anti-aircraft missile batteries in the northern no-fly zone over Kurdistan, as well as in the southern zone.

"We're waiting to see how that all settles out" before deciding whether the missiles posed a threat to allied patrol aircraft, Mr Gates said. "There's still a lot of activity."

In a statement issued in New York, the security council said the Iraqi incursions into Kuwait were "a clear-cut defiance" of UN resolutions. The statement demanded an end to Iraq's ban on UN-chartered aircraft, which has halted weapons inspections, and full Iraqi co-operation with UN observers at the disputed border with Kuwait.

It called for the immediate return of Silkworm anti-ship missiles and other Iraqi military equipment removed from Kuwait during an incursion by 200 Iraqis on Sunday — *matériel* that was to have been destroyed by UN inspectors.

Coupled with an earlier US statement that no warning would be given if Iraq again challenged allied control of the southern no-fly zone, the latest developments suggested that any new violations of post-Gulf war UN ceasefire resolutions by Iraq may be considered just cause for military retribution by three permanent security council members — the US, Britain, and France.

That point was apparently underlined by Rolf Ekeus, the head of the UN weapons inspection commission, who said that "if the ban [on UN flights] is not lifted, the terms of the ceasefire will be null and void".

Iraq claimed that the incursions

were innocent border crossings to collect Iraqi-owned *matériel* before the new UN-defined border with Kuwait comes into effect on Friday. The crossings had been agreed in advance with the UN, it said. Although that claim was denied in New York, there was sufficient confusion to forestall immediate allied reprisals.

"We will not tolerate continued violations," said Marlin Fitzwater, Mr Bush's spokesman. He was referring to Sunday Iraqi incursion but also more broadly to Baghdad's ban on UN planes and last week's game of cat-and-mouse with anti-aircraft missiles deployed in the southern no-fly zone.

Mr Fitzwater said no advance warning of military action would be forthcoming should Iraq's behaviour not improve.

The Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, speaking in Chile, said: "I don't think anyone who is concerned about international law could argue that the Iraqis can be allowed to get away with what they did."

Hella Pick writes: When the border revisions between Iraq and Kuwait were announced by the UN last June, Iraq warned they would "create a permanent nucleus for tension" in the region.

Iraq's unhappiness with the new border was no surprise, since it meant giving up its only naval base at Umm Qasr and losing part of the al-Rumeilah oilfield.

The recommendations for the border demarcation between Kuwait and Iraq came from a five-man commission of international lawyers and historians, recruited by the UN under the terms of the Security Council's ceasefire resolution against Iraq. The border, most of it in desert, has been under dispute for decades.

The Security Council has allowed Iraq, until January 15, to remove certain designated property, such as warehouses, electric cables, and water tanks. But Baghdad must get prior clearance from the UN.

Iraq's territorial claims on Kuwait were a key factor in President Saddam Hussein's decision to invade the emirate in August 1990.

Coalition crisis deepens

By David Gow in Bonn

THE continuing crisis within Germany's three-party ruling coalition led by Helmut Kohl has deepened with widespread calls for the resignation of Irmgard Schwätzer, the housing minister, for publicly promoting a property firm.

Ms Schwätzer, deputy leader of the liberal Free Democrats (EDP), admitted she had written a signed article for the house-magazine of Germania, a Munich-based company, promoting its expertise in the private property market. But she refused to resign, insisting she was merely carrying out government policy in encouraging the private sector.

But the firm came under suspicion for allegedly dealing with properties — especially in the east — which were refurbished after existing tenants had been "winkled out".

Politicians accused the market-orientated FDP of being a party of business interests. This latest row came less than a week after Jürgen Möllemann, the FDP economics minister, stepped down for failing to disclose the extent of his involvement in using his office to promote a relative's business.

Senior members of Dr Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU)

added to the renewed sense of crisis within Dr Kohl's government by urging the chancellor to reject the FDP's nomination of Günter Rexrodt to succeed Mr Möllemann, and instead effect a cabinet reshuffle this week.

Mr Rexrodt, overwhelmingly nominated by party colleagues on Friday, angered Dr Kohl by openly declaring that the chancellor had simply to rubber-stamp his appointment, under a coalition agreement to retain the economics ministry as an FDP fiefdom.

Dr Kohl, under pressure to assert his authority from within the party and from his other coalition partner, the Bavarian-based Christian Social Union (CSU), could provoke a government crisis if he rejects the FDP's nominee.

The government appears to be lurching from one crisis to another. The pre-Christmas agreement with the opposition Social Democrats on constitutional restrictions on the right to asylum is unravelling, while the coalition is split over combat missions beyond Nato's traditional area. These divisions over the Bundeswehr's extended role are an embarrassment for the chancellor.

Good timing, Saddam!

THE WORLD has become all too familiar with Saddam Hussein's readiness to "cheat and retreat". But what is less familiar is the new swiftness with which Saddam, having withdrawn on one front, promptly opens up on another.

On Saturday the White House was boasting that, with the "dispersal" of his missiles in the "no-fly zone", Saddam had "once again backed down in the face of coalition solidarity". On Sunday Saddam was sending his men into Kuwait to seize armaments. On the same day he enforced the decision to ban UN aircraft from Iraq. Then his men were at it again in Kuwait.

What matters here is not so much the target of Saddam's pugnacity as the fact that he is on the offensive at all. Desert Storm left behind a stalemate which cannot endure for ever. Sooner or later, someone is going to shatter it, and Saddam is under pressure to be the one to do so. For all his astonishing ability to survive calamity after calamity, for all his outward solidity, his position is being relentlessly undermined. If he does not begin to recover what

their special fear and hatred of Saddam, there are misgivings. Bahrain's Akhbar al-Khalij newspaper asks why it is always Iraq against which UN resolutions have to be implemented while countless others on Palestine and Serbian crimes in Bosnia remain mere words on paper.

Saddam's latest target is not so ill-chosen either. The weapons his men seized lie in territory which used to belong to Iraq. There is precious little sympathy in the Arab world for the territorial aggrandisement which, thanks to the UN Border Commission, Kuwait has now achieved, and, of course, even less sympathy in Iraq itself. At their conference in Kurdistan in October, the Iraqi opposition resolved to ask Kuwait to open its frontiers for the passage of men and materials to the Shi'ite south. But they could not bring themselves to accept what Kuwait demanded in return: solemn recognition not merely of the state of Kuwait, but of Kuwait in its new dimensions.

As for the ban on UN flights, it might be argued that since Saddam's bravado is greater than usual, so would be the hu-

miliation of another retreat on ground where he has taken such a specific, public stand. It would doubtless weaken him but since he has retreated so often before, it could hardly do so significantly. If, on the other hand, he stands firm, and offers yet more provocation, a military strike would be a far from comfortable course for the West to take in the teeth of growing Arab disapproval.

Nor would it be easy — now that those missiles have been removed — for the West to decide how and where to strike. Ever since the Americans appeared to make up their minds that Saddam must go, the only really worthwhile target is either the man himself — and he is all but an impossible one — or targets which, without too great a risk of adverse repercussions, would contribute significantly to his end.

There are in fact few such worthwhile targets around. To hit airfields or bases would be unlikely to weaken his grip on the apparatus of power. Nor, probably, would such strikes do much to help the Shi'ites of the south — whose opposition spokesmen maintain that, since the imposition of the no-fly zone Baghdad has grown more, not less, brutal in its oppression.

Attacks on "infrastructural" targets in Baghdad or other cities would risk inflicting heavy civilian casualties. Anything like a repetition of the destruction of that Baghdad air raid shelter, at the height of the Gulf war, would be a public relations disaster. More such attacks would merely increase the misery of the Iraqi people already suffering under UN sanctions which are harder and harder to justify.

But there are imponderables, especially psychological ones. Air strikes, insofar as they showed that the West really meant business, could encourage all those opposition forces who are looking for evidence that the more resistance they offer to Baghdad the more western assistance will be forthcoming. But imponderables is all they are, and Saddam has presumably weighed them. He has presumably said to himself that, with his overall position deteriorating, he has to make a stand some time to try to turn the tables while he can. He must know that the risks are far from his alone: they are increasingly the West's as well.

By David Hirst

Even in the Gulf states, with

Algerian death sentences behind closed doors

W/mail 15/11 - 21/11/93
IN ALGERIA, war has already broken out. So says the army-backed government whose judges last week handed out 19 death sentences behind closed doors. Since its prime minister announced in November that the state would "go on the offensive", Algiers has been placed under curfew, local councils controlled by the fundamentalists have been dissolved, and press freedom has been further eroded. These measures flow from the decision taken a year ago, when the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) looked like winning the general elections, to cancel democracy. The argument was that all measures were justified to prevent the emergence of a fundamentalist state. It is fast becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The fundamentalists are now stronger, not weaker, and the government is even less popular than when it lost the first round of elections. Acts of violence against the state have become more numerous and better organised since the FIS was banned last March, with more than 200 assassinations

of members of the security forces. More than 10,000 FIS members are now in detention and last week's trial sentenced another 50 accused to jail. Yet no one outside the government believes this will do anything to restore public faith in the regime. More executions only mean more martyrs.

There were many unheeded warnings last year against the crude view of fundamentalism which lay behind the suspension of the elections. Such a view downplays the social and economic ills that help so largely to justify the FIS's public appeal. It exaggerates both the terrorist element among Islamic militants, and the extent of backing from abroad. It also glosses over the extent of secular opposition to the regime, particularly within the army. The report on the assassination of the junta-appointed head of state, Mohammed Boudiaf, dodged overwhelming evidence that he had been gunned down by his own security guards. The real threat to social stability is from inflation, unemployment,

the lifting of food subsidies, the lack of housing, and the disappearance of the collective ethos which sustained Algeria after the revolution. The regime's one-dimensional approach to these problems is as blinkered as that of any colonial government in the past to those seeking independence. Many observers now believe that it is equally doomed to failure.

While punitive sentences were being handed out in the Sahara desert last week, the interior ministers of Egypt, Algeria and other Arab countries had just finished meeting in Tunis to co-ordinate action against "terrorism". Egypt, where a round-up last month in one Cairo neighbourhood resulted in the detention of 600 alleged "terrorists", strongly supports the Algerian method, with as little success. What has happened to all the talk after the Gulf war of the pressing need for economic and social renewal throughout the Arab world? It will certainly not be achieved by arrests and executions.

Somalia hint of peace

W/Mail 15/11-21/11/93.

PEACE IN SOMALIA no longer seemed entirely a contradiction in terms this week. The agreement reached in Addis Ababa was still only theoretical. The weekend's gunfire in the streets of Mogadishu is still the reality. (See page 8) The long-term future of the UN operation in Somalia is still very hazy. Yet a conference which achieves agreement on a ceasefire does reflect more awareness of the futility of continued warfare than a conference which fails even to meet. After the UN Secretary-General's stormy New Year pilgrimage, it should be remembered that, however tenuous the Addis agreement may be, nothing would have been achieved without his efforts. It is, after all, the best UN that we have.

The 14 Somali factions were there as the result of an invitation by Mr Boutros-Ghali. On a banal but essential level, they were transported to and from Addis in UN planes and were supported financially. The conference provided a platform from which a swathe of regional international bodies could communicate with the Somalis. They included the Arab League, OAU, and immediate regional neighbours — with Ethiopia prominent among them. The overwhelming message was straightforward. The international community has only been shamed by the television pictures into concern for the break-up of Somalia. It will soon lose interest again, as the Ethiopian president Melas Zenawi warned, when there are no more "skeletal figures" on our screens. In the long-run, he said, "you are more likely to suffer from neglect rather than from what some of you

may feel is unwelcome attention".

There is an obvious sense in which some of those on the spot may feel that neglect must be preferable to attention. How can the same world which brought the Somalis colonialism and the rival rearming of the cold war help them now? But however historical blame is apportioned, Somalia is crying out for help. Hundreds of thousands of Somalis, and hundreds of aid workers, agree. In the perfect world of internationalism envisaged by the Charter half a decade ago, intervention would take place with a multinational peace-making force under proper UN command. Somalia got the US marines instead. They have cleared some breathing space for aid operations, although the violence has to some extent been displaced elsewhere. There is general agreement that what Somalia needs is a long-term security presence which does not depend exclusively upon the world's only superpower. There were also fears that the US would simply pull out — after Mr Bush pulled out from his job — leaving Somalia worse off than before. But this week came the first signs of willingness to envisage a UN-led operation in which some of the US forces would stay behind as component units.

The problems of defining a role somewhere between peace-keeping and peacemaking remain acute. The UN can only provide enough room, relatively free from bloodshed and starvation, for the Somalis to make their own political settlement. That is still a long way off. But Somalia is the test-bed for other dilemmas facing the UN in the world ahead.

① AMG-16/1/92

■ One of the largest and most influential gatherings of statesmen yet seen in South Africa is heading for Cape Town to seek solutions to Africa's growing problems.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A GROUP of world leaders who have dealt with some of the biggest crises facing humanity meet in Cape Text week to grapple with Africa's grim struggle for survival.

The meeting, from Thursday to Saturday, will be attended

'African summit'

by members of the Interaction Council, which consists of 36 members, most of whom are former presidents or prime ministers.

Their aim is to formulate concrete proposals on how to bring Africa back to the mainstream of the international system.

The discussions, held in a different country every year, will be under the chairmanship of former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan who arrives here tomorrow.

The council, an international

think-tank headed by former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, will work out and propose a new strategy for Africa.

A spokesperson for the council told Weekend Argus that participants of this "African summit" will have special sessions with South African leaders.

Among the council's members are prominent African leaders, including General Ousman Obasanjo (Nigeria), expert on former Portuguese Af-

rican provinces Lopo F do Nascimento, ex-president Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, former Moroccan Prime Minister Ahmed Osman, Mr Kamal Hassan (Egypt), Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia) and Mr Adolfo Suarez (Spain).

Other members include Valery Giscard d'Estaing (France), Mikhail Gorbachev (former Soviet President) and Mr Pierre Trudeau, former Prime Minister of Canada.

Next week's meeting is also expected to focus on the international community's future

policies toward Africa, particularly a perceived marginalisation of the continent as aid, investment and resources are re-directed toward Eastern Europe's emerging democracies.

There is considerable interest in South Africa's progress towards a constitutional settlement and the council has requested a presentation on the political transition in South Africa.

The 36-member Interaction Council was established in 1983 to mobilise the experience, en-

ergy and international contacts of statesmen who have held the highest office in their own countries.

The council recommends solutions to political and economic problems confronting humanity.

World issues it has dealt with include the Cold War, environmental degradation, AIDS, population explosion, nuclear proliferation, violation of human rights, ethnic and regional conflicts, transborder population movements and other major world problems.

AMERICANS KILL SOMALI GUNMEN

MOGADISHU: US troops shot and killed five Somali gunmen in a clash that began hours after leaders of 14 Somali factions had signed a cease-fire agreement, US military spokesmen said yesterday. Seven Somalis were wounded in the gun battle on Friday night. There were no US casualties.

In the ceasefire agreement signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, clan leaders promised to stop fighting and turn over their heavy weapons.

Africa low on Clinton's list

By JOAO SANTA RITA *Express*

17/1/93

WASHINGTON has rolled out the red carpet for several days of partying to welcome Bill

Clinton, who this week will swear to defend and uphold the constitution of the US as the country's new president.

After 12 years of Republican presidential rule, expectations among traditional liberal supporters and black Americans are high, despite the fact that during the presidential campaign Clinton presented himself as a new type of democrat capable of distancing himself from the traditional democratic power brokers who had alienated thousands of white voters in suburbia.

In the past few weeks, as Clinton chose the members of his cabinet, public rows he had with traditional black American leaders seem to have been forgotten, with emphasis now being put on the key word - "change".

Jesse Jackson, with whom Clinton had several bitter public exchanges during the campaign, said he looked forward to working with a government which would be "putting people first".

"President Clinton and a Congress controlled by Democrats have the opportunity to put America back to work," he said.

Civil rights lawyer Vernon Jordan, who led Clinton's transition team, said Clinton had brought in "a new sense of

hope, a new energy and new optimism".

The African diplomatic corps is also waiting to see what changes Clinton will introduce towards Africa.

Clinton's continuous reference to "change" has caused inevitable comparisons with President John Kennedy.

"Just as the election of President Kennedy in 1960 was warmly received in Africa, so has the election of President Clinton lifted the hopes among Africans for a new and creative policy oriented to the true needs of the African people," said former Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Wayne Fredericks.

Whatever expectations people in Africa might have, analysts are unanimous that first priority will be foreign policies with other powerhouses of the world - mainly Japan and Europe.

Some diplomatic analysts have said that as far as foreign policy is concerned, Africa will be such a low priority that Clinton might decide to let African politics be decided by members of congress and interest groups.

A former diplomat said that because there was growing opposition to spending money abroad, and because of their nominal importance in global affairs, Africa and SA would probably continue to be only "the moralists theme park where some groups and persons would continue to seek moral self-gratification".

**Ethiopian govt
closes varsity**

ADDIS ABABA

Ethiopia closed Addis Ababa University and sacked its leadership two weeks after students clashed with security forces in a protest against the United Nations.

A statement from the Prime Minister's office yesterday said the university's president and the vice-president had been dismissed. Students were ordered to leave the campus by midnight.

19/1/93

Sawfan

Parents set for lessons about management

ALC 19/1/93

Reporter

Model C schools begin the first full year under the new system, efforts are being made to inform and advise governing bodies on effective financial management.

The Cape Provincial Parents' Association has launched the first initiative.

Chairman Mrs Naomi Peagam said the association had had several inquiries and requests for guidance from governing bodies.

The inquiries revolved around budgeting, reducing unpaid compulsory fees, financing additional teachers and the implications of tax and on Model C.

The association had arranged a seminar at which hired consultants would brief governing bodies on tax, accounting, financial and legal matters.

The seminar would be at 2 pm on January 29 at the Technology Theatre 2, University Avenue, Rondebosch Campus, at the University of Cape Town.

The seminar would be repeated at 8.30 am on January 30 at the extra-mural department, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch Bellville campus, 4 Mike Pienaar Drive.

The attendance would cost R75 and was limited to 10 representatives from each school. Contact Mrs Peagam at 686 8675.

Former heads of state for city think-tank on Africa

ALC 19/1/93

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE future of Africa and how the suffering continent can be brought back into the international mainstream will be the theme when prominent former heads of state or government meet in Cape Town on Thursday.

The elder statesmen are a core group of the influential Interaction Group, an independent international organisation founded in 1983 to mobilise the experience and contacts of a group of statesmen who have held high office.

They will consider ways in which Africa can again become a positive centre of world attention. The implications of South Africa's full integration into the rest of the continent will also be considered.

South Africans who will sit in on the discussions are former Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, executive director of Idasa Dr Alex Boraine and Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana.

Among the prominent South Africans the group will meet are President De Klerk, ANC members Mr Thabo Mbeki and Walter Sisulu, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the DP's Mr Colin Eglin.

The meeting, in the National Gallery in the public gardens until Saturday, will be chaired by former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan.

The terms of reference of the high-level group state that the world is at present undergoing a series of political, strategic, economic, social and philosophic transformations.

These will shape the structure of international relations and the prospects for stability, prosperity and growth.

"Yet Africa is already suffering, and suffered particularly in the 1980s, from economic ills, rampant poverty,

illiteracy, social and ethnic tensions and poor government — all of which impede Africa's prospects.

"Africa is a region that has been doubly marginalised over the past decade. It faces a pressing need to recover economically, even to its originally modest world status, and to get back to a situation where most governments can guarantee the basic security of their people.

"Yet Africans are confronted with the paradox that their continent's role and relevance tends to be further diminished as a result of the current world dynamics."

Particular attention will be given to aspects such as the eradication of poverty, conflict resolution, the resuscitation of agriculture, food production, investment, technology and environmental protection.

Attention will also be given to the potential benefits of widening political and social cooperation and integration.

An important part of the group's work will be to focus on what the international community can do to support Africa's efforts, in particular what changes might be required in attitude and policy.

Apart from Lord Callaghan, other elder statesmen who will attend are ex-president Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, former head of the Nigerian military government General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Portuguese prime minister Mr Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, former Zambian prime minister Mr Daniel Lisulo, former Angolan prime minister Mr Lopo do Nascimento and former Egyptian prime minister Mr Mustapha Khalil.

Among the advisers will be Mr Otunna Olaia, president of the International Peace Academy in New York, and Mr Robert McNamara, former chairman of the World Bank.

Africa Summit to meet 'big three'

Staff Reporter

1 OCT 1991

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, the ANC and Inkatha are to meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa Summit" on Friday.

The group, led by former British prime minister Lord James Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town starting on Thursday.

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former national leaders and statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

The council had hoped to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, but he is attending the Washington inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton.

Other council members due here include General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Dr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

They will meet at the National Gallery to discuss strategies to reverse Africa's political and economic marginalisation.



Bent under the weight of her baby and a sack of grain a Somali woman trudges home. Relief workers allow only women to pick up food in an attempt to keep it off the black market.

Picture: AP

US may pull out of Somalia soon

MOGADISHU — The US plans to transfer military control of Somalia to a UN command in as little as two weeks, a US spokesman said. (1)

Marine Col Fred Peck made the announcement on Sunday, stressing though that the Security Council had not yet adopted the resolutions necessary for the transfer. *Blom*

Peck also announced that the US Marine Corps would send its first combat troops — a battalion of 850 Marines — home today. *1911193*

"We feel we are rapidly approaching the point where we'll be able to make a very smooth handoff to the UN command," he said.

The announcements came on one of the quietest days in Somalia since US troops landed on December 9 to restore order in a nation that has lost 350 000 people to famine, fighting and disease in the past year.

In another indication of improving security, a convoy of 25 trucks carrying nearly 400 tons of food set out for the first time over 640 treacherous kilometres to western Somalia, accompanied by French troops.

Mohamed Farah Aidid, one of Somalia's most powerful warlords, predicted a three-day-old ceasefire among the country's warring factions would hold. Aidid was returning from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the agreement was signed by 14 factions on Friday. — Sapa-AP.

Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit". *BIDAY 19/1/93*

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila

visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA.

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue. He called for tough timeframes for SA's transition to democracy, saying these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council.

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered "toothless and ineffective in curbing violence" by the watering down of the OAU's resolutions, Holomisa said.

He questioned why the international community "allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests".

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

Africa could not accept the division of "democratic forces", he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa.

Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officers of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel on Saturday to discuss force attitudes that needed to change in a new SA. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus.

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Nlanhla. *BIDAY*

According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC. *19/1/93*

"Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job," he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



rate still

Phosphate industry expansion

BIDMAY 19/1/93

RABAT — Morocco's billion-dollar phosphate industry is gearing up for a major expansion aimed at satisfying an eventual increase in world demand for fertilisers.

King Hassan of Morocco has said farmers all over the world will eventually have to use fertilisers, especially phosphates, to meet the food needs of an increasing population.

Morocco has 75% of the world's known phosphate reserves. The mainstay of the Moroccan economy, exports of raw rock and by-products, are worth just more than over one billion dollars a year.

Energy and Mines Minister Driss Alaoui M'daghri told a news conference in January that the state-owned Office Cherifien des Phosphates (OCP) would invest more than \$1bn to expand its production capacity in the next four years.

The OCP's strategy is to switch from exporting raw rock to process-

ing it at home by converting it into phosphoric acid and fertilisers.

Its present capacity is 30-million tons of rock a year from four open-cast mining centres. In the mid-1980s exports peaked at 20-million tons.

But because of the change in emphasis, coupled with a drop in demand due to recession, rock exports to 36 countries were down to 9-million tons last year and will be about the same this year.

The OCP forecasts output this year at 22.9-million tons, more than half processed locally to make phosphoric acid and fertilisers for export, mainly to Europe and Asia.

In its latest annual report, the OCP said work would start this year on building two more phosphoric acid plants costing \$1.27bn, bringing the total to seven.

The two plants would be at Jorf Lasfar, a new Atlantic harbour south of Casablanca, and would be able to

produce 2 000 tons of acid a day starting in late 1995, rising to 4 000 tons when the project was completed.

The acid plants pour effluent into the Atlantic ocean but officials say they are designed to prevent damage to the marine environment in what is one of the world's richest fishing grounds for sardines, tuna and squid.

To reduce the environmental damage from the phosphate industry, the EC is financing a \$1.32m project to extract toxic cadmium from phosphoric acid at a pilot plant at the OCP's research centre in Casablanca.

The OCP said the outlook was for fierce competition on the world market. Its report said there had been a "brutal slump" in sales to eastern Europe because of financial difficulties and the abolition of farming subsidies, but Morocco would be ideally placed to keep a major share of the market once the worldwide recession had ended. — Sapa-Reuter.

Council to probe SA, African issues

CAPE TOWN — The marginalisation of Africa and SA's new role on the continent will be the focus of discussions this week between five former heads of state, 22 prominent international figures and SA leaders.

Former British prime minister Lord Callaghan said yesterday these and other questions would be discussed by a committee established by a group of former heads of state called the Interaction Council.

The committee, headed by Lord Callaghan, would also discuss at the Cape Town workshop what the international community could do for Africa. Discussions with President F W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be included.

The fact that 16 of the world's 20 poorest countries were in Africa was cause for concern, Callaghan said. The way to bring Africa back into the world mainstream would be one of the main focuses of the committee, which would report its findings to the council in April, he said.

The kind of assistance the international communities should provide for Africa's struggling democracies would also be canvassed, he said.

The committee would discuss what

SA could offer its neighbours and the rest of Africa.

The committee would also "have something to say" about the possible conflicts between southern African organisations, he said.

The Southern African Development Conference and the Preferential Trade Area, which are working toward southern African economic integration, are considered particularly vulnerable to the criticism that their functions overlap.

Former Nigerian leader Olusegun Obasanjo said unnecessary rivalry between African organisations was not limited to southern Africa. He was concerned that SA's reintegration into the continent should be "synchronised" properly.

The members of the Interaction Council committee include Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento (Angola).

Participants include former World Bank president Robert McNamara, Idasa president Van Zyl Slabbert, World Bank president Tim Thabane, former SA finance minister Barend du Plessis and the African Development Bank's Adewale Sangowawa.

①
TIM COHEN

Africa 'specialist' named to succeed Cohen

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The incoming Clinton administration moved with unexpected speed today in naming George Moose, a career diplomat and African specialist, as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in succession to Hank Cohen, the Bush administration's appointee, who is due to retire.

Moose's appointment came in the face of a concerted initiative by the Congressional Black Caucus to secure the influential

post for Walter Carrington, chief of staff to the former chairman of the black caucus, Mervyn Dymally.

Like the new Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and other top officials of the Clinton foreign policy team, Moose rose to prominence during the Carter administration.

After a brief posting as political officer at the US embassy in Barbados, he was appointed as an analyst in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, with responsibility for Angola, Mozambique and

Rhodesia.

In 1977 he was appointed special assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, with responsibility for African and United Nations affairs, a period during which the Carter administration, under the controversial leadership of its UN ambassador at the time, Andrew Young, played an activist role on issues involving Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa.

He became deputy director of the Office of Southern African Affairs in 1978, and has previously served as US ambassa-

dor to Benin and Senegal, and as the US's alternative representative on the UN Security Council.

Moose was born in New York in 1944, but grew up in Denver, Colorado. He did graduate study at the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, New York, and joined the US Foreign Service in 1967.

He served in Vietnam from 1969 to 1971, as a refugee adviser and later as political officer at the US consulate in Danang, and speaks fluent Vietnamese and French.

Star 20/1/78

STAR 20/11/93.

Think-tank to aid Africa ①

CAPE TOWN — Former government leaders from around the world gathered in Cape Town yesterday to help stop Africa's slide into political, social and economic collapse.

An official said several former heads of government grouped in the New York-based Interaction Council would meet formally from tomorrow to Saturday to prepare a strategy to reverse Africa's increasing marginalisation.

Former British prime minister Lord Callaghan and one-time Nigerian military leader Olusegun Obasanjo said in an interview Africa was being politically, sociologically and economically sidelined by incompetent governments and politi-

cal instability.

Callaghan, British prime minister from 1976 to 1979, was in Cape Town to chair a preparatory meeting of the Interaction Council, a think-tank comprising 36 former heads of government and funded largely by Japan.

Obasanjo said: "The worst-case scenario is one of disease, pestilence and war ... of Africa becoming the dinosaur continent that you have to read about in history books."

Callaghan said sub-Saharan Africa, with 10 percent of the world's population, produced only 1 percent of the world's gross domestic product.

"One indication of the problem is that 16 of the

world's 20 poorest countries are to be found in Africa," he said.

He said ideas put forward in three days of talks in Cape Town with 20 invited specialists would be presented to the full council in Shanghai, China, in May.

But Callaghan cautioned that no foreign agency could halt the decline in African economic strength.

Callaghan, Obasanjo, former Portuguese prime minister Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, Egypt's Kamal Hassan Ali and Malcolm Fraser, prime minister of Australia for eight years until 1983, were among council members expected in Cape Town. — Sapa-Reuter.

US troops leave Somalia

MOGADISHU — Hundreds of US troops left Somalia yesterday after a bittersweet tour.

The 202 Marines aboard the first chartered jet to leave cheered loudly as attendants locked the door and pulled away the stairs leading into the plane. Minutes later, the plane took off, an hour ahead of schedule.

"We've accomplished so much here," said Lt-Col Jim Walsh, commander of the first combat unit to return home from Somalia.

"When we arrived this country was on its back and since we've been here we've got it back up on its feet. It's a real pleasure to see all the food flowing in, kids going back to school, the towns fairly stable again. The elders are starting to form a government again on their own."

"I feel that we did a good job," said Lance-Cpl Shane Reaux. "I'm not sure that the mission is complete. I hope the people come out of starvation. I see the way that we live and the way that they live. Big difference." Somalia had lost 350 000 people to famine, fighting and disease in the past year. Another 2-million were at risk.

With the departure of the first Marines, the US was moving toward transferring military control of Somalia to a UN Command, perhaps within two weeks, a US military spokesman said on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.

Govt launches air strikes on Unita

LUANDA — The Angolan government had launched air strikes against Unita surrounding the vital oil-producing town of Soyo and was moving reinforcements into the area, government and UN sources said yesterday.

The UN Angolan mission reported that heavy exchanges of fire were taking place around Soyo in the northern Zaire province, which accounts for a third of Angola's production of 500 000 barrels a day.

The UN mission also confirmed air strikes in the area, while a source close to the government said reinforcements were pouring into Soyo.

The government-owned Journal de Angola repeated charges yesterday that white mercenaries and soldiers from Zaire were fighting alongside Unita in the area.

Foreigners have been evacuated to ships standing offshore because of the fighting, and diplomats said they expected Unita to try to capture Soyo in the next few days.

Several international companies operate in Angola, including Texaco of the US, Elf-Aquitaine of France and Belgium's Fina. Fina plant at Pangula near Soyo has been wrecked, says government radio.

Oil officials said Fina's 27 000 barrels a day onshore production and Texaco's 64 000 barrels a day offshore output had been halted after expatriate staff were evacuated after fighting on Monday.

A Texaco official said Texaco had safely evacuated all workers. Texaco had suffered no damages to offshore installations. Elf Exploration's local director-general

Roman Gonzalo said technical staff had been evacuated to offshore platforms and administrators had headed for Luanda.

UN sources said they believed there was still fierce fighting yesterday at the key central highlands town of Huambo, where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has set up his political headquarters. The government late on Monday confirmed Unita's claim that it had shot down an air force plane there. The army said Unita troop movements had been detected in the north of Huila province, close to Huambo, and a new attack was expected.

The UN said there were sporadic artillery and mortar exchanges in Luena, capital of the eastern Moxico province, and intermittent clashes with small arms in Saurimo, capital of neighbouring Lunda Sul province. Fighting had intensified near the border with Namibia and two Angolan policemen and a Namibian civilian had been admitted to a Namibian hospital at Oshakati in the north.

The UN has reported no progress in attempts to broker a ceasefire meeting in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa. UN special representative Margaret Anstee said the UN-sponsored process to end 16 years of civil war in Angola was "in tatters". Savimbi had failed to contact her after making a new demand late last week that the ceasefire meeting should consider political as well as military issues.

The UN Security Council will have to decide soon whether to renew the mission, which expires on January 31. — Sapa-AP.

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MH88135



Potential seen for African economic community

By Leigh Hassall

The recent political and economic changes in Southern Africa have created the potential for an African economic community, says Grant Thomas, executive chairman of Malbak.

"A significant post-war phenomenon has been the development of primarily continent-based trade groupings or economic units.

"I believe the African continent can't stay the odd man out," adds Thomas.

He was speaking after delivering the keynote address at the launch of a trade fair into the sub-Saharan countries organised by Trade Access-West Africa.

Thomas says the markets of West Africa — an estimated 200 million people — to a large extent meet the key criteria for imports from South Africa.

It is a high-volume concentrated market with established levels of imported products and the hard currency resources to pay for them.

Thomas says South African

companies with serious commitments to exports have, in many instances, been highly successful.

However, he cautions that exports require a real commitment and persistent follow-up.

Ambassador Louis Guirando of the Ivory Coast said in an interview that the door had opened to South Africa and that his country wanted to co-operate with South Africa both in imports and exports.

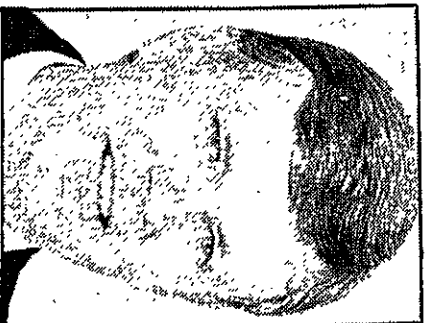
He did not rule out the possibility of Ivory Coast offering in-

centives and facilities to encourage SA exporters.

Traditional West African imports include consumer products, food, agricultural and industrial products, mining equipment and technology.

Suppliers are from Europe, Asia and the Far East, with SA currently contributing only a very small portion.

The trade show will be held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Lagos, Nigeria; Accra, Ghana and Dakar, Senegal.



Grant Thomas . . . exports require a real commitment

Influential world body meets

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Ways of bringing Africa back into the international fold and solutions to some of its more pressing problems are being addressed at a meeting starting today of the Interaction Council, an influential world body of senior statesmen and advisers.

President de Klerk, Walter Sisulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and Colin Eglin are among the South Africans to brief the group.

The findings of the conference, chaired by former British Prime

Minister Lord Callaghan, will be communicated to international leaders.

Among the other members are General Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the military government of Nigeria, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, former Prime Minister of Portugal, and Dr Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia.

Among the advisers are Robert McNamara, former chairman of the World Bank.

Lord Callaghan said yesterday that the main purpose of the conference would be to consider how Africa could be reintegrated into the international fold after being "marginalised"

STAR 21/1/93
over the past decade.

Africa faced the pressing need for economic recovery — even to its originally modest status — and had to get back to a situation where most governments could guarantee the basic security of its people.

Lord Callaghan said that once South Africa attained democracy it had a major role to play in the improvement of Africa's economy.

According to a working document to be presented to the conference, some of the continent's problems may be bottoming out.

Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for only 1 per-

cent of world economic output and 1 percent of world trade.

Africa had 16 of the world's 20 poorest countries and nearly half the population lived below the poverty line.

It had, however, shown some improvement in social welfare. Africans were living longer, infant mortality had decreased and there had been substantial improvements in the numbers of doctors and nurses.

Aids was, however, cancelling out most of the projected improvements in the mortality rate. The World Health Organisation estimated that Africa had 6,1 million HIV cases.

HUNDREDS MORE BARGAINS INSTORE!

SOME GOODS SLIGHTLY SHOP SOILED-BUT FULLY GUARANTEED!

African 'EC' still a long way away

6/20/93 211193
LUSAKA — Leaders of 18 African countries began the annual summit of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) yesterday with an acknowledgement they had made little progress towards a common market.

Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba, outgoing PTA chairman, noted that trade within the area — stretching from Djibouti in the north to Lesotho in the south — had grown more slowly than external trade.

The PTA wants to create a common market by the year 2000.

Incoming chairman President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda said: "We say we want free trade, but close our borders, set up road blocks and impose restrictions — surely this is not an indication of seriousness."

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe said PTA member countries should not underestimate the effects of armed conflicts, which retarded collective efforts towards regional integration. — Sapa-Reuter.

Conference on how to bringing Africa back from the brink

① AFR 21/193

Statesmen discuss continent's future

TOS WENZEL
Political Staff

WAYS of bringing Africa back to the mainstream of the international system and to deal with some of its pressing problems are being considered at a meeting of the Interaction Council, an influential body of elder statesmen and advisers, which started in Cape Town today.

President De Klerk, Mr Walter Sisulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and Mr Colin Eglin, will be among the prominent South Africans who will brief the group.

The findings of the conference will be communicated to international leaders.

The chairman of the conference is Lord Callaghan, former British prime minister.

Among the statesmen are General Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the military government of Nigeria; Mrs Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, former prime minister of Portugal; Dr Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia and Mr Lopo Nascimento, former prime minister of Angola.

Among the advisers are Mr Robert McNamara, former chairman of the World Bank and Mrs Graca Machel, widow of the Mozambican leader Samora Machel.

Lord Callaghan told The Argus today that the main purpose of the conference would be to consider how Africa could be reintegrated into the world after it had been marginalised over the past decade.

He pointed out that, according to the terms of reference of the conference, the continent faced the pressing need to recover economically, even to its originally mod-

est world status.

It had to get back to a situation where most governments could guarantee the basic security of their peoples.

Africans were confronted with the paradox that the continent's role and relevance tended to be further diminished as a result of current world dynamics.

Lord Callaghan said an important issue to be considered was the role South Africa could play in the continent when it became a full democracy.

Major moves were needed on issues such as the improvement of Africa's economy and there could be an important role for South Africa in this.

Apart from considering the role the outside world could play in the upliftment of the continent, the conference would also consider what African states themselves could do.

According to a working document to be presented to the conference, some of the problems of the continent may be bottoming out.

Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for only 1 percent of world economic output and 1 percent of world trade.

Africa had 16 of the world's 20 poorest countries and nearly half of the population lived under the poverty line.

Africa had, however, shown some improvement in social welfare. Africans were living longer, infant mortality had decreased and there had been substantial improvements in the ratio of doctors and nurses to the general population.

Aids was, however, cancelling out the effect of most of the projected improvements in the mortality rate.

The World Health Organisation estimated that Africa had 6,1 million HIV cases.



ELDER STATESMEN: Former heads of government and advisers who are in Cape Town for an Interaction Council Conference on Africa at a reception at the National Gallery last night. From the left, Lord Callaghan of Callaghan, former British Prime Minister who is the chairman, Mr Robert McNamara, former chairman of the World Bank, Mrs Graca Machel of Mozambique, General Olusegun Obasanjo, former head of the military government of Nigeria, Mr Colin Eglin MP and Mrs Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, former Prime Minister of Portugal.

Picture: OBEID ZILWA, the Argus.

Signs of hope for hard-hit Africa

21/1/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AFTER decades of post-independence economic stagnation, political turmoil and social decline, Africa is showing signs that some of its problems may be bottoming out.

This is the thrust of the document which will serve as the basis of three days of discussion by 36 former heads of state at the Interaction Council's conference starting in Cape Town today.

The document — "Bringing Africa back into the mainstream of the international system" — paints a sombre picture of trends in most African states after almost three decades of independence.

But the report submits that political and economic reforms under way in a number of African states provide some grounds for optimism.

As testimony to the continent's detachment from the mainstream of world development in the post-independence era, the document notes that sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only 1.5% of world economic output and only 1% of world trade.

Upbeat note

Africa has 16 of the world's 20 poorest countries and the World Bank estimated that nearly half of the continent lived below the poverty line.

However, the report notes that Africa has shown some significant improvements in social welfare. Africans were living longer, infant mortality rates were declining, and there had been substantial improvements in the ratio of doctors and nurses to the general population.

But Aids was now cancelling the effect of most of the projected improvements in mortality rates. The World Health Organisation estimates that Africa has 6.5 million of the 10m HIV cases worldwide.

The document concludes on a more upbeat note by arguing that anti-development policies and centralised authoritarianism was on the decline. For the 1990s and beyond, there are a number of grounds for optimism. There have been important economic policy reforms in a number of African countries and there is a general search for a better balance between the state and private sector in economic life.

Somalia's silent spectre

W/ mail 22/1-28/1/93
HEALTH workers in Somalia are battling against an enemy of unknown strength that poses a threat to the population as menacing as war and famine — Aids.

Officials in Mogadishu say there is widespread ignorance of the disease, which is rampant throughout Africa.

They warn Somalia is a prime target for Aids because of the country's civil war.

The war has led to an increase in refugees moving in and out of neighbouring countries such as Kenya, where there is a high infection rate, and an increase in rape and prostitution.

It is difficult to diagnose the disease in a society hit by so many health problems.

A World Health Organisation official, who has been in Somalia for three and a half years, said it was estimated the rate of HIV infection had doubled from 16 cases per 1 000 people to 32 per 1 000 in the last two years.

The official, who spoke on condition he was not identified, said this was still relatively low by African standards but it threatened to go higher in the absence of an effective testing and education programme.

An education programme launched before the country descended

Although Aids is difficult to detect amid dire health conditions in Somalia, it is rampant. However, most Somalis deny that it has hit their nation and refuse to be tested.

By NEIL MCMAHON

22/1-28/1/93
into complete anarchy two years ago had fallen by the wayside, he said.

"The probability that it has doubled is high," he said. "The knowledge of Aids, the knowledge of how to protect against Aids was very low and that's what we were working on before the war."

"The Somali society is a very nomadic society and even though they have heard of Aids they don't really listen."

"Their knowledge of what it can do to you and what you can do to prevent it is very low."

This was borne out on a visit to a Mogadishu medical clinic, which has a poster on the wall listing several sexually transmitted diseases but makes no mention of Aids.

A doctor at the centre said Aids did not exist in Somalia.

Mary Lightfine, a nurse with the International Medical Corp (IMC) who has been in the country for eight months, said such attitudes were common among Somalis.

"They deny it emphatically - they say 'we don't have Aids here and we don't have to test for it'," she said.

"The people here (in Mogadishu) and in Baidoa didn't even want an Aids test. They refused to accept it and they wouldn't discuss any more about it."

Lightfine said many of the health problems brought on by malnutrition were similar to Aids-related illnesses, such as pneumonia.

She said that on a brief return to the United States recently she made sure she was tested for Aids because of the chaotic conditions medical staff worked under in Somalia.

"We're exposed to so much blood and we get splashed and have urine spilled on us," she said.

Dr Broderick Franklin, an IMC doctor who has been in the country for three months, said it was far more difficult to pick up the warning signs for Aids that medical staff used in the West because health problems in Somalia had so many potential causes.

Africa think-tank begins

STAR 22/1/93

CAPE TOWN — Statesmen attending the Interaction Council summit have called for a conditional cancellation of Africa's foreign debt and have emphasised the need for a free press to check rampant corruption on the continent.

The council, a think-tank of eminent international leaders, yesterday began three days of talks on Africa's marginalisation and ways of reintegrating African states into the mainstream of the international system.

Former British prime minister Lord James Callaghan is chairing the summit. Other former heads of state include Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo, Zambia's Dr

Kenneth Kaunda, Portugal's Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo and Angola's Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento.

President de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone will brief delegates on the political transition in this country.

The Cape Town summit, the first to be held in Africa, is mandated to discuss problems such as Africa's economic decline, poverty, illiteracy and ethnic tensions, and to recommend viable measures to bring about changes for the better.

The summit's findings and recommendations will be communicated to government leaders.

At yesterday's session speakers emphasised the need for stability and security. They concurred that the welfare of the continent's people — not weapons — was the best guarantee for security.

The improvement of basic, secondary and tertiary education and the need for regional training were also stressed.

Speakers expressed alarm at the incidence of Aids in Africa. By the year 2000, health officials expect to have more than 6 million registered Aids cases compared with the current 1,7 million. — Sapa.

U.S. Marines In Somalia Losing Patience

By John Lancaster 22/1 - 28/1/93

MOGADISHU, Somalia — To hear the policy-makers tell it, the U.S. military presence in Somalia is strictly humanitarian, a selfless mission of mercy to protect food supplies for starving thousands.

Tell it to the Marines.

Children spit at them, pelt them with stones, and call them names. Few of them have ever seen a starving Somali. And sniper fire is a regular feature of life at the Marines' main encampment in Mogadishu, a ruined soccer stadium that the grunts have renamed Fort Apache.

"There's this conflict of trying to portray it as a humanitarian mission (while) we're getting shot at by armed Somalis," said Lt. Steve Scarfe, who commands a weapons platoon in Task Force Mogadishu. "Are we here to fight them or just carry out the mission that the commanders tell us? . . . The Marines find it confusing . . . It's not as simple as Desert Storm."

Many Somalis continue to welcome the U.S.-led military coalition, which has made great strides in opening food-distribution routes throughout areas in the country's interior where famine has hit hardest. But as the deployment of U.S. troops to Somalia enters its sixth week, the patience — and goodwill — of many Marines and soldiers are starting to wear thin.

Almost without exception, U.S. combat troops interviewed over the last several days in Mogadishu said they are confused about the precise nature of their role here, angry at their treatment by some Somalis, and frustrated by limits on their ability to respond to sniper fire and other attacks.

"I wish they'd just stage a massive attack so we could kick their butts and go home," remarked one Marine as he bedded down for the night on his cot in the dusty recesses of the soccer stadium.

The Americans' success — or failure — in defining and executing their mission is likely to profoundly influence the debate over whether to involve U.S. combat forces in peace-making efforts in other parts of the world plagued by ethnic violence, such as Bosnia.

The U.S. commanders initially took a hard line toward pacifying Mogadishu, staging several high-profile arms sweeps and a major assault on a weapons cantonment.

But they now appear to have soft-

ened their tactics. U.S. officers said that the rules governing foot patrols in the capital have been tightened to prohibit searches of homes unless there is direct evidence that they conceal arms caches or snipers. The change followed an incident in which a Marine entered a home uninvited, then shot and killed a Somali inside after the man threatened him with a machine gun, according to the Marine account.

Maj. Gen. Charles Wilhelm, the senior Marine commander in Somalia, issued a message in which he advised Marines to wave more at children and avoid showing Somalis or pointing weapons at them.

Lance Cpl. Kelly, who guards the street outside the hotel where most foreign reporters in Mogadishu are staying, said: "I think every Marine came here with the idea that he might get a chance to get a confirmed kill."

Africa: Call to drop debts

STATESMEN attending the Interaction Council summit have called for a conditional cancellation of Africa's foreign debt and have emphasised the need for a free press to check rampant corruption on the continent. The council yesterday began three days of talks on the marginalisation of Africa and ways of reintegrating African states into the mainstream of the international system. ①

Former British Prime Minister Lord James Callaghan is chairing the summit, which is also being attended by six other former heads of state and a host of high-ranking international officials.

At yesterday's session speakers emphasised the need for stability and security in African states. They concurred that the welfare of the continent's people was the best guarantee for security.

One participant insisted that Africa's foreign debt be cancelled — although under certain conditions, and this was generally agreed to during subsequent discussions. — Sapa

OT 22/1/93

health

Armies lead charge

in the spread of Aids

SOUTH

23 | 1 - 27 | 1993

COLONEL Patrick Lumumba was a civil war hero in Uganda and was one of the victorious National Resistance Army's (NRA) top officers.

In 1987, Lumumba was due to be posted to the Soviet Union for military training. But he needed to test HIV negative before he could go. Lumumba tested HIV positive. Four years later he was dead.

Lumumba's story is not unique. Worldwide, many thousands of soldiers are infected with HIV; many hundreds, perhaps thousands, have already died from Aids.

In terms of manpower, Aids has decimated some armies in Africa. One sub-saharan country's airforce has lost so many expensively trained pilots that it has had to recruit pilots from Yugoslavia to fly its MiG jets.

Combat soldiers also have a life and death interest in the HIV status of their comrades-in-arms. On the frontline, it is normal practice to give a wounded soldier a blood transfusion on the spot — from the nearest available soldier.

Because the HIV virus can be transmitted during a blood transfusion, the HIV status of the blood donor is crucial.

Generals in armies like that of Ghana, whose soldiers are often used on UN peace-keeping forces, worry about sending troops who are HIV positive abroad. Instead of

Soldiers are meant to

bring about peace

where there is conflict,

but now they may also

be bringing with them

a killer disease:

bringing peace to a highly-charged political situation, they could be accused of bringing disease.

Many civilians regard the military as agents for the spread of the HIV virus. For many civilian women, it is hard to refuse sex to a soldier wielding a gun.

War has become a harbinger of Aids. The former chief medical officer to the British government, Sir Donald Acheson, warned that war — "particularly the slow-burning anarchic disturbances currently so prevalent" — was an important factor in the spread of HIV in Africa.

According to Dr Andrew Cliff of Cambridge University, Aids in Uganda demonstrates that the "class association between war and disease substantially accounts for the present geographical distribution of Aids cases in Uganda". War promotes the spread of Aids

through the large-scale uprooting and displacement of civilian populations. There were an estimated 1.8 million refugees in southern Africa during the 1980s.

Armies the world over are worrying about recruiting and keeping their soldiers free of HIV infection. But whether military authorities will publicly disclose their policies on HIV and Aids is another matter.

Kenya, for example, a country with a rising HIV rate, has tended to deny the military problem until recently but now, army officers have opened dialogue with Aids Programme officers.

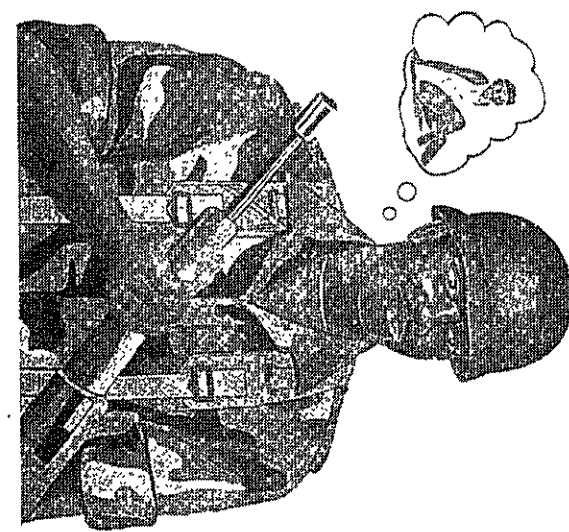
There is a startling contrast between the openness of the United States army and the secrecy of the British armed forces about HIV infection and Aids issues.

The US army pioneered an open policy on HIV among its soldiers and published numerous medical studies on the ramifications of HIV in its ranks.

Uganda has one of the highest rates of HIV infection in the world, and its army, the NRA, recognised as early as 1987 that it had a serious and probably unique problem with Aids. The NRA estimates that HIV prevalence in its ranks could be as high as 20 percent.

Irrespective of the ethical and medical dilemmas surrounding mass testing for HIV, the military is in a

COMBAT READINESS



CONDOM READINESS

strong position to enforce mass testing.

In the United States, for example, all soldiers on active duty have to be routinely tested for HIV infection every 16 months. Potential recruits are also tested.

In Ghana, each soldier has a compulsory yearly medical check-up which includes an HIV test. If a soldier is found to be HIV positive he is told and restricted from overseas postings, which is a severe penalty in terms of promotion prospects and lucrative allowances, but they are kept on active service in Ghana for as long as they are fit.

The military can play a crucial role in developing Aids control programmes and be a tool for educating the public about HIV and Aids. But where there is war and conflict, soldiers can take on a more sinister aspect as the agents of death, disease and disruption. — **Panos.**

BRIEFING

The Star Monday January 25 1993 13

Can Africa handle the ballot box?

THE every apparent failure of the "free world" ideology in Africa, more and more people wonder if the besieged continent is ready for democracy.

There are those sages who insist that democracy is foreign to Africa, that it stands no chance of succeeding because the traditional African is easily impressed by authority and that the tribal identity in Africa is too strong to allow for true people's democracy.

But then there are those who claim to be equally in the know, who insist that grassroots African society has always been democratic. That chiefs ruled through the will of the people. Whatever the truth about traditional Africa, the fact is democracy has taken hold of the

imagination of millions throughout the continent. Africans were eager to cast their votes — their first opportunity ever to do so — in the elections of September 29 and 30 last year. Hours after the polls closed on a generally successful campaign, the country began a slide back into civil war.

The reasons for the failure in Angola? Some of the more obvious include the rush job in merging the two armies and Jonas Savimbi's refusal to accept defeat.

The continued thwarting of a handover to an elected civilian government in Nigeria has convinced many that civilian rule

will just not be able to control Africa's most populous and fragmented nation.

In an effort to undermine the ethnic, religious and regional domination that has plagued Nigeria the military government created, and wrote the manifestoes, of the only two legal political parties.

Kenya has just completed an election process which was marred by ethnic violence and ballot rigging. Prior to the election, some opposition nominees were kidnapped to allow the ruling party candidates to run unopposed.

Tribalism turned out to be a significant factor in the elections. Apart from the ethnic clashes which left many hundreds dead, President Daniel arap Moi can thank his return to power to the fact that the majority Kikuyu tribe's vote was split between two other presidential candidates.

As South Africa approaches the test of democracy, Africa's many failures are causing concern. HANS-PETER BAKKER reports.

leader Mobutu Sese Seko continues to exercise control over the country's security forces and hampers any attempts by the interim government, led by Prime Minister Evariste Nshimiyezi to restore order.

An ominous beginning in Africa, but democracy has by no means been an outright failure.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda handed over to a democratically elected government after peaceful elections, showing that demagog leaders could be toppled. Slowly the new president, Frederick Chiluba is resurrecting the economy and turning the country into one of Africa's success stories.

Zambia was lucky. It had a leader of the stature of Chiluba and it had a generally peaceful post-colonial era.

In Kenya, although the elections were severely marred, President Moi now has to rule with a vociferous opposition. His days of dictatorial rule are over.

With South Africa on the brink of joining those African countries which have attempted democracy, the question about this country's chance of success is being asked.

South Africa has been a society under siege and its history of violence and low tolerance for opposing views hedges badly for a future democracy. Its

tribal rifts, emphasised by the years of apartheid, are sure to be a major factor — as they were in Kenya — in any future elections.

But then, South Africans are generally better educated than other Africans. The country's economy and its infrastructure are more advanced than others in Africa. And more than a decade of effective — and mostly democratic — trade unionism has instilled a sense of what democracy is all about in millions of South Africans.

tribal and its electorate too unsophisticated to succeed in its drive to democracy and better governance. The slaughter of Bosnians and Serbians in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans should be a reminder that such failings are human rather than limited to Africa.

It is simply too easy to lump together the failed attempts at democracy and to proclaim Africa not ready for the ideology of the "free world". Three decades of dictatorial rule and flagrant abuse of power have dragged the continent down as far as it can go. Now Africa has no other alternatives but to struggle on towards democracy. A far-from-perfect democracy is preferable to the abuses of the past. — Star Africa Ser-vice. D

How Goldstone refereed Kasrils' fist fight

RAY HARTLEY (11)

WHEN Judge Richard Goldstone accused the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils of irresponsibility during the Bisho march, it was not the first time he had passed judgment on the militant marcher.

Thirty-seven years earlier, Goldstone was called on to adjudicate in a somewhat simpler dispute — a fist fight at King Edward School between classmate Kasrils and a large first team rugby player.

Goldstone said yesterday he did not "particularly recall" the incident, but Kasrils said he remembered it clearly.

The fight, on the last day of the two

prominent South Africans' matric year, took place on Goldstone's lawn. Kasrils claims to have won although his opponent was "a good head taller", while Goldstone refereed from a discreet distance.

He and Goldstone had not been close friends, Kasrils said. "I was more involved with the sporting side, and he was a little swot. But it just goes to show how far you can get in life with a little swotting."

He had met Goldstone only once since the "little bout" on the lawn. "I bumped

into him in the corridors of the ANC offices a couple of months before the Bisho incident and we had a good talk." Although Kasrils thought Goldstone had unfairly singled him out in his Bisho report, "I respect him and I think he's doing a good job."

Among those who may have had ringside seats at the 1956 fisticuffs was former Premier Milling chairman Tony Bloom, who matriculated from KES in the same year. Bloom later left SA — a few years before Kasrils returned from exile — and Goldstone was appointed head of the commission of inquiry into violence.

SIDNEY 27/11/93

The US is avoiding the mistakes of Vietnam and Lebanon, reports John L Hirsch

Somalis face promising dawn

STAT 27/1/93

①

UNITED States political and military power is once again engaged in a country far from America's shores. Somalia in the north-east corner of Africa once had limited strategic significance in the waning years of the Cold War, by the mid-1980s its residual strategic value had disappeared. Today Somalia is emerging from its long nightmare.

The flight of the military dictator Siad Barre in January 1991 left behind massive devastation and a power vacuum. The ensuing civil war in 1991-92 between the forces of Ali Mahdi Mohammed and Mohammed Farah Aidede blitzed the centre of Mogadishu, impoverished the populace, and destroyed much of the country's fragile infrastructure.

Without any national or regional government, Mogadishu and the countryside became the hunting grounds for looters and bandits. Armed "technical" terrorised people in Mogadishu and the famine

belt of the south, threatened and curtailed the operations of the humanitarian relief organisations, and jeopardised the lives of 350 expatriates and hundreds of Somali relief workers courageous enough to stay the course.

President Bush's decision to send US forces to Somalia, implemented under UN Security Resolution 794, came from the realisation that this was the only way to save the people of Somalia from an even greater tragedy of mass starvation and death. The mission was carefully defined as the establishment of a benign security environment to enable the food convoys of the World Food Programme and the International Committee of the Red Cross to reach those in need.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali spoke publicly of the need for a broader mandate for the coalition forces which would entail widescale disarmament and the assumption of responsibility for security through-

nam, the US assumed responsibility for public order and security, and through its pacification programme also sought to impose a structure of civil society.

These programmes were mostly alien to Vietnamese culture and traditions, marginalised the Vietnamese, discouraged them from playing an active role in determining their future, and ended with the withdrawal of US forces, thereby accelerating the overall collapse of South Vietnam.

In Lebanon, US forces became embroiled in a situation of factional civil war. In Beirut the Marines at first were warmly welcomed. Subsequently, however, they found themselves so enmeshed in the Byzantine politics of Lebanon that they unwittingly came to be seen as a party to civil conflict.

When they became the de facto allies of the hard-line Christian faction and its Israeli supporters against the Muslim population and their Palestinian, Syrian and Iranian

an supporters, the tide of sympathy and approval quickly shifted. The suicide bombing of the Marine barracks in September 1983 and the subsequent US pullout were the tragic denouement.

Our message to the Somali people has been that the US comes in peace to support the safe flow of humanitarian relief operations; we want to work co-operatively with Somalis across the spectrum — politicians, community elders, religious leaders, women, intellectuals — and to open up the political process so that power is no longer acquired at gunpoint.

Somalia's political future is up to the Somalis. We are not taking sides or seeking to impose artificial structures, a Pax Americana or a United Nations Trusteeship. We respect Islam and we want to see Somalis again able to live in a peaceful, united land.

Can this non-interventionist approach work?

In the first five weeks of Operation Restore Hope it has. Coalition forces are operating without precedent, ideology or guide book. They have used commonsense and shown respect for the unique history of a proud people. US forces have operated with great restraint. Currently, Somalis are meeting for the first time in over two decades to sort out their future.

The January 4-5 preparatory conference held in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of 14 Somali factions has set the stage for a process of political reconciliation. After a long night of anguish, Somalis face a new and more promising dawn. □

● The writer is the US Consul-General in Johannesburg serving as political adviser to Lieutenant General Robert Johnson, commander of the Unified Task Force in Somalia.

the previous 30 days

Air medical firm grows

810mm
25/11/93 KATHRYN STRACHAN

WITH Africa becoming an increasingly popular tourist and business destination, an air medical rescue service has boosted its operation to cope with the hazards of the continent.

Last year more than 1 000 people in need of medical care were evacuated by air charter from many African countries to SA by Europ Assistance SA, part of the world's largest insurance-linked travel assistance chain.

Europ Assistance SA assistant GM Raymond Uren said with the poor medical standards in African countries and the dangers of diseases such as malaria, it was best to bring critically ill or injured travellers to SA for expert treatment as quickly as possible.

He said the company expected the number of evacuations to rise substantially this year.

In a bid to make its air medical rescue faster, the organisation yesterday relocated its Johannesburg Operations Centre from the CBD to Grand Central Airport at a cost of R500 000.

At present, R2,5m worth of medical equipment is stored at the hangar and a shock, trauma and resuscitation centre has been set up.

BUSINESS Aim to develop and retain skilled labour • Tanzanian academic for Soweto

Educationist warning to Africa

By Mzimkulu Malunga

WTHOUT economic improvement, Africa will not be able to stop the brain drain, says William Saint, higher education specialist in the human resources division of the World Bank.

Interviewed in a recent issue of a World Bank publication, *World Bank News*, Saint argues that while the continent's economies struggle to lift themselves out of the doldrums, certain interim measures could be applied to halt the flight of skills out of Africa.

Performance incentives, merit rewards, access to computers, opportunities for remunerated research and occasional participation in international scientific meetings are some of the

Sowetan 28/1/93
■ BRAIN DRAIN Exodus of skills from Africa

must be stopped at all costs:

measures African governments could apply to stop massive migration of skilled labour.

Many institutions of higher learning in Africa are experiencing problems in keeping talented academics on campuses.

A sharp decline in funding has eroded salaries, making it hard for universities to produce graduates equipped to compete in national and regional labour markets.

In many countries, a holder of a doctorate degree may earn about the equivalent of R900 a month. Lecturers in certain countries earn as little as R57, which is barely enough to buy food



for the week.

Faced with this dilemma many African professionals leave their countries to look for greener pastures elsewhere — mainly in Europe and the Americas.

A factor which compounds the situation is the fact that enrolments keep increasing. The continent's university population grew 61 percent between 1980 and 1990.

On the other hand higher education's share of African governments' budgets dropped from 19,1 percent in the early eighties to 17,6 percent towards the end of the decade.

Bully or buddy? Africa tests US role

LOSER ties with the African National Congress, increasing disengagement from Angola's Unita rebels and a scaled-down role in Somalia — these are the key policy shifts on Africa expected from the administration of United States President Bill Clinton.

A US state department official who has been in close touch with the Clinton transition team in recent weeks says Somalia, Angola and South Africa top the Africa list of the new president.

Responsibility for US policy on Africa will be the job of George Moose, assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Moose, an Afro-American in his early 60s, is a career diplomat described by colleagues as a careful, widely experienced professional. He has had ambassadorial posts in Africa and at the United Nations, where he was the US deputy chief delegate.

The state department source, whose views match those of Commonwealth officials and British diplomats, said the expectation in Washington was that policy-making under Clinton was likely to be cautious, even slow, in the initial stages, with bold adventurism avoided.

Secretary of state Warren Christopher and national security adviser Tony Lake share years of diplomatic experience, an aversion to megaphone politics and a conformist approach, the

Somalia, Angola and South Africa top the Africa list of President Bill Clinton — and they may end up defining the nature of his entire foreign policy.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

Dos Santos speaks out for peace

What are the prospects for peace in Angola? JOHN BATTERSBY speaks to Angolan leader José Eduardo dos Santos

IN the first interview he has granted since democratic elections were held in Angola, President José Eduardo dos Santos appealed to the United Nations not to back out of the country, and insists Unita is still receiving support from South Africans — but not from the government.

Q: Since the elections four months ago the prospects for peace seem to have receded steadily. Are you still hopeful that the May 1991 (Nelson) peace accord can be restored and a negotiated settlement found to the current impasse?

A: I continue to be an optimist despite the fact that Unita has rejected the results of the elections that were verified by the United Nations as being free and fair. Despite everything, Unita has not formally denounced the Bicesse accord.

But, an issue of major concern to us is that the war is being carried out by a radical wing of Unita — the illegal army of Unita (Fala) that is led by Jonas Savimbi.

Q: Two weeks ago, it looked as though the government forces had the upper hand on the



José Eduardo dos Santos... The international community has a responsibility towards guaranteeing peace in Angola

factually to support Unita.

Maybe they do this against the knowledge of the government and the president and this support is directed to the south-east or to Janjuba (Unita's bush headquarters) or to the north via Zaire.

Q: How do you see the way forward?

A: We have two options: either to get rid of that radical wing of Unita by military means or (to do so) through democratic pressure on that wing to abandon... the military way. This political pressure should be (applied) internally as well

said, "Any activism they display will be imposed on them by the president himself."

The Clinton administration is considering reducing its role in Somalia and handing over prime responsibility for managing the country's longer-term nation-building to the UN. This would run counter to the view of an influential policy-making group which argues that, as the world's only superpower, the US should assert its authority and go it alone in order to secure vital national and strategic interests.

"The Somali intervention was a test case," the state department source said. "On the outcome of the current argument, the nature of Clinton's entire foreign policy will be defined."

The issue amounts to this: will the US join other member states of the UN in helping resolve local, regional and even continental crises, or will it choose to act as a world police-

man, irrespective of the feelings of friends and foes alike?

Clinton has reportedly developed a positive relationship with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, whom he first met during the mid-1992 convention of the US Democratic Party. Mandela was the only leading South African politician to have been invited to the president's inauguration last week, and Clinton took the trouble to stay behind at one of four inauguration balls on January 20 to meet Mandela for a brief talk.

The state department source said if the ANC's understanding with the National Party continued to strengthen to the point that, after elections, a government of national unity was formed, it would be able to count on Clinton's wholehearted support.

There was recognition, he added, that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could, and probably would, create mayhem in the future. But in Washington's view, Buthelezi faces the danger of sidelining himself, along with other recalcitrants of the far-rightwing.

He said that unless elections were held within a year for an all-party government, the South African economy would be in danger of total collapse, leaving the contenders to fight it out in a wilderness of devastation.

Washington's patience with Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels was wearing thin even before Clinton took office. For years the repository of former presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush's hopes, Savimbi has disenchanted US backers by repudiating last year's election results, by breaching successive ceasefire agreements and, most recently, by defying explicit American warnings to keep his troops and the white mercenaries who lead them, out of the Cabinda oil enclave. Chevron, a major US oil company, and several European producers earn about 90 percent of Angola's foreign revenue from Cabinda's resources.

More damaging for Savimbi, even among his friends in US Republican ranks, is the mounting evidence of the backing Unita appears to be getting from freelance South African groups and Zaire.

US and British officials do not doubt Angolan claims that a South African Hercules C-130 supply plane was downed in Angola while on a mission last weekend, or that Zairean soldiers have been captured.

These officials say their information is that South African rightwingers, using mercenaries, are supporting Savimbi. Absorbing the South African Defence Force of blame, they nonetheless want to know why President FW de Klerk's government has failed to prevent missions of this kind through more effective airport control.

The British officials are convinced the South Africans are being paid by Unita with diamonds mined in Angola's uncontrolled fields.

Q: The US has cited the failure to hold a presidential ballot and your government's lack of control over the territory of Angola as reasons for not withdrawing your government. What is

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Polluting the Niger

guardian/w in w/m on 29/1-4/2/93

DEVELOPING AFRICA can only open through creation of wealth and employment. Since the basis of our wealth is the "primary" sector, I was thrilled to meet an entrepreneur who wants to build a tannery. What could be better? The tannery has been for a thousand years in the producer of meat and hides for the West African Coast. Lagos feeds on the cattle from Kano and Sokoto. In Accra and Lome, they consume meat from the regions of the upper Volta river. Abidjan feeds off the cattle products of Mali, at least until the European Common Market started dumping surplus meat along the coast. (And the Europeans pretend that they are *aiding Africa*?) But even if we cannot sell meat like we used to, we still have lots of cattle, and good tanning adds value to the product.

Mali's national production of hides and skins is around 10,000 per day. My friend Mustapha (not his real name since this is unfortunately a true story) wants to put up a tannery with a maximum capacity of 5,000 per day; and he has a fairly ambitious target to tan 50,000 per month, which is a high percentage of the actual production of skins around the capital city of Bamako. As you would expect, there is already one tannery which doesn't work. The French built it in 1978 in the far west of the country beside Senegal. It has a potential output of 2000 hides per day, far too big for a remote corner of Africa. Now why did the French and Germans fund a tannery; which in the five years 1979-84 worked spasmodically for only 19 months, and then stopped with a cumulative debt of \$6 million? According to a UN analyst, the tannery was built to produce "wetblue", partially finished hides; yet there is an enormous pigmentation machine installed for "finishing" hides, which never has and never could function in such a climate. Again why? I wonder whether it has anything to do with backhanders? I do not know the truth; but I sure know that it ain't "development".

Mustapha's tannery needs funding for around \$2 million. He can raise up to 20 per cent, and needs a bank loan for the rest. The biggest lending bank around these parts is the World Bank, and naturally Mustapha was excited to be invited to present his project to a delegation from the bank. "The factory will produce 31 jobs", he explained, "and in addition to these there will be extra profit and additional jobs from the byproducts. The horns can be cut up, using a simple circular saw, and different parts can be used to produce bone buttons, bone carvings, knife-handles, and hair combs; and we can utilise even from the soggy base of the horn, which will be ground into organic fertiliser.

Senegalese said nothing.

Mustapha felt a little less confident. "You must understand," he said, "that I have not designed this tannery to make a quick profit. Indeed, the Ministry likes it because it is intended to ensure a long-term regular income; and provide long term employment for the 31 employees. It will help my country to exploit more profitably its natural resources. In September 1991, the French suddenly closed their market to all hides and skins which did not meet new and rigorous standards. There is no tannery in Mali which is equipped for this. So we will not only be making a profit for our tannery, but for the whole of the cattle industry of Mali."

The World Bank delegation did not respond. They studied the papers. The Frenchman spoke again. "The problem sees your water treatment station. It is going to cost you \$320,000. It sees also expensive to run the treatment station. Take that out of the project, and you get a far better rate of return from your tannery."

Mustapha's mouth fell open. "But I cannot possibly take the treatment station out of the project! If I do that, I have to pump untreated effluent into the Niger River." "And your tannery becomes financially worth supporting," replied the Frenchman. The American nodded. The Senegalese remained silent. Mustapha pulled himself together, and sat forward on his chair: "My treatment station will clean up my effluent, and also produce water which I can drink! It will also allow me to recycle 50 per cent of the chrome, and therefore reduce my chemical imports. If I cut out the treatment station, I shall have to pump untreated animal detritus into the river, together with live chrome and sulphur. After three years, that part of the river will be dead. You must agree that it is out of the question?" The two white men shook their heads at him. The Senegalese looked uncomfortable, avoiding Mustapha's gaze.

Mustapha tried again. "Only a few weeks back, I met a World Bank official who greeted my water treatment station with joy! He was looking at environmental impact, and when he saw the way in which my tannery was set up, he offered me congratulations! Surely you can see that the first 20 per cent of the costs go into protecting the environment, and it is that and that alone which makes the other 80 per cent possible? You shouldn't be *criticising* my plans: you should be offering me an environmental medal!"

"Monsieur Mustapha, I am sorry to tell you that the environment comes under the Agriculture Division, and they have nothing to do with us. We are from the Finance Division, and we have to tell you

that your tannery project, while it has many merits, I am sure, does not have the sort of financial returns which the Bank is looking for. I am afraid that we cannot consider financing the project as it stands, with its unprofitable water treatment unit."

"And for you, Monsieur Banque Mondiale, I shall not remove the water treatment station. I shall not destroy the natural resources of my country. Non, monsieur. I intend this project to be a model for environmental protection. I intend it to bring real economic profit to Mali, and not just financial profit to the World Bank. I intend it to be a long-term source of income for me and my family and my workers: and I shall not poison their families or my family by pouring toxic waste into the Niger River. So if you do not wish to fund my tannery, then I wish you good day!" Mustapha walked out. The Senegalese hung his head; but he said nothing.

So I shall be producing a maximum of value from Mali's indigenous production, and making small extra profits from the by-products." Mustapha sat back in his chair exhausted, but still glowing with pleasure at having presented his project, at long last, to a potential backer.

The World Bank team shuffled through Mustapha's papers. There was an American, a Senegalese, a Frenchman, all in suits and ties, all carrying black briefcases with combination locks. It was the Frenchman who spoke first. "Your project does not give a very high return on invested capital." "That it true", replied Mustapha. "But the calculations are relatively conservative, and they do not take account of the by-products which will produce additional jobs and additional wealth." "We are not looking at wealth and jobs", commented the American "we are looking at financial returns!" The

'New vision of Africa'

South 2011-3/2193.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, said it would be "wrong to neglect the appalling pain and terrible agony" South Africans had suffered under apartheid.

Preaching to thousands of worshippers in the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town on Sunday, Carey made the strongest attack on apartheid during his visit to South Africa, saying that "a whole population has been subjugated by an evil system."

"Christ has been crucified time and again in South Africa," he said. The world leader of the Anglican church is in South Africa for an international gathering of leaders of the Anglican communion.

At the service on Sunday he said few could be unmoved by the terrible suffering that afflicts Africa.

"Africa lies wounded and bleeding and we who live elsewhere must not pass by on the other side. No Christian can be excused from coming to the aid of our African brothers and sisters in need.

"We cannot claim to obey Christ's call and follow him if we neglect those who walk with us. Here on the African continent, 16

At a mass gathering of worshippers last week-

end, the head of the

Anglican church, Dr

George Carey, decried

apartheid as an "evil

system", reports

Rehana Rossouw:

of the poorest countries of the world are to be found. We Anglicans are in these countries. We know their anguish at first hand."

Carey called on the international community to adopt "a new vision of Africa. We need a new spirit of repentance, a new sense of responsibility, a new determination to express our common humanity by just and fair dealing between our nations."

"Today we meet in a country where the scourge of apartheid has left deep scars of violence, shame



CHURCH LEADERS: Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr George Carey, the head of the Anglican Church throughout the world
Photo: Eric Miller

and anger on black and white alike. "In these past decades, families have been destroyed, homes demolished and whole neighbourhoods dumped in alien land; innocent people have been detained and abused by inhuman treatment; a whole population has been subjugated by an evil system.

"It is right to be grateful for the promise of freedom: it is wrong to neglect the appalling pain and terrible agony that you have suffered." Carey said Anglicans were united in resenting the injustice and economic

deprivation that Africa had inherited. Anglicans stood for dignity, equality and justice.

He said Africa deserved the world's gratitude as well as its help. "We rejoice in the wonderful humanity and generosity of spirit that Africa offers the world through its peoples.

"We thank God for your Christ-like capacity for forgiveness. By his grace you are putting the past behind you in South Africa. "You are discovering Christ in one another. You are allowing

Christ to reach you across the old racial divide. You are able to receive each other's gifts and graces. You are creating a single new humanity out of the blasphemies of the past.

"I want you to know how much your Anglican friends thank God for you — because together we have followed the call of Jesus Christ to walk with him."

During his stay, Carey has met President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mr Mangosuthu Buthezi.

Identity crisis for US blacks

IN their search for a cultural identity, more black Americans are demanding to be described as African-Americans.

At the same time they are demanding that more attention be paid to African history. In growing numbers, they are also dressing in west African robes to demonstrate their African roots.

Black Americans now have an end-of-the-year, seven-day celebration dubbed Kwanza which evokes African culture and promote seven principles - unity, self-determination, collective work, co-operative economics, purpose, creativity and faith. Some of the seven principles have been given African names such as "Ujamaa", the Swahili name for co-operative.

The Kwanza festival is being aggressively marketed by some companies here as a black equivalent or complement to Christmas, and indic-

Clips 311193

Can black Americans claim to be African? Or are they the first Western black people, with their own cultural trends, but part of the American culture? JOAO SANTA RITA in Washington reports on the growing search for African roots among black Americans.



CROSSROADS ... New York mayor David Dinkins got the surprise of his life when he 'came home' recently. Here he is seen at the movie set of *Sarafina*.

Kwanza celebration became a bigger community cause it allowed black more conscious of the need for a positive cultural experience," he said. Shoppers said they gave importance to the bigger community cause it allowed black more conscious of the need for a positive cultural experience," he said. Shoppers said they gave importance to the bigger community cause it allowed black more conscious of the need for a positive cultural experience," he said.

Afrikaners are more of our brothers, says top 'African-American'

Clips 311193

He said the reason blacks continued to use the term "African" in their description of themselves was because they continued to be preoccupied with assimilating, aiming to be equals to a lesser power because the slave master has erased our knowledge of our superior way of life."

In their search for their African roots many American blacks have started adopting African-sounding names or looking for real African names and have pressed for the introduction of an Afrocentric school curricula.

Molefi Asante, a leading proponent of Afrocentric curricula, who lectures at Temple University, said such an approach was necessary for black children to be "made to feel a part of the content that is being offered".

"An African-American child sits in the classroom in America and is studying about how information and knowledge are produced by Europeans," he said recently. Clinical psychologist Naim Akbar supports the Afrocentric approach.

"In a society such as this where black and white have been made to be distinct, then one can only have an in-depth identification with something that shares your im-

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cently that he was "finally home".

A few days later the cultural gap became evident when the mayor and other African-Americans in his party showed up in brightly coloured African shirts for dinner ... (while) their ANC hosts were dressed in the more usual uniform of black leaders in Africa - dark business suits," wrote the newspaper's Johannesburg correspondent.

Gerald Early, director of African and Afro-American Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, clearly reflects the idea that black Americans are Africans.

"While it is necessary that we recognise our African ancestry, and remember that it was in varying degrees stripped away by slavery, we must acknowledge finally that our story is one of re-making ourselves as Americans," he wrote in Harper's magazine, adding: "I will never be African again."

"Our profound past of being African ... must be balanced by the complex fate of being American, which we can never deny, or worse, evade," For writer Eddy Harris, the message he got from his African travels is even more blunt, straightforward and to some extent, He says African-Americans have more in common with Afrikaners than with blacks from Africa because they are both minorities.

He said the Afrikaners will live and fight in Africa, "make it work or lose it all" in Africa.

"The black American should make up his mind to do the same in the US. Africa is not our home," he wrote.

Trade bank on cards

STAR 2/2/93

CAIRO — African central and commercial banks have agreed to plans to set up an import-export bank with a capital of \$500 million to boost trade within the continent and with the rest of the world.

"An understanding has been reached concerning a new bank — the African Export-Import Bank (Afreximbank) to be created to finance and facilitate trade among African states and with the rest of the world," says the project's main sponsor, the African Development Bank (ADB).

Afreximbank aims to help exporters hamstrung by Africa's weak commercial banking network and the high cost of financing trade through banks outside the continent.

A two-day meeting in Cairo of African central and commercial banks and ministers last week gave no date for establishing the bank, but agreed to set up a 12-member committee to

finalise details.

"There is a genuine institutional and financial gap in Africa's trading framework to be addressed by the establishment of the Afreximbank," said an ADB official at the end of the meeting.

Afreximbank aims to increase official intra-African trade from its present low level of nearly five percent of the continent's total trading volume to about 20 percent over the next few years, ADB officials said.

One aim is to promote non-traditional exports to complement the commodities and raw materials Africa already supplies to industrial nations.

The bank will be set up with a minimum capital of \$500 million by an agreement among African states.

ADB president Babacar Ndiaye said governments' shareholdings would be limited to prevent them from controlling the bank. — Sapa-Reuter.

Somali gunmen attack peacekeeping troops

Blomy 5/2/93
MOGADISHU — Somali gunmen exchanged fire with troops of the US-led multinational force at a key military centre in Somalia's capital, but there were no casualties, a US military spokesman said yesterday. Capt. Ed Loomis said two Somalis armed with pistols tried to enter the Joint Logistics and Support headquarters of the estimated 37 800 UN-backed troops, most of them Americans, at Somalia's former university in Mogadishu on Wednesday night.

"Tunisian guards fired warning shots at them and the Somalis returned fire before escaping in a vehicle.

"About 20 minutes later, the Somalis came back in another car, firing at the Tunisians. The Tunisians fired back and the gunmen fled," he said.

An hour later Moroccan troops at the centre, which also houses headquarters of most army units of the 23-nation force, exchanged fire with three Somali gunmen.

"The Moroccans fired back, capturing the three.

"They are being questioned by US troops now," Loomis said.

Another group of Somali gunmen again tried to enter the centre in the early hours

of yesterday, but fled after exchanging fire with the Tunisians.

Loomis declined to speculate why the gunmen had tried to enter the area, only pointing out its strategic importance.

Also on Wednesday night, a Somali woman presented herself to US troops at the American embassy, saying she had been raped.

She was taken to hospital for treatment, Loomis said.

The shooting incidents, nearly two months after the multinational force stormed anarchic Somalia to try to speed up food aid movement to the starving, highlighted that peace was far from being established in the troubled country.

Somalia, an impoverished Horn of Africa country, slid into civil war and chaos after rebels ousted dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991 and then turned their guns on each other.

But Loomis said the security situation had improved markedly since US troops landed in Mogadishu on December 9.

"We don't really have the major shooting incidents that we encountered when we first arrived, but this is not to say there are no problems." — Sapa-Reuter

Seed Corn Has Gone

Guardian 12-11-1993

WASHINGTON — Somalia's two seed banks, facilities that stored samples of hundreds of varieties of food crops adapted to the country's soils and climates, were looted within the last three or four months and now stand empty, according to an international agricultural official last week.

Because many starving farmers long ago ate seed they normally would save for their next planting, said Geoffrey C. Hawtin, director general of the International Board for Plant Genetic Resources,

efforts are under-way to produce new seed from samples of Somali varieties stored in other countries.

Seeds of sorghum and corn, the country's two main crops, are being sought from seed banks as far away as the United States and Russia and in neighboring Kenya. Because seed banks hold only a few ounces of seed of any given variety, the samples must be planted, harvested, and replanted to build up quantities needed to supply Somali farmers.

Hawtin estimated that it would take one to two years to meet the need. In the meantime, he said, many Somali farmers must use seed of varieties best suited to growing in other places. They may grow well or poorly in Somalia's soils or fall prey to pests to which local varieties were resistant.

Hawtin made his announcement here at a symposium on world food problems sponsored by the International Food

Policy Research Institute

Loss of seed does not affect all Somali farmers, Hawtin said. In some parts of the country, crops of sorghum and corn are in the field and, with the large supplies of imported food, it should be possible to save seed from domestic varieties now growing.

Fields in much of the country, however, lie fallow, unplanted because of lack of seed. The few local varieties growing are not necessarily suited to other soils and climatic zones in Somalia. Farmers in those

By Boyce Renberger

places, Hawtin said, must resort to imported "seed of unknown potential."

One Somali seed bank was operated by the Somalia Ministry of Agriculture at a research station in Afgoi, and the other was a U.S.-funded facility in Baidoa in the middle of one of the worst-hit famine zones and one of the first towns "liberated" by U.S. Marines. Hawtin said that it is not known exactly when the banks were looted but that it is thought to have happened within the last three or four months, after staffs abandoned the storage facilities.

Fortunately, he said, in 1989 a duplicate set of about 300 varieties of sorghum and corn were taken out of the country for safekeeping in the Kenya Genebank. But because those samples amount to no more than about three ounces of seed for each variety, it will take time to produce large quantities of seed.

U.S. Marines

Guardian 12-11-1993

MOGADISHU, Somalia — The commander of the U.S. Marines in Somalia said last week that his troops have largely succeeded in making Mogadishu "a more stable, less violent city," and the Marines were ready to withdraw "within weeks or days" if only there were a United Nations force here to replace them.

Maj. Gen. Charles Wilhelm, commanding general of the 1st Marine Division, said the danger of leaving his troops deployed too long here was that they risked being drawn into Somalia's byzantine clan wars.

"Do I see us running the risk of getting drawn in more deeply through prolonged involvement? The answer to that is, quite frankly, yes I do," Wilhelm said in an interview.

Wilhelm served in Beirut, where Marines went as "peacekeepers" in the early 1980s and became the target of terrorist attacks in which more than 200 Marines were killed. While he saw no analogy between Beirut and Somalia, Wilhelm added, "I've had many, many mental milestones from Beirut that have influenced decisions that I've made personally about the commitment of the forces here. I've seen some very marked similarities in some of the situations."

The most important lesson from Beirut, Wilhelm said, was to avoid the danger of getting sucked into the factional wars on the side of any clan or armed group. But the longer the Marines are here, the

'Ready To Leave' Somalia

Guardian 12-11-1993

greater the risk "we could be drawn into it." One possibility was that U.S. troops could become bystanders in a Somali clan battle, and if the Americans intervened to defend themselves it might appear as if they were choosing sides in the feud. "Through a flow of events, we could be drawn in, and we've seen that before," Wilhelm said. "That's one of the lessons that history has taught us, perhaps more from Beirut than Vietnam."

The capital had now been largely

By Keith B. Richburg

stabilized since fewer weapons were visible on the streets, the militia checkpoints had been removed, and some level of commerce was emerging. "The city as it exists today and the city as it existed on Dec. 9 when we got here is day and night," he said. "My assessment, and my analysis of our initial mission, is that we have accomplished most of what we set out to do, when we arrived here in Somalia."

The current problems in Mogadishu, like the frequent reports of vandalism and looting, are no longer the work of armed militias, but common criminals, and Wilhelm and other senior American officials here are now saying these problems should be handled by a Somali police force, not Marines.

U.S. Ambassador Robert Oakley revealed in an interview that the United States was helping Somalis organize a Mogadishu police force of up to 3,500 men, mostly drawn

from the ranks of the former national police force. Oakley said the United States was prompted to help because the United Nations was moving too slowly on plans for such a force. In the absence of a police force, Oakley said, Marines were being exposed to sniper fire in the streets while performing police functions.

Wilhelm said that he would like to see the Somali police patrolling the streets around-the-clock, allowing the Marines to pull back and provide only a supporting role. Because U.S. law prohibits the American military from training or funding police forces overseas, U.S. officials here have been searching for ways to assist in building the Mogadishu police force and speeding the process along without seeming to become too directly involved.

The United States has now received a commitment from the United Nations to help pay the policemen.

Italy has agreed to provide some uniforms, and U.S. officials are looking for another country or military force to donate radios and communications equipment.

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Where unclean waters kill

W/Mant 5/2-11/2/93.

The deadly disease cholera is spreading its tentacles in southern Africa, writes **ANDY MELDRUM**

A ZIMBABWEAN woman visits her rural home in the mountainous eastern districts, and when she returns to Harare comes down with a violent diarrhoea. Swazi children fall sick after eating dried fish.

Mozambican families trying to resettle their farms are decimated by disease. Fatal cases of diarrhoea are afflicting increasing numbers of Malawians.

Cholera, one of the world's oldest and most deadly diseases, is spreading through southern Africa like wildfire. In its most virulent form it can kill a person within 24 hours of its onset. And for every person who contracts it, an estimated 100 people are symptomless carriers.

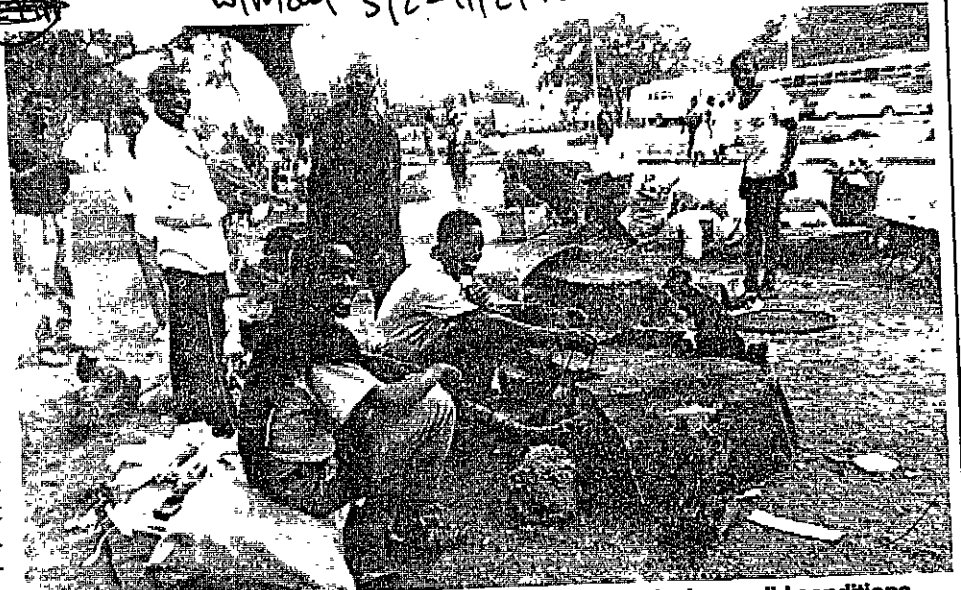
The disease is expected to become entrenched in the region, unless there are significant strides in the provision of clean water sources and improved sanitation.

Mozambique and Zambia, with 23 864 and 11 218 cases respectively in 1992, are among the worst affected countries on the continent. Now the cholera is spreading to their neighbours, according to figures of the World Health Organisation (WHO).

Swaziland had no reported cholera cases last year, but in January 2 281 cases were reported, including 30 deaths. Zimbabwe, sometimes called the "Switzerland of Africa" because of its high standards of hygiene, has also succumbed to the spread of the disease. By January there were 2 038 cases reported in the country, causing 105 deaths.

Cholera is also thought to have spread to South Africa, but as the country is not a member of the WHO, no statistics are available.

"There is no way to prevent cholera from spreading across borders," said Dr Levon Arevshatian, the WHO representative for Zimbabwe. "When I was in the Soviet Union we had very, very strict border controls to prevent the spread of cholera from Asian countries. But the barriers did no good, the cholera came any-



Health hazard ... Vendors at Mbare, Harare, roast maize cobs in squalid conditions
Photo: SARAH-JANE POOLE

way. It initially comes from another country. But then it establishes itself at the weak points and spreads from within."

Arevshatian and other health experts stress that improved water and sanitation facilities and increased public education are the only ways to control the spread of the disease.

The centre of Harare's main township, the Mbare Musika market and bus terminal, was declared "a breeding ground for cholera" by Zimbabwe's Minister of Health, Dr Timothy Stamps, when he visited it a few weeks ago. Nearly a million people pass through the Mbare centre each day, yet it has grossly inadequate water, toilet and sanitation facilities. Food is prepared and eaten amid filth. Harare city health officials have been taken to task for allowing conditions to fester.

Rural areas are also at risk, as there is a shortage of clean water and good waste disposal.

In Zimbabwe, clean-up campaigns and widespread education efforts have been launched, and last week the cash-strapped Mugabe government announced the allocation of 3.5-million Zimbabwe dollars (R1,75-million) to combat cholera. Further funds are

expected to come in from WHO, the Red Cross and the United Nations Development Programme.

"Zimbabwe's response has been very good. They anticipated the threat and the problem was recognised early. Health officials were mobilised quickly," said Dr Nicholas Chitimba, WHO's deputy representative in Zimbabwe, originally from Malawi. But it is estimated that it will still take up to three years to rid the country of the disease.

Cholera's current spread in Africa is part of the seventh world pandemic, which started in Indonesia in 1961. A disease of poverty and underdevelopment, it reached Europe in the 1800s, causing six major outbreaks.

The seventh pandemic is caused by a new strain of vibrio cholera, called El Tor. It made international headlines a few years ago when it spread throughout Latin America, striking especially severely in Peru.

El Tor first reached West Africa in 1970, spreading along coastlines, rivers and canals. From there it spread inland. Tropical coastal regions are particularly susceptible to endemic cholera.

Star 9/2/93. ①
UN vaccination programme

MOGADISHU — The UN Children's Fund said yesterday it aimed to vaccinate 750 000 children threatened by measles in Somalia. Last year 75 000 Somali children died from measles and 95 000 from diarrhoeal dehydration.

Academic^① ties in Africa

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — SA universities have taken the first step towards membership of the Association of African Universities by sending, at the association's invitation, six observers to the 1993 conference held in Accra, Ghana, last month.

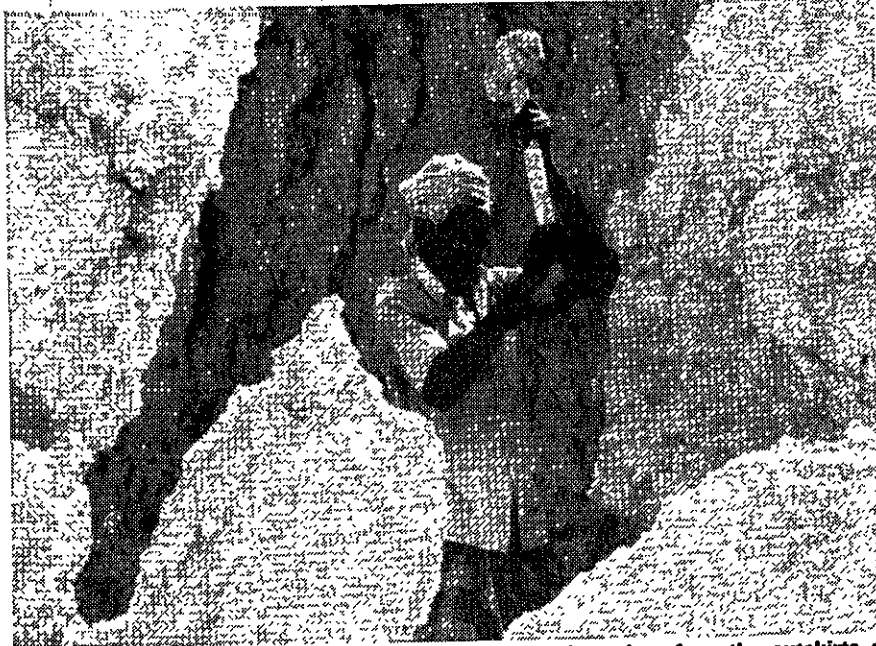
UCT deputy vice-chancellor Prof Martin West said the association anticipated granting full membership to SA universities in the near future, pending the outcome of political developments. *BIOA*

"Our entry into the association, if and when it occurs, will certainly have a major impact, as we would have the largest membership after Nigeria," West said. *9/293*

The association, based in Accra, consists of more than 100 member universities from 39 countries.

There was concern that SA's involvement would lead to a brain drain to SA, but "contact with SA may help to strengthen universities on the continent through co-operation and exchange," West said.

AFRICA



A Somali man chops building blocks from an exposed coral reef on the outskirts of Mogadishu yesterday. Coral is a traditional building material that is being used to rebuild the war-shattered city. Picture: AP

Madagascar set for a new president

ANTANANARIVO — A 65-year-old surgeon was poised to win as polling began quietly yesterday in the final round of Madagascar's first democratic presidential election in decades. He ruled for 18 years, polled only 29% of the votes in the first electoral round, against 45% for Zafy.

"If I win it will be a victory for the Living Forces (party) and for the nation," said opposition candidate Albert Zafy, as he cast his vote at a school polling station in Antananarivo. To ensure order, the government had put security forces on guard outside the radio and television stations and the oil refinery, and had closed all bars and bottle stores. No disturbances were reported in the first hours after polling opened early yesterday. — Sapa-AFP

Sudanese in dire straits, US warns

WASHINGTON — The US has warned that a tragedy is unfolding in Sudan of similar dimensions to that of neighbouring Somalia, with hundreds of thousands of people threatened by famine.

"The situation in southern Sudan is the most silent of the major humanitarian crises around the world today," said Jim Kunder, head of the office for foreign disaster assistance at the Agency for International Development.

He said about 4-million people were affected by civil strife and drought in Sudan, 1.7-million were refugees in dire need of aid and several hundred thousand faced starvation unless relief supplies arrived in large amounts.

"Food is available from donor contributions and from the government of Sudan. The key is going to be access," he said.

A state department official who recently returned to Washington from Sudan described the situation as awful. "Qualitatively, it's every bit as bad as Somalia," he said.

A civil war has been raging in the huge African country for 10 years, between the Moslem Arabised north, which controls the government, and the south which is African and mainly Christian or animist.

The government has been mobilising its forces for a new offensive which could be

launched in the next few days against guerrillas of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, or SPLA.

Kunder said the humanitarian situation would become catastrophic if the offensive took place. He called on all parties to attack the relief crisis instead of each other.

He quoted from cables of aid officials who visited towns in the region and said Kongor, which used to have a population of 140 000, was now a ghost town as a result of brutal clashes between rival factions of the SPLA and between rebels and government forces.

All children under five were dead and a recent visitor found only 60 skeletal civilians there.

Nearby Bor, once a heavily-populated area, was also largely deserted. Houses and workshops were destroyed and looted and only about 1 000 civilians were left.

Another report referring to the Leer area described "stone age situations".

The US sent about 25 000 troops to Somalia in December to ensure safe delivery of relief supplies, which were being looted by armed bandits and militias, to the starving.

Officials believe it is highly unlikely that the international community could mobilise in the same way for Sudan. — Sapa-Reuter.

BIDM 11/2/93.

(1)

W/Week 12/2 - 18/2/93

Refugee tide swells — South African authorities on the northern border with Zimbabwe are faced with a swelling tide of economic refugees of such proportions that it has forced a sharp drop in the number of children attending school on the other side of the Limpopo River.

Records kept by authorities at the town of Beitbridge on Zimbabwe's side of the border show that South African police bring back an average of 200 illegal border-jumpers from Zimbabwe daily. Sometimes the number rose to 400 a day. The refugees were predominantly from the Beitbridge area, and schools in the district had reported a sharp drop in enrolment as pupils crossed for work as general labourers on northern Transvaal farms. — Sapa.

Surgeon poised for victory

ANTANANARIVO (Madagascar) — A 65-year-old surgeon was poised to win as polling began quietly this week in the final round of Madagascar's first democratic presidential elections in decades.

"If I win it will be a victory for the Living Force (party) and for the nation," said opposition candidate Albert Zafy, as he dipped his thumb into the indelible ink — the Madagascar method of checking double voting — in a school polling station here.

President Didier Ratsiraka, who has ruled this island of more than 10-million people for 18 years, polled only 29 percent of the votes in the first electoral round, against 45 percent for Zafy. — Sapa-AFP.

Pope on human rights tour

KHARTOUM — Sudan's parliament on Tuesday welcomed Pope John Paul II to Khartoum, saying his visit would allow him to check alleged human rights abuses by the government.

The pope is on an eight-day African tour aimed at pressing for the protection of Christians, particularly in southern Sudan. Western human rights and aid organisations have accused Sudan's Muslim fundamentalist military government of human rights violations against Christians and animists living mainly in the south. — Sapa-AP.

Huambo 'reduced to rubble'

LUANDA — Fierce fighting continues to rage for the strategic Angolan town of Huambo, with at least 16 civilians killed there this week. The MPLA government said the civilians had died in a Unita bombardment of a residential building in the centre of Huambo, long the citadel of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. After a 31-day battle, Huambo had been "reduced to rubble", the MPLA said.

A senior Unita official said his movement remained "fully committed" to peace talks although no new date has been set for a return to the negotiating table. Talks due to resume this week have been postponed indefinitely. — Sapa-AFP.

MP arrested for rhino trade

HARARE — A member of parliament has been arrested for alleged involvement in a scheme to buy and sell horns of endangered black rhinos. Harare police said this week. The legislator, who was not named, was arrested with four other people. Police said they were found with several rhino horns, evidently bought from poachers. The arrest was an embarrassment to President Robert Mugabe's government, which has long denied charges by conservationists that politicians are linked to the lucrative poaching of endangered wildlife. — Sapa-AP.

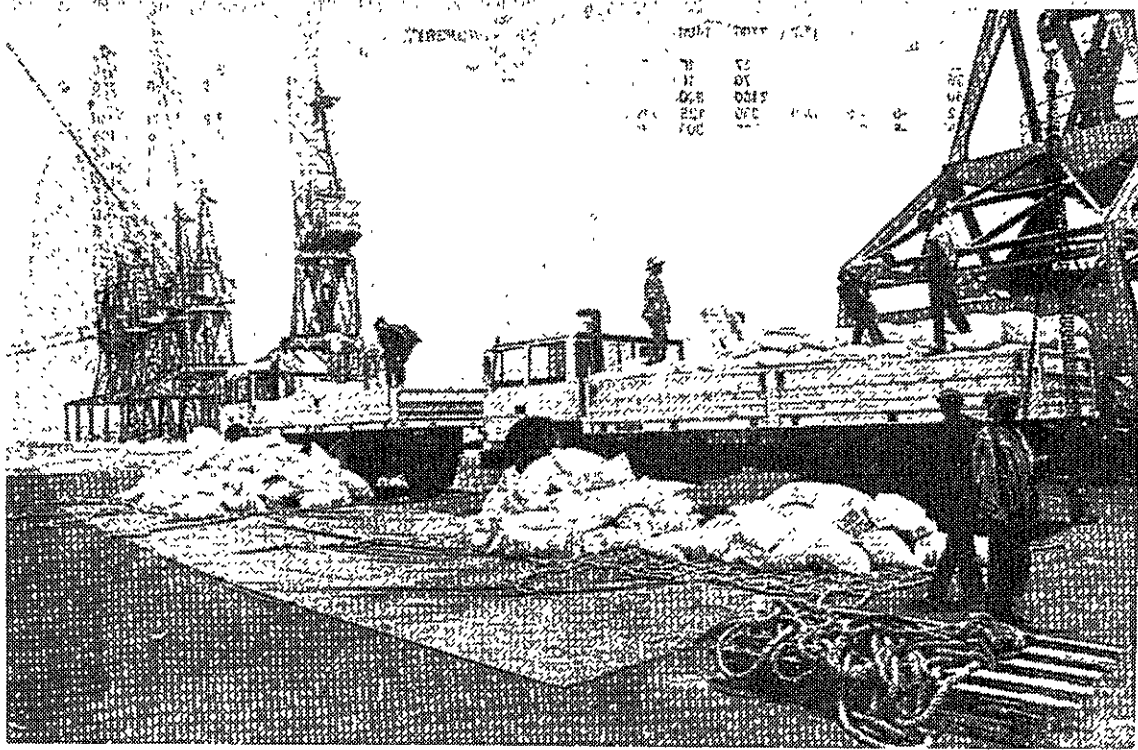
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□ **RELIEF:** The five major ports of the Southern African Development Community handled nearly half of food and other aid sent to counter the effects of last year's drought in the region.

Beira a strategic port ^① in keeping Africa fed ARG 13/2/82

Weekend Argus Africa News Service
MAPUTO. — The five main ports of the member states of the Southern African Development Community handled 48 percent of the total food aid and other commodities imported to fight the effect of the drought that devastated the SADC region last year.

According to the latest report from the Harare-based logistics centre of the SADC Food and Security Programme, the most important of the SADC ports was Beira, in central Mozambique, which handled 897 131 tons of drought-related commodities — 18 percent of the total for the period April to December last year.

The biggest customer for Beira was Zimbabwe, which imported nearly 500 000 tons — or 21 percent of its total needs — through the port. Zambia imported 100 000 tons (12 percent of its needs) and Malawi 75 000 (17 percent) through Beira. Mozambique imported nearly 230 000 tons of its relief needs through Beira.

Maputo accounted for 735 617 tons (15 percent) of the SADC drought-related imports, while Zimbabwe imported 13 percent of its needs through this port —

12 000 tons of cargo destined for Malawi was diverted to Maputo from Beira because of capacity shortage.

The Limpopo railway between Maputo and Zimbabwe was working reasonably well, even though upgrading work is still not complete. Mozambique Railways now runs at least two goods trains a day to the Zimbabwean border. Since August last year, an average of 45 000 tons of grain a month has been shipped along this line.

Mozambique's third international port, Nacala, in the north, is still badly under-used. Although the port has a theoretical dry-bulk handling capacity of over a million tons a year, it handled only 50 000 tons of drought-related cargo in this period. Most of the cargo was destined for Malawi. The main problem is that the Nacala-Malawi railway line is still being rebuilt. Completion is not expected until 1994.

The other two SADC ports — Dar Es Salaam and Walvis Bay — handled 11 percent and three percent respectively of SADC needs. Half of Zambia's needs were carried along the Tazara

railway line and the Tanzam highway from Dar Es Salaam. The port also handled 25 percent of Malawi's needs.

Most imports through Walvis Bay were for Namibia's own needs, with a small amount destined for Zambia and southern Angola. But the four South African ports — Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town — still accounted for 52 percent of the SADC drought-related imports. This is partly because three landlocked SADC members — Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — depended entirely on the South African rail network.

Under normal circumstances, Swaziland would have imported at least some of its needs through Maputo, but the Maputo-Swaziland railway was out of action throughout last year. Zimbabwe imported some 1.6 million tons — about 65 percent of its total needs — through South African ports.

Despite their long distance from the South African ports, Malawi and Zambia imported 53 percent and 40 percent respectively of their needs through these ports.

A continent awakes

South 13/21-17/2/93

South Africa's return to world competition may also mark the rise of Africa as a major power in world sport, writes **Waghied Misbach:**

AFRICAN athletes look set to dominate well into the next century with the talent currently emerging from the continent.

Now that South Africa is back in world competition, the continent is expected to be a leading force in world athletics — and to be able to challenge the dominance of the United States and Germany.

The Kenyans are dominant in the middle distance and the Nigerians are looking increasingly strong in the sprints. With South Africa's overall strength, the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta will bring an even greater haul of gold for Africa than last year in Barcelona.

In the middle distances, African athletes hold every world record, except for the 800m and 10 000m, held by Britain's Sebastian Coe and Arturo Barrios of Mexico.

But the rivalry between African countries themselves is expected to increase.

For instance South Africa's marathoners have proved that there's little that can keep them back in world competition.

When David Tsebe won the Berlin marathon last year with the fastest time of the year, and Willie Mtolo scorched to a win in the prestigious New York marathon, it was a warning to the world that we are a real threat.



A DREAM COME TRUE: Derartu Tulu and Elana Meyer celebrate after their gripping performance in the 10 000m at the Olympic Games last year

South Africa has a 50 000-strong corps of road runners who compare favourably with the best distance men from Kenya.

Tsebe and Mtolo have pencilled into their calendars a chance to take on the world's best at the Rotterdam marathon in Holland in April.

There is also talk that the South Africans will descend on the city and have crack at the world record currently held by Ethiopia's Belayneh Dinsamo.

The Kenyans, of course, will turn out en masse. Their pedigree is unquestionable, and considering their history of great tactical running, the South Africans may be in for a big fright.

It's the big events where the Kenyans thrive. Take Barcelona for instance. Just when everybody thought the Kenyan dominance was about to come to an end after their medal haul in Seoul in 1988 (where they took everything except the 10 000m and the marathon), they came back and gave everyone a thumping.

Matthew Birir, 20, fell in the first lap of the gruelling 3 000m steeplechase, but got up, dusted himself off, and eventually took the gold — followed closely by teammates Patrick Sang and William Mutwol, who took silver and bronze. That victory came on top of Kenyan gold and silver in the 800m, a bronze in

the 400m and silver in the 5 000m and 10 000m.

The Kenyans were too clever for their own good on one occasion however. Having successfully trapped Algerian Nouriddine Morceli in the 1 500m, they allowed Spain's Fermin Cacho to steal through and win the gold. A sad day for African athletics.

Morceli, on the other hand, was not to be outdone. After the Olympics he broke the 1 500m world record held by Moroccan Said Aouita.

Aouita, the outstanding middle distance athlete of the eighties, still has two world records — the 5 000m and 2 000m.

Of course, the Americans are still dominating the sprints, despite having lost out in the 100m to Linford Christie from Britain. But the African men were not to be outdone. The Olympic final featured three Africans, Namibia's Frankie Fredericks and two Nigerians.

And the Nigerian team took silver in that stunning world record race in the 4x100m.

But while the African men were doing their thing, the African women were proving that, given time, they will be able to hold their own.

The highlight for South Africa and the continent was when Elana Meyer finished second to Ethiopian Derartu Tulu, 20, who became the first African woman to win a long distance Olympic medal.

Tulu and Meyer are from Africa, but their backgrounds are vastly different. Meyer comes from the lush Stellenbosch area, with the athletics support since her childhood, while Tulu comes from a poverty-stricken township in Ethiopia, called (symbolically, perhaps) Arise.

Meyer broke her personal best by 21 seconds, while Tulu smashed her personal best by 26 seconds.

Tulu was first spotted as an eight-year-old running in a school track meeting at Arise. And it was only a few years ago that the Marxist regime allowed her to run in a vest and shorts, rather than the traditional ankle-length dress.

Tulu now works as a secretary at Ethiopia's main jail in Addis Ababa.

The other African woman to make her mark was Algeria's Hassiba Boulmerka.

Boulmerka put her competitors to shame by running the fifth fastest 1 500m of all time, shattering her personal best by almost five seconds, and thereby setting up a new African record.

Then, she punched the air in exultation as she went off on her victory lap.

The Nigerian women sealed off the Olympics with a bronze in the women's 4x100m event, trailing the American and the Unified team, who won gold and silver.

Niger poll ①
S. Weiler
on track 15/2/93

NIAMEY - Security was tight for the first free parliamentary elections in Niger, a country beset by economic crisis and armed rebellion in the north. *Sapa-Reuters*

Military junta 'boys' get things up and running after ravaging of economy by spillover of Liberia's civil war

Survival ranks above democracy in Sierra Leone

STAR 16/2/93.

DEMOCRACY remains a fine idea, but not a pressing need now that the dictators have things up and running again in Sierra Leone. People are less concerned about voting than about surviving in an economy ravaged by a neighbour's war.

The young military officers who seized power in Sierra Leone last April executed 29 alleged coup plotters in December, but they also have stabilised the price of rice and made sure the capital has reliable supplies of water, electricity and fuel.

Many of Freetown's 500 000 residents appear willing to go along with "the boys", as the junta is called, as long as they keep the city running.

"Right now, we don't want anything democratic because we have a lot of problems to be solved before we can give (power) to any

civilian," said Tejan Kamara, a 26-year-old merchant.

Among those problems are crumbling public facilities, services that are either non-existent or rudimentary, and a civil war that split over from Liberia into Sierra Leone's rich eastern diamond-mining region in April 1991.

There is no experience of true democracy in Sierra Leone, a mountainous country of 4.2 million settled by freed slaves from Britain in 1787. Violence and fraud have characterised every election in its 32 years of independence.

When Captain Valentine Strasser (28) ousted the corrupt administration of President Joseph Momoh, he promised to hand power to a democratically elected government.

He soon became known as "The Redeemer", however, and portraits that made him look like a

shy boy-soldier began dominating calendars and hotel lobbies.

Strasser, who refused to be interviewed, has made strict new rules for the press. He suspended parliament, the constitution and political activity, and established a military court from which there is no appeal. In effect, Sierra Leone is under a state of emergency.

His feared second-in-command, Captain Solomon Musa, set a harsh precedent early in the new regime. At 8 am one day, he burst into the main government building, locked the doors and declared that all those not at their desks were fired.

Musa also summoned journalists to a meeting and demanded explanations of articles he viewed as threats to the state. After announcing that it had un-

covered two coup plots, the government executed the 29 alleged conspirators on a Freetown beach.

"The people who were in the opposition, they are now dead," said Kamara, the young businessman. "They were not patriotic."

Surviving members of the opposition are reluctant to talk.

"There is a little problem for the moment," said Salia Jusu Sheriff, leader of the Sierra Leone People's Party, now out of jail. "I have just been released, so let's just say that I'm not disposed to give an interview."

He would not comment on his detention or release conditions.

Britain condemned Strasser's stifling of dissent and suspended economic aid, but among Sierra Leone's impoverished and idealistic young, the general attitude seems just the opposite. Clusters of young men can be

seen on nearly every block, filling potholes, cleaning out ditches, painting everything that doesn't move in the blue, green and white of the national flag.

They belong to volunteer clean-up crews with such names as "The Beach Boys". One youth painted these words from a Michael Jackson song on a wall: "If you want to make the world a better place, take a look at yourself and make a change."

Almost half the buildings have fresh coats of paint.

Some people wonder whether the government's promises to abolish corruption and enshrine justice are themselves a facade.

Soldiers spend money freely and drive around town in new four-wheel-drive cars that cost more than most people earn in 10 years. Men in uniform, smelling of

marijuana and alcohol, escort bewelled girlfriends through the Freetown airport while civilians roll their eyes and mumble about the corruption that was supposed to disappear.

For all the money Momoh spent, some always remained from farm exports and diamond mining. Now, the alien war in the east has disrupted both agriculture and mining, creating up to a million refugees.

The mines ministry said it normally issued 200 licences a month for the Kono district at this time of year, the dry season ideal for mining, but had issued none in four months.

Momoh's failure to end the fighting contributed to his downfall. In January, the Strasser government claimed some strategic victories. — Sapa AP. □

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Warlord's supporters capture

Somali killers caught

Sowetan 16/2/93.

MOGADISHU — A joint Belgian-US force raided a camp in southern Somalia and captured nine people suspected of attacking a village the day before, the US military said yesterday.

One person died and another was injured in the attack on the village near El Ad.

■ Joint Belgian-US armed forces raid village harbouring Siad Barre's supporters: ①

On Sunday the joint Belgian-US force raided the attackers' camp north of El Ad, capturing nine people and some weapons and supplies, according to the US report.

It said the captured men were presumed to have supported Mohammed Said Hirsi, known as General Morgan, the son-in-law of ousted dictator Mohammed Siad Barre. — *Sapa-AP*.

France denies Rwanda role

8/20/93 16:21:93
PARIS — France denied yesterday its troops had fought on the side of the Rwandan government against rebels seeking to topple President Juvénal Habyarimana.

An official military source said the only action in which the 250 French troops had been involved was to evacuate 69 people, including 21 French military and civilian aid workers, who were isolated in the combat zone in the southern Ruhengeri region last Wednesday.

An OAU spokesman involved in trying to police a ceasefire in the country said French troops had shelled Rwanda Patriotic Front rebels in Ruhengeri.

The rebels broke the ceasefire last week to protest against massacres in January of about 400 Tutsi peasants. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN to control

Somalia force

MOGADISHU 16/2/93 The UN said yesterday that up to 25 000 troops would be deployed under its flag throughout Somalia, including the breakaway north, after the impending US handover of command of the multinational force.

The UN Operations in Somalia force will deploy in all of Somalia — the north, northeast, northwest and along Somalia's borders with Kenya and Ethiopia, a UN spokesman said.

He said this was among recommendations UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali would present to the Security Council later this week. He indicated there was a "consensus" that the proposed deployment should go ahead.

The US-led force sent into Somalia in December, to halt looting of food aid and disarm warring factions, now numbers 33 000 troops from 22 nations.

About 19 000 US troops would be sent home, leaving a rapid-reaction force of 5 000 Americans and US military logistical support. About 10 000 other non-US troops would also stay behind, supplemented by fresh forces that would bring the UN strength to 25 000. — Sapa-Reuter.

Winds of change blowing through the continent

Sowetan 16/2/93

By Joe Latagomo Sowetan
Africa News Service

■ ECONOMIC SURVIVAL Africans are now engaged in a new

post anti-colonial struggle with a different set of rules:

THE WINDS OF CHANGE ARE again sweeping through Africa. From Cairo to Cape Town and from Morocco to Madagascar, Africa is in the throes of change once more.

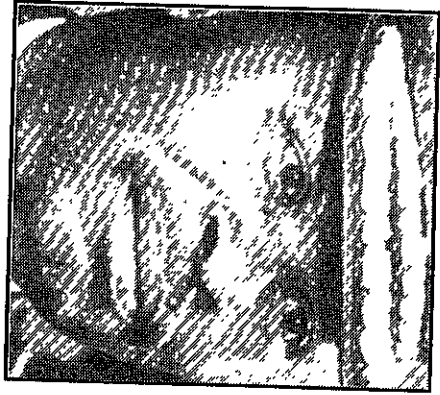
But while the continent was busy throwing off the colonial yoke when Macmillan first spoke of the winds of change, the focus now is on the removal of despots, tyrants, military dictators and sundry other forms of self-appointed leaders.

Economic survival

Indeed, in many African countries people are fighting for their very economic survival. Africa's debt and commodity crises continue and the continent's human rights record is still abysmal.

Tyranny, wars and drought have taken their toll on limited resources. Liberia is at war with itself and Africa's first intervention effort has widened rifts rather than ended the war. Angola, too, is destroying itself as the post-election wrangles.

The West, having supported corrupt dictators during the height of the East-West cold war to serve its own geopolitical and strategic interests, is now trying to reverse the trend by demanding democratisation of countries in which leaders have long been made to understand that it was fine for them to be dictators, as long as they supported the West against the communist bloc.



General Metsing Lekhanya ... toppled.

Matters such as democracy and human rights, which never were issues during that period, are now being raised and even laid down as conditions for aid programmes.

Only now are African leaders being told that there can be no development without democracy and that the establishment of democracy is a necessary condition for stable economic development.

Only now, when economic decay, corruption, stagnation, nepotism and despotism have set in, are words such as democracy, justice and morality being introduced to the African political vocabulary.

Western nations often joined in the celebration of African political acquisitiveness, supporting tyrannical assertions that their greed was a positive force for stable government.

Since 1990 the list of African heads of state who were removed from power has been increasing. In Liberia Samuel Doe was murdered. In Chad the conflict between Idris Deby and Hisse Habre led to Habre being deposed.

Voted out

Sao Tome's Pinto da Costa, Cape Verde's Aristides Pereira, Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Eris Sassou Nguesso of Congo were all voted out of office. Moussa Traore (Mali) and General Metsing Lekhanya (Lesotho) were toppled, while Mengistu Haile Mariam (Ethiopia) and Sydad Barre (Somalia) fled their countries.

Joseph Momon was removed in a coup in Sierra Leone, while the elections in Madagascar, ending 17 years of virtual dictatorship, seemed headed for victory for opposition leader Dr Albert Zafy over Didier Ratsiraki.

Even as leaders were being toppled all around them, many of Africa's strong-arm leaders were devising ways of dealing with the new democracy movement, learning, as one Africanist

put it, new survival tricks.

In many cases the result was a travesty of democratic processes but many observers were content that at least it was a move away from one-partyism.

United Nations and Commonwealth observer groups dispatched to monitor the elections in several countries have been indecisive in their pronouncements on the polls. African standards have been invented and activities which would clearly be unacceptable in the West have been condoned simply because they occurred in Africa.

In Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire Omar Bongo and Houphouet Boigny both agreed to multipartyism but set election dates so quickly that the opposition hardly had time to organise themselves before it was all over and the two had been voted back into office.

At least in Bongo's case, he tried successfully to appease the opposition by appointing Leonie Mebame as Prime Minister from among his opponents.

In other cases leaders have dragged out the process while encouraging the mushrooming of new political parties - the more the merrier - so that triumph over a divided opposition was easy. In Guinea there are at least 38 registered parties and already President Lansana Conte has been accused of planning to rig the transition to civilian rule.

These parties ended up fighting among themselves, instead of focussing on their common aim of toppling the government of the day.

The opposition in Kenya let slip an opportunity to remove Daniel arap Moi because they could not hold together a coalition and instead chose to fight on ethnic, self-interest tickets. Moi returned to power and now they are relegated to opposition. But even the opposition coalition has fallen apart.

In the Seychelles and Burkina Faso Albert Rene and Blaise Compaore both also triumphed over a divided opposition.

In yet other countries, such as Tanzania, political parties were legalised while the governing party kept all the state apparatus to serve their interests.

Larry Rawlings resigned from the air force to qualify for election as president of Ghana and promptly set November 3 as election date - significantly because it was also the day of the American Presidential election and all the world's eyes would be on that election.

That meant that any irregularities could easily be swept under the carpet. There is no doubt that Africa's intractable conflicts and the immutable reality of tribal cleavages will have an impact on the process of enfranchising the proletariat.

The West, having supported

corrupt dictators, is now trying to reverse the trend by demanding democratisation

Star 17/12/93

Red Cross

flights may be grounded

The Red Cross air ambulances — which have flown more than 5 000 mercy flights throughout southern Africa during the past 27 years — are in danger of being grounded as a result of the present economic climate.

“Unless we can enlist the aid of sponsors in the community at large and at corporate level, the service is in grave danger of not being able to continue its excellent humanitarian and specialised task,” Red Cross public relations and fund-raising manager Hadey Petrig said yesterday.

“Although everything possible is being done to continue this operation on a non-profit basis, we appear to be fighting a losing battle against the present economy,” she said.

At least R200 000 is needed as soon as possible.

● Donations can be sent to the Red Cross Society (Air Mercy Service), Box 18032, Wynberg 7824. — Medical Reporter.

Angola adopts tough economic measures

B/DW 17/2/93

LUANDA — Mired in a crippling civil war, its oil and diamond based economy in shambles, Angola has adopted tough economic measures that threaten the hopes of most of its citizens for even a humble existence.

The government is to hold its second currency auction in eight days tomorrow. The first auction on February 11 saw the kwanza devalued from an official rate of about 580 to the dollar to 7 000 to the dollar in just a few hours.

The impact is easy to see at Luanda's Angoy Franca department store where a clerk earns about 250 000 kwanzas a month. A week ago that salary was worth about \$450. On Monday it was worth about \$36.

A refrigerator in the same store that went for 2.5-million kwanzas two weeks ago now sells for 6.8-million kwanzas. One clerk said that at these prices there were no buyers.

The hope is that the currency auction will increase government revenues, and the incoming hard currency will help businesses put the country back to work. The drawback is that prices have risen quickly and the formerly Marxist government is scrambling to control the damage.

A few days after the first currency auction, the national airline, TAAG, raised international and domestic airfares by ten times or more. Not surprisingly, the airline had not been making money operating Boeing 737s on the Luanda-Lubango route where the 674km trip cost 32 000 kwanzas.

But the air price hikes were politically risky. Unita has occupied about 75% of Angolan territory since fighting flared up on October 31, and

airplanes are the only way for people to get from Luanda to provincial capitals like Lubango that are still in government hands.

Finance Minister Salomao Jose Lubeto Xirimbimbi quickly denied that TAAG had been given permission to raise domestic fares and branded the hikes an act of managerial "indiscipline" — although the finance ministry was fully aware the hikes were coming. Twenty-four hours after the new prices went into effect, TAAG knocked domestic fares back to pre-devaluation levels.

"Given the situation in the country and the closure of the roads, airline prices are political decisions," said one official in President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos' office, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Other prices, especially on food and imported goods, are expected to skyrocket.

Following May 1991 peace accords between the government and Unita, hopes were high for the Angolan economy, as the country has enormous oil and diamond resources. But the fighting that broke out again laid waste to much of the recovery effort.

Government diamond production, \$250m last year, has been slow-faded by the fighting, which has had an even more telling effect on diamond smuggling. De Beers estimates \$500m in Angolan diamonds mined mostly in the northeastern part of the country were smuggled out last year before fighting restarted.

Oil extraction, normally at about 500 000 barrels a day, has fallen 13% since Unita took the petroleum-rich area around Soyo in northern Zaire province last month. — Sapa-AP.

NEWS IN BRIEF

African peacekeeping force

ADDIS ABABA — African foreign ministers meeting in the Ethiopian capital yesterday discussed setting up a peacekeeping force to police conflicts on the continent. B/DW 17/2/93

A special report on how such a force would be funded and constituted is expected to be presented to the annual OAU summit in Cairo in June.

IBM entices workers to leave

NEW YORK — IBM has outlined a plan to encourage workers to leave voluntarily, but warned it might lay off staff to meet its goal of 25 000 job cuts this year. IBM, which lost almost \$5bn in 1992, said that based on a worker's years with the company, it would pay up to one year's salary and one year of paid medical benefits to those who opted to leave voluntarily. B/DW 17/2/93

Chinese herb to fight AIDS

HONG KONG — A Danish-based company said here yesterday it had developed a Chinese herb-based medication that could fight AIDS. Finehandie said Millingwang was still in the "experimental stage", but 200 HIV-positive patients in Scandinavia and 50 in Africa had been taking the medication "with encouraging results" since 1992.

No respite for Prince Charles

LONDON — "Just don't mention Di," excited schoolchildren were told before meeting Prince Charles at Greengates British school in Mexico City this week. But 11-year-old Maria Pia forgot her manners when she tried to take a picture and Charles told her: "I don't photograph very well." Maria blurted out that Prince Diana did.

Charles was reported to have winced and walked away quickly, although an unrepentant Maria told reporters, "Well, Diana is better to look at. I'd much rather take a picture of her."

REPORTS: Sapa-Rexner-AFP, Own Correspondent.

Pooling resources mooted to boost regional growth

(310/8) 17/2/93.
COUNTRIES in the southern African region have everything to gain from pooling their resources to accelerate economic growth and development in the region, says African Development Bank vice-president Tekalign Gedamu.

He was speaking at a panel discussion with seven high-ranking southern African cabinet ministers and central bankers on "Opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa" at yesterday's Frankel, Pollak, Vinderine investment conference in Johannesburg.

Gedamu said the process of democratisation on the continent was improving prospects for badly needed political stability and economic growth.

The continent's many structural adjustment programmes would create more opportunities for private investors.

There was no doubt that the market-orientated programmes adopted by an increasing number of African countries would create an "enabling environment" for investment in Africa.

Structural adjustment programmes would, in the short term, depress demand, but were essential for attracting private investment in the longer term.

The future for private investment on the continent was encouraging. The continent was rich in still undeveloped natural and hydro-power resources which was a major attraction for investors, he said.

Gedamu said for SA companies to participate successfully in the continent's privatisation drive the process would need

DUMA GOBULE

popular participation and approval. One way was to establish trust funds to enable those who did not have capital to participate, as in eastern Europe where citizens had been issued with free coupons to take part in the privatisation process.

Zambian senior economic adviser to the finance ministry Jacob Mwanza said African countries needed to devise a collective approach to attracting investment as many projects were only viable when viewed in terms of opportunities in the whole of the southern African region.

Mwanza said Africa had not been an attractive investment option over the past two decades because of political instability, poor economic management and other disincentives for private investors.

African countries had learnt from their mistakes and had now adopted policies conducive to attracting private investors.

Botswana's Finance Minister F A Mogae said the overriding objective for southern African countries was to stimulate greater flows of investment into, and from within, the continent.

Increasing those investment flows depended to a large extent on the region's ability to put its own houses in order.

He said the ability of any country in Africa to attract such capital depended not only on political stability at home, but also on stability in neighbouring countries.

UN forces take on their toughest task

Star 18/2/93
THE newly embraced role of the United Nations as peace enforcer will be tested to the limit in Somalia, where the organisation plans using 25 000 troops to mend a shattered land.

Western political and military analysts say few other world trouble spots will prove as tough as this lawless Muslim country of six million people. The mission could go on for years.

In the past, virtually all UN troops have been involved in passive peacekeeping roles, reluctant to be seen to be interfering in the internal affairs of member states.

But the UN's proposed force in Somalia will try to disarm hundreds of thousands of stubborn militiamen long used to

living by the gun.

UN spokesman Farouk Mawlawi says success or failure will be judged by whether law and order is established after two years of civil war, anarchy and famine that has killed at least 300 000 people.

The UN has made it clear that, unlike the existing United States-led multinational force trying to stop looting of food aid mostly for southern Somalia's hungry, the UN's "blue beret" troops will fan out in the huge Horn of Africa state to try to disarm all groups.

This means moving into northern Somalia, proclaimed an independent state by the Somali National Movement after the 1991 overthrow of dictator Siad Barre but recognised by no government. — Sapa-
Reuter. □

New ruler faces old, thorny problems

STAL 18/2/93

A 65-year-old surgeon, Professor Albert Zafy, has been elected Madagascar's new president, ending the dictatorial 18-year reign of Didier Ratsiraka. But already questions are being asked whether Zafy can successfully tackle the republic's problems of chronic poverty, indebtedness and almost invisible infrastructure.

Ratsiraka, who had been president since June 1975 and was autocratic and swift to execute opponents in the early years, was overwhelmingly defeated in last week's second round presidential election.

With 90 percent of the poll counted, Zafy had won at least 70 percent of the votes cast.

What happens next will largely depend on Zafy's effectiveness at forming a government. When he is officially endorsed as president of the Third Malagasy Republic, he will first have to nominate a Prime Minister.

Most Malagasy analysts expect him to choose Guy Razanamasy, who has been acting Prime Minister since Ratsiraka appointed him to the post in 1992 in the transitional government.

Razanamasy and Zafy have worked together in the uneasy coalition of parties, spear-

headed by Zafy's Forces Vives, and both can claim to have led Madagascar's peaceful revolution against Ratsiraka's dictatorship.

Albert Zafy is a professor of surgery and a former Minister of Health, serving in the 1972 government of President Tsiranana alongside Ratsiraka, who worked in the foreign ministry.

Ratsiraka, then a lieutenant-commander in the navy, eventually rose to the rank of foreign minister. A popular uprising ended Tsiranana's rule and Madagascar was controlled by the military government of General Ramanantsoa, who in turn resigned to be replaced by one Colonel Ratsiraka. The colonel was



assassinated and Ratsiraka rose to power.

Zafy found no job in the new regime and returned to academe, leaving the country to Ratsiraka's revolutionary socialist party, Arema.

The rise of Ratsiraka saw the lieutenant-commander become head of state and chief of the armed forces. Although Arema was not the only party represented in the national assembly, Ratsiraka made sure the reins of power were held tight.

The first elections for seven years did not see Arema win by a landslide, but the 62 percent poll was enough to confirm Ratsiraka as a "democratic head of state". Formal political activity was legalised and the seeds of the end of

Arema were sown.

For years Ratsiraka capitalised on his origins as a "coastier", a coastal dweller from the port of Toamasina on the east coast.

Knowing the Malagasy suspicions of the dominant Merina tribe from the central highlands, who had ruled the coasts for centuries — first under a ruthless monarchy and then as administrators after French colonisation — Ratsiraka captured the minds of the peasants with his promise of representation for their cause under socialism.

But with economic liberalisation and the withdrawal of funds by the Soviet Union, the path was left open for discontent to surface among the intellectuals who had seen Marxism reduce their country to the world's 11th poorest nation in 1990.

Poverty and freedom combined to foster public demonstrations against Ratsiraka in late 1991 and led to a general strike orchestrated by Zafy and the Forces Vives, which was joined by the Malagasy Council of Churches to muster a quarter of a million civilians to block the capital's streets and force Ratsiraka to allow a transitional government, leading to a new constitution.

The general strike, which crippled the formal economy of Madagascar for most of 1991 and some of 1992, also led to the suspension of the IMF structural adjustment programme and a process where the opposition forces operated a dual government with Ratsiraka's appointees under the leadership of Zafy.

Zafy was nominated as the High Authority of State or HAE by the joint opposition, while Ratsiraka remained official head of state.

That Ratsiraka would brook no outright revolt was proved in August 1991 when 31 demonstrators involved in a mass march on the presidential palace outside Antananarivo were shot dead by the presidential guard.

For Madagascar, the election of Zafy is a symbolic moment. He has said he will address the island's problems in a liberal manner.

Army officers, once stalwarts of the Malagasy socialist revolution, have mainly withdrawn from politics and many of very senior rank have since publicly embraced democracy.

Ratsiraka is said to have been offered safe haven in America or France should he wish to retire in peace. □

COMPANIES

JSE revises formula for listing fees

13 DAY 18/2/93.
THE JSE yesterday announced a revised basis for determining listing fees after a review indicated disparities between services used and amounts paid.

The move entails a sliding scale for the determination of initial listing fees. In effect small, low-priced issues will cost less while larger high-priced issues will cost more.

According to a circular sent to companies listed on the JSE, annual revision fees would not be increased in 1993, but the maximum and minimum fees would be raised by 5%. For the JSE this would mean

DIRK VAN EEDEN

an increase in income from this source of about 4%.

Fees for the processing of listings will rise by an average 12%.

The revised annual fees are payable on March 1, but the new fee structure for initial listings will come into effect only on June 1. The current rate of listings and documentation fees would be applied to all transactions where documents had been formally approved by the JSE by May 31.

Battered but leaner Frame reins in losses

81 DAY 18/2/93.
A SIGNIFICANTLY downsized and rationalised Frame Group contained its attributable loss to R8,6m for the half-year to end-December after showing a R20,9m loss in the previous year.

Increased imports of textiles and reduced consumer spending resulted in a 9% decline in turnover to R308,1m (R338,2m), chairman Mervyn King said. The group was operating at well below capacity.

Operating income of R872 000 compared with an operating loss of R7,9m in the previous year and an operating loss of R30,2m at the June year-end. King said this was the first time since June 1990 that the group had shown an operating profit.

However, this profit was offset by interest charges of R14,2m, 20% lower than the previous year's R17,7m. This resulted in a R13,3m (R33,8m) pre-tax loss.

Frame reported a loss of 41,4c a share, compared with a 110c a share loss in the previous period and 238,8c a share loss at the June year-end. No interim dividend was declared.

In the two years to end-December, staff had been reduced by 47% to 8 005, and factory premises scaled down significantly. Since December 1991, working capital levels and borrowings had been reduced.

MARCIA KLEIN

King said the results reflected "a marked improvement". If the sales volume had been the same as the previous year, the group would have operated profitably after interest, King said. But "imports and the recession took their toll on gross sales".

He said the combined effects of the structural adjustment programme and the recession "had devastated the textile industry". A panel was considering the industry's long-term strategy but the Board on Trade and Tariffs had not yet announced the time period for the interim ad valorem duty structure.

He said structural adjustment programme duty-free permits were "still rife", and it would take until March 1994 to work them out of the system.

The group's future would be influenced by the economy and "equitable barriers against disruptively priced textile imports from subsidised textile exporters".

But the rationalisation meant Frame was well placed to take advantage of "a beneficial structure in the textile industry and an upturn in the economy".

Subsidiary Consolidated Frame Textiles reported a loss of 23,9c (60c) a share.

UK firm pulls out of Africa

13 DAY 18/2/93.
LONDON — British packaging group Low & Bonar said yesterday it had sold its remaining African businesses in SA, Zimbabwe and Zambia to a Virgin Islands-based company for £1,5m.

It said £1,1m had been paid in cash by Cavmont, based in the British Virgin Islands, and the balance was payable over the next three years.

Group finance director Norman McLeod said the six industries in question were involved in manufacturing textiles for the clothing trade and industrial plastics.

Last year the group disposed of operations in Kenya and Nigeria. McLeod said the move out of Africa was to enable the company to concentrate on its core business.

— Sapa-Reuter.

EXECUTIVE SUITE



At ABSA Bank Corporate Division we strive to establish relationships bridged by trust. Relationships bridged by understanding. And above all, relationships that will help take you from where you are, to where you want to be.

BUSINESS Economic growth benefits from liberal politics

Africa's outlook 'bright'

Sowetan 19/2/93

By Mzimkulu Malunga

INVESTMENT Emerging blocs in Europe and America make regional trade inevitable.

CONTRARY TO MEDIA reports which paint Africa as poor and racked by civil wars, investment prospects on the continent are looking brighter, says vice-president of the African Development Bank (ADB) Mr Tekalign Gedamu.

Speaking at a high-profile investment conference held in Johannesburg this week, he argued that as sweeping winds of political liberalisation in Africa blew at a faster pace, so did chances for long term economic growth.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the market-oriented reforms embarked upon by a large majority of African countries will lead to increased private sector investment," said Gedamu.

The conference, organised by Frankel, Pollak, Vindering, was addressed by finance ministers and senior bankers from seven Southern African countries.

Speaking at a panel discussions on *Opportunities in sub-Saharan Africa*, various ministers and bankers outlined investors' incentives in their respective countries.

The Southern Africans made strong calls for the strengthening of the already existing regional economic groups to foster the sub-continent's development. They highlighted emerging regional trading blocs in Europe and North America as one of the factors making regional co-operation inevitable in Southern Africa.

The drought which struck the region recently

also featured high in the speeches. However, the obvious worry in most the speeches was continued political uncertainty in South Africa — regarded by many as better equipped to play a catalytic role for development in the sub-continent.

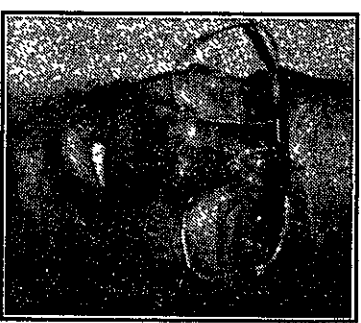
Echoing Gedamu's words, Botswana's finance minister, Mr FA Mogae, said there was a distorted perception that Africa countries were corrupt and worthless.

"I am an African and I am not corrupt," he said. Mogae said his country had the most liberal foreign exchange regime in Africa and the lowest interest rates on the sub-continent.

Botswana — often held up as an African success story — had a skilled labour force which could be valuable to investors.

The Mozambican commerce minister, Mr DG Tembe, said though the peace process in Angola was meeting with serious difficulties, the process of the dismantling of apartheid and the peace agreements in Mozambique signalled a new era of social and political harmony as well as common development and prosperity.

Tembe said his government attributed an important role to direct foreign investment as a necessary tool to complement the initiatives of domestic entrepreneurs.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Also, the economic recovery programme, supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank has helped to reduce the inflation rate drastically and reformed the pricing and systems.

The senior economic adviser in the Zambian finance ministry, Mr Jacob Mwanza, said the philosophy of the new Zambian administration was the state should only play a facilitatory role instead of determining prices or output.

"This year is the one to complete major reforms of Zambia's economic policy and set foundations for sustained growth in the private sector," he said.

Lesotho's finance minister, Mr AM Maruping, said there was a need for collaborative effort in the region as part of Third World co-operation, a popular view in economic circles of various developing countries. He mentioned the Lesotho Highlands Water Project as one of the classic examples of regional co-operation.

In a keynote address, the chief minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said political organisations should refrain from raising people's expectations about what a future South Africa could deliver.

"The new government in South Africa will have to operate within the confined constraints of a ravaged economy, whereby contributory factors such as uneconomical and discriminatory apartheid policies, political and labour unrest, sanctions and disinvestment, have left our economy almost bereft of resources," he said.

25,000 troops to patrol Somalia

Guardian | W in W | Mail
UP TO 25,000 troops will be deployed under the United Nations flag throughout Somalia, including the breakaway north, after the impending US handover of command of the multinational force.

The Unosom (United Nations Operations in Somalia) force "will deploy in all of Somalia — the north, north-east, north west and along Somalia's borders with Kenya and Ethiopia," Farouk Mawlawi, a UN spokesman in Somalia, said.

The US-led Operation Restore Hope, sent into Somalia in December with a UN mandate to halt looting of food aid meant for two million starving people and to disarm warring clan factions, now numbers about 33,000 troops from 22 countries.

With the transfer of command, about 19,000 US troops would be sent home, leaving a rapid-reaction force of 5,000 Americans and US military, logistical support. About 10,000 other non-US troops already in Somalia would also stay behind, supplemented by fresh forces that would bring total Unosom strength to a peak 25,000. 1912-2512193
UN officials said the Security Council would define the timetable of the US withdrawal and hand-over to Unosom.

But UN and US sources strongly indicated that most American troops would be out by the end of April. Mr Mawlawi said that Unosom "will not be a passive peace observer group." — *Reuter*

Getting paid a major drawback to Africa

In many countries in Africa political doors have been slow to open, but trade links are being forged daily. Markets which South Africans never thought would entertain the idea of close links are searching for business.

Safto assistant manager special projects in Africa, Angela Self, says the role played by the Foreign Affairs department through the sanctions years in quietly maintaining contact with other African countries, cannot be underestimated.

In fact, it is believed that "invisible" trade with Africa is worth over R5bn a year. The official trade figure is also in excess of R5bn.

But it has not been easy to unlock the potential, and many companies have burnt their fingers by rushing into ventures without researching the markets.

The major drawback is getting paid. Acute foreign exchange shortages have effectively put a lid on trade with many interested

parties. The level of business sophistication in some countries is also questionable. South Africans are having to deal with untested business contacts, scams abound, and communications are frequently unreliable, Self says.

Negated

But the problems do not all stem from beyond SA's borders. High transport costs in many instances have negated the competitive advantage South Africans thought their products would enjoy.

The cultural divide was also not fully appreciated, Self says.

SA's original trading partners outside the customs union still remain its largest. They are Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi.

About 25% of all SA's exports to Africa go to Zimbabwe. Chemicals top the list, but with Zimbabwe's well developed manufacturing sector, inputs for its own industries are also sourced from SA. Goods

such as machinery, instruments, telecommunications, cables, and paper are SA's major exports to that country.

In return, SA's imports include mineral products, textiles and prepared foodstuffs and horticultural products.

In 1991, Mozambique became SA's second most important African market, despite being one of Africa's poorest countries with an annual per capita income of \$80. Aid money guarantees payments for many items such as essential foodstuffs and critical spare parts.

Mozambique has been awarded preferential trade status and its produce is only subject to limited import duties. Although imports into SA from Mozambique are controlled by a quota system, it does mean it has a guaranteed income from its major industries, such as seafood, fish products and cashew nuts.

The reconstitution of Zambia's economy has opened up opportunities for trade in vehicle and manufacturing equipment, con-

struction and communications, as well as paper and paper products.

Self predicts a surge in trade with Zambia, which has become SA's third largest trading partner in Africa.

Mauritius, with its annual per capita income of around \$3 000 and its classification as a "newly industrialised" country (like Botswana), is an important market for SA. It has a stable economy and access to European markets through its membership of the Lome convention. It also provides SA with a gateway to the east.

Halved

But not all markets are expanding. Imports from Zaire halved in 1991 and exports fell by 30%, due to political upheavals and the country's inability to pay.

Inflation is unquantifiable with the dollar/Zaire exchange rate falling from \$1=460 000 Zaires in July 1992, to \$1=2,6-million Zaires in January 1993.

In the past, however, Zaire was a two-way pref-

erential partner.

Angola, too, will probably suffer from the resurgence of violence, but in 1991 it became a major area of interest for South African companies, especially in the area of reconstruction.

Trade with West Africa is one of the more exciting new developments, Self says.

In 1991 trade with Morocco, for example, rose by 70% despite its close proximity to European markets. Morocco's attraction to SA, like Ghana, is its mining.

Self says West Africa can offer something vital to SA traders — hard currency. The Economic Community of West African States trades with a freely convertible CFA Franc, backed by the French Treasury, and a fixed exchange rate.

Nigeria, although not backed by the CFA Franc, has powerful currency resources backed by oil reserves, while Ghana's currency resources have been boosted by a recent economic recovery and renewed mining activities.

BIDM 19/2/93

①

In a serious challenge to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund's prime position in African policy-making, two new books examine the continent's dramatic decline over a dozen years and challenge the orthodoxies of these, the two most powerful institutions on the continent.

Alternative Development Strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa, edited by Frances Stewart, Sanjaya Lall and Samuel Wangwe, and *Africa's Recovery in the 1990s*, edited by Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Rolf van der Hoeven and Thandika Mkandawire, are both published by Macmillan in Britain. They appear against the background of Africa's deep economic crisis in the 1980s, and its continuation into the 1990s with little sign of improvement.

Richard Jolly, deputy executive director of the United Nations children's agency, Unicef, says Africa remains the highest priority for Unicef's aid because it is the one continent where the health and education status of children has deteriorated in recent years and is projected to worsen further in the 1990s. However, other donors are becoming more inclined to cut their losses and target their aid to places with less of a record of failure.

The grim economic situation in

Banks take the rap for Africa's mess

W/Mail 19/2 - 25/2/93
Two books place a critical spotlight on World Bank and IMF economic policies in Africa. By VICTORIA BRITTON

three-quarters of African countries is disputed by no one, but a bitter intellectual battle rages over the recipes for improvement. Some long-term goals such as industrialisation have virtually disappeared from current thinking, preoccupied as it is with crisis management.

For over a decade, structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) drawn up by the World Bank and IMF have been the key policies for Africa. They have focused on the stabilisation of macro-economic imbalances, removal of structural bottlenecks, and growth.

Although SAPs have been judged successful in Chile and Indonesia, they have had little success in Africa beyond middle-income countries such as Cameroon and Mauritius. And, while bank officials claim at least fragile achievements across the continent, most others — particularly Africans — blame the harsh regime of SAPs for cuts in employment, and in health and education budgets, which have put the entire social fabric at risk.

In the past few years, under pressure from Unicef, and Jolly in particular, SAPs have been modified to take into

account the social dimension and particularly the protection of the most vulnerable groups. But the decline in per capita GDP goes on, and social services cuts mean new generations of less educated, less healthy citizens for the next century.

"There is a greater consensus about the importance of the social dimension, but total consensus certainly has not been achieved," says Dr Giovanni Andrea Cornia, an economist at Unicef and one of the editors of the optimistically titled *Africa's Recovery in the 1990s*.

Frances Stewart introduces *Alternative Development Strategies* by looking at the contradiction between current policies and long-term objectives. She cites three long-term objectives for Africa: industrial development, increasing food production and human resources development. She then asks how the well-known effects of current policy — falling employment figures, school rolls and investment in infrastructure — can be reconciled with those objectives?

The bank and the fund are responsible for the policy advice which has brought about these effects. In addition, the same advisers so encouraged increased production of the primary products which make up 90 percent of Africa's exports that their prices have fallen disastrously. Among major export commodities, coffee, copper and cotton have all dropped by about 25 percent over the past 30 years and cocoa, the only one to be worth more than in the early 1960s, has been on a declining trend since the mid-1970s.

These price trends are not going to be reversed. What could be, she says, is the structure of exports. Stewart's book shows that, compared with South Asia, where between 1965 and 1987 primary products fell from 63 percent of exports to 36 percent, in low-income African countries they rose from 92 percent to 94 percent.

Among other major problems she identifies is the reduced local control which has been a result of the privatisation encouraged by SAPs; and the excessive liberalisation of imports which has led, in Ghana for instance, to de-industrialisation, as the textile industry has collapsed under the impact of imported second-hand clothes from Europe. "African countries basically lost control of their policies in the 1980s," she comments.

Both books emphasise new strategies which the authors — who include distinguished African economists — believe could work. These include:

- Growth of indigenous food crops by increasing resources given to this area such as subsidies on fertilisers and other inputs, and lending no more to traditional export areas such as coffee.
- Commodity price support schemes.
- Support for rural non-agricultural development.

- A serious bid for industrialisation.
- Boosting human resources by improved targeting of aid so as to increase the proportion for education and health.

Most important of all, they propose cancellation of at least part of official debt, and conversion of Africa's debt to the bank and the fund to low-interest, long-term loans, thus avoiding the massive transfers that amounted to \$1.1-billion (R3.3-billion) in 1989. They also propose a write-down of one fifth of private sector debt, which would provide an extra \$800 million (R2.4-billion) for Africa annually.

Many of these ideas have been put forward repeatedly by Unicef, the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report and the Economic Commission for Africa, but they have a long way to go before being accepted as a real alternative to the World Bank/IMF's unsuccessful prescriptions for Africa's desperate situation. — The Guardian News Service

Fighting threatens Somali talks

MOGADISHU — One clan militia force drove another out of the chaotic southern port of Kismayu, leaving at least 10 dead in fighting that kept US forces from withdrawing from the area, officials said yesterday.

A relief group reported dozens killed in the fighting in Kismayu that broke out before dawn on Monday, the same day US forces planned to turn command of the area over to Belgian troops.

Officials said the fighting between the militias, whose clashes torpedoed peace talks last month, was again endangering negotiations between rival factions.

"It certainly doesn't augur well for the talks," UN spokesman Farouk Mawlawi said yesterday.

The 700-member Belgian force moved to protect buildings used by relief organisations but was unable to halt the battles scattered throughout the city about 460km south of Mogadishu, military officials said.

6/10/93 24/2/93
The 1 000 US troops in the area had been preparing to leave and were not involved, said military spokesman Col Fred Peck.

Fighters of Mohamed Said Hirsi, known as "General Morgan", had forced Col Omar Jess and about 450 of his men out of the city about 5km north of the airport, said US military spokesman Maj Karen Conley.

No new fighting was reported yesterday, and US-led coalition forces were trying to arrange a meeting with clan elders supporting Jess. Representatives of Morgan met the coalition forces and said they were willing to turn over their weapons if they could remain in Kismayu.

Ten Somalis had died in the fighting, including two who had been shot by Belgian troops, Conley said.

Relief group Medecins Sans Frontieres said one of its Somali drivers and a guard had been shot and killed by Belgian troops in a firefight after the two tried to reach a compound being looted on Monday morning.

Last month, US and Belgian forces destroyed seven of Morgan's vehicles

① and several artillery pieces after he ignored a warning to halt an advance towards Jess's troops.

Peck called the fighting a serious setback to the peace process. The latest violence could also complicate the planned transition to UN command, in which most of the 17 000 remaining US troops would go home.

Washington has expressed impatience with the UN's tentative moves to take over the operation. But US special envoy Robert Oakley told reporters yesterday the US command "will only turn it over when we think the situation is reasonably stable. We are not trying to hand somebody a time bomb or a poison apple."

Malawi said yesterday Lt-Gen Cevik Bir of Turkey, the future UN commander who arrived Monday for a three-day visit, would return on March 8 to begin assuming his duties.

The actual handoff from US Lt-Gen Robert Johnston will not be determined until after the UN Security Council approves the transfer terms, which could happen as early as this week. — Sapa-AP.

Somalis face new violence

STARZ 25/2/93

MOGADISHU — Shaken by two days of bloody riots in Mogadishu, Somalis waited today to see whether they face a new eruption of violence from a confrontation between US forces and a local warlord.

Witnesses in Mogadishu said US troops shot dead nine people in riots yesterday in which crowds shouting "Go home Americans" showered them with stones and tried to storm the US and French embassies.

But in Washington the US denied US troops or allies had killed anyone during the rioting.

State Department acting spokesman Joseph Snyder said the United States had received unconfirmed reports of only three Somalis killed and an "undetermined" number of wounded.

The violence, which paralysed the shattered capital of one million people, was the worst in Mogadishu since a 33 000-strong, US-led multinational force arrived in December to protect aid supplies for starving Somalis.

The rioters were supporters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed angered at what they saw as US support for rival warlord Mohamed Said Hersi, known as Morgan, whose forces ousted Aideed backer Omar Jess from the southern town of Kismayu on Monday.

US forces have given Morgan until midnight tonight to get out of Kismayu. —Sapa-Reuter.

US troops kill nine in Somali protests

MOGADISHU Feb 24 Sapa-Reuter — US troops in Somalia killed at least nine people during yesterday's rioting by thousands of supporters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, witnesses said.

The troops shot dead protesters who tried to storm the US embassy in the capital Mogadishu, the witnesses said.

But as the rioters threw stones and chanted anti-US slogans in the worst violence since international forces landed in December, UN officials went ahead with talks to prepare for a national reconciliation conference next month.

"I counted three bodies, including the teenager killed in morning clashes in the city," said Reuter Television cameraman Mohamed Shaffi.

Somali driver Abdi Aden Ibrahim quoted witnesses as saying at least six people had been gunned down by US forces.

"Most of the people I spoke to said they saw six people being shot dead near the US embassy compounds. The people were trying to storm the building," he said.

There was no independent confirmation of the reported deaths. UN spokesman Farouk Mawlawi said he had no details of casualties.

Aid sources in Nairobi said the rioting had closed Mogadishu Airport, the hub of a relief operation to stop 1-million Somalis dying from starvation.

US embassy and military officials were all unreachable.

Aideed's supporters, angered by alleged US support for rival militia chief Mohamed Said Hersi, fought running street battles with US troops.

But Mawlawi remained optimistic about peace talks, saying representatives of Somali warlords meeting in his office made it clear the rioting would not disrupt talks

about the agenda for a March 15 conference in Addis Ababa.

"Fortunately for us the Somalis have made it clear to us that (the violence) is directed against the Americans and the US-led coalition forces.

"If anything I am encouraged with the pace of the talks. We believe the March meeting is still on course," Mawlawi said.

Protesters sealed off all roads with flaming car tyres and stoned US forces, who repeatedly opened fire.

The violence followed armed battles in the southern city of Kismayu on Monday between an Aideed backer, warlord Omer Jess, and his rival Hersi, known as Morgan.

At least 11 people were killed and Jess's forces were pushed out of the city they have controlled since 1991.

Mawlawi said Belgian troops had arrested some of Morgan's militiamen, who were trying to infiltrate Kismayu.

About the same time, Jess and about 250 of his guerrillas were assembled about 3km outside Kismayu, with trucks, buses and cars, "ready to move", Mawlawi said.

US forces, apparently trying to placate Aideed whose forces take credit for toppling Siad Barre and now want a greater say in the future of the country, have ordered Morgan's militia to pull out of Kismayu by midnight on Thursday.

On Tuesday Aideed warned he might be forced to launch a holy war against the task force if it did not stop its alleged support for Morgan. The US said it was delaying withdrawal of some of its 19 000 troops because of the Kismayu battles.

In Paris, a foreign ministry spokesman said the French embassy in Mogadishu was attacked by about 200 armed men who opened fire on the building after surrounding it yesterday. French troops chased away the attackers. — Sapa-Reuter.

BUSINESS Selling opportunity to the continent ● 1

Biggest trade display

By Mzimkulu Malunga

SOUTHERN Africa's biggest industrial and technological show is due to be held in Johannesburg towards the end of the year.

About 2 000 leading African businessmen and policy makers are expected to attend the conference from August 30 to September 3.

In a move geared towards promoting the event on the continent, co-

ordinators of The Africa Initiative have arranged direct presentations in African cities as far afield as the Egyptian capital of Cairo.

This is seen as South African industry's ideal opportunity to market its products to the rest of the continent.

Organised by SAVI and Systems Exhibitions, the initiative has the backing of influential business, in-

dustrial and technological groupings in South Africa.

Already 100 local companies have booked exhibition space, some have also helped finance the project.

The Africa Initiative has its roots in the realisation of the increased problems encountered by local business in its effort to penetrate the African market.

Southern

29/2/93

(1)

■ 2 000 African business people invited to SA:

Ghana a model of development

Southern 25/2/93



By Mzimkulu Malunga

■ ...if it follows East Asian example, says World Bank:

GHANA can become Africa's model for development within the next 15 years if it follows the examples of East Asian countries, says the World Bank's research study published this month.

Since 1983 the average Ghanaian

income rose 2 percent a year as the economic recovery programme under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank began to bear fruit.

"If the necessary changes are made in Ghana, the acceleration of growth

could begin before the end of this decade," the report says.

However, as the situation stands now, Ghana remains a poor country with an economy that depends on raw materials and cash crops like cocoa.

The colonial yoke is off and the strong-arm leader is the focus, writes Joe Latakomo

Second wind sweeps Africa

Star 26/2/93

THE wind of change is again sweeping through Africa — from Cairo to Cape Town and from Morocco to Madagascar.

But while the continent was busy throwing off the colonial yoke when Harold Macmillan first spoke of a wind of change, the focus now is on the removal of despots, tyrants, military dictators and sundry other forms of self-imposed leaders.

Indeed, in many African countries people are fighting for their very economic survival. Africa's debt and commodity crises continue and the continent's human rights record is still abysmal.

Tyranny, wars and drought have taken their toll on limited resources.

Liberia is at war with itself, and Africa's first intervention effort has widened rifts rather than ended hostilities. Angola, too, is destroying itself as the post-electron war rages on.

The West, having supported corrupt dictators during the height of the Cold War to serve its own geo-political and strategic interests, is

now trying to reverse the trend by demanding democratisation of countries in which leaders have long been made to understand that it was fine for them to be dictators, as long as they supported the West against the communists.

Matters like democracy and human rights, which never were issues during that period, are now being raised, and even laid down as conditions for aid programmes.

Only now are African leaders being told there can be no development without democracy, and that the establishment of democracy is a necessary condition for stable economic development.

Only now — when economic decay, corruption, stagnation, nepotism and despotism have set in — are words like democracy, justice and morality being introduced to the African political vocabulary.

Since 1990, the list of African heads of state reimagined from power has been increasing. In Liberia, Samuel Doe was overthrown. In Chad, the conflict between Idris Deby and Hissene Habre led to Habre being deposed.

Sao Tome's Pinto da Costa, Cape Verde's Aristides Pereira, Mathu Kerekou of Benin, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Emiss Nassou Ngessou of Congo were all voted out of office. Moussa Traore (Mali) and General Meising Lek-hanya (Lesotho) were toppled while Mengistu Haile Mariam (Ethiopia) and Siad Barre (Somalia) fled their countries.

Joseph Momon was removed in a coup in Sierra Leone and elections in Madagascar ended 17 years of virtual dictatorship with the victory of opposition leader Dr Albert Zafy over Didier Ratsiraki. Even as leaders were being toppled all around them, many of Africa's strong-arm leaders were devising ways of dealing with the new democracy movement, learning — as one Africanist put it — new survival tricks.

In many cases, the result was a travesty of democratic processes, but many observers were content that at least it was a move away from single-party politics.

United Nations and Commonwealth observer groups sent to

monitor the elections in several countries have been indecisive in their pronouncements on the polls. Activities which would clearly be unacceptable in the West have been condoned simply because they occurred in Africa.

In Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire, Omar Bongo and Houphouet-Boigny both agreed to multipartyism, but set election dates so quickly that the opposition hardly had time to organise themselves before it was all over and the two had been voted back into office.

At least in Bongo's case, he tried — successfully it seems — to appease the opposition by appointing an opponent, Leone Meblame, as Prime Minister.

In other cases, leaders have dragged out the process while encouraging the mushrooming of new political parties so that triumph over a divided opposition was easy.

In Guinea, there are at least 38 registered parties, and already President Lansana Conte has been accused of planning to rig the transition to civilian rule. These parties ended up fighting

among themselves, instead of focusing on their common aim of toppling the government of the day. The opposition in Kenya let slip an opportunity to remove Daniel arap Moi because they could not hold together a coalition and instead chose to fight on ethnic self-interest tickets.

Moi returned to power, and now they are relegated to opposition. But even an opposition coalition has fallen apart.

In Seychelles and Burkina Faso, Albert Rene and Blaise Compaore both also triumphed over a divided opposition. In yet other countries, like Tanzania, political parties were legalised while the governing party kept all the state apparatus to serve their interests.

Jerry Rawlings resigned from the air force to qualify for election as president of Ghana and promptly set November 3 as election day — the date of the US presidential poll. That meant that any irregularities could easily go unnoticed.

There is no doubt that Africa's intractable conflicts, and the im-

mutable reality of tribal cleavages, will have an impact on the process of democratisation.

There is even a suggestion that Africans are beginning to question the efficacy of Western democratic systems in Africa, and a retreat to trying to seek "African solutions for African problems".

This has strengthened the hand of those who have committed themselves to moving towards democracy and multipartyism, but put off the day of reckoning in Nigeria — where Major-General Ibrahim Babangida has postponed the handover to civilian rule until August — and in Mali.

There are also those who have resisted multipartyism, pretending Zimbabwe, Zaire and Malawi.

Clearly, the pessimism that now hangs over Africa will have an impact on democracy. Whether south. The UN spokesman in Mozambique has called for these elections in that country to be put off to avoid a recurrence of the events in Angola. Will the situation in South Africa be different? — Star Africa Service. □

THE people of Morocco are expected to go to the polls on April 30 to elect a new House of Representatives, the mandate of the preceding one having run out on

Election warning by ^{is w/m} ~~Guardian~~ ^{26/2-4/3/93} Morocco opposition

RABAT — "Our tragedy is that people no longer have any faith in the democratic process," said Abderrahman Youssef, first secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (USFP), one of the leading opposition parties. "They're sick of being taken for suckers at every election." And as proof of it he gave the examples of the September 4 referendum which was turned into an outright plebiscite where a 99.96 per cent 'yes' vote was returned, and the December 16 communal elections where money distorted the outcome.

The four opposition parties forming the Democratic Bloc have suspended their participation in the National Commission for Supervising Election Operations. They are asking for "political détente to restore the people's confidence", Youssef said. "It's a question of placing the government before its responsibilities and compelling it to engage in a serious dialogue (with the opposition)," he added.

"Just imagine," he said, "we still haven't managed to get the results of the last communal (local government) elections from the interior ministry." And he criticised the government's "belated responses" on the delimitation of constituencies,

the updating of election lists, new voters' cards and the composition of election offices.

But would the opposition parties finally decide to take part in the coming elections? The USFP first secretary noted that "some resistance" was building up among the activists. One sign that they were not very happy: "Several provincial federations haven't yet sent us the lists of their candidates." But, taking every-
thing into consideration, Youssef could not see what useful purpose would be served by boycotting the polls. "We aren't ashamed to adopt this strategy," he said. "It's one way of associating our fellow Moroccans in the democratic process and explaining our ideas to them, even if the government is trying to relegate us to a corner."

Asked whether the practice of democracy had significantly developed in Morocco over the last 30-odd years to provide him and his opposition allies with a posteriori justification of their choice, all Youssef would say was: "We haven't made much headway. We have little elbowroom. It's very hard going for us."

October 9, 1992. Challenging the sincerity of the "democratic process" engaged by Hassan II, four opposition parties have issued a kind of warning.

Morocco opposition

Given the present context, however, there was no choice but "to keep campaigning and fighting" (for their cause). And he expressed the hope that there would be "a strong and resolute civic presence" to thwart governmental manoeuvres. "For the country to be better administered," said Youssef, "it needs an executive springing from a properly elected parliamentary majority." Does the idea of a genuine constitutional monarchy instead of one based on divine right belong in the category of "analyses that must not be made", as Hassan II warned recently? "It is at least an element of political debate," assured the USFP first secretary. "The idea of Moroccans discussing the powers of the various branches of government is quite conceivable."

In Youssef's eyes, the recent confirmation by the Rabat Court of Appeal of the two years' imprisonment passed on Noubir Amaoui, general secretary of the Democratic Labour Confederation (CDL) and member of the USFP political executive, for making "defamatory statements" about the government revealed an authority which tenses up as soon as it is challenged.

By Jacques de Barrin

"We've done everything possible to ensure that things go off smoothly without any provocation," he explained. "A very wide range of reasonable solutions was available to the government which it could have adopted without its esteem being harmed." By its clumsy handling of the affair, it has turned Amaoui into an emblem of the opposition. "The next election is likely to be fought around his name," pointed out Youssef. "We have won all round — the silliness of the action against our comrade has been proved."

The general secretary of the USFP agreed with the United States Department of State which noted in a recent report that serious and persistent violations of human rights were taking place in Morocco. He expressed the hope that Morocco would "ratify the conventions on torture and discrimination against women". On this point he said he would like to see the women of his country taking part in political life, something that is now forbidden. Could Morocco be imagined having a woman prime minister one day? "That's forbidden," the king has ruled. "Why not?" asked Youssef.

(February 17)



Rebels stand around captured government fortifications on the edge of Byumba

Photo: CHRIS MCGREAL

Guerrillas in the mist

SHABAN RUTA wears his French army uniform to make a point. He would like to have captured a French soldier inside it to prove that Paris has sent troops to fight in tiny Rwanda's civil war. Instead he has to confess that the uniform was still neatly folded in its packet when it was abandoned by fleeing government troops last week.

Ruta tore off the insignia. The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) is a rebel army without formal ranks. Those with particular responsibilities are recognised as commanders. Ruta's responsibility is information, although he has less control than he would like.

The RPF leadership on Sunday announced another ceasefire after a four-day offensive earlier this month in which the rebels doubled their territory. It also says that almost to a man the guerrillas are seeking a negotiated settlement with the murderous Rwandan president, Juvenal Habyarimana, not a military solution.

But Commander Pius Ntambara, standing on a rebel-held summit across from Byumba in northern Rwanda, has his enemy by the throat and he is not about to let go. "They fought, they tried and failed. Now they are desperate. We have them," Ntambara said.

The boom of the 120mm mortars washes the length of the valley. The town has emptied of civilians but government troops

*Rwanda's rebels are poised to
smash government forces.*

By **CHRIS MCGREAL**

are trapped inside Byumba. The only road out is overlooked by RPF artillery. The government cannot get its men out or reinforcements in. All they can do is fire back in frustration. Both sides pretend the other is responsible for the shooting.

The shelling around Byumba starts after breakfast when the hills are shrouded in the mists made famous by Diane Fossey's concern for a species more endangered than African soldiers. Young guerrillas like to pose beneath the sign marking the Gorilla Park.

At 9am the mist is still so thick the gunners cannot see where their shells are landing. Many of the young rebels are sheltering in the makeshift bunkers providing marginally better protection from the icy, damp nights than from the shells.

"We can't light fires or they'll spot us. We can't keep warm, and we can't cook," said a teenage soldier, Joseph. His last meal of the seemingly universal guerrilla diet of rice and beans was two days earlier. He clearly wonders why he left Uganda, home to many RPF soldiers whose relatives were driven out of Rwanda in a purge of the Tutsi community three decades ago.

But generally morale is high. The rebels

have taken so much territory in recent days, some get lost moving around it. Hundreds of thousands of civilians have fled, usually packing in behind government lines.

The land held by the RPF before the latest offensive can be distinguished from what the rebels call the "new territories" by a glance at the tea plantations extending north to the Ugandan border. Those that have been in RPF hands for about a year have gone to seed. In the new territories the weeds are just beginning to poke through.

The offensive pushed the RPF to within 40km of the Rwandan capital, Kigali. The rebels halted because their leaders said the purpose of the attack was to protest against government massacres of civilians and to force Habyarimana to take negotiations seriously. Ruta says the point was made and the RPF leadership expects progress at the next round of talks.

Ordinary RPF troops do not see the point. Aside from two days of hard fighting on a hill dubbed Sarajevo, the government troops fled without putting up much resistance. With the government morale broken, there is a fair chance the RPF could have made it all the way to Kigali.

The miserable soldier crouched in his shelter in the hills above Byumba wants to storm the city. He is probably right in thinking the troops inside would crumble in a minute, and he would have a decent bed and a hot meal. — The Guardian

w/ Mail 26/2-4/3/93

①

Nigerian troops blast Somali sniper hideout

RIOTS over coalition forces — in anarchic Somalia — could delay their aid distribution — could delay their departure for home, writes CHRISTOPHER BURNS.

MOGADISHU — Nigerian soldiers exchanged fire with sniper yesterday then flushed out a building and captured seven Somalis in an area rocked by two days of violence.

Nigerian troops at the city's main traffic circle nearby fired into the air repeatedly, displaying a continued tough response to unruly crowds after rioting.

Elsewhere in the city, merchants began opening up for business in their ramshackle stalls of corrugated iron. The remains of bonfires from burning tyres and junk littered streets.

Relief officials said the violence halted some food deliveries, but they said they did not plan to pull out of the city.

At least six Somalis died and five US marines and two Nigerian soldiers were wounded in violence that started with protests by backers of a warlord who claimed US-led forces helped defeat a rival.

It was the first major protest against the coalition of 32,000 troops, in Somalia to secure relief shipments to millions of Somalis threatened by starvation after two years of civil war.

The cause of the continued violence was unclear.

Warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid, whose angry radio address on Tuesday night triggered the protests, urged calm on Wednesday, and on Thursday night accused looters of taking advan-



TAKING AIM: US Marine lance-corporal Nick Lee sights on a building as his squad swept central Mogadishu on Thursday.

Photograph: AP

tage of the situation. While the US-led Operation Restore Hope has largely solved the famine, young Somalis out of work crowd the streets of this shattered capital with little to do.

The UN says it needs about \$800 million to continue fighting hunger and to begin projects to put the economy back on

its feet. Donor nations are to meet on March 11 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to consider the proposal.

Yesterday Nigerian troops atop a hotel poured heavy gunfire into a building across the street in response to the sniper fire.

Several troops entered the building from a

side street, captured seven men and seized one weapon, a Nigerian commander said.

Sniper fire came from the building the day before, and the Nigerians blasted holes in it on Thursday to try to flush out the attackers.

A captive said one of the group was a security guard who went to check

the building, and that friends had gone in with him. The seven were taken away in armoured personnel carriers. The Nigerian commander said they would be turned over to the UN task force.

Gunfire and grenade blasts rocked the same area of the capital for five hours on Thursday as soldiers pounded at snipers.

The shooting on Thursday was the heaviest in the capital in weeks. Soldiers fired without restraint at any niche they believed might harbour a sniper.

Aidid had accused US-led forces of helping supporters of Mohamed Said Hirsi, known as General Morgan, to defeat Aidid ally Colonel Omar Jess in the southern port of Kismayu on Monday. Morgan is a son-in-law of ousted dictator Mohammed Siad Barre.

On Thursday, facing a midnight ultimatum

from US forces, Morgan's fighters began leaving Kismayu.

Military spokesmen in Nairobi said about 70 of Morgan's troops — about half the force that went into Kismayu — had gone into the cantonment area.

US and UN officials said the fighting in Kismayu endangered peace talks set for March 15 intended to reconcile rival clans in a land without a government for more than two years.

The renewed violence could complicate the planned transition to UN command. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said on Wednesday that the transfer could take place in several weeks.

Relief officials said they had no plans to cut staff despite the protests.

An Irish relief worker was killed by bandits outside Mogadishu earlier this week. — Sapa-AP.

STW 27/12/93

Two ballot papers but no crosses to mark island's poll

South 27/2 - 3/3/93

MADAGASCAR, which held an election this month, has three unique features in its poll.

Communities elect voting bureau officials, more than one ballot paper is used and votes are counted publicly.

On a predetermined date, about two weeks before the election, in Madagascar, local communities across the large Indian Ocean island gathered for general meetings.

Their mission was to elect presidents and other officials for the local voting bureau.

Often elders in the community are elected as a mark of respect.

The task of the president is to oversee the entire process at the polling bureau.

There are presidents and at least eight officials at each of the country's 14 000 polling bureaus.

Confidence in the officials and their general credibility is enhanced by this process.

Voters do not put pen to paper at any point and no crosses are made.

In the presidential elections, voters picked up two ballot forms and an envelope stacked neatly on tables in the bureau.

The one ballot form was red with the logo of outgoing president Didier Ratsiraka's AREMA party.

The other was blue, bearing the picture of challenger, Professor Zafy Albert. The voter would go into the polling booth and place the ballot form of his or her chosen candidate in the envelope before dropping it in the box.

Rejected ballot forms are usually strewn in the polling booth, being cleared from time to time.

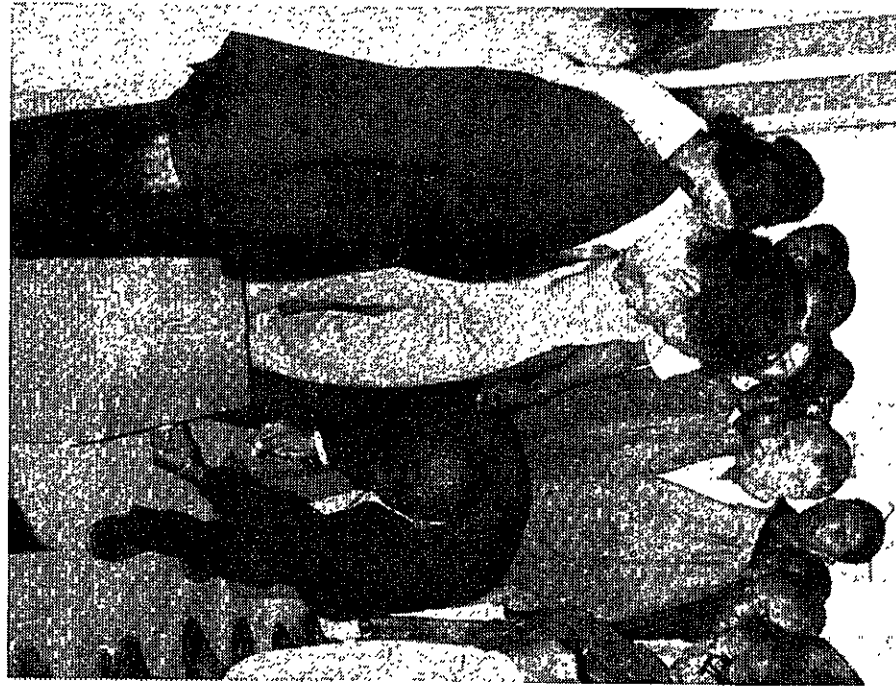
At 6pm on election day, islanders streamed in their hundreds to their nearest polling bureaus to witness the counting of the ballots.

Up to 200 people packed school classrooms as each envelope was painstakingly opened and its contents exhibited to everyone.

MANSOOR JAFFER

Observers crucial for free and fair elections,

South 27/2-3/3/93



FREE AND FAIR: Voters and observers at a polling station during the recent elections in Madagascar

ELECTION monitors in Madagascar have given impetus to the democratisation sweeping the country. Non-partisan observers are crucial in ensuring free and fair elections, says Mrs Roselyne Rahainy, provincial official of the National Committee for the Observation of Elections and Education of Citizens (CNOE).

CNOE is the largest of at least five Malagasy observer groups. It was formed just before the 1989 general elections. "A group of friends in Antananarivo informally got together and looked seriously at the question of monitoring elections", Rahainy said.

"Over the years there had been many irregularities, but little was done to remedy them," she said. Rahainy said voter lists had been so tampered with in the early seventies, the president of the first republic, Mr Philibert Tsiranana, was elected with over 90 percent of the vote. Months later, nationwide protests forced his resignation.

During the reign of President Didier Ratsiraka, from 1975 to this month, there were constant disputes about the electoral process. CNOE was initially treated with suspicion by the authorities, but eventually recognised in 1990.

"We set about building a membership

and support base," said Rahainy. "Today we have a national committee as well as committees in all six provinces and all the counties. CNOE is represented in about half of the sub-counties or local areas."

She said that much of the organisation's energies went into training members and educating the public.

"Seminars are held regularly at all levels of the organisations, where members and supporters learn about our country's electoral process and how to observe it.

"CNOE has set up its structures, done internal and public education and has vigorously campaigned for the drawing up proper voter lists.

"It appears we have been very successful with the latter. Today there are few disputes about voter lists."

Rahainy explained that, unlike in the past, an Independent Electoral Commission consisting of members of civil society was now in existence. The voter lists were no longer in the hands of the Ministry of Interior which many people viewed with scepticism.

And there is now an electoral law which gives clear guidelines for fair media coverage and control of the security forces, among other things.

Rahainy welcomed the international observer groups. She said that through the work of groups like CNOE, the population was inspired with new hope.

"People are starting to realise they can change things — there is power in their vote." CNOE's ultimate aim, however, is to work itself out of existence.

"When the population fully understands the electoral process and can manage it, there will be no need for observer groups," said Mrs Rahainy.

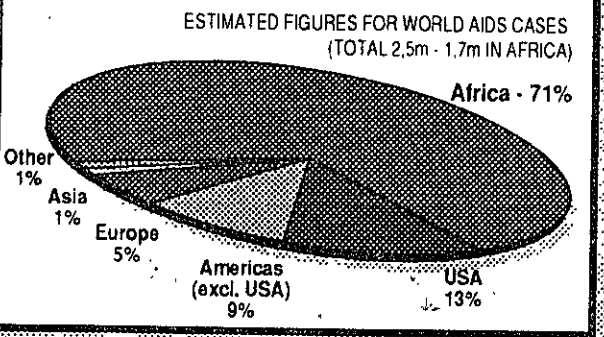
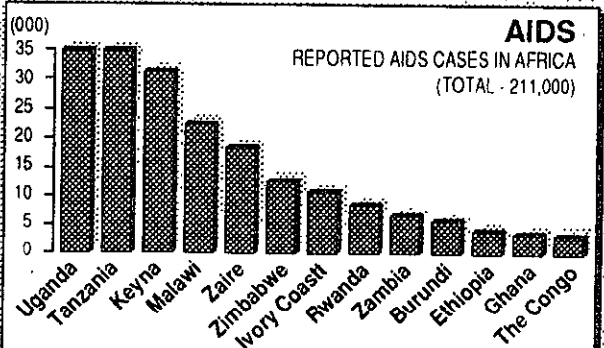
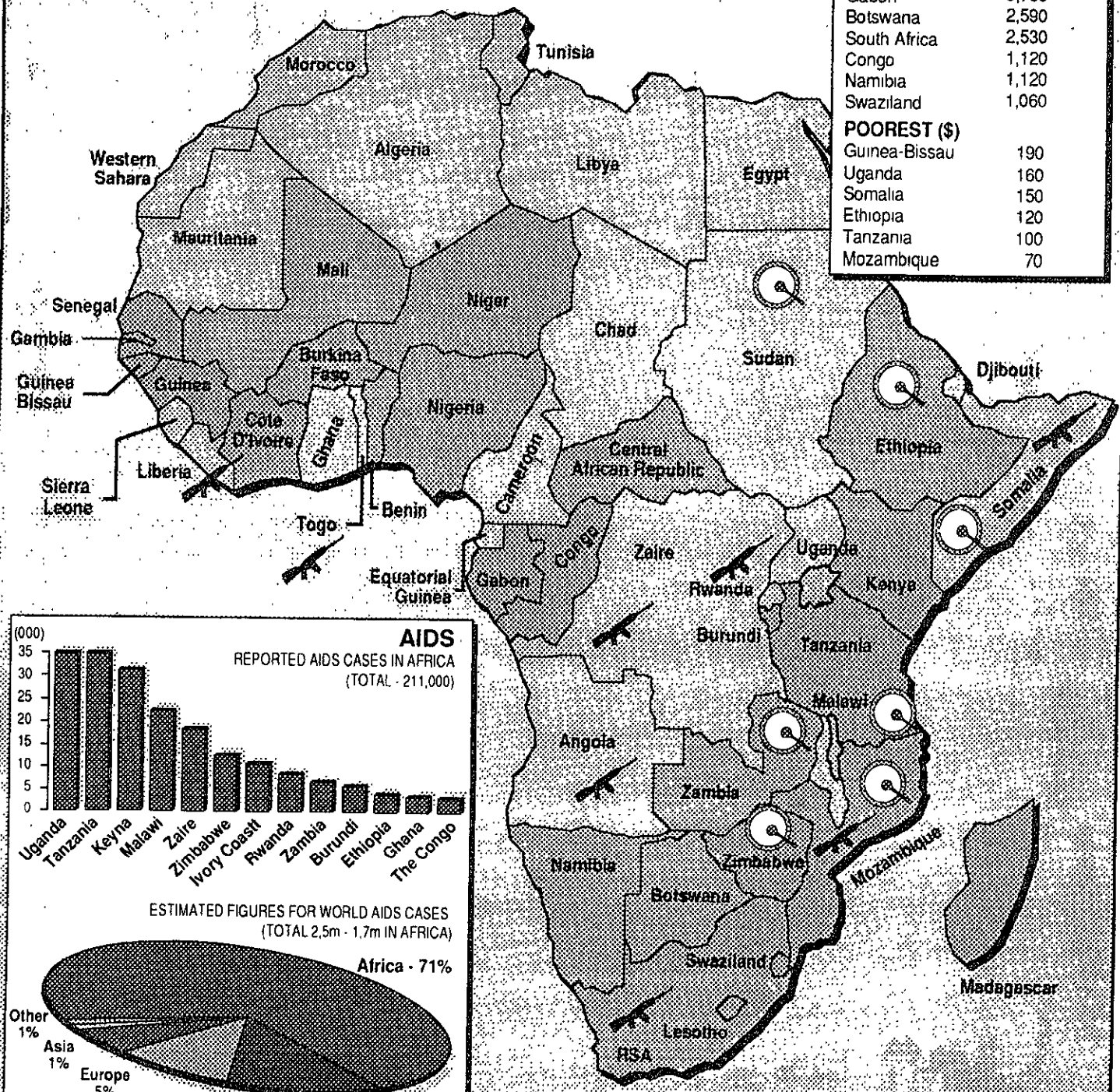
MANSOOR JAFFER

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① SITimes 28/2/93.

NOT FREE
 PARTIALLY FREE
 FREE
 FAMINE ZONES
 ZONES OF WAR AND CONFLICT

RICHEST & POOREST	
GNP PER CAPITA (WORLD BANK FIGURES)	
RICHEST (\$)	
Gabon	3,780
Botswana	2,590
South Africa	2,530
Congo	1,120
Namibia	1,120
Swaziland	1,060
POOREST (\$)	
Guinea-Bissau	190
Uganda	160
Somalia	150
Ethiopia	120
Tanzania	100
Mozambique	70



Graphic: RUBY-GAY MARTIN
Categories provided by the human rights organisation, Freedom House

No US troop withdrawal as prospect of anarchy looms

SIT lines 28/2/93
AMERICAN-LED troops, having crushed an armed uprising by Somalia's top warlord, face an explosive situation that could plunge the country back into anarchy.

The renewed clashes have already delayed the repatriation of some of the US troops stationed in Somalia as part of a multinational Operation Restore Hope.

Military and political analysts, surveying the bloodiest week in Somalia since the arrival of the multinational task force in December, said tough action appeared to have subdued Mohamed Farah Aideed's supporters.

But Aideed's hardened former guerrillas, who fought and toppled long-ruling military strongman Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991, were likely to regroup and try to regain lost ground.

Troops of the United Arab Emirates, part of the US-led coalition, exchanged fire on Friday night with a group of Somalis near Mogadishu's heavily guarded new port, where food aid shipments have been pouring in. Two American soldiers nearby were injured, officials said.

The clash came amid an otherwise quiet night in Mogadishu, where rioting on Wednesday and Thursday along a main boulevard left a reported six Somalis dead and five American and two Nigerian soldiers wounded.

SOMALIA

Warlords still threaten hopes of peace, reports FRANCIS MDLONGWA in Mogadishu

But in Brussels, the international aid group Medecins Sans Frontieres said at least 100 people were killed this week in the fighting in Kismayu.

Patrols by the US-led coalition come under fire almost daily in various parts of the city, though in most cases there were no casualties.

The violence was touched off by the victory of one warlord over the followers of another in Kismayu, forcing the US military to postpone plans to withdraw some of its troops in Somalia.

US Army Captain Ed Loomis said about 1 000 soldiers, stationed in the southern port of Kismayu, where rival militias fought on Monday, would remain there for some time.

This followed an earlier statement by US military spokesman Colonel Fred Peck that "what happened over the last 48 to 72 hours won't, as far as we can see, have any effect on our withdrawal or the size of our residual force".

Continents in Crisis

SI Times
28/2/93.

①

"NO KNOWN system of government works in Africa," wrote a despairing Nigerian journalist a few years ago, and events seem to have proved him right.

The American intervention in Somalia, the imminent fall of President Mobutu of Zaïre — which promises nothing but bloodshed on a vast scale — the renewed war in Angola: from Africa always something new and terrible.

Freedom and democracy are but words there, and, as for dictators, the best that can be hoped of them is that they are not bizarrely cannibalistic.

The list of African political disasters since independence is lamentably long and impressive. The first presidents of Guinea and Equatorial Guinea, Sekou Toure and Macias Nguema respectively, killed or drove into exile a third of the populations of their countries; the Huu of Burundi have twice suffered massacres at the hands of the ruling Tutsi, and await the next massacre — unless they can get in first with a massacre of their own.

Milton Obote of Uganda was worse than Idi Amin by a degree of magnitude.

The Dark Continent becomes darker by the day as Africa slides more deeply into instability, famine, war and AIDS. Are the problems intractable? ANTHONY DANIELS analyses the African malaise and correspondents report from the frontlines

Liberty, democracy are empty words

the horrors of Somalia and Ethiopia need no introduction, hundreds of thousands have died in civil wars in Angola and Mozambique, and the destruction of Liberia has been well known complete, with a quarter of its population exiled and a further quarter displaced.

Distorted

Africa's economic plight is likewise dire. One must not exaggerate, however, and one must bear in mind that the statistics are unreliable and frequently meaningless.

Many have been the famine alerts over the years which did not turn into famines, and travelling through the continent I have often been astonished that allegedly malnourished children grow so freely

into strapping and abundantly healthy young adults. The capacity of ordinary Africans to prosper in difficult conditions impresses every foreign visitor.

Nevertheless, the economic and political failures of Africa as a whole are patent and require explanation. The most frequently advanced explanation is that European colonisation distorted Africa so badly that it has been unable to recover.

There is some truth in this, but in an opposite sense to that usually meant. The lines drawn on maps by the colonising powers to delimit their territories are often blamed for the difficulties that faced African countries after their independence, for these countries do not

correspond to any ethnic reality and therefore lack national integration.

This is true but irrelevant, for any conceivable division of Africa into separate countries would have resulted in a similar problem, so numerous are Africa's ethnic groups. The alternative — pan-Africanism à la Nkrumah — is clearly not practical either. What is impossible on a small scale is unlikely to be possible on a vastly greater scale.

The damage done by colonialism was of a different kind. It provided a model of government in which the wise few ruled the foolish or incapable many. It was this mentality which the new rulers of Africa, for the most part petty functionaries frustrated and humiliated by their lack of advancement under colonialism, adopted as their own, regardless of the ideology they espoused.

Power

Unfortunately, the new philosopher-kings were mostly incompetent in all but political manipulation. They talked of democracy and rode in Mercedes-Benzes, but favoured their tribe and consulted witch-doctors.

Moreover, the last phase of colonialism was profoundly *dirigiste*, with governments establishing marketing boards and setting prices for the colonies' most important products, thus effectively taxing peasant producers.

Never a good policy, this *dirigisme* exactly suited the purposes of the post-independence urban elite, composed almost entirely of government employees or clients of the government.

These purposes were self-enrichment and eternal power. Aid policies have powerfully reinforced the pathology of post-colonial Africa. Fashions in development aid may have changed, but such aid has failed to extract even a single country from its poverty.

Persuaded

Recolonisation has been suggested as a solution, but would only leave the continent in the same political plight as the last attempt. It is, moreover, important to remember that poverty is not necessarily misery and that wealth is not necessarily happiness. In this sense, if African governments can be persuaded or coerced into sensible economic policies which require free prices, open markets and the encouragement of foreign investment, the lot of millions of Africans need not be ineluctably bleak. The Telegraph, London.

Star 2 13/93 ①

Congo-SA diplomatic ties

South Africa and the Congo yesterday agreed to sign diplomatic relations. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman represented South Africa at a ceremony in Brazzaville.

A feast of good films out in Ouagadougou

Sowetan 3/3/93.
By Thabiso Leshoi

① ②
■ CINEMA MECCA

BURKINA FASO IS NOT A NAME likely to be familiar to many South Africans. As for the name Ouagadougou — mention it and the most probable response will be

derisive laughter.

For the record: Burkina Faso is what the former French colony, Upper Volta, is now called and Ouagadougou is its capital.

Also for the record: it is said that the reason the name is not easy to pronounce is because of a certain complex or anger the people there feel for having been a far-flung outpost of the former colonial empire.

Hot and dusty

Those who have been to Burkina Faso say that just a few days of its heat and dust is enough to give anybody a complex - or complexion, take your pick.

Still, every two years for a week this tiny, extremely poor African country becomes the cinema capital of Africa as it plays host to the Pan African Film and Television Festival, known as Fespaco.

It is a festival that was created in 1969 by Africa's few practising film-makers, then located in so-called Francophone Africa. As a forum for the screening and discussing of African cinema, Fespaco is unequalled. Indeed, were it not for Fespaco, African cinema would probably be confined to the art circuits of Europe.

This week sees the beginning of the 13th biennial Fespaco. For a week the films of Africans will be gathered in one place for those Africans lucky enough to be there to catch a glimpse of themselves as seen through the eyes of their most talented film-makers.

Burkina hosts this

year's Africa's best.

The theme this year is *Cinema and liberty*. It is also the year when, for the first time, South African films will be shown. A small, independent non-profit film distribution organisation, the Film Resource Unit (FRU), will be taking a batch of feature films, documentaries and music programmes to Ouagadougou.

Although from a South African point of view this is entering uncharted territory, FRU co-ordinator Richard Ishmail takes a positive view.

"This is an important opportunity to judge the standard of South African filmmaking against that of the rest of the continent," he said this week. "Furthermore, participation will encourage local filmmakers to achieve standards without sacrificing the need to tell their own stories from their own perspective."

Promising student

A member of the South African contingent will be President Kapa, one of the first graduates of the Community Video School (CVS), a project of the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation (Fawo). Kapa's trip is a *Weekly Mail* Film Festival prize that he won for being the most promising film student.

Hopefully this small but significant South African presence in Burkina Faso will lead to a greater awareness and appreciation of African cinema art in South Africa.

Factional violence has taken a heavy toll on African countries, reports Gerald L'Ange

Star 3/3/93

Hard slog back to prosperity

1

SOUTH Africa may be far richer and stronger than all other African countries but it can nevertheless learn a lot from their experience in attaining democracy — and in losing it.

One lesson stands out as more important than any other. It is simply that it is harder to get off the slippery slope of factional violence than it is to get on it. And consequences of not getting off are horrendous.

The level of violence has recently declined markedly in South Africa but it would be highly optimistic not to believe it will not flare up again. Guns are still being smuggled in and tensions behind the past violence are far from being defused. So the African lesson is still worth learning.

Africa has painfully proved that factional violence leads only to national poverty and misery. It seldom leads to political power — never to lasting power — and it

certainly does not lead to prosperity or any of the other things that make life worth living.

Africa has shown also that it takes many painful years for a country to get back to where it was before it slipped into factional violence — if it gets back at all. Anyone who doubts this should visit one of the African countries that is still floundering at or near the bottom of the slope.

South Africa is already far out on the slope and anybody who doubts that should take a closer look at the political mayhem, notably the death toll, the techniques used, the proliferation of military weapons and the identity of the apparent instigators.

But South Africa has not yet slipped so far that it cannot get back to firm ground, however. The odds to bring the country back lies not on those who pull triggers, but on factional leaders, black and white, in whose cause they do it. The sad irony of factional vio-

lence is that it usually turns out to be unnecessary as well. When the rival factions eventually are forced to compromise with each other, it invariably transpires that their differences were not great as they had been made out to be, and not so great that they could not have been resolved by peaceful negotiation in the first place.

Mozambique demonstrates all of this. That country, which has the potential to be relatively prosperous, became the world's poorest country and one of the most violent.

The indices of its degradation were ambushes on main roads, sewage overflowing in potholed streets, peasants eating roots to survive and wearing bark for clothing, burnt-out schools and clinics, empty shops, child guerrillas and mutilated women.

After 16 years of factional violence (in the form of civil war), Mozambique had reached the bot-

tom. It had nowhere to go but up, and when the opposing parties at last met at the bottom and negotiated, they found there was little ideological difference between them — nothing that could not have been resolved through compromise in the beginning.

Mozambique has only begun to claw its way back up the slope and there is still no certainty that it will not slip down again. In any event, it will be many years before the country gets back to where it was before the start of the war. It may never catch up to where it could have been had its politicians eschewed violence from the start.

Angola has skidded even more spectacularly down the slope of violence. It is perhaps not yet at the bottom, but it is close to being there. Angola's conflict demonstrates both the pointlessness of violence and how enormously difficult it is to get out of it. There, too, the factions found

after 16 years of war that there was little ideological difference between them. Their policies, notably that of the ruling MPLA, had changed somewhat, but it did not necessarily take war to effect that change.

When they eventually came to resolve their dispute peacefully through a UN-supervised election, however, the exercise foundered on the issue of power. Unita, losing the election, cried fraud. Either Unita could not bring itself to abandon its hopes of power after 16 years of fighting for it or the MPLA could not bring itself to risk losing it and rigged the election. Whichever way it was, the main reality is that all those years of conflict had made compromise painful and difficult.

Eventually the Angolan parties will compromise. And then they will have to start restoring the wrecked infrastructure and economy. Nothing will restore the lost lives, of course. And there will be

no way of measuring how much further ahead the country would have been but for the violence.

There are other current examples in Africa of the dangers and pointlessness of violence. Somalia, where fighting went on until there was little left to fight for except ashes and ethnic pride. Sudan, where war has failed to reconcile religious and ethnic differences and negotiation has never been seriously attempted.

Despite the relatively limited violence that has taken place in South Africa and despite the current economic recession, the country is still the most fortunate in Africa in terms of prosperity and promise.

South Africa, therefore, has less to gain and more to lose than any other country on the continent from a descent into factional violence. The danger is that those who have the power to control it will not try to do so until it is too late. — Star Africa Service. □

Russians set to market planes in Africa

3/10/93 3/3/93

STEPHANE BOTHMA

YAKOVLEV Aircraft Corporation, the only Russian manufacturer to obtain Western certification for its aircraft, is to start marketing its range of products in Africa.

One of the main products would be a "one container" cargo aircraft currently under development, which Yakovlev vice-president Arcady Gurtovoy said would be marketed in competition with container trucks.

Visiting SA to finalise an agreement to appoint Savitch and Chapman International as Yakovlev's sole agent in Africa, Gurtovoy said unlike most other Russian manufactured aircraft, Yakovlev planes would dispel the belief in some areas that former Soviet Union aircraft were technologically outdated and not up to Western standards.

"Even before the dismantling of the former Soviet Union, Yakovlev had stopped manufacturing old tech-

nology aircraft and had embarked on the redesign and development of modern products," he said.

The company manufactured large passenger and freight aircraft, military and business jets, training and light four- to six-seater planes that could land and take off almost anywhere, he said.

Included in the present range were two planes suited for short, rudimentary runways, the Yak-58 a rear-engined six-seater, and the new four-seater Yak-112 aircraft.

About the as yet unnamed "one container" freighter, Gurtovoy said although more expensive than trucks, operating the aircraft to reach difficult terrain in a short time would in the medium-term prove to be more cost effective than road transport.

Maintenance and fuel would also

be cheaper, he said.

Several aircraft in the Yakovlev range will be brought to SA later this year for demonstration purposes, but the sale of the aircraft would only start after a comprehensive service and maintenance bureau has been established in Africa.

Some of the Yakovlev aircraft were already being assembled using US-made engines and electronic equipment. Gurtovoy said he foresaw no problems with SA's Directorate of Civil Aviation with the licencing and registration of the aircraft.

Established in 1927, the corporation is the largest serial producer of aircraft in the former USSR, having constructed more than 70 000 planes of more than 100 different models.

Yakovlev is the only Russian aircraft manufacturer whose products meet International Aviation Federation standards.



UN plan to give hope to devastated Somalis

MOGADISHU — The phone system was ripped out, water mains were dug up, electrical plants gutted and factories sold for scrap. The central bank was looted and blasted full of holes. How does Somalia even begin to rebuild?

Forget it for now, development officials say. With famine at bay, they plan to ask donor nations this month to fund local health, education and farming projects that will cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

Major projects will have to wait until rival factions can agree on a government, they say. Somalia has been rudderless since dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was driven from power in January 1991.

"There's an enormous temptation in the absence of all these things to react with knee-jerk solutions," said Larry de Bolve, the UN Development Program's deputy representative in Somalia. "We're looking at a series of smaller-scale support activity."

A 56-page UN draft proposal calls for \$253m in aid this year to fund UN relief and development projects in Somalia. The final version is

to be presented to the March 11 donor's conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

While \$133m is earmarked for food supplies and care for refugees, the rest is aimed at getting Somalia self-sufficient again. Members of the US-led coalition that ensured relief shipments since December are looking to scale back their military involvement.

"Once the emergency is over, you need projects to get people back to work," said Cynthia Osterman, spokesman for CARE, one of several relief groups that would participate in the UN plan.

Before the civil war, agriculture employed 82% of working Somalis and comprised 65% of the country's GDP, she said. The key to Somalia's recovery is livestock, which accounted for 80% of the country's export earnings before the war, officials say. While food shipments have drastically reduced hunger, Somalis face outbreaks of malaria, whooping cough and measles, officials say, and health care is in a mess. "Hospitals were looted and devastated," Osterman said. "Even before the civil war, medical care was available to only 27% of the population."

The US-led coalition and relief groups have reopened some hospitals, and the UN proposes spending \$23m on health and nutrition.

Water supplies remain dangerously contaminated. Bardera, one of the cities worst hit by famine, is getting food shipments. But a study in January showed only 14% of the people there were getting potable water.

Like hospitals, most water systems, pumps and generators in larger towns were destroyed or looted. Up to 90% of wells are out of service. The UN wants to spend \$12.7m to rehabilitate damaged wells, chlorinate water supplies and deliver drinkable water. CARE plans to rehabilitate a canal for four villages. The UN plan would also spend \$12m on employment and \$7.6m on rebuilding schools.

With no immediate plans for a telephone network, the US army has drawn up a \$20m plan for cellular phones in Mogadishu with limited service in outlying areas — Sape-ATP



AFRICA had lagged the rest of the world in re-examining the role of the state in the national economy, International Finance Corporation (IFC) vice-president Sir William Ryrrie said this week.

He told the Eurozone conference on investment in sub-Saharan Africa there had been serious new thinking throughout the world about the role of government in an economy. It is now widely accepted that the development of the private sector lay at the heart of the process of economic growth.

"The rethinking of the appropriate role of the state that has occupied so much attention in the rest of the world has not been as complete here in Africa. While there are notable and encouraging exceptions, there are too many African countries that have embraced economic reforms too hesitantly with the result that

Africa lags in privatising economies

8/10/79

4/3/93

SIMON WILLSON
in Nairobi

(1)

underlying economic imbalances have continued," Ryrrie said.

The IFC is the World Bank affiliate charged with promoting private sector activity in developing countries. It invests directly in private sector projects and assists in the raising of commercial finance by underwriting securities issues or arranging syndicated loans. Since its foundation in 1956, the IFC has provided \$11bn in financing for about 1,900 companies in 98 developing countries.

Ryrrie said there were many policies only governments could enact to help the private sector invest and thus stimulate economic growth. "For too long, too much of Africa has

toiled under governments that, by trying to do things which are not appropriate for governments, have ended up not doing the basic job of government well."

Rethinking the role of government did not mean denigrating the public sector; it meant getting government to concentrate on functions it had to perform and getting it out of affairs which the private sector could run more efficiently.

"The notion that the private sector is predatory and that the state, as the guardian of the public interest, must control it is damaging. The private sector is, in fact, the best mechanism for creating jobs and growth provided its energies can be released," Ryrrie said.

One indication of Africa's hesitancy in implementing economic reform was the slow progress towards privatisation on the continent, he said. The IFC had accumulated considerable expertise in privatising state-owned companies around the world.

Privatisation was, however, gaining momentum in Africa, and the IFC had assisted 10 African govern-

ments with privatisation projects and was considering several more. Many governments around the world were looking to the private sector to finance and manage investments in areas which, in the past, were always the preserve of the public sector. The IFC could help this process along, Ryrrie said.

"Take telecommunications, for example. Opening this up to private investment is not difficult and would not only send a strong signal about government interest in and commitment to improving the environment for business, but would lead to an immediate improvement in the conditions under which businesses operate.

"Rapid communications are essential to modern business life. The underprovision of telephone lines is a constraint on private enterprise that can easily be lifted," Ryrrie said.

REVIEW

Star 4/3/93

ANC dampens 'unrealistic expectations'

NAIROBI — The African National Congress has warned black Africa not to expect the end of white rule in South Africa to solve its economic ills.

A senior official of the ANC bluntly told participants at an economic conference here that other African states must promote growth and development and trade in their own countries.

Trevor Manuel, the head of the ANC's economic planning unit, told the bankers and investors: "Africans must not rely on unrealistic expectations that SA will either become a regional benefactor or a locomotive of growth for the rest of the re-

gion."

African states needed to improve their infrastructure to obtain access to the South African domestic market, while SA should grant favourable terms to its neighbours to allow trade to flourish, he said.

After more than two decades of stagnation and falling living standards in sub-Saharan Africa, many states have hoped the end of sanctions against apartheid would see a black-ruled SA become the engine of growth for an entire region.

In a sharp departure from the radical language of the ANC's underground days, a sober-suited Manuel told dele-

gates SA was in a state of economic decline and that many problems were structural.

"Unless we promote a balanced form of development which embraces much of Africa, outstanding and potential security problems will not be addressed in a non-militarised manner."

At home, South Africans must create a climate of political certainty to help economic growth.

SA's economy accounts for about 57 percent of southern and eastern Africa's gross domestic product, according to SA Foreign Trade Organisation figures. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tough decision on Somalia sought

MOGADISHU — US-led troops had not fully restored order in Somalia and UN peacekeepers would need tough Security Council backing to disarm a country awash with weapons, a UN official said yesterday.

Ismat Kittani, the UN special envoy in Somalia, said the 30 000-strong US-led force due to hand over to a new UN force was still far from restoring order in the Horn of Africa country.

"The task of disarming factions should be first priority," Kittani told reporters. The Security Council had to give the secretary-general the necessary mandate.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in a report to the Security Council on Wednesday, proposed May 1 for the transfer of command from the US-led Unified Task Force to a new 28 000-strong UN force, and named the Turkish Army's Gen Cevik Bir as commander. Turkey said on Wednesday it had told the UN it was a bad time for the handover because the US-led force had not established peace yet.

The new force will be called the UN Operation in Somalia II. It would take over in stages and initially include about 8 000 logistics troops from the UN task force.

Somalia is still awash with weapons — mortars, tanks, armoured vehicles and jeep-mounted heavy machineguns — supplied by the superpowers during the Cold War.

The US-led force has refused to disarm a country where even children of eight or 10 carry automatic weapons. The force says it is not in the business of stripping gunmen of their weapons except when relief work is threatened. Kittani said disarmament would also help speed up political reconciliation. Warlords agreed last Saturday to an agenda for peace talks on March 15 in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa.

Kittani leaves next week after a three-month assignment that ended last month. His replacement has not been named but Guinea's Lansana Kouyate, the deputy envoy, will take over in an acting capacity.

The UN Operation in Somalia II, with US Gen Thomas Montgomery as Bir's deputy and Canadian Gen James Cox as chief of staff, will fan out from about May 1 to try to disarm warlords and impose order. Many Somalis question the ability of the UN to remain above factional politics. — Sapa-Reuter.

Militants banned from mosque

■CAIRO — Egypt's religious affairs minister Mohammed Mahjoub said scholars preaching militant thoughts have been banished from mosques as part of a government campaign to fight the rising influence of Islamic fundamentalists. "Our mosques became platforms for the extremists to spread their perverted and terrorist thoughts by preaching the Islamic call through using force, attacking non-Muslims and stirring trouble with the aim of destabilising Egypt," Mahjoub said. Permits will now be required to preach sermons. — Sapa-Reuter

W/mant 5/3-11/3/93.

Rowland and the rebels

W/May 13-11/3/93
By VICTORIA BRITTAIN

TINY ROWLAND, chairman of the Lonrho group and longtime backroom operator in African politics, has revealed that for the last nine years he has been a member of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement.

The SPLM, headed by John Garang, has been fighting a 10-year war in southern Sudan with the government in Khartoum, in which at least 750 000 civilians have been killed and more than three million people have been turned into wandering skeletons by the ensuing famine.

The Sudanese government wants to impose Islamic law on the south. Garang wants to overthrow the central government or, failing that, take power in an autonomous south. Neither side has been deterred from pursuit of this unwinnable war by the suffering of millions of people, or the destruction of the intricate civilisation of southern Sudan's nomads.

Rowland revealed his membership of the SPLM in a BBC interview broadcast last week after being taped in the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, which Rowland owns. He went on to say: "The war in Sudan is unwinnable and must come to an end."

Nine years ago, Benjamin Bol, the former SPLM representative in London, told Richard Hall, Rowland's biographer, that the Lonrho chairman had been introduced to Garang by Bob Fraser at the United States embassy in London. Fraser was a key player in the most important US African initiative at that time, Chester Crocker's "constructive engagement" policy in southern Africa, which rehabilitated the international image of the South African government, won independence for Namibia, got the Cubans to leave Angola and persuaded the leftwing governments in Mozambique and Angola to reverse their internal policies.

For years Rowland has lent planes to Jonas Savimbi to help him to overthrow the MPLA government in Angola. And, after a period of being close to the Mozambican leader, Joachim Chissano, he became involved with the rebel leader, Alfonso Dhaklana, and was present at peace negotiations between the two parties.

Southern Sudan has an undeveloped oil industry and Lonrho is interested in a project to bring oil out in a pipeline leading through Kenya — where Rowland has important interests — to Mombasa, instead of through the Red Sea port of Port Sudan as the Khartoum government has planned. — The Guardian News Service

Somali relief organisations denounce US

RELIEF agency chiefs in Somalia are accusing the United States of deliberately concealing the failures of the US-led multinational force in the country and exaggerating its successes to ensure that US troops can hand over control to the United Nations and depart.

Distrust of the US Operation Restore Hope among relief agencies — and despair at the slow pace of UN preparations for resuming leadership of the Somali relief effort — have heightened since anti-American riots in Mogadishu last week.

The three days of rioting began when troops loyal to the faction leader General Siad Hersi Morgan seized part of the southern port of Kismayo, unhindered by US and Belgian troops in the town.

This prompted accusations from the Mogadishu warlord, General Mohamed Farah Aideed, that Gen. Morgan — the son-in-law of the deposed Somali dictator, Mohamed Siad Barre — was receiving US support in the run-up to peace talks scheduled for March 15. Gen. Aideed then called for the anti-US demonstration which led to the riot.

"The US has down-played everything because it's the only way they are going to get out of here," a senior UN official said.

"Last week's riot allowed Aideed, even though he has lost a lot of his

By Mark Huband in
Mogadishu

own power since the foreign troops arrived; to show that the US aren't in control of the security situation in Mogadishu, nearly three months after they arrived."

The US special envoy to Somalia, Robert Oakley, was singled out for criticism. After a meeting with agencies on Saturday, where he is reported to have played down the significance of the riot in which at least 20 people were killed by multinational troops, one relief agency head who had initially welcomed the US force last December, said:

"Oakley is exaggerating everything with regard to the supposedly improved security situation, to justify the US departure. They are desperate to get out of here... I just don't believe what Oakley tells the agencies. He is going to leave Somalia with shit dribbling all the way down his chin."

Last Tuesday, when the riots erupted, relief workers met Mr Oakley to emphasise the dangers of the disturbance, advising him to make a radio announcement to halt rumours of US support for Gen. Morgan. "But he was so arrogant. He down-played everything," one source said.

The US claims Somalia's warlords are no longer able to use their military power to further political aims, making a large US military presence unnecessary. The military leaders have been forced to the negotiating table by a combination of foreign and domestic pressure. But Gen. Morgan's seizure of parts of Kismayo to strengthen his position in talks suggests that military power is still a key factor.

Meanwhile, crime in the capital remains appalling. UN figures show that in the past two months as many Somali relief workers have been killed as were in the whole of 1992; when up to 30 died.

The murder of expatriate relief workers has also undermined US claims to have improved security.

US marines raided Mogadishu's Bakara gun market in January. But most of the guns they seized seem to have belonged to shopkeepers, making them vulnerable, while the gunmen still threaten and steal.

Africa's cancerous debt growth

Weekly Mail Reporter

AFRICA paid \$26-billion to its creditors in 1991 to service its debt, and slightly more last year.

Behind those bland figures lie famine and illness, the ruined roads that symbolise the decay of infrastructure and vanishing social services under the stress of pervasive structural adjustment programmes, and economies that seem uncontrollably to be slip-sliding away.

"Africa spends four times more on debt servicing than it does for all the health services it provides to its 600-million people," notes a United Nations pamphlet, *African Debt Crisis*.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that a single African country, Mozambique, loses more children

to malnutrition and easily preventable or curable diseases than do all the struggling countries of the former Soviet Union."

Africa's debt is only about one-fifth of the developing world's total debt but because of the relative smallness of African economies it is a much bigger burden. The continent's debt is equivalent to 90 percent of its gross national product, the key indicator of economic prosperity. For sub-Saharan Africa it is 110 percent of GNP.

Africa's debt deters private foreign investment, which has virtually come to a halt. Investors are unwilling to take risks in countries tagged as bad debtors, says the pamphlet.

As with South Africa, private sector finance has flowed out of the rest

of Africa. The UN says that, taking into account deteriorating terms of trade, Africa has suffered a net outflow of financial resources.

Private flows of finance into Africa have been replaced by aid from the international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank. Around 28 percent of sub-Saharan African (excluding Nigeria) debt is multilateral but it consumes 45 percent of the region's debt servicing. Multilateral debt cannot be rescheduled.

Some 65 percent of Africa's debt is to official creditors — IFIs and governments. Several attempts have been made since the mid-1980s to alleviate the debt burden. But for most African countries the debt burden remains unsustainable.

W/Mail 5/3-11/3/93

World Bank should open its books on Africa

8/10/89

9/13/93

(1)

THE time has come for the World Bank to open to public scrutiny its relationships with the governments of Africa, just as it has urged the continent's leaders to open up to their citizens. Transparency and good governance demand it.

Instead the bank withholds information. Country reports, sectoral analyses and project evaluations are classified as confidential. Often they are the only source of reliable data in Africa, but bank officials apart, only a handful of politicians and civil servants is allowed access to them. This restrictive approach does Africa a disservice. It stifles debate, protects vested interests and gives structural adjustment programmes a bad name.

Many governments around the world would like to control the information supply, but in Africa it is easier to do so than elsewhere. The private sector is weak, the Press is vulnerable, universities starved of resources, think-tanks are almost non-existent. Who can fill the information gap if governments will not? Only the bank.

If already plays an important

part. Its 1989 analysis, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, remains required reading. Hardly a month goes by without a new study on some aspect of the continent's economic crisis. But it is a different matter when it comes to operations in individual countries.

The bank's relationships with some of its African clients are profoundly unhealthy: protective, secretive or defensive, sometimes all three. Governments are too often being given the benefit of the doubt when practice falls short of promise and presidents' white elephants are indulged.

Take Nigeria: why the circum-spection with which the bank handles its biggest customer in Africa? The bank has been the main supporter of the structural adjustment programme launched by President Ibrahim Babangida in 1986. After a promising start the programme ran into serious difficulties, undermined by corruption, weak management and fading political commitment. But these factors are not evident from a look at the bank's 1992 annual report on the state of black Africa's

MICHAEL HOLMAN

largest economy. "Growth in Nigeria's GDP and agricultural sectors," it says, "both rose by about 5% in 1991 with total non-oil productions rising by just under 4%. However, the combined effect of the political transition and the short-lived effect of the Gulf crisis contributed to some weakening of fiscal and monetary discipline."

This euphemism conceals a crisis. The unexpurgated view of Nigeria is disclosed in a bank report — Public Expenditure Management in Nigeria — not intended for public consumption. It was based on a review conducted in early 1991. In this study, one finds a more enlightening account of Nigeria.

The report tells of "large-scale" spending of oil revenues "outside the purview of statutory controls". It speaks of "a lack of transparency and accountability of big spending

decisions". It says that "public expenditures (are) used more to distribute oil riches and generate lucrative business opportunities for selected groups than to ensure efficient delivery of goods and services to the country as a whole."

Ask Nigerians about their economic crisis and most will blame corruption and "sap" — the acronym for the structural adjustment programme, which has become synonymous with hardship, inflation and unemployment. But if they had access to information that the World Bank treats as confidential, they would be better able to see the link between corruption and mismanagement and the failure of "sap". They would gain more insight into Nigeria's plight and why "sap" was introduced in the first place. This information would not ease the pain of austerity. But at least there would be a better understanding of why "sap" was not working and a more informed debate about alternative strategies.

Of course, the bank has an explanation for the secrecy. Without it, officials argue, governments would not co-operate. And confidentiality is

clearly important. Yet all too often information that should be in the public domain remains secret. When information about grave mismanagement is withheld, confidentiality overlaps with complicity.

It is now widely accepted that international aid should carry conditions, whether linked to human rights or political accountability. The World Bank should add access to information to that list. The reports and analyses on which adjustment programmes are based should be open to public scrutiny.

Nigeria, which has promised to return to the path of reform, would be a good place to start. Chief Ernest Shonekan, chairman of the country's governing Interim Council, set out the blueprint in his budget in January, together with an appeal for debt relief.

Few actions would do more to convince sceptical donors and creditors that he means business than allowing the World Bank to open the books on Nigeria. The governments that object the loudest to such scrutiny would be those with the most to hide. — Financial Times.

LETTERS

Somalian security 'crucial'

ADDIS ABABA — A top UN official opened a conference to raise \$166.5m for Somalia yesterday with a warning that recovery was doomed unless security improved.

"A crucial factor for any plan to help put Somalia on its feet is the active pursuit of peace and national reconciliation by the Somalis themselves," Jan Eliasson, under-secretary-general for humanitarian affairs, said.

"The root cause of the terrible famine we witnessed last year was civil war. As such, the political and the humanitarian issues in Somalia are impossible to disentangle."

The three-day conference in the Ethiopian capital brings together representatives of donor countries, international organisations and some 160 Somalis.

More than 300 000 people are known to have died as a result of clan-based fighting in the Horn of Africa country since dictator Mohammed Siad Barre was ousted in January 1991.

Despite the presence of a US-led multinational force which landed in Somalia in December to protect relief operations, fighting continues.

The main protagonists in the conflict are supporters of warlords Mohamed Said Hersi, also known as Morgan, and Ahmed Omar Jess, an ally of Mogadishu warlord Mohamed Farah Aided.

Eliasson said that although emergency aid delivered so far had reached major relief centres in central and southern Somalia, at least two million people faced starvation and 4.5-million people would need help in 1993.

He said reviving Somalia's ports, communication services, banks, police and legal bodies would be given priority in the \$166.5m recovery plan, scaled down from an earlier \$250m proposal.

Eliasson said livestock and agriculture, the main livelihood for most Somalis, would also be revived.

The plan covers the return and reintegration of more than a million Somali refugees, he added.

The UN official condemned the killing of aid workers in Somalia and said a UN-led multinational force which takes over command from the Americans in May would protect workers. — Sapa-Reuter.

Hardy tourists shrug off violence in Egypt

LUXOR — Tourists shrugged off a new wave of political violence in Egypt yesterday, dismissing all thoughts of any Muslim militant attack, as they tramped through the country's pharaonic ruins.

"We were a bit worried when we heard what was going on," said Greta Savory of Canterbury.

"But," her husband John said, "these days you seem to stand just as much chance of being blown up by a terrorist bomb in London or Manchester."

Police hunting Muslim militants stormed a mosque where up to 200 people were praying in the Nileside resort of Aswan, 160km south of Luxor, on Tuesday night, killing at least eight people and wounding 23.

The assault and eight simultaneous raids on suspected militant hideouts in Cairo killed 22 people.

But Luxor is half a world away from the dirt-poor battlegrounds where the

government wages its war to crush el-Gama'a el-Islamiya (Islamic Group).

Attacks on foreigners by Muslim militants in Cairo and the upper Nile valley have brought Egypt's vital tourist industry to its knees.

March is usually high season, but tourists say most of Luxor's hotels are less than half full.

The government estimates the tourist industry has lost \$700m in revenue because of the attacks.

Back in Cairo, tourists, although dwindling in numbers, kept a stiff upper lip.

At the Pyramids of Giza, near the capital, Anne Lovejoy of Devon, England, pointed to a bearded Arab charging towards her on a camel.

She shrieked at her husband John: "Look, is that one of Them?"

Husband John maintained a determined grip on his video camera, hoping to frame the rider against a background of the Pyramid of Cheops.

"Don't worry, dear," he muttered. "He doesn't seem to have a gun."

The rider drew to a halt, dismounted and announced he was Hakim, "Prince of the Desert".

"For \$5 I will take you for a ride on my camel," he thundered. His name is Mickey Mouse — Sapa-
Reuter.

African indaba planned for expo

8/04/93 12/31/93
ORGANISERS plan to turn a major US trade exhibition in Johannesburg into one of the biggest meetings of African businessmen held on the continent.

Top businessmen from 34 African countries have been invited to attend the Made in USA expo, to be held at the World Trade Centre in September.

David Altman, who organised the Contact Kenya visit by SA businessmen to Nairobi last year, said about 2 000 African business leaders could end up in discussions with their US and SA counterparts.

The exhibition is being marketed as a platform for US business expansion in SA, and is promoting SA as a springboard for trade with the rest of Africa. "The point of the exhibition is to bring US companies to SA to lay the groundwork for future business in SA and in southern Africa."

Altman expects about 250 US companies to take stands at the exhibition, of whom about 100 already have a presence in this country. If US sanctions are lifted before

MICHAEL ACOTT

September, Altman believes at least 400 companies will participate.

Altman warned that even the early end to sanctions, which he expects, would still leave many top corporations refusing all dealings with SA because of state sanctions within the US. Until those sanctions went, normal trade could not resume.

Although he declined to name them at this stage, Altman said that confirmed exhibitors included companies that had disinvested from SA, and trade development agencies from some US states.

He said the exhibition had the active support of the US commerce department, the SA government and ANC officials. ANC president Nelson Mandela is to be the speaker at a VIP banquet during the expo.

US figures show US exports to SA last year totalled \$2,4bn out of SA's total imports of \$20bn.

As the US pulls out, there's no sign of the violence stopping, reports The Economist

Risky future for Somali force

STAN 12/3/73



SAVING a life can land the saviour with an irksome responsibility. Three months ago the United States, with the United Nations in tow, went to the rescue of Somalia, where many hundreds of people were dying each day from lack of food. Relief supplies now get through. But as the American marines prepare to hand over to the UN in the next month or so, the rescue operation stretches into a hazardous and open-ended future.

Even with a strong mandate, the job is daunting. With a weak one, it would be better not to try it at all.

The Security Council, which is studying a report just completed by the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is expected to vote soon on the mandate for Somalia's new force. It will do so in full knowledge of how weak and

muddy mandates have affected the UN in the past: in Angola, for instance, and in Somalia itself, where the earlier operation was abysmal (the peacekeepers, hobbled by the feebleness of their instructions, stayed stuck in their barracks).

To prevent such ineffectiveness again, the Security Council has to ensure the new operation has money, freedom and authority. It must give the UN soldiers military power and the UN civilians administrative power. For a transitional period of uncertain length, the UN should be king of the Somali castle.

That means, for a start, that the council must invoke Chapter VII, the enforcement bit of the UN charter. Boutros-Ghali wants rules of engagement for his troops that will allow them to go where they wish and to fire when they

believe it necessary, to defend themselves and to intervene between others. He is banking on his men doing more than the Americans, though they will be a smaller, even more mixed-up force, covering a wider area.

The current force, now 30 000-strong and about half American, tried to pacify the main famine area, some 40 percent of the country. It has yet to succeed: as hand-over time draws near, the fighting and attacks on relief workers continue.

The UN force, commanded by a Turk, will have 20 000 soldiers plus logistical support from 5 000 Americans, who will break precedent by serving under a non-American. It will have instructions to go everywhere, including the north, which considers itself independent and is heavily mined, and to disarm Somalia's militias.

It is a giant order.

Security is the basis on which everything else has to be built. In Cambodia the factions agreed to bestow "transitional authority" on the UN. Somalia's factions, even less organised than Cambodia's, have not reached that level of agreement. Nonetheless, the UN will need to have the authority, if not the title. In no other way can it begin to set Somalia back on its feet and restore to it an economy, a police force, penal code and some idea of accountability.

Whoever Boutros-Ghali sends as his special representative — the job is now vacant — will, for a time, have to be Somalia's ruler.

Somalis suspect neo-colonialism, but their country is far closer to chaos than to self-government. The 15 factions, which vie for power and money, are due to meet in Addis Ababa on Monday for the

"National Reconciliation Conference" they agreed to in January. The UN, the conference's sponsor, organiser and travel agent, hopes to lighten this gunpowder with clan elders, professional and business people, and women.

Many of these "silent voices" will be in Addis anyway, for a development conference neatly planned to take place a couple of days earlier. This brought donor governments, international agencies and Somalis together to discuss reconstruction.

Somalia will continue to need food hand-outs at least until the autumn, but Jan Eliasson, the UN's man in charge of humanitarian affairs, is seeking \$750 million to re-establish local administration, health and education systems, to get the land back into use, and to bring the refugees home. The theme of the two con-

ferences is clear: stop killing one another, or whistle for the reconstruction money.

If it had a choice, the UN might not take on Somalia. There is, after all, no peace to keep, no political objective is within touch, the likelihood of failure is high.

Somalia will use up a huge lump of the UN's resources at a time when Africa alone is littered with desperate and deserving causes. But last year, as America's fellow-members on the Security Council held back from whole-hearted involvement, America itself jumped in, pulling the UN with it.

The United States is now getting out, as it always said it would, leaving the UN trapped. Retreat at this stage is probably unthinkable. So go forward, but prepared and fully armed. □

SA support for Rwanda military

By EDDIE KOCH ^{Wimail} 12/3-18/3/93, establishment. This is the second visit from them this year."

SOUTH AFRICA is providing the Rwanda army — which has massacred thousands of civilians — with military training.

Last week, *The Weekly Mail* reported South Africa was sending large quantities of arms to Rwanda. But it has emerged that there is much greater and more direct South African involvement.

"Rwanda and the RSA government are closely co-operating on security matters and Rwanda has a chargé d'affaires either in Pretoria or in Johannesburg," says a secret intelligence document leaked to *The Weekly Mail*.

"Presently the head of Rwanda security and six more high level officials are in Pretoria for training by the SA security

The report, which was drawn up in December last year, adds: "Early next year the SA government will send equipment and manpower to support their security forces."

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force denied the allegations, saying the SADF had never supplied training to members of the Rwandan military, either in South Africa or elsewhere.

A report released last week by the International Human Rights Federation says persecution of ethnic minorities in Rwanda, mainly by government troops, has claimed more than 2 000 lives in two years of civil war.

A blast for the Father of Independent Africa

Wolmail 12/3-18/3/93

A renowned Nigerian author and academic has attacked the corruption plaguing post-colonial Africa —and has been forced to flee his own country. Kole Omotoso spoke to **CHRIS LOUW**

"We would rather misgovern ourselves than be governed properly by others!"

THESE sentiments were voiced by Kwame Nkrumah, first premier of Ghana, itself the first African country to shake off the yoke of colonialism in 1956. As one African country after the other took up the struggle for independence from European rulers during the 1960s, Nkrumah's pronouncements became conventional wisdoms all over the continent.

Now, almost four decades later and with most African countries economically devastated, a respected Nigerian academic and author has made it his task to expose the sayings of the Father of Independent Africa as falsehoods. And he has chosen to launch his controversial attack from South African soil.

To add to the irony Professor Kole Omotoso, author of the highly acclaimed novel *Just Before Dawn*, has also chosen an Afrikaans publishing house to launch the book in which he disavows many of the sacred cows of pan-Africanism. Tafelberg Uitgewers, with its close links to the National Party, has gained the rights to publish Omotoso's novel, provisionally titled *The Season of Migration to the South*.

Omotoso, who has a doctorate in Arabic and Islamic studies and now holds a chair in the English department at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town, left Nigeria at the beginning of last year after threats from the military government following the publication of his last book.

He chose South Africa after having met the Afrikaans poet, Breyten Breytenbach, and Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert at international conferences. "Up to that point I had always believed that it was in human nature to justify oppression whenever it was to your advantage. I still find it amazing that Slabbert could leave parliament and join the extra-parliamentary forces. From the Nigerian perspective it was almost impossible to see that whites could ever join the ranks of those fighting for liberation."

Of his first day in South Africa, he vividly remembers the moment when the plane landed at Jan Smuts airport. Stepping on to the tarmac,



Kole Omotoso ... 'Africans have no right to misgovern themselves'

"I had goosepimples all over my body. But in a strange way everything seemed so normal.

"There was no one to arrest me. Paradoxically, I felt as if I was getting out of jail. Van Zyl came to fetch me. As we were driving to his house and I looked around me, I wondered: why was I deprived of all these things for so long?"

His new life in South Africa, he says, cannot only be attributed to the threats that made him leave his home country but also to his revulsion with the pervasive corruption that plagues post-colonial Nigeria. It was his thinly disguised references to present and past Nigerian political figures in *Just Before Dawn* that led to court actions and personal threats from the regime.

His pride in Africa's liberation from the colonial yoke — "an incredible story of human achievement" — is jarred by the social, political and economic failures that accompanied independence. "Africans have achieved their freedom, but they have no right to misgovern themselves," he says with anger. (The chapter dealing with the question of what happened after liberation is significantly headed: *Operation Successful, Patient Dead*.)

The ultimate failure of Africa, according to Omotoso, was due to the fact that the political leaders never looked beyond liberation, preferring to isolate themselves from the continent's intellectuals. But everything that went wrong

in Africa was not self induced. Compounding the problems was the hostility that was always shown by the Western world.

He fears that an African National Congress-led government may not learn the lessons of Africa. The ANC comes in for some severe criticism in *Season of Migration*.

The result of Africa's "right to misrule itself" is equally relentlessly exposed.

Omotoso describes how in Nigeria after independence, basics such as water and electricity could not be taken for granted. "In spite of massive earnings from petroleum products, not one metre of rail was added to what the British left in 1960. Roads hastily constructed and never maintained were soon reclaimed by the ever-anxious tropical creepers and undergrowth. Civil war was followed by the most scandalous waste of resources. By 1983, it was clear that there was no other way for Nigeria to go except down ... more than 90 percent of Nigerian trained brains went out of the country to the accusation of lack of patriotism. They obviously did not believe that Africans had the right to misrule themselves, no matter how patriotic they might be."

Omotoso situates the moment of his own intellectual liberation at the point where he saw Nkrumah's dictums "as sham", "as statements to be contested and ultimately rejected" and as "an insult to the ordinary people of African countries".

Trying to find a way out of the dead end, Omotoso sets out to reinterpret the history of the past 30 years, and to put these insights into a new historical context, beginning at the first meetings between blacks and whites on the African continent. Unlike pan-Africanists he does not believe that these contacts can only be seen as one-sided invasions. "There is historical proof that many blacks in fact welcomed the white man and that the initial contacts, before the period of unscrupulous imperialism, were in fact mutually beneficial."

Once an ardent believer in the pan-Africanist ideal, Omotoso now has come to the conclusion that a democratic South Africa in the end may have the best potential to "point the way" for the rest of Africa. "I am here to learn where we went wrong and how we can regain the right path to sanity and meaningful existence."

His belief that South Africa may lead the rest of Africa out of the abyss, does not presuppose an uncritical approach to this country. "The signs of apartheid are still all-pervasive ... The lack of decent transport to the townships, the absence of theatres in townships. And the amount of cul de sacs in white suburbs must surely qualify for an entry in the *Guinness Book of Records*."

Extra security set up in Mogadishu

Rowe Jan 13/93

■ Roadblocks in order to search for weapons:

MOGADISHU — US forces put on a show of strength in the Somali capital Mogadishu yesterday, apparently to ensure security at home ahead of a national reconciliation conference in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.

US helicopters circled the city for two hours and US forces set up new checkpoints to search for weapons.

Helicopters circling

The helicopters were circling the areas where supplies were to be dropped to make sure that it was safe to do so.

But a US marine corporal at a checkpoint said the extra security was meant to deter any group which might try to "cause trouble" during the Addis Ababa talks, which open today.

Mogadishu has had no serious security incidents for more than a week.

"It's too quiet and we're getting suspicious."

— *Sapa*

Botswana troops shine in Somalia

MOGADISHU (1) 5 Star 16/3/93

When it came time to clear Mogadishu's biggest weapons market, the "Bots" got the call.

When patrols were needed for the Bermuda Triangle, one of the city's roughest neighbourhoods, the Bots got the call.

When riots threatened a hotel housing foreign reporters, it was again time for the Bots.

One of the smaller contingents in US-led Operation Restore Hope is from Botswana. Nicknamed the Bots, the 300 soldiers have earned a reputation for being tough and fair as they try to tame the streets.

Major General Charles Wilhelm, the marine commander under whose command the Bots fall, calls them the "all-stars" of the coalition charged with safeguarding aid shipments.

The task force comprises 11 600 US troops and 14 000 soldiers from 22 other nations.

After dictator Mohammed Siad Barre was ousted in January 1991, the country had fallen into anarchy and famine.

Given only five days' notice, the first Bots arrived on December 16 and were given the task of guarding part of the airport perimeter. Soon they were protecting food convoys on the roads to Baidoa and Baledogle.

Next came the "Bermuda Triangle", where people were



On patrol . . . two Botswana army soldiers patrol the "Bermuda Triangle" area of Mogadishu yesterday. It was one of the city's most dangerous neighbourhoods before the "Bots" arrived.

Picture: AP

runnoured to disappear without a trace. Today, children wave and call out "Botswana" as the Bots cruise by. They are rarely targets of the stone-throwing that plagues other countries' military contingents.

When riots last month threatened the hotel where most foreign journalists stay,

Nigerian soldiers kept people at bay with heavy gunfire from the roof. The Bots then came in from three directions on the ground.

"Not a single sniper fired at us," Lieutenant-Colonel Thilaganyo Masisi, the Bots' commander, said, proud of the Bots' record of zero casualties so far. "We talked to

the people at the checkpoints, then we found our way through their roadblocks.

"I told them if they opened fire, they might kill one or two of my men, but we would kill a lot of them. They understood that."

The reasons for the Bots' success are primarily their discipline, training and man-

date. All volunteers, the soldiers train for nine months, officers for a year. Masisi is also given wider discretion in command decisions than other coalition forces.

"I make myself very flexible," Masisi said. "My two goals are minimum casualties and to complete the mission we have. — Sapa-AP.

Row over invites for FW, Mandela

BRUSSELS — A senior Euro-MP accused the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) group of Third World countries of political immaturity yesterday for snubbing President F W de Klerk.

Italian Euro-MP Maria Luisa Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the countries had proved "their lack of political maturity" by refusing to invite De Klerk to a conference in Gaborone.

The conference, a twice-yearly assembly of 69 members each from the European Parliament and the ACP countries, is sched-

uled to debate relations with a "democratic SA" between March 29 and April 2.

Last year the Euro-MPs and ACP countries sent invitations for the conference to De Klerk and to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

But Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the ACP group had informed her yesterday that they were no longer prepared to allow De Klerk to come.

The Euro-MPs, therefore, decided to withdraw Mandela's invitation as well, she said.

She said there had been strong rumours that the

ACP was objecting to SA's alleged involvement in renewed fighting in Angola.

The Euro-MPs suggested that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos be invited to the conference along with De Klerk and Mandela.

The compromise was, however, turned down.

Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the snub by De Klerk "adds insult to injury" after the ACP countries had rejected a European Parliament report last year which criticised them for their record on democracy and human rights. — Sapa-
AFP.

The extraordinary items of R20,1-
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18/3/93
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205 000 Liberians flee

■ ABIDJAN — Some 30 000 Liberians have fled the civil war in their country to neighbouring Ivory Coast since October, says the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

The latest arrivals, coming at the rate of 50 to 80 people a day, have brought to 205 000 the total number of Liberian refugees since the war began in December 1989, a UNHCR statement said. — Sapa-AFP

Donors Wary On Somalia

Guardian/W in
By Jennifer Parmelee

w/mail 1913-257/93
ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Do-
nor countries agreed at the week-
end to meet most of a United Na-
tions appeal for \$166.5 million in
assistance for Somalia, but many
contributors withheld major
pledges, warning Somalis that
continuation of aid would depend
on whether order can be restored
in the chaotic African country.

"Each episode of violence that
hinders relief operations, including
the tragic deaths of relief workers,
forces us to ask whether Somalia is
worth the risks," said Richard Cobb,
head of the U.S. government dele-
gation to a U.N.-sponsored confer-
ence on humanitarian aid.

The three-month-old foreign
military intervention in Somalia
has greatly reduced the level of
violence that raged during two
years of civil war and famine fol-
lowing the fall of dictator Mohamed
Siad Barre. Nevertheless, nine aid
workers, including three foreigners,
have died since the U.S.-led mili-
tary force arrived, and rioting and
sporadic factional fighting have
highlighted the continuing divi-
sions among Somalia's many clans.

At Saturday's final session of
talks on aid, donors agreed to pro-
vide approximately \$130 million to
a U.N. plan aimed at rebuilding
Somalia during the coming year.
Most of the funds, which include
about \$30 million from the United
States, would support projects
aimed at helping Somalis feed
themselves, find jobs, and send
their children back to school.

The total donations fell short of
the U.N. target because many do-
nors withheld substantial pledges,
saying it was up to Somalis to dem-
onstrate a commitment to protect-
ing aid workers and resolving the
country's political divisions. Repre-
sentatives of the European Com-
munity, in particular, said they
would condition their response on
the outcome of the peace talks.

"Somalis themselves must dem-
onstrate their commitment to their
country by a greater contribution
to creating a secure and peaceful
environment in which the rebuild-
ing of Somalia can begin," Brit-
ain's ambassador to Ethiopia,
James Glaze, told participants.

The United Nations initially had
sought \$253 million, but donor na-
tions balked at what they called an
overly ambitious proposal that
failed to set specific, realistic goals.
Glaze, echoing the views of many
Western donors, said the interna-
tional response to Somalia's needs
depended heavily on stronger and
better-coordinated management by
the United Nations, which is
scheduled to assume control from
U.S. military forces May 1.

Captured rebels released

■ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopia has freed 17,000 prisoners captured during fighting with a former rebel group, the official Ethiopian News Agency has reported. It said the prisoners were members of the Oromo Liberation Front, based in the south of the country, and opposed to the dominant and northern Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front. — Sapa-Reuters. ①

'Chance to take democracy to new level'

SOUTH 2013-24/3/93

THIS is an exciting time to be in South Africa. I have been in and out of the country for many years and although I have been depressed by the problems, I have always been excited by the potential.

We can't help but compare the process happening in South Africa now with some things going on in other parts of the world.

This is a time when much of the world is pulling apart. We see the break-up of what used to be the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia seems to be bathed in blood.

We see the horrors of bloodshed, torture and rape daily on TV and this is what people expected of South Africa. For 20 years it has been customary to wonder not whether, but when, the bloodbath would come.

I want to congratulate South Africans for having chosen coming together to talk about democracy, in spite all of the temptations and tensions that exist to pull you apart.

You have an opportunity not only to survive and create a democracy, but to take democracy to a new level.

There is no place in the world where democracy is perfect. It is a system constantly trying to perfect itself. We in the United States have been trying to perfect it for 200 years and we still have a long way to go.

But there is no better way determined on this planet to resolve the difficulties, differences, the diversity of opinion, the diversity of need and the distribution of power and opportunity than the system of democracy.

We have seen an experiment in southern Africa. South Africa has been involved in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique and the choices by the South African government and the international community determined the outcome in all four instances.

I was here in 1977 in a meeting with John Vorster, convincing the South African government it was in their interest to give Rhodesia a chance to find a democratic route to independence.

To a great extent they were cooperative. Maybe for the wrong reasons. They never thought Mugabe could win.

But the international community — all the major trading partners of South Africa — worked with South Africa towards the independence of Rhodesia and Namibia.

And what we have seen is remarkable. These countries have not achieved all their ends but are certainly involved in an exciting



Photo: Rashid Lombard — Tanis

SPEAKING OUT

**Andrew Young
former United States
ambassador to
the United Nations**

struggle. I don't think there is a country with more potential than Zimbabwe, even in the midst of a drought and even though it has been in recession for 20 years.

By any standards, the South African experiment in Zimbabwe and Namibia ought to be regarded as remarkable and successful.

But South Africans have not always chosen the high road and the international community has not always held their feet to the fire. Where the international community has dabbled in reckless experiments the results have been as disastrous as they have been successful when we work together.

Angola would have generated the kind of wealth and activity that would have made it the pearl of southern Africa had South Africa

tried another route. The route it tried was at the invitation of the United States, so our hands are not clean either.

We are not casting judgement or blame. The contamination, pollution and corruption of democracy with violence has destroyed Angola, it has destroyed the economic strength of southern Africa. It has interfered with the growth and development of the western world's economy.

Everything happening in Angola has been financed and influenced by an absence of responsibility by western powers and a corruption of responsibility on the part of, if not the government of South Africa, then some elements of South African society.

They used Selous Scouts to train Renamo, encouraged Savimbi in his desire to destroy that country. They have all kinds of wild bands engaged in violence, as though in some way violence can interfere with the political process and enable them to maintain power.

But the power that is maintained by anybody in the mess of Angola and Mozambique is hardly worth it.

South Africa's economy would be far stronger if Mozambique was a strong trading power. The economy would be far stronger if Angola was developing its roads, bridges, schools and oil wells.

Clearly, violence doesn't work for anybody and if South Africa has unconsciously led itself into an experiment of democracy versus violence, I think we have got to make them conscious of the results of that experiment.

Democracy, however weak, imperfect and insecure in Namibia and Zimbabwe is far better than the results of violence in Angola and Mozambique where no-one has profited.

Martin Luther King's prophecy that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere is no more profoundly applied than to the events about to take place in South Africa.

For if justice prevails in South Africa, it will spread across the African continent.

People with goodwill are moving the world forward in a co-operative, just economic order. All of us can do better, but when the bottom drops out of Yugoslavia then the resources which would have gone for development will end up going for destruction.

So that is the choice for us — democracy or destruction. I don't think it is much of a choice, but it requires working out the details of democracy, not only to achieve wealth and opportunity for all citizens, but also to avoid further violence and chaos.

A PROGRAMME to develop a policy promoting mutually beneficial relations between SA and the rest of Africa is about to start.

It is being overseen by the African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS).

Included on its steering committee are the African Development Bank, Commonwealth Secretariat, Economic Commission for Africa, Institute for African Alternatives and the Organisation of African Unity.

The programme's proposal says: "It needs to be recognised that the international climate is not favourable for the future of SA and that the marginalisation of Africa in the global system is an increasingly evident reality."

STEERING SA INTO AFRICA

BY ZILLA EFRAI 

"Accordingly, there is a mutuality of interest for Africa as a whole, including SA, and it is therefore particularly important that the continent looks first to its own resources and how, through co-operation, they may be optimally utilised."

The proposal states that prospects of improved interaction between SA and Africa for mutual advantage are partly hampered by tendencies of some elements in SA to seek opportu-

nistic business openings in Africa which do not have long-term benefits.

They perceive Africa as a mere hinterland for penetration. Also, the view that SA is a "northern country" remains a powerful psychological phenomenon.

The programme's preparatory workshop will take place in July in Kampala, Uganda, and cost \$162 800. It will take stock of existing relationships between SA and Africa and launch the research process. The programme will involve

scholars and policy-makers in Africa and Africanists in Europe and North America. The findings of its studies are expected to be published in the first half of 1995.

Other steering committee members include the Institute for Economic Research in Germany and the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Those from SA are the Africa Institute of SA, Institution for Democratic Alternatives for SA and the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

Poverty relief

HOUSEHOLDS with an income of less than R600 a month now qualify for emergency social relief programme launched by the House of Representatives administration. *Stimie (Buss) 21/3/93*

The Chairman of the Minister's Council in the HoR, Mr Jac Rabie, said funds would be made available to local authorities, who would implement the scheme in consultation with ministerial representatives.

The programme is an emergency relief measure aimed at bridging the immediate needs of people who are still awaiting the outcome of applications for formal social welfare assistance.

Mr Rabie said any household in which the income of the breadwinner did not exceed R600 a month and the spouse was unemployed, may apply for assistance. — Sapa *21/3/93*

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23/3/93

Congo, SA agreement
THE Congo and SA yesterday es-
tablished diplomatic relations.
The agreement was signed at
the Palais des Congres in Brazza-
ville at a ceremony attended by
SA Foreign Affairs Deputy Minis-
ter Renier Schoeman and the Con-
golese Foreign Affairs and Co-
operation Minister Benjamin
Boukoulou.

Workers 'soft targets' ①

Sowetan 24/3/93.

■ Several recommendations made to improve security:

MOGADISHU — An Irish government minister yesterday called for greater protection for aid workers in Somalia, saying they had become "soft targets" for gunmen.

"If aid workers are forced to pull out of Somalia for security reasons, the whole system will collapse. Aid workers ensure the link between donors and beneficiaries," Minister of State Tom Kitt told *Reuters*.

Kitt's visit to Somalia came one month after the death of Irish nurse Valerie Place, employed by the Irish charity Concern.

She was hit by a hail of bullets as she travelled in a convoy of three cars to the western town of Afgoi.

Kitt discussed the security situation for aid workers on Monday with the United Nations special envoy in Somalia, retired Admiral Jonathan Howe.

"We agreed that much progress has been made in getting food supplies to the hungry ... but aid workers have become softer targets for attack," Kitt said.

Kitt said he had made several recommendations to Howe to improve secu-

urity. These included increased air cover for aid convoys, greater co-operation between aid agencies over security and the use of a voucher system for payment instead of money.

Aid workers, backed by a 23-nation international force since last December, have become greater targets of attack in Somalia.

Aid groups in Kismayu said last week that they evaluated daily whether it was worth the risk of staying in Somalia. — *Sapa-Reuter*.

Sowden 21/3/93
Ramadan amnesty

KHARTOUM — Sudanese leader Omar Hassan al-Bashir has ordered the release of all prisoners who have served at least half of their sentences to mark the end of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, state television reported. The television, in its report on Monday night, did not say how many prisoners benefited from the pardon.

Toyota SA moves into central African market

EDWARD WEST

TOYOTA SA would officially move into the central African market for the first time after an agreement to supply Mobile Motors in Malawi with SA-built vehicles, Toyota SA said yesterday.

The move into central Africa came in the wake of changing attitudes towards SA and the acceptance of the country as an economic and manufacturing force in Africa, said CE Bert Wessels. *B10PM 26/3/93*

The group's export opportunities into Africa previously were limited by Toyota Motor Corporation in Japan to countries within the SA Customs Union. The agreement, which Wessels hoped would be the first of many in Africa, had the backing of Toyota in Japan.

SA-built Toyotas would substantially reduce the delivery time, about 6-12 weeks from date of order, against about 25 weeks from Japan, said Wessels.

The range to be supplied included the Corolla 1.3i sedan, selling for 104 000 kwacha (R77 000), and the Toyota Stallion pick-up at 80 075 kwacha (R59 314). It would be expanded to include the Venture. The vehicles would be fitted with a "Harsh and Dusty road" package for the harsher road conditions.

Toyota's SA's annual production of about 85 000 vehicles — about a third of SA's market — amounted to half of all vehicles sold on the continent outside SA. Sales volumes in Malawi were expected to be relatively low and could be affected by a lack of foreign exchange, a spokesman said.

Credit Guarantee business development manager Richard du Toit said Malawi's forex reserves were so low Credit Guarantee would not cover exports to that country. It had closed its offices there.

Protea clinches Nairobi hotel contract

CAPE TOWN — Protea Hotels has been awarded the management contract for a top hotel in Nairobi, Kenya, being chosen ahead of major, well-known international hotel groups for the deal.

Protea Hotels executive chairman Otto Stehlik said yesterday the contract to manage the R30m Nairobi Protea Hotel was a further step in the group's plan to penetrate Africa. Protea had a resort in Swaziland, two hotels in Mozambique, four in Mauritius and had recently taken over two hotels in Zimbabwe.

LINDA ENSOR

"We believe the future of tourism to Africa will revolve around an axis spanning from Kenya via Tanzania and Zimbabwe into SA," he said.

Stehlik regarded the Nairobi project as a stepping stone for other contracts, adding that Protea was negotiating with hotels in Mombasa and camps in Kenyan national parks and would be meeting the Tanzanian government soon.

Stehlik believed SA's foreign tourism

could grow significantly by the diversion of tourists from Kenya to SA. An estimated 800 000 foreign tourists visited Kenya annually compared with SA's 250 000.

The Nairobi Protea Hotel, which would open in mid-June, was a first class international hotel built to SA five star standards, Stehlik said. The hotel was owned by the Trade Bank of Kenya and was part of a shopping centre which included a high-rise apartment block already under Protea management.

13/04/77 263/93

1

The rebel chief speaks out - for the first time

WIMBOR 26/3-1/4/93

No Western journalists had spoken to elusive rebel leader Riak Machak, until KEVIN CARTER met him by chance this month on a visit to the town of Kongor

In a sense, Riak Machak, leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA 2), is the author of Sudan's horrifying famine. About a year ago he split from the rebels, starting his own guerrilla movement.

By splitting the rebels, his forces have brought the conflict to once-secure remote villages, destroying the fabric of south Sudanese society and displacing some two million people.

But Machak does not come across as a villain. An impressive man, he holds two doctorates, one in engineering and one in philosophy, both from Cambridge University.

And there can be little doubt that the real villain of the piece is the repressive Khartoum government which, for 17 years, has brutally suppressed dissent in this ethnically and religiously divided state.

We found Machak in Kongor, a village in southern Sudan which has been the scene of recent heavy fighting. It has changed hands three times in as many weeks, and the villagers have fled.

We were met by a group of men all carrying the obligatory AK47s. Their English was good, and they escorted us to a roof-covered shelter to await word from the commander.

Machak arrived a while later, apologising that he had been delayed because he had been attending a church service. He pulled up a table on the dusty floor, covering it with a purple cloth, and took his place behind it. With his gold-embroidered red epaulettes and his smartly folded red beret, he looked more like a Saudi hustler than a guerrilla chief.

"In the old days," he explained, "we were all fighting for one free and united Sudan. John Garang (leader of the other SPLA faction), however, has changed his politics. He is now set on complete secession, he wants the country to be divided."

Machak said Garang had become increasingly autocratic and brutal in his treatment of his own men. "After a battle, if an officer was



Impeccably dressed, Riak Machak, a Sudanese rebel officer, is seen here in a church service.



Battling an invisible enemy... Gunshots ring out and the rebel patrol dashes for cover

judged to have performed badly, he would be locked in a real container with little or no ventilation, and left in the sun to bake for days or even weeks.

"One officer was locked up like this for over a month. There came a point where somebody had to oppose him; he was getting out of control."

Machak acknowledged the devastating effect the internal SPLA conflict had on the people, and its role in the famine. Close to two million south Sudanese are displaced and have lost their cattle, crops and wells. Of these, 800,000 are on the United Nations' "imminent death list".

But he said he was willing to lay down his weapons the moment the Khartoum government granted a referendum "so that the people can decide for themselves the rulers they desire".

He said he missed his wife, an Englishwoman living in Nairobi, and complained of shortages of everything — medical supplies, food for his troops, ammunition and, most of all, reading matter. He expressed pride in his military successes,

stressing that he now controlled all of south Sudan east of the Nile. Garang continues to control the west, while the government holds the Nile itself — the country's major transport artery and source of water.

"Kongor is now secure," he said, "an important strategic victory because of its position only a few miles from the Nile." In addition, a third SPLA splinter, the "William faction" had been destroyed.

Machak agreed to let us patrol the Kongor area with his soldiers. They seemed a motley crew, dressed in an assortment of T-shirts, civilian trousers and military fatigues, and mostly barefoot — but appearances can be deceptive.

The weapons they carried, ranging from RPG rocket launchers, to machine guns, mortars and AK47s, were in extraordinarily good condition, the soldiers taking great pride in them. On patrol they showed tight discipline — no one except the commander breaking the rule of silence in the field. Whenever he barked an order, or gave a hand signal, he was instantly obeyed.

Their stamina was astounding: we walked in the scorching heat for 50km over two days, stopping only at midday and after sunset. They said they are able to walk up to 60km in a single day without water, in conditions where a Westerner will lose over a kilogram of water every 15km.

Out in the flat semi-desert, the sound of gunfire was never far away. This could be cattle rustlers, the section leader explained, or it could be fighting. Occasionally, if shots broke the silence, as they did on a distant horizon snaking into the faded blue sky, the rebels would run for the cover of a patch of trees or take up a defensive formation in the sandy veld.

Many of the soldiers were battle-hardened from wars in Ethiopia, the Congo and Uganda — as well as at home against three different regimes. Some are university graduates, mostly from British universities.

That this rag-tag guerrilla army is led by university graduates is a sign of how much of Sudan's potential is being destroyed by war. Like Angola, it is a rich country which has squandered its own wealth.

EYEWITNESS IN THE WAR-TORN SUDAN

I HAVE SEEN HADES



Sudan, March 1993: A little girl, too weak to manage more than a few steps, stumbles and falls in the dust. Behind her, a predator is already waiting ...

and this is its ghastly image

WMA 26/3 - 1/4/93

OUR tiny light aircraft bobbed across the border and we were on our own. Just three of us: fellow photographer Joao Silva; a grizzled adventurer pilot who would not give his name; and me. We were flying illegally into Sudan, into the middle of one of the grimmest war zones on earth. If things went wrong, no-one would ever know.

Sudan has been split in two for 17 years in a bitter war between an Islamic government in the north and a Christian and animist south which refuses to accept Islamic law.

The government in Khartoum, suspicious of meddling outsiders, will not issue visas to journalists wanting to visit the rebel areas. Relief organisations which operate in the south dare not antagonise

Weekly Mail photographer **KEVIN CARTER** slipped illegally into rebel-held southern Sudan, one of the first Western journalists to set foot in this brutal war zone. The experience, he says, was the most horrifying of his career



Kevin Carter on a 50km route march in soaring heat with rebel soldiers
Photo: JOAO SILVA

the government or risk expulsion.

Which leaves only two ways to enter the rebel-held south. One is to come in low, the other is to come in high. Coming in low means flying in at 20 metres above ground level — at the risk of being shot down by the rebels who have ground-to-air missiles. Coming in high, hoping to

avoid the patrolling MiG fighters, means pretending to be a commercial flight to Cairo or Addis Ababa.

We chose the latter method. We flew in above 8 000 metres in a small Cessna, then suddenly tumbled out of the blue sky on to a UN-built gravel runway near a village called Ayod. The propellers slowed,

the doors opened, and we were in another world.

Ayod is a sprawling, fly-blown hell. When the wind moves, chalk-fine dust creeps across the land in an oppressive solid mass about three metres high. The relentless 48 deg C heat dries the mouth and nose, blocking the sinuses and causing the ears to ring in protest.

The village is inhabited by about 2 500 people, including 23-year-old Lisa Campeau, a courageous American who single-handedly runs a feeding centre for a United Nations affiliate, Operation Lifeline Sudan.

Campeau lives a simple life in a traditional Sudanese hut called a "boma". She has won the respect — but not always the co-operation — of the locals, who have given her a Sudanese name and treat her as one of their own.

© Continued on next page

EYEWITNESS IN THE WAR-TORN SUDAN

I HAVE SEEN HADES

and this is its ghastly image

W/MAIL 26/3 - 1/4/93 (1)

© Continued from previous page

Her task is to attempt to distribute fairly whatever food aid is available and to persuade the healthier men and women to work, sometimes by browbeating them. For example, the men are encouraged to dig wells by being offered bars of soap as rewards — soap has almost the value of gold in this impoverished area.

Most of the people are undernourished, although not necessarily starving. But the feeding centre to which Campeau escorted us houses 500 of the worst cases and is a nightmare of pitiful suffering.

Long queues of women in an advanced state of malnutrition wait patiently in the baking sun, nursing skeletal infants on dried-up leathery breasts, too weak to brush away the buzzing flies. The sound of wailing children fills the air. But many are too weak to cry — they sit or lie on the ground, almost inanimate, occasionally moving a limb or whimpering. Some are there with parents. Many no longer have parents.

Inside the rooms of the only concrete building in the village, the feeding centre itself, are the worst cases. Living skeletons lie on the floors or propped against the walls, some covered in blankets, others naked.

Shocked to the core, I could maintain my composure only by focusing on the business of taking photographs.

After an hour and a half, I had had

enough. The heat, causing sweat to run in rivers and attracting scores of flies, the constantly shifting dust, and the horror of the famine victims were driving my mind into overload. I wandered out into the bush.

Two or three hundred metres from the centre, I encountered a lone toddler trying to make it to the feeding centre. She was too weak to manage more than a few steps at a time, periodically collapsing on to her haunches and covering her head with her skeletal hands, helplessly trying to fend off the searing sun.

After a while, she would struggle to her feet, and try again, whimpering in a high-pitched little voice.

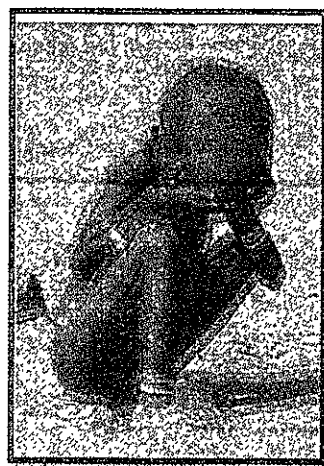
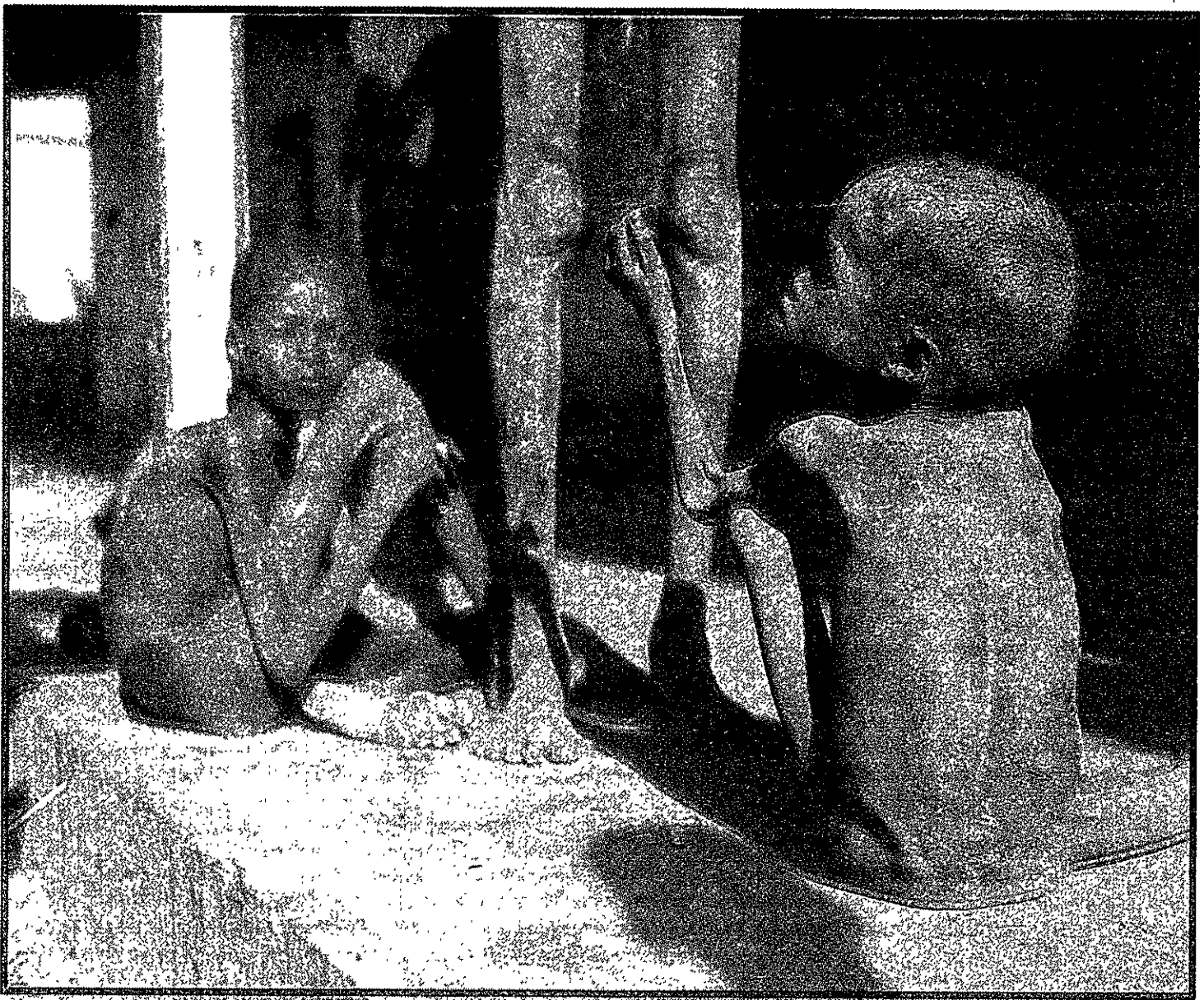
Again I withdrew into the mechanics of photography, shooting the scene with grim

resolve. Suddenly the girl fell forward from her foetal position on her haunches, and lay prone on the ground, face down in the chalk-fine dust.

Then I noticed a blurred form walking into my viewfinder. It was a vulture, moving in on its human prey. I looked up. Overhead, more vultures were circling.

I shooed the birds away and left, my head exploding. When I turned back, I could see the child no longer, lost among scores of other, equally emaciated children.

I recalled the voice of an American relief official, Bob Koepp, speaking in the relative tranquility of Nairobi, as he poetically wound up telling us of his experiences in the Sudan: "... I have been to Hades, nevermore to fear the hereafter ..."



Outside the feeding centre at Ayod, a fly-blown hell populated by skeletal women and children, some too weak to cry

White paper bleaches out the green

W/MAIL 26/3 - 1/4/93

By IAN CLAYTON

THE government this week launched its new green strategy in a clear bid to curry favour with the environmental lobby, but much of it remains hot air.

Its White Paper on a National Environmental Management System and a policy statement by retiring Environment Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar outlined its green goals, including new laws on air and water pollution, soil conservation, and the handling of toxic waste.

It also spelt out a co-ordinating role for the central government, with the decentralisation of powers to local or regional level, and it saw the Department of Environment Affairs as a policy-maker, but the implementation of policy would be local.

Pienaar said the department would not work out of an ivory tower and it would consult as widely as possible. It wanted the mobilisation of every possible authority. "Caring for the environment is not the responsibility of government only," he explained.

But the frustrating experience of the African National Congress MP for Pieter-

maritzburg South, Rob Haswell, in trying to get a private members' Bill through parliament to protect South Africa's 12 internationally recognised wetlands, including St Lucia, is an indication of where the National Party's green commitments really lie.

Haswell submitted the Wetlands Conservation Bill through parliament's Joint Committee on Private Members' Legislative Proposals, but the National Party majority on the committee this week deferred for the second time any debate on the proposed measure, this time until after the report of the Review Panel, chaired by Mr Justice Leon.

He said this was the second occasion on which his Bill had been stalled by the NP.

"The current committee system requires that a Bill must be approved by all three Houses as represented on the committee, and, surprise, surprise, the NP forms the majority in each House. Thus although individual MPs express support for my Bill, His Master's Voice dictates otherwise."

Haswell admitted that it was a moot point as to whether his Bill would be passed by parliament if MPs were allowed an open and non-party determined vote. But the fact was

that the NP would not allow the proposal to be discussed in parliament and voted on, let alone allow a free vote on the matter.

"Despite all the controversy, and the glib undertaking by the Department of Environment Affairs to the Rio summit that we will honour our international obligations by effective legislation, the present government continues to shuffle and drag its feet.

"The so-called conservationists within the NP sought recently to make as much political mileage as possible about an ANC spokesman's view that cattle farming in parts of the Kruger Park could be investigated.

"Yet, hypocritically, they are prepared to stand back, or rather keep quiet, about mining St Lucia."

Indeed, the White Paper sounds progressive, but the actual environmental policies applied on the ground to date have not been nearly as impressive.

And the replacement of Pienaar by the politically and environmentally unknown Japie van Wyk on April 1 is graphic illustration that government priorities have not changed.



Soweto bound ... At the opening of his exhibition at the Johannesburg Art Gallery this week, renowned photographer Alfred Eisenstaedt admires a book he received from Peter Magubane Photo: GUY ADAMS

Star 27/3/93

Grain imports for Africa

PORT ELIZABETH — More than 9 million tons of grain will have been imported through South African ports by the time the year-long maize import programme ends in April. Portnet said yesterday 8 429 259 tons of grain had been discharged through South African ports for the whole of southern Africa in the past 11 months. A total of 334 vessels had been involved in the programme. — Sapa

FRUIT OF DISENCHANTMENT: Africa's deepening crises

have raised the question: Is recolonisation the cure?

Star 27/3/93

①

Africa's colonial option

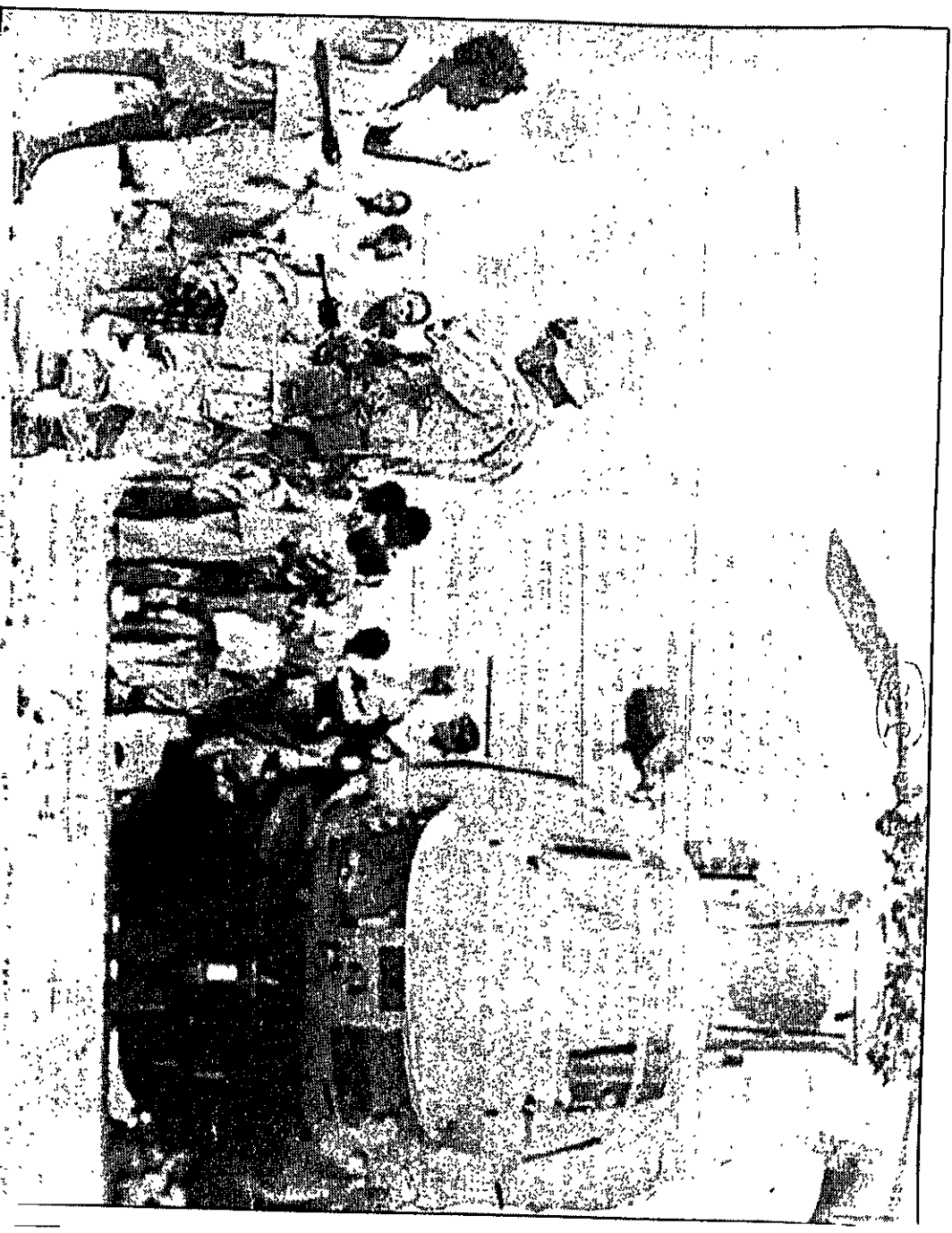
DEBATE is beginning about the moral and political wisdom of direct foreign intervention to protect the interests of Africa's deprived and downtrodden millions — even among former standard-bearers of anti-colonialism. DESMOND COLBORNE, Paris director of the South Africa Foundation, reports.

THE degree of disillusionment with Africa has reached the stage that "recolonisation" is more and more frequently considered as a cure, of sorts, for the catastrophes of the continent.

Views which a few years ago would have seemed reactionary are now being entertained even by the former standard-bearers of decolonisation. These include United Nations spokesmen and leading commentators of progressive magazines and papers such as — to give only French examples — *Jeanne Afrique*, *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *Le Monde*.

"The recolonisation of Africa" was the title of a cover story run by Africa's best-known magazine, *Jeanne Afrique*, when Operation "Restore Hope" was launched in Somalia. "By incapacity, impotence, surrender, weakness and, perhaps, irresponsibility, *Afri-jeanne Afrique*. It spoke of Africa's faltering "democratisation" and of self-serving urban elites who, like "vampires", exploited the rural areas. Africa, it added, was increasingly coming under the tutelage of external powers such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Colonial conditions were returning. Western, and particularly American ambassadors were playing roles similar to those of old-style colonial procurators, and African heads of state were finding their autonomy as reduced as that of the former governors of the colonial era. The West's interest in Africa, said *Jeanne Afrique*, was hardly motivated by economic or strategic considerations — it was more a question of morality and "civilisation". The major danger to Africa was therefore of regressing to an "infantile age".

These views were echoed shortly afterwards by Jean Daniel, the well-known editor of the left-wing weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*. Referring to his own ardent anti-colonialist past, Daniel pointed out that the Americans had nothing to gain in Somalia, and their intervention was disinterested and selfless.



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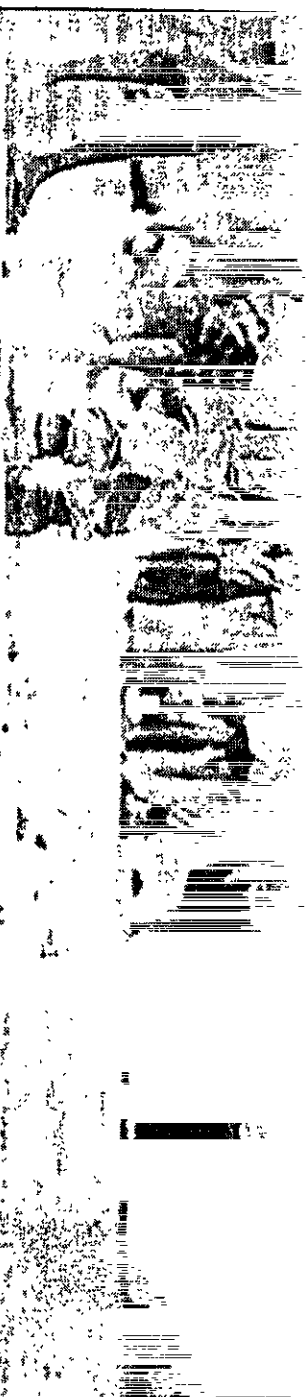
These views were echoed shortly afterwards by Jean Daniel, the well-known editor of the left-wing weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*. Referring to his own ardent anti-colonialist past, Daniel pointed out that the Americans had nothing to gain in Somalia, and their intervention was disinterested and selfless. These were, he said, "days of mourning for Africa".

Daniel also referred to a meeting held had with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who had spoken of African leaders' profound desire for Western intervention while at the same time reserving the right to denounce such intervention at a later stage. At the outset of the Somali operation there was then an increasing consensus, both in Africa and the West, in favour of intervention. But within a few weeks things turned sour.

IN SOMALIA the anti-Western demonstrations, taking even the Red Cross as a target, and the display of banners asking "Are you going to help us or loot us?" led to second thoughts about the entire exercise.

France's leading newspaper, *Le Monde*, another standard-bearer of anti-colonialism, ran a front-page leader entitled "The Somali trap". "Will pity for the Somalis be followed by disgust?" it asked. "Will the terrible and moving images of the starving be followed by others of ungrateful and heartless thugs?" Somali rioters, by their "spectacular violence", said *Le Monde*, "will have raised doubts about whether the operation was well-founded and whether a foreign presence was a necessity. How can you save people who want nothing to do with you?"

The US envoy to Somalia, R B Oakley, said the mission there had "allowed Somalia to come back from the brink of self-destruction and not only regain hope but actually regain some feeling that there is a solid future for the country". It will be interesting to see how the Somali and other similar



BID TO RESTORE HOPE: A US marine buys cigarettes from a Somali child. The US mercy mission quickly turned sour.

● Photograph: AP



MOBUTU SESE SEKO: A "moneybox in a skin hat"

situations evolve and how they will affect the wider debate about international aid, intervention and recolonisation.

Regarding aid, the French Ministry of Co-operation, in a recent report on Africa, raised questions about its ambiguities in the following terms: "Aid is the prerequisite for adjustment and, in some respects, of the emergence of a new economy. It remains however too pedagogical, an unavowed master-pupil relationship."

"The master refuses to teach, the pupil to learn. By its very nature, aid restores financial and particularly intellectual dependence. We are witnessing today a real process of recolonisation from the top down, strangely reminiscent of those which occurred in the last century in Tunisia, Egypt or the Ottoman and Chinese empires.

Nevertheless, neither the interruption of aid, nor its carry-over into ultimate recolonisation, are probable. Aid will remain necessary for a long period yet, since the crisis is not near abating."

It is perhaps a sign of the times that the colonial period is, these days, often being looked at anew, with less shame and more nostalgia. In Paris, there was recently an evocative exhibition near the Champs Elysees which, if anything, glorified colonialism — a section dealt with the white doctor in Africa, Dr Albert Schweitzer. An unprecedented number of films have recently been made about India and other former French colonies. In Britain, the Ray is to some extent back in fashion and in Holland the Dutch East India Company has emerged from historical purgatory and is the subject of exhibition after exhibition.

All this is very far from saying the colonial period is being whitewashed on all sides. The most prolific writer on Africa and its past, Basil Davidson, recently published a book called *Black Man's Burden*. What went wrong in Africa, he argues, was not only the holocaust of slavery, but the virtual extinction of African indigenous traditions and their replacement by the alien European ideas of the nation-state.

Exploiting elites, first white and colonial, then their African post-colonial successors, concentrated powers at the centre. Local traditions withered and the nation-state idea led to the



HENRY KISSINGER: Warned of dangers.

Balkanisation of the entire continent. "Africa lost its past and was denied a future."

However, as Cambridge University's Professor D K Fieldhouse points out, in reviewing Davidson's book, whether or not Africa should have been left alone to evolve its own way was never a serious alternative. "The central theme of African history during recent centuries has been the opening up of the continent to itself and to the outside world," writes the doyen of historians of Africa, Professor Roland Oliver.

Today, the question of "leaving them alone" or "intervening in their own affairs" is as topical as ever. The most eloquent and influential international spokesman of the right to intervene is no doubt the French Minister of Health and Humanitarian Aid,

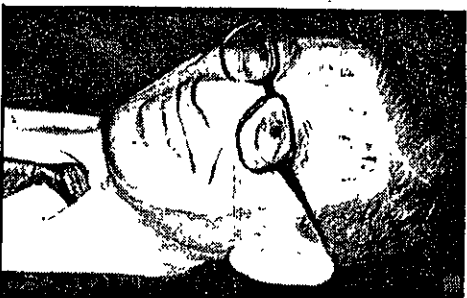
Bernard Kouchner. A doctor and former student leader and one-time Marxist, Kouchner, now 52, founded, back in 1971, *Medicins Sans Frontieres* (Doctors without borders), an organisation which sent French doctors to help victims of political and natural disasters throughout the world. Kouchner has been described by *The Times* of London as this "glamorous tough guy of the Mitterrand administration", compared to Rambo, Schweitzer, Bob Geldof and Che Guevara and, less flatteringly to a "hysterical bumble bee" on a "media-titled ego-trip". His relationship with the media is perhaps symbolised by his partnership with Christine Ockrent, a top French TV anchorwoman and the mother of Kouchner's son.

His indignation has been given freer rein now that the Cold War is over and with it the fear of rocking the boat. Kouchner has, for instance, denounced France's ally, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, as "a walking moneybox topped with a leopard-skin hat". For him the need for humanitarian intervention takes precedence over "the right of dictatorial regimes to torture and kill their own peoples".

Kouchner's time has come. During the last two years, "an international prerogative to intervene in the internal affairs of apparently sovereign states for humanitarian or urgent human rights purposes has emerged as a keystone of the post-communist new world

order", wrote *Newsweek* recently. It described the right to intervene as "a revolutionary new concept in world affairs", revolutionary and "dangerous", because it sets precedents.

Henry Kissinger has warned that the extensive use of the right to intervene might over-extend American forces and tempt the West to impose its own values on countries that reject them — falling thereby into the neo-colonialist trap. "Intervention is a form of colonialism," say other commentators. A more positive view is taken by Zbigniew Brzezinski, former US presidential adviser, who argues "there is no longer any immunity from the circumstances under which we are bound to intervene" because "interventionism is the flip side of interdependence". The debate is only beginning...



BOUTROS-GHALI: "Profound desire for intervention"

SOUTH Africa is undergoing challenging and trying times, economically, politically and socially.

This has spilt over to many sectors including airlines, such as South African Airways. The lifting of sanctions has made it possible for South African Airways to expand into Africa.

Today SAA enjoys landing rights in Mozambique, Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Egypt.

The inaugural SAA flight to Cairo, which departed on May 6 last year, had an 80 percent passenger load. This shows the quest for travel into Africa.

A joint venture agreement with Air Afrique, based in Abidjan, Nigeria, on June 23 last year has brought about the introduction

of flights between Johannesburg, Brazzaville, Abidjan, Dakar and Kinshasa.

Air Afrique has 11 member countries in West and Central Africa and started the service on behalf on both airlines on November 1, 1992.

Air Afrique's regular schedules to Abidjan from the whole of West Africa will ensure that these new flights will provide the most convenient service.

More good news is that the Tanzanian authorities have granted SAA overflying rights. This means that we have been able to shorten the flying time

between Johannesburg and Nairobi by approximately 60 minutes in each direction.

Another initiative was the successful "RSA Costcutters" incoming tour programme. After a successful launch in November 1991, the programme is now available from Namibia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mauritius and Kenya.

SAA also participates in the important travel and trade fares in Africa. Recently SAA was presented with an award for "Best Airline to Africa".

This has brought dividends to the airline since a budget

amounting to almost R2 million has been provisionally approved for the SAA marketing effort on the African Network for 1992/3. This includes a TV advertising campaign, which will initially be launched in Zimbabwe and Kenya.

The South African Tourism Board does not have representation in Africa and has combined with SAA and hotel groups, regional and municipal tourism associations and car hire firms in a marketing campaign to attract African tourists to South Africa.

Travel and tourism industry delegates from Kenya, Ivory

Expansion into Africa

SOUTH

27/3-

31/3/93

Coast, Mauritius, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia attended workshops in Johannesburg where packages were presented to them by South African participants.

It is projected that during the 1992/3 fiscal year, SAA will carry over 370 000 passengers on our African route-network, representing an increase of 23,1 percent.

Business travel constitutes 46 percent of the total passenger traffic. RSA-originating traffic accounts for 56 percent of all revenue earned, whereas 27 percent is generated in Africa.

A recent study shows that in 1991 Africa supplanted Europe as the RSA's principal tourism destination and represented 48,2 percent of the total outbound market.

Ethiopia could soon produce all the grain it needs

ETHIOPIA, for years a by-word for famine, has made dramatic progress in food production. Farming experts predict it is now heading towards self-sufficiency.

From **Alan Philips** in London

the transitional government that overthrew the dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam two years ago.

According to a new United Nations forecast, Ethiopia is on the way to harvesting a record 7.7 million tons of grain, thanks to abundant rains and the pro-peasant reforms of

the transitional government that overthrew the dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam two years ago.

Several million Ethiopians still depend on foreign handouts, but imports are declining.

Last year, the government in Addis Ababa asked for 1.2 million tons of grain, but this year it reckons it will need only 580,000 tons.

"The major difference has been the rainfall," said the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development's Richard Miller. "But the end of the civil war means seeds and tools have been distributed for the first time, while the government's more liberal policies have encouraged farming."

President Meles Zenawi, who led the Eritrean People's Revolutionary Democratic Front to victory in the civil war in May 1991, has devalued the currency for the first time in 20 years and disbanded the central marketing organisations to which peasants were forced to sell surplus grain.

These market-oriented actions have been welcomed by the West, which has responded with debt relief and loans.

An official at the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation said Ethiopia could be self-sufficient in grain production in three years — provided peace and the abundant rains continue.

Peace, however, is far from guaranteed. An independence referendum for the northern province of Eritrea is scheduled for next month against a background of hostility throughout the country.

President Meles's mainly Tigrean government is resented by the traditionally dominant Amharas, who denigrate the new rulers as peasants.

— © The Telegraph, London

of the besieged Bosnian capital just five minutes before the ceasefire went into force. — Sapa-Reuter.

SIAM 29/3/93. ①
**Somalis agree
on new council**

MOGADISHU — Somalia's warlords agreed yesterday to set up a federal-style Transitional National Council to represent all of the country except for Somaliland Republic, which declared independence in 1991.

Each of the country's 18 regions will send three representatives to the TNC.

The agreement was reached one day after the United Nations Security Council approved a 30 800-strong operation in Somalia to replace the US-led multinational force which arrived last December to stop looting of food aid and restore order. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Foundation on 'gateway to Africa'

PRETORIA — Promoting SA as the West's development partner and gateway to Africa was now a central objective for the SA Foundation, the organisation heard at its AGM in Johannesburg last week.

Paris director Desmond Colborne said that if effective triangular arrangements could be made between countries of the West, SA and African states, SA could contribute to the revitalisation of the continent. "We in the foundation are determined to show that in our part of the world Afro-pessimism does not apply," he said.

Funded by the private sector, the foundation has been working to attract investment to SA for more than 30 years. With offices in Bonn, Paris, London and Washington as well as representatives based in Singapore, Japan and a number of other centres, the independent foundation was described by its director-general Kurt von Schirnding as SA's pre-eminent business forum.

A foundation statement said: "Our core function is to sustain and expand the interest of foreign investors and financiers in the real potential of this society and the region."

Von Schirnding, in his address, said events since February 1990 had presented the foundation with a unique opportunity to market SA and the region.

Efforts in this regard would lead to the securing of trade and investment and establishment of a liberal democracy and a growing market economy.

He stressed the need for top-level personal contact between SA and foreign businessmen, an opinion to which

ADRIAN HADLAND

all four regional directors adhered.

Colborne said while France provided 26% of Africa's total imports and Italy took up 18,6% of Africa's exports, when SA businessmen visited Europe they were "still more reluctant to go to Paris or Milan than to other economic centres". SA could no longer afford to miss the opportunities opening up in two such important members of the G-7 group, he said.

Bonn director Rudolf Gruber said Germany was SA's primary trading partner, after Britain, as well as the primary source of investment. But the steady decline of SA's contribution to Germany's foreign trade volumes — from 1,4% in 1975 to 0,7% at present — had resulted in SA being now far less important to Germany than Germany was to SA.

Washington director Michael Christie said it was essential that SA businesses and regional development organisations targeted specific areas which had investment potential.

"There is a general tendency to take a blanket pessimistic view about the state of SA's economy and our level of competitiveness," he said.

There did exist, however, many areas where SA could offer distinct advantages and opportunities for foreign investors and trading partners.

"We need to avoid blanket assumptions and become far more focused in what we have to offer."

London director John Montgomery said even Britain, in the depths of a bitter recession, was stepping up its commitment to SA with new aid, interest and projects.

A continuing and intensified effort by the British government to stimulate the SA economy by providing aid for health, education and housing schemes had gone largely untrumpeted. Perceived preoccupations about the state of the British economy belied the potential for increased trade and investment opportunities, Montgomery said.

Schirnding said an important objective of the SA Foundation was to bolster its domestic role.

B/DAM 2913/93

Celebration planned in Mogadishu • Russia's legislature fights on

Hope for new era in Somalia

MOGADISHU — War-weary Somalis were planning a big celebration in their capital yesterday to mark what they hope will be a new era of peace in the anarchic country.

Representatives from the country's 15 factions are to address a rally at the city's main stadium after warlords reached agreement on Sunday to establish the first glimmer of a government since a devastating civil war began two

years ago.

"This is the first real agreement we have had and people really want to celebrate what we hope will be a new, peaceful Somalia," said Abdi Hassan Awale, internal affairs commissioner of the Somali National Alliance, domi-

nated by principal warlord Mohamed Farah Aided.

But some Somalis are more pessimistic and say the real battle for power may have only just begun as warlords jostle for supremacy.

The faction leaders agreed at a con-

ference in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa to set up a federal-style Transitional National Council to represent all of the country except for Somaliland Republic, which declared independence in 1991.

Each of the country's 18 regions will send three representatives to the TNC, one of whom must be a woman.

The capital has been allocated five seats and the 15 factions attending the talks will be given one seat each. — *Sapa-Reuters.*

WARLORDS AGREE ^{Sovereign} Strife-weary

30/3/93

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Warning on Egypt

VISITORS to Egypt should avoid crowded areas and heed advice given by Egyptian security forces and tourism police, a Foreign Affairs Department statement said yesterday.

SA was not represented in Egypt, so the department was not in a position to extend consular assistance to SA nationals there. Foreigners have been the target of recent attacks in Egypt.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporter, Sep.
Own Correspondent.



AFRICA NEWS Belgians eliminate looter in Somalia • Angola dismisses rebel reports

Bandits kill driver

Sowetan 14/93

MOGADISHU — About 70 bandits armed with AK-47 rifles and rocket-propelled grenades ambushed and killed a civilian driver on Tuesday, a US military spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said an aid agency had reported the attack. The driver had been on his way to the town of Afgooi, north of Mogadishu, when he was killed.

A vehicle belonging to an unnamed aid agency was later stolen near Afgooi. No further details were available and it was unclear whether the driver was inside the vehicle.

Aid agencies in Somalia come under daily attack from armed groups, who view them as soft economic targets. A

■ CIVILIAN TARGET Unsuspecting

courier dies in a hail of bullets: ①

23-nation force arrived in Somalia last December to try and stop the wanton looting of food convoys and to protect aid workers.

In a separate incident, the military spokesman said, Belgian forces had shot dead an armed bandit on Tuesday in a small village near the southern port of Kismayu. The spokesman said Belgian forces had responded to reports of looting in a nearby village, which was not named. When they arrived they were confronted by three armed bandits, one

of whom raised his weapon. "The Belgians opened fire, killing one individual," he said.

A 4 200 strong US amphibious force, which went to Kismayu last week, is still in the area conducting training exercises. Earlier on Tuesday in Kismayu, the spokesman said, Somalis had infiltrated the Belgian forces' compound. The men were chased away and troops later discovered small items had been stolen, such as vehicle batteries and military food supplies. — *Sapa-Reuters*

Ivory Coast mutiny ends ①

ABIDJAN — Mutinous troops have ended a two-day occupation of Ivory Coast's presidential palace, military officers at the scene said yesterday.

About 45 members of the elite republican guard had occupied the palace in central Abidjan since Sunday night in a row over pay and conditions. President Felix Houphouet-Boigny (was guarded by loyalists at his private residence. *Sueta 11/4/93.*

"It's all over," a republican guard captain told *Reuters* outside the palace compound. "The soldiers who are supposed to be on duty are inside and the rest have gone back to barracks." — *Sapa-Reuter.*

Echoes of Carter from Clinton's Africa Team

STAR 1/4/93

TWELVE or so years ago, when the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and the National Security Council's specialist on South Africa, Tony Lake, were scions of the Carter administration, their statements on the country would spur many in the National Party leadership to reach for their Mausers, so to speak.

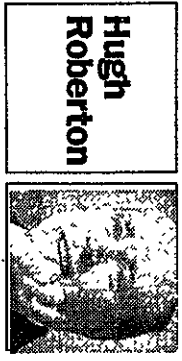
At the time, there was little love lost between the NP government and those who have now returned to positions of power in the US administration.

In all they now say and do, Christopher and Lake, and others of that era, appear not to have changed their views one iota. This week, when the new Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, George Moose, went through his confirmation hearing in the Senate Africa sub-committee, his general

statements of policy were vintage Carterian utterances.

Yet by many accounts relations between Washington and Pretoria today are better than they have ever been. It would be glib to ascribe this solely to the fact that the NP has at last come to accept the wisdom of men like Jimmy Carter, Andrew Young, Cyrus Vance, Warren Christopher, Tony Lake and the many others who set in place the first truly aggressive anti-apartheid policy in the US.

The plodding evolution of NP thinking towards enlightenment simply does not explain the atmosphere of trust and confidence which now seems to permeate relations with the Clinton administration. And so one is drawn to the possibility that it is precisely because the foreign policy leaders of Washington today have demon-



Hugh Robertson

strated a commendable commitment to their principles in their time out of power, that makes them trustworthy and reliable people to do business with.

And if the Clinton administration can be trusted to keep its word on policies and principles, then what its foreign policy leaders were saying more than a decade ago and what Moose said this week have a reassuring ring for all parties in South Africa. And especially for many whites who may view with misgivings the prospects of democracy, human rights and free

enterprise under a black majority government.

Some excerpts from Moose's testimony make the point: "In Africa, it is clear to me that our priority must be to encourage and consolidate the spread of democracy."

"It is imperative that we use our influence and our material support to encourage in Africa governments that recognise and ensure the basic human rights which are the necessary foundation of democracy."

"We will not allow our assistance to be used for the support of dictators and we will use the full weight of our influence to end dictatorial practices."

"It is important that we continue to work with African governments that are sincerely trying to reform their economies and are replacing statist policies with free

1 Africa Team

market systems."

If all this sounds too altruistic to be coming from either a diplomat or a politician, Moose allowed some self-interest to reveal itself: "An Africa made up of stable democratic governments is important to American prosperity because of the potential markets it represents for increased American exports, which in turn means additional American jobs."

What Moose had to say underpinned the broad foreign policy guidelines which President Clinton has already drawn — and which President Carter before him made the pinion of his foreign policy. But, some might ask, what faith can be placed in a foreign policy establishment which rose to prominence under the inept administration of Carter?

limited his understanding of the power at his disposal, and how to use it, but nevertheless he achieved some historic foreign policy breakthroughs — the Camp David accord among them. Then, as now, there was a pervasive acknowledgment of Christopher's diplomatic skills and Lake's analytical talents.

But way above all this is a recognition in Washington, as much among Republicans as Democrats, that in guiding the US through the difficult aftermath of the Cold War will be a set of unvarying principles. They ought to provide as much reassurance to South Africans as they do to Americans, the more so because those who espouse them have held to them steadfastly for far longer than the NP leadership has found comfort in democracy, human rights and real free enterprise. □

Africa deeper in debt

STRUCTURAL adjustment programmes are bringing little good to Africa, the ICFTU has concluded in a report it released at a meeting in Harare this week.

The report, researched in 29 countries, reveals that foreign debt has increased to \$237-billion today from \$165.9-billion in 1984.

Unemployment has grown by 10 percent annually between 1986 and 1990 and in sub-Saharan Africa, 70 percent of the economically active population lives off the informal sector.

The number of undernourished people has climbed by 68-million to 168-million in the past 10 years and 13-million children under the age of five die every year from diseases directly attributable to malnutrition.

2/4-7/4/93

Africa in brief

① Africa may require US involvement, a senior State Department official told Congress this week. *Sowetan 2/4/93*

"Although we do not wish to prescribe solutions, continuing US involvement is critical to success in many parts of the continent," Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen told the Africa subcommittee of the House of Representatives.

"Sudan is riven with a north-south conflict, the Liberian conflict has further destabilised Sierra Leone, the impasse has worsened in Togo, Cameroon is torn by ethnic, linguistic and political strife and Zaire could drift into civil war if Mobutu continues to obstruct democratic change," he said. Cohen said US involvement was welcomed by most Africans. — Sapa.

U.N. Sets Up Force For Somalia

By Julia Preston

UNITED NATIONS — The Security Council, last week formally set up a multinational U.N. force of at least 28,000 peace-keeping troops to take over from the U.S.-led troops in war- and famine-ravaged Somalia.

The resolution, which provides for a "prompt, smooth, and phased" transition, will allow all but about 9,000 U.S. soldiers to come home by the end of April. The new mandate is the most ambitious effort ever undertaken by the United Nations to rebuild a country whose government and social institutions have collapsed.

The Bush administration dispatched U.S. troops to Somalia December 9, promising they would be home by the end of January.

U.S. commanders moved cautiously, limiting their troops to providing security for food deliveries to towns where Somalis were dying by the thousands of starvation.

But U.S. officers soon saw the need to begin disarming gang leaders, which U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Chali had insisted on from the outset. While U.S. officers in Mogadishu, the Somali capital, have complained about the slow pace of U.N. moves toward the handover, officials here on both sides consistently have praised the transition as a model of new ties between Washington and the United Nations.

"With this resolution, we will embark on an unprecedented enterprise aimed at nothing less than

the restoration of an entire country as a proud, functioning, and viable member of the community of nations," said U.S. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright. But Washington, she added, is "soberly conscious" that the United Nations is undertaking "the most comprehensive assistance ever given to any country . . . with few lessons and no models to guide our path."

The seven-page resolution falls under Chapter 7 of the U.N. charter, which codifies the terms for enforcing Security Council decisions. The original mandate is for six months, and the huge operation is projected to cost more than \$800 million, to be paid by contributions from U.N. member countries to a special fund.

The U.N. force, UNISOM II, will operate throughout Somalia, unlike the U.S.-led foreign intervention forces, which have been limited to the central and southern regions. It will have the same task as the U.S. troops of maintaining security to ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief to starving Somalis.

But UNISOM II also will monitor a cease-fire among feuding warlords and gangs, disarm them, sponsor peace talks and possibly prepare the way for elections. In addition, it will rebuild local police forces and civil governments, as well as enforce a U.N. arms embargo and prosecute Somalis who attack relief operations or commit other violations of international law.



Cameroon meetings banned (1)

YAOUNDE — The government of Cameroon accused the opposition on Tuesday of trying to destabilise the central African country and banned all public meetings which could lead to violence. Scores of people have been killed in Cameroon in protests and ethnic clashes over the last three years. In a television interview, Information Minister Augustin Kontchou said the Union for Change opposition group — which is opposed to President Paul Biya's 11-year rule — was plotting "a diabolical scheme for the systematic destabilisation of Cameroon", including bomb attacks, the abduction of foreigners and assassinations. — Sapa-Reuter *w/mcaul 2/4-7/4/93.*

w/mcaul 2/4-7/4/93
Guardsmen overpowered (1)

MAPUTO — Seven mutineers were wounded when commandos stormed the barracks of the Mozambican presidential guard in an outer Maputo suburb on Tuesday, according to a government statement published this week. The commandos overpowered the

AFRICA BRIEFS

w/mcaul 2/4-7/4/93. (1)
guardsmen, who mutinied over pay and demobilisation benefits, and took control of the barracks using light arms in an operation that lasted about half an hour. — Sapa-AFP

23 militants killed (1)

ALGIERS — Special army troops tracking down Muslim fundamentalists who slaughtered 18 soldiers in the bloodiest attack in over a year of violence in Algeria have killed 23 militants, the government announced. It said the fundamentalists, assisted by four soldiers, had slipped into Bougzoul barracks 100km south of Algiers to try to seize arms. It was the worst single attack on security forces since a state of emergency was decreed in February 1992. APS also quoted the paramilitary gendarmerie as saying that 211 other "terrorists" — the official name for fundamentalists — had been killed since December 4 when a partial amnesty expired. — Sapa-Reuter *w/mcaul 2/4-7/4/93.*

'Government controls Cuito' (1)

LUANDA — The Angolan government denied this week a rebel claim to have captured the central city of Cuito after a two-month siege. "Cuito remains under the control of government forces," Defence Ministry spokesman Jose Manuel "Jota" said. But there had been fierce clashes on the outskirts of Cuito, a city of 280 000 people, on Sunday and Monday, he said. The government and Unita radio also reported continued fighting around the besieged city of Menongue, on the southeastern fringes of the central highlands where Unita has established its main power base. — Sapa-Reuter

Botswana's biggest (1)

GABERONE — Botswana's largest diamond has been found at the Jwaneng diamond mine, owned by a subsidiary of DeBeers. The 446-carat stone will take its place in the record books among the biggest in the world. — Sapa *w/mcaul 2/4-7/4/93.*

17m tourists for Africa ①

TUNIS. — South Africa, Morocco and Tunisia generated more than 60% of Africa's tourism revenues between 1980 and 1991, the Economic Commission for Africa told tourism ministers yesterday.

A record 17 million tourists spent an unprecedented \$5.1 billion (R15,3 billion) in Africa last year but the continent's tourism industry is still underdeveloped, according to statistics given at the tourism conference. — Sapa-Reuter

Sick and starving Africans set to flood SA in three years

By DE WET POTGIETER

WITHIN three years Africa's "chaos line" will have reached South Africa's borders, bringing with it hundreds of thousands of people scrambling south in an effort to escape disease and war in their own countries.

This is the grim scenario predicted by the senior military officer in charge of the northern border area from the Kruger Park to Botswana in the west.

South Africa was sitting on a health powderkeg once these unstable countries starting 450 million people started moving over South Africa's borders in order to survive, according to Col CJ "Borris" Borntman, commanding officer of the Soutpansberg Military Area.

The countries they flee are infested with cholera and a particularly virulent strain of malaria.

"The number of illegal immigrants fleeing to South Africa will double this year," predicted Col Borntman.

The arrest and repatriation of illegal immigrants in the past three years has cost the South African taxpayers more than R65-million.

An estimated 16 000 illegal immigrants are expected to be arrested this year.

The situation can only worsen, he said. "The year 1996 will be the turning

point when South Africa is expected to face the brunt of a growing health and economic crisis in southern African countries," he said.

"Somalia, Sudan, Zaïre and Angola are racked by anarchy, starvation and political chaos."

"In Zimbabwe, with its low economic growth and drought, Mr Mugabe faces political problems and in Zambia, the government also fears a possible coup."

"The same situation is expected in Malawi when Dr Hastings Banda dies," said Col Borntman.

The only two stable countries in the sub-Saharan region are Namibia and Botswana. Mozambique could erupt in

another civil war at any time."

Col Borntman said the 1993 "chaos line" in the sub-Saharan region encompassed the areas north of Zimbabwe.

But the chaos line would move down to the South African border by 1996 as the economical and political crisis in these immediate neighbouring regions deteriorated.

Already countries as far south as Zimbabwe are experiencing cholera epidemics.

The disease was noticed in the Tongogara and Mozowe River Bridge refugee camps in Zimbabwe in November last year and spread to Chimanmani, Mtare, Mount Darwin, Rushinga, Bindura,

Chiredzi and Bikita. In January this year the cholera had reached Harare, Maslowaland and the Midlands.

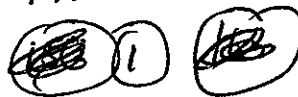
It was discovered recently that the current malaria epidemic is resistant to medical treatment. Fifteen South African troops contracted the disease in the Pafuri area of the Kruger National Park. The majority of farm labourers east of Messina are also infected by malaria.

According to the World Health Organisation, malaria infects 270 million people and kills two million every year — more than AIDS. Ninety percent of all these cases are found in Africa.

THE IMF IN AFRICA

FM 9/4/93

Faults on both sides



African countries have been allowed to become aid addicts



Kenya's decision to abandon an IMF reform programme and go it alone marks the end of an era. For a quarter of a century, until 1990, Kenya was the World Bank's and the IMF's role model for Africa — the African economic success story, the country that had turned its back on African socialism and, as a result, commanded widespread donor support.

Today it is a tale of the suitor spurned. The bitterness with which some in the donor community have turned against Kenya is only partly a reflection of the new realism prevalent in a capital-hungry, capital-scarce world. There is also a determination, not so much to punish Nairobi for its political and economic misdeeds, but to transform the role model into a test case.

The Kenyans are bitter because they believe they have done as much as could reasonably be expected. Kenya's fall from grace started in the late Eighties, with the growing Western restiveness over corruption and the undemocratic nature of President Daniel arap Moi's one-party State.

In November 1991, the donors suspended all non-humanitarian aid to Kenya, worth about US\$40m a month, and demanded a range of political reforms, including the holding of free and fair multiparty elections; greater transparency and accountability in government finances; and accelerated privatisation and the relaxation of exchange controls.

Though Moi agreed to these demands, little progress was made until the end of 1992, when he won 37% of the vote in elections that were described by Western observers as flawed but still broadly reflecting the will of the people. In February, just days before an IMF mission was due, the new administration began to liberalise exchange controls, floated the currency, promised to tighten monetary policy and, on March 9, devalued the shilling by 20%.

The IMF said this was not enough, arguing — correctly — that devaluation wouldn't work without a tighter monetary and fiscal stance. But this, it seems, was too much for Moi, who bitterly criticised the Washington multilaterals — the Fund and the Bank — for their double standards and rejected their "dictatorial" demands for "suicidal" economic policies.

He has a point. If the Fund always refused to lend to countries whose budget deficits were too large and monetary policies too

loose, it would have very few African clients. Neither Zambia nor Zimbabwe would pass the test and not even Ghana — sub-Saharan Africa's current success story — would qualify.

Aid demand is growing rapidly, not just in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, while supply is coming under increasing pressure as Western governments seek to cut budget deficits. In this situation, the donors are right to reward those who play by the rules and shun those — such as Kenya, Nigeria and, under former President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia — who sign the pledge and then play fast and loose.

Nevertheless, this approach is seriously flawed. First, not all the blame lies with the recipient governments; there is a growing body of evidence, much of it in internal World Bank research papers, highlighting flaws in conventional structural adjustment programmes.

A recent World Bank assessment of lending policies concludes grimly that the number of projects with major problems virtually doubled from 11% in 1981 to 20% 10 years later; the number of projects which were



Moi

unsatisfactory at completion rose from 15% in 1981 to 37% in 1991, while cancellations have increased 50% in the past three years.

Secondly, the donors seem unable to apply their yardsticks evenly. Kenyans

blame the US government and specifically the former US ambassador to Nairobi, Smith Hempstone, for their harsh treatment at the hands of the World Bank and IMF. This is unfair, since in both institutions the real hardliners at executive level are more often than not the Japanese, sometimes backed by the Germans or French.

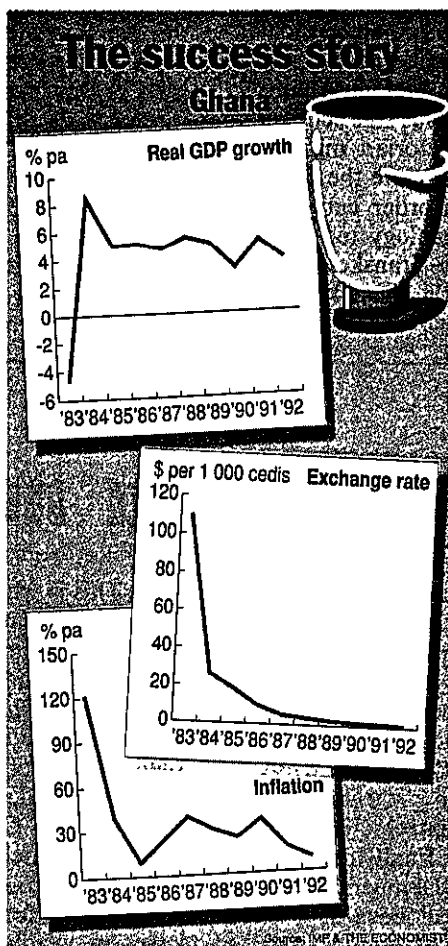
That said, the donors are skating on thin ice when they castigate Kenya, despite its progress in deregulating, liberalising and privatising its economy, but praise Zimbabwe, where the budget is out of control, an overvalued exchange rate is maintained by tight exchange controls and privatisation has not even started.

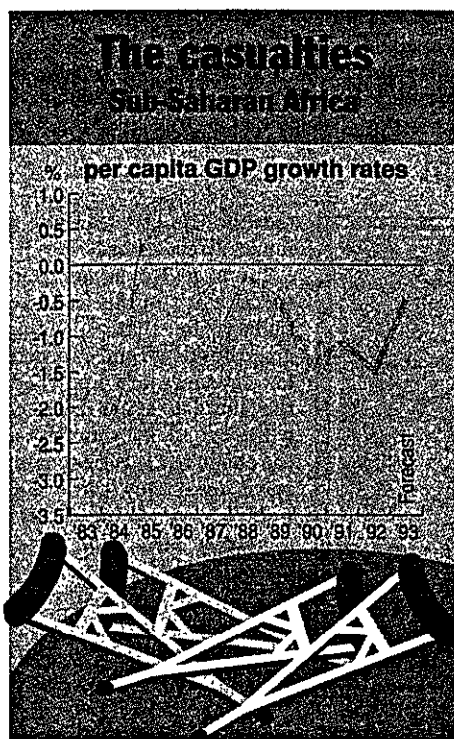
Third, "financial sanctions" of the kind now being used against Kenya will probably work — eventually. But by the time that Moi or his successor returns to the Fund, cap in hand, in 1994/1995, Kenya will have defaulted on its foreign loans, its economic and political environment will have deteriorated and the donors will have an even bigger mess to clear up than at present. Ultimately, the donor community will have a larger bill to settle — just as it is today picking up the tab in Somalia and, at some stage, in Zaire.

Look at Zambia: it accumulated more than \$1.4bn in arrears, mainly to the IMF and World Bank. This will now be repaid largely from aid provided by donors, since the Washington multilaterals are not allowed to reschedule, let alone forgive debt. This is a game played only by losers.

Prescription is more difficult than diagnosis, while efficient implementation is even harder to achieve. Structural adjustment has failed in Africa, largely because implementation has been woefully inadequate. Not only has the political commitment been shortlived — with the shining exception of Ghana's President Rawlings, who has stuck to the task for more than 10 years now — but governments lack the institutional capacity to make reforms work.

Two shortcomings explain much of the failure of structural adjustment — large budget deficits and high levels of protection. The two are interlinked. Fiscal deficits spill over into excessive money-supply growth, high inflation, a depreciating currency and





the use of various protective exchange controls to try and stabilise the exchange rate.

African governments do spend wastefully, but the political difficulties of cutbacks cannot be ignored. Invariably, the bulk of the spending is on education, the military, debt-service and subsidies, including subventions to parastatals. Nigeria's petrol subsidy costs the country \$2,5bn a year (8% of GDP).

And government and parastatals are invariably overmanned and civil servants poorly paid. The result is widespread moonlighting, endemic corruption and weak policy implementation. What is needed is far-reaching culture change, which will take decades to achieve, rather than the short-lived fiscal restraint demanded by the IMF.

But if poor implementation is the main reason why reform is not working, the reluctance of private enterprise to invest comes a close second. Even in Ghana's case, success is strictly relative. Exports are lower now than in 1989/1990, despite strong growth in gold production; and while real GDP has been growing at more than 5% a year for a decade, this is strongly reliant on aid inflows averaging close on \$1bn a year. Without the aid, growth would be much slower, but how long can donors continue to fill the finance gap?

The fact that even after a decade of economic reform, Ghana has attracted little private foreign investment outside goldmining, gives the lie to IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programmes that posit increased investment in the second or third year of reform.

A related problem is that of adjustment fatigue. Most African countries undergoing adjustment have experienced not just reduced spending on social services like health and education, but falling real incomes and stagnant or declining employment. The

United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (Unido) reports that 30 of the 45-odd sub-Saharan countries, including SA, have moved down the world income table between 1970 and 1990.

It is hardly surprising that voters throughout the continent see IMF reform as "pain without gain."

Small wonder then that political commitment is lacking. None of the presidential contenders in June's Nigerian presidential elections have come out in favour of structural adjustment. The donors are partly to blame here, too. They have promised too much too soon, allowing governments and voters to believe that structural change is a quick-fix process lasting three to five years.

The truth is that even a success story such as Ghana — now in its 12th year of reform — will need continued foreign aid into the next century.

There is a cautionary tale in all this for SA. The slippery slope to economic decline is lubricated with foreign aid and concessional loans from the Bank and Fund. Countries that retain their autonomy, growing by way of trade and private foreign investment, rather than stagnating into dependence on aid and IMF standby loans, are able to keep their economic sovereignty and freedom for manoeuvre.

They can avoid becoming laboratory experiments for youthful Washington economic theorists, many of whom would not know a market force if they met it in the street.

This is not to decry World Bank project loans — as distinct from policy lending with its conditionalities — nor bridging finance from the IMF to see a country through a temporary balance of payments or liquidity crisis. It is protracted reliance on aid that comes with a health warning. Only one African country — Mauritius — has succeeded in completing a structural adjustment programme and dispensing with policy loans altogether.

For the rest of the region, those who have slipped into the poverty net have found it impossible to get out. The fact is that the donors have — unintentionally — created aid-addiction of a kind and on a scale which they simply cannot afford.

Worse still, they know that their show-down with Nairobi is tactical, not strategic. Moi and the next presidents of Nigeria and the Ivory Coast will all be back wanting more — just when there will be even less to go around.

Sooner rather than later something will have to give. Given the shared failure of African governments and the donors to make a success of aid-funded reforms, those who plead for more aid are on weak ground.

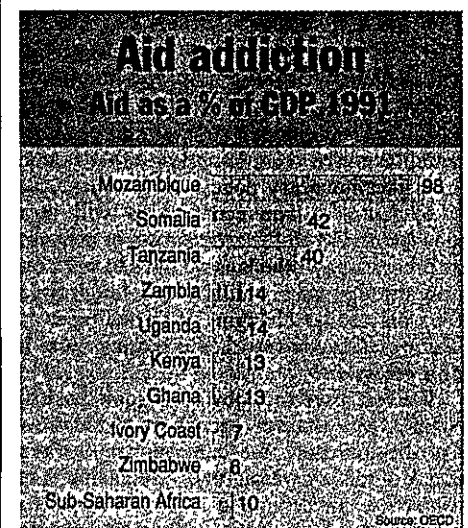
The IMF and the Bank must rethink. They, too, need greater openness and transparency; had they come clean about Kenya, Zambia and Nigeria earlier, they could have forestalled at least some of their subsequent difficulties. But it is hard to resist the temptation to tell the client what he wants to hear rather than the truth.

At last December's donor group meeting at which more than \$1bn in new aid was pledged for Zimbabwe, the World Bank "omitted" to tell the donors that its client was breaking its budget to the point where the deficit this year will be at least 13% of GDP instead of the Bank forecast of 9.5%.

It is also clear that one obstacle to private-sector investment in Africa is the lack of reliable economic data. The Bank and Fund have an unrivalled data base, knowing more than the governments they advise. It is vital that this data be made public to ensure a more open, better-informed debate. In SA, by publishing an IMF report, Derek Keys has set an example other African governments would do well to follow.

Ultimately, there is no serious alternative to structural adjustment. Governments simply cannot live beyond their means indefinitely. Yet sadly, by fostering aid-addiction, refusing to come clean until too late and withholding vital information from those in the media, the business and investment community and opposition politicians who might force change, the IMF and Bank have played into the hands of their often recalcitrant clients.

Africa has only itself to blame for many of its economic difficulties. But the IMF, World Bank and donors generally are contributing to this failure by publicly backing



governments and policies that they privately condemn. Only when, as in Zambia in 1988 and Kenya today, their patience is finally exhausted do the donors come out into the open and tell the truth — by which time it is too late.

This is the real lesson of Moi's abortive attempt to go it alone — a policy that, as in Zambia, will end in tears. There will be repeat performances elsewhere in the region unless and until the Bank and Fund stiffen their backbones and practise what they preach about transparency and accountability. The patient — the African man and woman in the street — has the right to know what the IMF doctor is prescribing and why it isn't working.

Anti-whaling campaigner Yoshio Kamejima demonstrates beneath whale-shaped balloons outside the International Whaling Commission's annual meeting in Kyoto yesterday. Picture: AP

France in bid to recover loans

PARIS — France began a sale yesterday of several million dollars worth of third world debt in an operation to be spread over several years designed to permit recovery of part of the sums loaned.

The auction follows the test sale in Egypt last month of an initial tranche of Ff500m of

61097 11/1993
Egyptian debt owed to France. With Egyptian debt to France totalling about Ff5bn, France is expected to launch further sales of the debt in Cairo, while similar operations on third world debt, involving heavily indebted Latin American countries, are expected to be launched soon. Sapa-AFP. (S) (1) (2)

'Ethnic cleansing' for Sudan's Nuba

APR 11/1993

TWO groups, the Nuba and the Baggara, who lived in harmony for many years, are being pushed off their land and provoked to fight each other as part of Sudan's complex civil war.

Attacks against one of the groups, the Nuba, were condemned in February by Amnesty International. And there are fears that peace talks due soon will marginalise both groups.

The Nuba are farmers who inhabit the southern Kordofan Plain and Nuba Hills. The Baggara are pastoralists who live in the same areas. Although they have competed for generations over land and water they also found ways to live together and resolve their conflicts.

In the past two decades the indiscriminate extension of large-scale mechanised farming schemes across the fertile land in the plain drastically reduced the pastoralists' freedom of movement with their herds, as well as throwing Nuba farmers off their land.

The long civil war in Sudan is usually thought of as between the Arab, Muslim north and the black, Christian and animist south. But the reality is not as simple; some of the fiercest fighting has occurred in the central hinterland squeezed between the north and south which is home to several marginalised groups.

Successive governments have failed to recognise the ethnic and cultural diversity of Africa's largest country.

The June 1989 coup brought to power an Islamic fundamentalist military government which intensified the problem by trying to force the Sudanese to accept a narrow Arab Islamic identity.

The new government has been seizing more Nuba farmland, allocating it to wealthy businessmen and retiring government figures, or giving it as war booty to local militias, the so-called Popular Defence Forces (PDF). Many Nuba have become impoverished wage labourers.

The Nuba's sustainable agriculture is being replaced by over-intensive use of thin soils.

Resistance by the Nuba to losing their land is regarded as alignment with the opposition Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), and is often punished by the elimination of entire villages. The fact that some 40 per cent of the Nuba are themselves Muslim does not save them from the onslaught, because the government considers them black savages.

In January 1992 the governors of Kordofan State declared a Jihad (holy war) in the Nuba Mountains. PDF commander Col Ismail Adam said his men were ready to "cleanse every stretch of territory sullied by the outlaws".

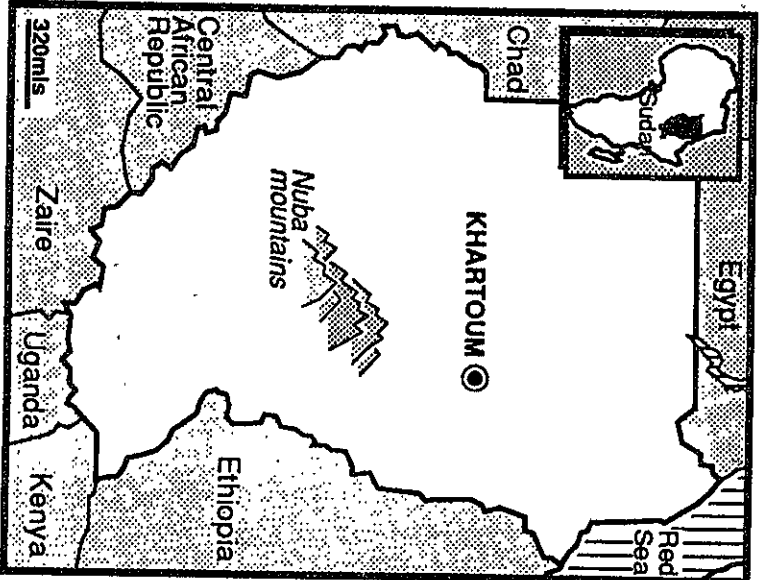
In February Amnesty International said that government attacks on the Nuba in the hills amounted to "ethnic cleansing". Thousands of Nuba have

been killed and tens of thousands forced off their land. Some have been pushed into villages far to the north to keep them away from the SPLA.

Modern weapons and outside forces have also set the Baggara against the Nuba, pitting two disadvantaged groups against one another. The pastoralist Baggara see their land and water resources dwindling rapidly as land is given to mechanised farmers. The Baggara regard themselves as "Arabs" and the government is now training them as local militias.

Amnesty International told the UN Human Rights Commission in February that "the apparent willingness of the present regime in Khartoum to use extreme social engineering measures and its indifference to the rights of its own people have created a disaster out of an existing crisis. Indeed, in view of the profits gained in certain circles, the regime seems to be manufacturing a disaster in order to enrich its own constituency."

The February agreement struck in Entebbe, Uganda, between the government and John Garang's SPLA faction to open talks in March, has increased fears for the Nuba and Baggara. Minority peoples' interests may be set aside to gain a compromise peace formula which would allow the establishment of Africa's first Islamic state in northern Sudan, including those areas now occupied by the Nuba and other minority people of the north. — Panos



THREATENED ... Nuba farmers in northern Sudan face marginalisation in a compromise peace formula which could lead to the establishment of Africa's first Islamic state. Another disadvantaged group, the Baggara, are being pitted against the Nuba in a conflict which Sudan's Islamic military government calls a Jihad (holy war). **PICTURE: PANOS**

Africa blamed for its economic problems

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE World Bank has blamed Africa's economic woes not on external factors but on "the declining level and efficiency of investment, compounded by accelerating population growth".

In a hard-hitting paper to the ICFTU conference in Harare last week, the bank's Zimbabwe representative Christiaan Poortman said economic adjustment programmes were aimed at helping Africa's poor in the face of "loss-making public enterprises, poor investment choices, costly and unreliable infrastructure, price distortions, and hence inefficient resource allocation".

Over the past decade sub-Saharan countries had recorded a dramatic decline in per capita income resulting in reduced spending on social services and schooling, increased malnutrition and unemployment.

With overstuffed, poorly managed bureaucracies and environmental degradation, Africa was not regarded as a good investment prospect, he said. "Overall, the region currently accounts for less than 2% of world trade — it has become, in effect, marginalised."

Africa's recovery would be possible only if governments were willing to implement reforms with the support of political groups and trade unions, he said. Such reforms should be viewed as part of a broader effort, including investment in human resources, infrastructure and institutions.

The bank's programmes go beyond achieving fiscal balance and foreign exchange and trade reform — they enhance social services during the transition to protect those who suffer job losses. He said "adjustment cannot be avoided: it can only be deferred".

Foreign hawkers pose problem

THE influx of foreign African hawkers into Johannesburg has presented a problem for the local hawkers' organisation and the city council.

The African Council for Hawkers and Informal Business (Achib) said yesterday there were 2 800 Zambian, Zimbabwean and other African traders plying their trade in the Johannesburg station area alone.

"They come in droves and trade in all manner of merchandise, turning down offers of membership to local organisations. This renders them free to flout regulations and norms we are trying to fashion for orderly trade in the city," Mavundla said.

Mavundla said it irked him that the "black hawker" got the blame for whatever untoward behaviour was observed by the public and the authorities, no matter where the culprit came from.

Johannesburg City Council urbanisation director Cedric de Beer said the council could not do anything

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THEO RAWANA

about illegal immigrants. "That is the national government's responsibility," he said.

And the Business Act of 1991 had done away with registration requirements for hawkers, which made the council powerless to take action against the traders.

"But we do need some form of identification of informal traders, and for this we will need to sit down with the trader organisations and the police," said de Beer.

Mavundla said the problem Achib had with Chinese traders last year was almost solved. An agreement on how the two parties would co-operate, which in part allows local hawkers to source supplies directly from China, would be signed next week.

"After the signing of the accord with the Chinese, we will be able to address the question of the African traders," Mavundla said.

Ceasefire problem for Angolan talks

B10M 15/4/93

ABIDJAN — Representatives of the Angolan government and Unita resumed peace talks in Ivory Coast yesterday but remained divided over terms of a ceasefire.

"We are going very well," a beaming Jorge Valentim, head of the Unita team, said as he began the second full day of talks.

But he cautioned that progress towards a full ceasefire, as sought by the government, could take time.

"This will take months," Valentim said.

Jonas Savimbi's Unita, which has recaptured swathes of Angolan territory since the civil war erupted again, is calling for "a suspension of hostilities" while substantive political and military negotiations continue.

Angola's government delegation, led by Faustino Muteka and Gen Higinio Carneiro wants a global ceasefire package, with international guarantees and addressing all main sticking points.

It is a matter of interpretation. "There is no fundamental disagree-

ment," Valentim added about the ceasefire issue.

The senior Portuguese official at the talks, Antonio Monteiro, denied the factions were bogged down in semantics over what constitutes a ceasefire — the first item on a comprehensive nine-point agenda.

"It is not semantics. These are substantial points," he told reporters.

Unita radio has reported serious fighting in several provinces since the meeting began on Monday evening.

The US, Russia and former colonial power Portugal are the three official observer countries overseeing the 1991 Angolan peace accords and are represented in Abidjan.

The accords ended the first civil war, which began in 1975, but collapsed after last September's UN-supervised elections.

Unita rejected its defeat at the polls and now appears bent on renegotiating fundamental aspects of the 1991 accords and extracting significant power-sharing concessions from the government. — Reuter.

Afreximbank wins funding pledge

B10M 15/4/93

ABIDJAN — Potential shareholders in the new African Export-Import Bank (Afreximbank) had pledged more than \$100m in equity, enough to ensure the project got off the ground, the African Development Bank (AfDB) said.

African central and commercial banks agreed in Cairo in January to set up the bank with capital of \$500m, to boost trade within the continent and with the rest of the world.

In the latest issue of its bimonthly newsletter, the AfDB, the project's

main sponsor, said potential shareholders in Afreximbank had signed letters of intent pledging equity contributions totalling more than \$100m.

It said the AfDB would soon consider the bank's own investment.

The new project aims to help exporters hamstrung by Africa's weak commercial banking network and the high cost of outside financing.

AfDB officials say it would aim to boost official intra-African trade to about 20% of the continent's total trading volume. — Sapa-Reuter.

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AFREXIMBANK

A new book spells out the spectre of the HIV virus, reports Stanley Uys from

Star 15/4/93

Aids in Africa underestimated

AFRICA is not in the grip of an Aids epidemic. Claims that the continent is being devastated by HIV are false and are leading to a diversion of resources from genuine scourges, such as malaria, tuberculosis and malnutrition.

Or so some medical heretics are claiming here — in print and on television. But it's bunkum, says Alan Whiteside, senior research fellow in the economic research unit at the University of Natal in Durban and currently Visiting Fellow at the University of East Anglia, England.

With another South African, Dr Sholto Cross, senior lecturer in the School of Development Studies at the University of East Anglia, he has just edited a book, *Facing Up to Aids, the Socio-Economic Impact in Southern Africa* (Macmillan, London, and St Martin's Press, New York). The work says that by the year 2000 and thereafter, Aids in Africa "will ex-

ceed all other factors as a cause of mortality (of people in their productive years)".

"Our book is particularly important as it concentrates on southern Africa. This part of the continent has the scientific and medical ability realistically to assess the epidemic," said Whiteside.

Quoting a chapter by Richard Hore, chief executive of CIMAS medical aid society in Harare, Zimbabwe, on *The Medical Costs of Aids in Zimbabwe*, Whiteside said: "This organisation has no axe to grind and must get the figures right."

"Hore warns that in 1990 adult HIV prevalence was 7.5 percent and this was projected to rise to 24.7 percent by 2000. The life underwriting business of the insurance industry in southern Africa is in danger of becoming unprofitable."

Whiteside quoted further a chapter by Peter Hoyle, chief ac-

tiary for Metropolitan Life Association in Cape Town, who warns that by the year 2000 there may be as many as 4.1 million people with the virus in South Africa alone.

"We must conclude," said Whiteside, "that if people of this calibre and the organisations they work for regard the epidemic as real, then so should we."

Doyle believes the spread of HIV infection throughout South Africa has the potential to be worse than in other African countries because of the efficient transport system and the mobility of labour.

"The HIV epidemic will cause the sickness and death of many young adults in South Africa... many of those affected will be skilled and educated persons in the workplace and this will affect productivity and training."

The 14 chapters in the Whiteside-Cross book bring together the work of economists, political scientists, demographers and medi-

cal specialists. The editors comment: "The Aids pandemic now spreading throughout southern Africa is without parallel in modern times in terms of probable long-run impact."

Whiteside notes further: "The disease is set to be the single most important issue for the 1990s in much of the developing world."

Although Aids has been recognised for 10 years (WHO estimates that by April 1991 there were around 8 to 10 million adults and 1 million children affected worldwide, of whom 6 million were in Africa, 100 000 in South Africa), the book is a first attempt to look at the economic and social implications of Aids in Africa.

We can conclude, says Hilary Southall (Rhodes University, Grahamstown) "that South Africa has so far escaped the major impact of Aids."

"The good news is that the initial epidemic mainly among white male homosexuals appears to

have settled down. The bad news is that a new epidemic among black heterosexuals, of far greater proportions than the first, is taking off."

Warns Cross: "The economic consequences of the Aids epidemic in South Africa will be unique... the course of this disease will be without parallel elsewhere."

Conclusions reached by one of the book's authors are that the South African economy will be able to sustain the overall effects of the Aids epidemic for the next 15 years, but the effects are substantial and will expand rapidly.

This macro-economic view will hide "the devastating economic consequences for individuals and their families". South Africa already has a major social crisis with "street children" and the Aids epidemic will result in an increase in orphans.

"The Aids epidemic will be an awful and enormous human tragedy, through the potentially avoid-

able loss of hundreds of thousands, and ultimately millions, of lives," said the authors.

"It is a tragic historical irony that just when South Africa is on the brink of a new political dispensation, it should also be facing the onslaught of the most devastating plague of modern times. "It is inconceivable that the course of the epidemic will not add fuel to an already fiery political debate."

Said Whiteside: "Events in South Africa may provide a pointer to what is going to happen in Asia, Latin America and even Eastern Europe. The Aids epidemic sounds a warning from the rest of the world.

"It will show what effect the disease can have on more developed countries. The tragedy is that it is unnecessary. We knew about Aids 10 years ago, but the Government, and indeed all other organisations, have not acted in a coherent, imaginative and united way to stop it." □

Bank's forecast shows Africa lagging behind

BIDAM 19/4/93

① 1688

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Even under improving international conditions, Africa's economic prospects will lag far behind those of other developing countries over the next decade, according to new projections by the World Bank.

Overall, the Bank sees developing nations benefiting from increased foreign investment flows (both fixed and portfolio), steadier commodity prices, reduced debt and their own structural adjustments — including privatisation — between now and 2002.

On current trends, these countries should be able to post a healthy 4.7% GDP growth rate, nearly doubling their performance in the '80s, with the Chinese economic area leading the way as a new "growth pole".

However, under the best of circumstances, sub-Saharan Africa excluding SA can only hope to attain 3.7% growth, barely enough to keep pace with the expanding population.

This is the depressing conclusion of the Bank's otherwise optimistic report, *Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries, 1993*.

Civil war in 10 African countries accounting for a quarter of the region's potential output is part of the problem. But equally serious, even for those countries that have committed themselves to adjustment policies, is the absence of a sound growth foundation.

Savings ratios in Africa are extremely feeble (around 13% of GDP). And that, combined with factor payments of another 3% to repay loans and profit remittances from past borrowing and investment, makes investment ratios (about 16% in the

'80s) the lowest in the developing world.

Most regions will gain from liberalised international trade regimes (assuming they materialise), but Africa's ability to raise its export potential will remain limited because of its heavy dependence on commodity goods and the lack of adequate supporting infrastructure and skills.

"Although the initial response in countries that have implemented structural reforms (such as Ghana and Uganda) has been favourable, it is now evident that this growth spurt cannot be sustained without heavy investment in infrastructure, both physical and managerial-labour skills."

While other regions — notably Latin America and the Far East — are attracting substantial new flows of foreign investment, most African countries will have to continue relying on concessional credit from official sources.

Rendering the outlook for Africa even more "fragile" is ongoing environmental degradation, increasing the risks of drought, AIDS and the decreased availability of official donor assistance as demand rises elsewhere and donors become more picky about recipients' policies.

Even under the best of conditions, the number of Africans living in absolute poverty (defined as an effective income of \$1 a day) is expected to grow to 300-million from 200-million.

This means governments will have to continue diverting developmental resources to providing a social safety net.

The Bank has not factored SA into the equation, in keeping with past policy.

Africa: Poor relation in growth stakes

From SIMON BARBER

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While other regions — notably Latin America and the Far East — are attracting substantial new flows of foreign investment, most African countries will have to continue relying on concessional credit from official sources.

In Africa, foreign private investment as a share of total external finance is expected to rise only slowly over the 90's — from 20% to 25% — with only a handful of countries (Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe) attracting it.

Environmental risks

Rendering the outlook for Africa even more "fragile" is ongoing environmental degradation, increasing the risks of drought, Aids, and the decreased availability of official donor assistance as demand rises elsewhere (most notably the former Soviet Union states and Viet Nam) and donors become more picky about recipients' policies.

Even under the best of conditions, the number of Africans living in absolute poverty (defined as an effective income of \$1 a day) is expected to grow from 200 million to 300 million.

In itself, this means that governments will have to continue diverting developmental resources to providing a social safety net. Lower than expected growth in the industrialised countries could double the number of poor.

Since Africa is particularly dependent on primary commodities, the prospect would be one of negative growth of per capita GDP.

In keeping with past policy, the Bank has not factored South Africa into the equation.

Countries' growth rate to double

Byomy 2014/93
WASHINGTON — Developing countries are expected to grow about 4.7% a year going into the next decade, nearly double the economic vitality they showed in the 1980s, the World Bank said on Sunday.

In a report, the international lending agency said the increased economic might of poorer countries reflected hard-won reforms rather than vastly increased activity by wealthier countries spreading largesse.

"This brighter outlook is to a large extent the dividend of the wide-ranging economic policy reforms of the past decade," the bank said in its Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries 1993 report.

Developing countries grew by 2.7% a year between 1982 and 1992.

The study said that developing countries in recent years have transformed much of the behaviour that has caused problems, dealing with their commercial bank debt, slowing inflation and liberalising trade.

At the same time, the report cautioned that there were many risks involved in the forecast, citing the

inability of the global community to complete work on Uruguay Round trade talks under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

"While the importance of a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round is widely proclaimed, there has been almost no forward movement in the round in over two years," acting World Bank chief economist DC Rao told reporters.

"A more open trading system globally is particularly important for those developing countries committed to trade reform, and expanding trade opportunities are vital for the reforming countries of eastern and central Europe," Rao said.

The report comes out against a backdrop of a global economy in which developed countries, with the possible exception of the US, are suffering economic malaise.

Bank officials said its projections are based on the assumption that the economic recovery that appears to be consolidating in the US spreads to western Europe and Japan within the

next 12 months and that major industrial countries begin to grow at close to their potential by 1994.

In Europe and central Asia, which includes eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, growth is expected to increase by about 2% a year as the shift to a market economy begins to provide dividends.

Latin America is expected to continue its recovery with growth of 4% achievable over the long-run. Sub-Saharan Africa is expected to show improved growth, but not at rates much higher than population growth.

The Middle East and North African region, however, is expected to show some of its greatest growth since the 1970s, moving ahead by 4% or 5%.

East Asia, which includes China, is forecast to show significant growth levels, although somewhat lower than in the previous decade.

South Asia's growth is projected to average around 5% annually in the 1990s, with faster growth in the second half of the decade as reforms take hold in India. — Sapa-Reuter.

Food-for-work, cash-for-work . . . doing what's best for Africa, says **The Economist**

Making them work for aid

STILL 21/4/93. ①

EACH year throughout the 1980s, Western donors spent \$1 billion (\$3.18 billion) shipping millions of tons of food to the hungry in Africa. It saved many lives. Yet by the end of the decade the proportion of African children who weighed too little because they ate too little increased. And the amount of food Africans grew per person fell. Africans began to ask: is food aid part of the problem?

When famine is life-threatening, the case for free emergency food is clear. The people now starving as a result of civil war in southern Sudan need food urgently. So do people in parts of Angola. At present about half the food aid donated by outsiders to Africa is handed out free, whether to refugees fleeing war who have no other means of survival, or to people who are starving where they live. The worry arises once starvation has been reduced to hunger and poverty. Continuing to hand out free food may damage the livelihoods of local farmers. Spoon-fed citizens may become dependent. And governments that expect to be bailed out in emergencies may neglect farming.

Most people working the vast African aid industry agree on the need to move away from free food distribution once an emergency has passed. The difficulty is the transition period. Often the thing is wrong: by the time Western television viewers are galvanised into responding to a famine, and deliveries begin, the worst of the disaster is over. Yet the food is regarded as emergency relief and given out free.

This happened during the 1984-85 famine. Large quantities of food began to reach such remote areas as Wollo in northern Ethiopia, or Darfur in western Sudan, in late 1985, just as farmers were beginning to harvest. It depressed local prices and destroyed the livelihoods of local traders.

One way to avoid such things is to ask for something in return for food aid. On food-for-work schemes, villagers do something useful, like digging a well or terracing a hillside, in return for their rations of grain. When Ethiopia tried this during the 1980s, many of the schemes failed to reach the really hungry since they involved the building of roads or boring of wells; work that attracted the strong and young who were in least need of emergency food.

The United Nations World Food Programme in Ethiopia has now set up pilot food-for-work projects designed for the really needy. Work is less demanding (small stone terraces rather than deep wells), and stronger people must look for labouring jobs elsewhere. Locals are put in charge of decid-

ing what work needs to be done, and by whom.

Food-for-work has also been at the centre of Zimbabwean efforts to cope with last year's drought. While the government dithered, a network of village organisations set up its own food-for-work schemes using donated food. These encouraged people to prepare for the next planting season by digging wells or building dams and grain stores. The organisers were anxious to avoid free food hand-outs for fear of making people dependent. Few Zimbabweans died as a direct consequence of the drought, and farmers are now ready for the next harvest.

Some aid specialists argue that food-for-work still hurts farmers because it pushes down demand for their crops. They prefer the proposition, put forward in 1989 by Amartya Sen, an Indian economist, that instead of handing out food, outsiders should hand out

cash.

Cash-for-work operates on the same principle as food-for-work, but villagers get a small wage instead of grain. Cash is quicker to distribute, and it strengthens local markets instead of weakening them.

In some ways, cash-for-work is a developing world version, financed by foreign aid, of American "workfare" schemes. India has long used temporary cash-for-work projects as a way of fending off famine. In Africa, Cape Verde and Botswana have successfully copied the formula, partly financing their projects by selling donated food. Both have avoided famine.

There are still snags. Cash-for-work can feed inflation, and administering it opens the way to corruption. The best approach may be to adapt a mixture of food and cash to local needs. Simon Maxwell, of Britain's In-

stitute of Development Studies, has a rule-of-thumb. He argues that food-for-work is the better option where (a) markets are weak or regulated, (b) there is a serious food shortage (prices are then less likely to be depressed) and (c) family structures are such that women might lose out if cash were given to their menfolk.

Cash-for-work, he argues, works better where (a) trade is free and markets are thriving — as in Botswana, and India — (b) food is available nationally and (c) local officialdom is less corrupt.

Naturally, it is not as simple as this. When Africans themselves argue for Western aid to be given in cash rather than food, they often collide with the colossus that is Western subsidised farming. It costs America and the European Community little to ship their wheat or beef surpluses to Africa. Translating that generosity into dollar bills would be another matter altogether. □

Tuberculosis in Africa under-reported, says doctor

Star 21/4/98

Medical Reporter

SUN CITY — There could be little doubt that the tuberculosis problem in Africa, including South Africa, was under-reported, the Medical Research Council's Dr. Bernard Fourie said this week.

This came less than a month after the South African National Tuberculosis Association revealed that 36 people die of TB each day.

Fourie was speaking at the 57th Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) congress at Sun City. The Congress is also being attended by delegates from nine African countries.

Worldwide, there is renewed interest in tuberculosis as an epidemic which has returned in an opportunistic way to once more become a public health threat in the under-privileged communities," said Fourie.

About one third of the world's population was infected with Mycobacterium tuberculosis, he added. In the past decade, an average of 2.5 to 3.2 million cases were notified each year worldwide.

Fourie said the main reasons for the upsurge included the HIV-infection, multidrug-resistant strains of TB and the inability of health services to implement adequate control programmes.

Africa represented only 10 per cent of the overall number of notifications to the World Health Organisation. Of the 47 countries included in the WHO Africa region, 35 reported cases rates of fewer than 100 cases in 100 000 in 1989; seven reported rates of 100-200 and five reported rates of 200 and higher (Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia).

The conference, which ends today, was opened on Sunday by heart pioneer surgeon Professor Chris Barnard who said three factors made it possible for South Africa to break new medical ground with the first heart transplant operation 25 years ago. These were: excellent training facilities for doctors; good back-up in blood transfusion and nursing; and a situation where superiors allowed their students to excel.

BUSINESS Seminar on the workings of the World Bank

Business looks north of the Limpopo

Sowetan 22/4/93

AFRICAN OPPORTUNITIES The continent opens up for South Africa:

By Mzimkulu Malunga

SANCTIONS are steadily becoming history and more South African companies are looking up north and exploring business in Africa.

A two-day conference to enlighten local companies on business opportunities north of the Limpopo is to be held at the Sandton Sun on May 6 and 7.

Officials from the World Bank — institutions and organisations associated with it will be participating — will for the first time send representatives to

take part.

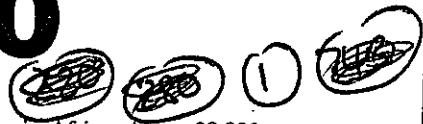
The gathering is being organised by the South African Institution of Civil Engineers with the support of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation.

Though interest exists, many South African businesses are adopting a wait-and-see attitude before getting involved in ventures in Africa.

Logistics

Insights regarding procedures and logistics when doing business in Africa will come under the spotlight.

The World Bank spends more than R61,6 billion on development projects



in Africa. About 30 000 contracts are awarded to companies by African governments every year.

About 70 percent of the money injected into Africa by the World Bank is spent on buying equipment for projects, 20 percent on civil works activities and 10 percent on consulting services.

"The conference will not only provide information on the opportunities of dealing with the World Bank but also the pitfalls," says Saice president Professor Fred Hugo.

World Bank operations in Africa could offer lucrative business contracts to local business but certain procedures have to be followed to gain access.

World Bank projects range from nurturing agricultural output and infrastructural construction to the supply of basic needs like water and electricity.

Africa facing deeper gloom

By Alex Brummer

ECONOMIC growth among the developing countries is expected to improve markedly in the 1990s, the World Bank asserts this week in its 1993 Global Economic Prospects report.

But the pattern of improvement will be uneven. Conditions in sub-Saharan Africa could worsen dramatically, while the Chinese economic zone experiences an unprecedented boom, eventually making it as prosperous as the richest industrial nations. Latin America will also continue to make a rapid comeback.

Overall growth, across the range of developing countries, is forecast to climb to an average of 4.7 per cent per year in the 1990s, as against 2.7 per cent over the last decades, far better growth than expected in the industrial nations.

The World Bank attributes the improvement to "wide-ranging and often painful economic reforms" in

the developing countries, notably in the management of public finances, privatisation and debt reduction. But the World Bank warns of a number of risks, including failure to complete the Uruguay round of the Gatt trade talks.

Despite the optimism of the Global Prospects report, the section on sub-Saharan Africa makes depressing reading. Growth is expected to rise over the decade from 2 per cent per year to 3.7 per cent per year, but the population increase means that per capita income will be under severe strain.

If conditions are not to worsen the World Bank believes three problems need to be addressed — environmental degradation which makes the region prey to drought; the Aids epidemic which could be deleterious for growth, with up to 30 per cent of the labour affected in Malawi and high levels in Uganda and other countries; and the drying-up of high levels of international aid, available to Africa

over the last decade but now in demand for other regions, notably the former Soviet Union.

The numbers of poor in Africa could increase from 200 million in 1990 to 300 million by the year 2000. In sharp contrast the World Bank believes that the Chinese Economic Area, consisting of the People's Republic, Taiwan and Hong Kong, is developing into a "fourth pole" of the global economy which by the year 2002 will challenge for a place in the G7 in terms of size.

Throughout the decade the World Bank forecasts growth of 7 per cent per annum for the region, so that by the end of the period its gross domestic product will rank well ahead of France, Italy and Britain. It will be three to four times larger than that of the former USSR, and could be approaching that of Germany and Japan.

Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries 1993. Published by the World Bank, Washington DC

Guardian/W in W/Mod

23/4-29/4/93.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Commandos kill hijacker

AMRITSAR — Paramilitary commandos stormed a hijacked Indian plane yesterday, freeing 140 people on board and killing the gunman, who had demanded to be flown to Afghanistan, officials said.

The National Security Guard took just 10 minutes to end the 11-hour drama which started when a domestic Indian Airlines flight was hijacked soon after take-off from Delhi on Saturday afternoon.

The hijacker had said he was from the Hizbul Mujahedin militant group in Kashmir.

UK pledges to use force

COPENHAGEN — Britain pledged at an EC meeting in Denmark at the weekend to use military force to rescue 150 Canadian UN troops if they were trapped by fighting in the besieged Bosnian town Srebrenica.

An official said Britain had not ruled out the use of air strikes or of its 2 300 troops in former Yugoslavia to save the Canadians.

British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd said military action would be considered only if the situation in Srebrenica deteriorated drastically.

Eritreans go to polls

ASMARA — A UN-supervised referendum, which ended yesterday, was widely expected to deliver independence from Ethiopia for former Italian colony Eritrea, after 30 years of civil war.

About 1.3-million registered voters were believed to have voted.

Eritrea has enjoyed de facto independence since rebels defeated the remnants of the army of fallen Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in May 1991. A provisional government agreed not to declare independence unilaterally.

Kasparov's luggage ransacked

MOSCOW — World chess champion Garry Kasparov's luggage had been ransacked at a Moscow airport and some of his belongings stolen, Itar-Tass news agency said yesterday.

REPORTS: Sapa-Reuter.

Ivory Coast plans direct approach to Savimbi

ABIDJAN — Ivory Coast, impatient at the slow pace of the Angolan peace talks it is hosting, planned a direct appeal to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, delegates said on Saturday.

They said Ivorian Foreign Minister Amara Essy would fly to Savimbi's headquarters at Huambo yesterday or today to seek his support for a peace compromise.

Essy's mission, which could be called off if there is a breakthrough at the Abidjan talks, underlined the deadlock on a ceasefire and other key issues since Unita and the MPLA government's delegation started negotiations on April 12.

Diplomats following the talks said only Savimbi could authorise concessions by Unita, whose delegation chief Jorge Valentim was still optimistic after Saturday's session.

If he goes to Huambo, Essy will take the 35-point accord drawn up by observers Russia, Portugal and the

US at the UN-brokered talks. Delegates said it was a compromise document between the Unita and MPLA positions but based on the 1991 Bicesse peace accords which collapsed after last September's elections.

Unita rejected the MPLA's victory and has made significant military gains in the fighting which followed.

Joao Albuquerque, UN spokesman at the talks, had earlier kept up his consistently optimistic assessment. "We are coming nearer to an acceptance of the ceasefire," he told reporters.

Although both the Angolan government and Unita delegations say they want to stop the fighting, they have been divided over the terms of a ceasefire agreement.

Albuquerque said both sides wanted the UN to have a stronger role in Angola than an advisory and monitoring one. — Sapa-Reuter.

US and Japan agree on trade push

TOKYO — The US and Japan have agreed on a three-year co-operative trade promotion programme aimed at boosting American exports to Japan, which declined last year.

Officials said the agreement came during a dinner between US Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown and Japan's International Trade and Industry Minister Yoshiro Mori.

Under the five-point agreement, the two countries will exchange trade data, conduct market research and hold trade fairs while co-operating in specific trade expansion initiatives.

Brown and Mori agreed that the programme would enhance independent trade promotion programmes and encourage the business communities of both countries.

Brown said the new plan incorporated "elements" of a previous joint trade expansion programme while adding more specific co-operative efforts based on recent trade initiatives by both governments.

The joint programmes had proven "an excellent mechanism for co-ordinating US and Japanese trade promotion efforts." — Sapa-AFP.

Eritrea set to pull out

ASMARA, Ethiopia — Eritreans are set to fulfil a dream of more than three decades this week.

The result of a UN-supervised referendum is certain to deliver independence from Ethiopia. Voting in the three-day poll ended late yesterday and the formal result is expected a few days later.

About 1.3 million registered voters, both inside and outside the former Italian colony, are ready to deliver a resounding "Yes".

Source: 26/4/93

At last, it's pay-day ①

MOGADISHU — Somalia's new police force had its first pay-day. Nearly 3 000 police lined up in Mogadishu to receive their pay for the last two months from the United Nations. It cost the UN four billion Somalia shillings (\$1 million) to pay each member of the force up to \$1 000 (about R3 150). — *Sapa-
Reuter-AFP*

Sowet 26/4/93



**WORLD
WATCH**

S/Trino 2/18/93.
Eritrean state ①

ERITREA: Eritreans have voted overwhelmingly for independence from Ethiopia, legally bringing to an end 30 years of secessionist war and creating Africa's 52nd state. A formal declaration of independence is expected on May 24.

It's time to welcome Africa's first secessionist state, argues The Economist

Eritrea deserves its independence

STAR 3/5/93

THE inhabitants of Eritrea, a little wedge of territory beside the Red Sea, have voted in a referendum to secede from Ethiopia.

The place is small, but the symbolic value of its vote is not. By saying yes to independence, the Eritreans are delivering to Africa the first country born through secession since decolonisation. Many people fear that if Eritrea splits off, the entire African jigsaw will break up.

In a continent where frontiers and peoples are famously ill-matched, such a prospect is not altogether fanciful. Hence the principle so often cited: African borders may be random lines drawn on colonists' maps, but any attempt to alter them will only lead to instability and fighting.

Africans have bitter memories of secessionist wars — Nigeria's Biafra, the Congo's Katanga. They heed only cast their eyes northwards to Bosnia to see where the post-Cold-War version can lead.

But Africans should relax. Eri-

rea's claim to independence is unusually strong. And even where others have as good a case, it need not spell disaster for Africa.

The fear that Eritrea will start a trend is, not surprisingly, strongest in Ethiopia. There the worry is that once Eritrea has cut loose, other groups in other parts of the ethnically mixed country will want to do the same. They may, but their case will not be as strong.

Eritrea's claim to be special starts with its history. In colonial days, Eritrea was never a part of Ethiopia. Whereas the Ethiopians drove the Italians off their soil and escaped colonial rule (a brief spell under Mussolini excepted), Eritrea was in the first half of this century an outpost of the Italian empire.

Not until 1952 was Eritrea handed over to Ethiopia by the British, who had been running it for the previous 11 years. The reasons for doing so lay largely in feelings of guilt about the way Europe had allowed Mussolini to

gobble up Ethiopia in the 1930s. Besides spaghetti and cappuccino, Italy bequeathed to Eritreans a sense of national industry, which has only been strengthened by their forced cohabitation with Ethiopia. Eritrea's independence will not draw new borders but return the country to its shape of 40 years ago.

Furthermore, the Eritreans fought almost every year of annexation by Ethiopia. Their victory over the Ethiopian army in May 1991, which ended a 30-year war, led to the liberation of their country.

Since then the Eritrean People's Liberation Front has been running the place as a *de facto* independent state. Eritreans are not breaking away so much as making their separation formal.

Above all, since the end of the war, Eritreans have gone about their bid for secession in an orderly, peaceful way. They have waited two years before holding a referendum, to allow their war-battered country to recover. And they

are on good terms with the government in Addis Ababa.

In time, other parts of African states may well press their claims more forcefully. Few will have as strong a case as Eritrea.

The world should be especially wary of those areas that, being blessed with mineral or other wealth, simply want to bolt with the loot. But some may deserve support.

British Somaliland, for example, the northern bit of (former Italian) Somalia, has a similar historical case. Southern Sudan's long war with its north might support a divorce on the ground of irreconcilable differences.

Some boundaries have, in fact, been changed in the past: western Togo, once British Togoland, is now in Ghana; British South Cameroon is now part of ex-French Cameroon, whereas British North Cameroon is part of Nigeria.

Not every would-be secessionist should be encouraged to follow Eritrea. But it is time for Africans to bury a taboo. □

It's time to welcome Africa's first secessionist state, argues The Economist

Eritrea deserves its independence

THE inhabitants of Eritrea, a little wedge of territory beside the Red Sea, have voted in a referendum to secede from Ethiopia.

The place is small, but the symbolic value of its vote is not. By saying yes to independence, the Eritreans are delivering to Africa the first country born through secession since decolonisation. Many people fear that if Eritrea splits off, the entire African jigsaw will break up.

In a continent where frontiers and peoples are famously ill-matched, such a prospect is not altogether fanciful. Hence the principle so often cited: African borders may be random lines drawn on colonists' maps, but any attempt to alter them will only lead to instability and fighting.

Africans have bitter memories of secessionist wars — Nigeria's Biafra, the Congo's Katanga. They need only cast their eyes northwards to Bosnia to see where the post-Cold-War version can lead.

But Africans should relax. Eri-

treas claim to independence is unusually strong. And even where others have as good a case, it need not spell disaster for Africa.

The fear that Eritrea will start a trend is, not surprisingly, strongest in Ethiopia. There the worry is that once Eritrea has cut loose, other groups in other parts of the ethnically mixed country will want to do the same. They may, but their case will not be as strong.

Eritrea's claim to be special starts with its history. In colonial days, Eritrea was never a part of Ethiopia. Whereas the Ethiopians drove the Italians off their soil and escaped colonial rule (a brief spell under Mussolini excepted), Eritrea was in the first half of this century an outpost of the Italian empire.

Not until 1952 was Eritrea handed over to Ethiopia by the British, who had been running it for the previous 11 years. The reasons for doing so lay largely in feelings of guilt about the way Europe had allowed Mussolini to

STAR 3/5/93

gobble up Ethiopia in the 1930s. Besides spaghetti and cappuccino, Italy bequeathed to Eritrea a sense of national industry, which has only been strengthened by their forced cohabitation with Ethiopia. Eritrea's independence will not draw new borders but return the country to its shape of 40 years ago.

Furthermore, the Eritreans fought almost every year of annexation by Ethiopia. Their victory over the Ethiopian army in May 1991, which ended a 30-year war, led to the liberation of their country.

Since then the Eritrean People's Liberation Front has been running the place as a *de facto* independent state. Eritreans are not breaking away so much as making their separation formal.

Above all, since the end of the war, Eritreans have gone about their bid for secession in an orderly, peaceful way. They have waited two years before holding a referendum, to allow their war-battered country to recover. And they

are on good terms with the government in Addis Ababa.

In time, other parts of African states may well press their claims more forcefully. Few will have as strong a case as Eritrea.

The world should be especially wary of those areas that, being blessed with mineral or other wealth, simply want to bolt with the loot. But some may deserve support.

British Somaliland, for example, the northern bit of (former Italian) Somalia, has a similar historical case. Southern Sudan's long war with its north might support a divorce on the ground of irreconcilable differences.

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Not every would-be secessionist should be encouraged to follow Eritrea. But it is time for Africans to bury a taboo. □

Trying to pump life into Africa's ailing economies

Star 4/5/93

Political constraints still prevent the establishment of formal relations between South Africa and the Southern African Development Community and the Preferential Trade Area, but the two regional economic trading blocs are hard-pressed to follow their businessmen in establishing closer ties, reports Economics Editor SVEN LÜNSCHE.

ON A VISIT to South Africa last month, Martin Ogang, president of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) Bank, told journalists how astonished he was to discover recently that Castle Lager could be ordered at a pub in Dar es Salaam.

"While I was surprised to find a South African product readily available in the capital of Tanzania, it drove home the point that businessmen are at the forefront of establishing closer economic ties in the region," Ogang said.

The PTA Bank is the official bank of the Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern Africa, a treaty established by 18 countries in the region to promote greater intra-regional trade as a starting block for the eventual creation of a common market in the region.

Many members of the PTA also belong to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) which, while having similar economic aims for its 10 member states, set out initially to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa because of apartheid.

Arch-enemy

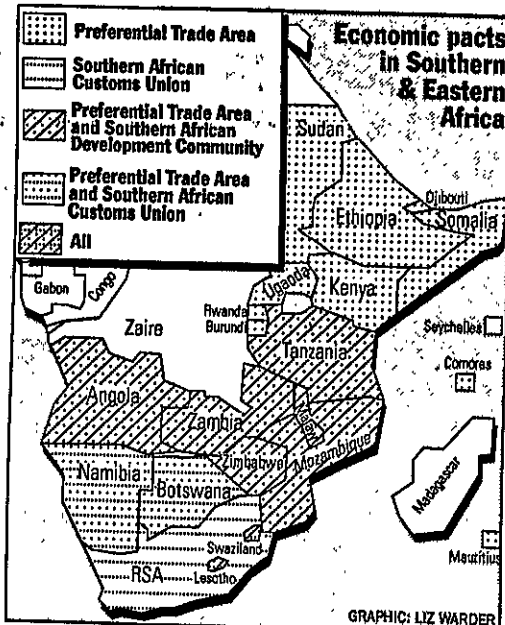
With the likely establishment of an interim government in South Africa soon, both organisations are re-evaluating their relations with their former arch-enemy.

The ANC and PAC have observer status on the SADC and the PTA, and it is on their insistence that South Africa's full membership depends on the establishment of a democratic government in this country.

"An interim government alone will not qualify for membership," SADC executive secretary Dr Simba Makoni said on a visit to SA last month.

Yet, while shying away from official recognition, both organisations are clearly eager to establish closer links.

Makoni, who was the first SADC official to address local businessmen and politicians on his visit, announced the establishment of a resident mission in South Africa.



GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

Ogang said relations with South Africa featured strongly in the PTA's business plans for 1993, which would be tabled for approval by the PTA executive later this month.

Behind the clamour for closer relations is the realisation that South Africa is essential to the region's emergence from the economic doldrums.

But it is also a desperate bid to stay on track with the region's businessmen, who are breaking down the political barriers to intra-regional trade.

South African businessmen are making their presence felt from Nairobi to Lusaka. And in many supermarkets South African goods are found in abundance, though they are affordable to only a privileged few.

According to figures released by the SA Department of Customs and Excise, trade between South Africa and Africa totalled R7,231 billion last year, of which South African exports to the continent accounted for R6,13 billion.

Ogang said this figure was conservative and that total trade, including black-market

trade, could well be above R10 billion.

"As trade volumes mount, we, as bankers, should be able to financially assist businessmen expanding across national boundaries, never mind the politicians," he said.

Yet there is also a strong realisation that to expand trade and investment links beyond current levels will require far closer economic and political ties within the region.

In a detailed study, University of Natal academics Professor Gavin Maasdorp and Alan Whiteside confirm there is considerable scope for increased intra-regional trade if political settlements are reached in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique.

They stress, however, that caution should be exercised in attempts to integrate South Africa economically with the region.

"Any revision of existing institutions and the cobbling together of new agreements would probably take several years, and the groundwork would have to be thoroughly

prepared," they say.

The promotion of cross-border and foreign investment is highlighted as the key to the future economic prosperity of the region.

Countries in the region need to achieve this by adopting pragmatic macro-economic policies, such as lifting foreign-exchange controls, as well as the political will to assist rather than obstruct investors, Maasdorp and Whiteside argue.

However, the academics emphasise that enormous difficulties have to be overcome if southern Africa is to emerge as a "winning region".

Firstly, the 1980s have witnessed further economic decline, according to Maasdorp and Whiteside the economic performance of sub-Saharan Africa during the decade was the worst in the world.

Both the SADC and PTA have failed dismally in their bid to improve trade between their member states.

According to their own estimates, trade within the organisations accounts for less than 10 percent of total trade — even trade with South Africa is seen by most countries as more important than trade with their fellow treaty members.

SA's present economic position in the region, as the driving force behind the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), could also prove an obstacle to wider regional co-operation.

Potential

Other member states — Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia and Botswana — have benefited enormously from the SACU and, while Pretoria is contemplating changes to its structure, it has indicated it sees the union as a potential basis for a future regional trading treaty.

The most important stumbling block, however, could prove to be fears of economic domination by South Africa.

Echoing recent statements by the SADC and PTA, they add: "Southern Africa cannot afford a framework in which some countries are winners and others losers. There must be something in it for all." □

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



A new, softer colonialism for Africa

Star 5/5/93

Western nations can only do so much to help revitalise sub-Saharan Africa, writes Foreign Editor FREDERICK CLEARY.

Can sub-Saharan Africa be rescued from the mess in which much of it finds itself after three decades of decolonisation?

Billions of aid money alone has solved little, and it is no wonder there is now talk of a new approach: of what recent reports refer to as a need for a "soft" recolonisation to prevent the region from regressing into an "infantile age".

This is already said to be going on in some countries, with Western, and particularly American, ambassadors playing roles similar to old-style colonial proconsuls and African heads of state finding their autonomy reduced.

The two major funding and development organisations active on the continent, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, are also reported to be acting like proconsuls,

and the latter has been strongly criticised.

David Dryer, director of the British charity Oxfam, says its policies are not working and it should re-think them or get out of the continent.

It is "sucking Africa dry" as, since 1983, it has drained Africa of more than US\$3 billion (about R9 billion).

Ordinary people throughout sub-Saharan Africa work hard to improve living conditions, but are being "constantly clothed", says Dryer.

He says market-based solutions are not the panacea for eradicating poverty, especially when the poor are denied access to markets through lack of productive resources, and he calls for a "Marshall Plan" to support recovery in the region.

America's attitude toward helping revitalise Africa is vital. But, insists Princeton Lyman, current ambassador to South Africa, the US government does not prescribe to anyone, only advises and helps when asked.

Some situations are extraordinary, he concedes, such as in Somalia, where US forces went in to try to end the civil war. But even there, the then US ambassador emphasised that the

Money aid alone has not worked

only people who could put the country back together again were the Somalis.

"We have found in our history that even if we wanted to play a more active role, there were limits. For years in the Sudan we have tried to counsel both the government and the rebel leaders against policies which were leading to such a terrible situation."

Lyman does not accept that all is bleak in sub-Saharan Africa. A number of countries are making a successful transition to democracy but are not receiving much publicity, he says. He cites Benin and Botswana, while Senegal is dealing with its political difficulties in a relatively mature way.

True, as the result of the culmination of both long-term economic decline and a lack of political liberalisation, much of the continent is experiencing a difficult period.

Yet he does not see the West returning in any proconsul or dictatorial role, as it has neither the power, the influence nor the inclination. Lyman agrees uncontrolled

financial aid per se is not working and believes some countries would welcome technical, administrative and other assistance, provided the host country made the initiative.

South Africa is a good example, he says. Years ago the Pretoria government opposed an international presence. Now, it sees the liberation movements see an advantage in the observer missions currently here from the United Nations, the European Community and the Commonwealth.

This includes expertise made available to the Goldstone Commission and police from Britain, the US and other countries helping with various inquiries. This kind of help would be beneficial to many countries.

Lyman says foreign assistance is not always welcome, as the US found in Liberia some years ago.

The economy had deteriorated so badly that a team of experts was drafted in to work in every ministry, controlling every government-issued cheque. But the plan failed and the team withdrew because those

within government continually circumvented the system.

Nevertheless, Western countries, and particularly former colonial powers, are ready to respond to any calls for help. The Portuguese government has offered to provide expertise once there is clarity in the political situations in Angola, Mozambique and its other former colonies. Britain and the European Community have made similar offers.

Lyman had personal experience as US ambassador in Nigeria in 1986-9.

"I was able to consult government and non-government people on key issues regarding the transition to democracy, human rights and economic policy. That kind of relationship was a good and positive one, to the extent that the US is not only important to them but basically shares the same goals they are trying to achieve."

He and other ambassadors are working along similar lines in South Africa.

"We have been actively in favour of the dismantling of apartheid, which at times in the

past put us at odds with the government of the day. There are also a number of legislative restrictions, such as sanctions, on what we can do in South Africa.

"However, since the reform process began in February 1990 we have, I think, developed a good, constructive relationship with the liberation movements and the Government, offering expertise and advice where necessary."

"We are not involved in the negotiations, and it is interesting and important to note that none of the parties have asked for outside involvement."

"Following the crisis last year after the shootings in Botswana and Bisho, South Africa did ask the Security Council for help in controlling the violence but there was not a request for international mediation. Only the PAC asked for this."

"In that negotiating process we can offer certain expertise on certain issues. For example, we have sent one major team to the US to study our experience on federalism."

"So the debate is enriched and it is up to those from their studies into the negotiating positions."

Trade with rest of Africa

progressing

By Sven Lünsche

South Africa made good progress in developing trade relations with Africa last year, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) says.

Its annual report, tabled in Parliament yesterday, shows that trade with Africa (excluding Customs Union members Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland and Lesotho) rose from R5 billion in 1991 to R6,1 billion last year.

"Besides an increase in exports to our traditional markets such as Zambia and Zimbabwe, SA made considerable progress with the development of new markets such as Tanzania, Cameroon, Togo and Rwanda," the DTI says.

Exports to Kenya tripled to R100 million last year.

The DTI says the Southern African Customs Union (Sacu) does not, in its present form, serve as a suitable model for further expansion in the region.

This is because of Sacu's financial implications for SA and the vast differences between the levels of development of members, which has been leading to tension over a suitable customs tariffs policy.

UN takes command of Somali relief efforts

MOGADISHU — The US turned over command of Somalia relief efforts to the UN yesterday, marking the start of reconstruction for the war-ravaged country. headquarters was lowered as an honour guard representing the participating countries stood at attention. It was replaced by the blue-and-white UN flag.

In a low-key ceremony typical of the goal for a "seamless transition", Marine Lt-Gen Robert Johnston handed over control of the US-led coalition to Lt-Gen Cevik Bir of Turkey, who will command a force that is projected to peak at 28 000 troops. Johnston praised the work of Operation Restore Hope's soldiers, who have safeguarded food convoys and virtually ended the starvation and civil war that claimed 350 000 lives last year.

But he said a lot of work remained for the UN force, which will include more than 4 000 Americans. — Sapa-AP.

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US looks for new ways to promote reform in Africa

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration wanted to build a "new relationship" with Africa to promote economic reform and a more rapid transition to democracy, US President Bill Clinton's national security adviser Anthony Lake said. *BIOM 5/15/93*

In his first foreign policy address, Lake told a meeting of African ambassadors he was urging Clinton to visit the continent.

The White House was exploring means to assist Africa's economic reforms and growth, including the provision of debt relief.

Although Lake declined to be more specific, it is understood the administra-

tion is seeking congressional approval to write off the official debts of 18 African countries. *(225)*

This would include forgiveness of Export-Import Bank and arms purchasing loans, and outstanding housing guarantees and credits. *(23)*

On the political and diplomatic front, Lake said the administration wanted to tackle regional problems before they turned into full-scale crises.

Developments in SA provided "real hope that we may soon see what, once seemed so remote, the end of apartheid and the arrival of nonracial democracy".

ACT

To provide for the admissibility in the Republic of documentary evidence emanating from certain countries in Africa; and for matters connected therewith.

*(Afrikaans text signed by the State President.)
(Assented to 29 April 1993.)*

①

BE IT ENACTED by the State President and the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, as follows:—

②
③

Definitions

1. In this Act, unless the context otherwise indicates—
 - (i) “designated country” means a country in Africa designated by the Minister in terms of section 4(a); (i) 5
 - (ii) “document” includes any affidavit, certificate, record, photograph, book, map, plan, drawing and any documentary recording or transcribed computer printout produced by any mechanical or electronic device and any device by means of which information is recorded or stored; (ii) 10
 - (iii) “Minister” means the Minister of Justice. (iii)

Documents emanating from designated countries are deemed to have their origin in Republic

2. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Rules of Court made or in force under section 6 of the Rules Board for Courts of Law Act, 1985 (Act No. 107 of 1985), or in any other law, but subject to the provisions of section 3, any document purporting to have been prepared, attested, certified, compiled or executed in a designated country shall, for the purposes of its admissibility as evidence in any civil or criminal proceedings in the Republic, be deemed to have been prepared, attested, certified, compiled or executed in the Republic. 15 20

Conditions for admissibility in Republic of certain foreign documents

3. If under any law a document is admissible in evidence in civil or criminal proceedings if it has been prepared, attested, certified, compiled or executed by a particular institution or by a person holding a particular office, possessing a particular qualification, performing a particular function or engaged in a particular activity, a similar document emanating from a designated country shall, for the purposes of such law and subject to the provisions of section 4, be admissible only if it appears on the face thereof to have been prepared, attested, certified, compiled or executed by an institution in the designated country in question or by a person in such country holding an office, possessing a qualification, performing a function or engaged in an activity equivalent to the corresponding institution in the Republic or to the office, qualification, function or activity of the corresponding person in the Republic, contemplated in such law. 25 30

Minister may designate certain countries and declare institutions, offices, qualifications, functions or activities in designated country as equivalent to institutions, offices, qualifications, functions or activities in Republic 35

4. The Minister may, for the purposes of this Act, by notice in the *Gazette*—

Contd. - 1 -

- (a) designate any country in Africa; and
- (b) declare that a particular institution, office, qualification, function or activity in a designated country is equivalent to an institution, office, qualification, function or activity in the Republic mentioned in such notice.

5

Short title and commencement

5. This Act shall be called the Documentary Evidence from Countries in Africa Act, 1993.

Wounds heal in Eritrea

Guardian (w in w/m) 7/5-13/93
By Donatella Lorch

in Massawa

NO other Eritrean town was as badly damaged as Massawa in the 17 years of civil war between the Ethiopian government of Mengistu Haile Mariam and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Now, with Eritrea about to declare its independence from Ethiopia, Massawa is both a reminder of the bitter fighting and a microcosm of the difficult struggle ahead for this small nation of 3 million people.

In a three-day referendum that ended on April 25, Eritreans voted almost unanimously in favour of independence, provisional results indicate. The turnout was estimated at 98.25 per cent.

"In the past 17 years, nothing has been built in Eritrea," said Gebremichael Mengistu, the head of the provisional government's relief co-ordination office.

In the last two years, the international community has given hardly any aid to Eritrea aside from small sums for rehabilitation programmes. In 1992, Eritrea received less than \$32 million, Mr Mengistu said. The World Bank has appraised a programme for \$147 million up to 1994 that would barely scratch the surface, he added. There has been almost no foreign investment.

As Eritrea's main port, and one

of two possible ports for an Ethiopia left landlocked by the secession, Massawa is crucial to Eritrea's future. Like the rest of Eritrea, it suffered decades of neglect. A Western diplomat in Asmara echoed a local saying: "The Italians built Eritrea, the British dismantled it and the Ethiopians destroyed it."

Of a population of about 60,000, half have returned to the port and adapted to life in the ruins. Buildings are slowly being patched up, but there is still no housing for returning refugees.

The Red Sea is rich in fish such as red snapper and tuna, and the United Nations and Dutch relief organisations are training Eritreans in net-making and fishing techniques.

The port is operational, but there are hardly any exports, and it is used to bring in the food aid for all of Eritrea and northern Ethiopia. With 70 per cent of Eritreans in need of food aid, just under 100,000 tons of food came through Massawa in 1992, Captain Renato Ambrocio, the World Food Programme representative, said.

But the people of Massawa have learned to make do. "The war lasted so long it was like our only life," Hassan Mohammed Ali, aged 70, said, as he sat under a makeshift thatch hut. "It will not happen tomorrow but slowly, slowly, life will get better." — *New York Times*

Oxfam plea for Africa

Guardian
By Victoria Brittain

W/ment 115-13/593
SUB-SAHARAN Africa is on a downward spiral which will bring half the continent's population — 300 million people — below the poverty line by the end of the decade and will doom to failure many countries' halting democracy movements.

In response to this invisible tragedy, Oxfam last week launched a campaign for action. The scheme is on the scale of the United States Marshall Plan which poured resources into post-war Europe.

Oxfam asks the British government to unfreeze its aid budget and provide an additional £100 million; the industrialised countries to increase African aid by 4 per cent; and the European Community to establish a £50 million budget level for African recovery. Only intervention on this scale could help the additional 9 million people who would otherwise fall below the poverty line every year.

From Somalia and Sudan to Angola and Liberia, the nation state has virtually collapsed in civil wars which have different roots, but the same net result. They leave the economic base in ruins.

Oxfam's latest report, which restores the organisation's leadership role in the fight against poverty, castigates the international community for the lack of vision, politi-

cal will and moral purpose that is condemning the world's most impoverished region to deepening poverty. No experts dispute this deterioration, which was highlighted last month by the World Bank's latest report.

Oxfam contrasts the urgency of western governments' response to the financial problems of eastern Europe — particularly Russia — with 10 years of neglect of Africa.

Oxfam's new approach recognises that the two most important policy failures of the 1980s stemmed from errors by the North. The political will summoned for debt cancellation for Poland and Egypt has to be sparked for sub-Saharan Africa, the report says. Debt is the first priority. Africa is suffering not from a temporary liquidity problem, but from bankruptcy.

At the same time, the anomaly of the International Monetary Fund draining resources out of Africa (\$3 billion since 1983) should be ended, with IMF debt reduced either by governments of the North selling IMF gold stocks or by a new issue of Special Drawing Rights.

The second radical proposal is for a redesign of World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes — an area, like debt, where critiques of the powerful Washington institutions have been marginalised.

IMF report, page 21

Youth League warns media

LINDA ENSOR
CAPE TOWN — The Western Cape branch of the ANC Youth League warned the Press and the SABC yesterday to "lay off the youth".

The media was threatened with protest action if reporting continued to portray the youth in a way which made them "vulnerable to right-wing attacks".

Secretary Neville Naidoo said at a news conference that while the league supported the freedom of the Press, the organisation could not allow the media "to create conditions for threats and assassinations of youth leaders".

Examples of the attacks on youth were that statements and songs of league president Peter Mokaba were blown out of proportion and the youth described as marginalised, militant, radical, violent and ill-disciplined.

Naidoo announced the launch of a programme of action including the targeting of institutions of power such as police stations and administration buildings.

This would begin after May 15 if government failed to commit itself to holding elections and satisfying other demands.

Chairman Mcebisi Skwatsha said if the youth league felt the ANC was not acting in a way it accepted, it would take its own line and adopt its own tactics.

Violence claims 12 lives in two days

AT LEAST 12 people were killed in violent incidents across the country yesterday and on Wednesday.

Gunmen killed five people, including a one-year-old child, in an attack on the house of a KwaZulu policeman in Umgababa on the Natal south coast on Wednesday night, police said yesterday.

Durban police spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said four gunmen wearing balaclavas and armed with AK-47 rifles shot dead Const Alson Mkhize, 51, and one-year-old Sithebile, and injured Mkhize's wife Gladys at their home.

Naidoo said the attackers stole a 7,65mm pistol and ammunition before fleeing and shooting at the house, killing three more people.

Police were offering a "substantial reward" for information leading to the arrest of the killers, said Naidoo.

The ANC and Inkatha said yesterday they were investigating the incident.

Yesterday two people were shot dead near the Natal Midlands town of Wartburg. Police said five men opened fire on a kraal with shotguns, killing a man and a woman who had not yet been identified.

Meanwhile, youths in Dundee's Sibongile township in northern Natal stoned police vehicles in retaliation to alleged teargassing, said the ANC.

Maritzburg police spokesman Capt Henry Budhram confirmed there had been confrontation in the township but could not immediately give details.

Dundee ANC secretary Desmond Budhram said Inkatha supporters had held a meeting in Sibongile township on Wednesday night. He said the meeting ended peacefully. However, ANC-supporting youths continued to "keep watch" in the area and police arrived at midnight and allegedly began teargassing them.

He said youths began stoning police vehicles when police again fired teargas at them yesterday.

Budhram said police would respond to the ANC claims later.

In Cape Town yesterday, three men were shot and killed and a woman was seriously wounded when violence flared again in Boystown, Crossroads.

Residents of the settlement near Cape Town claimed they were shot at by attackers when they tried to run to the local police station for help.

Two badly charred bodies, one with shotgun wounds, were found in the same area on Wednesday, bringing the death toll to five. A number of shacks were torched.

Lt John Sterrenberg said police were still trying to establish the motive for the attacks and killings.

In other incidents of violence two bread delivery vehicles were attacked and burnt in Umfeleni, Kuislriver. The attackers made off with bread worth about R10 000 and caused damage estimated at about R170 000 to the vehicles.

The Human Rights Commission reported yesterday that violence had claimed 46 lives in the past week.

Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle emerged as a focal point of violence, accounting for 13 of the deaths.

At Tigane township in the western Transvaal, violence centred on the funeral of an Inkatha member and six people died.

Attacks on whites in the PWV and Border regions claimed five lives. There were 16 attacks against security forces, resulting in two deaths.

Natal's toll of 10 (in the week) showed a decrease from the 30 recorded the previous week and from this year's weekly average for Natal of 23. — Sapa.

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810AM 7/5/93

TRANSNET LIMITED

TENDER NO. PPN 1/12/3/4024/1
SALE OF LAND:
EAST LONDON
ON THE BANK OF THE NAHOON
RIVER

Propnet, a Business Unit of Transnet Limited no 90/00900/06, invites tenders for the purchase of certain land in East London, in extent approximately 13,1225 hectares being portion of Erf 10337 East London, situated on the bank of the Nahoon River, also known as Lot Silverstrand.

Tender documents, containing full particulars of this proposed sale are available at

Mandela visits slain boy's parents

CHRIS BATEMAN
LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela saw the ugly face of racial violence in Britain yesterday when he met the London parents of a black matric pupil stabbed to death by a gang of white teenagers.

He emerged from the encounter to express "great concern" at the resurgence of racism worldwide.

"This is a very disturbing development... especially in a place like Britain, the home of parliamentary democracy. We are used to this kind of thing in SA, but I have a sense of deep concern that it should happen here."

He spent 20 minutes talking to Neville and Doreen Lawrence, whose son Stephen, 18, was stabbed twice by a group of four to six white teenagers while waiting for a bus in southeast London two weeks ago. Police, who have yet to make an arrest, said the attack was unprovoked.

Doreen Lawrence said they had received no messages of condolence from the British government; "yet a leader of a country from abroad can be interested".

The couple say they passed on the names of their son's killers to the Metropolitan police, whom they accused of being "cavalier and patronising".

Scotland Yard said a "dedicated" team of officers was investigating the Lawrence murder "diligently and with total professionalism".

U.S. Readies Hand-Over in Somalia

By Keith B. Richburg

MOGADISHU, Somalia — Before the U.S. Marines came ashore almost five months ago, armed young men held sway here, swaggering through the streets with their Ray-Ban aviator sunglasses, "I Am The Boss" T-shirts and AK-47 assault rifles. Now they sit idle outside the gates of camps designated for Somalia's factional fighters — unemployed gunslingers in a city

where the only firearms visible on the streets are the ones carried by thousands of American and other foreign troops.

The unlikely sight of these onetime militiamen begging for food from passing journalists stands as one of the most dramatic accomplishments of the American humanitarian intervention called Operation Restore Hope. And the question of what to do with them stands as one of the most daunting challenges facing the United Na-

tions, which is set to assume control of the mission this week.

Although it was famine that prompted the massive foreign intervention in Somalia, that famine was man-made — a drought made murderous by a civil war that sent gunmen roving across the country's most fertile agricultural areas. At the famine's peak, upwards of 300 people starved to death each day in such hard-hit towns as Baidoa and Baardheere because militia

Continued on page 19

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U.S. Hand-Over

Continued from page 17

fighters first disrupted the lives of herdsman and farmers, then stole the food aid sent to relieve their suffering.

Throughout the worst of the crisis here, relief food was for the most part available, but it was either being looted by the militiamen as their spoils of war or being blocked from entering the country by gun-toting young toughs in port cities demanding extortionate amounts from aid ships waiting to dock.

Breaking the famine in Somalia meant breaking the stranglehold of the gunmen and allowing aid to flow unimpeded. In Mogadishu and the other major towns and villages scattered across Somalia's "famine belt," American and allied troops have wrested control from the young fighters.

The troops' success in disarming and encamping the gunmen in populated areas is largely because of an aggressive weapons confiscation policy and the early co-operation of militia leaders who

voluntarily ordered their young followers into designated camps rather than challenge U.S. troops.

The U.N. peace-keeping operation that will take over from the Americans this week has as part of its six-month mandate the jobs of continuing to disarm young militiamen and finding a way of reintegrating them into society. But the U.N. force is hampered by a lack of funds and by delays in developing a coherent plan. The section of the force responsible for demobilization and retraining is operating on a shoestring budget of \$14 million because donors still have not come up with the \$130 million pledged at a humanitarian aid conference in Ethiopia.

"The biggest problem is going to be those thousands of young men floating around the country," said Paul Mitchell, spokesman for the Rome-based World Food Program. Without a comprehensive program, he said, "that's one of the big fears: that all of these militias will start to come out of the woodwork again."

Up to the people to ensure continent thrives

Africa at the crossroads

Star 8/5/93

AFRICA'S people are seen more as a liability than an asset, but could be developed into Africa's most valuable source of wealth.

This was what international public relations consultant and Swedish former diplomat Hans Johnsson told delegates at the International Public Relations Institute conference in Cape Town this week.

The development of Africa could come in one stage or a combination of three stages, he said.

These were:

● From the earth, which was the traditional starting point for economic growth.

Output

Mining provided half of Africa's exports but employed fewer than 2 million out of a population of 600 million.

Agriculture provided a third of the continent's economic output but employed two-thirds of the workforce. The drawback of earth-bound business was that its products had shown negative price trends. However, exploitation of hydro-electric power and the development of infrastructure

THERE is a plan to save Africa — the continent left in the cold after the Cold War ended.

Health and education — as always — are at the root of the solution. BRUCE CAMERON reports from Cape Town.

on a commercial basis provided opportunities.

● Manufacturing was the intermediate stage. Africa, with 10 percent of world population, was responsible for only 1 percent of world industrial production.

But industry had become capital intensive and skill intensive, so it did not create employment in large numbers.

● The development of people was the third stage. The question was whether the riches of Africa — its people — could be translated into people-intensive business such as tourism and services.

Johnsson said that if Africa were to find its future in muscles and minds rather than mines,

minerals or manufacturing, it had to get rid of the termites of the economy.

The first priority was to keep the population alive and well. Children who starved and survived would be condemned to reduced capacity for the rest of their lives.

Aids would exacerbate the position. It was estimated that the disease would cost Africa 75 percent of gross domestic product in loss of earnings and potential contribution to the economy.

Ignorance

The second essential was to add value to people through education and training.

The argument was quite simple, Johnsson said: "If you think education is expensive, then try ignorance."

Education had to be attacked in time-frames not considered possible now by, for instance, adapting new electronic learning methods. It was not a problem for educationists to solve, but required the active participation of everyone, including business.

Johnsson said the money to help pay for development had to come from foreign investment, with South Africa as the possible bridgehead; the development of two-way trade; and a major cut-back in military spending.

However, Africa's problems had to be solved by Africans, or at least on terms defined by African countries.

Japanese ambassador Katsumi Sezaki told delegates that many people had asked what was behind Japan's success. His answer was that Japan planned for the long term.

Strategic planning was not done only by the government but by every company and every individual.

Every action had to fit in with the overall target of the strategies devised.

Even now Japan was preparing strategies to avert a repeat of the problems of the current world recession. If Africa wanted to succeed it had to follow suit.

Top homes taking strain

MEG WILSON and SARA

WHILE prices of small and medium-size houses continue to rise, the top end of the market is taking strain.

According to the latest ABSA Housing Review, the average price of a medium-size house (175 sq m) rose by an annualised 16.1 percent in the first quarter of this year, and by 9.6 percent compared with the same period of 1992.

The average price of a small house (110 sq m) rose by an annualised 10 percent in the first quarter, and by 9.2 percent compared with 1992.

However, the average price of large houses (285 sq m) rose only 3.2 percent between December and March, and actually declined 1.1 percent in the year.

Property commentators say there is still resistance to prices being asked in the top end of the market, despite falling bond rates. They ascribe this in some measure to political uncertainty, but say there is also a strong trend away from borrowing more than is necessary and a fear of over-commitment in the face of predictions that bond rates could rise again.

The latest Rode Report on the South African Property Market says upper-

price houses in Johannesburg appear to be the weakest area in the residential market. Prices in this bracket have effectively been static for the past two years.

ABSA says the overall affordability of housing has continued to improve along with falling bond rates — with the monthly repayment on an 80 percent bond on a medium-size house over 20 years falling to R1 655 in the first quarter, from R1 758 a year ago. This compares with an average monthly repayment of R1 796 last year and R1 734 in 1991.

ABSA also says that, while the recent increases in VAT and the fuel price are likely to increase inflation by about 2 percent, interest rates are unlikely to move upwards before the first half of 1994, owing to the generally poor economic conditions in the country.

It warns, however, that a sustained deterioration in the country's balance of payments could lead to an earlier-than-expected rise in interest rates.

Muscle and mind a source of wealth

POPLE in Africa were seen more as a liability than an asset, but could be developed into Africa's most valuable source of wealth, says a Swedish expert.

Speaking at the International Public Relations Association conference in Cape Town this week, Hans Johnsson, an international public relations consultant and former Swedish diplomat, said the development of Africa could come in only one or a combination of three stages. These were:

- The earth, which was the traditional starting level for economic growth. Mining provided half of Africa's exports but employed fewer than two million in a population of 600 million.
- Agriculture provided one third of the economic output of Africa but employed two thirds of the work force.
- However, the drawback of earthbound business was that the products had shown negative price trends.

BRUCE CAMERON reports on a plan to save Africa — the continent left in the cold since the Cold War ended.

Exploitation of hydro-electric power potential and the development of infrastructure on a commercial basis provided opportunities.

■ Manufacturing was the intermediate stage. Africa, with 10 percent of the world population, was responsible for only one percent of world industrial production. But industry had become capital-intensive and skill-intensive so did not create employment in large numbers.

Also it was more cost-effective to import completed products and train people to service the equipment.

■ The development of people was the third stage and the stage of most developed economies.

The question was whether the riches of Africa, the people, could be translated into people-intensive business such as tourism and services.

APR 8/5/93

Mr Johnsson said if Africa were to find its future in muscles and minds rather than mines, minerals or manufacturing, then it had to get rid of the termites of the economy.

The first essential was to keep the population alive and well. Children who starved and survived would spend the rest of their lives at reduced capacity. With Aids the position would become worse with the cost already estimated at 75 percent of the GDP of Africa in loss of earnings and potential contribution to the economy.

The second was to add value with education and training.

The argument was quite simple. Mr Johnsson said: "If you think education is expensive — then try ignorance." Education had to be attacked in time frames not considered possible now by —

for instance, adapting new electronic learning methods. It was not a problem for educationalists to solve but required the active participation of everyone, including business.

Mr Johnsson said the money to help pay for development had to come from foreign investment, with South Africa as the possible bridgehead: the development of two-way trade and not only of exports; and a major cutback in military spending.

But Mr Johnsson said the problems of Africa had to be solved by Africans or at least on terms defined by African countries.

■ Japanese Ambassador Katsumi Sezaki told the conference many people asked what was behind the success of Japan. His answer was that Japan planned for the long term. The strategic planning was not only done by the Government but by every company and every individual. Every action had to fit in with the overall target of the strategies devised.

SA no good for unionists

C/Press 9/15/93

MALAWI and SA are the most dangerous countries for trade union and pro-democracy activists in southern Africa.

During a trade union conference held in Harare last month, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) submitted a report which cited trade union and human rights abuses in 27 African countries.

The report says innumerable cases of violation of human rights and victimisation and intimidation of trade unionists took place over the last four years.

On the African continent, the report says, SA, Malawi, Chad,aire and Togo are considered the most dangerous countries for trade union activists, who often document lists details of assassinations, torture and arrests.

According to statistics in the report, SA remains the most dangerous country. At least 25 labour activists were killed in political violence during the first six months of 1992.

Last February an ICFTU mission visited SA to investigate violations there. It concluded that the government was directly or indirectly responsible for most of the violence.

In Malawi, the gross violation of human rights and the systematic

suppression of the opposition by President Kamuzu Banda has drawn worldwide condemnation, particularly after the arrest in April last year of Chafukwa Chihana, secretary-general of the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council.

Two weeks earlier, Banda had arrested eight Catholic bishops for openly campaigning for a return to democracy.

"His ministers had gone to the extent of threatening that all democracy supporters who dared return from exile would become meat for crocodiles," said union leaders.

At a pre-conference symposium, trade unionists said that the economic reform programmes prescribed for African countries by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had not brought the intended economic recovery.

At least two-thirds of countries on the African continent have or are implementing World Bank and IMF-backed economic reforms.

Reviewing the situation in 29 African countries over the last 10 years, the report paints grim pictures of falling living standards, rising unemployment and bleak prospects for growth.

Africa's total foreign debt,

which stood at \$165 billion (R495 billion) in 1984, rose to \$237 billion (R711 billion) last year, with sub-Saharan Africa alone having a total external debt of \$172,6 billion (R517,8 billion) in 1991.

Unemployment levels reached worrying proportions, with annual growth rates of up to 10 percent between 1986 and 1990, compared with six percent in the 1970s. In urban areas, unemployment was running at 20 percent compared with 10 percent in the 1970s.

The informal sector, which accounts for about 70 percent of urban employment in sub-Saharan African countries, suffered terrible exploitation, and wretched working and living conditions.

The unionists blamed the failure of the "ill-defined" structural adjustment programmes on the absence of social dimension programmes and the lack of consultation with representatives of organisations such as trade unions.

"In the context of authoritarian rules, where those leaders claiming to support adjustment were the same whose mismanagement had caused the economic problems in the first place, it has been evident that adjustment was designed merely to buy time for unpopular rulers trying to cling to power," said the trade unionists.

Troops get visitor

Sowetan 18/5/93
MOGADISHU — Canadian Foreign Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall arrived in Somalia yesterday to visit Canadian troops in the UN force.

Her visit coincides with reports of hostility between Canadian soldiers and the Somali population, and an investigation by Canadian officials of an incident in which a Somali was shot dead by Canadian troops two months ago.

Few details of the shooting have been made public, but opposition members of the Canadian parliament have demanded a full explanation for the incident and on the relations between their

■ Canadian Foreign Minister in Somalia:

troops and the Somali people.

Canada sent troops to Somalia as part of the US-led Operation Restore Hope last December and now has 1 209 soldiers serving in the UN operation which succeeded it.

McDougall will address 1 150 Canadian troops in the town of Beletuen, 300 km north of Mogadishu, in the Canadian area of responsibility and the location of the shooting. — *Sapa*.

Star 10/5/93

Poor, powerless, pregnant

CAPPING EXPLOSION

If the woman of the '90s is not going to be disadvantaged, she must help curb the rocketing population. Promotion of literacy is one way of capping the explosion, **Mpine Qakisa reports.**

If you educate a man, you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a nation. This Ghanaian adage clearly spells out the dire need for South African women to stand up and take action now.

If the woman of the Nineties is not going to be poor, powerless and pregnant, it is her responsibility to curb the population growth.

And promoting literacy is one mechanism for counteracting the population explosion in South Africa, according to the Population Development Programme *Women of the '90s* booklet.

Seven years of successful schooling for women is an international threshold for fertility decline, says the booklet.

More than three million adult women in South Africa are illiterate. Very few rural women have ever been to school or remained in school long enough.

When women are poor and illiterate, the children in their care also grow up in an atmosphere of chronic want, a continuous spiral of poverty and overpopulation.

In rural areas, where 60 percent of South Africa's black population reside, there is a tendency to educate boys rather than girls.

In certain religions men say daily prayers thanking God for not having made them women. These attitudes reinforce the exclusion of girls, the future mothers, from education and better jobs.

Women are thus dragged into the vicious circle of poverty, poor health, illiteracy and multiple pregnancies.

When the hand that rocks the cradle is without the advantages of education and improved lifestyle, women are trapped into being even more dependent, depressed, degraded and discarded.

Women have been described as the world's "wasted asset"

by the UN in its *World Population 1992* report.

The improvement of the role and the status of women is a prerequisite for development. There will be no sustainable development if women are left behind.

The report states that South Africa's population is growing too fast and this could disturb the important balance between available resources and the number of people.

"Unless (wo)man halts population growth, population growth will halt (wo)man."

These words by the former president of America, John F. Kennedy, spell out the dire

consequences that South Africa could face.

In Africa, the role women play and their standard of living is so low that they form part of the syndrome which has been labelled "the feminisation of poverty".

Economic growth (and the quality of life) has been the fastest in those areas of the world where women enjoy higher status and the slowest where they face the greatest disadvantages.

Clearly, there is a direct correlation between a higher standard of living and the size of the family.

The Economist reports there are precious few signs of life getting any better for the 'patients'

Africa wary of swallowing IMF/World Bank medicine

Star 11/1/83

AFRICA is the only continent in the poor world where people ended the 1980s worse off than they were at the start. Towards the end of the decade even reluctant converts, like socialist Zimbabwe, swallowed their pride and adopted the pro-market policies devised by the World Bank and the IMF. Three years into the 1990s, signs of life getting better are scarce. Africa's disenchantment with the two Washington institutions is fast turning to outright hostility.

The rustiest snub this year has come from Kenya's president, Daniel arap Moi. Last month he reversed the economic reforms he had just introduced and condemned the IMF as "dictatorial", its policies "suicidal".

But the hostility is more widely felt. Angry Zambians protest about the soaring price of maize, their staple food. In Zimbabwe parents complain that they cannot afford the new school fees. Ethio-

opia's civil servants fume about losing their jobs. IMF and World Bank men are often booed when they talk to African audiences. The IMF and World Bank are convenient targets. The typical African grumble against them runs thus: from their plush offices in Washington, these institutions make life miserable for Africans, so that African governments can take out loans which they are then unable to repay.

A growing band of countries finds it impossible to borrow a penny without having received the IMF's seal of good housekeeping. To get that they have to adopt tough economic reforms devised by the Terrible Two.

If Africans had plenty of examples of countries that had gone through painful "structural adjustments" and emerged reformed, it might be easier for governments to persuade citizens that the pain was worthwhile. Some Africans have now been "adjust-

ing" for a decade and the evidence of it going right is, at best, patchy. The model most often cited by development economists is Ghana, which adopted IMF-backed reform in 1983 after its old protectionist ways stifled initiative and brought the economy to its knees. Ten years on, the economy has finally begun to grow faster than the population. Yet private investment is only trickling in.

After Ghana, the list of successes is made up of a handful of minnows, like Mauritius. Most of Africa's giants have disappointed. Kenya, once a prosperous pocket on the continent, is now swamped by triple-digit inflation and mounting debt arrears. A damning report published this month by Oxfam, a British charity that has worked in Africa for 40 years, concludes that structural adjustment has neither restored growth nor eased poverty in Africa. The gloom is shared by some of

the World Bank's own high priests. Great hopes had been pinned to their reforms halting Africa's downward path. Billions of dollars have been pumped into the continent. But the Bank recently published a paper called "Why structural adjustment has not succeeded in sub-Saharan Africa".

It argued that Africa had hardly benefited from Bank programmes. The Bank has a tradition of self-criticism. But this report was withdrawn, and resigned under a bland title.

Most of the Bank's economists say that Africa's performance has been disappointing not because the gospel is wrong, but because it has not been properly implemented. (Marxists, mind you, say the same thing about communism). Wrenching reforms can be politically awkward. Nigeria has just announced that it will not lift its generous petrol subsidy in June, as it had promised the IMF, out of fear that petrol riots would dis-

rupt elections that month. The Bank's other defence is that some of its recent studies on Africa suggest that the closing years of the 1980s did indeed see stronger growth and lower inflation in the countries it lent to. But after 1990, two shocks threw the progress off track: post-Cold War pressures for democracy made governments more cautious about economic reform, and growth was weakened by world recession.

In any case, argues Ismail Hirsch, chief economist for Africa at the World Bank, a lot of Africans welcome reform. Farmers now get a decent price for their crop. Yet farmers' voices tend to be drowned out by articulate city-dwellers deprived of subsidies and unable to afford imported goods.

Still, says Hirsch, "we are learning too". One lesson is that the Bank must modify its expectations in Africa, and stop promising instant results. A second lesson is that a great effort should be made

to cushion the poor (who are often women) from the hardships of adjustment.

Too often, governments find it easier to trim their budgets by charging fees at rural clinics than by firing soldiers well-connected cronies.

Most of all, governments must not feel that the Fund and the World Bank have trampled on their sovereignty. If a government does not feel the reforms are its own, it will have little commitment carrying them out. A more dramatic approach can pay off.

Last year, before signing a deal, Ethiopia's government sent a team to visit the African countries and decide themselves what works. They drew up looks remark like any other adjustment programme. But sensitive treatment by the Fund and the Bank has stymied Ethiopia's government, and the team's own idea. □

Clinton to ease African debts

①
STAR
13/5/93

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — President Bill Clinton plans to forgive hundreds of millions of dollars in African debt in a major departure from the rigid stand of Republican administrations.

Eighteen low-income African countries could have 50 percent of debts owed to the US government written off, he said.

The Bush and Reagan administrations were staunchly opposed to forgiving debts.

Such debt relief, however, would only make a small dent in the \$255 million (R765 million) that Africa owes its donors.

The US debt relief is conditional on the countries opening their economies to the free market on lines approved by the International Monetary Fund. Africans have criticised the stringent reforms imposed by the Western fund and blamed them for unprecedented poverty on the continent.

Most African governments bowed to IMF pressure and imposed punishing reforms in the 1980s when they confronted economic recession, huge debts and slumping commodity prices. But, they did it grudgingly.

Instead of cutting spending on bloated bureaucracies or on armies that might turn on them, governments hit at the poor.

"Key social sector services, especially to the poor, often proved to be the softest targets for cuts," African Development Bank vice-president Ferhat Lounes said yesterday. — Sapa-AP.

AFDB pins Star 13/6/93 hopes on SA's return

ABIDJAN — South Africa's entry into the continent's economic and political institutions will have a crucial impact on Africa's economic development, says African Development Bank (AFDB) president Babacar N'diaye.

In the AFDB's African Development Report just released, he says the emergence of a democratic order in SA is "momentous for the country itself, for the sub-region and for the continent as a whole".

A part of the report focusing on SA emphasises the clout the country will give the continent's role in global economic affairs.

It says: "An enlarged and unified African market composed of SA and other African countries would significantly enhance Africa's bargaining power in trade negotiations, especially within Gatt and Unctad (the UN Conference on Trade and Development)."

Because of the size of the SA economy — the continent's largest — the report sees the country accelerating the process of setting up economic, financial and business links to create the proposed Pan-African Economic Community.

The report also outlines the AFDB's sphere in a post-apartheid SA, saying the lending agency could mobilise external financial resources and technical assistance for the country's development.

Although SA is a relatively high per capita income country, the bank aims to target its interventions in those areas where it can help to redress income and social inequalities.

The AFDB says economic growth in Africa, excluding SA, remained lacklustre last year as real gross domestic product eased to 1,9 from 2,6 percent in 1991.

The bank expects growth to improve this year. — Sapa.

Light at end of a dreadful tunnel

STAR 13/5/93. (1)

AFTER years of seeing their country ravaged by famine and war, Somalis are rediscovering some of the better things in life.

Seasonal rains have soaked the once-dusty fields and the absence of gunfire has encouraged families to take up the hoe once more.

"Somalis are beginning to see what relative peace can bring," said World Vision agriculturalist Paul Dotzerte. "After so much suffering and death, they can see that there is an alternative to war."

Dotzerte is a relief worker in Burhakaba, 25 km from the central town of Baidoa, once called the city of death. At the height of the war, Somali Red Crescent workers collected hundreds of bodies daily from the streets of Baidoa.

The rains in most parts of Somalia came soon after the peace agreement signed between the country's warlords, whose personal feuds killed 30 000 people and contributed to famine that killed 10 times this number.

Dotzerte, a Canadian, has been working with seven other foreigners and 300 Somali nationals to prepare for the rains.

"We have been feeding 7 000 hungry families, and distributing seeds and tools in readiness for precisely this moment," he

Peace and rain have come at last to heal a Somalia ravaged by fighting and drought. JOE KHAMISI of The Star Africa Service reports from Baidoa.

said.

The story of Burhakaba has been repeated elsewhere, thanks to Operation Restore Hope, the military operation led by the United States to break the stranglehold of the warlords. Aid agencies are now turning their attention to rehabilitation and development.

Pakistani troops, part of a new 30 800-strong UN military force being deployed in Somalia after the US-led force handed over command on May 4, have taken over policing the bombed-out capital from 2 500 US marines.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) said it had closed feeding kitchens in Baidoa, and planned similar closures in Beletuen and Mogadishu next because they were no longer needed.

The ICRC plans to close 700 of its 900 kitchens and instead supply dry food to local Somali communities.

The World Vision team is working in 26 villages in Burhakaba, providing food and medicines and distributing seeds and tools donated by individuals as well as governments.

"With relative peace in the area, we are concentrating on resettlement and reconstruction that would ensure a sustainable future for Somalia," says Revel Greenburgh of the Johannesburg-based World Vision Southern Africa office.

"The future appears more positive with each passing day, and prospects are good that Somalis will regain their physical and psychological will to forge ahead," says Greenburgh.

In the southern port of Kisumu, however, children are still starving, according to the charity MSF-Belgium.

The Brussels-based Medecins sans Frontieres said that most of the displaced population around the troubled port did not get adequate food because of frequent attacks on convoys by bandits.

"Because of lack of regular food distribution in the area, the nutritional status of many displaced children did not improve between October 1992 and February 1993, a report by MSF-Belgium said. "But the rate of severe malnutrition decreased by about 50 percent during that period." □

African incomes shrink again

ABIDJAN — African incomes shrank for the second year in a row in 1992, the African Development Bank said yesterday in a bleak report that offered no hope of speedy relief.

Countries that for more than a decade have imposed stringent economic reforms that targeted the poorest of the world's poor are looking now for ways to relieve their plight, said the bank's 1993 African development report.

Confronted by economic recession, huge debts and slumping prices for their commodities, most African governments bowed to pressures from the IMF and World Bank and imposed punishing reforms in the '80s.

But they did it grudgingly. Instead of cutting spending on bloated bureaucracies or on armies that might turn on them, governments hit at those with the least power to retaliate.

"Key social sector services, especially to the poor, often proved to be the softest targets for cuts," bank vice-president Ferhat Lounes of Algeria told a news confer-

ence to launch the report.

Tanzania, a country that was deeply committed to providing social services, cut expenditure on education from 17.3% of the budget in 1972 to 7.2% in 1985.

Primary school enrollment, which had risen to nearly 100%, fell to 66% in 1988, the report said.

Similar erosion, which the report warned would dog long-term development, occurred across the continent.

Now, Tanzania is financing income-generating projects for vulnerable groups. Senegal has a retraining programme for workers laid off when unproductive state companies were shut down. Madagascar abolished a rice subsidy, devastating the urban poor, but now provides free rice to the destitute.

In many countries people revolted against the hardship. Their protests grew into demands for democracy that have brought down a few governments. There has been prolonged unrest and instability where military dictators refuse to surrender power, as in Zaire and Togo. — AP-DJ.

Congress asked to ease African debt

ABIDJAN — ^{Blom 14/5/93} US President Bill Clinton's administration had asked congress to grant funds to help ease African debt, a senior US official said on Wednesday.

Treasury Under-Secretary Lawrence Summers said at the African Development Bank's annual governors' meeting in Abidjan, Ivory Coast the US intended to offer poor African states easier debt terms similar to those drafted in 1991 Toronto accords on Third World debt.

"We have sought an appropriation from the congress to make possible relief of several hundred million dollars of debt in a number of countries."

Such assistance would be part of multilateral programmes, he said.

Summers's announcement came after the EC's declaration of a \$1,2bn plan to help Third World nations emerging from war or famine.

The EC's rehabilitation support programme is intended to fill the gap countries experience as their need for food aid diminishes. Many are too fragile while recovering from disasters to start building infrastructure.

European Commission spokesman Xavier Prats said that under the scheme, medium-term projects could help people feed themselves and rehabilitate societies.

Bank president Babacar Ndiaye said loan provisions should be increased from their current level of 1.7% of total outstanding debt.

"The ratio could be fixed at 2.5% or even at 4% and the reclassifying period for non-performing loans reduced from 12 months to six months."

Bank sources said arrears owed to the bank at the end of 1992 were about \$356m — 4.9% of total outstanding loans of \$7.3bn. By the end of March

they were estimated at 6.1% ^①

The bank's management wanted to end all new lending to states classed by the World Bank as severely indebted low-income countries, but such a decision was unlikely to be taken at the Abidjan meeting ~~SA~~

Governors threw out a proposed discussion paper on a capital increase for the development bank, saying its capital base would suffice until 1997.

□ In Nusa Dua, Indonesia, non-aligned ministers ended a three-day meeting yesterday, declaring war on the developing world's "crippling crisis of indebtedness".

The Non-Aligned Movement, seeking to end its traditional hectoring of Western nations, issued a communique full of practical calls for greater self-help and a two-way partnership between rich and poor nations.

Ali Alatas, Indonesian foreign minister and chairman of the gathering, offered a vision focused on improving the lot of its members.

Representatives of 74 countries discussed ways to start dialogue with the rich north and of promoting ties among members.

A major concern was the massive debt — which last year touched \$1.4-trillion — hanging over members.

Ministers called for a boosting of growth, which would foster a transfer of financial resources to debtor countries to prevent poorer nations falling back into a debt trap.

A draft declaration circulated during the meeting proposed consolidating loans from the IMF and World Bank into long-term loans. Delegates also urged developed countries to honour commitments to spend 0.7% of GNP on aid. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Ethiopia's SA flights

ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES will begin flights between Johannesburg and Addis Ababa on June 1.

By ROGER MAKINGS

SAA, however, has no plans for a reciprocal service "in the foreseeable future".

Ethiopian Airlines' regional director for Africa, Melakou Yoseph, says South Africa's high level of industrialisation presents opportunities for Ethiopia to import goods from SA instead of

Europe or the East.

Flights will arrive in Johannesburg via Harare on Tuesdays and Saturdays and leave on Wednesdays and Sundays.

The airline, one of the few in Africa which has been consistently profitable, operates a variety of twin-engined Boeings.

Star 11/15/93

Africa's debt crisis deepens

THE drastic economic reforms demanded by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have always looked to African countries like kill-or-cure remedies.

African governments are now increasingly becoming convinced that the IMF prescriptions are destroying rather than healing their societies.

Yet there seems to be no alternative, no other way to escape from the deadly spiral of debt and decline that has got Africa by the throat.

The dilemma has become the dominant economic issue in Africa today.

It will again overshadow this year's Organisation of African Unity summit, to be held in Cairo in June.

Desperation has set in as many OAU members battle to survive economically.

The prescriptions by the IMF and the World Bank, once seen as the panacea for the continent's economic ills, are now thought by many to have failed.

At a recent conference of African economic ministers on ways to stem the growing poverty and economic decline in the continent, Layashi Yaker, executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, said that the

'It must be pointed out that it would be unwise to push us any further, beyond what is humanly bearable.'

**OAU secretary-general
Sallim Ahmed Sallim**

commission's report painted a picture of "unmitigated grimness".

The IMF and World Bank programmes, he said, were taking too long to reverse the declining economies.

Africa, Yaker said, needed \$950 billion (\$3 000 billion) in aid in the 1990s to emerge from its cycle of economic ills.

Western aid officials say living standards have fallen consistently and the continent's massive debt burden has grown, despite the granting of \$105 billion (\$325 billion) of net development assistance in the 1980s.

But OAU secretary-general Sallim Ahmed Sallim told the conference that reforms already made created political and social problems.

"We do not know how far we have to travel," he said, "but it must be pointed out that it would be unwise to push us any further, beyond what is humanly bearable."

The poverty of African countries is persistent, remaining constant in a study of per capita incomes between 1980 and 1985. Since then it has deteriorated sharply in spite of intervention through IMF-imposed structural adjustment programmes.

In many countries the people have begun asking whether it was still worth taking the medicine after having endured so much pain without much gain.

Structural adjustment programmes were designed as a response to African economic crises, which were seen as a product of economic distortions, and this meant that they dealt only with the macro-economic policies and indicators. The devastating effects of structural adjustment programmes on living conditions



of the majority of the people were not even considered.

The British charity Oxfam has criticised the international community for the "lack of vision, political will and moral purpose that is condemning the world's most impoverished region to deepening poverty".

Since 1983, the IMF has drained \$3 billion (\$10 billion) of resources out of Africa, the organisation says.

The Africa Institute's Africa Debt profile shows that in 1991, debt service as a percentage of exports averaged 32.8 percent, a figure which will forever relegate most African countries to extreme poverty — unless their debts are written off.

Debt has doubled to \$290 billion (\$900 billion) since 1982, despite African countries having paid more than \$200 billion (\$620 billion) in debt service between 1983 and 1991 — more than the whole debt burden in 1982.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has described the continent's debt as a millstone around the neck of

The bitter medicine prescribed by the donor agencies for Africa's economic ills seems not to be working and the search for alternatives is becoming desperate. JOE LATAKGOMO reports for The Star's Africa Service.



Africa. He has urged the international community to give Africa time so that it "can prepare for the future without always having its back to the wall and always having to deal with one dreadful emergency after another".

The high hopes that came with independence have disappeared into the mist; those who were poor have become poorer.

By 1991, only four African countries could lay claim to be current on their payments on both interest and principal.

By 1992, the continent's debt of US\$290 billion (\$900 billion)

was 2.5 times greater than in 1980.

The continent's debt liability constitutes approximately 20 percent of the developing world's total debt, according to the African Institute Bulletin.

The continent spends four times more on debt servicing than on the provision of health care to its population of 800 million.

Recently, Kenya abandoned the programme prescribed by the Washington agencies.

For years, this country had been the role model for Africa: free-market oriented, competi-

tive. However, in 1991 donors suspended all non-humanitarian aid to the country because of its lack of democracy and economic accountability.

Kenyans are now bitter because they believe they have done as much as can be done, or can be expected.

They had liberalised foreign exchange regulations, floated their currency, promised tighter monetary policy and devalued their currency.

When the IMF said this was not enough President Daniel arap Moi denounced the demands as politically suicidal.

Even the country most scrupulous in taking the IMF prescription, Ghana, has not achieved much success.

Since the introduction of its structural adjustment programme in 1983 the economy has showed only slight recovery and Ghanaians are asking whether it was worth the pain.

In that first year, 18 000 civil servants were laid off and many more were affected by retrenchment and redeployment policies

All of this led to mass impoverishment as the price of food and other basic services soared.

In justifying its prescriptions, the World Bank refers to the success of structural adjustment programmes in countries like South Korea, Indonesia, Mexico and Morocco.

But a recent assessment of lending policies concludes that the number of projects with major problems virtually doubled from 11 percent in 1981 to 20 percent 10 years later. The number of projects which were unsatisfactory at completion rose to 37 percent.

However, the success of the Asian countries has been largely due to their having better terms of trade because they diversified and reduced their dependence on commodity exports, while most African countries remained one-commodity exporters.

During commodity booms countries like Tanzania and Kenya have used the windfall to raise public sector expenditure, increasing public service salaries and starting new capital projects. But they have been unable to sustain these when commodity prices fell.

Nigeria's petrol subsidies cost the country \$2.5 billion (\$8 billion), which is 8 percent of its GDP.

Debt arrears are paid from aid provided by donors, since the Washington agencies are not allowed to reschedule, let alone forgive debt, and this has led to reduced social expenditure, and the collapse of services like health and education.

'Give Africa time so that it can prepare for the future without having to deal with one dreadful emergency after another'.

**UN secretary-general
Boutros
Boutros-Ghali**

A report by the United Nations Children's Fund in 1989 estimated that more than half a million children under five years old were dying in the developing world every year because of conditions relating to the debt crisis.

Government and parastatals are overmanned, and civil servants are poorly paid, resulting in corruption.

The message to recipient countries remains blunt, however: they are going to have to show the IMF that they have the capacity to use resources effectively through sound economic policies and effective governance.

But while theorists design programmes for Africa from ivory towers in Washington, questions remain over whether those programmes are appropriate.

Had Kenya not abandoned the structural adjustment programme it could have faced the worst food riots in its history. The sharp increases in consumer prices had made life virtually unbearable for most people and it was clear any more price rises would have proved politically suicidal.

Some African governments see only one way for them to break out of the vicious cycle of debt and that is for at least some of the debts to be written off.

This option could be canvassed extensively at the OAU summit next month. □

Private investors stay away as Africa's bankers gather

Star 18/5/93

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Bureaucrats from nearly every African country and their rich Western benefactors gathered here last week to check the pulse of the world's poorest continent.

Private investors stayed away.

"I've been coming here for 12 years and I've never seen fewer commercial bankers," said a senior London banker, who was hawking debt-restructuring programmes to African countries.

The annual meeting of the African Development Bank (ADB), a financial institution charged with pulling the continent out of poverty, is a chance for the 25 Western and 51 African members to assess the continent's economic health.

Few participants could recall a gloomier year.

The global recession, new competition for foreign investment with Eastern Europe and

waste, inefficiency and wars have hampered Western-financed development programmes and scared away private investors.

Alarm

"African capitals, generally speaking, are not visited by many investment bankers and not very often," the African Development Bank says in its latest monthly report.

Speaking after the close of the meeting, ADB president Babacar N'Diaye sounded the alarm on arrears to the continent's multilateral lending agency.

He said this was necessary to encourage its African members to meet their loan repayments and capital subscription obligations timely.

If these payments were not forthcoming it would place the bank's continued lending at a premier rating on world

capital markets in jeopardy.

"We are sounding alarms, because we don't want our countries to treat the bank as second in their list of priorities," N'Diaye said.

The ADB has a triple-A credit rating which enables it to unlock funds from world capital markets at favourable rates, which it then lends to its members for socio-economic development in Africa.

The bank relies for almost all its funds, which are made available as loans, from the international capital markets, with member subscriptions contributing just 12 percent of its resources.

Zaire, Somalia and Liberia have been identified as the main defaulters and their debt obligations to the bank are believed to make up 65 percent of the total.

All three countries have recently experienced continued civil strife which has left their economies largely deves-

tated and without any central management.

N'Diaye said, however, countries like Angola and Mozambique had not fallen behind in their payments in spite of internal turmoil.

The bank would be forced to adopt various sanctions if the defaulting countries did not pay, for example, by not extending further resources to these countries until they had met their obligations.

"The quicker they repay, the more they'll get in investment.

Arrears

"Sanctions will not make it possible for us to recover arrears.

"But the sanctions we have are used over a period of time to possibly stop investment in these countries," he said.

N'Diaye was confident the resources of the bank would, however, be able to cover the arrears although he would not divulge the amount. — Sapa-Reuter.

Diplomat with a difference

w/may 14/5-20/5/93
By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

GEORGE MOOSE, American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, has chosen a diplomat whose last mission ended in hot controversy to direct United States policy in subcontinental Africa.

April Glaspie was US Ambassador in Baghdad when President Saddam Hussein ordered Iraqi forces to invade Kuwait, thereby precipitating the Gulf war.

In the aftermath of the attack congressional investigators claimed Glaspie, presumably on the orders of ex-president George Bush's administration, had conveyed a message of considerable ambiguity to Saddam shortly before the invasion. The message was said to have focused on how the US viewed Iraq's then on-going territorial dispute with the Kuwaitis.

It suggested Washington regarded the dispute as a regional affair, implying there would be no question of US involvement. The issue that arose in the debate that followed was whether the envoy had reflected Washington's thinking or was giving her own interpretation.

After Washington ruptured diplomatic relations with Baghdad, Glaspie was assigned to head a foreign affairs institute at an American university.

Her appointment as Director of the Southern Africa region in the Bureau of African Affairs will be her first major diplomatic posting since Baghdad. Under Moose's supervision she will deal with the affairs of South Africa and most other sub-Saharan countries.

Challenge facing black leaders

■ **CONVINCING MILITANTS** Showing them white skills and capital are vital :

By Gerald L'Ange, Editor, Sowetan Africa News Service

THE NEXT government of South Africa will ostensibly assume control of a treasury of wealth and skills that has long been the envy of the rest of Africa.

But there is a danger that much of it will have been destroyed by the very struggle to put that government in office.

Events in the past few weeks have dramatically highlighted the danger which has been reflected in two related developments.

One is the economic damage done by violence and mass protest action. The other is the acceleration that has been reported in the exodus of whites as a result of the unrest.

The economic damage has been caused not only through lost production but also through the erosion of business confidence, especially the confidence of foreign investors.

South Africa's ability to attract foreign investment — without which no modern state can survive, let alone prosper — has always set it apart from other African countries.

Even when international sanctions were applied against South Africa some foreign investment continued to come in because its natural and human resources

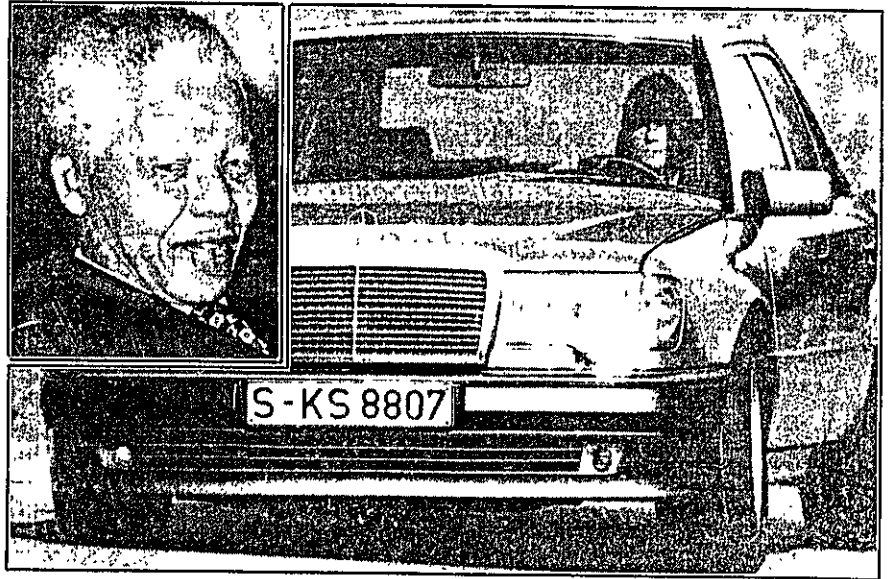
and its economic infrastructure continued to offer good returns on investment, despite the increased risk to those investments from the escalating political struggle.

No other African country could offer anything like South Africa's investment attractions, although all of them would dearly have liked to. No other African country has anything like the number of tarred roads and railways, of locomotives and rolling stock, of lorries, of port facilities, of factories, of power stations and transmission lines, of telephone exchanges and all the other equipment necessary for creating wealth, jobs and prosperity.

And no other African countries have the pool of human skills that resides in South Africa. Neither have they the educational institutions for spreading those skills nor the research institutions for creating new skills and technology.

Not even the biggest and most developed African countries come near South Africa in any of these fields, despite the enormous damage done to the Republic's economy by sanctions.

According to Africa Institute figures, the gross domestic product of South Africa (including the "independent" homelands that will inevitably be re-



How does Nelson Mandela (above) convince ANC followers that luxury car owners are an asset to society?

joined to the main body) is R282 billion against R155 billion for the next biggest, Algeria; R94 billion for each of Egypt and Nigeria, R70 billion for oil-rich Libya, R27 billion for Kenya and R19 billion for Zimbabwe. Most of the others are far below these levels.

Measured in terms of gross national product per capita, which is a rough guide to the distribution of wealth, South Africa at R15 000 is equalled only by Libya and is far

ahead of Algeria's R6 000, Zimbabwe's R2 000, Egypt's R1 800 and Kenya's R1 100. Hugely populous Nigeria, despite its oil wealth, has a GNP per capita of only about R800.

To the thousands of jobless and desperately poor people in this country these statistics may appear to be either inaccurate, ironic or unjust. They nevertheless show that in general South Africans are much better off than other Africans.

More important, though, is that they demonstrate the strength of the economic foundation on which greater prosperity for all — not just the whites — can be built and on which a fairer distribution of wealth can be based.

Vulnerable

Apart from the physical infrastructure, however, that foundation is a vulnerable one, composed of elements as insubstantial as the confidence of local whites and foreign investors in security and future opportunities, and the susceptibility of wealth to international economic fluctuations.

Most other African countries do not have the means of development that South Africa possesses and therefore neither their governments nor their individual citizens have the opportunities for prosperity that exist here. Instead, they are mired in underdevelopment, debt and hopelessness, dependent largely on foreign aid.

Foreign aid, as distinct from foreign investment, does not in itself make for prosperity; it essentially is an emergency measure. But foreign investors have no interest in most African countries because they offer little security or profit.

It is one of the evils of apartheid that most of the skills and capital are at present possessed by the whites. These skills and capital nevertheless remain the best hope the blacks have of gaining prosperity and the security that goes with it — and of acquiring those skills themselves.

That may be a cruel irony but it is a fact that has been harshly demonstrated elsewhere in Africa. There can be no African

country that does not covet South Africa's skills, capital and investment potential.

Majority rule will dispense no magic wands to create instant prosperity. No government, whether it be ANC, PAC or anything else, will be able instantly to create jobs and housing. The harsh reality is that whoever is in power, the poor will remain poor for quite a long time and the homeless will remain unsheltered. But the chances of these deficiencies being remedied relatively quickly will be immensely greater if this country does not lose its skills, its capital and its attraction for foreign investors.

In this light black South Africans ought logically to be dismayed by the news that whites have begun to leave or plan to leave South Africa because of the violence and mass action that followed the murder of Chris Hani. Logically, the ANC leadership should be taking urgent steps to allay the fears of the whites as well as those of foreign investors.

Inhibited

This need is recognised in the ANC leadership but it is inhibited in meeting it by another one — the very real need to retain the support of the majority of blacks, especially the militants.

These are mostly young and often jobless and ill-equipped by their education (or lack of it) to appreciate realities that go beyond their justified anger at white domination and what it has done to them.

But how do the ANC leaders convince the hungry young black man walking the streets in search of a job that the white executive who sweeps past in a luxury German limousine is a valuable asset to society?

There are no easy answers to the question but finding answers is a major part of the challenge facing black leaders in South Africa. Their preoccupation now should not be with defeating white domination — it has already been defeated — but with securing the benefits of that victory. And with ensuring that the victory does not sow the seeds of future defeat.

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African govts privatising their airlines

HARARE. — African governments, under pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to cut subsidies to loss-making state enterprises, have started privatising their national airlines.

But some are questioning the motives behind the pressure to privatise, seeing it as a move by powerful European airlines to swallow Africa's small struggling flag-carriers, analysts say.

Tough economic reform programmes have dried up funds for African airlines at a time when recession and over-capacity have severely depressed the aviation industry worldwide.

And, European governments are deregulating the industry under common market rules, raising the stakes in the war for passengers.

African airlines carried only 6.7 million passengers in 1991 compared to nine million in 1987 and accumulated a net operating loss of \$490m over the period.

Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania are well on the way to privatising their carriers. Other countries such as Zimbabwe are opting to restructure in a bid to improve efficiency and profitability without relinquishing government control.

Kenya last year hired expatriates from Speedwing Consulting, owned by British Airways, to help improve the operating performance of Kenya Airways and prepare it for privatisation or partnership with a strong carrier. The consultants immediately put in a new management structure, retrenching some managers as part of a manpower review.

Takeover

Opponents of the shake-up charge that Speedwing is sprucing up Kenya Airways for a takeover by British Airways. Brian Davis, Kenya Airways' expatriate MD, denies this.

In Nigeria, the government has split Nigeria Airways into two companies. A new airline, Air Nigeria, will start operating international services in mid-May while Nigeria Airways will run the domestic and regional flights.

The airline has brought in Swissair and the Belgian carrier Sabena as technical partners to provide managerial and financial support.

Air Tanzania has stopped intercontinental services to focus on domestic and regional flights as a prelude to its privatisation.

"A growing number of airlines have undertaken restructuring by trimming operations and reviewing manpower levels," said Captain Mohammed Ahmed, secretary-general of the 34-member African Airlines Association (AFRAA).

At AFRAA's annual meeting in Zimbabwe this month, he noted pressure from the World Bank and the IMF to improve state carrier productivity and said restructuring represented a prelude to privatisation for some airlines. But some airline executives like Brian Pocock, GM of Air Botswana, likened privatisation to "selling the family silver".

He told the AFRAA meeting that privatisation was a ploy by rich Western nations to gain "shoplifting rights" into African economies.

National assets

"This means surrender of national assets for short-term gain based on decisions made overseas," he said during a session on privatisation.

Governments in Africa are also worried over pressure from the West to open their skies to more foreign carriers.

Ahmed said one troubling trend was the domination of important African hubs by major foreign airlines, "which makes these operators dominant price leaders in our own market".

There was also "increased and coordinated pressure" by Western carriers through their governments for more liberal bilateral arrangements that allow multi-stops, with more freedom to drop off and pick up passengers, he said.

"These ... may lead to irrevocable damage to smaller airlines like ours," Ahmed said.

What is clear, he said, was that African airlines and governments now face fundamental issues that will determine the shape of commercial air transport on the national and global level for decades to come. — Sapa-Reuter

AFRICA

Africa's new rich: Aid workers

Wlmail 21/5-27/93
 People are starving in Africa

—but it is not only the hungry who benefit from Western aid.

By **ANDREW BUCKOKE**

in Nairobi

AT Kilifi Creek, a beautiful natural harbour north of Mombasa on Kenya's Indian Ocean coast, I finally discovered what aid is for. The answer, of course, is yachts.

The days when most of the boats moored here were owned by successful ranchers are past. Now most of the 30-odd boats are owned by people working, or hoping to work, with the aid agencies shipping food to Somalia or up the Nile into southern Sudan, where nearly 1.5-million people will need food aid this year.

For most of these itinerant yachtsmen, the work is a splendid windfall: \$1 500 tax-free a week (the going rate paid by the United Nations) for a few months' replenishes the cruising treasury like no other job, and may allow the replacement of sails, engines or other major pieces of equipment.

Several of the larger yachts are owned by what might be termed the aid regulars, people who have run operations in Africa for several years. These people know enough about Africa to consider the question of what is achieved by the aid they are so highly paid to distribute.

The question is whether more people die because of the aid — which relieves the warlords of the responsibility of looking after their people and so perpetuates the civil wars that are the root of the famines — than would die if the aid were cut off, so that the warlords would be forced to negotiate or be overthrown by their people.

The second course might be impossible to sell to Western television viewers anyway. There could be several months of carnage before the warlords realised that the agencies, previously so easily bullied, were serious.

Television is ill-suited to explain that today's starving child could be



preferable to the starving children of thousands of days to come.

It is unlikely the Western viewers' resolve will ever be put to the test, however, for such a policy would rely on the agencies presenting an unbroken front. This is something even the various branches of the UN have been unable to do in the past.

The reason the agencies are so easily bullied is that none wants to be the first to take a stand. The leaders of each agency would rather watch somebody else be kicked out, and then be able to expand their own operations.

Aid agencies are no exception to the rule that organisations are run primarily for the benefit of those who work for them. One of the yachtsmen of Kilifi, who uses his yacht when on leave from Khartoum, agreed that the second policy would probably save more lives in the long run.

But, he added with a smile, "where would that leave me?"

Most consider their position less than edifying, but think that they save some lives and somebody else would do the job if they did not. They also

point out that they do not decide the general policy. That, in the end, is decided by Western public opinion.

Only if it were better informed, if more questions were asked, would that policy change. Until then the knee-jerk response to the report "people starving in Africa" would remain "send more food".

It is not only yachtsmen who profit from the current system, of course. There are the people who hire out the trucks, ships and cranes, the bodyguards and the businessmen who provide food and water — at a dollar a bottle — to the aid agency personnel or the marines and other soldiers who protect their operations. And the journalists and their hired cars, drivers and protection.

The biggest profits are probably made by the bulk suppliers of food, medicines, blankets and other relief goods. One of the most disturbing aspects is that, according to one supplier, some agency executives demand kickbacks in return for signing contracts.

There was another question the

yachtsmen of Kilifi answered for me. What came back on those ships from Somalia? Most of the crews, they said, took advantage of absurdly low prices — a couple of cartons of cigarettes for a cassette player, for example — to profit further from their journeys.

Air conditioners, watches, videos, televisions — in fact, anything reasonably portable and valuable — made the return journey to Kenya. Apparently the prices only started to rise when the United States Marines started paying dollars for such things.

Africa used to be the continent where the wealthy relied on the spoils of war — be it tribal raiding, slaving or colonial conquest.

Then they relied on the spoils of enterprise. Then they relied on government corruption.

Now the new rich rely on the spoils of aid. — The Guardian

● Andrew Buckoke is the author of *Fishing In Africa: A Guide To War And Corruption*, published in London by Picador.

Clinton offers deal on Africa's 'crushing' debts

By Alex Brummer
Financial Editor

THE United States has offered to write-off 50 per cent of the debt of Africa's poorest countries in a move which could give an important lift in the battle against poverty and falling living standards.

The decision to support the write-off of the backlog of debt of African countries marks an important shift for the US which during the Reagan/Bush years declined to join debt reduction schemes proposed by Britain and France. In a keynote speech to the African Development Bank annual meeting held in Abidjan, Lawrence Summers, the under secretary of the Treasury for international affairs, told delegates that President Clinton was ready to relieve countries of their "crushing debt burdens."

The Clinton administration decision is an important change of direction for the US which has generally opposed debt forgiveness although it has been involved in extensive debt relief schemes in Latin America, in which existing debt has been swapped for equity and other assets in public enterprises.

The poorer countries of sub-Saharan Africa owe the Western

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industrial countries some \$255 million of official debt. Recent studies, notably by Oxfam, have suggested that this debt burden is a more important cause of falling per capita growth in the poorer countries of Africa than other factors which are often cited, including population growth.

Although the US only holds a small proportion of Africa's official debt, its decision could have important implications at the Paris Club, the group of Western nations which re-schedules the debt of developing countries. Until now the Paris Club has made only limited progress on forgiveness of official debt under the so-called "Trinidad terms" which were first proposed by John Major when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although the UK has pressed ahead with debt forgiveness on arrears of African debt and on the accumulated stock of debt, other Western countries have held back waiting for the US.

As the price of debt relief the countries will be required to adopt International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programmes, themselves a source of contention in the region because of their emphasis on Western-style private sector models.

PORT LOUIS. — While its African neighbours and western customers survey long lines of unemployed, Mauritius is busily importing labour to cash in on its export-based "economic miracle".

Foreign workers in its export processing zone, which turns imported textiles into knitwear and garments for overseas sale, could account for 10% of the total work force in 15 months' time, a manufacturers' leader said this week.

Mauritius importing labour


Mario Jullienne said that despite initial hostility to the idea of importing workers, employers in the free zone had been quickly won over by the performance of people from China, India and Sri Lanka. He said the island's offshore banking, free port and export zone have helped the country shrug off the worst effects of recession and main-

tain full employment. Foreigners work in enterprises that have helped give Mauritius economic growth rates of around 6% over the past decade which have raised average yearly income from around \$1 000 to \$3 250. "Employers in the free zone, who did not welcome more foreign la-

bour at first, have realised the benefit it has brought to the textile industry," Jullienne said. He cited the case of one factory where absenteeism fell from 16% of the work force to 10% after the arrival of non-Mauritian workers. The export processing zone employs around 85 000 workers, of whom 4 750 are foreigners from countries as far apart as neighbouring Madagascar and distant China, the US and France.

HIV hitting
Star 26/1/93
sub-Saharan

Africa hard

GENEVA  Some 14 million people worldwide are infected with the HIV virus, the precursor of Aids, the World Health Organisation (WHO) said yesterday.

Eight million of those infected live in sub-Saharan Africa. In some towns in central and eastern Africa, one in three adults is infected, the WHO said.

The WHO calculated that within seven years the total number of people infected with HIV would reach between 30 and 40 million.

Star 2215193

New ties in west Africa

LIBREVILLE — Equatorial Guinea and South Africa have signed an agreement to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, Guinean radio reported yesterday. Equatorial Guinea is the third central African country to form such ties, following Gabon and Congo. — Sapa-AFP (D)

Star 22/5/93
... and in Egypt, too

CAIRO — Pik Botha's trip to Egypt next week is the first official visit to the country by a South African foreign minister in more than 35 years. The three-day visit, starting on Monday, is the strongest indication so far of revitalised relations between the two countries. — Sapa (F) ~~(S)~~

How Chester Crocker's years of horse-trading changed southern Africa

Road to a new beginning

Stew 24/5/93

A MONG the politically aware, the term "constructive engagement" triggers off similar emotions to the word "sanctions".

To blacks, constructive engagement meant an unseemly cosying up by the Reagan administration to their oppressors in Pretoria. To right-wing whites, it suggested a craftily devised plan to weaken South Africa's dominance in the African sub-continent. In conservative circles in the US it implied a weak-kneed tolerance of regimes sympathetic to the Soviet Union. All three groupings were vocal in their condemnation of the policy.

"Constructive engagement" was coined in 1981 in an article by a phlegmatic and unusually far-sighted American academic with an interest in the tangled politics of sub-Saharan Africa. Chester Crocker's critique of the single-track policy of the Carter administration, and his proposals for a "sustained and nimble" diplomatic effort to resolve the conflicts of the entire region, commanded the attention of Reagan's transition team. He was invited to conduct a detailed policy review and then appointed an Assistant Secretary of State to put Option 3 — "to re-structure fundamentally the negotiations to incorporate the Angolan factor and strengthen Resolution 435" — into practice.

At the core of the new policy was the concept of a "linkage" between the inter-related Angolan, Namibian and South African conflicts.

Unlike the Ford and Carter administrations, which had focused on Namibia to the relative exclusion of Soviet-Cuban adventurism

in Angola, the Reagan team under George Shultz and Crocker deliberately linked the two conflicts. A South African troop withdrawal from Namibia had to be paralleled by the departure of Cuban troops from Angola. Thereafter, a Cuban-free Angola would bring pressure upon the MPLA to negotiate with Unita, remove South Africa's excuse for not coming to terms with Swapo and, most importantly for Crocker's right-wing critics in Washington, reduce Soviet influence in the sub-continent.

To achieve these ambitious goals Crocker had to alter the thrust and tone of American diplomacy. Ties had to be strengthened with all the various governments and condemnatory rhetoric replaced by measured support for piece-meal, incremental steps that would take the region closer to a peaceful settlement.

The new approach did not go down well with anti-apartheid activists in South Africa and the US, who equated Crocker's opposition to wide-ranging economic sanctions against Pretoria (for being unhelpful to dialogue and persuasion) with support for apartheid.

Crocker's careful efforts to engage Pretoria while remaining critical of its policies were often undermined, not least by President Reagan, whose sporadic forays into southern African politics betrayed his lack of knowledge and his racial insensitivity.

Domestic criticism of constructive engagement became especially strident in the mid-'80s when the sanctions debate, with its internal black-white implications, burst upon America.

High Noon in Southern Africa is Crocker's long and painstaking

BOOK OF THE WEEK
High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighbourhood
by Chester A Crocker
(Jonathan Ball R115)
Reviewed by
RICHARD STEYN

account of eight years of diplomatic horse-trading that eventually brought 50 000 Cuban troops home from Angola and independence to Namibia. Too dry and detailed to make a Book Club choice, it is nonetheless engrossing reading for anyone interested in the contemporary history of sub-Saharan Africa.

The narrative is leavened by Crocker's acerbic comments about the personalities and performances of those who strut upon our regional stage. He had no great regard for representatives of the "Marxist brothers" — such as the Angolan Paulo Jorge, whose "tone of prosecutorial superiority was complemented by the air of quasi-erudite discourse one might find among café intellectuals in any large European city".

Nor did he think much of the South African team (with a few notable exceptions such as Niel van Heerden), divided between Magnus Malan's military hawks and Pik Botha's doves, whose veneer of solidarity apparently disappeared whenever drink got the better of them. Botha's and Malan's "Mut and Jeff act" was a source of wry amusement to the Americans, who were keenly aware of Pretoria's lack of unity, dependable intelligence and cohe-

sive strategy.

High Noon provides an authoritative indictment of South African foreign policy-making in the P W Botha era. While giving due credit to Botha for his significant collection of reforms in the early '80s, Crocker faults P W for his lack of a coherent reformist strategy and for excluding blacks from his constitutional planning.

As black resistance to his limited reforms mounted, Botha's "iron-fist" tendencies came to the fore. To make matters worse, he was badly advised in times of greatest crisis by the sycophants and wishful thinkers in his inner circle.

"His sense of strategy was flawed by his very African penchant for believing that distant foreigners were the source of his problems... Although he was the supreme leader of a regional super-power, P W Botha ironically had the mind of an embittered Third World dictator seeking foreign help against local enemies."

While P W was short on strategy, he was long on tactics, one of which was to exploit the divisions within the Reagan administration over dealings with Marxists in Africa.

When "constructive engagement" seemed to have run aground in the wake of SA's state of emergency, warfare broke out in Washington between the CIA and the Department of State. CIA chief William Casey had been conducting a covert foreign policy of his own in southern Africa, and it was to him that P W sent his emissaries; chief among them his "ratchet", General Pieter van der Westhuizen, to undermine Crocker.

Such was Van der Westhuizen's influence with P W and cockiness that after he had been deliberately excluded by P W Botha from a discussion on Mozambique, he growled to one of Crocker's lieutenants, "You're wasting your time talking to them (Botha, Malan, Fourie, Barnard, Geldenhuis) — I run Mozambique."

America's policy towards South Africa at this time was, in Crocker's words, "an amazing sight to behold". While some congressmen were busily preparing sanctions legislation, another influential group was telling P W to keep the "Comnies" at bay.

The result was a confusion of messages to Pretoria. "Our divisions magnified theirs and vice versa. Splits within the Botha camp helped accentuate splits within the Reagan camp. There were powerful voices in both camps which viewed the State Department as the enemy and which worked assiduously to poison the well for our strategy."

By early 1987 however, international pressures began to reassert themselves. Angola's foreign debts began to pile up, leading the dithering Dos Santos to send renewed signals to Washington. Castro became interested in joining regional negotiations in order to obtain maximum benefit from withdrawing his troops, and South Africa became concerned at the loss of conscripts in southern Angola.

After the prolonged and bloody battle of Cuito Chanavale, Cuba and SA called it quits. "To their mutual relief, Castro and Botha had failed to provoke each other. They could now concentrate on defining the principles of peace."

The test, as they say, is history.



Crocker proposed a "sustained and nimble" diplomatic effort.

Free of SA troops and assisted by the United Nations, Namibia moved swiftly to independence. Marxism's collapse worldwide deprived Pretoria of its chief foreign bogey, leading P W Botha's successor, F W de Klerk, to release Nelson Mandela and unban the ANC and other parties. In Angola and Mozambique, warring factions headed for the negotiating table.

Though this southern African political saga does not yet have a happy ending, Crocker and his team's achievements were all the more remarkable when one considers the cards stacked against the US in the early '80s: limited trading ties and an uneasy relationship with South Africa; no diplomatic relations with or presence in Angola; no ties with Cuba; and a variety of economic and cultural embargoes against all these countries.

The only trump in Crocker's hand was his threat to fold his tent and go home, leaving the parties to their own devices.

Those whose views of international politics are of the one-dimensional, "good guys" versus "bad guys" variety will never bring themselves to acknowledge that Crocker's patient methods did more to end apartheid than years of activism and rhetoric. Constructive engagement did not bring conflict to an end in southern Africa, but it gave the subcontinent the chance of a new beginning. Anyone who claims that sanctions "worked" ought, by the same logic, to concede that Chester Crocker was highly successful.

Tsegaye Tadesse looks at the OAU's role in peacekeeping and economics

Star 25/1/93
Africa's 'UN'
spreads its wings

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AFRICA'S "United Nations" turns 30 next month. It might be a little late in life to be coming of age, but that is what is planned for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Cairo.

"The Cairo summit will be a turning point. A summit for reflection. A summit for action," said OAU Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim.

Derided by Western critics as a toothless talk shop and an anachronism, the OAU plans to carve a new role for itself by tackling the poverty and war that dog its development.

It is the world's largest regional organisation, the voice of more than 500 million people, many of them among the world's poorest.

But for years it has been an ineffectual voice because member states routinely fail to pay their dues. This year, as in many previous, it has received little more than 10 percent of its annual R95 million budget.

It has stood by powerless while nations such as Somalia and Sudan destroyed themselves in civil wars. It has found little to agree upon except a deep hatred of apartheid.

But now, for the first time, and with the support of some Western governments, the OAU will discuss setting up a force to solve the many conflicts between governments and rebels across Africa.

It will debate the creation of a pan-African peacekeeping force to police wars which rage from Angola to Liberia and from Sudan to Senegal — and whose principal victims are innocent people.

This will be a ground-breaking move. Until now, such intervention has been thwarted by OAU statutes which bar members from interfering in the internal affairs of another.

"After 30 years, it is time to think of what we have done during all these years. We shall take stock and review our shortcomings and chart a new path for the future," Salim said.

Thirty years ago, Africa's new leaders founded the OAU to lobby for an end to racism in South Africa and to break the last shackles of colonialism.

"By and large these struggles have been won, except for the unfinished business in South Africa," said Salim.

But poverty remains the heaviest shackle on the world's poorest continent, and long-delayed moves towards regional economic co-operation and integration are now taking shape.

They have been spurred by the reluctant awareness in Africa that free-market reforms are the cornerstone of future economic growth and that rich countries tend to help those African states which are seen to be helping themselves.

Salim said Africa was in the process of a double transition in the 1990s — the switch from one-party politics to pluralism and a move towards the free market after years of heavy state-run economics.

"The whole question of economic co-operation, integration and conditions which will make economic co-operation possible — such as the issues of stability, security and commitment to democratic transition — will be considered", he said.

OAU planners have long lobbied and made blueprints for an African Economic Community to sweep aside barriers to inter-African trade, which represents only a tiny fraction of all commerce carried out on the continent.

But only 25 of the 51 member states have so far approved the plan which requires 34 signatories to become OAU policy, although it will not be binding.

Salim strongly criticised the industrialised world for what he called its failure to support Africa's efforts towards economic progress.

Rich countries mistakenly saw Africa as nothing but chaos and used this as a pretext to deny aid, he said. — Sapa-Reuter. □

Eritrean state is born

ASMARA — Fireworks exploded and thousands chanted in joy when Eritrea formally became the world's newest state at midnight yesterday after 30 years of civil war.

Isayas Afewerki, 46-year-old leader of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, hailed the event as a new dawn for a people who have known nothing but conflict for decades.

He was formally elected president at a weekend meeting of the EPLF's ruling council before the proclamation of independence.

Diplomats from about 50 nations and heads of state from Eritrea's neighbours

Asmara - 25/5/93
①
■ **MIDNIGHT JOY** Thousands celebrate

fruits of Africa's longest civil war:

took part in festivities that began before midnight on Sunday and went on after dawn yesterday.

Dozens of war casualties in wheelchairs took part in a march-past in a poignant reminder of the human cost of creating the state and the redrawing of Africa's post-colonial map for the first time.

The formal declaration of independence and the unfurling of the Eritrean flag was marked by the ululation of

hundreds of women in the stadium.

Isayas arrived at Asmara's battered city stadium accompanied by Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi to symbolise the new relationship between two states previously at war.

Eritrean liberation movements fought against the Ethiopians Addis for 30 years until Tigrayan and Eritrean rebels joined forces to topple Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1991. — *Sapa-Reuter*.

Sudan moving closer to civil war

■ Talks break down over SPLA's demands for a confederation: ①

Sowetan 25/5/93
KHARTOUM—Sudan is moving closer to a resumption of civil war between the government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army after the failure of peace talks.

The talks in the Nigerian capital Abuja broke down over the SPLA's demand for a confederated Sudan in which Islamic sharia law would not apply in the capital Khartoum or in the south where most inhabitants are Christians or animists.

Major General Mohammad Abdalla

Oweida, the armed forces spokesman, was quoted on state television on Sunday night as saying that on May 18, the day the Abuja talks ended, rebels of John Garang's SPLA faction planted landmines in southern Sudan.

He said the mines destroyed two lorries, killing a soldier and wounding many.

Two days later rebels shelled a government position at Loka, about 112km southwest of Juba, the main town in southern Sudan, Oweida said. — *Sapa*.

Pik on oil mission to Egypt

Star 26/5/93
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CAIRO — South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha held talks in Cairo yesterday in the latest stage of a campaign to deal directly with Middle East oil suppliers after years of isolation caused by apartheid.

"Now that apartheid has gone, the gates are wide open for us," said Botha after meeting Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa and touring the pyramids at Giza.

Economists said South Africa was trying to profit from the gradual end to its

racist politics by dealing directly with oil suppliers in the Middle East and seeking new markets for exports.

Industry sources say countries such as Egypt and Oman have sold crude oil to South Africa for years despite a UN embargo. But the sales have taken place through independent traders and Pretoria has had to pay a premium.

South Africa has also been unable to export goods to the Middle East to offset the cost of importing oil from the area, which economists estimate at between \$500 million and \$1 billion a year.

Botha would not comment directly on oil ties, but said a recent South African trade fair in the Gulf had yielded contracts worth \$225 million for South African firms.

Botha visited Oman and Qatar, two important oil producers in the Gulf, last month. Delegations from the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia and Jordan have been to South Africa.

South African businessmen visited Egypt and Gulf countries last year and South African banks have opened links with banks in Egypt, the UAE and Bahrain.

An industry source said South Africa was Egypt's second largest oil market after Israel and could account for up to 60 000 barrels per day (bpd) of Egypt's 250 000 bpd total exports.

Botha said South Africa was looking to promote trade in all areas, naming agriculture, technology transfer and industrial goods.

South African defence manufacturers are also interested in Gulf Arab states, practically the only major expanding arms market. — Sapa-Reuter.

Handwritten signature or initials.

UN report puts SA on top in Africa

Star 26/5/93

By Mike Littlejohn

①

NEW YORK — South Africa leads all countries on the African mainland in human development, according to a new United Nations report.

The republic, which is listed as a developing country in the economic context, ranks 85th in a human-development index, just behind Saudi Arabia and just ahead of Sri Lanka.

With the world's highest longevity and high per capita income, Japan again ranks top in this annual index, prepared by the UN Development Programme.

South Africa is listed among a group of states with "medium" human development,

which includes Botswana, China, Cuba, Iraq and South Korea. Seychelles is the only state in South Africa's region to be ranked ahead of the republic, at 63.

Mahbub ul Haq, a former Finance Minister of Pakistan, led the team that prepared the report. Because of objections by several states to a "freedom index" that appeared in past reports, this was dropped from the latest one.

The difficulties arising from the preparation of a document of this scope and magnitude are apparent in the fact that while being ranked one ahead of South Africa, Saudi Arabia has been accused of violations of human rights, including slavery. Saudi women are still not allowed to drive cars. Yet the country has

escaped the opprobrium that South Africa has borne at the UN for years.

A box of information in the report about blacks in South Africa says they "continue to live in a world apart" as the white 5 percent of the population owns 88 percent of all private property.

"Half the population, mostly black, lives below the poverty line," it is stated. "Many poor black children are being stunted by malnutrition . . . One third of the black population over 15 (some three million people) is illiterate."

The report says three-quarters of black teachers are either unqualified or underqualified, so the education system "perpetuates a vicious circle of deprivation and discrimination".

Enthusiasm, skills and little else

Special 26/1/73

A red, blue and green flag with a yellow olive branch was raised in Asmara at midnight on Sunday when Eritrea became the world's newest country, reports RICHARD DOWDEN.

ERITREA became the world's newest country on Monday, two years to the day since the forces of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) seized the capital, Asmara, and helped capture the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.

The red, blue and green flag with a yellow olive branch was raised at a ceremony in Asmara at midnight on Sunday.

Since it took over, the EPLF has ruled as if Eritrea were already independent but last month it confirmed its military victory by holding a UN-monitored referendum which produced a 99 per cent majority in favour of independence.

The new country has little but the enthusiasm and skills of its population to build a future and the government has a monumental task ahead.

It has few natural resources and will not be self-sufficient in food for at least a decade. Three quarters of the population are partly dependent on foreign food aid. The govern-

ment must also bring back 750 000 refugees from neighbouring countries and demobilise 70 000 soldiers.

The separation of Eritrea from Ethiopia has the blessing of the new Ethiopian leaders, who were close allies of the EPLF during the struggle against Mengistu Haile Mariam.

This support is essential. Eritrea was Ethiopia's coastal province, and contains its only ports, Massawa and Assab, but this conflict of interests has been resolved by an agreement between the two governments which allows Ethiopian goods to have free access through the ports.

Eritrea's other neighbour, Sudan, gave the EPLF access and military support during the war and the presence of President Omar Hassan el Bashir of Sudan at the independence celebrations strengthens the co-operation between the EPLF and Khartoum.

Recently, Eritreans have expressed concern about Sudan's brand of Islamic fundamentalism spreading into

Eritrea. The Eritrean leaders are privately more worried by Saudi Arabia.

The Saudis supported the precursor and Islamic rival to the EPLF, the Eritrean Liberation Front, which is now almost defunct.

The birth of Eritrea is causing concern to African neighbours which are themselves facing separatist movements. Isias Aferwerke, the Eritrean President, stresses that Eritrean independence is not a precedent for anywhere else in Africa. He told a press conference recently that any further division of the region would be contrary to the Organization of African Unity Charter which lays down acceptance of colonial boundaries.

Ironically, this was the ar-

gument constantly used against the EPLF during its struggle for independence.

Nevertheless, Eritrean independence will encourage secessionists in other African countries which are facing break-up. Angola, Cameroon, Senegal and South Africa all face potential splits.

But any movement wanting independence will have to overcome two conditions which allowed the world community to accept Eritrea: The fact that Ethiopia agreed to it and that the EPLF held a UN-monitored referendum. Not many other movements in the region are in a position to do this.

Southern Sudan, which has little in common with its Islamic and Arabic north, is a

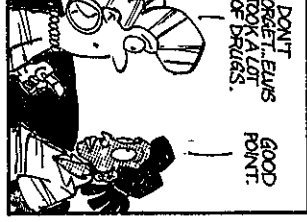
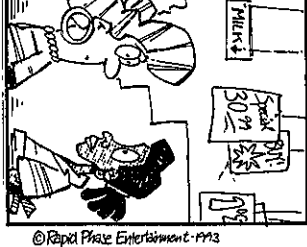
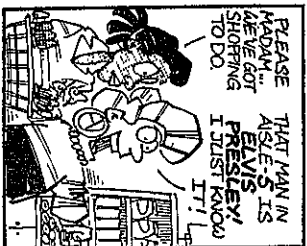
prime candidate for separation. But independence would be forcibly resisted by Khartoum and tribal rivalries in the south would prevent an overwhelming majority in favour of independence.

Northern Somalia has already declared itself independent as the Republic of Somaliland but it is yet to be recognised by another state.

It broke away two years ago under the slogan "No More Mogadishu" and since the rest of the country dissolved in chaos, the Western donors have become more sympathetic to the north. The rest of Somalia is in no position to do anything about this *de facto* secession but this is unlikely to lead to recognition.

— The Independent News Service. □

MADAM & EVE By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



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By MAGGIE ROWLEY
Deputy Business Editor

SUB-SAHARAN Africa was offering untapped and increasing export opportunities to South African companies, particularly for branded products.

This is the finding of an extensive report on the region compiled by New Products Laboratory (NPL), NPL director, Anthony van der Schyf said the countries which appear to offer the brightest prospects are Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique and Namibia.

Extensive export opportunities to Zimbabwe and Angola would be forthcoming in the medium term, he

Export spotlight on sub-Saharan Africa

said.

He said recent political initiatives in SA had created the opportunity for an intensive and extensive export or investment strategy in sub-Saharan Africa. This presented attractive opportunities to those SA companies with a strategic vision and global orientation particularly those intent on regional dominance.

Traditionally, for political reasons, South African businessmen have avoided these export opportunities. This situation had been further aggravated by major concerns

relating to payment.

"NPL contends that despite severe foreign exchange constraints, countries in sub-Saharan Africa have somehow been able to effect payment for imports which were sustained at levels of more than \$30bn a year throughout the 1980s.

"While the opportunity is still largely unexploited this situation is likely to change soon and therefore South African companies should urgently develop a marketing strategy for exploiting this potential. "A fundamental requirement will

obviously be to adopt a selective approach where the focus should be on those countries capable of generating foreign exchange."

According to the NPL report, growth of less than 1% a year during the 1980s will accelerate to 4% a year during the 1990s with the pace tending to gain momentum in the latter half of the decade. Real income per individual will show a marked improvement from the stagnation of the 1970s and the 2.8% annual decline in living standards during the 1980s.

Tourist potential in the region is considered enormous and the countries of sub-Saharan Africa will earn more foreign exchange from services in the 1990s, according to the report.

However, sub-Saharan Africa will nevertheless continue to be the region where developmental problems remain the most severe and challenging. This will require substantial aid which will continue to be directed into the region and will continue to create attractive trade and investment opportunities. "The nature of foreign aid and in-

vestment will however change from hand-outs to self help and this is seen as a positive development which should provide sustainable longer-term benefits to the region.

"This will in the medium term increase demand for branded consumer products, an opportunity which SA companies are well positioned to exploit."

The report provides an analysis of the economies, imports and exports of most of the countries in the region supporting the argument for demand for branded products.

● Copies of the report "An overview of Export and/or Investment Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa" are available from NPL, Box 55304, Sandton.

African institutions call for peace and debt forgiveness'

ADDIS ABABA — Africa had to find ways to end its wars and improve its economies and the international community should help by forgiving debts, the heads of three regional organisations said yesterday.

The statement was issued by the chief executives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the African Development Bank following a one-day conference to review the major issues facing Africa.

The three executives noted that many of Africa's 52 nations were burdened by low economic growth and high population growth and that real capital income was lower than it was before the continent's independence movements of 30 years ago.

It will take 10 years of strong economic growth to recover to the economic levels of the '80s, they said.

But economic improvement would be seriously jeopardised if conflicts and wars continue unabated on the continent, they said.

Conflict prevention, management

and resolution was an area where Africa's weakness had been most pronounced and where the continent continued to depend on the outside world, at times even for initiative and leadership, they said.

The principle of African solutions to African problems had to be given a new lease on life, they said, urging nations to support a proposal that the OAU help set up a permanent programme for resolving disputes.

They also urged that:

More nations should support a two-year-old treaty on the formation of an African economic community. It has been ratified by 26 countries, eight short of the required two-thirds majority.

Nations should encourage private investment and discourage public consumption so that domestic savings rates would rise.

International creditors who hold \$282bn of African debt should forgive publicly guaranteed bilateral debt so that countries could concentrate on multilateral payments. — Sapa-AP.

Star 2/15/93

Africa's conflicts holding back economic growth

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The principle of African solutions to African problems must be given a new lease on life, they said, urging nations to support a proposal that the Organisation of African Unity help set up a permanent programme for resolving disputes.

They also urged the following:

- More nations should support a two-year-old treaty on the formation of an African economic community. It has been ratified by 28 countries, eight short of the required two-thirds majority.

- Nations should encourage private investment and discourage public consumption so that domestic savings rates will rise.

Star 2/15/93
No rush to join OAU — Pik

CAIRO — South Africa already had "virtually normal" ties with most African countries and would not actively push to join the Organisation of African Unity, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday during his visit to Cairo.

Botha said South Africa was now looking for a location for a trade office in Cairo and a high-level Egyptian business delegation would visit

the country next month.

But Cairo has made clear it will open diplomatic ties only as part of an OAU initiative.

"We have virtually normal relations with the majority of African states already. I have opened 19 offices in Africa, and except for (Egypt) I doubt whether I would be able to justify opening any more offices in Africa," he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

African institutions call for peace and 'debt forgiveness'

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Ramsay Milne on a survey that measures quality of life around the globe

SA in some rich, selfish company

Star 28 16 1973

THE United Nations produced a document this week that is perhaps the world's first measure of the quality of life around the world. Not surprisingly, South Africa does not fare well.

In its sampling of how countries rate in "human development" — which is based on an amalgam of a country's gross national product and its level of "human development", largely determined by educational levels — South Africa appears to be oddly coupled. Placed 11th among the 22 developing nations, South Africa is ranked along with Algeria, Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates.

On the face of things, that kind of company should not be scorned. But then one learns that the citi-

zens of these rich, oil-producing countries lead less satisfactory lives than their countries' per capita income suggests they should; indicating, as the report puts it, "that their wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few or is being mis-spent".

It is a telling criticism. The fact is, the petro-sheiks who rule the Arab oil states are not noted for their willingness to share their wealth with their subjects. And what of South Africa? Well, what the UN report says of the oil-producing countries is almost exactly duplicated in what it says about South Africa — that is, that the country's wealth is inequitably divided among its citizens. That is hardly a surprise. Living standards among white South

Africans, a minority, are among the highest in the world. Living standards among blacks, a majority, are in general much lower.

To that extent, the report does not add much that is new. But it breaks new ground in its emphasis not on wealth itself, but on how well people live.

The treatment of women, for instance, radically alters the ratings of many countries who otherwise are highly placed on the UN chart. The survey found, in fact, that no country treats its women as well as it treats its men. When the ratings are adjusted for disparities between the sexes, Japan drops from first place to 17th among the industrialised nations and Canada from second to 11th, because women in these countries have

fewer job opportunities and lower earnings than men.

The notion that development efforts should be more closely tied to the needs of individuals did not originate with the United Nations Development Programme, authors of the survey.

Robert McNamara, then president of the World Bank, argued in 1973 against the prevailing idea that wealth in the developed countries would "trickle down" to the poorest sectors of society. Instead, he asserted, direct help must be funnelled to the 800 million people across the globe estimated then to be living in poverty.

Now, 20 years later, the UN has provided a measure of which countries are really trying, and which are not. □

Help Promised to South Africa

Guardian/W in w/mail 28/5-3/6/93.
By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON — The United States offered last Friday to help South Africa regain its former importance in world economic affairs as soon as the black majority and the white minority government set the stage for multi-racial elections.

"South Africa's successful transition is important for Africa, the United States and the world," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in a speech outlining President Clinton's Africa policy. Christopher emphasized the importance the administration intends to place on promoting democracy and respect for human rights on the continent.

South Africa, with its vast mineral wealth and industrial base, has the most advanced economy in Africa. But in recent years, the tensions and uncertainties caused by its racial divisions subjected the country to sanctions, boycotts and flight of foreign investment that forced it out of the mainstream of world trade and financial activity.

"The United States will help — and we expect other industrial democracies to help as well," Christopher said in describing the administration's plans for working with South Africa after President Frederik W. de Klerk's government and leaders of the major black groups agree on terms for a changeover to majority rule.

"Once a Transitional Executive Council has been put in place — and a date for elections has been set — we will work with our part-

ners (in the group of seven leading industrialized democracies) to help South Africa reenter the global economy," he said.

Addressing the African-American Institute, an organization of scholars and specialists in African affairs, Christopher said the end of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry allows the United States now to pursue "a productive new relationship" with Africa. He said that Clinton intends to jettison the Cold War considerations of the past and make promotion of democracy and human rights the foundations of his policy.

"During the long Cold War period, policies were often determined not by how they affected Africa, but by what advantage they brought to Washington or Moscow," Christopher said. "Thankfully, we have moved beyond the point of adopting policies based on how they might affect the shipping lanes next to Africa rather than the people in Africa."

As an example of this new approach, he cited Clinton's announcement last Wednesday reversing 17 years of U.S. policy by recognizing the Angola government.

Christopher, who criticised Jonas Savimbi of UNITA for seeking a military solution in Angola, also had harsh words for another longtime U.S. ally, Zaire's President Sese. Seko Mobutu. For almost three decades, the United States courted Mobutu and overlooked the corruption and oppression endemic to his rule. However, in recent months, as Zaire has tottered on the brink of anarchy and bank-

ruptcy, the United States has reversed course and called for Mobutu to step aside.

"The people of Africa know where their future lies: not with corrupt dictators like Mobutu, but with courageous democrats in every part of the continent," Christopher said.

As a sign of Clinton's intention to give Africa more attention, Christopher noted that the administration is seeking to increase country-to-country aid to sub-Saharan Africa from the present level of about \$667 million to \$800 million next year. However, that sum must be split among 47 countries. By comparison, aid to Israel — the country that gets the largest share of U.S. aid — has been running at \$3 billion a year.

● The World Bank's top policymaker for Africa has announced sweeping changes in the institution's approach to the continent's economic problems, writes Tami Hultman.

In a speech to the annual conference of the African-American Institute, Edward Jaycox, vice-president for the Africa region, said the bank would no longer dictate development plans.

Acknowledging that the World Bank had failed to devise solutions to Africa's economic problems, Mr Jaycox said in future the bank would help fund African governments to write their own development plans and would use most of a \$20 million economic research fund to support studies commissioned by Africans themselves rather than bank economists.

AFRICA NEWS Condemned men take sentence calmly

SOWETAN Friday May 28 1993

news in brief

Elections challenged

Sowetan 28/5/93

①

ABUJA — A Nigerian court is to consider a suit this week by a pro-military group challenging the appropriateness of presidential elections planned for June 12. The legal challenge by the Association for a Better Nigeria, which has been campaigning vigorously for an extension of military rule, was filed on Tuesday and will be heard by the Abuja High Court today. The ABN is seeking a court order to delay Nigeria's transition to civilian rule until 1997.

Shots before dawn

CAIRO — Suspected Muslim extremists threw explosives and started shooting at a police checkpoint in a northern suburb yesterday, wounding at least two policemen and two civilians, Radio Cairo reported. The government's *Middle East*

News Agency mentioned no civilian casualties in its account of the incident. It said a commissioned officer and an unspecified number of policemen were hurt in the shooting, which happened before dawn in the suburb of Nasr City.

Dual citizenship call

LIBREVILLE — Thousands of people rose to their feet with an ecstatic roar on Wednesday as the president of Gabon urged African nations to grant dual citizenship to black Americans. The pronouncement came as President Omar Bongo, who has ruled this West African nation for 27 years, presided over a summit of 11 African heads of state and the United States' most influential black leaders. "We should offer dual citizenship for our African-American brothers and sisters," said Bongo. — *Sapa-Reuters-AFP*.

Gallows for 36

religious fanatics

BOMB BLAST Muslim fundamentalists punished for slayings in Algiers:

Sowetan 28/5/93

①

ALGIERS — An Algerian court has sentenced 38 Muslim fundamentalists to death as a prominent writer was badly wounded and security forces said they had killed six Islamic militants.

The number of death penalties passed, including 26 against men tried and sentenced in their absence, was the highest since a state of emergency was imposed in February 1992 after unrest blamed on fundamentalists.

Journalist and writer Tahar Djaoui (39), who two years ago won the Mediterranean Prize in Paris for his book *Les Vigilés* (The Vigilantes), was shot in the head and arm near Algiers on Wednesday. He was critically ill and in a coma.

Police quoted by the official news agency *AP5* said on Wednesday that a fundamentalist was killed in the Casbah, the heart of Old Algiers, during the night and five men with him were arrested.

Among the 28 men in the dock at the special court in Algiers, the 12 condemned to death took their sentences calmly, mouthing verses from the Koran.

They were tried on charges linked to a bomb blast at Algiers International Airport last August, in which nine people were killed and 124 injured, or to

activities of armed groups trying to overthrow the government.

The leading figures were members of, or close to, the banned Islamic Salvation Front which took a landslide first-round lead in Algeria's first multiparty general election which was cancelled by the authorities in January 1992.

A month later, Algeria was put under a state of emergency and since then more than 600 people have been killed in violence blamed on the fundamentalists. — *Sapa-Reuters*.

Africa's key men head for SA

Business Editor

AFRICA's key decision-makers, including groups from Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, will come to Johannesburg at the end of August to take part in the Africa Initiative at Nasrec, one of the organisers, Andrew Clare, deputy MD of the Systems group, said in Cape Town yesterday.

The Africa Initiative is made up of nine exhibitions and 10 conferences all taking place simultaneously between August 30 and September 3.

It will be a showcase of SA technological and industrial capabilities with the central theme of

"appropriate technology for Africa and its link to economic growth" **OCT 28/5/93**

The advisory board is made up of representatives of 20 organisations including the SA Foreign Trade Organisation, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the National African Federal Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the SA Chamber of Business.

The organisers describe it as "an unprecedented bid to boost co-operation, increase interdependence and extend wealth creation for the entire region and its people."

They expect business delega-

tions from more than 24 countries in Africa and the Gulf and more than 15 000 SA business people to take part.

Clare, who has travelled extensively through Africa to promote it, said he found tremendous interest in SA and great willingness to do business with this country.

But Clare warned that although Africa offered great opportunities SA business people who wanted to enter this market must forget about communicating by fax and telephone.

Personal contact was vital and deals were not made in a hurry.

Star 315193

Debt relief for Africa in pipeline

CAPE TOWN — A leading World Bank official for Africa said on Friday he expected leading industrialised nations would soon consider more debt relief for the world's poorest continent.

Edward Jaycox, the bank's vice-president for Africa, said at the World Economic Forum that two initiatives to ease the burden of both middle-income and poorer countries in Africa were in the pipeline.

One, he said, would deepen the concessional benefits of the so-called enhanced Toronto terms into full acceptance of what are

known as Trinidad terms.

The Toronto terms provide for cancellation of half a poor country's debts incurred before a certain date.

Under the Trinidad terms, industrialised countries write off half a poor country's foreign debt and extend payments on the rest.

Jaycox said concessional debt relief was also envisaged for middle-income countries grouping the likes of Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

"I understand that the G-7 is going to have a look at this in Tokyo (in July), and I'm hoping

that we'll get more realistic debt relief proposals out of the Paris Club in future."

The Group of Seven (G-7) comprises Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the US.

The Paris Club groups officials from Western creditor nations who oversee official aid which has run into difficulties.

African economies, sapped by drought, rapid population growth, depressed prices for commodity exports and extensive but inefficient state controls in the past, are weighed down by

\$300 billion in foreign debt.

Jaycox stressed that any new concessions on debt dues would apply on a case-by-case basis to countries that merited it.

"That means they're doing their damndest to in fact alleviate their own problems...I don't think anybody's talking about a blanket approach," he said.

"Some need more relief than others. I don't think Zimbabwe for instance needs a lot of relief right now," he added.

Asked about persistent fears that the region would have to battle for a smaller share of aid because of competing need in Eastern Europe after the political and economic reforms there, he said he hoped Africa would not suffer.

But he admitted some concern.

He had been confident there would be no erosion of aid to Africa until he saw the type of grants going to Russia.

"That's got to come from somewhere, and hopefully it's not going to come from Africa where countries have been making a stronger effort — indeed, a successful effort in most cases — to solve their own problems than any country including Russia has made up to now," he said.

But the real issue in development was not aid, but equity capital and investment.

"That's the only buoyant source of finance, anywhere," Jaycox said.

The question facing Africa was how fast it would become attractive, not only to potential foreign investors, but also to those at home.

There was a lot of capital flight which had to be reversed, and other capital had been used speculatively or in ways which had fallen short of productive potential, he said. — Sapa-Reuters.

Richard Dowden uncovers an ethnic purge of Ethiopian varsity professors

Rebels' revenge on alma mater

Star 11/6/93
THE sacking of 42 teachers at the University of Addis Ababa looks like an excessively repressive move by a government that talks a lot about freedom of expression, human rights and democracy.

The university simply wrote to the teachers saying their contracts would not be renewed. There were no warnings and no appeals.

One university professor said: "Such a thing never happened in the whole of Mengistu's time." Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime, which was overthrown in 1991, controlled all dissent and maintained a formidable East German-trained secret police but never purged the university.

Western donors, who are giving President Meles Zenawi both moral and financial support, have not made a fuss about the sackings.

One diplomat said that many of the sacked teachers were more interested in politics than teaching.

Another suggested they had been appointed by Mengistu.

Neither allegation is true. Only a few of those sacked have become politicians and many of their appointments predated the Mengistu era.

One was imprisoned by Mengistu, but most kept their mouths shut in those days — as did everyone else in the capital.

One clue is that 39 of the 42 sacked teachers are believed to be Amharas. The university has a reputation for being a bastion of old-fashioned Ethiopian nationalism, strong among Amharic speakers.

During a visit by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this year to finalise plans for the referendum on Eritrean independence, university students demonstrated against the break-up of Ethiopia.

The demonstration was met by gunfire from troops and an un-

known number of students were killed or wounded.

The demonstrators opposed the new government's proposal to allow Ethiopia's "nations" to choose their own destiny, inside or outside Ethiopia.

They adhere to the myth of a 3 000-year-old sacred Ethiopian state. Emperor Haile Selassie and Mengistu, both Amharas, epitomised this belief. During their reigns, the Amharas formed the ruling class, providing most of the civil servants — and the university teachers.

Two years ago this week, sober Amharas in Addis Ababa were appalled to see their capital invaded by wild-looking young men and women with unkempt hair, wearing shorts and plastic sandals and a lot of guns.

This was the makeshift, but disciplined, rebel band that defeated the biggest and best-equipped army in Africa. These woyane (bandits) were mostly from the northern provinces. They did not speak Amharic.

But their leaders were in a sense coming home.

Twenty years ago they were all students at Addis Ababa University. They were Marxist-oriented and organised the student revolts of the early 1970s that led to the overthrow of the Emperor.

When the revolution was hijacked by Mengistu, Ethiopia's Stalin, they took the Maoist route to the countryside and began a Long March.

The Front set up a national conference that elected representatives to a parliament and encouraged a free press and the formation of political parties and tolerated dissent.

They returned without vengeance except in one area: They found the university unchanged, the same professors teaching the same things. — The Independent News Service. □

Sawetan 3/6/93

African countries 'must work together'

■ Two could exchange valuable ideas:

NAIROBI — There is a need for greater co-operation between African countries instead of depending on Western aid, local South African representative Mr Dries Venter said this week.

Speaking during a visit by the general manager of Siemens South Africa, Mr Darryl Flint, and his national sales manager, Mr Braam van Dyk, he said Kenya and South Africa had now begun to rediscover each other after a long break in relations. The two countries broke

their 30-year hiatus in relations two years ago when State President FW de Klerk visited Kenya.

Flint and Van Dyk met President Daniel arap Moi earlier this week and presented him with a dental chair which is to be donated to a rural health centre.

Flint told newsmen that the experiences of Kenya and South Africa in the medical field were similar and that the two countries could exchange valuable ideas.

C

EDUCATION Programme to rehabilitate Somalia's schools and education system

School after a long civil war

MOGADISHU, Somalia — Some children left houses whose walls had gaping shell holes, others emerged from shanties patched with plastic sheeting — but all proudly carried an exercise book and a pen as they picked their way around piles of rubble and headed towards the schoolhouse freshly painted in pink.

The Djibouti primary school is one of six functioning again in the Somali capital after two years of civil war and chaos. Five more have reopened in Baidoa, two at Afgoy and two others at Wajid, according to Western aid workers.

The classroom at the Djibouti school is stark by Western standards. The children sit on mats on the floor, the boys on

one side and the girls on the other. All the girls wear veils over their heads. The teacher has no desk and no chair. During the war looters stripped the school of all its furniture, along with doors, windows and the roof.

Stones "Even the stones in the walls were stolen," said the new headmaster, Abdulahi Sheik. Osman (12) recited aloud the Arabic lesson chalked on the blackboard. The

rest of the class repeated each sentence in a chorus after him. Osman Gelawi came back to school three months ago. He had not been inside a classroom since December 1990 when rebels attacked the capital in what was to be a successful bid to oust long-time dictator Mohamed Siad Barre.

"The last day at school was a Sunday," Osman recalled. His shopkeeper father took the family to Afgoy about 30km outside Mogadishu on the road to Baidoa. They stayed there until Osman

and his 13 brothers and sisters returned to the capital after US peacekeeping troops landed there last December. Osman said he was glad to be back at school. "I like studying. Later on, I want to be a teacher," he said. "Being a teacher is the only 'normal' job he knows," said the teacher. In another class, pupils were learning arithmetic. Brahama (10) said she returned to school only two months ago. But unlike Osman, she was reluctant to talk about the two years of war during which she went into exile with her family.

Reprisals Her teacher, Mohamed Aden Yussuf, said he had fled Mogadishu in January 1991 to escape reprisals because he be-

longed to the same Marchan clan as ousted president Siad Barre. He and his family ended up in a refugee camp at Dolo in Ethiopia. "I came back to Mogadishu four months ago to try to find work. The family stayed in Dolo. I was a teacher before the war and I am happy to be teaching again," he said. The programme to rehabilitate schools and the education system has been organised by

the Irish charity Concern. Mary Considine of Concern said the programme was due to last "at least one school year".

Every morning, a teacher standing near the white-stained, blue Somali flag patiently explains to the children the importance of preserving Somali unity and resisting splits among the many Somali clans.

The ceremony takes place in the courtyard where the football pitch has new goals complete with nets and the rubble has been cleared and replaced by fine sand. — Sapa-AFP.

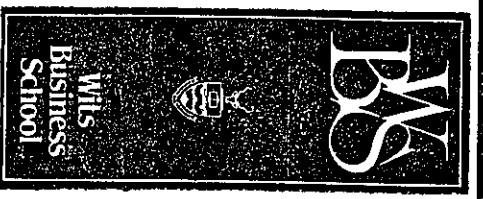
■ FURNITURE LOOTED Classroom at Djibouti is stark by Western standards:

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Peace will help African growth

AFRICA's slide into even deeper poverty will only be stopped when the continent's leaders find ways to stop its many wars and start concentrating on economic development.

The shift of attention to Africa's economic plight is clearly gaining momentum, judging from statements issued after a seminar which was attended by officials of the Organisation of African Unity, the African Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa.

Reviewing the major issues confronting the continent's leadership they concluded that while it was Africa's responsibility to end the many conflicts, it was also imperative that the international community should help by writing off existing debts.

The officials noted that many African nations were burdened with high population growth and little if any economic growth. Real income per head was lower than it



STOP THE WAR ... The cessation of hostilities will help the continent kickstart its economy.

City Press 6/6/93 (circled) was before the independence movements gained momentum three decades ago. It was estimated that it would require at least a decade of strong economic growth before the economic levels of the 1980s were achieved again.

However, if the wars and other conflicts were not stopped there was little hope of achieving this growth. Large parts of the meagre resources of many

(circled) countries were dissipated by conflicts.

The officials pleaded that the principle of African solutions to African problems be given a new impetus instead of the continent continuing to depend on the outside world for help, often even for initiative and leadership. It suggests that greater support should be given to a proposal by the Organisation of African

□ MONEY TALK

Unity that a permanent programme for resolving disputes be set up.

Another area that requires urgent attention is support for an African economic community. A treaty was formulated two years ago but to date it has been signed by only 26 countries.

The three organisations also urged governments to discourage public consumption and encourage private investment so that domestic savings rates could increase.

Up till now SA has been on the sidelines, but with the higher priority being given to economic issues it is clear that numerous opportunities will arise for SA as the economic giant of the continent. Not only will SA help in many areas but it will do business which, in turn, will create prosperity and job opportunities at home.

UN pulls out Somalia aid workers

star 7/6/93

MOGADISHU — The United Nations yesterday evacuated peacekeepers in Somalia after 22 UN troops and up to 23 Somalis were killed in fighting on Saturday.

Warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid was blamed for the violence, which erupted as UN troops inspected sites where weapons taken from Somalis, in accordance with UN demands, are stored. The UN casualties were mostly Pakistanis, who recently replaced US Marines in Mogadishu.

A Pakistani army spokesman in Islamabad said 22 Pakistani soldiers were dead, 10 were missing and 50 wounded. Officials at Mogadishu hospitals said 15 to 23 Somalis died and more than 100 were wounded.

Witnesses at the scene said some of the missing peacekeepers were captured, tortured and killed.

● Full report - Page 4

28 UN soldiers die in Somali attack¹

BLOOM 7/6/93

MOGADISHU — UN peacekeeping operations in Somalia have exploded into the bloodiest clashes with gunmen since US troops first arrived to protect relief operations in December.

At least 28 Pakistani soldiers serving with the UN were killed and about 50 wounded in fighting in the capital, Mogadishu, the Pakistani Foreign Office in Islamabad reported.

Hospitals reported 15 or more Somalis killed and scores wounded in the fighting on Saturday, which spread from a clash near a radio station controlled by the capital's strongest faction.

The UN's Italian contingent sent 12 tanks and six armoured cars backed by military helicopters to rescue 80 Pakistani soldiers and 10 US soldiers trapped in an old tobacco factory by a large number of armed Somalis.

Three Americans were wounded.

Pakistan, which has contributed 4 750 of the UN's 18 000-man force, called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council and said it would demand "punitive action".

The clashes are the first big crisis for the UN command under Turkish Gen Cevik Bir which has been responsible for peace-

keeping since May 4.

The UN command has so far released only relatively low casualty figures which governments whose troops were involved say are far out of date.

Sharply conflicting versions of how the fighting started were given by the UN and by Mogadishu warlord Gen Mohamed Farah Aided on the other.

According to Aided the peacekeepers opened fire on unarmed civilians who gathered to protest a UN attempt to take over his radio station.

Large numbers of civilians, including women and children, died, the radio station said and Aided made a radio broadcast telling the UN to leave central Mogadishu.

The UN denied that it tried to take over the radio station, which often airs anti-UN broadcasts. UN spokesman in Mogadishu, Farouk Mawlawi said unidentified gunmen had started the clash by attacking peacekeepers checking on a weapons depot belonging to Aided's forces.

Under peace agreements negotiated under UN auspices Somalia's armed factions are allowed to keep weapons in specified storage areas but are not supposed to take them out of the depots. — Sapa-Reuter.

UN seeks killers of peacekeepers

Star 8/6/93
MOGADISHU — Heavy gunfire erupted in the centre of Mogadishu today as United Nations officials pondered how to bring to justice the killers of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers.

Helicopter gunships attached to the UN peacekeeping force clattered through the night sky after a fierce gun battle around K4, a battered roundabout normally guarded by UN troops.

The gunfight lasted about 15 minutes. Residents said it was impossible to see who was firing at whom in torrential rain and a city stripped of its street lights.

The shooting followed a day of tension and gunfire during which residents waited to see whether the UN would attack warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, who has been blamed for the 23 deaths.

Pakistani troops shot dead two Somalis in a skirmish hours after the Security

Council demanded that the killers of the 23 Pakistanis be tracked down and brought to justice.

Aideed's radio station said UN troops killed 17 Somalis and injured 26 when they strayed down a road which had been sealed off by peacekeepers.

The radio station was itself the scene of Saturday's killings, some of the worst since the UN started peacekeeping operations.

UN envoy Jonathan Howe said the 23 Pakistanis were killed inspecting an arms depot at the station. Aideed said his men were attacked by the UN in an attempt to seize the radio.

The Security Council stopped short of blaming Aideed directly. It has been trying to bring him and other warlords into a federal style parliament to underpin peace since a United States-led force returned law and order to Somalia last December.

Confronted by a 30 000-strong international military force, Somalia's warlords agreed this year to store most of their heavy weaponry in designated sites open for inspection by UN teams. They also agreed to disarm their militias over a period.

There are fewer arms on Mogadishu's streets these days, but vast arsenals are believed to be hidden around the city.

Pakistan openly blamed Aideed for the killings.

"It is clear that this attack was a calculated and premeditated ambush instigated and conducted by criminals commanded by Aideed," said Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali skirted the idea of Aideed's direct responsibility but said those responsible could be tried by a special tribunal.
— Sapa-Reuter.

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— Sapa-Reuter.

Unita looks at power-sharing deal

Buss. Day 8/16/92

LISBON — Unita said yesterday that last year's elections could not be the basis for a peace accord, but it was still prepared to do a deal on power sharing with the ruling MPLA.

The statement appeared to mark a hardening of Unita's negotiating stance after fresh victories on the battlefield following the collapse of peace talks in Abidjan last month.

Unita said that "the elections in Angola were a farce which the people cannot respect".

The MPLA defeated Unita in the UN-supervised poll, prompting fraud charges by Unita, which took up arms again after 16 years of civil war.

Yesterday's statement, signed by Unita's military commander, Gen Arlindo Chenda Pena, said Unita was still in favour of peace talks.

But it said a Portuguese-brokered 1991 peace agreement which gave rise to last September's free elections was dead. Unita said it was prepared to sign a new accord with the MPLA

based only on partial agreements reached during six weeks of peace talks in Abidjan in April and May.

Yesterday's statement appeared to reject the election result as a basis for negotiating peace, opting instead for a straight deal on power sharing.

Unita and the MPLA reached agreement in principle in Abidjan that Unita would be given several key cabinet posts and a large role in governing the provinces where it polled most votes.

But the UN-mediated talks foundered on Unita's refusal to withdraw from the cities it has occupied in fighting since the elections.

Unita occupies most of the interior. The government controls only a coastal strip including the capital Luanda and offshore oilfields, and a few besieged cities in the interior.

Diplomats and oil industry sources say the government has regained a military foothold in Soyo, but the extent of its control is not clear.

However, Angola's top general said

yesterday that his embattled forces were recruiting and re-arming.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Velancio de Moura said in Windhoek at the end of a five-day visit yesterday that his government would buy arms from SA if it had the money.

He made no reference to the UN arms embargo against SA.

De Moura would not confirm or deny reports yesterday from Luanda that Angolan army chief-of-staff Gen Joao de Matos had accused SA of continuing to arm Unita.

However, he said, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha admitted during talks on Friday it was possible individuals in SA continued to supply Unita.

He said he hoped Botha would continue his involvement in the Angolan peace process because of Botha's important role in making contact with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

De Moura said his government had offered proof to the UN Security Council that Unita was receiving support from inside Zaire. — Sapa.

Mia. Escrow wine custody



Orgy of blood as civil war drags on

KARL MAIER reports from Lagos in the wake of the latest Liberian massacre.

THE weekend's Liberian massacre of 250 refugees illustrated the bankruptcy of west African efforts to end the four-year civil war and threatened to set off a new offensive by the Nigerian-led intervention force against Charles Taylor's insurgents.

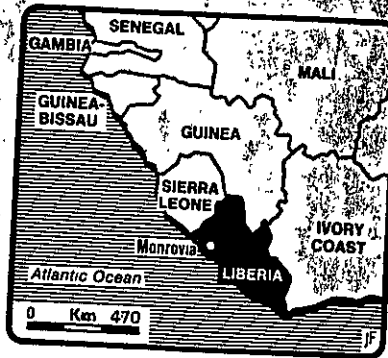
The west African intervention force, known as Ecomog, blamed Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) for the murder and mutilation of men, women and children — war refugees living at the abandoned Firestone rubber plantation near Harbel, about 65 km north of Monrovia.

"They were shot, they were mutilated and some of them had their heads broken and their throats cut," Augustine Mahiga, a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) official in Monrovia, told reporters.

"They ordered every person to come out of the camps. Then there was random shooting," Mahiga said.

"I wasn't at the scene but what I saw this afternoon was very gruesome, horrible."

Mahiga said that witnesses claimed the NPFL had carried out the raid. But there was no hard evidence to link the organ-



isation with the massacre.

Taylor, in an interview with the BBC, denied responsibility for the killings and said the accusations would be used to justify an Ecomog offensive.

Harbel, controlled since February this year by Ecomog forces and their allied Liberian militias — the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and the United Liberation Movement (Ulimo) — was the site of an Ecomog bombing raid in October when cluster bombs killed 24 people and wounded 150.

Captured

The bombing of Harbel, close to Robertsfield international airport, took place a week after Taylor broke a ceasefire and attempted to capture Monrovia.

Since then, employing jet bombers, tanks and assistance from the AFL and Ulimo militias, Ecomog has scored gains against the NPFL, capturing the strategic port of Buchanan early last month.

In recent weeks, however, Taylor's young, highly mobile fighters have infiltrated Ecomog-controlled territory and attacked behind the lines.

Taylor, who led a rebellion in 1989 to oust the former military dictator Samuel Doe, has said he would consider a ceasefire only once the 16 000-strong Nigerian contingent in Ecomog was reduced.

He has urged the UN to take over the peace effort.

Ecomog has attempted to tighten an economic noose around the half of Liberia that remains in NPFL hands, a territory popularly known as "Taylorland", by halting food aid shipments through neighbouring countries and by bombing international aid convoys which violate the ban. Trucks of the charity Medecins Sans Frontieres were attacked last month. The top UN representative in Monrovia, Ross Mountain of New Zealand, was recalled after criticising the Ecomog plan to channel aid shipments through Monrovia before moving across rebel lines.

One UN spokesman said Mountain's removal had been requested by the interim government of President Amos Sawyer, but Mountain himself later denied this.

Sawyer's Ecomog-protected government last week imposed press censorship, saying all war-related stories must be submitted to the ministries of justice and information. — The Independent News Service. □

Showdown looms in Somalia

①
Star
9/6/93

MOGADISHU — A showdown between United Nations forces policing Somalia and gunmen who killed 23 Pakistani peacekeepers seemed to be moving closer today after the world body was told to restore its authority.

Unsigned leaflets appeared on the streets of the capital Mogadishu late yesterday advising UN troops to leave "our country as immediately as they can".

The leaflets warned the Somali people would "fight to the last drop of our blood".

The threats came after a day of sporadic sniper fire at UN positions throughout the ruined capital and added to the general unease felt in Mogadishu, a city that has known little but violence for more than two years.

The UN Security Council has ordered the 24-nation peacekeeping force in the country to bring the gunmen and their leaders to justice after what it says was a planned attack last Saturday on the Pakistanis.

More than 20 Somalis also died, many of them civilians trapped in the fighting, in one of the bloodiest incidents in the history of peacekeeping operations.

UN sources have made little secret of the fact that the world organisation, fearing similar work from Bos-

nia to Cambodia could be put in jeopardy, plans to go after Mohamed Farah Aided, the Mogadishu warlord accused of responsibility for the killings.

Many foreign aid workers are delighted the UN has been forced to take on warlord power, but fear action against Aided could unleash a violent backlash by his supporters.

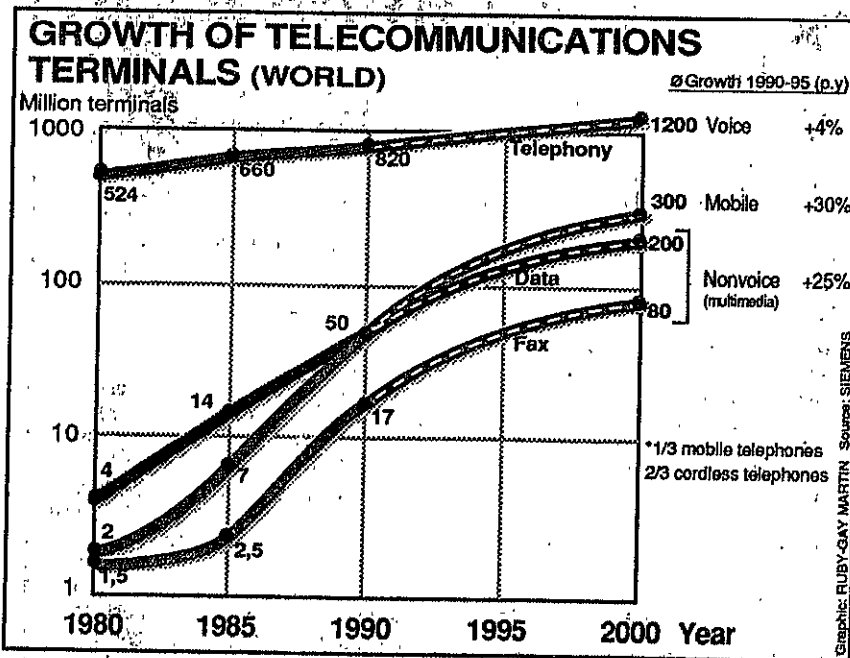
"It may not last very long but it could be very unpleasant," said one. "But let's hope a chapter is about to be closed."

Somalia's warlords, backed by clan-based militias, have terrorised the Horn of Africa country since dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was driven from power in January 1991.

Aided and his Habir Gedir clansmen fought their way into Mogadishu against Siad Barre's crumbling army and have since controlled most of the sprawling capital, long ago looted of anything of any value.

Sources say the UN is beefing up its military presence and will not pounce until it enjoys overwhelming superiority. American planes were expected to begin flying in reinforcements, including tanks, later today.

● A Pakistani Air Force plane yesterday took home the bodies of the Pakistanis killed on Saturday.
— Sapa-Reuter.



BIDay 9/6/93

Guide to southern African networks

TELECOMMUNICATIONS and networks will play a pivotal role in the development of sub-Saharan Africa.

With this in mind, BMI-TechKnowledge is compiling a detailed research report on all aspects of corporate networking and telecommunications in southern Africa.

MD Denis Smit says: "The handbook, which will be published in November, features overviews of communications-related issues in about 20 countries, and details of all major region-

al communications organisations and major corporate network users."

Topics include multi-access radio systems, rural and urban cellular systems, mobile radio communications, and satellite systems.

"In the telecommunications field, we will also cover payphones, cardphones, agency and community phones, optical fibre and digital microwave transmission systems."

The project has substantial backing. Detailed research on SA will be conducted, while countries

such as Botswana, Lesotho and Nigeria will also be covered in depth.

Apart from being a detailed technical reference, it has in-depth research on the demographics, infrastructure and relevant trade issues in the region.

Smit says telecommunications is opening up a range of new opportunities worldwide, and many companies are keen to play a role in all sectors of the regional economy. "This book will go a long way to assisting companies as they move into Africa," he says.

Safair, Aeroflot form joint service company

B/Say 11/6/93
GAVIN DU VENAGE

SAFAIR and Russian airline Aeroflot have formed a joint company to service Commonwealth of Independent States aircraft in Africa.

Safair MD Braam Loots said yesterday a joint company, Aerosaf Aviation, would pool the resources and capabilities of both companies. Maintenance would be provided at Jan Smuts Airport for aircraft of commonwealth origin. The company would provide a support schedule for commonwealth charters, sell spares, train crews and act as agent for commonwealth aircraft equipment in SA.

Safair would provide manpower and facilities for the aircraft. The Aeroflot group, made up of Aeroflot Moscow Airways, Africa Aviation Services and Aviatech service, would provide technical expertise.

Aerosaf would provide maintenance facilities for Soviet-made military hardware used in regional airforces such as those of Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. Loots said there were about 180 commonwealth aircraft operating in sub-Saharan Africa with inadequate backup.

Previously all Soviet aircraft were sent home for repairs, and replacements were flown out. The emphasis now was to operate on a commercial footing, which made it too expensive to fly halfway around the world for repairs and maintenance.

Safair had sufficient capacity to house and repair commonwealth aircraft. Loots said he expected turnover during the next two years to be about \$10m.

The deal would also address African aviation authorities' concerns about the influx of aircraft that were not up to international aviation standards.

This was particularly true of many using SA's airspace, said Loots.

Aerosaf would ensure these aircraft conformed to Civil Aviation Department standards. This aspect had the backing of Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed.

More killed in Somali fight

Guardian/w in w/mail 11/6-17/6/93.

THE Somali capital of Mogadishu was still the scene of intermittent heavy fighting on Monday between UN forces and followers of General Mohammed Aideed. At least two Somali gunmen were shot dead by Pakistani UN soldiers after their base was attacked.

A Reuters TV cameraman, Mohammed Shafi, said US reinforcements had been sent to the Pakistani military compound and had taken up sniper positions on nearby buildings. Meanwhile the death toll of UN soldiers rose to 23 after one of five Pakistanis captured in the fighting but released died of his wounds.

Gen. Aideed, blamed for the weekend violence, called for an investigation by a "neutral organisation". He said the fighting began when UN troops tried to seize a radio station used by his followers. But the UN's special envoy for Somalia, retired Admiral Jonathan Howe, said troops went to the radio station to take stock of arms stored there.

The UN Security Council called for its peacekeeping troops to track down the gunmen. — *Reuter*

Rebels 'massacre 300'

Guardian/w in w/mail 11/6-17/6/93.

Michelle Faul
in Abidjan

LIBERIAN rebels have slaughtered 300 refugees in an abandoned rubber plantation outside the capital, Monrovia, in an "orgy of killing and mutilation", a United Nations official said.

"They cut throats, they cut heads, threw out brains, opened stomachs and pulled out intestines, broke legs, and shot, so many bullet wounds that you cannot understand why," Augustine Mahiga, the representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said.

He viewed what he called "scenes more horrible than any movie I've ever seen". Mr Mahiga said he and others estimated that some 300 people had been killed and 755 wounded at Kata, a refugee camp set up at the workers' compound of the abandoned Firestone complex, the world's biggest rubber plantation, 35 miles north of Monrovia.

"I saw (the bodies of) a mother who was trying to protect her son and at the same time had a baby on her back. The mother was shot, the baby's skull had been slashed open and there was no brain in it," Mr Mahiga said.

A second refugee camp had been

attacked, where the death toll might be much higher, he added. Mr Mahiga said there was speculation that the rebels were using body parts for witchcraft, which is common in west Africa.

The massacre came two weeks after the west African army, a coalition to end the fighting in Liberia, said it had intercepted a radio message from the guerrilla leader, Charles Taylor, to one of his commanders. Mr Taylor allegedly ordered the commander to unleash a "reign of terror" against refugees on the front lines in the civil war.

Mr Taylor denied sending the message, but Mr Mahiga and others said they recognised the guerrilla chief's distinctive baritone voice.

Liberia has collapsed into chaos and more than half its 2.3 million people are refugees. Mr Taylor began the fighting with an invasion from the Ivory Coast in December 1989, sparking a civil war that killed an estimated 60,000 people in 1990.

West African states swamped with refugees sent an intervention force that has grown into a six-nation Nigerian-led army of about 12,000. The troops have pushed Mr Taylor's forces north, but progress has been slowed by a rebel counter-offensive — *AP*.

Burundi's rooster crows

By CATHARINE WATSON

w/m aul 11/6 - 17/6/93

BURUNDI'S old regime has been swept from power in what is being hailed as a model for democracy in east and central Africa. President Buyoya's decision to go quietly sets an example for the region.

The mostly Hutu followers of the opposition leader, Melchior Ndadaye, who won Wednesday's first presidential elections, were understandably slow to start celebrating.

On the streets, despondent Tutsi, the minority people who had backed Buyoya, listened to their radios. One complained bitterly about the 60 percent of the population who voted for Ndadaye: "Buyoya preached unity, but they followed fanaticism."

Late on Wednesday, Buyoya, who won 39 percent of the vote, broke the tension by saying on air that he had accepted the verdict and urging Burundians to do the same.

Only then did Ndadaye's followers celebrate, some waving bunches of leaves and clutching roosters. Green is the colour of the new leader's Front for Democracy in Burundi and its symbol is a cock crowing at dawn, heralding a new era.

"We have been ill-treated," sang one crowd, "but now everything is fine." A student said: "We have been dominated for so long. We are not against the Tutsi. We just want the masses also to have power."

The victory of the 40-year-old Ndadaye, a Hutu intellectual, brings to an end three decades of rule by the Tutsi Union for National Progress. For 26 years, Burundi was a one-party state.

At the losers' headquarters, the party president said he was baffled by the defeat: "Buyoya had a good chance. Burundians and even foreigners thought so. It's hard to explain what

happened." Many believe that the president performed badly because he represented a party that had become too remote.

The small, landlocked country is the second most densely populated in Africa. Since independence in 1962, the traditionally higher-status Tutsi, who constitute less than 14 percent of the population, have increased their dominance over the Hutu — and control of the things that go with it: jobs, housing, bank loans, education.

After ineffective Hutu uprisings in 1965, 1969 and 1972, the Tutsi carried out systematic purges of the Hutu elite. Massacres in 1972, some of the worst Africa has seen, were triggered by an attack from Hutu refugees in Tanzania, who killed about 2 000 Tutsi.

Retribution was swift. Tutsi elements in the army and ruling party presided over the deaths of about 100 000 Hutu in a country that at the time had only about three million inhabitants. The Hutu became an underclass.

After Buyoya came to power in a coup in 1987, there were further massacres in the north of the country, which shocked him into initiating reform. In March 1992, Burundi adopted a new democratic constitution.

In recent weeks, at opposition rallies in the mountainous interior, grandmothers wept and elderly men fought to see Ndadaye as crowds chanted that he was their Nelson Mandela. The mass of Burundians were desperate for change. Buyoya's reforms were not enough.

Ndadaye's party must still win the elections for the national assembly on June 29. Some say the defeated Tutsi will fight like wounded buffaloes. Others refer cynically to "the stomach factor", saying they will soon join the winning side to save their jobs. — The Guardian

A growing sense of insecurity in Algiers

Tension is running high on the streets.

Catherine Simon reports from the Algerian capital on how the conflict is affecting everyday life

THE mood in Algiers' city centre was deceptive: men with nothing to do were sitting in cafes watching the world go by while students in jeans and T-shirts queued outside a cake shop

It seemed much different from the suburbs where roadblocks and swoops are routinely staged by the *casques bleus*, the security guards nicknamed after their navy combat uniform.

But Ahmed was on his guard anyway. He kept throwing furtive glances at a waiter. What was he afraid of? "Every day, after 5 or 6 pm, the *ninjas* come in armed to the teeth and cordon off the neighbourhood," he said, referring to the anti-terrorist force who wear blue masks to protect their identity. "Don't fall into their hands — you should see how they treat those they arrest."

He lived in Bachjarah, an underprivileged neighbourhoods east of the capital which has become a regular target.

Over the past months, his life has become stifling. "I used to spend the evening at the cafe or playing dominoes," he said. "But now, with the police checks and the curfew, I go straight home." He and his wife and children share their two-room apartment with his mother and brother's family. "Sometimes when I think of the life we're leading, I feel the stirrings of

a terrorist inside me," he added.

So are the police restrictions imposed by the emergency enforced in February 1992 more difficult to accept than the terrorist acts committed by fundamentalist groups?

"There are neighbourhoods under maximum protection and neighbourhoods under maximum surveillance," was the cryptic answer given by Abdennour Ali Yaya, chairman of the Algerian Human Rights Defence Association.

The terrorist "madmen of God" single out people for their political convictions and the positions they hold. The authorities meanwhile target the *hittites* — the young unemployed whose nickname means "those who prop up walls".

"Going shopping, visiting the family or friends, all that has become complicated," said Rachid, an out-of-work mechanic. "Buses are regularly stopped and the men on board have to get out to show their identity papers and be frisked. The other day I was whacked by a rifle butt because I tried to help an old man collect his things. "What we want is peace and work. I don't see myself as a supporter of either the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) or the police. I feel I'm a foreigner in my own country."

Messaoud, who claimed to be "loyal to the FIS and Islam", said: "What's happening today is not a

civil war, it's the jihad. And it'll go on until an Islamic state is set up." He wears a beard and as a result has been picked up by the police several times when leaving the mosque. And when he is somewhat distrustful of his neighbours, he nonetheless tunes in regularly to El Wafa Radio (Radio Loyalty) to follow the illegal broadcasts by the Armed Islamic Movement (MIA).

A security officer responsible for the Algiers sector claimed they had killed 30 or so terrorists in the past fortnight "but they keep springing up like weeds."

Despite the thousands of arrests made in the last 18 months and despite the increasingly regular swoops organised in Algiers, the struggle against what Ali Kafi, chairman of the State High Committee, has identified as "obscurantist groups" look set to continue. So far the death toll is unofficially put at 1,200.

People have become confused by the resurgence of terrorism, and responsibility for hold-ups and attacks is no longer being claimed. Death threats sent to public figures are unsigned.

"Before Djilali Lyabès (a former minister of universities) and Laadi Flici (a member of the National Consultative Council) were assassinated, I didn't take these threats seriously," said Khalida Messouadi, women's rights activist and member of the National Consultative Council. "The only way to protect oneself now is always to be with other people and keep speaking out."

(June 3)

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Diplomats evacuated as UN prepares for battle

MOGADISHU — France evacuated its Mogadishu embassy staff to Djibouti yesterday as diplomatic sources said a UN military strike against Somalia's strongest warlord, Mohamed Farah Aideed, was imminent.

Some French troops serving with the United Nations in the southern town of Baidoa were seen arriving in Mogadishu in armoured personnel carriers.

Sudan has already evacuated its embassy. Italian diplomats said they would not evacuate their embassy.

UN officials did not rule out an aerial attack on Aideed's arms dumps and compounds.

The warlord's radio has broadcast several reports

that the Pakistanis were themselves to blame for Saturday's bloodbath because they provoked Somali gunmen by opening fire on unarmed civilians.

A Pakistani commander dismissed Aideed's account as "lies", adding that gunmen who ambushed the Pakistanis used women and children as human shields.

It has been reported that four US AC-130 attack planes were heading for Somalia. The planes, laden with computers, can blast ground targets with deadly accuracy.

Britain's Save the Children Fund urged the UN not to attack Aideed.

It said this would only provoke an escalation of violence in the country. — Sapa-AFP.



is her throat to humanitarian
cked by Croat
Picture: AP

ster 11/6/93

Yeltsin wins support for constitution plan

MOSCOW — Boris Yeltsin gained support for his proposed constitution for post-Soviet Russia as his chief rival bowed out of the convention to draft it and two former critics said compromise was possible.

In a conciliatory speech, Yeltsin yesterday praised the 700 delegates for "avoiding fruitless political battles" as they wrestled with competing drafts submitted by the president and communist-dominated Congress of People's Deputies, led by Yeltsin's most vocal critic, Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Yeltsin is trying to replace the Soviet-era constitution with one that

vests supreme power in the presidency and Russia's 21 republics rather than in the legislative branch.

The Congress, dominated by former communists elected before the Soviet Union's demise in 1991, has balked at passing a new constitution and has tried to slow Yeltsin's free-market reforms and reduce his powers.

The convention got off to a raucous start on Saturday as Khasbulatov was booted off the podium. He and about 50 followers stormed out of the ornate hall, where the Communist Party central committee formerly met. — Sapa-AP.

Mulroney's final days

OTTAWA — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney will step down in two weeks, the last of the western Conservative leaders of the 1980s to fall victim of recession and popular discontent.

Mulroney swept to power in 1984 with the largest majority in Canadian history. Nine years later, he is retiring as the most unpopular leader since public opinion polling began in Canada after World War 2.

He modernised the Canadian economy and reformed taxes, but his government was dogged by a prolonged recession and his policies were blamed for causing widespread unemployment. — Sapa-Reuter.



UN hits back in Somalia

Times 13/6/93
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②

By JONATHAN EWING
Mogadishu

UN FORCES, hitting back for the killing of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers, bombed weapons stores and a radio station, rounded up suspected gunmen and fired at protestors, killing a Somali yesterday. They met scattered sniper fire but no major resistance from the militia of General Mohamed Farah Aideed, the Mogadishu warrior blamed by the UN for the deaths of the Pakistanis.

The UN forces also began house-to-house searches for General Aideed.

The Pakistanis were slaughtered last Saturday in what the UN said was a carefully prepared ambush.

But several hundred Somalis took to the streets after yesterday's military action chanting "Down with the UN" and "Down with US".

Witnesses said Pakistani troops fired on a crowd stoning a UN compound, killing a Somali and wounding two.

Military sources said the UN had taken more than 100 prisoners by midday, eight

hours after the attack began.

American AC-130 Spectres, carrying 105mm guns, carried out the main air attack before dawn, and the capital was quiet by the time the sun rose.

There were no reports of casualties among UN troops, but foreign residents feared an angry backlash.

"Why do you do this to us, we hate you," a young Somali shouted at several foreign journalists.

Osman Arto, General Aideed's chief financier, told journalists Somalis would fight back if the UN arrested his leader. "They may have the better weapons, but we have the better motivation," he said.

The killing of the Pakistanis posed the first big test of the UN command in Somalia since taking over peacekeeping operations on May 4 from the US-led force that arrived in December to protect famine relief convoys from civil war looting.

The UN has about 18 000 troops from 24 countries in Somalia, including 4 000 from Pakistan. — Sapa-Reuter

● See Page 12

Attack on Somalia imminent

MOGADISHU — Mogadishu airport was to close at midnight last night to all non-United Nations traffic, a UN military spokesman said yesterday.

It was the clearest sign yet that the UN was gearing up for a military strike against Somali gunmen held accountable for the slaying of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers last weekend.

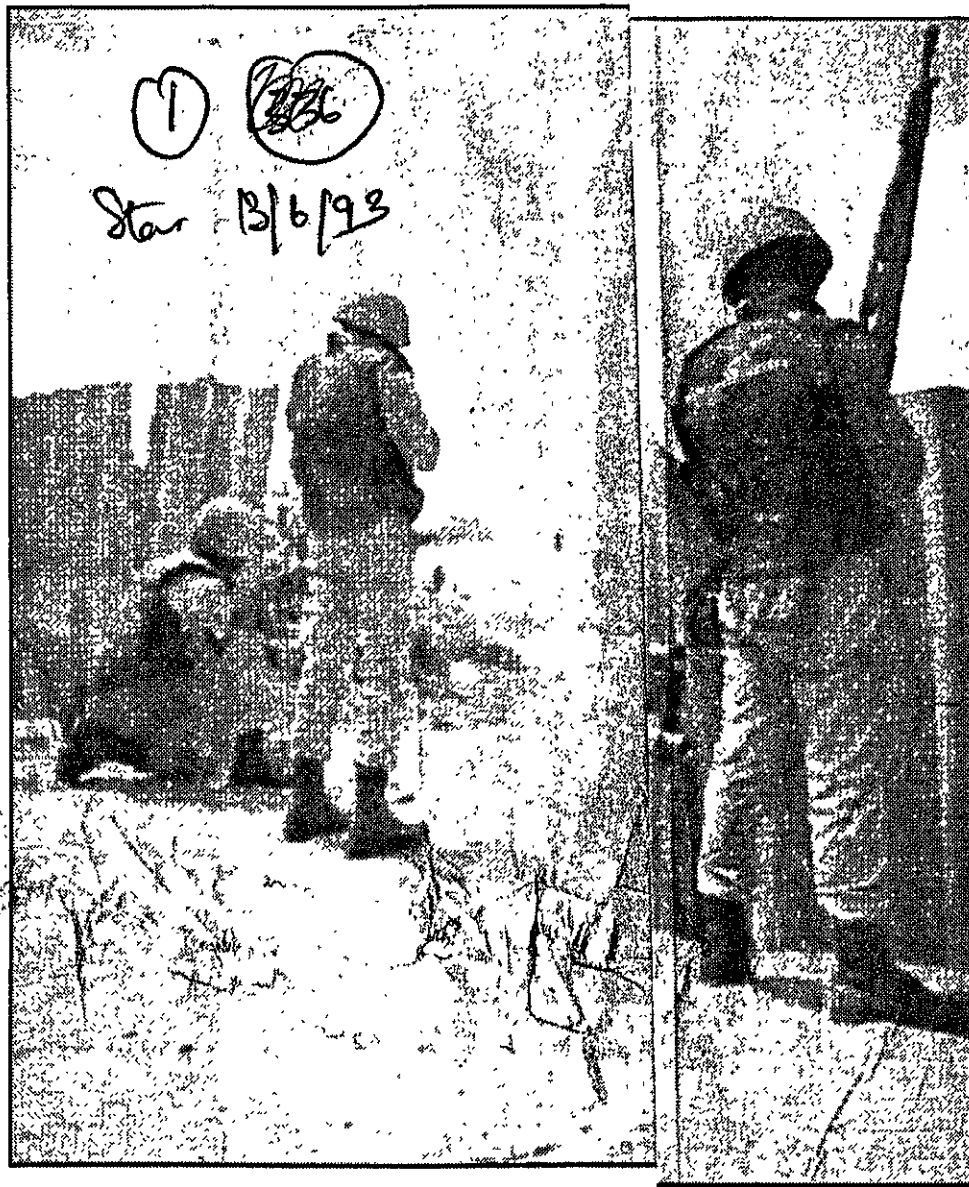
"From midnight, we are closing the airport to non-UNOSOM (United Nations Operation in Somalia) aircraft," US Army Major David Stockwell told reporters. "It will remain closed until further notice."

In Washington, the Pentagon said the US aircraft carrier Wasp and three other ships with 2200 marines aboard had been ordered to leave the Persian Gulf and stand by in the Strait of Hormuz for possible movement to Somalia.

All flights of the UN Operation in Somalia, UNOSOM II, and of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) were being suspended in the Somali capital for an unspecified period, sources said in Nairobi, Kenya.

African Airlines, the only private company flying into Mogadishu from Nairobi, was also informed of the air traffic ban.

The airport is in the southern part of Mogadishu, held by General Mohamed



TENSE MOMENTS: Pakistani troops in Mogadishu as they were killed last weekend. Reports indicate the UN is gearing up for a military strike. Photograph: ALEXANDER JOE, AFP

Aideed, who is widely accused of being behind an attack last Saturday in which 23 Pakistani peacekeepers were killed and 62 other UN troops injured.

Virtually all aid workers and UN civilian officials have been withdrawn from Mogadishu since the clashes.

Diplomatic sources said that if there was a strike, it would probably be led by the US Quick Reaction Force of more than 1000 elite troops who remain under US command.

White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers on Thursday confirmed reports

that four US AC-130 Spectre gunships had been sent to Somalia.

The planes are heavily armed versions of the US Air Force's four-engined C-130 transport aircraft, and are packed with sophisticated computer equipment.

French reinforcements

also arrived, a battalion of about 130 men moving in from the southern town of Baidoha with four armoured personnel carriers to reinforce the mainly Pakistani troops.

UN military officials said they were ready to move against Aideed, but were

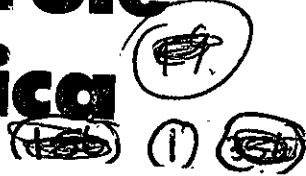
waiting for the green light from UN civilian officials.

The most likely scenario seems to be an air strike against Aideed's arms depots and compounds to avoid exposing UN forces to the perils of street battles, diplomatic sources said. — Sapa-AFP.

Air ban points to UN raid

Oxfam hits out at the IMF's role in Africa

CIPress 13/6/93



OXFAM has launched an unprecedented attack on the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF has failed Africa. "The Fund ... is governed by apparently immutable orthodoxies entirely inappropriate to African conditions," it says.

Far from providing "aid" to the world's poorest countries, the IMF has taken \$3,9-billion (about R12,4-billion) from Africa since 1986. "There cannot be a role for the IMF if it is going to go on sucking Africa dry, as it is now," said Oxfam director David Bryer.

Indeed, Oxfam concludes that "the fund should be withdrawn from Africa and its role taken over by a more appropriate agency".

Oxfam is Britain's oldest and second largest non-government overseas aid charity, spending \$80-million (about R255-million) a year in 70 countries. Its criticism is contained in a report, "Africa, make or break", published last month.

Oxfam is not the IMF's only critic. Tony Killick, of the conservative London-based Overseas Development Institute, wrote in April that the "high failure rates and a paucity of 'success stories' leave particular questions about the fund's ability to operate successfully in Africa and other low-income countries."

The critique is broader than just Africa. The IMF has also been taking money from poor countries in Asia and Latin America - for example, \$4,6-billion (about R14,7-billion) from south Asia since 1986. And the criticism applies to the World Bank and donor governments as well.

Oxfam says that "the international donor community and multilateral agencies - the World Bank and IMF - continue to insist on economic policy reforms which have manifestly failed to generate recovery, while imposing huge social costs".

The World Bank and IMF strongly reject these criticisms. Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice president for Africa, said in March that "under structural adjustment, the countries of Africa have achieved significant progress".

Yet Oxfam concludes that IMF and World Bank-imposed Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have been a "fundamental failure".

While Jaycox said in a report to the bank in February that "adjustment has improved the lives of the vast majority of Africa's poor", Oxfam retorted that adjustment had "dramatically worsened the plight of the poor".

Jaycox argues that critics of World Bank policies "confuse the malady and the remedy" and that where the conditions of the poor continue to deteriorate, it just shows the need for further structural adjustment. Oxfam dismisses this as a failed prescription.

It adds that in the few cases where the World Bank could point to "success", this "has been based on substantial aid transfers".

Oxfam has joined with other critics who argue that structural adjustment is built on a fundamentally false premise - "that sub-Saharan African economies can export their way to recovery".

It says the bank and IMF "encouraged countries producing a narrow range of commodities to expand production simultaneously, for already saturated markets".

Thus, for example, between 1986 and 1989 cocoa exporters in west Africa increased their output by a quarter, only to see foreign exchange receipts fall by a third as prices collapsed.

The study by the two University of Florida researchers showed that many cases of brutality and discrimination by white police officers arose out of preconceived ideas about blacks. White policemen looked suspiciously at blacks walking or driving in white neighbourhoods, particularly rich ones.

"Many of these citizens were harassed for driving or shopping in an upscale white neighbourhood," said Kim Lears.

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Undeclared war in Somalia

MOGADISHU — A United States gunship rained rockets and cannon fire on targets in Mogadishu early today during the third night of air attacks aimed at ending gun rule in the Somali capital. Two Somalis were reported killed and two wounded.

Witnesses said most of the fire appeared to be concentrated on an area controlled by Somalia's main warlord, Mohamed Farah Aided, whose fighters have been held responsible for killing 23 Pakistani United Nations peacekeeping troops. At a garage near General Aided's headquarters, report-

ers saw the charred remains of a child. The open-air garage was littered with the mangled, burned-out wreckage of lorries and pickup trucks. Reporters saw no evidence that the area had been used to store ammunition or military equipment.

The latest raid, following a day in which Pakistani UN soldiers shot dead at least 20 demonstrators, suggested that the UN peacekeeping operation might degenerate into an undeclared war against Somalia's gunmen. Aided, asked in an interview with the US television network CBS if he had any message for President Bill Clinton, said: "I think the best message I can give is to

stop killing the Somali people... because killing will not solve anything."

Flares lit up parts of the sprawling capital as tracer bullets criss-crossed the night sky. The AC-130 Spectre gunship flew over the capital several times and blasted arms depots and ammunition stores with 105 mm cannon fire and rockets. Exploding ammunition erupted skywards like a giant firework display.

In Washington, a Pentagon official said: "One AC-130 is taking part in an attack on two unauthorised vehicle storage sites in Mogadishu." AC-130 gunships, acting on behalf of the United Nations, had struck at targets asso-

ciated with Aided on Saturday and yesterday following the ambush of the Pakistani peacekeepers.

Witnesses and hospital sources said Pakistani soldiers opened fire without warning on anti-UN demonstrators in Mogadishu yesterday, killing at least 20 and wounding up to 50.

Pakistan denied anyone was killed or that its troops had opened fire first. Brigadier-General Ikram Ul-Hasan, the Pakistani commander, said preliminary reports indicated his men had come under fire from the protesters.

His account was disputed by witnesses, including journalists, who said they saw

the Pakistanis shoot into the crowd without warning from a sandbagged fortress about 150 m away.

The violence was the latest to embroil the United Nations force, which went into Somalia on a peacekeeping mission aimed at restoring law and order in a country ravaged by civil war and famine.

Crowds of angry Somalis took to the streets yesterday to protest against the earlier strikes by US aircraft and helicopters on Aided targets.

Aided toured the city's two main hospitals and blamed Clinton for the deaths of civilians. — Sapa-Reuter.

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WORLD

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Sudanese Islamic leader has North Africa on edge, reports Charles Richards

The smiling face of modern terrorism

HASSAN al-Turabi has a curious distinction. It is his photograph, in black and white, of his face smiling between bright white robe and turban, which is the first in the 1992 Patterns of Global Terrorism, a report put out by the US State Department.

The report does not actually label the founder and leader of Sudan's National Islamic Front a terrorist leader. But the implication is clear. In the text, he is accused of keeping dubious company. "In 1992," the report says, "the government of Sudan continued a disturbing pattern of relationships with international terrorist groups. Sudan's increasing support for radical Arab terrorist groups is directly related to the extension of National Islamic

Front (NIF) influence over the government of Sudan.

"Elements of the Abu Nidal Organisation, the Palestinian Islamic (Resistance) Movement (Hamas), and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist organisation continue to find refuge in Sudan."

Throughout North Africa, and in the corridors of power in Washington, government officials spit out Turabi's name with venom. In Tunisia, senior ministers have accused him of membership of a new Islamic international.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak has accused Sudan of being behind the spate of violence by Islamic extremists.

In the West, heavyweight journals like Foreign Affairs, Commentary and the Economist have

explored whether there has arisen a new Islamic threat, acting against Western interests. The spectre serves the interests of parties such as Israel, which needs to show its US backers it is a bulwark against these fanatic hordes.

Turabi has been cast as the Svengali of modern Islamic movements.

Hassan al-Turabi wears such notoriety lightly. There is no evident security at his Khartoum offices of the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference, of which he is secretary-general.

On a visit to Canada last year he was felled by a karate chop to the back of the head by a dissident Sudanese black belt. Some have discerned a slowing of his mental

and physical powers and the demonstration of his own vulnerability set off a power struggle among his lieutenants. And there is some evidence that he is not completely in charge in Sudan (of course, he would deny any official role now whatsoever, but no one believes that).

Whatever the damage to his powers, he is still as fluent and charming in three languages (law degree from London and doctorate — on emergency laws — from the Sorbonne) as ever. The only warning that he is about to mouth some monstrous disingenuousness comes with his childlike giggle.

Turabi is dismissive about his reputation. "The West unfortunately knows very little about Islam. Westerners are not familiar with

the new revival so they think it is just a fanatic religious revival. They think that religious revival means terrorism or force."

So why should the North African states be afraid of him? "Because we are a religious movement. Religion is based on sincerity and honesty to God. There is no coercion in religion (a quotation from the Koran), otherwise it means hypocrisy and artificiality. Any country which does not allow Islam to express itself gradually, peacefully, will run into resistance or jihad. Jihad simply means Islamic resistance, or struggle, it does not mean a holy war as you know."

Turabi's vision of Islam allows no dissent, no opposition. One-third of this very diverse country,

the non-Muslim part, would be subject to Islamic law in the north "as Sudanese in London are subject to English law".

So far, no major terrorist incident has been traced to the Islamic regime in Sudan. The Sudanese lack the logistical abilities to run terrorist networks, like the Iraqis or Libyans, even if they wished.

What about charges that Sudan is aiding anti-government Egyptian groups? Turabi is adamant: "There is not a single Egyptian opposition member in Sudan actually." He is also categorical that there is no axis with Iran. "There are no Iranian tourists, Iran is not supplying Sudan with oil. Iran is not supplying Sudan with any credit at all." — The Independent News Service. □

Demonstrators 'shot by Somali gunmen'

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15/6/93

NEW YORK — A senior United Nations official told the Security Council yesterday that Somali gunmen fired into a crowd of demonstrators during a confrontation with Pakistani UN troops on Sunday in which at least 20 Somalis were killed.

The incident has led to charges that the Pakistanis were responsible for killing innocent civilians.

In a briefing for Security Council members, the under secretary-general in charge of UN peacekeeping operations, Kofi Annan, said: "Armed Somalis nearby fired into the crowd, suggesting a carefully staged incident calculated to create casualties and weaken UN forces' effectiveness in dealing with organised mobs in

the future."

The council later issued a statement saying its members "deeply regret the casualties which have occurred among Somali civilians" and noting that an inquiry into Sunday's incident was under way.

The council strongly endorsed attacks since Saturday by UN troops and aircraft against weapons caches and facilities belonging to faction leader Mohamed Farah Aideed, saying they were in accordance with council resolutions.

"These actions form part of a continuing programme to disarm the Somali society and neutralise all heavy weapons. Another major objective of the co-ordinated military actions was the neutralisation of radio Mogadishu, which has been used to incite violence against Uno-

som II," the council said, referring to the force officially known as the UN Operation in Somalia.

Annan said preliminary reports indicated that civilian crowds, including women and children, had been used by Aideed and his supporters as human shields during attacks on UN forces.

Annan, a Ghanaian, said those tactics resulted in the death of 23 Pakistani United Nations peacekeepers on June 5.

Referring to Sunday's violence, he said: "Initial reports suggest (media statements notwithstanding) a case of violent staged demonstration with the crowd encouraged by agitators to attack Pakistani soldiers at a strongpoint.

"Shots were fired from the crowd at United Nations soldiers on the ground, and au-

tomatic weapons fire was directed at them from an adjacent building. A United Nations rooftop covering position returned fire on those shooting at the soldiers on the ground."

It was at this point in his briefing that he said armed Somalis nearby fired into the crowd.

In a TV interview Annan referred to the casualties resulting from Sunday's violence, adding: "We do not know who shot these people. Obviously, our bullets may have hit some of them."

Alluding to Aideed's followers, Annan said: "We cannot overlook the fact that it is the same criminal elements who either ordered or connived at the murder of their people, the starvation of their people, who are involved in this event." — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 12/6/93 ①
**Premier to hold
15/6/93
Malagasy power**

ANTANANARIVO — Madagascar takes the final steps down the troubled road to democracy tomorrow in legislative polls which will place power in the hands of an elected prime minister.

The poll follows the defeat of president Didier Ratsiraka in landmark presidential elections in February after 17 years of dictatorship. He has ceded authority to the 138-seat assembly to be elected tomorrow. — Sapa-Reuters.

Somalis in anti-UN protests

MOGADISHU — More than 1000 supporters of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidede staged a rally yesterday to protest against UN military strikes against Aidede's arms depots and the killings of Somali demonstrators.

US Cobra helicopters circled overhead as demonstrators sang Somalia's national anthem. A woman ripped up a plastic US flag.

A day earlier two women were wounded near the site of the demonstration at the July 1 Square when a US helicopter fired an anti-

tank missile that hit a tea stall. A second missile then destroyed a Russian-made multiple missile launcher nearby, according to witnesses.

But a UN special representative said only one missile was fired and there did not appear to be casualties.

● Germany's opposition Social Democrats, in a move that could force an abrupt pullout of German troops, took the government to court yesterday over its role in UN peacekeeping in Somalia. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Star 16/6/93

Too little too late?

Star 16/6/92

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Recent predictions indicate that the Aids epidemic will have left about 10 million children without parents in Africa by the year 2000. More than 500 000 of them will be living in South Africa.

In most sub-Saharan countries, the problem is extensive. As adults die, their children are left dependent on the aged, on themselves, and on collapsing community structures.

In the rest of Africa they discovered the problem when it was already smothering them," says Support Aids Families and Orphans (SafO) co-ordinator Claire Fleming.

"Since South Africa is some years behind the rest of the continent in terms of the Aids epidemic, we are ideally placed to prepare ourselves. But very little has been done."

SafO, which was launched in Soweto in February last year, is the only organisation dedicated to offering practical assistance. Working with the HIV clinic

at Baragwanath Hospital, which refers the families of Aids sufferers to SafO, the organisation is assisting 54 Sowe-

to families to cope with the manifold problems associated with the terminally ill.

"Children are often traumatised by seeing their parents die," says SafO's only field worker, Nana Ntuli. "They are different to normal orphans. They are undergoing pain and insecurity over a long period."

"Our work is to offer them support and love, so that it will not be too difficult for them to fit into society as adults."

At the moment, SafO stands virtually alone against these difficulties. But it's a small organisation — a committee and two part-time workers — which has met with a lukewarm re-

sponse from the authorities.

SafO applied for a fund-raising number in November 1991. While the authorities considered the application, the fledgling organisation received support from the British government, and later from the Americans and Australians.

Prompted by an inquiry from The Star last week, the Directorate of Fund Raising has now issued SafO with a fund-raising number valid for two years.

"We're thrilled," says Fleming, "but concerned that no one is paying much attention to this vitally important aspect of the epidemic. Even the minutes of the Aids Advisory Group (AAG) reveal no urgency."

Professor Alan Fleming, chairman of Baragwanath Hospital and the Soweto Clinics

Many children are being caught up in the Aids crisis as orphans, and they will remain long after the epidemic has subsided, Health Writer DAVID ROBBINS looks at the scale of the problem in South Africa, and at what is being done to prepare for it.

Aids Committee, warns that the pressures which will be placed on these Aids orphans will be enormous.

As communities collapse because of the death of breadwinners and leaders, children will be forced prematurely into the adult world of work and decision-making, often to the detriment of their educational and emotional development.

"So far," he says, "little has been done to plan for the social consequences of this premature

entry into adult life.

"Failure to adequately prepare could expose the young to the influences of the unscrupulous, who may encourage socially disruptive behaviour including substance abuse, prostitution, urban violence or even banditry and civil war."

Claire Fleming adds: "As if the existing problems of our street children and marginalised youth aren't enough, but I think sometimes the authorities are hoping the problem won't

The minutes refer to the protection that more than 331 000 children will soon be orphaned by Aids, then continues:

"If it is accepted that 10 per cent of these children will require care and other social assistance, by the year 2000 approximately 53 000 more children will be the responsibility of the welfare system."

"How is that for reducing the problem by 30 per cent?" asks Claire Fleming. "I simply can't understand where they get that 10 per cent to make their calculation. All these orphans are going to be the responsibility of the welfare system, but we certainly don't advocate that they all be institutionalised."

Both Claire and Alan Fleming emphasise that the experience in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa should be examined to formulate a policy for South Africa. Most of the work with children bereft of their parents through Aids has been left to a few dedicated non-governmental organisations, with State authorities doing little to assist.

Asked what SafO would do if it had access to funds, Claire Fleming said immediately: "An office in Soweto, a workshop where the families and children of the terminally ill can generate income and build up a sense of belonging, a few salaries for full-time staff training programmes for volunteers to work in the community."

"We admit we have a lot to learn," she added. "And we would all the help we can get. It would be terrible if South Africa learnt nothing from the countries to the north."

Telephone (011) 678-9908 for further information on SafO. □

Somalis in anti-UN protests

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Muslims target lecturer in Egypt

By DEBORAH PUGH, Cairo

AN Egyptian university lecturer, denied a full professorship in April because of Islamic fundamentalist opposition, is now being targeted by Islamist lawyers who are trying to have his marriage annulled on the grounds that he is an apostate.

If successful, the case has the potential to undermine the secular foundations of Egypt's legal system at a time when the country has been rocked by a wave of attacks by militants.

The case has been lodged in Egypt's civil court by a legal firm associated with the Muslim Brotherhood claiming to be protecting society's interests. In a dense legal document, Dr Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid, an associate professor of Arabic, is accused of apostasy on the basis of his academic writings on early Islamic jurisprudence.

The petition demands that his wife, Dr Ebtihal Younes, be separated from him by the court in order to protect the purity of Egypt's Muslim society.

Zeid believes he is being picked on in a campaign to intimidate liberal Muslims actively opposing the fundamentalists' attempts at gaining political power.

"It began when I would not quietly accept my failure to gain promotion, after it was blocked on non-academic grounds. That stirred up controversy as to whether Cairo University was a secular or religious institution. This court case is an attempt to support those who criticised my work by trying to convict me of apostasy and then destroy my marriage."

While Egypt is ostensibly a secular state, the late President Sadat endorsed the Sharia, traditional Islamic jurisprudence, as the main source of Egyptian law. As the fundamentalist movement has become bolder, Egyptian Islamists have attempted to extend the application of the Sharia, going well beyond what many consider to be in the spirit of Islam.

This is believed to be the first case in which a successful marriage is being questioned on the grounds of society's good, as interpreted by Egypt's growing band of Islamic fundamentalist lawyers.

Observers believe that the fact that the case has not been rejected out of hand is a reflection of the changing political climate and the influence of fundamentalism within the judicial system.

"For some years many Egyptian judges have been working in Saudi Arabia on secondment in return for large salaries and this has had an influence on their attitudes," said a high-ranking Egyptian lawyer.

The court has agreed to an adjournment until November 4 while the lawyers request a response from leading sheikhs associated with Al-Azhar University. Al-Azhar is the key institute of Islamic learning for Egypt and for all of Sunni Islam and has been widely criticised for encouraging extremism.

Last week, the judge presiding over the trial of the militants accused of the murder last June of Dr Farag Fonda, an outspoken opponent of political Islam, agreed that the defence could call on Islamist sheikhs to testify whether or not his works were anti-Islamic.

Meanwhile, Younes is trying to come to terms with the possibility of having to leave her husband or be condemned as an adulteress — the punishment for which is death by stoning.

A charge of apostasy could also be used as an excuse by extremists to assassinate her husband. — The Guardian News Service

NEWS IN BRIEF

6:10 PM 17/6/93 ①
Somalia relief resumes

MOGADISHU — Food relief in Mogadishu resumed after being halted a week ago to pave the way for UN air raids.

Three trucks ferried 90 tons to northern Mogadishu to centres which closed when aid workers were evacuated to Kenya.

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Aideed on run after bloodbath

MOGADISHU (Somalia) *Star 18/6/93*

Six peacekeepers died and at least 43 were injured during an air and ground assault by United Nations troops against Somali warlord General Mohamed Farrah Aideed, who was still on the loose today. But the UN and US President Bill Clinton have called the operation a success.

The total number of Somali casualties was unclear but could range into the hundreds. Yesterday's fighting engulfed much of the southern half of Mogadishu.

Air raids

After overnight air raids, American and Pakistani soldiers stormed the general's two-storey stucco home and office yesterday, only to find the shattered building completely deserted.

The troops searched house-to-house but did not find Aideed, who is accused of orchestrating a June 5 ambush that killed 23 Pakistani UN peacekeepers.

Aideed fighters, however, fought back using women, children and hospital patients as shields, the UN said.

Clinton said in Washington last night that the US-led action had "crippled" Aideed. "The military back of Aideed has been broken," he claimed, reporting the operation to be "over".

But UN officials said the search for Aideed had not

been called off.

In New York, UN spokesman Joe Sills said Aideed's gunmen, armed with hand grenades, "hid behind women and children until they were within throwing distance". This tactic was also used with patients at Digfer Hospital, where Aideed was reportedly holed up with militiamen.

Sills said five Moroccan peacekeepers were killed and 36 wounded; one Pakistani was killed and three wounded; and three French soldiers and one American were wounded.

Through Wednesday night and early morning yesterday, American AC-130 gunships and Cobra helicopters fired on the neighbourhood where Aideed and two of his closest allies live, raking it with rockets and shells.

Before daybreak, Italian, French, American, Pakistani and Moroccan soldiers blocked the area off with tanks and armoured personnel carriers. As they moved in, they got into a fierce firefight with Aideed's supporters.

At dawn, the UN forces closed in on the single block of homes that housed Aideed, Colonel Omar Jess and Osman Atto, plus dozens of their mostly young, untrained militiamen.

Four US ships carrying 4 200 sailors and Marines were steaming toward Mogadishu from the Gulf yesterday and were expected off Somalia's coast tomorrow. — Sapa-AP.

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US defends its air strikes on Somalia

Guardian/W in W/Mout

Mark Huband in Mogadishu and Ian Black in London

AMERICAN attack helicopters on Monday launched their first daylight bombing raid on targets in the centre of the Somali capital, killing one civilian and injuring 12 others.

The attack drew the United Nations into a worsening crisis of uncertainty following three consecutive nights of air raids on militia-controlled areas of the city, and came amid growing international concern over the UN action.

In Washington, a senior defence official said the United States was sending more helicopters and would continue air strikes against the forces of the Somali warlord, General Mohammed Farah Aideed. "We are going to smack them as they need to be smacked, hitting them as circumstances demand," said the official, who asked not to be named.

Night bombing raids on Mogadishu using computer-controlled Howitzer shells have destroyed vehicles, storage facilities and possibly weaponry belonging to Aideed.

The UN approved the raids after his United Somali Congress was blamed for ambushing, killing and mutilating 23 Pakistani troops serving with UN forces on June 5, a charge Gen Aideed denies.

The first US raid had brought Somalis out on to the streets in protest. As the crowd of about 50 approached a building containing a UN compound witnesses said shots were fired at the Pakistani UN troops on the roof. The Pakistanis opened fire with heavy machine guns and at least 14 people were killed. The day before Pakistani troops had killed three people when a protest march reached the perimeter wall of the UN military headquarters.

Monday's daylight raid at 11am killed a woman selling tea at a roadside stall and left 12 others seriously injured after US helicopters fired rockets at a defunct rocket launcher in the grounds of a house. One of the two rockets fired pierced the launcher and the other exploded on a nearby street.

UN military personnel had examined the rocket launcher in February and deemed it inoperative. But, at a military briefing in Mogadishu, the UN's chief of military intelligence, US Lieutenant-colonel Kelvin McGovern, said it was a legitimate target.

On Sunday Col McGovern had said that attacks were being carried out at night in order to minimise civilian casualties. He refused to say whether this policy had been reversed before Monday's raid, which occurred when the streets were full.

Gen Aideed said he would negotiate if the bombing stopped. "The ongoing genocide by the UN has no moral basis," he said.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN secretary general, expressed regret over the killings of Somali demonstrators by Pakistani troops on Sunday, but defended the UN: "Certainly I regret this . . . accident which happened during the operation for disarmament," he said in Vienna.

"I believe we are reaching now . . . the destruction of heavy weapons of these gangs as a prerequisite to . . . the reconstruction of this country."

Martin Walker writes from Washington: Somalia received the first taste of what some United States officials are calling the "Clinton Doctrine", under which the US is preparing to accept a special responsibility to be the enforcer of last resort when United Nations peacekeeping operations run into trouble. 18/6-24/6/93

The US government has authorised its troops supporting the UN in Somalia to continue with aggressive military operations on the ground, to disarm warlord factions and to seek out and arrest those deemed responsible for the deaths of the 23 Pakistani UN troops.

After its controversial decision against intervention in the Balkans, the US administration has now unleashed airborne gunships and ground troops in the easier fighting ground of Somalia and thus established an important precedent of American force being deployed on behalf of the UN.

"If UN peacekeepers are to be effective agents for peace and stability in Somalia and elsewhere, they must be capable of using force when necessary to defend themselves and accomplish their goals," Mr Clinton said at the weekend.

The use of US air power was "essential to send a clear message to the armed gangs . . . and to strengthen the effectiveness and the credibility of UN peacekeeping forces."

THE air strikes on Friday and Saturday nights were treated as a full-scale military operation in the White House. Mr Clinton broke away repeatedly from a private dinner party for updates on the first operation under his command.

"The United Nations and the United States refuse to tolerate this ruthless disregard for the will of the international community," Mr Clinton said.

The US has few aid organisations in Somalia, and officials seemed surprised at the criticism of the air strikes from British and French aid workers.

The question is whether the US now becomes the indispensable power to back up other UN operations, with the unique ability to deliver almost instant air power, tanks and rapid reaction troops around the globe. The Somali operation has shown how far the UN now depends on US military support.



Innocent victims . . . weeping women carry one of the 14 civilians killed in Mogadishu by Pakistani troops as they protested against the US air strikes

PHOTOGRAPH: ALEXANDER JOE

COMMENT

In name ① of the UN stop it

Guardian/W in W/Mail

THE UN has stumbled very badly in Somalia, in an operation which was misconceived from the start. No matter how grievous the assault a week earlier on some of its peace-keepers, a revenge attack was not the answer. Predictably what had been billed as swift and precise action from the air has spattered messily into much more slaughter on the ground. President Clinton has claimed the intention to defend the effectiveness of peace-keeping elsewhere by acting decisively in Mogadishu. It will have entirely the opposite effect if the UN alienates and kills the people whom it is supposed to protect. 18/6-24/6/93

The UN special representative Jonathan Howe said that he "hoped it was not true" that the Somali people in Mogadishu had turned against the UN. Tentative hopes are not enough when dead bodies of unarmed civilians litter the local hospitals. It is useless to suggest, as UN sources were doing, that "allowances must be made" for the anger of Pakistani troops, 23 of whose colleagues had been ambushed and killed a week before. Any sensible strategy envisaging the use of air-power should have anticipated — as aid workers were warning last week — that the population of Mogadishu would become both frightened and angry. The cause

of General Aideed, the target of the raids, may actually have been advanced by the popular anger in the streets.

General Aideed, to no one's enormous surprise, escaped capture in the follow-up. The US ambassador to the UN then announced that "a whole series of ground-force actions . . . are contemplated in the future". Though conducted in the name of the UN, this was essentially another special operation from the same US team who gave us the "crippling of Saddam Hussein". Saturday's raid could even be watched live on CNN, with supplementary graphics depicting the state-of-the-art equipment of the AC-130H Spectre II Gunship. The deep flaws of a strategy based upon high-technology revenge have again been revealed. By agreeing to assign US forces to the UN structure in Somalia, rather than insist on separate command, Mr Clinton had previously adopted a more genuinely internationalist view of US participation in peace-keeping. But this operation will only encourage the suspicion to which less powerful countries are prone that the US and the UN are interchangeable. Mr Clinton invoked "the lessons of Desert Storm" in his first public comment on the raid. The US would continue to play "its unique role of leadership in the world . . .", he said, "through multilateral means, such as the UN, which spread the costs and express the unified will of the international community". That is a singularly unfortunate way of describing the relationship between Washington and New York which may be quoted in the future against the UN.

It is a grim irony that in this military field the UN is doing too

much in Somalia and not nearly enough in Bosnia. Of course the resort to quick and pseudo-surgical air strikes would be as disastrous against the Serbs as against General Aideed. In both cases what is needed is a unified strategy where military force, sparingly used, is properly geared to the political and humanitarian goals of peace-keeping intervention. Responsible aid agencies who have long been involved in Somalia are right to complain that the original aim has been obscured. The Security Council's resolution last week ordered an investigation, not retaliation. It should now call an immediate halt to this disastrous operation and think again.

Chasing peace through the Western Sahara

Jacques de Barrin

THE United Nations Secretary-General hopes that a referendum will help get the Western Sahara peace process back on the road before the end of the year.

A North Africa visit took Boutros Boutros-Ghali to Rabat, Tindouf, Algiers and Tunis. But all he would say was that he had proposed a new compromise which he hoped would be accepted by the region's rivals, Morocco and the Polisario Front. They have observed an armistice since September 6, 1991.

Morocco has not yet responded officially to the proposal for identifying Sahrawis who will be called on

Guantanamo in the west

1816-2416 193

to vote. But the Polisario Front's second-ranking official, Bachir Mustapha Sayed, pronounced the proposal "interesting". Rabat, however, may not take the same view given that the two sides take opposing stands.

On identification, the Polisario Front is relying on the Spanish census of 1974 which set the number of voters at 74,000. It makes allowances for a small margin of error that could be open to negotiation. Morocco wants to add the names of some 120,000 Sahrawis who have been forced by history to move northward frequently.

To break the deadlock, Boutros-Ghali is said to have proposed an

identification procedure based more on official documents than on fragile oral testimony. The total electorate could thus add up to 90,000, which shows the gap still existing between the two parties. The Sahrawi defence minister said he personally felt the risks of the fighting breaking out again were greater than the chances of peace.

Morocco is anxious to acquire an international right of ownership to western Sahara by holding a referendum but is not prepared to pay any price for it. As he is currently occupying the place, Hassan II is in a comfortable position and will not have a solution imposed on him against his wishes. His Sahrawi en-

emies are aware that the balance of power is heavily tilted against them.

Having come round to accepting a peace plan that the United Nations has been trying to push through from April 1991, the parties to the 20-year-old conflict say they have made all the concessions they can. The UN Secretary General is expected to submit his final report on the problem to the Security Council in July. What will he make of this dialogue between two sides which no longer speak to each other except through third parties?

Dr Boutros-Ghali has begun making preparations for this highly hypothetical referendum on the

former Spanish colony's independence. He has already said that the \$147 million budget approved by the UN will not be enough to cover the cost of the operation.

If the two parties don't have the good sense to come to an arrangement, Boutros-Ghali might be tempted to impose his way of seeing and doing things without the cooperation of one of the parties.

This war of sands is a war of the poor, which Dr Boutros-Ghali says is being fought without eye witnesses and away from the media spotlight. As Mohamed Abdeliz, general secretary of the Polisario Front, pointed out bitterly: "All the world's in favour of self-determination for the Sahrawis, but for nobody is it an urgent priority."

(June 12)

①



Eritrea puts OAU in quandary

Secession could spark African ethnic rows



HANS-PETER BAKKER
Africa News Service

ASMARA — Ancient Eritrea has become Africa's newest state, but in doing so has raised fears that this will open up a can of worms for the Organisation of African Unity.

Eritrea has been admitted to the United Nations and is now waiting for acceptance as a member of the OAU at that body's annual conference in Cairo next month. This is expected to be a formality — but it could at the same time create problems for that body.

A founding principal of the OAU was adherence to colonial boundaries, even if those borders cut across homogeneous groups or grouped bitter enemies together.

Precedent

The acceptance of Eritrea as a member is likely to be seen by many African secessionist movements as a precedent for renewing their own claims to independence.

There is no doubt that Eritrea had a strong case for secession. Not only was it an autonomous Italian — and later a British — colony earlier this century, but it was never subjugated throughout a 30-year-long struggle for independence.

Foreign Minister Mohammed Sharif believes the OAU charter actually supported his country's right to independence. "The OAU calls for respect of colonial boundaries," he says, "and that is what we were calling for: respect for Eritrea's colonial boundaries. Our struggle was not in opposition to, but is consistent with, the charter."

But Sharif does believe the time for blind adherence to the charter should come to an end. "There must be a novel way of looking at it. Inequalities between different ethnic groups in a number of African countries must be seriously addressed. The demands and aspirations of local populations must be taken into account within a national framework. It is only by addressing injustices and inequalities within borders

that the African states and the African nations can grow stronger."

The Eritreans are more concerned with their own problems than with any they may throw into the lap of the OAU, however. Having won their long and vicious war for independence, they are now concentrating on not losing the peace.

The ousting of Somali President Mengistu in May 1991 led to the ascendancy in Addis Ababa of an Eritrean ally, Meles Zenawi, whose government backed an April 1993 referendum on Eritrean independence.

The referendum result was overwhelmingly in support of independence, and was accepted immediately by Zenawi's government, but not without some resentment in Ethiopia.

Recognition by Eritrea's other neighbours, Sudan and Djibouti, and by the United States followed shortly afterwards. Most of the rest of the world, including South Africa, supported the Eritrean secession after the formal declaration of independence last month.

But Eritrea cannot afford to bask in the sun of its new-found freedom.

Eritrean President Issayas Aferwerki has promised multi-party elections within four years. He talks about having a liberal constitution and laws regulating party politics ratified before then, but the details of the process are vague.

The leaders are planning a modern democracy and a free-market economy. But it will have to be forged out of a country that has been wasted by decades of particularly vicious warfare.

The capital Asmara is deceptively orderly and clean. Buildings are intact, the roads are in reasonably good condition, and at first sight it appears that business is booming.

But Neraivo Teklemichael, of the Eritrean Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, says Asmara



UPLIFTED: White-robed women leaving a church symbolise Eritrea's hard-won freedom. ● Photograph: HANS-PETER BAKKER

is not the real face of the war. "The centre in Addis Ababa gave in, and time caught up with the Ethiopian occupiers who had talked of destroying Asmara before withdrawing from it."

The government plans to restructure and sell the country's nationalised industries, many of which use obsolete machinery and run at a fraction of their capacity, surviving only on

large overdrafts.

The agricultural sector, on which more than 85 percent of the population depends, has also been severely affected by the war. But, says Teklemichael, "after two years of peace and good rains, local production is supplying half the country's food requirements — a tremendous improvement on 1991, when less than 10 percent of the population was fed from

local production".

But he warns: "Yes, the harvests were good and peace has had a very significant effect on the psychology of the population, who have been too disturbed to cultivate their lands, but we must be careful not to blow things out of proportion."

The former Italian colony is fortunate not to have inherited massive foreign debt, which is the blight of most other African

countries. And as the newest member of the UN it will soon qualify for outside assistance.

However, government ministers are fearful of developing a dependency on aid. One senior official, who asked not to be named, said his government was determined to build a strong institutional capacity to prevent multinational organisations assuming the functions of government.

UN vehicle hit by 'friendly fire' during Aideed raid

Sept 16/93 (1)

JONATHAN EWING

MOGADISHU — As United Nations forces were preparing yesterday to seize fugitive Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed from a hideout in Mogadishu, humanitarian sources reported that a vehicle carrying Moroccan UN soldiers was hit by fire from a US helicopter attacking his headquarters on Thursday.

The sources could not say if the Moroccans were killed in the friendly fire incident during Thursday's assault on the Aideed's headquarters. A Moroccan military official asked about the report said only that the five Moroccans known to have been killed in Thursday's fighting died in "various incidents".

Twenty-four hours after UN troops stormed and destroyed his military stronghold, Aideed was reported to be hiding with a group of his most loyal followers in a "safe house" in the bombed-out capital. UN military sources, who declined to be identified, said they would move in and arrest him before long in a way that will minimise civilian casualties.

The UN special envoy to Somalia, Jonathan Howe, declined to say how long he believed it would take before Aideed was in custody, saying he did not want Aideed's arrest to derail other UN activities. "We did not want to confuse the effort to arrest Aideed with the military operation. First of all, we want him to come forward peacefully," Howe said. "He has never been a target of the military operation."

Howe said Thursday's operation to break Aideed's military power, which began with a four-hour aerial bombardment of his weapons stores, was "totally successful". He said it succeeded in its aim of destroying Aideed's power base and "minimising civilian casualties". UN military officials said they were unable to give details of civilian casualties. Hospitals say more than 60 Somali civilians were killed and more than 100 injured. Howe said he had told Lieutenant-General Cevik Bir, the Turkish commander of UN forces in Mogadishu, that it "was important to detain Aideed for public safety". He told reporters an investigation into the June 5 slayings of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers was still ongoing, but "that and subsequent events" had already unearthed enough evidence to point the finger at Aideed. — Sapa-Reuter.



HOT SPOT: A burnt-out car is used as a barricade near Aideed's house.

Eritrea puts OAU in quandary

Star 19/16/93

Secession could spark African ethnic rows

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The ousting of Somali President Mengistu in May 1991 led to the ascendancy in Addis Ababa of an Eritrean ally, Meles Zenawi, whose government backed an April 1993 referendum on Eritrean independence.

The referendum result was overwhelmingly in support of independence, and was accepted immediately by Zenawi's government, but not without some resentment in Ethiopia.

Recognition by Eritrea's other neighbours, Sudan and Djibouti, and by the United States followed shortly afterwards. Most of the rest of the world, including South Africa, supported the Eritrean secession after the formal declaration of independence last month.

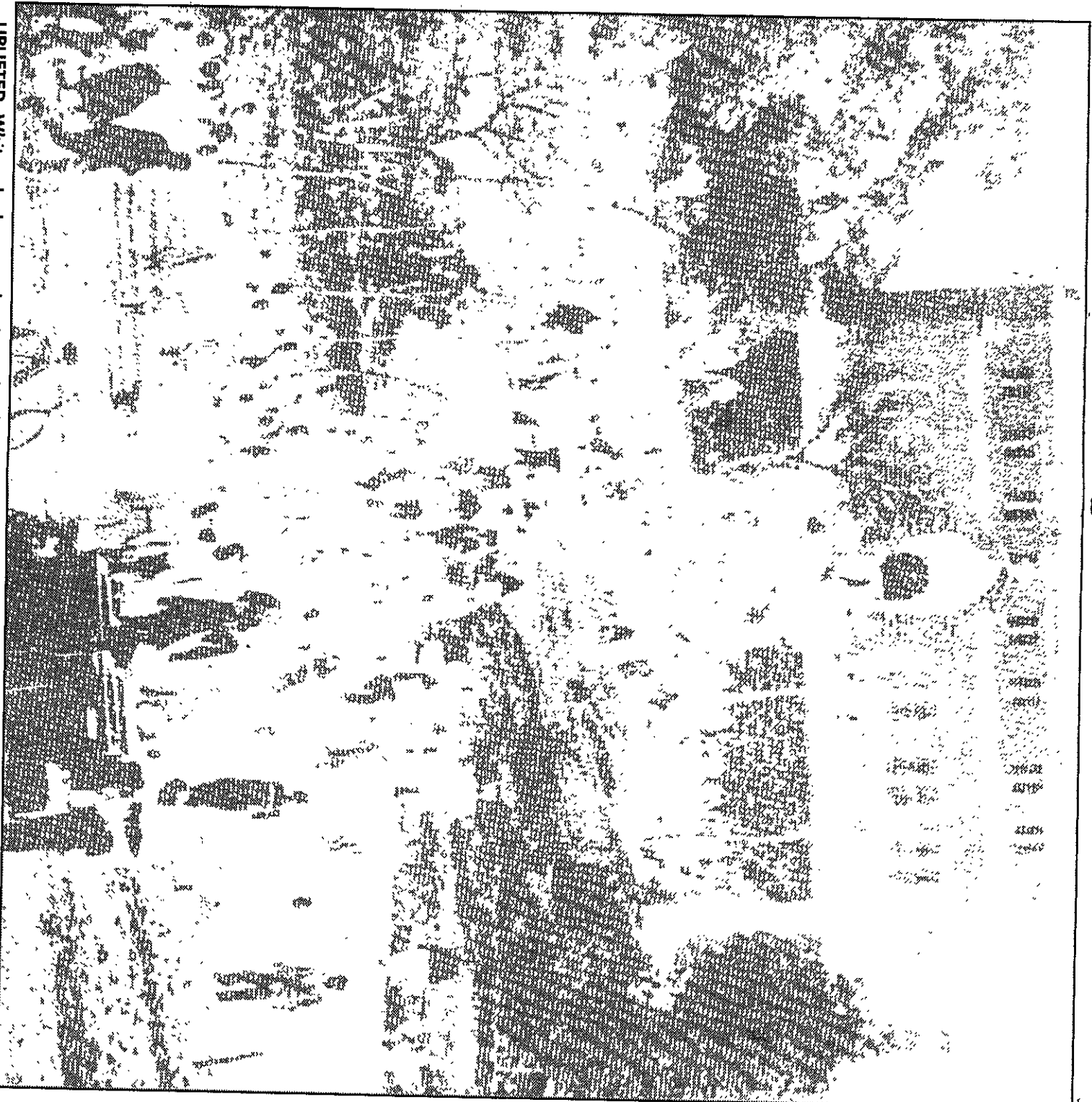
But Eritrea cannot afford to bask in the sun of its new-found freedom.

Eritrean President Issayas Aferwerki has promised multiparty elections within four years. He talks about having a liberal constitution and laws regulating party politics ratified before then, but the details of the process are vague.

The leaders are planning a modern democracy and a free-market economy. But it will have to be forged out of a country that has been wasted by decades of particularly vicious warfare.

The capital Asmara is deceptively orderly and clean. Buildings are intact, the roads are in reasonably good condition, and at first sight it appears that business is booming.

But Nerayo Teklemichael, of the Eritrean Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, says Asmara



UPLIFTED: White-robed women leaving a church symbolise Eritrea's hard-won freedom. ● Photograph: HANS-PETER BAKKER

is not the real face of the war. "The centre in Addis Ababa gave in, and time caught up with the Ethiopian occupiers who had talked of destroying Asmara before withdrawing from it."

The government plans to restructure and sell the country's nationalised industries, many of which use obsolete machinery and run at a fraction of their capacity, surviving only on

large overdrafts.

The agricultural sector, on which more than 85 percent of the population depends, has also been severely affected by the war. But, says Teklemichael, "after two years of peace and good rains, local production is supplying half the country's food requirements — a tremendous improvement on 1991, when less than 10 percent of the population was fed from

local production."

But he warns: "Yes, the harvests were good and peace has had a very significant effect on the psychology of the population, who have been too disturbed to cultivate their lands, but we must be careful not to blow things out of proportion."

The former Italian colony is fortunate not to have inherited massive foreign debt, which is the blight of most other African

countries. And as the newest member of the UN it will soon qualify for outside assistance.

However, government ministers are fearful of developing a dependency on aid. One senior official, who asked not to be named, said his government was determined to build a strong institutional capacity to prevent multinational organisations assuming the functions of government.

Major future role for SA in Africa

■ South Africa may be poised to play a major part in trying to solve problems facing the continent as a whole. **DR GREG MILLS**, chairman of the Cape Region of the SA Institute of International Affairs, discusses the changes in attitude that will have to happen in a country whose leaders have been subjective for so long.

AIDS, environmental crises, military interventionism, nuclear proliferation, refugees, drugs and terrorism: as the post-Cold War world unfolds states have begun to grapple with a range of new policy choices for seemingly new problems. And as this country moves towards full democracy and international status, it will be expected to participate fully in the global arena.

Yet South Africa can be regarded as a member of the league of small states. Even though it is the major power in Southern Africa, it possesses only a limited ability to exert influence internationally. It has an average economy in world terms. South Africa's GDP, roughly the same as that of Austria, Bulgaria or Turkey, is around one two-hundredth of world GDP and its international trade is but one percent of the world's total.

And South Africa attaches far more importance to trade with its main partners, Japan, the U.K, Germany and the United States, than they do.

Compounding this perception of a minor international ability and reach has been South Africa's preoccupation with its domestic political problems. International issues have, almost without exception, only ever been consid-

ered in the manner in which they have affected this country. The issues of isolation, sanctions and disinvestment led to a somewhat one-track debate.

It is not surprising then, that South Africa has not taken the lead in debating the problems that face the post-Cold War international order. While it is expected that a post-apartheid South Africa will assume a more active role in the international system, that system is clearly not the one left behind in 1948, something that most here are slow to realise and act upon. In international relations we still take our lead from others.

Take Yugoslavia as an example. International reaction to the conflict has thus far principally been determined by the manner in which the chief protagonists have become stereotyped in the drama. Apportioning blame is a central consideration around the various peace processes. Approval has not depended solely on support for the Serb, Muslim or Croat causes, but on one's reaction also to the information fed in the international arena. We react to stereotypes of wolf-like Croats and Serbs on the one hand, and passive Muslims on the other.

Considerations of who is at fault in Yugoslavia thus affect the solutions offered. For we see today that impartial and practical solutions are often impossible in such a charged international environment. The United States, for one, in its policy towards the former Yugoslavia, described as a mixture of "Tough Talk and Backtrack", has consistently singled out the Serbs as the aggressors, rightly or wrongly, and has proposed actions which reflect this official thinking.

One of the features of the unipolar world in which we now live is that we take our lead from the United States and its allies. Yet quite clearly they are not always right in their actions, no matter how sincere these might be. One should not, indeed must not, allow the unipolar political world to sterilise international political debate. America's decisions cannot always be correct, morally or practically, even if they insist and we might want to believe they are.

UN food handout⁽¹⁾ delayed

Star 2/16/93

MOGADISHU — The UN abandoned plans to drop food in the backyard of its chief foe in Mogadishu yesterday when Pakistani troops assigned to guard it said they feared coming under sniper fire.

It would have been the first handout to areas controlled by warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed since his militia attacked and killed 24 Pakistanis on June 5, provoking a military showdown with UN troops and an arrest warrant for Aideed.

A UN spokesman said distribution was postponed until today because of "misunderstandings". Pakistani troops assembled to guard the handout said they feared distribution points had not been cleared of snipers.

"I'm responsible for my 20 men," said Pakistani Captain Zahid Hussain at Mogadishu port, where 170 tons of grain had been assembled.

"There are some feeding sites where adequate security can't be provided."

Aideed disappeared on Thursday when the UN said it wanted to arrest him.

The UN accuses him of violating a series of agreements to place his heavy weapons in areas open to inspection and to disarm his militia.

US officials said they thought his command centre was wrecked in bombings last week but that he might still be dangerous.

Aideed's supporters have tried to whip up feeling against the UN, the United States and Pakistan for the deaths of 80 Somalis in street protests. At least 20 were killed by Pakistani troops.

— Sapa-Reuters.

Mogadishu battles are sowing seeds for future conflict, writes Karl Maier

UN creating a murderous martyr

Star

21/6/93

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THE crackdown on General Mohamed Farah Aided and his militiamen by United Nations forces in Mogadishu runs the risk of greatly expanding his popularity beyond its clan base and, if he is captured or killed, sowing the seeds for future conflict in Somalia.

Considered by many of the capital's residents as a murderous warlord before the launching of the US-led, UN-Operation Restore Hope last December, Aided is capitalising on the current UN perception to become the champion of Somali opposition to foreign occupation, according to some Somali analysts.

"Aided becomes the most visible symbol of Somali resistance," said Hakiya Omar, Somali director of the London-based, human rights group Africa Rights. Aided, a former military officer and ambassador to India, was

instrumental in overthrowing the government of Mohamed Siad Barre in his role as military commander of the United Somali Congress, which represented the Hawiye clan now dominant in Mogadishu. He was widely expected to take power until a former restaurant owner and leader of the rival Abgal sub-clan of the Hawiye, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, attempted to pre-empt him.

That resulted in a civil war in Mogadishu that ripped apart the Hawiye down the lines of Ali Mahdi's Abgal and Aided's Habr Gabir sub-clan, killed tens of thousands of people, and left the centre of the capital in ruins.

Unemployment, poverty and fear of retribution by rival clan factions, especially Siad Barre's Darod people, rallied hundreds of Habr Gabir men around Aided. Aided has remained hostile to the UN, which he feared would de-

prive him of power by taking over the country. His supporters staged a demonstration against the visit of UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali in January. But he supported the US-led intervention from the outset, in part realising there was little he could do against such firepower, and in part because the US forces carried out disarmament haphazardly. When the US forces handed over to the UN six weeks ago, Aided's radio station stepped up its anti-UN propaganda.

The main beneficiaries of this week's UN assault on Aided's forces were expected to be the other warlords, such as Ali Mahdi and General Mohamed Siad Hersi Morgan, military leader of the Darod people, who have not yet been disarmed. It could also complicate future peace efforts. "How can you have political reconciliation if not all the warlords are dis-

armed," said Omar of Africa Rights. "It will be totally unbalanced."

Should the drive against Aided be successful it could encourage his rivals to attack not only the remnants of his militia, but also to take retribution against civilians of his sub-clan. Besides Ali Mahdi's Abgal, the Murarsade sub-clan of the Hawiye has continued to skirmish with Aided's fighters.

Not surprisingly, supporters of Ali Mahdi, who control most of northern Mogadishu, are pro-UN. Morgan's forces have scored impressive gains in recent months, most spectacularly the capture of the southern port of Kismayu from Aided's ally Colonel Omar Jess in March, despite the presence of Belgian and US forces in the area. — The Independent News Service. □

Lofty ideals in war-shattered Eritrea

Star 22/6/93

THE President of Eritrea, Africa's newest sovereign state, is clearly uncomfortable in the relative luxury of the presidential office in Asmara.

After 26 years as a guerrilla fighter, Issaias Afeawki has difficulty assuming the airs that normally go with being a president. Youthful-looking despite his 47 years the tall and gangly Afeawki dresses casually and wears plastic sandals.

As a leader of the Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) — he insists that he only "contributed" to commanding the rebel movement — he spent more than half his life in the harsh battlefields of the former Italian colony in the Horn of Africa.

Now that most of the world, including South Africa, has recognised the funnel-shaped Red Sea country which celebrated its independence last month, all eyes are on the president and his government. But Afeawki shows no sign of relishing publicity.

He evades questions about himself, saying only that he once tried to go to university but then joined the rebels in 1966.

When pressed for details about his experiences or his role in the fighting he shrugs and says: "It was war, what is there to tell?"

The details of how the ancient, war-shattered country will proceed to become a modern democratic state are still vague, but Afeawki is adamant that multiparty elections will be held in less than four years. "The EPLF is trying to grad-

Eritrea has many parallels with South Africa — but different priorities.
HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Star's Africa News Service spoke to its president, Issaias Afeawki.



Afeawki . . . is adamant that multiparty elections will be held in less than four years.

ually diminish its role in government while at the same time broadening the participation from outside the EPLF. We don't think that could be done overnight. It will take time."

One of the first tasks of the new government is to write a constitution. According to the president, priority would be given to foreign and local constitutional experts. But, he said, "the basic element in constitution writing is the participation of the population. We cannot draw up the constitution from the top. The population has to be educated in the process of constitution making and writ-

ing. They have to be aware of the meaning of every article in the constitution and they have to accept it willingly."

He plans to have a constitution and the legal framework for the formation of political parties in place and ratified by a representative body before the elections, but was not clear on how such a body would be constituted.

Shortly after the liberation of Eritrea two years ago, the EPLF established provincial administrations, reflecting the nine principal ethnic or language groups. That created fears that ethnicity would be encouraged. But Afeawki said his government would not allow extremist political parties based on ethnicity or religion to destabilise the society. He said he preferred to talk of Eritrea's nine language groups.

"It is the duty of everyone here to recognise the basic rights of others. We believe that the diversity of political organisations are an important element for the stability and development of a society like ours."

With a country in shambles after nearly 30 years of war with Ethiopia, the new government has to rebuild the infrastructure and revive the economy, which used to be one of the strongest in the region.

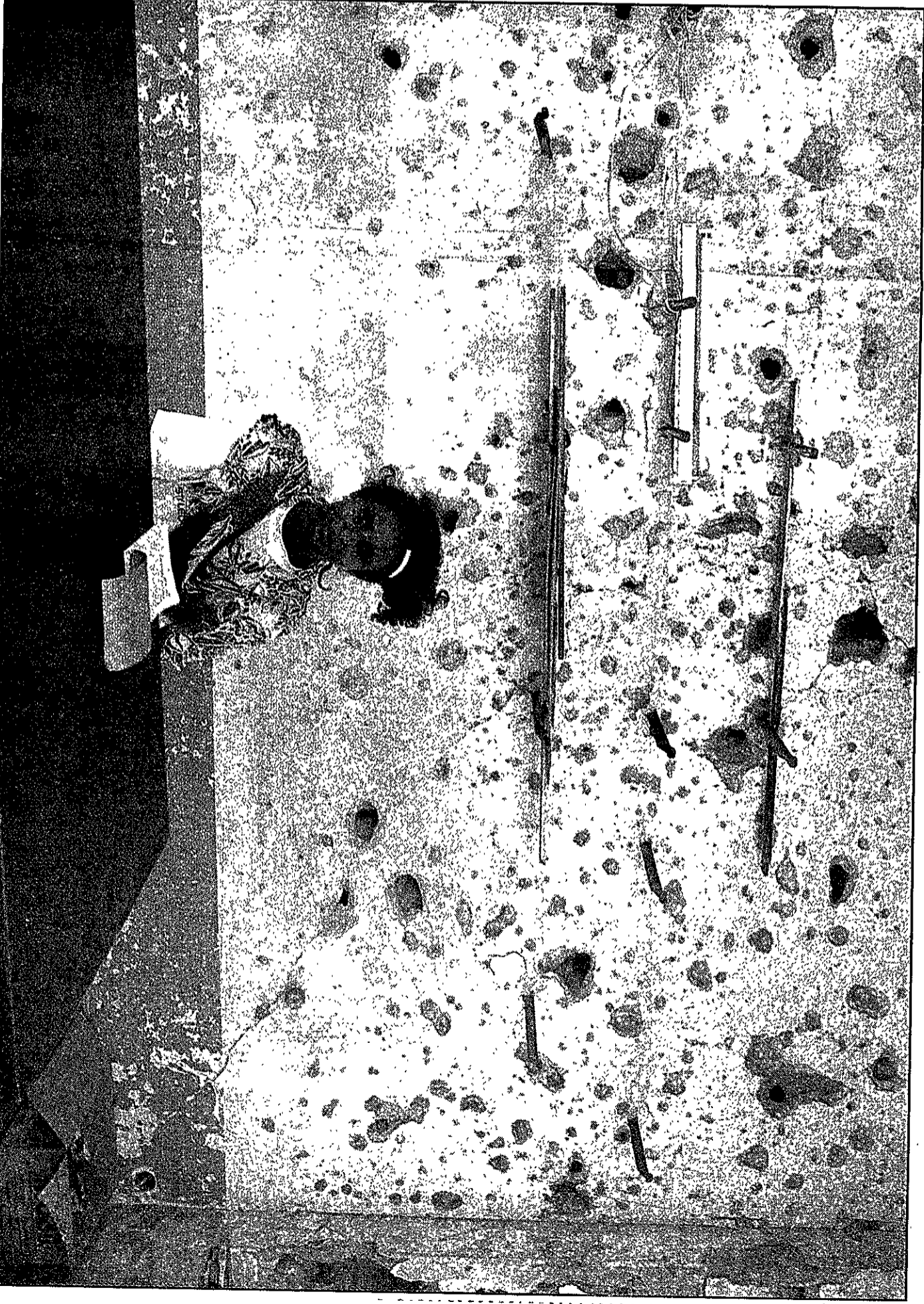
Afeawki is confident that international aid would be forthcoming now that Eritrea had been accepted as the 182nd member of the United Nations. Another priority is dealing with the nearly 100,000-strong army. There have been reports of growing discontent that many soldiers are being used for reconstruction programmes without pay.

The president agreed that payment was a matter of urgency, but said it would depend on the overall performance of the economy in the next two to three years.

"We just do not have the money, I would also like a salary for a change," he said. According to Afeawki, half the army will be demobilised within the next two years.

"We do not have a definite timetable. Demobilisation will mean sending more people into the pool of unemployment which will further damage our economy. But we are determined to demobilise the army to the minimum size, given the limitation of our resources."

He said his government's two most immediate priorities were to secure food self-sufficiency



Somehow, life goes on . . . in the war-ravaged Eritrean port of Massawa a clerk works in a bullet-pocked and windowless office, because there are simply no undamaged premises available.

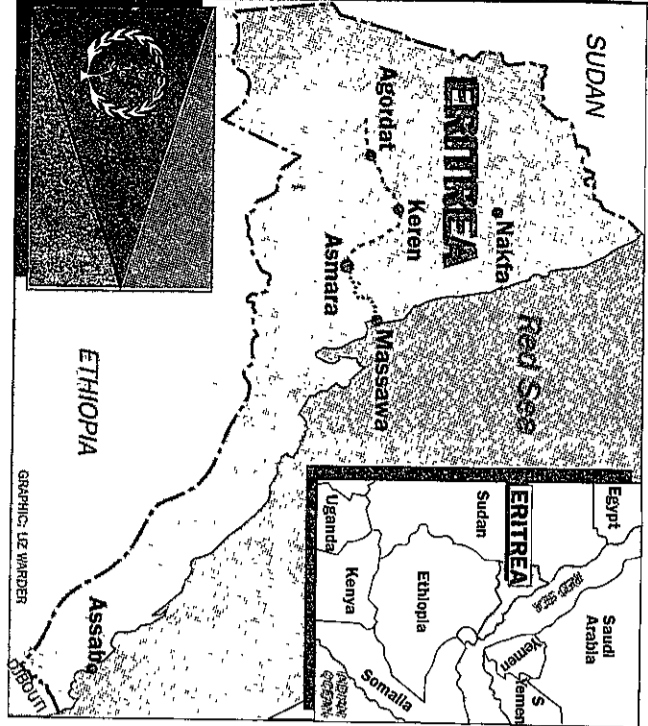
For now Ethiopia has free access through Eritrea to the ports and, according to Afeawki, that is not going to change.

"It is not a matter of policy, it is a matter of survival for both Ethiopia and Eritrea. It has never really been a question. It was exaggerated in the past — taken as an excuse for annexing Eritrea. It was taken as an excuse for many other mythologies but, realistically, access to the port is a necessity of life for these two communities to live together." □

and to establish an effective civil service.

"Food self-sufficiency can only be done by very serious water and soil conservation programmes. And we will be spending a lot of our resources to train a small but efficient civil service."

The independence of Eritrea has meant that its much larger neighbour, Ethiopia, has again become landlocked. Many Ethiopians resent being cut off from the lucrative Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab.



GRAPHIC: IZ WARDER

OAU's quest to keep Africa relevant

CAIRO — African foreign ministers met in Egypt yesterday to prepare for the 30th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity, searching for ways to stop Africa being forgotten in the new world order.

Egyptian Prime Minister Atef Sedki told the opening session of the week-long meeting: "Africa is now at a crossroads. Either it becomes a vital and influential part of the modern world, or we ourselves allow our continent to be marginalised."

Liberian Foreign Minister Gabriel Baccus Matthews told the

meeting: "Our continent is going through a major transition, perhaps the most significant since the independence struggle of the '60s and '70s."

"How do we deal with the new realities of democratisation and social and political inclusiveness to ensure the stability of the African continent? How do we advance human and people's rights... How do we prevent or otherwise manage internal conflicts and civil strife?"

Sedki, Matthews and Ugandan Foreign Minister Paul Ssemoger-

ere urged delegates to support the OAU's two proposed answers: a "mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution" and the establishment of an African economic community.

Progress towards black majority rule in SA is weakening the one African issue that has attracted constant world concern.

Gora Ebrahim, foreign affairs secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress, appealed to the delegates not to relax sanctions against SA until there was more progress towards black majority rule. — Sapa-Reuter.

Somalis in anti-US demo

Sowetan 22/6/93
MOGADISHU — Hundreds of Somalis staged anti-United Nations and anti-US protests yesterday as food aid distribution resumed under tight security in the stronghold of warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid.

Demonstrators shook their fists at UN helicopters overhead and screamed hatred of US President Bill Clinton, as just offshore four US ships carrying thousands of marines lay at anchor as UN forces planned Aidid's capture.

Sports stadium

While the demonstrators threw up barricades and spilled across the road outside a wrecked sports stadium, thousands of destitute women and children queued.

They stood a few kilometres away for rations of wheat supplied by aid agencies for the first time since five Pakistani peacekeepers were killed at a food distribution point on June 5.

"Down with Bill Clinton, down with

(UN Secretary-General) Boutros Boutros-Ghali, down with (UN Somali force) Unosom", chanted the demonstrators, protesting against the attack on Aidid's headquarters last Thursday.

UN special representative Jonathan Howe has ordered Aidid's arrest over the June 5 killings of a total of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers, allegedly by Aidid's militiamen.

Food distribution

Pakistani troops were out in force yesterday at the food distribution centres.

They were surrounding them with coils of razor wire, armoured vehicles, truckloads of blue-helmeted soldiers and guards stationed on rooftops.

"Everything is going absolutely fine," said Major Farrukh Hussan, commander at a distribution point close to the K4 roundabout where Pakistani troops killed some 20 demonstrating Somalis on June 13.

"There is no hatred," he said, referring to the June 5 attack on Pakistani forces. "That was a small group.

"The poor people had nothing to do with it."

An aid worker watching the distribution said the suspension of the daily food handout had caused serious hardship to the refugee families.

Sticks and sacks

These families live in hovels made of sticks and sacks and plastic on wasteland throughout the derelict city.

"They cannot really survive without the dry rations, they will have been begging and scavenging," he said.

Civil war

Some 350 000 Somalis are believed to have been killed by civil war and famine following the overthrow of dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

— Sapa-AFP.

MOGADISHU — Hundreds of Somali demonstrators held anti-UN and anti-US protests yesterday, as food aid distribution resumed.

Protesters held tight security in the southern Mogadishu stronghold of fugitive warlord Mohamed Farah Aided. Demonstrators shook their fists at UN helicopters overhead and screamed their hatred of US President Bill Clinton, as four US ships carrying thousands of Marines lay at anchor offshore and UN forces

Food aid resumes in Somalia

planned Aideed's capture. While the demonstrators threw up barricades and spilled across the road outside a wrecked stadium, thousands of destitute women and children quened a few kilometres away for rations of wheat supplied by aid agencies for the first time since five Pakistani peacekeepers were killed at a food distribution point on June 5.

UN special representative Jonathan Howe ordered Aideed's arrest over the June 5 killings.

Most aid workers were evacuated from Mogadishu after the June 5 killings, and began returning only a few days ago.

An aid worker watching the distribution said the suspension of the daily food handout had caused serious hardship to the refugee families living in hovels throughout the derelict city. "They cannot really survive without the dry rations, they will have been begging and scavenging."

The German government has started deploying 1 700 troops, but opposition Social Democrats have asked the Federal Constitutional Court to halt the mission, arguing Bonn is violating military curbs in its 1949 constitution.

Government spokesman Norbert Schaefer said the court had already heard testimony from UN Deputy Secretary-General Vladimir Petrovsky and did not consider it necessary to hear Boutros-Ghali as well. — Sapa-Reuter.

Now for the big problem

Star 23/6/73

WHO issues will top the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity's current conference in Cairo and the heads of state summit which follows next week. While minority rule in South Africa — the single biggest issue for 30 years — and Africa's economic woes will again come under the spotlight. This could be the last time apartheid is a major concern, however. If the negotiations in South Africa remain on track and result in some form of democratic representation by next year's summit, apartheid will cease to be the clarion call it has been for African states.

Indeed, the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation Movements of Africa, a specialised OAU agency set up to provide financial and military aid to nationalist movements in dependent countries, may have exhausted its mandate. The disappearance of apartheid as an issue will also mean its disappearance as the major — some say the only — unifying factor in the OAU.

Last month the OAU celebrated its 30th anniversary and African leaders are united in the view that there is little to show for those years of endeavour. The continent is still plagued by wars, political and religious tensions and even the vital political disintegration of some African states like Zaire and Angola.

Outgoing OAU chairman Abdou Diouf of Senegal said recently that Africa had "an urgent need to have the means to overcome not only the disputes between states, but also internal conflicts".

The OAU is largely seen as a toothless watchdog. It was the caution in its founding principles that has made the organisation so toothless, particularly Article 111 of the OAU charter, which obliges member states to respect the sovereignty of other member states and not to interfere in their internal affairs.

OAU turning a blind eye to blatant human rights abuses, flourishing dictatorships, military coups which have put illegitimate governments in place and have led to the subversion of democracy.

In partial response to this, Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim has drawn up a plan to deal with conflicts, which has gained much support. Africa, he said, did not have the resources to establish a mechanism for resolving conflicts such as those in Liberia, Somalia, Angola and Zaire (which has virtually ceased to exist as a formal country). He also expressed concern about the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

The OAU has been consistently successful, however, in maintaining the principle of recognising colonial borders. If this were not so, there would have been far more border disputes than there have been. One dispute, the issue of Western Sahara, almost led to the break-up of the OAU.

Perhaps for the last time, apartheid is high on the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity annual summit in Cairo. But, reports JOE LATAGOMO, Africa's economic woes are still the main challenge.

In 1982, the 18th heads-of-state summit, which was to have been held in Tripoli, Libya, failed to materialise because 19 states boycotted the proceedings over the admission of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara). Morocco terminated its membership of the OAU in protest and the issue has still not been resolved.

So far, the SADR has recognised the principle of recognising colonial borders. If this were not so, there would have been far more border disputes than there have been. One dispute, the issue of Western Sahara, almost led to the break-up of the OAU.

Looking beyond the liberation struggle it has so long supported, the Liberation Committee has recommended that the ANC and PAC be given funds for voter-education projects. The committee also recommended an extension of the OAU observer mission in South Africa until

elections are held. Both the PAC and ANC are represented at the OAU, and it is expected that the presidents of the two organisations, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela, will attend the summit next week.

It is the economic decline of Africa, however, that will take up most of the deliberations. The conference is expected to try the call African countries have been making since 1985 for a special conference of creditors and borrowers to seek a solution to the problem of the continent's heavy debt.

According to the African Development Bank, OAU members now have foreign debts of R225 billion and interest and repayments use up more than 30 percent of export earnings. Interventions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have done little

to ease the difficulty and some states have found the prescriptions of these bodies politically unacceptable. The marginalisation of Africa in world economic terms has meant that Africa will have to look inward, and develop markets and economic cooperation policies that will transcend existing barriers.

The democratisation that has swept Africa in recent years may give African leaders the legitimacy to deal constructively and effectively with the problems that beset Africa. With some form of accountability, these leaders know that unless they deliver, voters will judge them harshly. Given this, and also a recognition by the IMF and World Bank that there may be some truth in the claims of their prescriptions, the long-sought conference of creditors and African debtors may yet materialise. □

and the OAU called for continued sanctions against South Africa. This year, both appeared in Cairo and once more seemed to be lobbying for some reward for South Africa's efforts at democratisation.

But most African countries, despite a recognition of progress made — and in some cases normalising relations with South Africa — do not believe the time has come for such a reward. In fact, both the ANC and the PAC have opposed any moves towards recognition of the Pretoria government.

South Africa has been pressing for some form of recognition by the OAU. Just before last year's summit in Dakar, Senegal, Foreign Minister P.K. Botha appeared on the scene to lobby for reacceptance of South Africa into the community of African nations. His efforts were thwarted

SA exports to Africa thought to top R10-bn

Star 23/6/93

Business Staff

The real value of South Africa's exports to Africa probably exceeds R10 billion — and is rising.

Paul Runge, the South African Foreign Trade Organisation's (Safto) senior manager for Africa, predicts that the visible value of exports to the continent will soon approach R6 billion — double the 1989 figure.

But that's conservative, given that disguised trade with the last of the boycott markets is not reflected.

Nor are "invisible" exports such as training, technology transfer and tourism.

Hence the estimated R10 billion statistic, much of it from beneficiated products such as chemicals, building materials and vehicle parts.

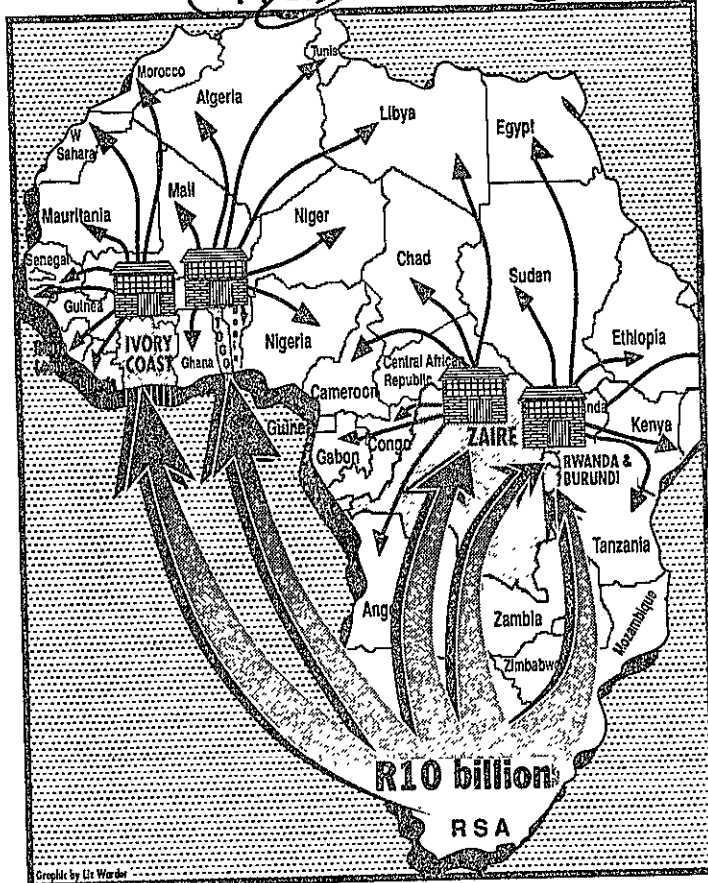
Runge regards the rapidly growing trade with Africa as remarkable, since, with very few exceptions, sub-Saharan countries are bankrupt.

"As they often lack the foreign exchange to pay for imports, payment is often far from secure, no matter how badly they want our products and services, or how advantageous are our weak rand, our proximity and our Africa-adapted goods."

He suggests that securing of payment is bedevilled by the low level of imports from Africa, which have remained at R750 million since 1989.

"Thus, while Africa's economic integration with the developed world has been declining, SA's unique position has given rise to our data, going against the negative trend."

"As new markets open and African countries switch sourcing from Europe to SA (such as the flood of SA beer and fruit juice into Luanda that replaced European imports), so we are assured of a continued rise in our exports."



He says more SA companies are exploiting the advantages SA has in trading in Africa. They now increasingly seek joint venture partners instead of weaker agency agreements.

Yet, Runge cautions, behind this optimistic scenario lies a negative — SA's record in accessing aid funds to Africa.

As Africa's economic situation continues to decline, so the World Bank, EC and UN agencies continue to allocate huge funds for Africa. In the case of the World Bank the figure is about R4 billion a year.

Last year, SA reportedly accessed only about 0,8 percent of these funds, worth \$71 million.

In 1991, SA's formal subscription to the World Bank stood at

\$1,6 billion, giving it a voting power of 1,15 percent. Yet in the same year SA accessed only \$100 million in project work related to the bank.

Runge believes that although the World Bank still doesn't allocate funds directly to projects in SA, we can clearly do much more in the way of accessing cross-border projects in Africa.

"Formal business transactions in Africa have a ceiling because of the serious shortage of foreign exchange in the markets themselves."

"Aid money is in foreign exchange and is reasonably secure. The rules of the aid game must be learned fast."

"In the past three years Safto has been increasingly drawn into

this game at the insistence of our clients and also because we predicted this need. This has led to increased interaction with the major donor agencies and a far better knowledge of how they work."

But there's yet another major gap to be filled — private sector commercial aid projects not covered by the World Bank, ADB (African Development Bank) and UN agencies, which deal with governments and thus infrastructural and social upliftment projects.

Runge says the major agencies have realised that working with governments as implementing agencies for their projects yields a limited project success rate.

Hence the emphasis is shifting towards promotion of commercially viable projects in African countries via the private sector arm of the World Bank and the ADB's private sector development unit.

"These private sector promotion bodies have proved to be efficient and quick and their success rate has led to a deeper look at the whole question of private-sector promotion."

"In tune with the IMF's policy of boosting Africa's business ethic, the World Bank, the ADB and the UN Development Programme have pooled their resources to create the Africa Project Development Facility, which identifies projects for medium and small enterprises valued at up to about \$5 million and then uses the muscle of its three powerful patrons in securing finance for approved projects."

"Given SA companies' good but limited human resources and insufficient finance, this concentration on smaller commercial projects holds much potential, especially in the agro-industry and small manufacturing sectors."

Economic links with Nigeria in the offing

By Graham Linscott
Star News Service

LAGOS — SA and Nigeria could be on the point of forging significant economic links.

A Nigerian trade mission was in SA recently and its members speak enthusiastically of the possibility.

Officially, of course, no such thing happened. Nigeria observes Organisation of African Unity (OAU) sanctions.

As with so many African countries, SA products arrive by devious routes, camouflaged and considerably more expensive than they should be.

That could end soon. The Nigerian government is already turning a blind eye to direct contact between its businessmen and their SA counterparts.

Business people in Lagos expect that as soon as an interim executive council is in place in SA, sanctions will be lifted.

That would normalise relations between the two economic giants of sub-Saharan Africa, with all kinds of potential for mutual benefit.

Nigeria has a vast consumer market of something like 100 million people. The big difference between them and the millions in the rest of Africa is that

in Nigeria they are relatively wealthy, thereby making a good market for SA exporters.

Many Nigerians could be attracted to SA as tourists. Moneyed Nigerians spend their holidays in Europe or America.

They could well be persuaded to head south instead.

Nigeria is eager for SA investment and expertise. It has unexploited reserves of iron, tin and bauxite which would be a proposition for SA capital and mining technology.

And it's eager for transfer of agricultural expertise. Although they are so different in character and composition,

there is a parallel between Nigeria and SA which goes beyond their economic clout. Both are transforming their societies to allow the free market to unlock their potential.

A year ago Nigeria dropped foreign exchange controls and was rewarded by an inflow of funds. Now market forces are given free rein.

SA clings to exchange controls and still has to manage an immensely more difficult political transition.

If it is any consolation, Nigerians are sympathetic. And they still want to do business.

Caretaker Cabinet to rule Comoros during elections

MORONI — President Said Mohamed Djohar appointed a caretaker Cabinet yesterday to govern the Comoros Republic during a general election caused by political crisis.

Djohar dissolved the federal assembly on Friday, asking Ahmed Ben Cheick to head the islands' fourth new administration in six months.

The second-last prime minister, Ibrahim Halidi, lost a confidence vote last month and legislators complained that a replacement chosen by Djohar, Said Ali Mohamed, did not have majority support.

The three-island archipelago won independence from France in 1975. Mayotte, a fourth island, chose to remain a French territory.

Djohar, a former Supreme Court president in his 70s, was catapulted to power after a band of European mercenaries briefly controlled the Comoros following the murder of president Ahmed Abdallah in 1989.

He won a presidential election in 1990 but the opposition tried the next year to have him removed on grounds of senility.

— Sapa-Reuter

SAPA 23/10/93

^{Southern}
Rwanda 24/6/93
peace pact

KIGALI — Rwanda's government and its rebel foes cap more than a year of on-off negotiations when they sign a peace pact today to end civil war. ①

Tanzanian negotiator Liberata Mulamula said yesterday that final points of the accord had been ironed out. He said President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Rwanda Patriotic Front leader Alexis Kanyarengwe would fly to the northern town of Arusha to sign it. —
Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP.

Africa in brief

Tension in ^① North Africa

CAIRO — Egypt yesterday warned that Sudan's closure of Egyptian consulates marked an "escalation" in the crisis between the two neighbours over the disputed territory of Halaib. *Sudan*

"This escalation will only lead to another but we hope reason will prevail and that bridges will remain open," said Foreign Minister Amr Mussa, quoted by *Al-Ahram* newspaper.

Ahead of next week's Organisation of African Unity summit in Cairo, Sudan on Tuesday ordered the closure of two consulates in Sudan on suspicion of espionage as well as Sudanese consulates in Egypt.

246193

AFRICA NEWS UN moves against Somali warlord • N

Reward for Aidid

THE UNITED Nations is offering a reward for the capture of fugitive Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, UN sources said yesterday.

They said helicopters were dropping thousands of leaflets over Mogadishu promising an unspecified sum for information leading to the arrest of Aidid, who went underground last Thursday.

Aidid resurfaced on Tuesday to give a televised interview to NBC News, the American news organisation, in which he denied guilt in the June 5 killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers.

AIR DROP But leaflets don't say how

much will be paid:

The UN accuses him of masterminding the ambush and of holding large quantities of arms in contravention of peace agreements he signed under UN auspices.

It ordered his arrest last Thursday and UN officials said he could be tried for war crimes.

Tunisian and American troops killed

two Somalis when a Tunisian contingent came under fire at its compound in Mogadishu university complex on Tuesday night, they said.

The US Quick Reaction Force, which reinforces the 18 000-strong UN force in Somalia, sent helicopters to the scene and destroyed a "technical" battle wagon, the sources say. — *Sapa-Reuter*.

Sowetan 24/6/93
① ~~②~~

Star 25/6/93

Aideed hits back at UN reward offer.

MOGADISHU — The United Nations littered the streets of Mogadishu yesterday with posters offering a reward for wanted warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed.

But enraged Aideed supporters tore them up and offered their own reward for the arrest of the UN special envoy to Somalia, retired US admiral Jonathan Howe.

"We will pay a million dollars to anyone who arrests the Animal Howe," spat Aideed follower Abdi Qassim. "Aideed is a hero, a great man. Animal Howe is nothing. He is a tool of the homosexual President Bill Clinton."

The posters offer an unspecified reward for Aideed's capture for trial on war crimes, including the killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers.

— Sapa-Reuter.

brief

producing

Moroccans vote ①

RABAT — Moroccans vote today in their first legislative elections in nine years, which King Hassan has promised will be "fair, honest and transparent". *Sowe 25/10/93*

The 2 042 candidates who are standing for two-thirds of parliament's 333 seats, have virtually all promised economic growth, more jobs, better health and education, a drive against corruption and improved human rights. Five centrist parties controlled the previous Chamber of Representatives.

U.N. Happy With Strike On Aideed

Guardian W W Mail

Keith Richburg in Mogadishu

WITH repeated air strikes on a Somali warlord's weapons depots and the seizure of his headquarters, the United Nations has taken bold action in Somalia that it has so far been unable or unwilling to take against Khmer Rouge guerrillas in Cambodia or Serb militiamen in Bosnia. 2516-11793

But while American and U.N. officials are calling the military campaign in Somalia a success — even though the warlord, Mohamed Farah Aideed, remains free — few here say they see lessons that might be applied to other trouble spots. As one U.N. official put it, “Somalia is not Bosnia and it's not Cambodia.”

Nevertheless, officials say, the military strike at Aideed demonstrates a new measure of resolve that they hope will not be lost on those who attempt to interfere with U.N. operations elsewhere. Said one official: “They don't want us here. Nobody will ever love us. But they respect us. If the U.N. doesn't have credibility now, it never will have.”

Unlike Cambodia's doctrinaire Khmer Rouge or the former Yugoslav army officers who lead the well-armed Bosnian Serb nationalist forces, Aideed's militia is far from being a trained military force. Consisting mainly of young thugs with light weapons, it is more like an elaborate extortion and protection ring that has survived on the money that could be gouged from relief agencies trying to work in a lawless country. “I don't think they have a philosophy or ideology,” said an unnamed Western official.

After the U.N. strikes on Aideed's headquarters on Thursday last week, the militia put up unexpectedly fierce resistance for six hours, leaving five U.N. soldiers dead and 46 injured. But then they apparently drifted away, and U.N. political analysts say the militiamen may be confused and leaderless, unable to regroup for some time. And officials say the arrest order issued for Aideed makes it impossible for him to become a rallying point for such a regrouping.

“By issuing the arrest order, we've accomplished 95 percent of what we wanted,” which was to remove Aideed as a major player on Somalia's political stage, a U.N. official said. “If you arrest him, you make him a martyr. But if he's a fugitive on the run, he looks less impressive.”

The United Nations in Somalia is acting for the first time under a provision of the U.N. Charter that allows the use of offensive force to accomplish its mission, which, in this case is to disarm the country's warring factions and help rebuild shattered institutions. In other peace-keeping operations around the world — including those in Bosnia and Cambodia — U.N. troops have more restrictive rules of engagement that limit the types of arms they can carry and under what circumstances they can use them.

“People keep referring to our blue berets here as peace keepers. They're not,” a U.N. official said. “We're breaking new ground here.”

Muslims target lecturer in Egypt

By DEBORAH PUGH, Cairo

AN Egyptian university lecturer, denied a full professorship in April because of Islamic fundamentalist opposition, is now being targeted by Islamist lawyers who are trying to have his marriage annulled on the grounds that he is an apostate.

If successful, the case has the potential to undermine the secular foundations of Egypt's legal system at a time when the country has been rocked by a wave of attacks by militants.

The case has been lodged in Egypt's civil court by a legal firm associated with the Muslim Brotherhood claiming to be protecting society's interests. In a dense legal document, Dr Nasr Hamid Abu Zeid, an associate professor of Arabic, is accused of apostasy on the basis of his academic writings on early Islamic jurisprudence.

The petition demands that his wife, Dr Ebtihal Younes, be separated from him by the court in order to protect the purity of Egypt's Muslim society.

Zeid believes he is being picked on in a campaign to intimidate liberal Muslims actively opposing the fundamentalists' attempts at gaining political power.

"It began when I would not quietly accept my failure to gain promotion, after it was blocked on non-academic grounds. That stirred up controversy as to whether Cairo University was a secular or religious institution. This court case is an attempt to support those who criticised my work by trying to convict me of apostasy and then destroy my marriage."

While Egypt is ostensibly a secular state, the late President Sadat endorsed the Sharia, traditional Islamic jurisprudence, as the main source of Egyptian law. As the fundamentalist movement has become bolder, Egyptian Islamists have attempted to extend the application of the Sharia, going well beyond what many consider to be in the spirit of Islam.

This is believed to be the first case in which a successful marriage is being questioned on the grounds of society's good, as interpreted by Egypt's growing band of Islamic fundamentalist lawyers.

Observers believe that the fact that the case has not been rejected out of hand is a reflection of the changing political climate and the influence of fundamentalism within the judicial system.

"For some years many Egyptian judges have been working in Saudi Arabia on secondment in return for large salaries and this has had an influence on their attitudes," said a high-ranking Egyptian lawyer.

The court has agreed to an adjournment until November 4 while the lawyers request a response from leading sheikhs associated with Al-Azhar University. Al-Azhar is the key institute of Islamic learning for Egypt and for all of Sunni Islam and has been widely criticised for encouraging extremism.

Last week, the judge presiding over the trial of the militants accused of the murder last June of Dr Farag Fonda, an outspoken opponent of political Islam, agreed that the defence could call on Islamist sheikhs to testify whether or not his works were anti-Islamic.

Meanwhile, Younes is trying to come to terms with the possibility of having to leave her husband or be condemned as an adulteress — the punishment for which is death by stoning.

A charge of apostasy could also be used as an excuse by extremists to assassinate her husband. — The Guardian News Service

UN assault in Somalia under fire

Foreign Staff 25/6-117/93

UNITED NATIONS commanders in Somalia are straying from their original humanitarian mandate, aid agencies and European politicians said last week.

In Paris, the parliamentary assembly of the nine-nation Western European Union demanded an emergency meeting of its council of ministers to discuss the "degeneration" of UN operations and to rein in the actions of member states' forces on the ground in Mogadishu.

Forces from Italy and France, both WEU members, were among those spearheading last week's assault by Unisom on the compound of the dominant warlord in southern Mogadishu, Mohammed Farah Aided, and the ensuing manhunt for him and his main allies.

Two of Italy's opposition parties — the Greens and Rifondazione Comunista — also expressed shock at the operation and demanded the withdrawal of Italian peacekeeping forces from Somalia.

The president of the UN Security Council, Juan Antonio Yanez-Barraqueo from Spain, said the council would hold private consultations on the latest military action. Earlier this month it authorised the 18,000 UN peacekeeping troops in Somalia to take all necessary steps to bring to justice those responsible for the deaths of 23 Pakistani soldiers.

In Bonn, government sources acknowledged that "the television footage from Mogadishu is likely to make an impact on the way the decision will go" in Germany's constitutional court case over whether Bundeswehr soldiers can continue to be involved in the UN mission in Somalia. German troops are based in the interior of the country to give logistical support to the peacekeeping force.

For the German Social Democrats, Gunter Verheugen accused the Bonn government of "deceiving the public" by describing the mission as humanitarian. "If you apply that interpretation we could have gone to fight in the Gulf war," he said.

Western aid agencies are fearful that the aggressive course being pursued by the UN command will produce an "us and them" mentality among Somalis which will impede aid and reconstruction efforts by outside organisations.

If the UN is going to disarm the Somali militias, the disarming should include all the warlords, John Magrath, an Oxfam spokesman, said. "There may be good military reasons [for concentrating on disarming Aided], but it gives the impression to many Somalis that the UN is biased."

The impression is also growing, he said, that "lack of good overall command" is causing Unisom to ignore other aspects of peacekeeping, including a role in political liaison. "The military operation is in danger of taking off on a trajectory of its own, leaving the humanitarian and political sides behind."

The position of Oxfam and many other agencies is that military action should be a last resort. But "who defines what is the last resort? In this case, the military, and nobody else seems to know what the criteria are," Mr Magrath said. "We believe that arms reduction has to take place through negotiation, and that of course takes time," he added.

AFRICA



Murky zone ... Somali children play merry-go-round with a wrecked anti-aircraft cannon
Photo: AP

THE slashes of cannon fire from airborne gunships that ripped the Somali night and the armoured assaults on the headquarters of warlord Mohammed Farah Aideded by a

polyglot United Nations force have been enacted in that zone of legal twilight between night and right. That is the nature of law: a constant dialogue between consent and coercion, between the agreement of those who abide by it and the bullying of those who don't.

And it is into this ill-charted legal ground that the UN is now stumbling, not only in Somalia, but in its decision to establish war-crime tribunals for the former Yugoslavia.

The paradox is clear. In Balkan war-crime tribunals, the UN has some legal right and the precedent of the Nuremberg trials of the Nazis on its side, but no visible enforcement mechanism. In ordering the arrest of warlord Aideded, the UN forces have the force they need, but a legal case that is novel, unproven and confused.

The UN is following the dubious lead of successive United States governments. In the invasion of Grenada, on the claim that American medical students had to be protected, in the bombing of Tripoli,

after being persuaded by intelligence reports that Libya was behind the terrorist bombing of a Berlin night club, and in the invasion of Panama, to topple General Manuel Noriega and bring him back to a narco-trial, US understanding of the distinction between night and right has been cavalier at best.

Legal authority without the power to enforce, which is what is happening in the UN's call for war-crime trials in the Balkans, brings legality into disrepute. But the deployment of raw power without legal sanction, which is the state of affairs in Somalia, is the essence of anarchy.

The UN is operating in Somalia without legal precedent. It has never before intervened in the internal affairs of a member state without invitation, but there is no Somali government to offer one. It is in this new situation that the UN can begin thinking about rather firmer legal ground.

First, it could, and probably should, establish a formal UN protectorate, to take temporary responsibility for the country until responsibility can be transferred to a Somali transitional government with the power to hold elections.

Second, it can remember the other time when the international community had to deal with a situation of dangerous anarchy with no ruling authority. The time was the 17th and 18th centuries, the territory was the High Seas, and the danger was piracy.

Professor Robert Goldman, a specialist in international law, notes that any country has the right to try a captured pirate, no matter where the defendant committed the crimes. Crimes against humanity are treated under international law and any country has the right to try someone accused of such crimes.

Goldman argues that the Somali warlords may be tried by any government for breach of universal law

using regulations under the Geneva Convention which prohibit the purposeful starvation of the civilian population as a means of combat.

"Starvation as a means of combat is clearly prohibited under international law as a crime against humanity," he says. "This is one of the most clear-cut examples of someone who has used starvation to murder people."

There are two practical problems. First, this could open the door to an unmanageable number of cases — for instance, in Angola or Bosnia.

The second problem is the case of Aideded, who appears to be one of several Somali warlords using the food weapon, but whose crucial offence seems to have been the ambush which led to the slaughter of 23 Pakistani UN troops. Will he be charged with

US officials speculate that the UN has three choices: to arrest Aideded and try him within the feeble Somali legal system; to arrest him and hold him until the Somali legal system is strengthened; or to try him in a UN war-crimes tribunal. The US administration has insisted the UN must decide.

Goldman sees no reason to prevent the Security Council from creating a UN-sanctioned tribunal soon to try Aideded and the other warlords.

"There are a lot of constitutional and legal scholars who would find difficulty with that," said Dick Thornburgh, a former US attorney general. "These are very, very murky waters. But let's face it: this would be a political act, and international law is more politics than law."

That is the point. While legal scholars try to extend the authority of international law to establish some clear rules and penalties in these murky areas, the dependence of law upon the mechanisms of enforcement turns the entire debate back to the deeper murk of a UN that is increasingly dependent on American military power.

With the American readiness to use its capacity to deploy swift and overwhelming air power to protect UN troops, the US armed forces are becoming the UN's enforcer of last resort. In return, the UN may become America's legal longstop.

The case of The World versus Farah Aideded could establish an important precedent for the rules of decent behaviour in civil wars and anarchy. The unholy alliance of might and right has some curious offspring. — The Guardian

AFRICA

Testing the limits of might versus right

The United Nations' pursuit of Somali warlords will establish important precedents for international rules of decent behaviour in civil wars. By MARTIN WALKER

WMAJ 25/6 - 1/93

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Neighbours offer SA opportunity

SITimes (Buss) 27/6/93

PROPERTY developers have their eyes on doing business south of the Sahara.

JHI subsidiary Downtown Development Corporation (DDC) managing director Dave Marais says African and other foreign markets are opening up to SA.

"Many neighbouring states suffer from a shortage of qualified people and capital. So the potential for South Africans to offer consulting services is enormous.

"Countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia are finding it increasingly difficult to tap to world aid agencies because donors demand a high level of management skills to be attached to funded projects."

DDC provides consulting services for the rehabilitation of buildings, leasing, sales and valuations.

South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) Africa director Paul Runge says the opportunities for SA firms to consult in Africa are huge.

Donors, such as the World Bank's private-sector arm, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), seek to stimulate free enterprise in African countries heavily dependent on aid.

Stake

The IFC and the African Project Development Facility (APDF) will consider only projects that are financially worthwhile.

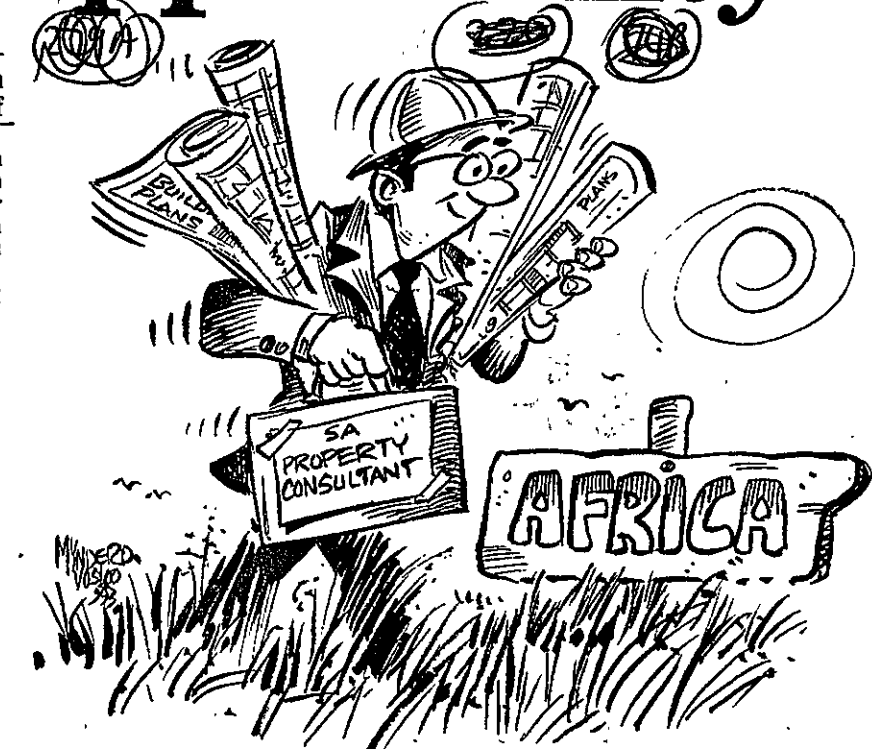
The IFC will take up to a 30% stake in a joint venture to ensure the project does not go stale. It wants a partner with strong management skill.

Mr Runge says technology, skills and training can be found in SA.

Investec Property Group (IPG) has concentrated on looking for developments in neighbouring countries.

IPG managing director Sam Hackner says these efforts have been made in Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland and Zambia.

IPG commercial letting



arm Kuper has been active in Lesotho, which has a newly constituted government and is politically stable.

Mr Hackner says most retail developments are strip shops of about 6 000m². In most cases, 85% of the space is let to national retail chains and provision is made for space to be allocated to entrepreneurs from the areas.

The returns on such developments are higher than would be achieved in CBD or regional areas, taking into account all the risk factors.

"In our experience, all these developments have been solid, reliable income producers. They have been funded by private syndications and by banks."

Mr Hackner says Reserve Bank approval is required for a development outside the rand monetary area.

IPG has received inquiries from investors outside Africa. They are attracted by high yields from money placed in African countries.

Mr Marais says only countries, such as France, which have an understand-

ing of Africa and how things work are willing to invest here.

Finding the money is the hardest work: "Many African currencies are worth zilch. Institutional finance, readily available in SA from insurance companies, is non-existent in most of Africa."

"We have to find finance from multinationals that have a base in Africa, or from European-based quasi-government aid agencies and banks."

Mr Marais says a multinational operating in Africa may finance construction of

its commercial buildings as well as for blocks of flats for staff members.

However, a problem is that most of the land is held by the state which is unwilling to relinquish it.

"The state owns most of the flats that are rented out at exorbitant prices."

It may often take years to obtain land ownership in Africa.

Mr Marais says much patience is required because things do not move fast. African bureaucracy and business systems are not geared to commercial property development.

Resolve conflicts in Africa - Mubarak

Star 29/8/93

By Joe Latakomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — The African continent must fight to ensure that it does not get marginalised by the world community, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening session of the Organisation of African Unity's Heads of State Summit, Mubarak said Africa was embroiled in wars, regional conflicts and tribal feuds, and called for these to be resolved.

He condemned what he called "sinful terrorist organisations" which, he said, were controlled by foreign powers.

Mubarak, who will be OAU chairman for the

next year, was referring to recent terrorist attacks by Muslim fundamentalists in Egypt.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN had noted the democratisation process in Africa, and had provided assistance through the UN Electoral Assistance Unit. "Since the establishment of the unit, the UN has provided electoral assistance to 46 member states."

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said African people had a legitimate right to ask whether President de Klerk and his government had a genuine desire to find a democratic, negotiated settlement.

In three years, very little substantive progress had been made in the negotiation process.

He said that in the past months, the Government had engaged in acts to undermine the negotiation process, among them the assassination of Chris Hani and the swoop on PAC leaders and members.

The "barbaric and uncivilised attack and occupation" of the World Trade Centre was also an attempt to endanger the negotiation process.

"The fact that the regime's police and security men simply stood by in the face of racist barbarism places in question whether the World

Trade Centre is safe for constructive negotiations," he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "We owe our liberty to the enormous amount of time, effort and resources expended by the OAU to secure our emancipation."

He said that when South Africa achieved freedom, the OAU could proudly say that the total liberation of Africa had been achieved.

He added: "We cannot forever be in debt. We cannot forever be in wars. We cannot forever provide pitiful pictures of starving children for the television screens of the West." A new offensive for the rebirth of Africa was necessary.

AFRICA

Eritrea criticises OAU for failing to help Africans

B/Daw 29/6/93

CAIRO — The OAU summit opened yesterday with an unexpected tirade of bitter criticism from new member Eritrea's President Issaias Afewerki.

In his speech, Issaias blasted the OAU for failing to stem Africa's "growing poverty and backwardness".

"The sad fact remains that the OAU has become a nominal organisation that has failed to deliver on its pronounced goals and objectives," he said.

Stressing that his criticism was not motivated by the OAU's failure to support Eritrea's bloody 30-year struggle for independence, Issaias said OAU membership was "not spiritually gratifying or politically challenging".

Eritrea became the OAU's 52nd member after it formally proclaimed independence last month.

The harsh words from Issaias contrasted with the opening address by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who was voted in as the new OAU chairman.

Mubarak praised the OAU for fighting Africa's increasing economic marginalisation and struggling to throw off "the last shackles of colonialism" in SA.

Long derided by its detractors as an empty talking shop, the OAU, celebrating its 30th anniversary this year, was trying to strengthen its peacekeeping role.

But OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim has admitted that a chronic shortage of money is hindering the OAU's efforts to settle Africa's numerous conflicts.

In Liberia, it has been overshadowed by the Economic Community of West African States, while the US and the UN have led intervention in Somalia.

Last week Salim said OAU efforts to end Rwanda's civil war would culminate in a peace accord. "For the first time we have had an operation that has succeeded," he announced, only to face a barrage of embarrassing questions from reporters when the peace negotiations collapsed hours later without an agreement.

Assistant secretary-general Ahmed Haggag said he hoped the UN would help fund OAU peacekeeping. But a UN official at the summit said the UN was reluctant to fund operations "outside UN command". — Sapa-AFP

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS Summit will adopt 'Cairo Declaration' • Pop star in hospital

'Don't allow Africa to be forgotten'

Sowetan 29/6/93

■ DIFFICULT PERIOD OAU urged

against attempts to marginalise Africa:

CAIRO — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, incoming chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, urged at the opening of the organisation's summit yesterday that Africans fight marginalisation of their continent.

"The world is still undergoing a difficult transition period," Mubarak told the opening session of the OAU's 30th anniversary summit in the Egyptian capital.

"We must stand against the attempts by the world community to marginalise the continent," he said.

Presiding chairman President Abdou Diouf of Senegal opened the meeting on

a positive note, by asking that President Isayas Alewkei of the newly formed state of Eritrea, the OAU's 52nd member, be seated in the cavernous conference centre.

But Mubarak hammered on the difficulties the continent faces, noting that Africa is embroiled in civil wars, regional conflicts and tribal feuds.

He also condemned what he called "sinful terrorist organisations" which

he said were controlled by foreign powers. The summit is due to adopt a "Cairo Declaration", reviewing achievements of the OAU since its foundation in 1963 and setting its future course.

The declaration mentions both an African Economic Community and a mechanism for conflict prevention — two of the areas in which the continent has lagged most severely. — *Sapa/Reuter.*

President in bitter attack on OAU

By Joe Latakomo
Star Africa Service

CAIRO — The Organisation of African Unity has become a nominal organisation that has failed to deliver on its pronounced objectives and commitments, the president of Eritrea, told the opening session of the OAU Heads of State Summit in Cairo, yesterday.

In an unprecedented attack, President Assayas Afrewki said the Eritrean people had achieved national independence through a costly liberation struggle which was testimony to their tenacity to endure untold sufferings in Africa's longest war for the cause of freedom, justice and human rights.

He said that through this period the OAU had not responded to the Eritrean people's call for intervention.

Although Africa and the OAU had chosen to ignore the ordeal and repetitive petitions of our people in the past, they can rejoice in their current achievement because this is, in the final analysis, an African achievement.

Although the OAU had championed "the lofty ideals of unity, cooperation, economic development, human rights and other worthy objectives, it has failed to work seriously for their concrete realisation", Afrewki said, pointing out that after 30 years of the OAU's existence, "our continent remains afflicted by growing poverty and backwardness".

He said that while some of the blame rested on the legacy of Africa's economic past, "these justifications cannot offer us consolation or cover up our failures". He called for an honest admission of past errors and shortcomings as well as a new vision and political courage to make a sober analysis of how Africa went wrong.

Acid attack on OAU

Sowetan 30/6/93

CAIRO — The Organisation of African Unity had become a nominal organisation which had failed to deliver on its pronounced objectives and commitments, the president of Africa's newest state, Eritrea, told the opening session of the OAU heads of state summit here yesterday.

In an unprecedented attack, President Issaias Afewerki said that the Eritrean people have achieved national independ-

■ BACKWARD LOOK Champions

of lofty ideals have not delivered:

ence denied them for a century through a costly liberation struggle "which was testimony to their tenacity to endure untold suffering in Africa's longest war for the cause of freedom, justice and human rights".

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Litany of Africa's woes

B/Day 30/6/93

CAIRO — The OAU discussed ways yesterday to help end the continent's endless wars, hampered by lack of money to pay for peacekeeping and fears by some governments of interference in their internal affairs.

Leaders of countries embroiled in some of the continent's longest-running wars, including Angola, Liberia and Mozambique, recited a litany of woes to the OAU summit and to reporters in the corridors outside the conference hall.

Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano charged the former rebel movement Renamo, with which he has signed a peace pact, with renegeing on ceasefire terms.

Liberia's President Amos Sawyer accused rebel leader Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, which launched a rebellion in the west African country almost four years ago, of a massacre of more than 600 people whose bodies were found this month at a rubber plantation in Harbel.

"We would like this organisation (the OAU) to take an interest in urging the UN to investigate ... and that those investigations should lead to the beginnings of a war crimes tribunal," Sawyer told reporters.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said: "We will not stand by with arms folded ... we are taking the initiative and are appealing to the world community to defend legality, democracy and the institution of the state."

Angolan government troops are fighting a resuscitated civil war with Jonas Savimbi's Unita after Savimbi rejected election results last year.

During the course of the conference yesterday Unita said it had recaptured the north-eastern diamond mining town of Chingufu after a seven-day battle. On a separate front 500km away, the government said it had pushed Unita 30km back from the northern city of Malanje, under siege since November.

However, because of a shortage of money, a previous OAU decision that the organisation should have a role in conflict resolution has been set aside for the time being.

Many OAU members are far in arrears on dues and owe the organisation a total of \$60m.

Another reason for dropping the conflict resolution role was that several leaders rejected anything they perceived as meddling in internal affairs.

OAU sources said the issue was to be taken up in closed session. — Sapa-Reuter.

Iraqi calls for

No lawyer, they shout • *New book takes disturbing look at Transkei*

Radicals march to their own tune

Sawetan 11/1/93

By Robert Fisk

HYPNOTIC WAS the word that came to mind in Lieutenant-General Ali Hamzawi's courtroom. The singing defendants — all white robes and dark, angry eyes — clutched at the bars of their cage while birds swooped through the windows to build their nests beside the strip-lighting of Cairo's military court.

"I'm not afraid of being sentenced to death," shrilled a clamorous, mosque-echoing voice.

The prisoner really was singing, a strange atonal music infecting his words as they moved into a kind of verse: "I have a cause. I have taken up a gun. I have a cause. Death to secularism. Death to secularism. It's against religion."

Hamzawi, grey-haired, forefinger poised behind his left ear, allowed a faint, patient smile to move across his gentle, feline features. What military academy could have prepared him for this? "Do you have a lawyer?" he asked softly.

The men of the Muslim As-Shawkiyoum — founded by Sheikh Shawki As-Sheikh in 1986 as an offshoot of Egypt's radical el-Gamaat el-Islamiya (Islamic Movement) — responded at once and in unison: "We need no lawyer — God is our defence." Hamzawi stared back with suppressed displeasure, a uniformed father-figure allowing his children to exhaust their passions. "You have to have a lawyer," he said. The law had to take its course. Secular law, of course.

Listening to the defendants — all 32 accused of assaults on foreigners, raids on police stations, arson attacks and theft over the past year — was an education in the fundamentalist politics of modern Egypt.

Both the general and the defendants spoke in Arabic but they might have been trying to communicate in different tongues.

■ **MILITARY TRIAL** *Islamic fundamentalists in modern Egypt insist they are answerable only to God:*



Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

The dais of army officers wanted to follow a batch of earthly rules, neatly set out in the documents on their desk. The prisoners, berobed and holding Korans in their left hands, wanted to transform the military court into a mosque, seeking their own deaths.

Soldiers with electric cattle prods patrolled the steel cages, ignoring the chanting, not even bothering to prevent journalists talking to the prisoners. When I asked 33-year-old Said Khaled Mahmoud from Fayoum why he was behind those thick iron bars, he replied: "I'm here because I want Egypt to be governed by Islamic law."

Then his companion pushed his way to the front of the cage, pulling his robe above his left knee to reveal a bright purple weal around his shin. "The police tortured me and all my family, including my wife and daughter," he screamed. "They stripped me stark naked in the intelligence headquarters and they did this to me."

Even when Hamzawi entered the courtroom he was greeted by a young prisoner who shouted sarcastically: "Get ready for the start of a Western television soap opera — it's about to begin right now." And sure enough, the script was more than theatrical.

The general: "Where is your lawyer?"

A prisoner: "I have God. There are no lawyers in military courts."

General: "What you're saying has no reality."

Prisoner: "It has reality."

General: "Military courts are just the same as civil courts."

Prisoner: "But it's obvious the military courts have been set up to eliminate the Islamists. We have not done anything; we didn't kill anyone."

Another prisoner, wearing a distinctive yellow cap, interrupts: "My name is Ramadan. I am the emir of these men. I have given up on life. Our life is not here. Our life is in the hereafter. God has the power to take your life even before you open your mouth."

The general, now exasperated: "I asked you if you have a lawyer."

Prisoner: "There is only one court case and that's before God. You are implementing Western laws on us. Why don't you have a Koran in your hand? You are using the laws of Genghis Khan. If you were sitting before God now, what would happen to you?"

Three military intelligence men posed as camera crews, otaping the prisoners' speeches in the hope that they would condemn themselves.

Hamzawi sighed: "This is not a conference. This is a court. Please stick to the subject. We have all studied law here. This is not a place for speeches." Indeed not. As all the prisoners knew, military courts — "the peak of justice", according to President Hosni Mubarak — can be swift and merciless.

A second Muslim radical was hanged last week in a Cairo prison. "Kill us, kill us, Allahu Akhbar, God is great," two young men cried in tune. Songbirds calling devotedly for the hangman's noose, they may well be granted their wish. — *Independent*.

OAU agrees to tackle conflicts

CAIRO — Africa's leaders agreed yesterday on the outlines of a mechanism to deal with the continent's many conflicts, in spite of reservations by Sudan and Eritrea.

Diplomats said heads of state at the 30th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity, approved the resolution at the end of a closed session which lasted until well after midnight.

The agreement gives OAU secretary-general Salem Ahmed Salem certain powers to take initiatives in preventing, managing or resolving conflicts, such as appointing eminent people as special envoys.

The diplomats said the agreement also allows for money to be raised outside Africa to pay for conflict observers and peacekeepers. The OAU has no money. Member states are \$60 million (about R200 million) behind in contributions.

But it is feared that money from outside could give foreigners influence over OAU decisions. — Sapa-Reuter.

New peacekeeping powers for OAU

Biday 11/1/93

CAIRO — African leaders yesterday voted to give the OAU new peacekeeping powers in spite of reservations by Sudan, Eritrea and Kenya.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, chairman of the OAU's 30th anniversary summit, told the closing session: "We have agreed during this meeting to do our utmost to resolve conflicts which arise in the continent by peaceful means."

"To this end, we have established a mechanism within the organisation to enable us to move effectively to contain conflicts that arise between brothers and drain their energies and potential."

Diplomats said the leaders had appointed a committee of 11 OAU members to work out the details.

The resolution, aimed at strengthening the pan-African body's powers to stem the continent's numerous bloody conflicts, was passed early yesterday.

Freshly independent Eritrea, the OAU's newest member, expressed doubt about the organisation's ability to intervene in Africa's many civil wars.

Eritrean president Isayas Afewerki has bitterly criticised the OAU, which turned a blind eye to Eritrea's 30-year independence war with Ethiopia.

The misgivings of Sudan, wracked by a 10-year civil war, were expressed in a speech by head of state Omar el-Beshir.

He said the OAU charter called for non-interference in the internal affairs of member states.

Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi said he would oppose the formation of a permanent OAU peacekeeping force because of "administrative" difficulties in controlling its operations and fears that it would be too

expensive for the OAU, owed \$62m in arrears by member states.

The OAU's first initiative for peace in the tiny central African state of Rwanda, wracked by nearly three years of civil war, had so far failed.

Meanwhile Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko rejected any suggestion yesterday that his country desperately needed outside help.

Mobutu said he had voted in favour of an OAU resolution expanding its role in resolving African conflicts. But he said he did not want the OAU to mediate in tribal turmoil in parts of Zaire.

Mobutu defended the democratisation process he began three years ago which had left Zaire politically fractured. Zaire has 350 registered political parties and two competing governments, one headed by his appointed Prime Minister Faustin Birindwa and the other by longtime rival Etienne Tshisekedi.

Mobutu has become something of an international pariah since being barred entry to France and having his country cut off from most Western aid. The Zairean leader stayed away from the 1992 OAU summit in Senegal, but showed up in Cairo as head of his country's delegation.

Mobutu said that while he took full responsibility for what took place in Zaire, outside forces were responsible for the economic collapse — fuelled by inflation — that has made a dollar worth millions of zaires.

"The economic situation in Zaire is not specific to Zaire alone; even in the countries that colonised us, the economic situation is not very bright," he said. — Sapa-AFP-Reuters.

Casting off the 'spectacles of tribal animosity'

U-C / Wed 217-817193.

AFRICANS must take over the production of their own images in the media. This was the overwhelming call from delegates to the Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa's (Urna) 30th anniversary celebrations in Nairobi, Kenya, last week.

Speaking at a symposium which formed part of the celebrations, former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda said that "for a long time the world has been conditioned to see Africa through the spectacles of tribal animosities which hinder our attempts to build modern and respectable nations upon the ruins of colonialism, war, famine and corruption".

The responsibility of remaking the African image was laid at the door of Urna, an association of African broadcasting institutions in Africa. Established in 1962 — its current membership includes radio and television organisations of 48 countries — it aims to promote inter-African co-operation for the development of broadcasting on the continent. Urna member countries produce programmes which are contributed to a pool from which others can take to flight in their own territories. To gain access to this pool of resources they have to pay an annual membership fee.

"Urna must assist us to see ourselves as we know and see ourselves. It should help us break the myth that we in Africa

In a demand for African control of Africa's image, delegates to a continent-wide television symposium in Nairobi last week revived some old arguments.

BAFANA KHUMALO was there

(are) fated to belong to a race of 'could have beens';" said Kaunda.

Calling for involvement by Africans in the media, Nigerian Chief Segun Olusola said that although Africans have had more than their "fair share of the brutal hostilities of war, there has been relatively little coverage of war situations by African broadcasters. Certainly there has been nothing to compare with the overpowering presence in the Yugoslavia and Somali civil wars" by Western — specifically CNN — broadcasters.

Olusola, noting that in most coups in Africa, broadcasting facilities have been targeted first and sometimes completely destroyed by coup plotters, said that broadcasters and broadcasting facilities should be protected along the same lines as the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent. "Violations of such sacred institutions should be visited by appropriate international sanctions and reparations demanded by the international community," he said.



Kenneth Kaunda ... Television must dispel myths about Africans

As a way forward to a new kind of image for Africa, Urna is planning an African news service to "serve African interests". This service, said Urna president Garcia Carlos of Angola, would be a counter-measure against the "foreign agencies who focus on African calamities, ignoring the development challenges that the continent is grappling with in the face of harsh economic calamities".

The celebrations were marred by disruptions. Some of the events had to be cancelled because Urna had not properly organised them. A number of

Acknowledging that use of non-African languages might contribute to the present state of affairs, Kaunda said in his country English is preferred because it is a unifying language. He said Kenya — as an example — had Swahili as a unifying language.

"We don't have that in Zambia and have to rely on English," he said. "If we try to speak one we are inviting trouble."

That view was confirmed in interviews with delegates from Ghana, Benin, Egypt, Ivory Coast and Senegal, who said the use of African languages was not an issue in their respective countries, and that former colonial languages were preferred by local media.

South African broadcasters were barred from participating in Urna until this year, when observer status was given to M-Net — which organised the live broadcast of the awards ceremony, in conjunction with two Kenyan television networks. Neither M-Net nor any other South African broadcaster has been offered membership, however.

Serote cautioned the organisation against accepting South African broadcasters as members without looking at the kind of broadcasting institutions that come from this country. Although there were changes in South Africa, he said, some people "do not have the interests of black South Africans at heart" and might continue to ensure their marginalisation.

Hitting the intellectual target

The murder of six distinguished Algerians has been widely blamed on Muslim extremists. But no one has yet admitted responsibility for the killings, reports

Catherine Simon

Guardian/W in W Mail

HIS fellow-workers described M'Hamed Boukhobza as a discreet and rather austere man, and a tireless worker, but he wasn't well known to the public, despite the many works he had published. An enlightened intellectual, he was the author in particular of an essay, "Octobre 88, évolution ou rupture?" which dealt with the riots in President Chadli's time and dispassionately dissected the regime's failings. 217-817193

When Professor Djilali Lyabès was assassinated in March, Boukhobza was appointed temporary head of the Institut National des Études de Stratégie Globale [the Algerian equivalent of Britain's Science Research Council].

The government called Boukhobza's murder an odious crime and berated the destructive logic which it said was intended to neutralise intelligence and destabilise the state. It was "a threat to the nation's future". Boukhobza was the sixth intellectual to be assassinated in Algeria in the last three months. The previous victims were three other members of the National Consultative Council (mid-March), the writer Tahar Djaout (May 26) and the psychiatrist Mahfoud Boucebei (June 15). "Whose turn will it be next?" asked the Algerian capital's French-language media after Boucebei's assassination.

Several opposition parties, in particular the (former communist) Etahaddi Movement and the Rassemblement pour la Culture et la Démocratie, immediately condemned the attack, describing it as cowardly and barbarous, while officials of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens made a sharp attack on what it described



'When I saw him reach for his typewriter, I knew it was either him or me ...'

as the political and financial mafia.

Though widely attributed to extremist Muslims, followers of the banned Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), nobody has to this day formally taken responsibility for this series of murders. Some fundamentalist leaders, now living in exile, have publicly exulted over the assassinations.

One member of the commando unit thought to have killed Tahar Djaout, gave testimony on television but his arrest has not succeeded in dissipating misgivings. The criminal devastation caused over the past year and more by what is known here as the Armed Islamic Movement (MIA) constitutes one of the clearest signs of the presence and strength of Muslim fundamentalism in Algeria.

Fundamentalists have been utterly opposed to the democratic process from the moment when the election procedure was interrupted in January 1992, and have never made a secret of their loathing for those they describe as "lay communists". It's a term that Prime Minister Belaid Abdesselam recently borrowed for his own use in a barely altered form when with un concealed scorn he referred to "lay assimilationists".

It is not only the government which is making discreet overtures to the men and women who voted for the former FIS. The former single party, the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), and even legal fundamentalist groups like the Hamas movement and its rival Ennahada, also consider it necessary not to demonise this section of the community.

When Tahar Djaout's friends and supporters spoke of "assassin power" at the writer's funeral, they were implicitly accusing the regime of being soft on and even encouraging. There is a very good chance that the same kind of accusations will be made during memorial ceremonies to mark the first anniversary of the assassination of former president Boudiaf.

"Who is masterminding these crimes?" asked the independent daily El Watan. "Who stands to profit by keeping Algeria continually destabilised?" The paper noted that the new assassination came just when the Haut Comité d'État (Algeria's provisional ruling body) published the preview of a policy for a "national platform offering a minimum of guarantees for ending the crisis".

(June 24)

BRIEFS

UN's 'new colonialism'

CAIRO — Sudanese military ruler Omar Hassan al-Qashir told an African summit the United Nations was the tool of a new colonialism and its peacekeeping troops should leave Somalia. "It is about time to ring the bells of alarm and alert the people and countries of Africa about the necessity of fighting colonialism, which as soon as it left through the front door as a result of armed struggle returned to try and enter through the back door," he said. — Sapa

Toll spirals to 31

MOGADISHU — The UN death toll in Somalia rose to 31 when a second Pakistani was reported killed in a raid on a suspected ammunition dump. — Sapa

Elections rigged

BRAZZAVILLE — The Congolese Supreme Court said there were irregularities in the organisation of the country's recent general elections whose results were challenged by the opposition and sparked unrest. — Sapa

Dawn of democracy

ZOMBA — Malawi's parliament, spurred by a huge popular vote for multi-party democracy, adopted laws to end one-party rule and allow exiled dissidents to return home. — Sapa

Embargo lifted

WASHINGTON — The United States has lifted a domestic arms embargo against Angola, allowing the sale of non-lethal military equipment, the US State Department said. — Sapa

Islamic scholar endorses killings

w/m mail 2/7-8/7/93

By Deborah Pugh: CAIRO

ONE of the world's leading Islamic scholars, Sheikh Muhammad Ghazali, has shocked Egyptians by effectively endorsing the extra-judicial killing of anyone who opposes the implementation of Islamic law, known as the Shari'ah.

Sheikh Ghazali's views were given while testifying at the trial of Islamic militants accused of murdering the Egyptian author, Farag Fouda.

They brought strong criticism this week from the Egyptian Organisation for Human Rights, which said that his testimony was "tantamount to the excommunication of a large section of Muslim society, as well as a clear invitation to murder. It is a legitimisation of the various acts of terrorism and violence that have afflicted this country in recent times".

Sheikh Muhammad Ghazali was called on to give evidence last week by the defence, which is attempting to prove that the accused were acting in accordance with Islam by assassinating Fouda in front of his office in June last year. When asked if someone who opposed the application of Islamic law was an apostate, Sheikh Ghazali told the court: "Yes, he is an apostate".

The Sheikh then went on to explain that the death penalty was generally accepted by Muslim jurists as the punishment for apostasy, to be carried out by the state, although he thought life imprisonment was sufficient.

Liberal Muslims argue that in early Islam apostasy meant treason against

the young state and not rejection of the rigid legal code of Shariah, which became codified over the centuries and goes beyond the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and the Quran.

Sheikh Ghazali told the court, from which all journalists working for the international media were barred, that "the application of the punishment is obligatory" even if the state did not apply the Shari'ah.

The Sheikh was then asked whether, as in the case of Dr Fouda's murderers, there was an Islamic punishment for those who took the law into their own hands and carried out the punishment. "I cannot recall any", Sheikh Ghazali replied.

As one Egyptian journalist wrote after reviewing the case: "When I say that this statement from the Sheikh permits the murder of all of us (who do not believe in the implementation of the Shari'ah), I am not exaggerating."

Since President Anwar Sadat's ruling that the Shari'ah would be the main source of law in Egypt there have been moves to force all of Egypt's legal system to comply with the Shari'ah. There has been no official comment from the Egyptian authorities on the issues raised by this and similar cases on which there has been no final verdict.

Liberal Egyptians are concerned that the judiciary will accept the verdict of Sheikh Ghazali, who has received Saudi awards for his services to Islam and is extremely influential. — The Guardian News Service

To page 24

Joint plea for more aid to southern Africa

GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The international aid agency Christian Aid has joined South African economists and politicians in urging overseas countries — Britain in particular — to boost aid to southern Africa.

The call comes after a conference

in Brussels this week during which South African delegates argued the case for giving priority to South Africa, the sub-region and Africa as a whole.

Now, Christian Aid — backed by five other leading aid agencies — has compiled a report urging the British government to reconsider aid cuts

planned for 1994-96.

Britain announced last year that it would freeze aid spending for two years from April 1994.

But the report, Overseas Aid and the Public Spending Round, argues that the British aid programme is already "underfunded relative to a range of standards against which it can be tested".

Booked



Opting for chaos

Sowetan 21/7/93

NAIROBI — The governments of Nigeria, Kenya and Cameroon seemed to be just as willing as President Mobutu Sese Seko has been in Zaire to plunge their countries into chaos rather than yield to domestic and international pressure for fundamental democratic change.

This is the view of Dr Larry Diamond, an American who was speaking at the American Studies Symposium being held at Thika, near Nairobi.

Several scholars at the symposium accused the US of applying double standards in pressing for democracy in

Africa. Dr AS Wamala of the University of Swaziland said the US had "played a somewhat dubious role in Africa's search for democracy over the years".

He said democracy and human rights were not issues during the Cold War when nondemocratic and authoritarian regimes were not only protected by the US but encouraged to remain in place with little regard to the sufferings of the people at the hands of dictators.

"Democracy should evolve among the people themselves, rather than being imposed from outside."

Child soldiers demobbed

FREETOWN: The Sierra Leone army has started demobilising its 1 000 child soldiers, boys and girls aged from seven to 15 who have been fighting rebels in the east of the country for the past two years.

A first batch of children aged between seven and 12 was brought to a rehabilitation transit camp here from the front on the border with Guinea and Liberia.

The 94 children seemed to be in good health but were looking dazed.

Among them was eight-year-old Amadu, who complained: "I feel restless, as I have not been so idle (since leaving the war zone)."

He saw rebels behead his parents, and said: "I don't think I have actually had my revenge. I wish the government had not taken us from the army."

Amadu had no intention of returning to civilian life. "What use will it be if the rebel war continues?"

Fatumata, 7, is the only girl in the group.

"I can't say how many, but I have killed dozens of

rebels with my AK-47," she confided matter-of-factly.

"Those stinking rebels raped my mother before slicing her throat open. She looked at me as I stood helplessly."

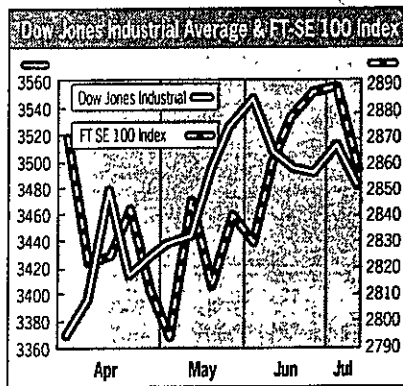
An army captain said about 200 of the estimated 1 000 child soldiers had been identified. There might also be some in the bush going on their own to track rebels, he said.

At the transit camp, they get three meals a day, but alcohol is banned. "So far

we have got them under control and they are not restless," the captain explained.

Heavy fighting has been raging in north-west Liberia near the Sierra Leone border, involving the army and Sierra Leone rebels and two Liberian army factions.

Fighting has caused an exodus of more than 20 000 people to Yandahun, 40km to the south, according to humanitarian organisations who visited the area last week. — Sapa-AFP



**FRIDAY'S
DJ IA CLOSE:
3483,97**

**FRIDAY'S
FT-SE 100
CLOSE:
2857,7**

**FRIDAY'S
NEW YORK
GOLD CLOSE:
\$385,90**

**YESTERDAY'S
HONG KONG
GOLD CLOSE:
\$386,65**



Mandela calls for a rebirth of Africa

CIPress 4/1/93

STRONG words were used by ANC president Nelson Mandela when he called for "a rebirth of Africa" at the OAU summit conference in Cairo last week.

"All of us know the brutal reality of a continent awash with hungry children, plagued by wars that devour human lives, confronted by millions of refugees, economies in crises, disproved theories and broken dreams.

"Everything around us cries out that a new offensive is called for ... a rebirth of Africa," he said.

Mandela called for a total effort to stop Africa's downward spiral. But, as OAU Secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said nothing would come of the organisation's ambitious plans to promote economic develop-

MONEY TALK

ment through an African common market unless there was the necessary funding.

Even efforts to intervene to prevent conflicts could achieve very little without sufficient financial resources.

Africa possesses enormous resources and should be playing a far greater role in the world.

It is calculated that Zaire has the capability of producing enough food to feed the entire continent. Yet Zaire is a net importer of food.

Zaire even buys large quantities from South Africa, which has a very limited agricultural potential as most of its territory consists of desert or

semi-desert areas.

Politics is at the root of Zaire's problem.

The country is constantly at war with itself.

Unfortunately we in SA cannot point a finger at the rest of Africa.

Are we not in many respects at war with ourselves? Our economy is steadily weakening and while many of our economists are hopeful that we will experience a turnaround sooner or later, our politics seem to become more complicated and difficult by the day.

It is time that we as people wake up and start demanding that the various political movements stop damaging our economy on which we all depend for our livelihood.

If they do not, we may well join the ranks of the frightening scenarios described by Mandela.

SA sets up trade links with Ivory Coast

Special 7-11-93

By Michael Chester

Exporters have established new trade links with the Ivory Coast and started laying plans to use the route as the main multi-million-rand springboard into markets across the whole of West Africa.

Insiders believe it opens the possibility of the first major SA penetration of markets inside the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) and Francophone Africa, whose two-way trade avenues until now have been dominated by traditional European partners and virtually closed to outsiders.

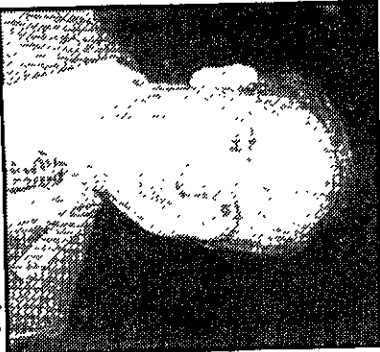
The SA/Ivory Coast link is regarded as an important new landmark in SA moves to widen economic ties with neighbours on the continent as trade relations return to normal. It is also seen as significant

in terms of longer-term aspirations to weld the entire continent into a single economic bloc with more clout in global trade affairs.

The closer ties with the Ivory Coast were forged by a trade delegation that returned to South Africa yesterday after a one-week round of talks with Ivorian government and business leaders.

The visit was planned by Club Air, a Johannesburg-based company that has been created to concentrate primarily on business travel between SA and potential markets on the continent that have so far remained largely unexplored by exporters.

Club Air MD Freddie Nkonde believes the inclusion of a new generation of SA black businessmen on multiracial trade missions promises to add far more impact to efforts to widen contacts in non-traditional markets.



Alan Nash... gateway into the vast West African market

He plans a deeper penetration of West Africa by similar missions to Senegal, Togo and Cameroon in the next few months.

"There's a fresh awareness of the urgency to develop closer economic links inside the conti-

nent," he says. "Everyone is keen to see South Africa playing a far bigger role in intra-regional trade and investment now that apartheid problems are off the agenda and the political climate has improved."

The leader of the delegation, Alan Nash, also managing director of Alkris Industrial Manufacturing, says: "We set out to look for a gateway into the vast West African markets — and we found it."

"The warmth of the welcome and an obvious eagerness to expand economic links with SA came as a tremendous boost for optimism about the outlook for more two-way trade and joint ventures to cement permanent business relations."

Closer relations were fine-tuned at a four-day round of talks with senior business leaders at the Centre for International Com-

mence in Abidjan, arranged by the Ivory Coast/South Africa Association that has emerged to cultivate links.

A special conference run by the National Chamber of Commerce was also addressed by SA Economic Counsellor Chris Beyers and Sato Africa Business Development manager Paul Runge.

There were also lengthy discussions with Minister of Trade and Industry Kacou Ferdinand Angoran, who announced he would visit SA next month to examine the scope for more trade and investment initiatives.

Nash believes an added boost to two-way trade will be provided by the introduction on July 15 of a new direct shipping service between SA and the Ivory Coast to be run as a joint exercise by Unicorn in SA and Sivomar in Abidjan.

Private sector seen as Africa's saviour

By Michael Chester

The whole of Africa was urged in Johannesburg yesterday to start a massive re-think about the role of government and leave more room for the private sector to take the lead in economic affairs.

The advice was delivered by the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the affiliate of the World Bank that is showing mounting concern over the downward slide of economies in sub-Saharan Africa.

IFC small business development manager Richard Parry said global experience proved the private sector was far better equipped than government to generate expansion and job creation.

Parry was opening a special two-day conference called by the SA Foreign Trade Organisation to review the various business opportunities offered by political and economic transition across the continent.

He said it was dangerous to follow out-moded notions that the private sector was a predator and should be under state control.



Richard Parry... new investments not enough to arrest and reverse the trend

For far too long, much of Africa had toiled under governments that had not concentrated on their basic role — such as provision of sound education and health services — and failed to release the energies and entrepreneurial talents of the private sector.

In turn, average per capita incomes in sub-Saharan Africa had shrunk by no less than 25

percent since 1970. Africa's share of world export trade had been halved.

"One does not need to look far to find examples of countries where school children have no books, hospitals have no supplies and shops have no goods on the shelves," he said.

New investments in Africa were still not enough to arrest and reverse the downward trend.

The World Bank estimated that Africa needed new investments to equal no less than 25 percent of gross domestic product every year to show improvement in unemployment and incomes among its growing populations.

In fact, investment rates over the past five years had lagged behind at only 17 percent.

In dramatic contrast, the investment rate in the dynamic economies of East Asian countries had been running at 34 percent.

Parry advised Africa to consider the results.

"Just over 30 years ago," he said, "per capita income in Ghana was higher than in both South Korea and Malaysia —

and many people thought Ghana's development prospects were considerably brighter.

"Yet it has been East Asian countries that have managed to lift millions out of poverty in less than one generation. Africa should be aiming at the same goal."

Official overseas aid to sub-Saharan governments in the 1980s amounted to R340 billion and was still running at more than R60 billion a year.

"One cannot avoid serious questions about the effectiveness of much of this public investment," he said.

The critical challenge in Africa was to attract direct private investment — from domestic as well as overseas sources. One option was privatisation of various state services.

"If Africa is to break out of the cycle of dependence on foreign aid, combined with slow economic growth and living standards that are static or falling," said Parry, "it needs to develop a vibrant private sector."

"If other countries in other parts of the world can do it, can Africa."

'Repression rife in Africa'

THE move to multiparty democracy in Africa sparked repression by governments unwilling to tolerate political change or to face its consequences, Amnesty International said in its annual report today.

In its overview of the state of human rights in Africa, the worldwide movement lauded the event of "unprecedented elections" and new governments in some countries, but recognises the lack of respect for human rights by government forces and opposition groups in many others.

SA continued to suffer from a pattern of covert involvement by the security forces in many politically-motivated killings, said Amnesty. Among the victims were black train commuters and ANC-supporting communities, killed by armed men believed to be operating with police acquiescence, it said.

Other victims, including key figures in the ANC, the SA Communist Party and trade unions, were assassinated by "death squads" made up of, or backed by, elements of the security forces, it claimed.

In Angola, it said, not only the government but two opposition groups, Unita and the Cabinda Liberation Front, were to blame for gross human rights abuses, in-

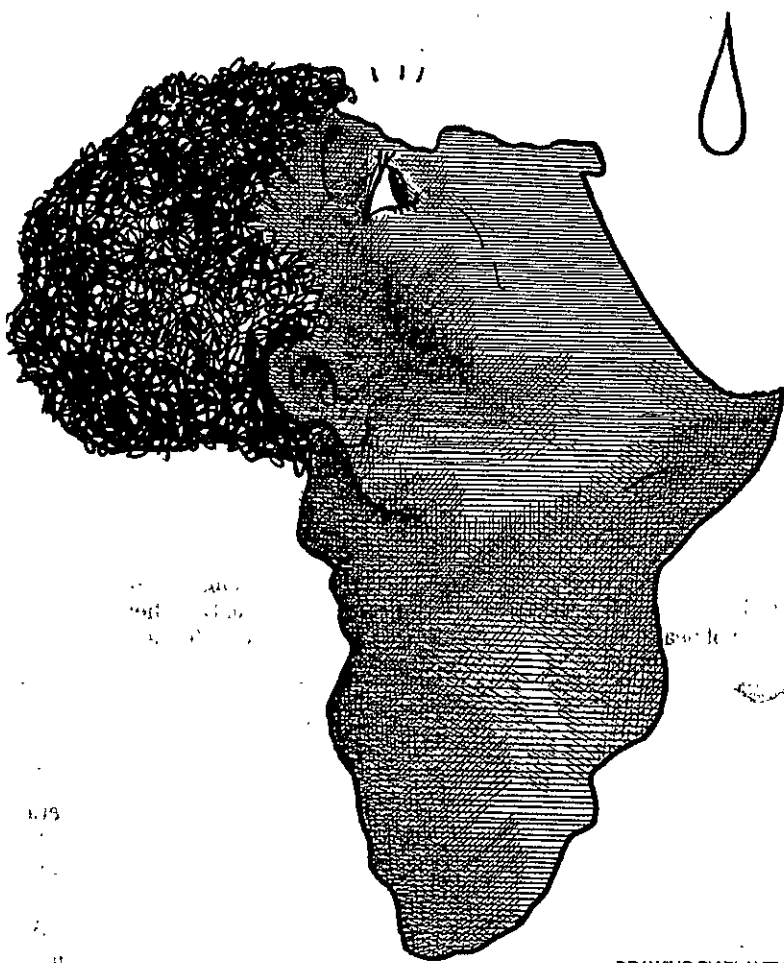
cluding killings. In comments on Malawi, Amnesty International said demands for change surfaced publicly in "the continent's last formal one-party state". However, moves towards reform resulted in human rights infringements as the government tried to stamp out unprecedented opposition.

Other countries listed as having ignored basic human rights were Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somalia, Guinea, Cameroon, Ghana, Gambia, Djibouti, Uganda, Mauritania, Zaire, Chad, Niger, Burundi, Rwanda and Kenya.

Amnesty said several thousand people had been the victims of extra-judicial execution by security forces in 14 African countries. At least 108 people "disappeared" in 1992 after being arrested in five countries, and at least 2 863 others were still missing in nine countries after their disappearance in earlier years.

Thirty African countries were listed as being guilty of torturing or ill-treating prisoners, and more than 420 people were known to have died as a result of torture or beatings in 18 countries.

At least 4 000 political prisoners were released in Africa. — Sapa.



DRAWING BY PLANTU

The land of lost horizons

Guardian / w
w/ mail
9/7-1577/93
①

Can we still be optimistic about the Horn of Africa, asks **Basil Davidson**

LITTLE or no reason, for a long time now, to expect good news from Africa, least of all from the region of the Horn. Across this vast north-eastern sector of the continent, one zone of disaster elbows upon another. A sore-hit Eritrea has emerged from 30 years of anti-colonial struggle, but the Sudan next-door continues to be plunged in conflict with itself; Somalia riven apart by brigands; Djibuti wondering what comes next; while Ethiopia — another land of lost horizons — wagers hope against hope that its new-won peace may hold. And millions stare into starvation.

Books will be written about the reasons why, and many reasons found. Human frailty is one of them. Another and bigger derives from the international terms-of-trade, Africa's greatest overall source of poverty. Eritrea ended its war against colonialism in 1991, with one good crop to offer: sesame seed, the modern successor to the frankincense and myrrh which ancient pharaohs used to import from this legendary Land of Punt. While this crop was ripening in 1991, the "world price" of the commodity markets forecast \$850 per unit. When it had ripened the price was down to \$550, lower than the cost of delivering it.

Yet there is good news from the Horn, even rivetingly good news, and it comes from this Eritrea which proclaimed its independence last month. This is good news, it must be said, against all the odds. Fighting since 1961 to win free from a violent imperial control by the now-defunct empire of Ethiopia, the Eritreans have had to emerge from pain and ruin. In Eritrea recently I tried to reckon up their losses.

These have been enormous, and help to explain why, in an internationally-supervised referendum earlier this year, Eritreans voted by

more than 98 per cent for an independent future. A population of three million is left, with 90,000 orphans, from an utterly reckless war imposed by the Ethiopian dictatorship. A liberation army of young Eritrean men and women (the women perhaps one-third of all fighting effectives) suffered some 65,000 dead in defeating Ethiopia's repeated offensives. Perhaps 100,000 Eritreans have lost their homes and livelihoods. Great quantities of refugees await the chance of being settled at home again. Yet the peace that reigns now is very clearly one of reconciliation, not of hatred. Explain this how you may: it is the fact. In spite of hideous losses, commented my old friend Ali Said (but he, too, is wonderfully young even while vice-president of the new state), "we have achieved a full tranquillity here in Eritrea."

Solidarity will now enable us to build up our own country. That will mean years of self-sacrificing toil and we shall do it

There is no money in the national till, no national economy in any customary sense, no way of feeding many Eritreans save by the food-aid of the UN and of non-governmental organisations such as Oxfam — food-aid that comes pounding up the mountain roads by day now, instead of by night as during the war — no cash to demobilise an army of 90,000 now longing for the chance of civilian life, and no prospect of comfort even in the miraculously undamaged capital of Asmara.

"But we have the conditions to build a good society," says Petros Tesfagiorgis, another wartime friend and veteran. "We are convinced that

we can solve these economic problems," affirms Amdemihail Kahsai, another fighter from the times "when no-one outside our country believed that we should win." Brave words: but more than that?

Those who question this optimism are answered with prudence, any trace of triumphalism here being among the casualties of war. They say that they were able to win their decades-long war against colonial rule only by being able to evoke what President Issaias Afwerki describes as a "solidarity of effort" — across every "traditional" rivalry of religion, "ethnicity," or other claim on installed privilege. And the facts are strongly with him.

"But the solidarity," says Issaias, "is what will now enable us to build up our country." That will mean years of self-sacrificing toil, "and we shall do it." Invited to lecture civil servants and newly-appointed ministers at Asmara University, I was asked to speak on the history of African anti-colonial movements. They hoped I would dwell on the fatal risks (as they put it) of permitting a gap in mutual confidence and contact to appear and widen between government and governed. "As we see it," said the Eritrean leaders who invited me, "that is going to be the great danger we must avoid."

The same point was hammered home three days before the ceremony of independence. Army units in tight discipline marched into the capital and closed the airport for 12 hours, not because these wageless soldiers were clamouring for cash, even if they would surely like some, but because they wanted to call their political leaders to a meeting so as to insist that no big decisions were taken without due and very democratic consultation. Having been given assurances by Issaias and others, they marched out again. Where else have we seen the like?

This is the solidarity, however unfamiliar, that the "developed world" will have to measure if it wants to understand what is happening here. Far beyond Eritrea, it is the lesson that I have lately heard being taught across the continent. Unless governments now accept that their route of escape from present disasters has to pass through democratic involvement in self-administration — in "mass participation" to use the jargon term — there will be no worthwhile escape. In Eritrea now the immediate task is to work out a democratic constitution with a law permitting multi-party but non-sectarian politics across the country.

To these ends they have made a start in the two years since fighting ended. Their big work has been to launch elective assemblies of local government in each of the country's ten provinces. These are designed to advance local interests, and if necessary defend these interests against central government.

I sat in on a session of the Hamasien assembly. Who then is to be the boss in local affairs: the administrative governor appointed by central government, or the assembly speaking through its elected chairman? Both were present, and both unhesitatingly said it would be the assembly. Heads behind me nodded vigorous agreement. A popular answer. An absolutely crucial one as well.

If this intention is held firm across these years ahead, then something hugely positive will have happened. Not only for Eritrea, but also — as I have lately heard it said repeatedly in other African lands — for the cause of rescuing the African state from its neo-colonial misery of rigid centralism.

Call for independent Africa broadcasting

South 1017-147193

THE URTNA celebration of excellence in African radio, television and music proved to be a welcome highpoint in an otherwise disheartening gathering. (1)

Kenyan musicians objected to other African performers playing at the gala, and won a last-minute court order banning their own country's television stations from showing the spectacle.

But KTV, Kenya's privately owned channel, went ahead and screened it anyway, to be followed by KBC a few nights later.

A range of other URTNA concerts were cancelled due to shoddy planning and poor finances.

The upbeat awards festival followed a depressing URTNA session chronicling the sad state of the continent.

The gala's sharing and celebrating of Africa's vibrant and diverse cultures was in stark contrast to the other side of the continent which emerged in other URTNA sessions.

Sierra Leone professor Cecil Blake spoke about the "precarious and devastating situation of the motherland", warning that Africa was close to "a near meltdown condition in a nuclear facility".

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"our continent seems to daily spew out millions upon millions of people who have failed to live with each other in peace".

Reading a lament he had penned for Africa, Kaunda spoke movingly about the bleeding of Somalia, death in Rwanda, Burundi, Angola and Liberia, and decay in Zaire.

But the Zambian elder statesman himself fell short later when he failed to answer questions about suppression of press freedom during his own term of office.

Kenyan journalist Frank Ojiambo of "The Standard" newspaper, however, offered some advice on the role of African broadcasting in overcoming the continent's problems. (243)

"It is my prayer that the radio and television stations which South Africans will have after their elections will be truly independent. This is what we are crying out for," he said.

Broadcasters should reflect current issues, and not be propaganda organs for personalities like a country's president.

"I speak as someone who has seen it all. The president coughs, and he is the main feature on the news.

"We look forward to the day when you South Africans have corrected some of the mistakes we have made."

HELLO AFRICA!

South 10/7 - 14/7/93

AFRICA ISSUED its own version of the Oscar Awards with a well-deserved fanfare in Nairobi recently — and named some of its awards after Nelson Mandela.

Hosted by M-Net and Kenya's two television networks, the two-hour awards gala was broadcast live by satellite to Africa in both French and English.

South Africa is still not a member of the body that made the awards, an association of state and private broadcasters from 48 African countries.

But that did not stop the group, the Union of Radio and Television Organisations of Africa (URTNA), from using South Africa's premier personality to honour the whole continent's cultural workers.

In a televised message to the glitzy spectacle, Mandela commended URTNA and said South Africa had much to learn, as well as much to offer, as it re-entered the stage of international communication.

However, he said the ANC could still not support the participation of the SABC in international broadcasting forums because the selection of the South African board had been tainted by National Party intervention.

Mandela added: ~~(We are)~~ We are blessed with talent and outstanding facilities, and we look forward to a democratic South Africa

and an independent SABC working with URTNA for the development of broadcasting in Africa."

Although URTNA is 30 years old, this was the first time it extended its activities around exchanging programmes and upgrading broadcasting standards into a fully-fledged awards celebration.

Honours were won by radio broadcasters from Malawi, television dramatists from the Seychelles, Moroccan film-makers and musicians from Kenya, among others.

Alongside the Mandela awards for the best African radio and television documentary programmes was a category of "Cultural Ambassador" trophies for artists promoting understanding and cultural exchange across Africa.

Some South Africans attending the festival had heard of Nigeria's King Sunny Ade and Zimbabwe's Bhundu Boys.

But few knew about otherwise-famous winners like Zangalewa from Cameroon, Sherihane from Egypt; Onyeka Onwenu of Nigeria and Alpha Blondie from Cote D'ivoire.

Conspicuous by absence from the awards line-up, South Africa's mighty culture folk were forgotten as attention was showered on artists like Togo's Afia Mala and Benin's Nel Oliver.

It was clear just how apartheid isolation had kept South African citizens deprived of Africa's foremost cultural spirits.

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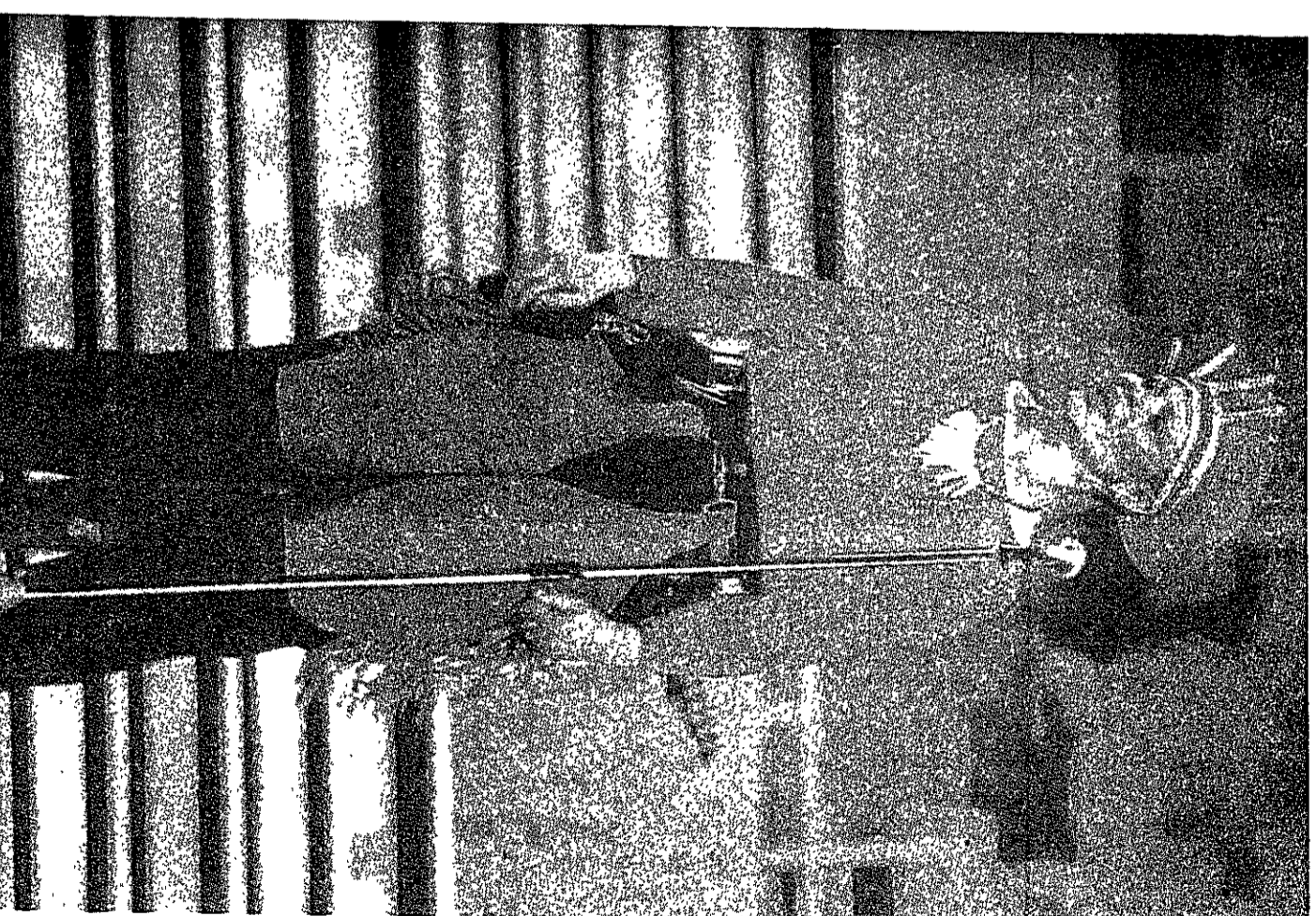
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TROPHY: Zindzi Mandela, standing in for her famous father, presented an URITNA trophy to Seychelles' broadcaster Claudette Albert for excellence in African television programmes

Photos: Tony Naidoo (M-Net)



QUICK DRAW: Yondo Sister, of Zairian group the Soukous Stars, thrilled the URITNA gala with an energy explosion

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South 1017-1417193

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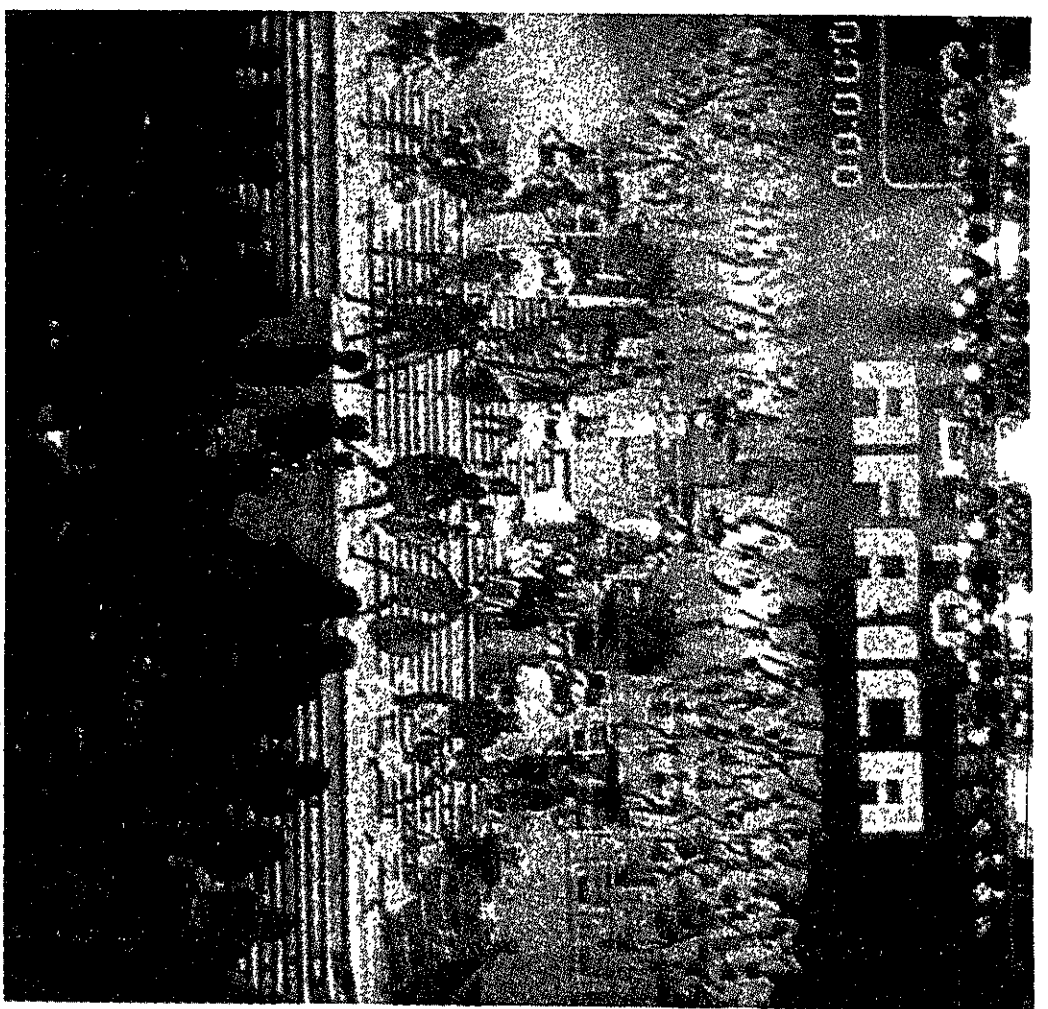
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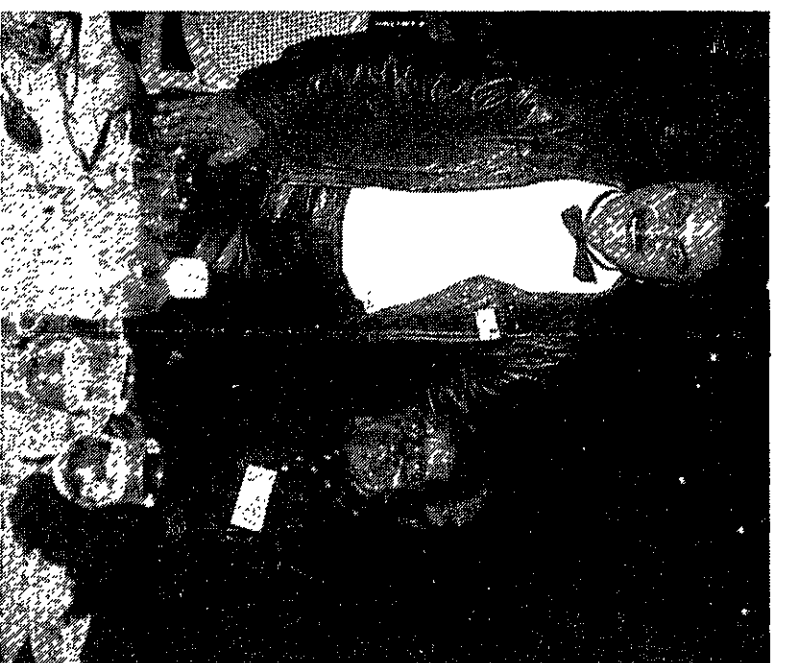
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"We look forward to the day when you South Africans have corrected some of the mistakes we have made."



WELCOME TO AFRICA: URTNA's gala brought together Kenyan performers with artists as diverse as PJ Powers and Ethiopia's Aster Aweke



Left, POWER PRESENCE: South Africa's PJ Powers led the gala in singing for the children of Africa; Centre, GUESTS: SOUTH's deputy editor Rafiq Rohan meets former Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda; Right, BASOTHO BEAT: Sankomoto starred strongly at the URTNA gala.

URTNA, The Union of National Radio and Television Organisations of Africa, was set up in Dakar, Senegal in 1964. It runs:

- A Television News Co-ordinating Centre, based in Algiers, Algeria, distributing African news via satellite.
- A Programme Exchange Centre, established in 1977 in Nairobi, Kenya, promoting interchange of radio and television material, and
- An Inter-African Centre for Rural Radio Studies programme, operating from Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, providing radio training.



LEFT FOR THE hundreds of children of farm labourers in Phillippi was bleak until the Trudy Thomas Centre was established early last year.

Get your ID on your



ADDRESSING wrongs of apartheid will depend on new laws in a democratic South Africa, and

Neglected Phillippi kids get, rescued,

SOUTH FEATURE 11

July 10 to July 14 1993

July 10 to July 14 1993

14 Voter education

REDRESSING the wrongs of apartheid will depend on new laws in a democratic South Africa, and the American experience could prove useful here.

In the United States, affirmative action needed to address the problems of a disadvantaged minority

The US civil rights movement which began among black Americans successfully challenged discrimination in the US Supreme Court on a number of occasions, leading eventually to action from the US Senate and White House to end discrimination and segregation.

"The term 'affirmative action' first appeared in American law on the Civil Rights Act of 1964," said visiting professor Myron Weiner recently.

"It said that employers who had engaged in discriminatory practices had to take 'affirmative action' to compensate for their wrong practices."

One year later, in 1965, President Lyndon Johnson issued an Executive Order requiring 'affirmative action' in employment and promotion for all Federal contractors, even if they had never discriminated. In the early seventies the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission established quotas for the employment of certain minority groups.

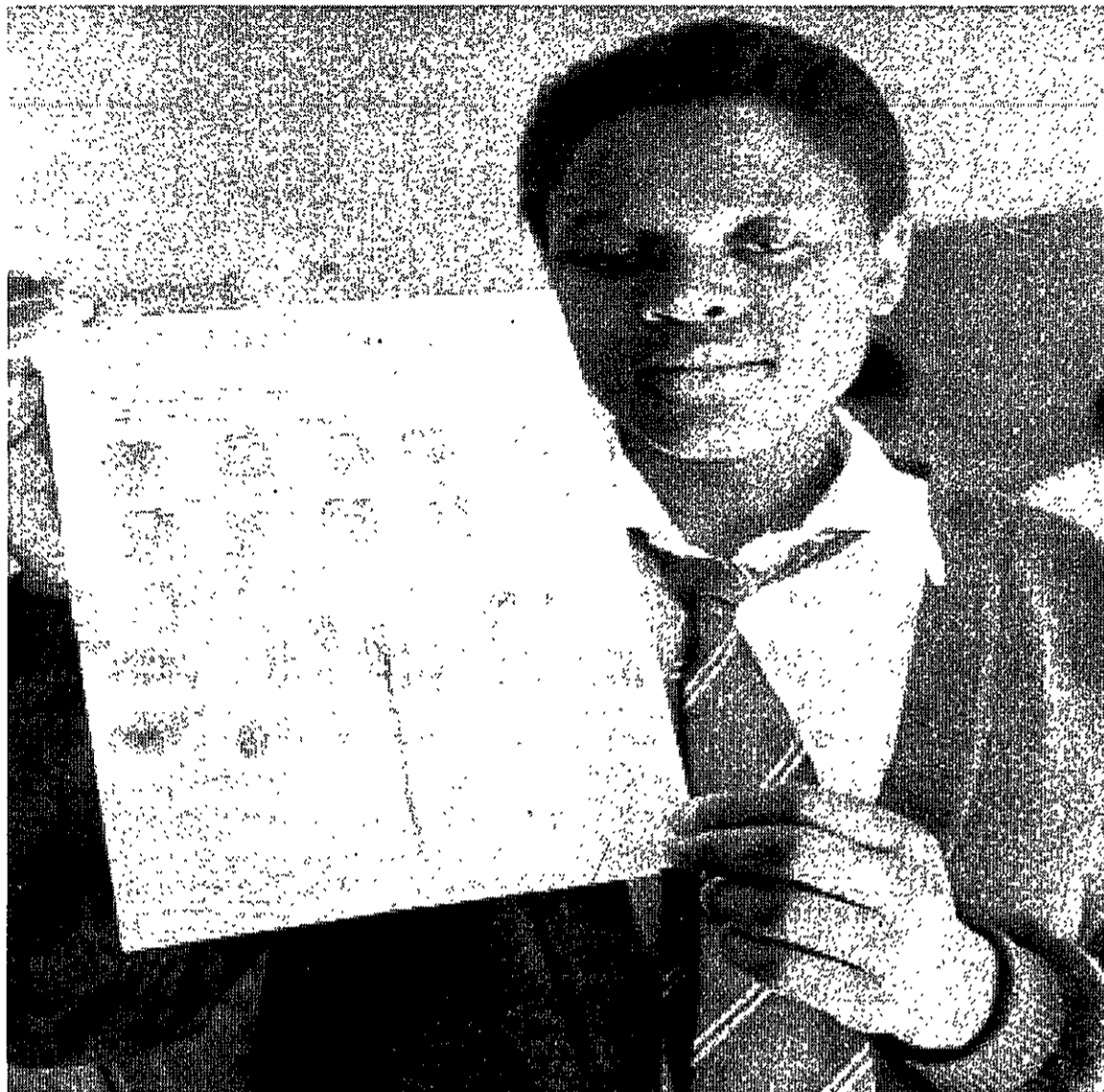
Affirmative action meant different things to different people. Some saw it as an active effort to recruit and promote minorities and end discrimination. Others saw it as the achievement of mandatory results through quotas.

"This debate moved to the courts in the famous Bakke case, after the medical school of the University of California had reserved 16 seats for blacks," Weiner said.

"A white candidate, whose scores were higher than that of the 16 admitted blacks, filed suit that his civil rights had been violated."

The Supreme Court ruled that race could be taken into account in university admission practices, but also that the system of quotas established by the medical school was unacceptable because it made race the exclusive factor for a fixed number of admissions.

"The decision captured the American ambivalence towards affirmative action: that there should be equal opportunity for all based on merit but at the same time that there was a national need to take



AT YOUR FINGERTIPS: Fingerprinting is the first step to getting the ID book that is a prerequisite for voting

FIGHT RACISM: do the right thing

some positive steps to remedy historical injustices and continued barriers to equal opportunities for blacks.

"The debate over quotas has obscured many positive features of US affirmative action programmes," Weiner said.

There are two basic types of affirmative action policies in Weiner's view. He described the first as affirmative action for expanding opportunities. This includes policies to end discrimination, including the changing of policies that carry unin-

tended discriminatory effects.

This kind of affirmative action would also cover programmes intended to expand the pool of qualified individuals. These include training programmes to upgrade the skills of workers, special bridging programmes for students, financial assistance to students who are qualified for tertiary education but who could not otherwise attend, loans to businessmen in disadvantaged communities and subcontracts to minority businesses.

Weiner sees the second type of

affirmative action policy as emphasising fixed outcomes based on prescribed quotas.

"These are result-orientated policies which set out to ensure that the distribution of education, employment, income and wealth among individuals will be in proportion to the population of each ethnic group in the country," Weiner said.

The ideal of this second type would be that every group is proportionately represented in all educational, professional, private enterprise and governmental sectors.

From affirmative action to discrimination

AFFIRMATIVE action used for political expediency by group in society, at the expense of other groups, can only lead to disaster.

This is according to Professor Myron Weiner, an American scholar invited by the Urban Foundation to lecture on affirmative action recently.

In his accounts of the Sri Lankan implementation of affirmative action, Weiner described the experience as "an example of an affirmative action programme which went as badly wrong as anyone could ever imagine..."

This is reminiscent of the type of affirmative action apartheid policies applied in South Africa for the advancement of Afrikaners at the expense of the black population.

Sri Lanka has a population of 17 million, three quarters of them Sin-

halese Buddhists and 18 percent a Tamil Hindu minority.

Tension between the two groups arose because the Buddhists resented Tamils for their higher levels of education, a disproportionate share of government posts, and being generally better off. (176)

The reasons for these disparities were historical. Missionaries had built schools in the predominantly Tamil areas in the north and the east of the country during the nineteenth century. (129)

In 1956 a Sinhalese Buddhist political party took power on the promise of elevating the status of Sinhalese to an official language.

Few Tamils spoke Sinhalese which resulted in proportion of the Tamils in the civil service dropping from 50 percent to 15 percent within ten years. Entrance examinations

to universities, medical and engineering schools were now in Sinhalese and Tamil which meant each community had its own examiners.

"When the education department saw that Tamils received higher marks than Sinhalese, a decision was made to standardise the marks so that the Sinhalese and Tamil pass rates would be in proportion to their population," Weiner said.

"The result was a marked drop in Tamil enrolments and a marked increase in Sinhalese enrolments."

Resentment among the Tamils had been growing and young Tamils turned to arms, calling for the creation of an independent Tamil state.

"Affirmative action became an instrument of the majority Sinhalese for using its political power to restrict opportunities for Tamils."

Affirmative action is usually embarked on for reasons of political necessity, in the interests of maintaining or correcting the political status quo.

A balance has to be kept ensuring that special benefits issuing from affirmative action do not compromise equal rights for all.

Any unilateral imposition of affirmative action policies to the detriment of the rights of other groups leads to polarisation between groups.

And perhaps most important for the South African context, "some opposition (to affirmative action) comes from people who are racist and who believe that one group is superior to another. Their criticisms are of really no concern to us from an intellectual point of view."

Get your ID on your doorstep

South 1017-147193

By Shannon Neill

IN A drive to give every potential voter an opportunity to vote in the general election, mobile units are being set up to ensure that as many people as possible have identity documents.

The initiative was started by the department of Home Affairs and is being closely monitored by the Black Sash.

Although the mobile units were introduced at the end of last year, since April their functioning has been intensified. There are currently six units working in the Peninsula.

The units move to where they are needed, usually spending two weeks in each area.

They stay open in the evening to allow working people to use them and, if required, will open on Saturdays.

It costs nothing to get an identity book. There is usually a photographer at the unit who will take the required two photographs for about R5.

Black Sash co-ordinator of the monitoring project, Paula Cardoso, says, "the process is being well organised, and has been successful to date."

"There is clearly a need for this. The Advice Office in Knysna, for example, recorded 1500 people at the mobile unit in Plettenberg Bay on its first day there." (238)

The unit at the Shawco centre in Khayelitsha has dealt with about 100 people a day in the week it has been there.

Dora Tshantshane, 20, said, "I heard about the mobile unit at school. I think it's a very good idea because it makes it easy for people to get identity books and then they can vote."

There will be a unit at the creche at NY3A in Nyanga until July 16, and another unit at the Shawco 2 building in Khayelitsha until July 10.

People wanting the mobile unit to come to their area can phone:

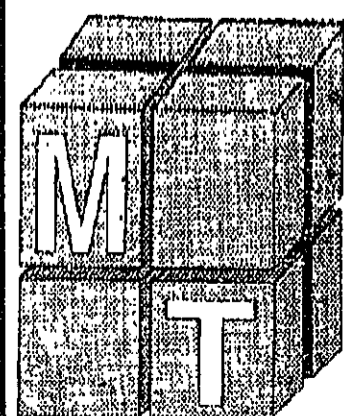
Bellville Home Affairs:
Mrs M Erasmus tel. 9463582.

Cape Town Home Affairs:
Ms R Bosman tel. 4624970.

Nyanga Home Affairs:
Mr PJ Smit tel. 9344133.

Wynberg home Affairs:
Mr FJF Joubert tel. 7974767.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



Neglected Philippi kids get 'rescued'

SOUTH 10/7 - 14/7/93

LIFE FOR THE hundreds of children of farm labourers in Philippi was bleak until the Trudy Thomas Centre was established early last year. Before the centre was opened there were few day care facilities in the area.

"Some babies were strapped to the backs of their mothers while they worked the fields and on rainy days they were left to shelter in little boxes. Others were simply unattended," says Matron Sharon Lewin.

"Many were covered in sores, and gastroenteritis and diarrhoea were commonplace."

The tot system prevails on the farms and childcare was neglected in the face of endemic alcoholism.

But today there is hope and happiness at the centre where 150 babies, toddlers and pre-schoolers thrive on the attention of caring teachers, nutritious meals and play in a stimulating environment.

Dr Trudy Thomas, a community health specialist, started the centre last year to rescue the children after surveying Philippi farms.

She was shocked by the plight of the children.

Some children fed themselves by robbing trucks carrying stale bread for pigs. Many were left unattended while mothers worked long hours in the field, and child labour was common.

On the day SOUTH visited the centre, children were happily running around, enjoying the garden and playground equipment.

Many still bear the ravages of early deprivation and malnourishment. Some are small for their age and slow developers. Some have poor eyesight and a few have had TB.

But at the centre they're secure in the space they share with the children of some of the centre's staff.

Matron Lewin, who has two children at the centre, describes her own joy at working in the warm environment where she can do the work she loves and be with her children.

"I'm happy that I can see my children during the day, and they enjoy being here. Even on Saturdays my six-year-old asks to come to creche."

The classrooms are bright and decorated with charts and posters. In the sunny babies' room diagrams on the wall depict a carefully-designed programme to ensure excellent care.

The centre is, however, under-resourced.

The nursery has only four cots for the 22 babies it currently accommodates and another nursery and more classrooms are needed to even begin to address the needs of labourers reflected in the long waiting list.

Parents are asked to pay one rand a day for each child, but few can and they're not pressed.

The centre is supported by Community Chest and an American company and the Viva Game has donated R40 000.

But more is needed to make the dream of care for every labourer's child in Philippi a reality. **LORELLE BELL**



IN GOOD HANDS: Randall Ruiters, aged 3, arrived at the Trudy Thomas Centre unable to walk or talk, but he is responding well to the care of teachers like Ms Revona Louw (left)

The Western Cape Peace Committee is currently inviting applications for the positions mentioned below.

Candidates for these crucial positions must have good listening and communication skills with a sound grasp of political dynamics in the region. Objectivity and the ability to assume a thoroughly non-partisan approach to the task of implementing the National Peace Accord are essential requirements. For the position of field workers persons with facilitation skills and proficiency in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa will receive preference, whilst organisational and good conceptual skills will be advantageous.

FIELD WORKERS

A position is available in the **Northern Suburbs**, in the **Vredenburg/Namaqualand** region and in **Beaufort West**.

The incumbents will be responsible for: ● assisting in the formation and nurturing of Local Peace Committees (LPC) ● liaising with all relevant parties and leaders in the community ● acting as the link between the Regional Peace Committee and the LPC ● facilitation of different intervention processes in conflict situations.

YOUTH LIAISON OFFICER

This person will work from the RPC office in **Bellville**, and will be responsible for ● liaising with and organising the different youth organisations ● facilitating the youth forum.

ELECTION MONITORING COORDINATOR

This position at our **Bellville** office entails responsibility for ● coordinating the RPC monitoring efforts ● liaising with other monitoring agencies and ● coordinating a panel of volunteers.

PERSONAL ASSISTANT

We require a person to act as an administrative assistant to the Regional Office Manager and Coordinator at our **Bellville** office.

SECRETARY

A position exists in **Beaufort West** for a person to ● act as secretary to the Local Peace Committee and ● assist the field worker in an administrative capacity.

The salaries offered are all negotiable. All these positions need to be filled urgently.

No application forms need to be completed.

Send a CV before or on 15 July 1993 to:

Mr Retief Olivier, Secretariat, Western Cape Peace Committee,
204 Bel-Ray Arcade, 39-43 Durban Road, Bellville 7530.

Telephone: 94-1072/3/4/5.

Fax: 948-8246.

—072 2929

WESTERN CAPE PEACE COMMITTEE

Concern over court press restrictions

EDITORS across South Africa have expressed concern over bans imposed on the press.

Their statement coincided with final steps by SOUTH to contest an interdict won by Plessey-Tellumat on June 16 blocking publication of a story about the company.

The Conference of Editors noted "with concern" recent cases of the courts granting interdicts to companies to prevent newspapers publishing material to which the public is entitled.

It reaffirmed its belief "in a free flow of information and opinion, and in a society in which pre-publication restrictions are enforced only in exceptional circumstances."

● Mewusa, the trade union organising at Plessey Tellumat, has been accused of intimidation by the company, which claims the union is trying to get two women involved in a sexual harassment case to provide details.

The company threatened to "reconsider the privileges afforded to Mewusa."

focus on Africa

Sowetan 12/7/93

FOR A South African to win the confidence of the local population in a French speaking country like Cote d'Ivoire it takes only two words — Shaka Zulu.

This is what the South African contingent, comprising business people, cultural personalities and journalists, learnt when they hit Abidjan last week.

For a change, Nelson Mandela took a back seat as the man who played the warrior Zulu king in the popular movie *Shaka Zulu*, Henry Cele, took Abidjan by storm. Maybe it was because he was a member of the South African delegation.

Perhaps the climax of Cele's presence in Cote d'Ivoire was when he was being interviewed by a local television station. Minutes after his brief appearance on the box, residents from the neighbouring middle-class suburb of Cocody invaded the broadcast centre in the hope of meeting their hero.

The organisers of the interview had no choice but to smuggle Cele out through a back door.

Arriving in Abidjan just when night made its presence felt, one of the first attractions were the brightly lit high-rise buildings.

Only the heat and the customs officials were reminders that this was not Johannesburg. "This is not bad at all. Wide freeways and tall buildings just like Jo'burg. I wouldn't mind working here," commented one of the South Africans.

But a drain-like smell as the bus drove into the city told one that life was not all that glossy.

Hotels are plentiful. One of them is the five-star Hotel Ivoire where most of the South Africans stayed. There were signs of relief in the faces of the visitors when they saw the facilities at the flashy resort.

In Cote d'Ivoire on the west coast of Africa, Nelson Mandela takes a back seat to Henry Cele, star of the popular movie *Shaka Zulu*. Business reporter **Mzimkulu Malunga** gives his impressions:



However, a shock awaited them.

In the usually colourful South African way, many rushed back from their rooms to relax in the bar and order a few beers. A dumpy costs 1 000 CFA francs (about R10).

The following day when more care was being taken about spending, another new discovery was that breakfast cost R46.

When the South Africans finally sat down for the first phase of the visit — a two-day symposium — they got another lesson about this "modern country" as West Africans proudly call their countries.

Many did not know what to expect or what was expected of them. The Ivorians had expectations and the South Africa were cautious. Hence, the conference got off to a confusing start.

But the business drive in both camps steadily took control and some South Africans, like Siphso Dube, became instant stars as interest in products they came to market shot up.

Despite its desire to protect its French culture, a close scrutiny of Ivorian society made it no different from its English-speaking neighbours.

Almost every household is selling something.

Here traders make skilled negotiators like Cyril Ramaphosa, Roelf Meyer and Benny Alexander look ordinary.

"My friend, my friend, come, I give you good price," says a garment seller as three South Africans walk into the crowded market.

"Where are you from, Burundi or Zimbabwe?" asks one of the traders.

After getting the response, the excited marketeers comment: "Soud Africa, Chaka Zulu. I give you good, good price."

Every price is negotiable and the question that traders often ask would-be buyers is: "What is your last price?"

Abidjan bears the scars of Cote d'Ivoire's economic decline of the past six years. The merciless tropical weather has not been helpful either. Virtually all the buildings from downtown Adjame to the commercial centre, Lu Plateau, need to be painted.

Apart from the glass buildings in Abidjan the only other structure which seems freshly painted in Cote d'Ivoire is the residence of President Felix Houphouet Boigny in a village turned capital city — Yamoussoukro — about 250 kilometres north of Abidjan.

Hope for African trade relations

Sowetan 12/7/93

By **Mzimkulu Malunga**

COTE D'IVOIRE can become a gateway for South African exports to Europe, says Ivorian Trade and Industry Minister Kacou Angora.

In an interview with *Sowetan* last weekend, Angora said his country had preferential trade agreements with key members of the European Community and it was possible that South African business people could use this opportunity.

"The only way South Africa can exploit this opportunity is through the establishment of a partnership with Cote d'Ivoire," he said.

Following a week in which local business overcame the language barriers and exchanged contacts with their Ivorian counterparts, a high-powered delegation from Cote d'Ivoire was

likely to visit this country at the beginning of September.

He said Cote d'Ivoire was eager to follow up its long-standing political relationship with South Africa with firm business relations in which private sectors of the two countries would work together through joint ventures in technology exchanges.

"The transfer of technology from South Africa is very important to us," said Angora.

As trade blocs were being formed from North America to Europe and the Pacific Rim, Africa was becoming more marginalised and it was about time Africans did something about it, he argued.

To him, the establishment of the Abidjan-Johannesburg axis could be the first step towards the formation of a Pan-African trade bloc which could take sub-Saharan Africa out of its current

economic crisis and transform it into an economic giant.

Despite its 18-year-old relations with this country, Cote d'Ivoire ranked a poor 10th with regard trade volumes between South Africa and the rest of Africa.

Figures from the South African Foreign Trade Organisation suggest that goods worth R21 million from this country were sold to Cote d'Ivoire, while Ivorian exports to South Africa amounted to only about R13 million, a scenario which Angora expressed his country's eagerness to reverse. In an attempt to facilitate equitable trade relations between the two countries, a group of Ivorian business personalities had got together to form the Cote d'Ivoire South Africa Association.

The CISAA was responsible for a two-day symposium held in Abidjan last week.

All-Africa TV to launch this year

By Christelle Terreblanche

SOUTH AFRICANS might have an independent Africa-orientated television station before the end of the year. ~~(SABC)~~

Mr Matthews MK Malefane, chairperson of the Broadcast Interest Group (BIG) announced at a symposium for broadcasters in Kenya last week that his company expects to be awarded the soon-to-be-established Independent Telecommunications Authority's first new television licence.

"Pending progress in negotiations, we are most likely to announce our station by the end of October and to go on air before next year," Malefane told SOUTH.

And even more ambitious plans are in store: subscription cable television throughout Africa, and in America for Afro-Americans.

BIG is described as "a black business and community coalition extending black economic empowerment to radio and television ownership". ~~(SABC)~~ (1)

Five years of behind-the-scenes lobbying have rewarded BIG with backing from the PAC and ANC as well as from business interest groups both black and white.

"We are putting up an independent and commercial station that will, in essence, compete with M-Net and the SABC," Malefane confirmed.

"But we will be committed to local African programming in the way that M-Net is supposed to be, but is not. At least 30 percent of our programme content will be local and African."

The language medium, however, would be English.

Malefane is convinced that the BIG charter conforms to the Codesa proposals for broadcasting deregulation, while at the same time being commercially viable.

Malefane (35), who lives in Soweto, trained in California in film and television, and in management.

BIG believes it is better placed than any other group to benefit from the new deregulation and licensing legislation to be passed by parliament in September.

"We will set up the television company with equity shareholders, structured by a consortium of black business and individual entrepreneurs. This is black empowerment through the electronic media."

Hail to Africa's saviour

HAIL the private sector - saviour of Africa's economic problems.

This perception dominated in speeches at a conference on business opportunities in Africa last weekend.

Organised by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, key figures from the influential private sector north of the Limpopo attended.

Among them were the general secretary of the African Business Round Table, Esom Alintah and president of Eastern & Southern African Trade Development Bank (PTA Bank), Martin Ogang.

Also present were representatives

from the private wing of the African Development Bank and the Southern African Development Community.

Despite pressure from the governments in post-colonial Africa, the private sector has survived and since the end of the cold war various administrations have been pressurised by the West to pursue policies to promote free enterprise.

"Before you decide to do business in

It was advisable for South African businessmen to get a partner in an African country as such people know the terrain well.

AFRICA

Rulers not ready for democracy

If anyone is drawing comfort from Nigeria's political crisis it is Piki Botha. A few months ago, as Angola's flirtation with democracy gave way to another civil war, the South African foreign minister announced: "I really don't think my African brothers are quite prepared for elections. I don't think they fully understand."

The Nigerian military's refusal to accept the popular choice of civilian president has given Botha another example to back his case. It is a view he sustains mainly for domestic politics to reinforce his demand that the African National Congress and other predominantly black organisations in South Africa share power with whites. But there are many who agree with him on the state of the African continent.

They do not have to strain very hard for evidence. The collapse of Angola's all-too-brief peace into another war that the United Nations estimates has cost 1 000 lives a day is one of the saddest examples. But, from Nigeria to Kenya, Algeria to Zaire, Togo to Cameroon, the green shoots of democracy have been sapped, pruned and trampled on.

Some leaders, such as Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, use the machinery of democratisation repeatedly to thwart incompetent opponents trying to drag them to the ballot box. Others, such as Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, have gone through the motions of an election but retain the repressive hand of state and pay little heed to the concept of democracy embracing wider freedoms than simply voting.

Few African leaders like to be seen in agreement with the South African foreign minister, but a number have embraced his reasoning to stall change. They fall back on the claim that Africa is not ready for democracy, exploiting and fuelling ethnic or religious differences to rein-

The green shoots of freedom are being pruned all over Africa.

Is the continent not ready for democracy, asks

CHRIS MCGREAL in Lagos

force their justification.

Yet Piki Botha is mistaken. The problem is not with those he describes as his African brothers, who are as keen as black South Africans for a change from their abusers. Africans are well aware of corruption, incompetence and repression, and who is responsible. The problem is with those who, like Botha, are reluctant to relinquish power or accept defeat.

For three days last September, Angolans traipsed for miles to the ballot boxes and stood for hours in the dry heat to vote. In Malawi last month, voters stood in lines stretching more than a mile to cast their ballots overwhelmingly in favour of a multi-party democracy. In Zambia, Kenya and Benin, the voters turned out peacefully en masse, often revelling in the unshackling. The high turnouts in free African elections puts voters in Europe and the United States to shame.

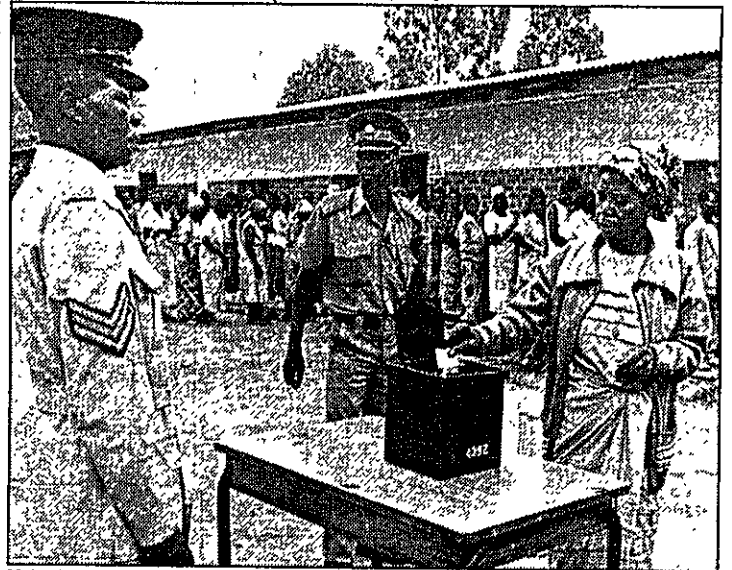
Yet, after all the efforts of Africans to take part, there has been a breach of faith by their leaders. Underlying the failures are a series of problems. Among the most important is that African leaders are usually not newly converted to democracy, but bending to pressure for change, sometimes internally but often from Europe and the US.

Civil wars in Mozambique, Angola and Rwanda helped push those countries towards multi-party systems. Elections in Kenya and Zambia, and the referendum in Malawi, were called only after Western aid was cut. As a result, the vote is less to do with establishing a pluralist system and more about retaining power and keeping Western donors happy.

The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs' Professor AO Oluksoshi sees Ghana's long-standing military leader, Jerry Rawlings, as having manipulated victory in a presidential race he held only to appease the West.

"It's a big disservice to democracy that Rawlings chose to run at all, but the election was only held to gain international acceptability. He had three parties sponsored by him calling on him to run. He wanted to be seen as a reluctant candidate. To me it was little more than an attempt by a government used to doing things in an authoritarian way to seek international acceptability by going through the motions of an election," Oluksoshi said.

There is no clearer example of the abuse of the pressure for democratic change than in Zaire. Mobutu's hungry,



Malawians waited in mile-long queues to vote for a multi-party democracy in last month's referendum

Photo: ANDY KATZ

persecuted population is crying out for change. But he has artfully tied the whole process up in knots through the institutions appointed to oversee the transition. Told by the Americans, Belgians and French they wanted to see a multi-party system, he proceeded personally to finance 18 parties.

Western pressure is not universally exerted. Britain has overlooked Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni's refusal to permit multi-party politics because he has implemented difficult economic policies favoured by the West. Europe and the US looked the other way when the Algerian government overturned democratic elections because the victors were Islamic fundamentalists.

But where governments have been forced to give the nod to multi-party politics, it is usually embraced by voters with enthusiasm. Offered the chance, Zambians dumped their former president, Kenneth Kaunda. Kenyans would have done the same if Daniel arap Moi's opposition had not fragmented. Still, the ballot rejected 15 of Moi's cabinet ministers.

As the divided Kenyan opposition showed, one of the problems facing African voters is the quality of the alternative. In some cases it is drawn from the same pool as the government. In Malawi, one of the two main opposition parties is led by President H Kamuzu Banda's former cronies. They are only in opposition because they fell out with him. The only real choice offered Angolans was between the same authoritarian regime that had governed since independence and a guerrilla leader who gave not the slightest hint of understanding democracy or freedom. The voters opted for the lesser evil.

Where elections are held and the results respected, African leaders remain deeply suspicious of the concept of opposition.

"Arap Moi won an election, but democratisation in Kenya has yet to get under way in a manner that would institutionalise it. The police still seize newspapers they don't like. The opposition in parliament is treated with contempt. Motions tabled for discussion are not even allowed by the speaker to come up. Until people are able to accept that opposition on grounds of principle and see it is not the same as opposition to the person of a leader, I don't think we can begin to talk seriously of democratisation," Oluksoshi said.

Even the much vaunted president of Zambia, Frederick Chiluba, who has won praise and loan write-offs from the West, fell into his country's old habit of declaring a state of emergency in March, officially because of a coup plot, but amid growing popular dissatisfaction at a sliding economy.

Africa's economic mess will remain a major impediment to democracy taking hold and flourishing. New leaders who cannot deliver better living standards will find a public likely to become as disillusioned with them as with former dictators. But African leaders are being forced to hear the cries for change and some to acknowledge a degree of accountability.

And it is not just the government. In Kenya, if any politicians are more disliked than those in government, it is those in opposition, whose bickering allowed Moi to slip back into office. They, too are learning the lessons of accountability.

— The Guardian News Service

Africa awaits ^{FM 16/7/93}

①
With 600m people, the African continent is not a market which multinational advertisers can afford to ignore as they have in the past, believes Malcolm Miles, senior vice-president of McCann-Erickson Worldwide.

"There has been a sea change in client attitudes," he says. "They are beginning to talk about their Africa business as a totality. Only 18 months ago they were not." For these reasons, Miles believes the International Advertising Association regional conference at Lost City in September (which he is addressing) is "tremendously significant. There hasn't been one like it before, in a pan-African marketing environment."

Many clients still view Africa as comprising 46 separate markets, none of them big enough to support a worthwhile ad campaign. "Now our client companies and our agency network are organising on a basis which gives us a very strong African infrastructure using centres of excellence and shared resources," Miles says. "As an example, our SA agency is handling the production of an ad conceived in Egypt for a multinational client, and which will be used elsewhere in the Middle East."

McCann has a network of agencies in 15 African countries handling pan-African advertising for clients such as Coca-Cola, Nestlé, Gillette and Unilever. "Africa is important because there is a move towards a consumer society. More important, it is not that expensive to get into African markets right now. If clients wait 10 years the cost of entry will be far higher."

Tony Koenderman

FOR A man responsible for Africa's best case economy, Kwesi Botchway, Ghana's veteran finance minister, appears remarkably relaxed.

With some justification, Ghana's 10-year structural adjustment programme has attracted \$5bn in foreign aid, and the well has not run dry. Last week Botchway was back in Accra, two days after asking a Paris meeting of donors for additional funds and getting \$500m more than he had asked for — a further \$2.1bn over the next two years.

He then attended a conference in London, sponsored by the Confederation of British Industry, to try to woo foreign investors by publicising Ghana's streamlined investment code, which removes many curbs on multinational investment.

Times have changed. Ghana, the first British colony to achieve independence in 1957, became synonymous with African state socialism and economic mismanagement in the '60s and '70s. Now it has embraced the market.

The World Bank and the IMF, starved of African success stories, are quick to present Ghana as a role model. Ten years of liberalisation, deregulation and devaluation, cushioned by annual aid flows amounting to 8% of GDP, have enabled the government to produce an average growth rate in income per head of 2% a year since Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, then Ghana's military ruler, agreed to take the IMF medicine in 1983.

Compared with the rest of Africa, this is impressive. Since the "economic recovery programme" began, Ghana's GDP has grown by an average 4.9% a year, more than twice the sub-Saharan average. It follows a decade in which real income per head in Ghana fell by 30%.

Yet, after 10 years of adjustment, Ghana remains desperately poor. Its average income per head was only \$400 last year. The World Bank estimates that, at current annual growth rates (5% for GDP, 3% for population), it would take more than 20 years for the average poor Ghanaian to reach the current poverty threshold, defined as two-thirds of today's

Africa's role model

By Edward Balls and Leslie Crawford
16/7/93

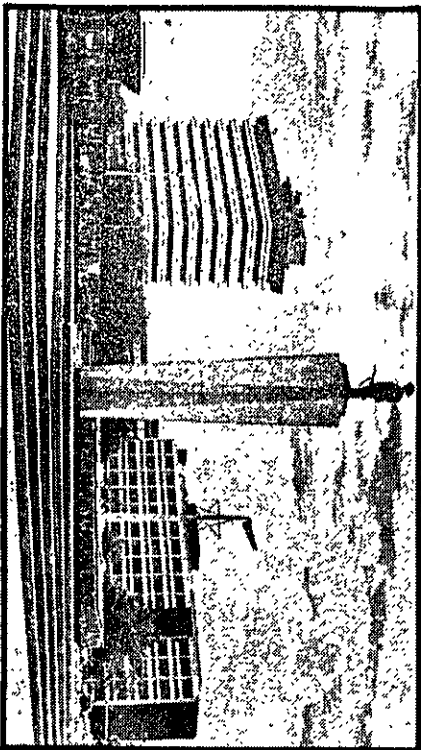
still struggles to wean itself from aid

EDWARD BALLS and LESLIE CRAWFORD

Average consumption per head. A recent World Bank strategy document, "Ghana 2000 and beyond — setting the stage for accelerated growth and poverty reduction", estimates that Ghana needs to raise its growth rate to 8% a year to free the average poor person from poverty in 10 years. The government hopes that a leaner, export-led manufacturing sector will enable it to reach that rate by 2000.

But Ghana's task is immense, as the World Bank report makes clear. The domestic economy remains heavily dependent on a narrow commodity base — primarily cocoa and gold — for export earnings while manufacturing exports are tiny. Private investment amounted to only 32% of GDP in 1990, compared with half the level at which Thailand started on the growth path back in 1965. Asia's newly industrialised countries, as well as Thailand and Malaysia, had also achieved universal primary education before they began to industrialise in the early '60s. In Ghana, 20% of young people are not registered at primary school.

The east Asian economies provide a benchmark against which Ghana can measure the task ahead. East Asia's experience also suggests lessons for the Ghanaian government's strategy in the second phase of development.



Ghana's capital Accra... a growing economy but a long way to go.

The focus of Ghana's policy over the past decade has been on reducing the role of government and, in some areas such as the privatisation of state industry, this focus continues. But the government also appears to be pursuing a form of intervention which goes beyond the traditional "enabling" role for government: providing information and investing in education, health and infrastructure.

The government now talks of "a new agenda of activism" that will offer special incentives to investors. Botchway has asked the private sec-

tor to draft guidelines for the selective protection of infant domestic industries. "Picking winners is a hazardous thing," he concedes. "The protection measures will have to be time-bound and the criteria must be clear and transparent, to avoid charges of political favouritism."

At the same time, following the removal of credit ceilings, the Bank of Ghana, the central bank, is using its indirect influence in the foreign exchange market to support the government's growth strategy.

By keeping foreign exchange in short supply, the central bank has encouraged commercial banks to direct their supply of foreign exchange towards export-orientated customers who might earn and return foreign exchange in the future. One Accra banker says: "The banks now operate the Bank of Ghana's new change control regime on its behalf."

A third focus of the government's new activism is foreign investment. It plans to lure foreign companies with tax holidays and other fiscal incentives, particularly multinationals which have encountered quota problems in east Asia.

"A number of multinationals who quit in the '70s are coming back," says Botchway. "They are looking at the comparative labour costs and are interested in producing on a large scale for export." Sunquist, the tuna fish company, plans to invest \$10m because it is encountering quota ceilings on exports from Thailand.

So far, progress has been slow. Ghana's private sector success stories in export diversification are few, while additional substantial foreign investments have yet to materialise. One reason is that investors have been waiting to see how Ghana's transition to democracy will develop after more than a decade of military rule. The government is engaged in a painful battle to offset the fiscal and inflationary problems incurred in the run-up to November's election which saw Rawlings declared civilian president.

Botchway has no illusions about achieving economic independence soon. Ghana's persistent current account deficit is expected to be 6% of GDP this year. "If you could assure me of an improvement in our terms of trade, and a greater measure of debt forgiveness, then Ghana could wean itself off aid in four to five years," he says.

Nowhere in Africa are structural reforms so far advanced, and the government's commitment so deeply rooted. But for Ghana to become Africa's success story, it must take the qualitative leap into accelerated, export-led growth. For now, it remains dependent on the patience of the international donor community. — Financial Times.

Egyptians hanged for attacks on tourists

w/mail 16/7-22/7/93

①

By Deborah Pugh: CAIRO

SEVEN young men convicted by Egypt's new "fast-track" military courts were executed last week in a Cairo prison for a series of attacks on tourists. It was the biggest round of executions since five men convicted of killing President Anwar Sadat were executed in 1982.

The youngest to hang was Bastawi Abdel Meguid, aged 18, who was arrested on November 12 at the scene of an attack on a bus full of German tourists travelling through Upper Egypt. Five tourists were injured; none killed. After his arrest, Abdel Meguid's house was destroyed by the security services and his mother and grandmother were imprisoned in a form of collective punishment since denounced by Egypt's new Interior Minister.

None of those executed was convicted of murder. The only fatality in the string of attacks in Upper Egypt last year was a British woman whose alleged assailants have not yet been tried.

The attacks on tourists have devastated Egypt's important tourism industry and provoked the Egyptian authorities to institute the

new military courts late last year. So far, military tribunals have sentenced 22 men to death; the first two executions were carried out last month.

Muhammad Fayek, head of the Arab Organisation of Human Rights, last week denounced the use of military courts as yet another form of extra-judicial punishment that should end.

The Egyptian authorities appear to be committed to a policy of showing no mercy to those convicted of extremist acts, especially in cases involving tourists or the security services. There is no right of appeal against the death penalty, but critics note that there has been no equivalent crackdown on threats to intellectual freedom by Islamic fundamentalists.

These verbal attacks are on the increase in Egypt's newspapers and courts from supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood. They are backed by the threat of assassination from militants like the Gama'at Islami and Islamic Jihad, who are ostensibly shunned by more moderate Muslim political groups, like the Muslim Brotherhood.

Last month, the Egyptian prosecutor did not challenge testimony from a leading Islamic scholar who effectively endorsed the murder of Dr Farag Fouda, a liberal writer, by testifying that Islam supports the killing of anyone who opposes the implementation of Islamic law.

Observers believe that the Egyptian authorities are counting on the wave of popular revulsion at the series of bloody bombings which has killed 16 Egyptians and injured 63 in Cairo during May and June to counter any public sympathy for those executed.

Analysts have been at a loss to explain why these latest bombs have hit crowded lower class areas of Cairo rather than clear-cut government, security or tourism targets, as in the past. Many Egyptian newspapers have accused "foreign forces" of being responsible, but there is also speculation that the rank and file of the Gama'at are out of control, with their leadership largely in prison or abroad and the membership under extreme pressure from the security services. — The Guardian News Service

DELEGATES from all over Africa and the world will converge on Harare at the end of the month to discuss the environmental future of the continent.

The Africa Environment Expo and Conference has been convened as a follow-up to last year's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. The Rio Summit set the agenda for international co-operation in con-

Green expo in Harare

South 1717 • 211719

servicing the planet's resources.

While governments and non-governmental organisations in Africa have begun putting the Rio proposals into action, the conference has been organised on the understanding that there is a lot more that

could be done.

"Everything we do — social, economic, political and cultural — impacts on the environment and all these components must be brought together if we are to succeed in promoting action and sustainable development."

opment," the conference organisers said in a statement.

"The environmental issue cannot and must not be isolated as a topic on its own."

Accordingly, the conference will look at community development as

being integral to the preservation the environment.

The three-day conference will be accompanied by an exposition where groups from all over the continent will display the work they are doing.

SOUTH'S environment reporter will be in Harare for the conference. Watch the paper at the beginning of August for in-depth coverage.

JUSTIN PEARCE



PURE INTENTIONS: You can only avoid tax by proving you bought coins for investment

Krugerrands: taxman is waiting

(19)

GOLD bullion's flirt with the \$400 price level has spurred renewed interest in the gold coins market — and the taxman is rubbing his hands with glee. For it is a lot easier for him to share in profits arising from a sale of gold coins than it is from a sale of gold shares.

The price of a 1-oz Kruggerand has jumped by 38 percent in the past six months and, as the table shows, by 405 percent in the past 14 years. The taxman's possible share in the realized gains, however, reduces the potential returns on gold coins.

The tax treatment of profits arising from the sale of gold shares differs from that of the sale of gold coins such as Kruggerands.

Profits made from the sale of all shares are guided by the five-year election rule which the investor is obliged to make on each block of shares. In terms of this rule the taxpayer chooses whether each block of shares, which he has held for five years, is for capital or revenue purpose.

A "capital" election will render any profits made on the sale of shares tax-free. However, any loss will not be deductible. A "revenue" election will ensure all profits are taxable and losses are deductible.

No such guidance is available for gains made on gold coins and other hard assets — which leaves the taxpayer and the taxman haggling over the capital-vs-revenue nature of profits.

Andi Neugarten, tax consultant at accountants Kessel Feinstein,

GOLD'S flirtation with the \$400-mark makes Kruggerands much more attractive. But make sure where you stand with the taxman, who will ask you whether you bought the coins as an investment or for trading.

LEIGH ROBERTS reports.

The most important factor in determining whether the profits made on the sale of gold coins are taxable or not is the intention of the taxpayer. She says the taxpayer's intention must be determined both at the time of purchase and at the time of sale.

For the profits to be tax-free the best intention to have — at all times — is one of investment.

Escape net

The profits of the taxpayer who buys the coins with such a purpose and has the same intention at the time of sale, will escape the tax net due to their capital nature. Neugarten says investment intentions include buying the coins as a store of wealth, a hedge against inflation and as an insurance against currency erosion.

The difficult part for the taxpayer is of course proving his investment intention when selling his coins. A recent in-

come tax court case shows just how careful the taxpayer must be.

Neugarten says in Income Tax Case 1526, the court held that, although the taxpayer bought the coins with an investment intention, this intention changed as a result of the systematic selling of the coins to one of dealing for a profit.

Neugarten adds that a significant aspect of this judgment was that the court also held that the main intention of the taxpayer was linked to the inherent capacity of Kruggerands to increase in value and for the taxpayer to take advantage of it in future by their realisation.

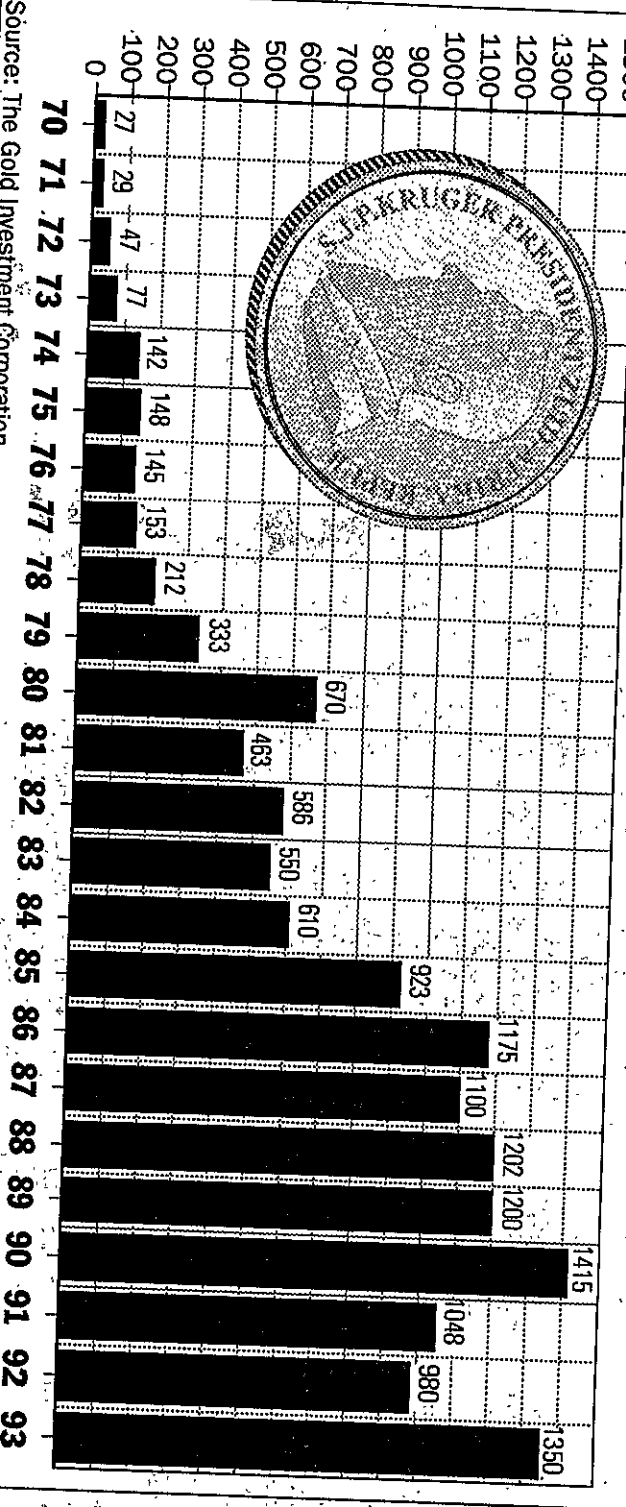
Neugarten says the problem in proving the capital nature of such profits stems from the intrinsic nature of gold coins — they only yield income by a profitable resale.

However, there is hope for the taxpayer with a true investment intention as shown by another recent tax case. Neugarten says that in ITC 1543 a family investment company avoided tax by proving that their intention when selling their coins was to switch from one investment to another.

Other factors that the court considers include the length of time the coins are held, the frequency of buying and selling and the potential income flow.

The capital-vs-revenue rules apply equally to units in a gold trust fund. Neugarten emphasises that the taxpayer is obliged to disclose any sale of gold coins in his annual tax returns.

Actual tax-free performance of an uncirculated, single one ounce Kruggerand



1988

NO CLOSER: *The colonial yoke, thrown off in the '60s has often been replaced by 'dinosaur' dictators, and the great prize of democracy is as distant as ever*

Star 17/1/83

Stillborn African dream

AS the "democratisation" process takes root in South Africa, there are important lessons to be learnt from the African experience. KAREN MACGREGOR analyses the problems facing would-be democracies on the continent.

IN the 1960s Africa threw the baby of democracy out with the bathwater of colonial rule and, for three decades, suffered the consequences of corruption, dictatorship, and economic chaos.

Today democracy reborn is once again under threat and Africa is still not free.

Multiparty governments in Africa are faltering, millions are starving or being slaughtered in civil wars, and the continent is plunging towards financial disaster. Economies are effectively being run by the World Bank and there are more expatriates working in Africa today than there were under colonial rule.

After four years of extraordinary political reform, half of Africa's 51 states have now achieved (or already had) multiparty electoral systems — a major precondition for democracy. Among these countries are Senegal, Mauritius, Botswana, Gabon, Zambia and Benin.

Of the remaining half at least 30 percent are moving in that direction, but with no guarantee of success. And 20 percent are still "dinosaur" dictatorships, such as Zaire, whose leaders are so unpopular they would have to flee if they lost power, and are therefore avoiding change at all costs.

While the "dinosaurs" are clearly doomed, there seems little chance, too, of the fragile new democracies surviving as long as the world's poorest continent remains gripped in the paradox that makes democracy dependent on development — and development dependent on democracy.

As long as governments remain unable to deliver the social and economic demands that will increasingly be made on them by people and interests newly empowered with political rights, they risk veering off the democratic track. These are salutary lessons for a democratising South Africa.

"When changes fail to materialise there will be a grave danger of people seeking other solutions, such as military intervention or reversion to the old days of authoritarian clampdowns which keep unrest to a minimum," warns Professor Samuel Decalo, an African expert at the University of Natal.

He is also an award-winning author of *Psychoses of Power: African Personal Dictatorships*.

"Africanists hope that the golden new era will not be followed soon by a second round of coups and dictatorships," he

says.

There are many reasons for Africa's litany of economic and political disasters, but few realistic solutions.

African nationalism, pre-packaged socialism, and World Bank monetarism have all failed to deliver freedom or food to the people.

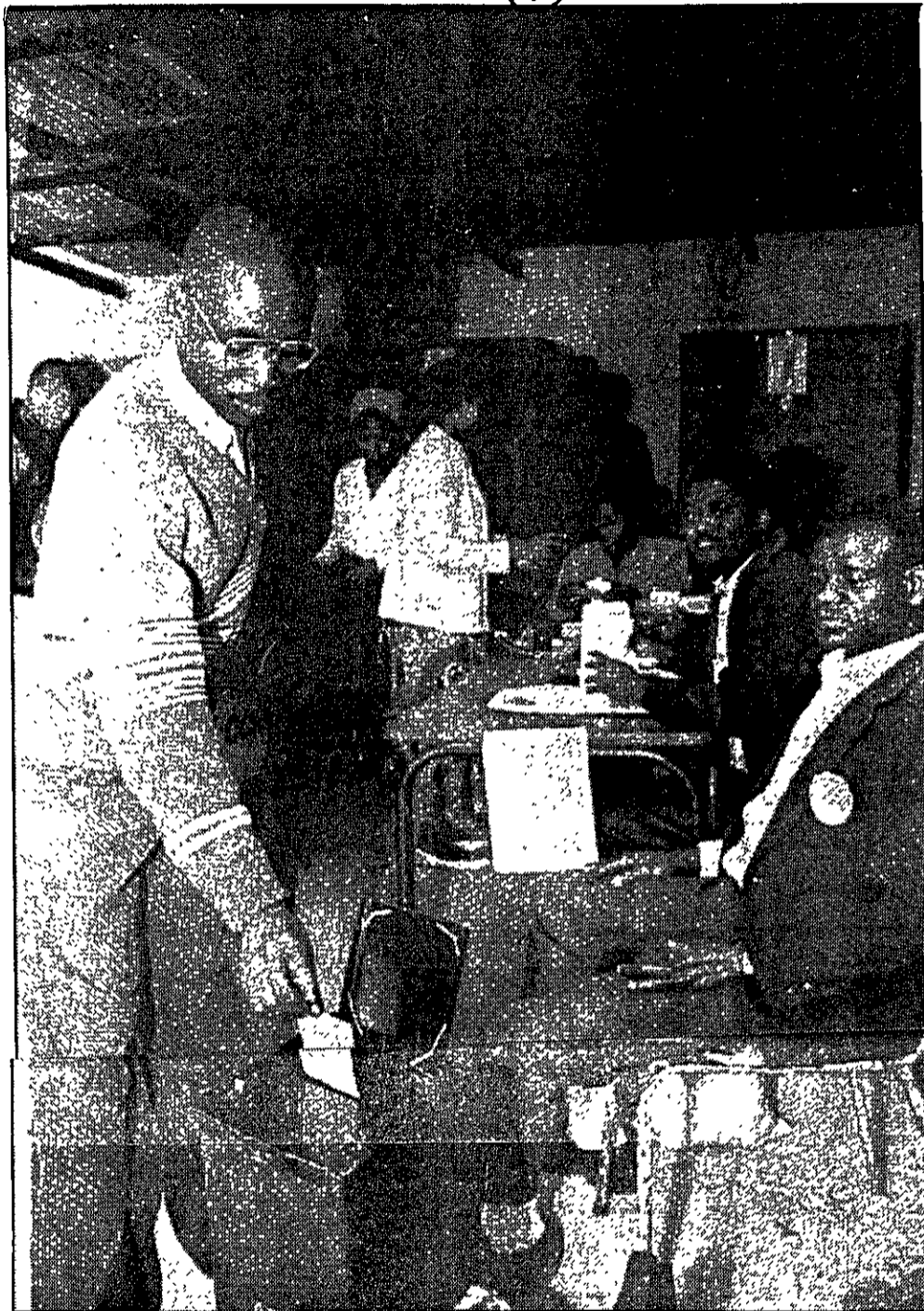
Pressures both from in and outside African countries fuelled the rush on political and economic reform in the 1980s.

On the home front, African governments have come under growing pressure from a range of civil forces that have not benefited from previous systems, that have become better organised, emboldened by the sea-changes of the 1980s, the collapse of communism, and by the democratic process itself. African people "on the ground" are enthusiastically pursuing democracy.

SOcial forces in Africa have realised there is a new ball game that gives them much more political space, says Professor Robert Davies, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies.

"New political and civil organisations, such as trade unions and women's movements are becoming powerful forces demanding far more say in policy formulation. This is obviously a healthy trend.

"But if it is to be sustained and a stable political order ensured, new African governments will have to accommodate greater participation. They will have to go beyond just holding elections and changing rulers."



PEOPLE POWER: A Malawian casting his ballot last month at a local tax office to decide multiparty rule after nearly 30 years under the stern Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

"There is, as yet, little sign that real democracy is taking root — or that any of the new

multiparty governments are even able to satisfy political interest groups within their ranks and ruling coalitions.

On the international front, African arm-twisting followed the ending of the Cold War. First World nations no longer interested in waging superpower territorial wars in Africa quite cynically made democracy a condition of continued aid, and told Africans to clean up their human rights act.

PROGRAMMES of political reform, in themselves a good thing, were thus often implemented for the wrong reasons.

These were to appease the international community and ensure a continued flow of aid rather than out of a commit-

ment to democracy.

In some cases elections were won by military leaders who had led "reform" but in reality done little more than swop their uniforms for civvies, or by rulers who held elections so quickly that their opposition had no time to organise.

Malawi's dictator President Kamuzu Banda promised reform simply to stall British threats to cut aid.

This month's referendum overwhelmingly proved that Malawians want multi-party democracy — but there are no guarantees that a multiparty election will be held.

At the same time structural adjustment programmes, insisted upon by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as conditions for loans, increasingly imposed monetarist economic reforms on governments.

These reforms have not worked: per capita income remained constant in Africa between 1960 and 1985, but has since deteriorated rapidly, and real wages in the continent have declined by between 30 percent and 70 percent in the last five years.

They have also seriously curtailed the ability of reforming governments to make economic choices at a time when economic action is increasingly being demanded of them by their people, says Professor Mahmood Mamdani, executive director of the Centre for Basic Research in Kampala, Uganda.

And the "shock therapy" of wage freezes, civil service cuts and redirection of money away from the "masses" to wealthy elites in the hope of their catalysing a cycle of wealth generation, has obviously, and not surprisingly, been deeply unpopular among large sections of African communities.

THE upshot, says Professor Mamdani, until recently a visiting scholar at the University of Durban-Westville, has been that reforming governments with decreased ability to make economic decisions have faced increasing and potentially dangerous political dissent from within their restless populations.

There are serious contradictions between the social and economic thrusts of structural adjustment programmes that are undermining the possibility of sustaining multi-party systems and creating a democratic culture in Africa.

"If multi-party systems fail both to empower people to make decisions that affect their lives and to empower them economically, they are doomed to fail," Professor Davies says.

Africanists agree that the "democratisation" of South Africa is fundamentally different from that of most other African countries, and more likely than most to survive.

South Africa is economically stronger, so less liable to have its arm twisted, and its transition is being fueled by a powerful internal dynamic in which large sections of society are represented and during which many and varied democratic structures have been built.

Nevertheless, there are lessons to be learnt from the African experience. Perhaps the most persuasive are the dangers of foreign debt, the need for both democracy and development so that rising expectations can be met, the importance of free and fair elections — and the need to nurture a democratic culture in every level of state and society.



BYE-BYE BANDA: Jubilant Malawians in Blantyre after the nation rejected their president-for-life. ● Photograph: AP

BP pivots

SITimes (Bus)

service on 18/1/93 the Cape

By DON ROBERTSON

THE decision to move BP Africa's support services division from London to Cape Town could lead to SA becoming a major supplier of products to Africa. The Cape Town division is now responsible for trading and supply, human resources, training, marketing, control and distribution in Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe with functions such as.

John Withey, manager of marketing and control of BP Africa, says: "We would like to supply these associates with products from the most economical source".

Some products, such as lubricants, have been supplied from SA in the past. With the easing of the political situation, more products could be supplied from SA. Managing director John Greensmith says: "This is a practical move, underlining the increasing ties between the countries of BP Africa and BP Southern Africa."

The decision to move operations followed the sale of BP's interests in West Africa and the rationalisation of the Africa office in London. The support group has been trimmed from a staff of 40 to eight in Cape Town.

It will improve on its response time and efficiency in dealing with its associates. The associates operate independently and meet each quarter.

The closer ties that are likely to be forged between the various countries could result in an extension of the use of the BP Fuelcard. It allows truck operators to charge BP for fuel, lubricants, meals and minor repairs and eliminates the need for drivers to carry cash. Central bank approval for the card has been granted in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia.

There will be other opportunities for BP Africa, including the purchasing power for goods and services.

SEP 22 1993

Third term for Mubarak

CAIRO — Hosni Mubarak was due to be nominated, unopposed, by parliament yesterday for a third six-year term as president of Egypt despite opposition demands for greater democracy.

①

G7 offers little for Africa

By KEVIN WATKINS, London

THIS month's G7 Tokyo summit offered a mix of media hype and stale predictability. Leaders of the industrial world, anxious to push up abysmal popularity ratings, came home basking in the euphoria of their "breakthrough" in discovering the problem of unemployment and restoring life to the Gatt talks. But the Tokyo soap opera offered a bleak message for Africa.

Before the G7 meeting hopes were running high that a major debt relief deal was in prospect for the region. After a decade of inertia it appeared northern governments were on the verge of breaking the lethal interaction between deepening poverty and environmental degradation. The British Treasury, the architect of the move, was already claiming plaudits.

In the event, African debt, which has tripled to \$180-billion over the past decade, was sidelined, save for a self-congratulatory communiqué reference to "the validity of the international debt strategy" — a statement of unprecedented crassness even by G7 standards.

This, after all, is the debt strategy which currently bleeds Africa of \$10-billion a year — four times as much as African governments

spend on the welfare of their citizens. And it is the strategy which the World Bank, hardly renowned for reproaching northern governments, recently condemned as incompatible with economic recovery.

Hopes for a considered review of International Monetary Fund-World Bank structural adjustment programmes proved even more fanciful. Last April, a G7 meeting effectively ended the IMF's control over lending for Russia, accusing its managers of jeopardising recovery prospects by imposing overly stringent lending conditions.

Africa has suffered greater and longer than Russia from the IMF's attachment to vintage early 1980s' monetarist orthodoxies. And it, too, needs a long-term growth strategy built around investment in people, the environment and economic infrastructures. Yet the IMF has emerged from Tokyo with its control over economic policy-making in Africa intact, and with its approval still a condition for debt relief.

The consequences of the G7's neglect are frightening. Africa is now the only part of the developing world in which poverty is worsening and infant mortality, which already claims

4.5-million lives a year, increasing. These trends will continue unless the debt crisis is resolved.

The British Treasury claims its noble intentions were scuttled by Japanese hostility. Perhaps. But a Japanese attempt to veto the \$3-billion aid package for Boris Yeltsin would not have met with such a supine response from other G7 governments.

All of which suggests other factors underlay G7 policy inertia. One is doubtless plain indifference to the plight of a region which, in the blinkered vision of Western leaders, counts for little in strategic terms. Another, more cynical, explanation is that the region failed to meet past payments, giving an incentive to others to follow suit.

Viewed from a different perspective, the hazard is the morality of politicians willing to condemn Africa to a future of poverty and degradation — all for the sake of money which cannot possibly be repaid.

The Guardian

on several charges of vehicle theft and drug smuggling, but local police investigations were still continuing. Harare sources said Noortman had been arrested by Zimbabwe police two weeks ago.

Peace agreement *BiDay 2*

those operating in other countries. ourselves a
"The closer people are in conversation ANC all
Lokwane SA

'US cares deeply about SA'

BiDay 23/7/93

TIM COHEN

THE USAid programme for SA amounted to about \$80m and was the largest to any country in sub-Saharan Africa, US ambassador Princeton Lyman said yesterday.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Lyman detailed the priorities of the programme, apparently in an effort to counter perceptions that the US employed only negative pressures on SA.

"I believe that the scope and breadth of our assistance programme in SA shows that Americans care deeply about the future of this country and its people. We are not standing by commiserating on about SA's problems," he said.

The SA aid programme was one of the most effective that USAid operated anywhere in the world, he said, adding that once elections had taken place and a democratically elected government took office, the US would be able to do more.

The aid programme in SA was unique from the beginning. It had grown steadily from 1986, doubling in its first year from \$7m to \$14m. Two years later it jumped to \$25m and two years later it doubled again to \$50m.

In 1992 President George Bush increased the programme to \$80m, and at the same time he certified that the conditions for lifting federal sanctions had been met.

The current commitment of \$80m was a substantial proportion of US aid resources, especially at a time when foreign aid was under sharp scrutiny.

The programme was the largest in sub-Saharan Africa, not counting emergency food aid.

Education was the major focus, and the biggest financial commitment in this area went on bursaries for tertiary education.

About 300 new students were fund-

ed each year in various SA universities and 100 students were sent to the US for a range of degrees. Since 1986, \$125m had been devoted to bursaries for tertiary education.

In the last seven years, about \$22m had been devoted to human rights causes, about \$26m to private sector development and about \$30m to housing. A \$5m grant was leveraging \$26m in SA capital to provide construction loans for 200 000 serviced home sites, he said.

On current political issues, Lyman said there had been far too much loose talk of civil war.

While this rhetoric seemed "the natural verbal byplay" of both election politics and negotiating strategy, it sent messages that confrontation rather than negotiation was the order of the day.

Civil strife would be the most tragic destruction of the potential that SA, unique among so many, held for its population, Lyman said.

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AFRICAN BANKING

FM 30/7/93

As Africa's economies are liberalised, supervision of financial markets becomes more complex. This is one of the topics to be discussed at a conference on African banking next month.

Reserve Bank Deputy Governor Jaap Meijer will talk about the banking system's importance to a structural adjustment programme. Neville Grant of the Bank of Zambia's supervision department will examine prudential controls and supervision. Other speakers, on various topics, will include:

- World Bank Africa region senior financial economist Paul Popiel;
- African Development Bank president Babacar N'diaye;

- Swaziland's Meridien Biao MD Chris Evans;
- Reserve Bank exchange control GM John Postmus; and
- Banking and insurance consultant Des Hudgson.

The conference will be at Sandton Holiday Inn on August 18-19. Sponsored by Meridien Biao and organised by AIC Conferences, it will be presented in association with the *FM*.

Registration fee is R2 154,60 (R1 390 plus 14% Vat) including lunch, refreshments and documents.

To register, telephone 803-9680, fax 803-9684 or write to AIC Conferences, Box 4176, Rivonia, 2128.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Madagascar premier chosen

ANTANANARIVO — Madagascar's parliament has chosen lawyer Francisque Ravony, 52, as prime minister, marking the final stage of the island's transition from 18 years of virtual one-man rule by Didier Ratsiraka.

6104 *1118193*
The national assembly gave Ravony 55 votes in Monday's poll. Rival Roger Ralison won 45 and Maoist leader Manandafy Rakotonirina 32. ①

ECONOMY

Attempts to ① rescue Africa fail

ARLT 13/8/93

Sapa-Agence France
Press reports from Paris.

ATTEMPTS to put the economies of African countries back on track in the past decade have largely failed, according to a report published this week by the national statistics institute INSEE.

In the late 1970s many developing countries agreed to implement austerity budgets to cut state spending and encourage growth in return for aid from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Unlike south-east Asian countries, which have made very positive progress, the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have continued to record massive budgetary and trade imbalances, the study says.

Not only did growth fail to take off, but investment has remained depressed. Gross National Product by head has decreased annually by three percent in Ivory Coast between 1980-1987, by two percent in Ghana, by 4.8 percent in Nigeria, 3.7 percent in Madagascar and 0.9 percent in Kenya.

Over the same period, GNP went up by 4.9 percent in Thailand, 2.4 percent in Malaysia and 2.2 percent in Indonesia. The only country in Africa to pull ahead was Mauritius (4.4 percent).

Many African states, particularly Ivory Coast and Madagascar, even became caught up in a vicious deflationary spiral, feeble growth undermining state revenue, forcing governments to impose budgets of ever greater austerity, the study said.

But above all the study said the IMF programmes had failed in the African countries because of their legacy from the past.

At the outset, illiteracy in the two continents was vastly different. Sixty percent of adults in Malaysia were literate, against only 20 percent in the Ivory Coast. Basic infrastructures, roads and railways and telecommunications, were all more developed in Asia than in Africa.

Eighth plague returns to Africa

① W M 13-19/8/92

De Monde

Catherine Vincent

SWARMS of destructive locusts coming from the Red Sea region, where they were first seen a few months ago, have just reached Mauritania and Morocco. International organisations are stressing the need for allocating "urgent assistance" to the affected countries. More than 200,000 acres were ravaged in Yemen. The locusts have been reported to be breeding very rapidly in the Ethiopian heartland. Sudan has made sightings of insects of large size.

"The worst-case scenario is under way," said a spokesman for PRIFAS, the research unit of the Centre for International Cooperation in Agricultural Research.

This body, which is known throughout the world for its work in keeping an eye on locust movements, now says that no doubts are permitted. The schistocerca gregaria, which was Egypt's eighth plague, is again poised to swoop on Africa.

FAO and PRIFAT sounded the first alarm in December 1992. The first sightings of the locusts were made back in October on the African side of the Red Sea. The swarms were next reported in Djibouti, Sudan, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia in the absence of

resources to combat the invasion, the insects continued to prosper. The latest report drawn up by the locust-watch group says the swarms have been steadily fanning out since then, reaching Oman and are now moving into their summer breeding grounds in Pakistan. Westwards the migration has become a stampede. Covering 3,000 kilometres in a matter of weeks, the swarms of locusts have reached Chad, the Niger and Mali. PRIFAT experts now expect them to invade Mauritania and Morocco where small numbers of the insects have already been seen.

"In a few months, locusts have bred gregarious-type nymphs in at least 13 countries," said Michel

Lainois of PRIFAS. "The way the situation has been developing since last December bears an uncanny resemblance to, and is far more serious than, the sequence of events observed from December 1986 to July 1987."

This is no idle comparison. "That invasion devastated tens of thousands of hectares of food crops in 28 countries in northern Africa.

What is the situation today? "The damage done in the latitudes through which the locusts are migrating today can only affect oases and pasture lands," said the PRIFAS spokesman. "But if the ecological conditions remain favourable, the swarms could expand tenfold in a single generation (45 days). Given the speed at which the swarms are progressing, Morocco and Algeria are

likely to be exposed to the worst risks beginning in October." Should the locusts encounter optimum breeding conditions (reproduction is subject to temperature and rainfall), then all of the Sahel's food crops could be threatened in 1994.

There remains the question of organising measures to combat the plague and mustering the resources as quickly as possible. "An outlay of \$5 million to \$10 million could have taken care of the locust invasion in the countries around the Red Sea," considered PRIFAS.

International aid for dealing with the problem will now obviously have to be on a bigger scale. Without this, the final bill could be steeper still. The big locust invasion of 1987 and 1988 cost the world community \$300 million.

Sleepless nights in Africa as Islam spreads its wings

Star 16/8/93

The terrorist strike by Islamic fundamentalists that the Egyptian government feared during the Organisation of African Unity summit in Cairo in June did not materialise. Perhaps it was the security that foiled the strike — or it may have been the government's signal in hanging seven militants in the week before the summit.

The hangings were the largest execution in a Cairo jail for political crime in Egypt's modern history. The threat of Islamic fundamentalism continues to hang over the country, however, and Egypt's leaders still do not sleep peacefully. In this they are not alone.

THE growth of Islamic fundamentalism in Africa is worrying governments, reports the Star Africa Service's Joe Latakomo

Concern

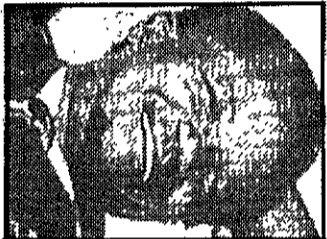
There are estimated to be more than 350 million Muslims in Africa — more than half the population. The growth of Islam outside Africa's mainly Arab countries is evident, reaching into Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Zaire and even further south.

Non-Muslim communities are becoming concerned about it. In Zambia, for instance, President Frederick Chiluba has declared the country a Christian state in response to the increase in Islamic activity. His government has blocked attempts by

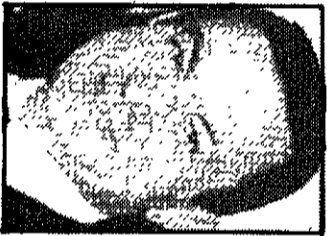
Muslims to register an Islamic party on the grounds that the constitution forbids religious political parties.

The concern among mainly Christian communities at the spread of Islam is linked to the fact that its growth appears often to be accompanied by a rise in Islamic fundamentalism. Terrorist cells have been linked with Islam in Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Sudan and Zaire.

Why fundamentalism is growing is not always clear. The London newsletter Africa Analysis suggests that with the end of the Cold War, the Christian West has rediscovered its traditional enemy of 1 400 years —



CHILUBA



MUBARAK

Islam.

Dr Hassan al-Turabi, the spiritual leader of the Sudanese Islamic movement, who has been linked by the US State Department with terrorism, has said that "any country which does not allow Islam to express itself peacefully will run into resistance or jihad". Jihad, he says, does not mean holy war but Islamic resistance or struggle.

But Mohamed Boukhobza, acting director of Algeria's National Institute for Global Strategic Studies, had his throat cut for questioning fundamentalist terrorism. Five others before him had suffered the same fate, including the person whose position he

had taken over.

An Egyptian writer was murdered last year because his views were considered anti-Islamic.

Since taking power in Egypt in 1981, President Mubarak has promised "fierce punishment" for extremism and for those who have called for his overthrow. The police have dealt firmly with those caught.

Suspects are tried by military courts that have imposed a total of 22 death sentences. In the biggest crackdown, 822 members of a group which calls itself Vanguard of the New Holy Struggle were arrested.

Former US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker says fundamentalism may simply be "a powerful populism that is a reflection of economic grievance or cultural change — or a reaction to Westernisation." And in a region that is economically fragile, such populism easily takes root.

Corruption

The back-to-religion fervour seems to have come from the successful revolution in Iran, and often finds fertile ground in large-scale social dislocations where thousands of people have moved from country to city, flooding the middle and lower-class urban areas. Jobs

are scarce, the infrastructure cannot cope, and political outlets are often non-existent.

Fundamentalism is attractive to some who see it as an antidote to Africa's pervasive corruption and indiscipline.

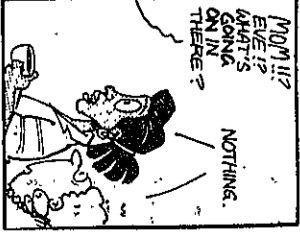
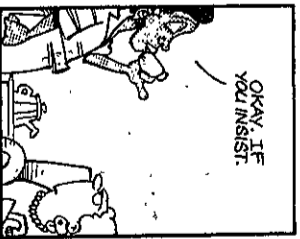
Egypt is seen as only second to Algeria in clashes between government and Islamic groups. When the Islamists won a clear majority in the last election in Algeria, alarm bells rang in the West, which duly turned a blind eye to the flouting of democracy when the result was annulled.

Some military leaders in Algeria concede that force cannot defeat Islamic fundamentalism and have suggested some form of co-opting of "moderates" into a government of national unity.

Considering that neither Nasser nor Sadat nor any other African leader has succeeded in stamping out Islamic fundamentalism, the Algerian suggestion might come to be favoured elsewhere — provided it is possible to find such a thing as a moderate fundamentalist.

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



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Mineral wealth potential for Africa

Business Editor

INSTABILITY or badly run economies have so far prevented the huge potential mineral wealth in many parts of Africa from being developed, Roy Corrans, GM (exploration) of Anglo American Corporation, said in Cape Town yesterday.

CT 19/8/93
He told a mining exploration conference at the Cape Sun that investors would not risk their money on the costly development of a new mine unless they were certain of a reasonable return throughout its life.

Africa's financial reforms costly, but starting to work

Bill Day 19/8/93

SHARON WOOD

RESTRUCTURING the sub-Saharan African financial system had cost countries in the region between 5% and 15% of their GDP, World Bank Africa region senior financial economist Paul Popiel said yesterday.

Speaking at an African banking conference in Johannesburg, he said the region's financial system was shallow, narrow and fragmented, and had helped cause its vulnerability to external and internal shocks.

Popiel said the legal, regulatory and prudential frameworks of the region's financial systems were fundamentally weaker than those in other developing countries.

A reason for this was that these countries had inherited frameworks at independence and had not adapted them to suit the evolving macro-financial and institutional environments of later decades.

Also, the financial systems in the region were undiversified, and the capital bases of financial institutions in the region were generally low.

As a result, semiformal and informal financial mechanisms — a distinctive feature of sub-Saharan finan-

cial systems — had emerged and expanded strongly.

The lessons to be learnt from the subcontinent's financial distress included the need for steady macro-economic policies, strong and efficient supervision, strongly capitalised financial institutions and "early warning systems" to deal with financial problems.

Popiel said most African countries had initiated adjustments of their financial systems since 1985, and many of these reforms were already bearing fruit.

Countries which had implemented reforms were Ghana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Senegal, Tanzania, Gambia and Uganda.

The next step in restructuring the region's financial system was to develop and deepen financial markets by creating discount houses, merchant banks and strong training programmes, he said.

Bank of Zambia adviser Neville Grant said a weakness in the current African banking structure was that

governments saw banks as an instrument for promoting development.

He said they often intervened in the financial markets to extend credit towards priority sectors through administrative regulations affecting the banking system.

"Often, a large share of non-performing loans originate from such policies, creating banking distress and complicating the task of bank supervision," said Grant.

In addition, the expansion of banking had not been matched by a corresponding expansion in prudential regulation and a number of failures of financial institutions had resulted.

Significant efforts had been made in all countries to improve the prudential regime, but weaknesses remained, he said. These included inadequate prudential guidelines and supervisory capacity, overvalued loan portfolios, inadequate capital relative to the risk involved, and weak accounting standards.

But Grant said the importance of bank supervisors was being recognised, and they were now more visible than a few years ago.

An African alternative to the IMF's programmes

A visiting Nigerian

economist says the IMF's structural adjustment programmes are disastrous for Africa.

Ferial Haffajee reports

NIGERIAN economist Bade Onimode lists many reasons for his international crusade against International Monetary Fund-inspired structural adjustment programmes. The one that has most audiences stumped is the assertion that "they have failed catastrophically".

He follows with a volley: "There are 34 countries with structural adjustment programmes in place and there is not one where they have succeeded. Mauritius, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Cameroon and Kenya were said to be success stories; they are no longer." Structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) under the IMF's guidance usually require public sector cuts (retrenchments and reduc-

tion of subsidies on food, health and education), privatisation of state enterprises, import liberalisation, increased interest rates and currency devaluation.

The only way African countries can gain access to IMF and World Bank funds is to implement these programmes.

But instead of recovery, they have meant only an increased debt burden on the continent: between 1984 and 1990, Africa paid \$6.5-billion in debt to the IMF and World Bank.

Onimode offers the "African Alternatives to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery" as another way out of Africa's debt crisis and says it may serve as a development path for South Africa.

This alternative programme has been endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement and by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"The technical designs of SAPs are faulty; they encourage African countries to produce what they can't con-

sume and consume what they can't produce," says Onimode.

The IMF programmes encourage unemployment (by prescribing public sector cuts) and import liberalisation when African countries need employment (through job creation) and a reduction of imports.

A lowering of interest rates is more desirable than an increase in interest rates because it would encourage borrowing and so create jobs, suggests Onimode, who also says that spiralling interest charges only lead to spiralling inflation.

Instead, the "African Alternatives" programme recognises that Africa's problems are not only financial but structural.

Onimode contends that African economies cannot be stabilised first to grow later. "They must be stabilised while they develop."

Food production is pivotal to this programme and it suggests that any country which implements the programme must spend at least 20 per cent of its budget on agriculture.

The alternative adjustment programme generally encourages production and says that instead of gearing themselves to a growth path based on national income, economies should be geared to meeting the basic needs of their countries' peoples — like food, water, education and housing.

This is "human-centred development", a concept fast becoming a buzz-word in South African development circles.

This programme provides a means from which African countries can choose, says Onimode, unlike the IMF's programmes which "prescribe the same medicine for any number of ills."

"I am not saying that South Africa should not borrow from the IMF and World Bank but that you should think seriously of dialogue with these institutions."

"When they put their programmes on the table, you should have your own programme to put on the table," advises Onimode.

WIM 20/21/81
#11

By
**PHILLIP VAN
NIEKERK**



The world's image of Africa is a place of wars, poverty, droughts and corruption. But there is another side to this continent

A land of laughter, art and gods

IN the middle of the Nigerian city of Osogbo, there is an enormous black satellite dish. It adjoins the ornate walls and carved veranda posts of the palace of the king, or atawuja, Oba OyetanuwI. The king doesn't like his wives to travel. He put the dish up so they could transport themselves into the fantasy worlds of global television.

The king's younger brother, Chief Zach O Oloruntoba, has found another remedy for domestic peace: never marry an educated woman. They have boyfriends and they waste money, he says. Better to choose a typical girl from the village.

With 23 wives and 69 children, the chief speaks with some experience though he doesn't impose the same travel restrictions as his brother, the king. When his wives are six months pregnant, he dispatches them to his home in Greenwich Village, New York, to ensure that all his progeny arrive in the world with American passports.

His travel bill is about to soar: 11 more children are on the way for the 71-year-old chief who is extraordinarily fit given his age and his predilections.

Back in the mid-1970s, the chief made the mistake of marrying an American: "I tell her before we marry I have lots of wives. She thinks I'm joking.

"She was pregnant four months. I tell her, if you are going to have this child you have to come Nigeria to meet my people. When she come here I introduce her to head wife and everybody.

"She's not happy. I said, 'I told you'. She said, 'I didn't believe you'. She went back to America." He gave her a home in the United States as settlement, and she bore a daughter, a 19-year-old Columbia University student who is one of her father's favourites.

Since that experience the chief has kept to the time-honoured method of marrying only women who have been approved by the rigorous selection panel which includes his witchdoctor and his head wife, a redoubtable figure who, aside from having borne 11 children, is in charge of the other wives, his money, his farm, his house, and his businesses.

As you might have guessed, the chief is rich. He made his money by selling his artworks and investing in oil. He has become a big-time moneylender in Oyo state, and runs a fleet of 49 taxis in Ibadan.

But he has found his real identity in his art, brilliantly coloured and textured silk works and paintings on rice paper. His works have been bought by the Queen of England, the Rockefeller family, and Zairean President Mobutu sese Seko.

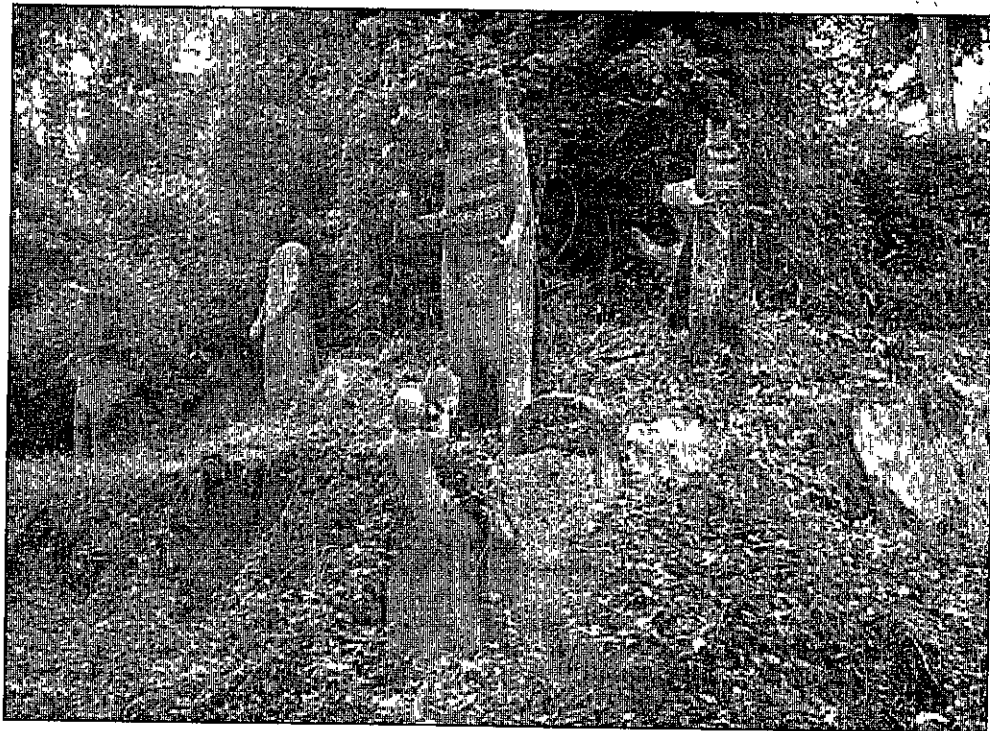
He paints with vegetable dyes that endow different paintings with different therapeutic powers.

"If someone has a headache, I have a painting for that. If someone has a stomach ache I have a painting. I also help people overcome jealousy and bad luck."

Oloruntoba is a pagan. His most powerful gods are the gods of iron and thunder. He only acquired a Christian name because in 1950 the British colonial administration would not issue him a travel document without one.

"I had to baptise. I went to one church. They give me Zaccarias as a Christian name before I could go to London."

The chief's church is a sacred grove outside Osogbo, peopled by extraordinary stone sculptures of the gods striding through the



Gods of stone stride through Nigeria's forests

PHOTOGRAPH: PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

forests of teak.

Some of the gods are enormous, others stick-like and tall, others tiny. Some resemble insects, others scaly bird-fish emerging from the holy waters of the patroness of the shrine, Osun, the goddess of the river. There is an annual religious procession through the groves where tens of thousands come to pay homage to the gods and to wash in the holy waters.

One of the sculptures has a door missing. A rusty piece of wire has been put in its place. During his first visit to Britain in 1950, Chief Oloruntoba discovered the door in the British museum.

Years later, he headed a special committee to demand it back, but the museum administration so far has refused.

The chief says he comes to the river to wash his troubles away in its magic waters. He even has friends in Las Vegas, professional gamblers, who fly to the shrine annually to receive the river's blessing and luck.

Standing in a clearing in the forest he says things have gone wrong in Nigeria because so many people have converted to Christianity and Islam.

"That's why people have so many problems, because they are ignoring these gods that have been taking care of us for many years. All these leaves around here, they are medicine from those gods."

He is particularly down on Satgu Maharajl, a self-styled Jesus Christ who has emerged in Oyo state in recent months. The particular brand of religion practised by his sect is one that allows the head of the church to sleep with all the women in his church.

The chief is always resplendently dressed in bright silk robes, and a traditional hat. He wears sunglasses and jewellery, including a ring on every finger that is a working watch.

“The images from Africa are of starvation, violence, disease, ignorance; the Africa that the rest of the world knows”

Despite his wealth and livery, he plys the highway between Lagos and his studio in Ibadan on an almost daily basis in a beaten-out Peugeot station wagon.

He sits regally in the back seat while his chauffeur, usually one of his sons, drives on Nigeria's overcrowded highways. The only communication occurs when the chief wants to stop to buy some grilled corn cooked and hawked on the roadside and when, in what has become a kind of ritual, he wants the driver to pass back the handle so he can open the window.

On the highway between Lagos and Ibadan, we pass a bloated corpse, a victim of a hit-and-run collision. It has been there for days, its feet sticking into the road.

It is hard in this day and age to stay long off the issue of politics. The chief says the body symbolises the disintegration of Nigeria under the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida.

The mangled wrecks of buses and oil tankers on the sides of the highways are testimony to the poor state of road safety, he says. The failure of anyone even to push the corpse's feet out of the road is a sign of the collapse of essential services.

Back at the hotel in Lagos, a snowy CNN continues to provide an update on a global view of the world from Atlanta, Georgia. The images from Africa are of starvation, violence, disease, ignorance, the Africa that the rest of the world knows.

What television newscast has captured the beauty of the triple-storey houses in Osogbo whose baroque gables, balconies and verandas were built by freed slaves returning from the Americas in the 19th century and are still sunny with the joys of emancipation?

What television newscast reminds us that Africa is also a continent of warmth, of humour and of a resilience that is discernible amid even the worst poverty?

What newscast will feature Chief Oloruntoba when he fathers his 100th child? "I will call a press conference and throw a party," he says. "I will be the first young man to make 100. But after I complete 100, there will be no more kids."

The chief threw back his head and laughed: "Then I will be taking family planning."



Despite the World Bank's seminal 1989 report, the continent is still in crisis, writes Michael Holman

Africa is losing its uphill struggle

Star 3/9/93

①

Not since the end of colonial rule, three decades ago, has Africa been gripped by such a fundamental struggle. At stake is the fate of a continent battling for economic recovery against mounting odds.

Over the past handful of years, the old order has collapsed, or is on its last legs. Apartheid has crumbled. Dictators have fallen, democracy sought, and state-controlled economies have succumbed to the market.

As the world itself changed, African presidents lost the patronage of Moscow and Washington, and donors demanded good governance from previously corrupt regimes.

Structural adjustment as powerful in its impact as any ideology in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa has been ordered in return for help.

Drawn up by the World Bank, endorsed by other official donors and the IMF, criticised by many non-government organisations, and often bitterly attacked within the region itself, it shapes the lives of more than

600 million Africans.

Yet some 10 years after its inception, the results are modest.

Implementation by governments has been weak, the obstacles formidable, the time required longer than expected, the results modest, and elements of the programme flawed.

In its forthcoming report on the programme, the World Bank is guarded in its conclusions. But the insights it provides point to a sombre conclusion: structural adjustment, while essential to Africa's recovery, is not sufficient. The African crisis is outpacing efforts to resolve it.

For millions in the region, the new era is associated with pain. Factories have been closed, food subsidies eliminated, social services cut, as governments seek to live within their means. The poor suffer first.

Even in the most successful of the 30 or so countries in various stages of structural adjustment, relief is modest, and the road ahead long and arduous. At present growth rates (5 percent for GDP, 3 percent for population) it would take 20 years

for Ghana to join the ranks of lower middle-income countries. The less successful have even longer to wait.

In the meantime, Africa is being left far behind by countries which have made better use of their resources and compete more vigorously for capital. In 1965, Indonesia's GDP per capita was lower than Nigeria's. Today, it is three times higher.

Can Africa's decline be reversed? asked the Bank in its last important study of the continent's plight: The simple answer is yes. It can be and it must be. The alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

Today, more people in Africa are poorer, and Aids is taking a terrible toll. Other signs of stress are apparent, beginning with the distressing list of countries that have effectively ceased to function as modern nation states: Zaire, Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, Angola.

From Africa must come a new generation of leaders, committed to reform, and tapping the same spirit that brought freedom 30 years ago. — Financial Times News Service.

\$8m boost for Air Afrique

OCT 13/93

LOME. — The West African Development Bank (WADB) said at the weekend it will inject 2,5bn CFA francs (\$8,6m) into Air Afrique, the regional carrier part-owned by 11 West African countries.

A statement from the Togo-based WADB said its chairman Abou Bakar Baba Moussa signed the agreement on Friday with Air Afrique chief executive Yves-Roland Billecart. It did not give further details of the funding.

Air Afrique lost some 20bn CFA

(\$69m) in the decade before Frenchman Billecart was appointed in 1989.

Since then he has restored the company, valued last year at 32,5bn CFA (\$112m), to modest profitability and is seeking fresh capital to buy five Airbus A310-300 aircraft.

The airline is owned jointly by the Air France group and former French African colonies Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

focus on land

Sowetan 15/9/93

THE CONTROVERSY OVER land redistribution in Zimbabwe has aroused more international interest than most African issues, yet it has echoes in much of the continent — including South Africa.

The land question has been one of the most sensitive in modern Africa, where the colonial legacy ensured that at independence much of the land belonged to minority white groups. Redistribution of it became a priority for every government where this situation existed.

White ownership and control of land is seen by many peasants and former combatants in the liberation struggles as a form of dispossession and deprivation which stirs strong feelings. But finding an equitable way to meet their demands for redistribution has eluded many African governments.

Kenya, as one of the first countries to experience a liberation struggle (albeit a limited one), was one of the first to run into the land redistribution issue. Here, the principle of "willing seller — willing buyer" was strictly adhered to, but Kenyans often felt they were not given fair access as they did not have the funds to buy the land even though the big estates had been divided into smaller farms.

In Zimbabwe, where one of the most bitter liberation struggles was fought, the issue not unexpectedly came to dominate politics.

Former guerilla Moses Rushinga put it this way: "We just want our land back — land the settlers stole from us. It does not matter what we do with it ... we just want what is ours."

In Zimbabwe 30 percent of the 39 million hectares (11,2-m ha) of land remains in the hands of 4 700 mainly white large-scale farmers while 8 600 black small-scale farmers own only 1,2 million hectares. Communal land makes up 20 million ha, 3 million of which was bought for resettlement since independence.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda's land nationalisation policies after independence contributed to turning the country from food exporter to food importer. Many believe this came about because the fertile land was misused and mismanaged. Now, President Frederick Chiluba is trying to turn this around and farms are being made available for purchase by white farmers.

Closer to home, the Namibian government has assured farmers that they will not lose their farms "if they are productively utilising the land". Former Agriculture Minister Gert Hanekom has said that nationalisation of farming land was the "last thing" Swapo considered. But if land was not being used effectively, "then we will have to talk with those owners".

Like many other African governments, Swapo's greatest fear is that any radical land policy can result in white farmers emigrating,

Joe Latakgomo of the *Sowetan* Africa News Service, looks at land redistribution policies in various African countries. How to implement the policies has been one of the more vexing problems:

① **While private land would not be touched in the process of redistribution, the ANC would use land under SADF control when compensating those who had lost their land rights.**

taking their stocks and razing their ranches.

But they also hope to parcel land into small acreages which they believe will be more manageable. The government says it will avoid managing state farms and plans to experiment in cooperative farming managed by skilled black farmers who are currently employed by white absentee owners.

But that is not good enough for the National Farmers Union, which has been pushing the government to adopt land acquisition programmes similar to those in Zimbabwe "to correct imbalances created by colonialism", as Hudson N'embongi, director of the union, puts it.

The land question, he says, was central to the armed struggle which led to the country's independence from South Africa in 1990.

"Our view based on the profiles from Zimbabwe is that land must be acquired and must be redistributed. About 96 percent of Namibians own only four percent of productive agricultural land. The rest is owned by white farmers, some of whom are absentee landlords."

Recognising the increasing call for redistribution, the Namibian government has set up committees to look into the matter. But there is a problem for the government: the independence constitution has an entrenched bill of rights to protect ownership of private property.

In South Africa the land issue has come to the fore even before the new dispensation is finally negotiated.

The African National Congress spokesman on agriculture, Derek Hanekom, recently said land reform would seek a balance between

correcting social injustices and the responsible use of land.

Expropriation would, he said, only take place under exceptional circumstances and a special court would handle historical claims to land. The 13 million hectares of state-owned land could be distributed among people who previously had no access to land. Recently Nelson Mandela assured whites that there was no danger that the ANC would seize privately owned land.

"While private land would not be touched in the process of redistribution, the ANC would use land under SADF control when compensating those who had lost their land rights."

The SADF, he said, controlled about 40 percent of the land.

The Pan Africanist Congress policy, on the other hand, is firmly based on the land issue.

"The land is the substance and symbol of indivisible nationhood, national independence, self-determination, national development and national culture," the organisation says in its land policy document.

The PAC "emphatically rejects the view which holds that freehold title to land should be protected and that land should be made available only in situations where current owners are willing to sell it" — a position which they describe as "pro-status quo".

The President of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), SP Holomisa, has called for redistribution to be addressed as a priority "if the imminent change of government is to be viewed as the advent of genuine liberation." But South African Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer warned that a bloody struggle could ensue if the question of land was not handled with sensitivity.

An indication of the restlessness over land emerged again recently when about 600 people from 25 rural communities said they would re-occupy land from which they had been forcibly removed if the Government failed to heed their demand for land rights by October 30.

Their demands included unconditional return of land to victims of forced removals, the establishment of a land claims court and labour law protection and guaranteed security of tenure for farm workers and labour tenants. They said that if Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie had not responded by the end of next month, rural communities would have "no option but to re-occupy their land".

Africa's errors a lesson for SA

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South African political leaders must learn from other African states that one-party rule does not work and has made things worse than they were under colonial rule.

So-called "participatory democracy" was just another way of saying African leaders did not want to let people vote, ambassador Mr J.M.J. Legwaila said at a briefing here yesterday.

Mr Legwaila is head of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) observer mission in South Africa and Botswana's permanent representative to the UN.

"African people have made a mess of Africa since they took over from the colonial powers in the past 30 years," he said.

OCT 17 1993

Moroccan

family planning

South 1-19-21/9/93

MOROCCO launched a seven-day campaign last week to promote family planning and the use of contraceptives.

Moroccan Islamic Affairs Minister Abdelkebir Alaoui M'Daghri said at a family planning seminar in Rabat that birth control is permitted by the Qu'ran and Islamic law, which bans only abortion and sterilisation.

The latest World Bank report says the 26-million population is growing by 2.6 percent a year and it is estimated it will nearly double to 45 million by the year 2025. Ninety babies are born every hour in Morocco, according to officials.

M'Daghri told the seminar chaired by Prime Minister Mohamed Karim Lamrani the Qu'ran authorised longer intervals between pregnancies "on condition that they involve neither abortion nor sterilisation".

He said Islamic scholars would campaign throughout the nation to inform people of the religious aspects of family planning.

Health Minister Abderrahim el-Harrouchi said the population was growing by 800 000 a year.

"This will require the construction of 8 500 classrooms, nine hospitals, 150 000 housing units and the creation of 280 000 jobs each year until 2007." — Sapa-Reuter

arner-Lambert

GARDEN CENTRE:
 Wilfred Mbude,
 manager of Abalimi
 Basekhaya's Nyanga
 Garden Centre,
 among the trees and
 flowers that will be
 sold at half price for
 the next two weeks as
 part of the
 organisation's 10th
 anniversary
 celebrations.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH
 The Argus.



Flats' big garden plan celebrates 10th anniversary

Special offer to 'lure' all

Staff Reporter

A ROMAN Catholic Welfare and Development project that aims to transform the desert-like environment of Peninsula townships through gardening, has celebrated its 10th anniversary.

The ceremony was held at one of the organisation's garden centres in Nyanga.

Project co-ordinator Dave Golding said Abalimi Basekhaya (Home Agriculturists) had blossomed in leaps and bounds since its formation in 1983.

"The original aim was to help people on the Cape Flats to grow food at home. This was achieved by setting up a market garden and teaching holistic, organic gardening; composting trench beds; and companion planting, to name but a few," he said.

In 1985 the project embarked on low cost "people's garden centres."

The first resource centre was established in Nyanga in 1986. In 1989 a similar nursery was established in Khayelitsha. From these low-cost centres, clients from the surrounding areas purchase manure, seeds, seedlings, tools fertilisers, trees, shrubs and lawn.

The centres consist of a demonstration area, shop and seedling production sections. The demonstration area displays fertility beds with seedling and mature vegetables.

The project also focuses on education.

"Gardening courses and demonstrations are run for interested community groups," he said.

Mr Golding said 8 000 trees had been planted in the Cape Flats through the project. The goal was a million.

Abalimi Basekhaya offered a valuable service to gardeners in the townships, he said.

"Our broad vision of a transformed sandy plain becoming a living productive and green environment guides our work," he said.

During the celebration, sponsored by an oil company, father Desmond Curren of Khayelitsha's St Raphael's Church blessed the centre.

As part of the celebrations gardeners will be offered manure, vegetable seeds, seedlings and fruit trees at half-price for two weeks.

Ghana can still learn

Sowetan 23/9/93

By Mzimkulu Malunga

THE West African state of Ghana could effectively eradicate poverty in less than two decades if it learnt certain lessons from Southeast Asia.

Writing in the latest World Bank and International Monetary Fund's journal, two senior economists say one of the key contributors to successes in Asia were rapid literacy programmes.

Ghana, which has been held up as the "test case" for the IMF/World Bank economic austerity measures for the past 10 years, has a literacy rate of about 55 percent.

World Bank economists Chad Leechor and Ajay Chhibber argue that human resource development is central to the Southeast Asian economic boom and poverty reduction.

Ghana also needs to improve its export drive, particularly in agricultural processed goods, say the economists. But due to the trade liberalisation in the early stages of economic adjustment programmes, Ghana drastically reduced import duties, a move which put many Ghanaian companies out of business. As a result, the country is finding it difficult to improve its ability to produce more goods for export purposes.

VLM

**OUT OF
AFRICA**



Tutu hits at African rule

NAIROBI. — Events in most African countries are worse than what happened in South Africa under apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said.

"After independence from the white man's rule, Africans discovered that the change was only one of complexion," he said. "There was no freedom of expression or association. People were tortured and killed."

He urged the Organisation of African Unity to suspend any member that violated human rights and stifled democracy.

① AUG 28 1993

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Warning on agricultural income

CT 28/9/93

ment on in the SA situation".
"I have only just arrived in this country so to give an opinion is difficult".

By ARI JACOBSON
SA's agricultural community would in the future have to obtain a major part of its income through non-farming sources, warned US academic Robert Thompson at the Agricultural Economics Association of SA conference held in the Cape yesterday.

Thompson, Dean of Agriculture at Purdue University, said in the keynote address that this trend was evident in the US, where farmers subsidised as much as 65% of their income through non-farm related activities. In Japan as much as 90% of farmer incomes came from off-farming activities, he said.

This was so, he said, because sales of agricultural products had proved insufficient to support farmer incomes and forced them to provide other services, in most cases "vastly different" from farming.

He said that "in SA for political reasons there is bound to be redistribution of land to the benefit of the small farmer".

However Thompson said that these farms may be unable to provide a decent income for farmers who would be locked into "small sub-economical units".

He said that taking this facet into account "the skewed distribu-

Education he said, was essential to make a "successful entrepreneur" in farming and other economic activities.

Thompson mentioned that the splitting up of large farms into smaller units as part of a land-reform policy "was hard to com-

... buying half the company from other family mem-



Africa 'must tread new path'

LIBBY PEACOCK
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARG 2/10/93

AFRICA'S population is expected to double in the next 20 years and will reach the one-billion mark by the year 2010.

This was stated by executive director of the Africa Institute of South Africa Stef Coetzee at a conference on development management at the University of Stellenbosch this week.

Africa's development crisis had deepened, in spite of the fact that some of the developing countries had made "considerable progress towards adopting plural democracy".

Two-thirds of the continent's rural population was subjected to poverty, he said.

"Resource transfers to Africa have declined in the post-Cold War era and African countries find it increasingly difficult to get access to the concentrated world financial markets."

Mr Coetzee said post-apartheid South Africa would have an important role in Africa's future development, but its own reconstruction would "require vast resources".

External influences like colonialism and imposed development strategies had denied the continent a development path constructed on its own cultural roots, but the role of internal factors in Africa's systematic crisis was increasingly recognised.

"The leadership... have become delinked from society and especially from the poor and have shown more interest in the perpetuation of power than the creation of wealth," he said.

For Africa to embark on a new development path it would be necessary to "drop some of its sacred cows" and to adopt democratic political systems, to be open to federalism or regionalism, modernise its economies, institutions and technologies, and adopt a balanced approach between promoting economic growth and equity, said Mr Coetzee.

APPOINTMENTS



Ronnie Watson, senior general manager, dealer & retail, Wesbank.



Richard Hawkins, general manager, Dorbyl Vehicle Trading & Finance.

Brighter future seen for Africa

ARC 4/10/93

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A fundamental change in economic policies is providing new hope for the future of sub-Saharan Africa, according to Lewis Preston, president of the World Bank.

Writing in the Financial Times, Mr Preston reports a "quiet revolution", with more than 30 countries undertaking adjustment programmes aimed at increasing productivity and growth.

"The intensity and success of their reforms have varied, and more time will be required before definitive results emerge," he writes. "However, there are signs of progress."

Apart from South Africa's political evolution, Benin, Burundi, the Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Tanzania and Uganda offer special hope following growth rates that doubled the region's average, tripled output in the critical agricultural sector, and reversed the decline in exports.

Mr Preston admits there is still a long way to go. But he believes that the results indicate that adjustment to economic realities produces economic results.

Having taken the first macroeconomic steps, Africa now needs to underpin them with a second generation of reforms. This would encourage the private sector and build its human and institutional capacities.

About 350 million new jobs will be needed in sub-Saharan Africa within a generation, and only the private sector is in a position to create employment and incomes on this scale.

To help maintain the momentum, the international community also needs to re-examine the quality of its assistance effort, and its overall development effectiveness.

Foreign aid 'no benefit'

JOHANNESBURG. — African countries should be cautious of international funding that was aimed at benefiting the foreign donor, former Zimbabwean president Dr Canaan Banana warned here yesterday.

He told a church development conference that Africa had not benefited from foreign aid.

Economic destruction stemmed from donor governments insisting

that part of the aid went towards equipment and services from the donor government, he said.

And in Harare Cosatu's new assistant general-secretary Mr Zwelinzima Vavi warned international finance institutions not to tell South Africans how to run their affairs, saying the country would be better off without foreign aid if it came with strings. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

OCT 8/10/93

SA in the queue at Africa's bank

STEWART BRUSS 17/11/93

SOUTH African suppliers, consultants and contractors may soon win lucrative tenders for African Development Bank (AFDB) projects, say development specialists.

Several SA consultants are awaiting a decision on their applications for registration with the AFDB's unit in charge of the Federation of African Consultants.

The lifting of Organisation for African Unity (OAU) sanctions is seen as a milestone in opening the doors to AFDB financing, which is expected to match World Bank lev- els for South Africa.

Another significant step was enactment of legislation for the Transitional Executive Council. Development specialists, however, are uncertain whether this is enough to meet the requirements for AFDB membership.

The AFDB has said that SA will be allowed to join after a transitional government is installed.

BY ZILLA FERRAT

Procurment for AFDB projects is generally done from member countries, but tenders are open to non-members nations.

Several SA companies have bid for these in the past. But Department of Finance senior financial adviser Johan van Tonder says they were usually excluded because of sanctions.

He says the key factor now is whether the restrictions of individual countries will block the way for SA companies.

SA's ties with the AFDB have been strengthening in the past two years. The AFDB's first reconnaissance mission is expected to prepare an economic report on SA soon.

Numerous SA groups have been preparing for possible negotiations.

The aspects examined include a look at whether the assistance SA may receive outweighs the costs of membership.

Mr van Tonder says SA would be classified with the AFDB as a category C country because its annual gross national product exceeds \$990 a head.

However, the AFDB gives priority to category A and B countries — those with GNP lower than \$990 a head.

In the past, most category C countries have renounced their rights to benefit directly from AFDB loans, but have received technical assistance loans.

They have also not benefited from low-interest African Development Fund financing, except in cross-border projects which involved at least one category A or B country.

AFDB president Babacar Ndiaye has indicated the possibility of spe-

cial arrangements being made for SA once it has joined the organisation.

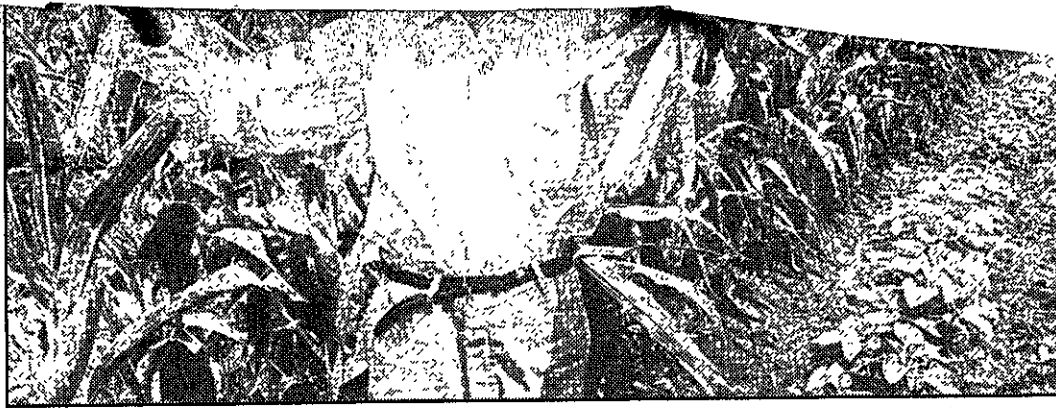
These could include a concessional fund over a fixed period to make up for the time lag before SA enjoys normal AFDB benefits.

A final decision about SA's joining could be made by the TEC. But some say AFDB membership is not high on TEC priorities.

The go-ahead could well come after a government of national unity is installed.

The AFDB directors must tell the board of governors when SA has met conditions for membership. In terms of a 1963 resolution, this would be when the SA Government "has terminated its apartheid policies".

The AFDB board will, however, not meet again until next year and no exceptional decisions on SA are expected in the meantime.



Making money . . . many African countries fail to develop their potential because they do not regard land as an economic resource, a Zimbabwe bank says.

Attitude to land *Star 19/10/93* must be changed

In a powerful argument for reform of the traditional African attitude to land, a leading merchant bank in Zimbabwe suggests that the failure of African countries to develop their potential is due to their attitude to land.

In a commentary in its quarterly guide to the economy, First Merchant Bank of Zimbabwe says the fundamental issue contributing to the failure to perform adequately is that, in many African cultures, land is treated as a social and political resource, not as an economic resource.

Relating the African scene to that in Europe hundreds of years ago, the commentary said it was not until land in Europe was redefined as an economic resource and used as such as security for loans was development able to start.

"Once this structure of ownership rights was accepted, the history of each country changed . . . And the concept became one of the western world's principal exports."

Even in Africa economic de-

AFRICAN states could raise capital and be freed from medieval economic shackles by abandoning communal ownership of land, says a bank. Robin Drew of the Star Africa Service reports from Harare

velopment had taken place in every area where the concept had been adopted and respected. In Zimbabwe it had been the foundation of all the economic development that had taken place in the modern productive sector.

"The challenge we now face is to make that transition take place in Zimbabwe's traditional sector. It must be done if we are to have any hope of making the same development mechanism work for the rest of our people, the peasant farmers who make up 70 percent of the total popu-

①
lation, and the small scale business sector that is trying against severe odds to meet the business needs of the population."

First Merchant Bank said that by granting communal farmers freehold rights to land, the bulk of the population would at last be able to start the process of capital formation.

The difference between a peasant farmer and a commercial farmer was only that the commercial farmer ran his farm as a business. But businesses needed capital and the process of capital formation worked far more quickly and effectively if the operator owned a fixed asset that could be used as collateral.

To continue to enforce a requirement that more than half the land in Zimbabwe should have no commercial value was to ensure that the land could not function properly as an asset, as security, as a means of capital accumulation, as a place to invest or as a store of value.

The bank said many dramatic changes had taken place in Zimbabwe and many traditions had fallen out of step with current needs.

'Protectionism is major threat to the commodities market'

TUNIS. — A report submitted to a meeting of African trade ministers says that protectionism is the major threat to the commodities market and that completing the Uruguay round of GATT talks is a priority for Africa.

Commodity prices remain depressed and producer and consumer countries are cooperating less and less, says the report by the Common Fund for Commodities, a finance institution which

tries to mobilise funds to develop commodities.

"The cost of protectionism...is a plague on both consumers and producers alike, and remains the single major threat to commodity development strategy implementation," said the report, which was submitted to the meeting at the weekend.

"Reducing tariffs, and completing the Uruguay round, is therefore, a first and key priority, not

only for the US and Europe, but foremost for Africa," it added.

"The already inequitable situation in international economic relations, particularly trade in primary commodities, has been severely aggravated as prices of commodities plunged to unprecedented low levels causing major losses in foreign exchange earnings for commodity-dependent developing countries," the report says.

CT 26101930

President's murder sparks ethnic slaughter in Burundi

BUGARAMA, Rwanda — Refugees from Burundi yesterday said ethnic bloodshed was widespread in the central African country after last week's coup by the Tutsi-led army against the first president from the Hutu majority.

Members of the Burundi Democratic Front of assassinated president Melchior Ndadaye were fighting Tutsis and soldiers, witnesses who had fled to Bugarama in southwest Rwanda said.

On Monday, refugees laid siege to a customs post, wrongly suspecting that members of the family of one of the coup plotters, former interior minister Francois Ngeze, had taken refuge inside. They were dispersed by paramilitary police.

The incident highlighted the renewed tension between Hutus and their traditional Tutsi overlords and the dashed hopes of ending Burundi's endemic ethnic strife that had followed Ndadaye's surprise victory in the country's first multiparty election in June.

Tens of thousands of refugees continued to pour across the border, bringing with them tales of atrocities by the army, almost entirely Tutsi, and of heavy fighting

between Hutu and Tutsi civilians.

"The fighting at home really started when we knew the president was dead," one of the refugees declared.

Relief officials said about 270 000 people had fled into Rwanda, another highland nation which also has a mixed population of Tutsis and Hutus, since the coup.

The UN Security Council has condemned the coup, in which several of Ndadaye's aides were also said to have been killed, and called for an immediate return to constitutional rule.

It also paid tribute to Ndadaye, saying he and his government made a "supreme sacrifice for democracy".

Surviving ministers have holed up in the French embassy in Bujumbura, where they said they had begun to rally loyal troops and had regained control of unspecified "strategic sites" in the capital.

They refused offers from the coup plotters to let them return to power in exchange for an amnesty for soldiers involved in the putsch.

Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni yesterday called for military intervention by east and central African countries to resolve the crisis in Burundi. — Sapa-AFP.

BIDAY 27/10/93

SA chases Malagasy billions

5 Times (Buss)

By DON ROBERTSON

SOUTH African companies stand to gain a lucrative windfall from the R3,3-billion allocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a major restructuring of the Malagasy economy.

Construction companies, investors, manufacturers and entrepreneurs will be invited to take part in a three-year redevelopment programme.

Madagascar, now under democratic government, is engaged in reconstruction work in its northern provinces and on Nosy Be island. It is being helped by the World Bank, United Nations organisations and the African Development Bank. The World Wildlife Fund will advise on conservation.

Finance Minister Jose Raserijaona says the World Bank is willing to help Madagascar "to become an economic growth example in the Africa zone, in the image of Malaysia or Thailand in the Eighties".

"According to international surveys, the Malagasy Government expects to host swarms of investors from several countries next year and it is obviously to the advantage of the SA business community to be the first."

The Malagasy Government has appointed Cape Town-based Regional Or-

ganizational Commission (ROC) to advise it on community rehabilitation, encompassing local and regional government structures, social upliftment programmes, skills training, land registration and all aspects of infrastructure.

ROC is staffed by six consulting engineers who have visited Madagascar — the fourth-largest island in the world — in recent months. 31/10/93

Madagascar will receive a delegation from SA next month. Its president, prime minister, deputy ministers, businessmen and representatives of aid agencies will be available for discussions.

By appointing ROC, Madagascar has confirmed its policy of developing business links with SA.

ROC director Phillip de Jager says Madagascar is notorious for its lack of infrastructure. A new road system is urgently needed and could cost about \$100-million.

Railways and harbours have to be rehabilitated. Housing, electrification and telecommunications are needed. There is tremendous potential for agri-

cultural development. ①

There are opportunities for around-the-island shipping facilities. Only two ports, Tamatave in the east and Diego Suarez in the north, can accommodate ocean-going vessels.

A major task will be upgrading of tourist facilities at Nosy Be. The work could cost between \$500-million and \$600-million, says Mr de Jager.

Nosy Be has been identified as a point around which the tourism trade can be developed as an alternative to other Indian Ocean islands. It is projected that tourism will increase to about 200 000 visitors from the present 53 000.

Chrome ore is the only mineral mined in Madagascar, but bauxite and ilmenite are accessible in large quantities.

Mr de Jager describes Madagascar as a sleeping giant whose resources have yet to be tapped.

"This is particularly true of its mineral wealth," he says.

Madagascar is a member of the Lomé Convention, giving it access to Europe. It also has a free-trade zone.

The island has an abundance of cheap and trainable labour, but work permits for foreigners are obtainable and are issued speedily.

Is there still hope for Africa?

World Bank adviser Serge Michailof talks to **Marie-Pierre Subtil** and **Jean-Pierre Tuquoi** about development problems in sub-Saharan Africa

Le Monde

What is the economic state of health of sub-Saharan Africa?

Bad, unfortunately. Even allowing for the fact that statistics, which are very worrying, need to be handled with caution, there are unmistakable danger signals: the continent's dwindling share of world trade, the increase in its cereal imports, debt explosion, financial crises affecting almost every country, rural exodus, urban unemployment.

In some areas where swift progress was made in previous decades, there has even been regression, with de-industrialisation and a deterioration of basic public services, health and education. And although farm output has increased, it still can't keep pace with a fast-rising population.

How has this deterioration come about?

People put it down to the fall in raw material prices and worsening trading conditions, which is tantamount to pinning most of the blame on the outside world. That's a little facile and not very convincing. For how do you explain the success of some Asian countries which have been subject to the same external constraints? South Korea, whose per capita income used to be similar to Ghana's at the time when the African countries were gaining independence, has now overtaken Portugal economically and is hot on the heels of Greece.

The crisis arose from a succession of serious errors of economic policy and from mismanagement. This is a damning indictment of the African elites, yet still a hopeful sign: for while nothing can be done about market forces, economic policies can be changed — look at China — and management improved.

Aren't cultural constraints to blame too?

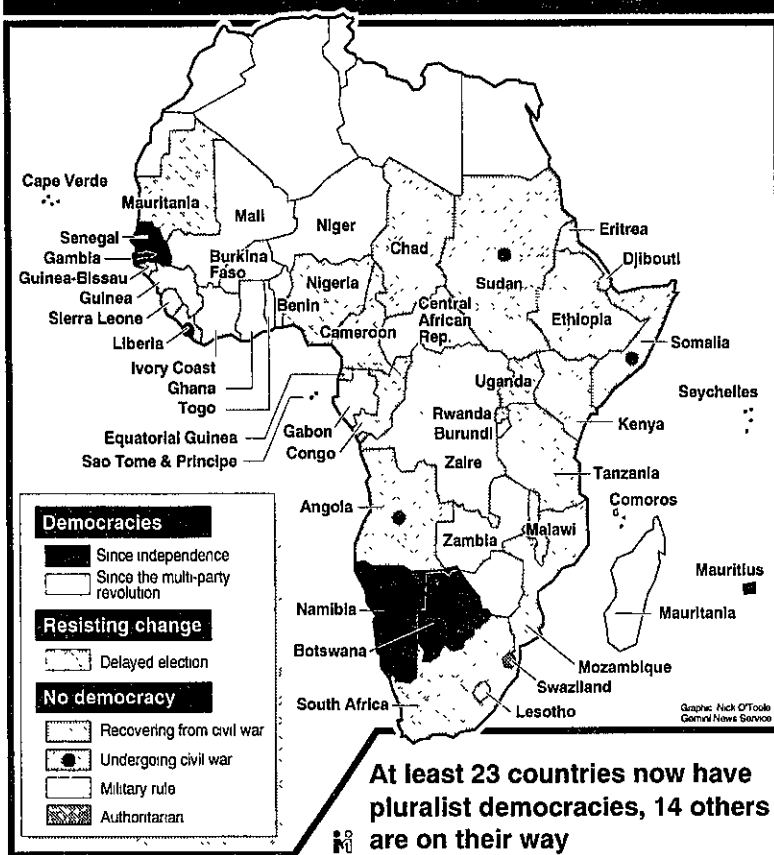
It was fashionable 30 years ago to regard southeast Asia as doomed to go hungry for ever. Experts were pessimistic about Asia because they regarded the heritage of Confucianism as incompatible with industrial development. Such theories now look very silly. Cultural constraints do exist, but too much shouldn't be made of them. Information isn't properly circulated in Africa; the family in the broadest sense has too much influence, as do clan networks; and the way wealth is accumulated encourages Mafia-like systems which militate against a transparent economy and prevent the market economy from working properly.

But such obstacles are by no means insurmountable, as long as radical reform comes soon. The governments of eastern Europe, when facing a rather similar situation, realised the need for reform and tried to make up the ground they had lost in double-quick time. Most African leaders prefer to blame international speculation and cultural constraints. It's true that speculation is harmful, but behind their arguments there's obviously a wish to keep things as they are.

French and African academics tend to play down the importance of ethnic factors.

I share many of their conclusions.

How sub-Saharan Africa is ruled



At least 23 countries now have pluralist democracies, 14 others are on their way

but I have reservations as well. The ethnic factor exists. The urban elites one meets often deny it, just as it used to be denied in Tito's Yugoslavia. But it's a complex and still powerful phenomenon that re-emerges whenever a state is weakened or disrupted by political upheaval. In some countries democratisation, by enabling various social groups to express themselves, has actually encouraged a resurgence of tribalism. That doesn't mean, of course, that I'm against democracy in Africa!

Isn't there a danger that governments can't meet all the aspirations liberated by that process of democratisation?

In that respect, the present democratic movements in Africa are ambiguous. They are both progressive, because they have swept away some incompetent regimes, and utterly reactionary, in that they are trying to bring back discredited economic systems. That is because their supporters come from urban milieux and are precisely those people — civil servants, government employees, students — who suffered most from the austerity measures that were the inevitable result of economic bankruptcy and of being bailed out by western money.

The economic reforms vital to growth are incompatible with the objective interests of such groups. So there's a danger that the fragility and fundamental structural ambiguity of African democracies may encourage their leaders to opt for facile demagoguery. And that could lead to populism and worse, as it did in Latin America, and already has in some African countries.

Unless the new generation of leaders manage to come up very quickly with a new type of democracy that is suited to African societies and capable of economic efficiency, they could well soon be swept away by a return to authoritarian rule. And that would result not in development, but probably in a recurrence of the earlier regimes' habit of dipping into the national purse, which can only work when raw material prices are buoyant. When they are low, you get a Liberian-type situation.

Are authoritarian states the only ones capable of introducing the necessary reforms?

That's a tricky one. All I can say is that soft-bellied governments which give in to every pressure group and indulge in irresponsible demagoguery are unlikely to carry through reforms. Most of the countries that have managed to emerge from underdevelopment — South Korea, Taiwan, Tunisia — have had strong regimes. But that's not an absolute rule: many strong regimes have bankrupted their countries.

Clan networks and the way wealth is accumulated encourage Mafia-like systems

I don't believe in strong-arm democracy, so I think what Africa needs is not authoritarian states — it's had all too many of them, with disastrous results — but regimes with backbone, which is not the same thing. Such regimes are trusted by the elite and the population at large because they fix their objectives clearly and spell out the stages needed to attain them. Surely present-day Poland can't be described as an authoritarian state?

Africa needs countries that are capable of imposing unpopular reforms. The transition from stagnation to development isn't a natural one. It entails a major drop in income for some social groups. That's why most countries which took that road were prompted by fear — Japan was afraid of the West, South Korea of its northern neighbour, Thailand and Malaysia of communism, Tunisia of fundamentalism, and Mexico of social disintegration.

What development co-operation policy should France have towards Africa?

France has an important role to play at this crucial point in time, when the future may turn out in all sorts of ways. Were we to continue the way we have been going, our development co-operation in the next century would probably consist of little more than emergency aid for refugee camps and cash for this or that warlord we had decided to support.

Today we can facilitate the implementation of the economic reforms that are indispensable for Africa's development — but there is no way

WM 8-14/10/93

we can impose them.

It's in France's interest to see Africa become a centre of prosperity and not a zone devastated by civil wars. To do that, we need to clarify the objectives of our development co-operation policy, which are very ambiguous. A quarter of a century ago they were simple. There was an ethical objective, which is still valid. There was a political objective: France succeeded in shielding some states from the disasters that could have been caused in that region by the cold war, then at its height (look at what happened in Angola). And there was a trade objective: after the oil crisis, France tried to extend to Africa its policy of encouraging developing countries to sign up major contracts with French public works companies. The results were disastrous, with the French taxpayer often having to pick up the bill.

It's time we reviewed our objectives. The cold war is over. The unconditional support France has given certain regimes can no longer be justified, and may even be in total contradiction not only with ethical considerations but with the desire to encourage reforms. As Africa is bankrupt at the moment, a return to the policy of promoting public works contracts would be misguided.

Only the ethical objective remains valid today. But we can't be otherworldly about this. Any development co-operation policy is an element of foreign policy. In order to last it must be based on what is in our interest. Now it is very much in our interest, as a country whose companies operate in or trade with Africa, and whose population has difficulty in assimilating African immigrants, that Africa develops quickly and becomes a market of a billion consumers, a region whose peoples are not forced to emigrate, and a zone of stability.

Africa's economic failure and demographic growth, the highest in the world (the continent's population is now doubling every 20 years), will lead to violent upheavals unless something is done. Without economic growth, we may find a situation like that in Liberia or Somalia spreading everywhere. It may still just be possible to avert disaster in a country like Somalia. But if a whole chunk of the continent begins to go to pieces — I'm

thinking of the region around Zaire, the forest-covered countries bordering on Liberia, Nigeria and its region — then the situation will get quite out of control.

What's the answer to these problems?

The organisations involved in French development co-operation and their staff have enormous experience. But their effectiveness depends mainly on the goals they are assigned. If they are just expected to support certain regimes unconditionally, they will not operate in the same way they would if their task were to encourage development effectively. France supported the regime of the outgoing Madagascan president throughout the eighties. Wouldn't it have been better to turn off the tap? The country's economy has been destroyed by a regime notorious for its incompetence and corruption.

Development co-operation that aims genuinely to serve the interests of both France and Africa should encourage good management instead of trying to put out fires that have been tolerated, and sometimes even lit, by irresponsible leaders.

Is it still wise to give massive aid to African governments?

Most so-called "structural adjustment aid" in fact goes to shoring up national budgets. One wonders what exactly it adjusts. It tends to be provided on a virtually permanent basis and has the perverse effect of allowing the postponement of measures that will sooner or later have to be introduced anyway. It is a strain on the French budget, amounting to over FF4 billion (£460 million) — more than the emergency budget recently earmarked for France's deprived city areas — on top of the cost of debt cancellation.

There's a way of using these sums more intelligently. They should be redirected into what is known as "sectoral adjustment aid", which is targeted to specific goals, arranged on a contractual basis with our African partners, and designed to put their economies on a sounder footing. It is pointless to try to push through a wholesale reform of any African economy at top speed, for no African government, particularly a democratic one, has the resources to fight on every front at the same time. A sectoral approach means that problems can be singled out and solved one by one.

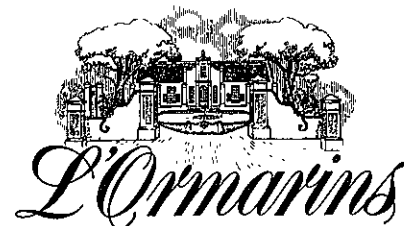
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LOR 135/E

Nicaraguans turn against Ortegas

Former Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega is unpopular with his own party, writes
Bertrand de la Grange

Le Monde

CARLOS TUNNERMANN, a former Sandinista minister, is no longer reluctant to speak his mind. "Daniel and his brother Humberto [the army chief who is to be replaced next year] have had their day. Both must go to allow the party, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), to reform itself."

Tunnermann was particularly shocked by the attitude of his party's general secretary during a strike last week which brought Managua to a standstill and resulted in the death of a passer-by and a police officer, himself a member of the Sandinista party. He was killed by a bullet fired by a demonstrator belonging to paramilitary organisations controlled by the former president.

"With his inflammatory and demagogic statements, Daniel Ortega caused a legitimate strike to get out of hand," he said.

The strike was staged by bus, taxi and truck owners protesting against a proposed new vehicle tax and gaso-

line price increases. They succeeded in getting the two measures withdrawn. "He has broken the agreement voted in August by the Sandinista assembly which came out against violence."

Commander Ortega was due to make a statement on the incidents to the assembly at the weekend, but put it off until November. (The assembly is the highest body of the Sandinista party between congresses.)

"He is not really threatened with a censure vote in the assembly — most of whose members have been hand-picked by him," said Tunnermann. "But he has lost ground among the National Assembly's Sandinista deputies."

Many leading Sandinistas are moving away from the Ortega brothers, fearing their confrontational tactics will inevitably cost the Sandinistas seats in the 1996 elections. This is true of the deputy José Talavera; the former Nicaraguan ambassador in Paris, Alejandro Serrano; former deputy foreign minister Victor Hugo Tinoco; and Commander Luis Carrión.

The conciliatory statements by the parliamentary Sandinista leader Sergio Ramirez (a writer who was vice president of the republic until 1990) have been favourably received by the FSLN's moderate wing. But the "dis-

sidents" know that the Ortegas can still count on the party's rank-and-file and the army, which has become the real centre of the Sandinistas' power since their defeat in the February 1990 elections.

The National Opposition Union (UNO), the coalition which carried Violeta Chamorro to the presidency, is trying to exploit the squabbling in the FSLN. This is why Nicaraguan vice-president, Virgilio Godoy, recently agreed to meet Daniel Ortega, whom he also accuses of organising the seizure of some 30 UNO officials as hostages in August.

A source close to Godoy said that at this meeting, "Daniel Ortega appeared to favour electing a constituent assembly. Flying in the face of the obvious, he remains convinced he would have a majority and would thus be able to offset the rebellion of his party's deputies."

UNO, which was shut out of power following an agreement between the FSLN and Chamorro's circle, also believes the formation of a constituent assembly would help to neutralise the National Assembly, where it has lost the majority as a result of questionable manoeuvres.

"The constituent assembly would politically be the least costly way of getting the country out of the crisis," says Godoy, "much less costly than another civil war."



Humberto Ortega and Daniel Ortega: people are starting to give the brothers the cold shoulder

Canada's no to euthanasia

The Washington Post

Anne Swardson in Toronto

CANADA'S Supreme Court ruled, 5 to 4, against a terminally ill woman who had asked for the right to a doctor-assisted suicide.

The case had been closely watched here because, while assisting suicide is a criminal offense in Canada, the woman presented a unique argument that the guarantees in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms of life, liberty and "security of the person" allow her to take her own life. In addition, guarantees of equality should allow her the same opportunity of suicide as an able-bodied person, they said.

The court turned down those arguments. But Chief Justice Antonio Lamer, who sided with the minority, wrote that the matter should be dealt with by Canada's parliament, raising the possibility of a national debate on assisted suicide in coming years.

Sue Rodriguez, 43, of Victoria, B.C., has been suffering from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis for two years. She is too disabled to take her own life, but has said she has found a doctor who was willing to help her if the court declared it legal.



P L A N A C T

Planact is a funded, non-profit organisation working in the field of housing, local government and urban development. It provides technical, professional and organisational skills and assistance to communities adversely affected by apartheid state planning.

Planact would like to make the following appointments as soon as possible:

General Manager:

Planact seeks an experienced manager who will be responsible for planning, promoting and developing the work of Planact, in consultation with the Board of Directors and the Management Team. This person will be responsible for:

- * planning and execution of Planact's organisational policy
- * supervising of the administrative and financial aspects of the organisation
- * overall responsibility for the performance and wellbeing of all staff members
- * planning and supervision of operations management systems, including strategic planning, co-ordination and evaluation of work
- * regular reporting to the Board and to donors, and
- * donor liaison and overall responsibility for Planact's public relations

Applicants for this position should have the following skills and experience:

- * at least 5 years experience of organisational management
- * at least 5 years experience in urban development work
- * a thorough understanding of the social, political and economic issues involved in South African urban development planning

Applicants must have a degree in an appropriate development planning or business administration discipline.

Information, Education & Training Department Manager:

Planact seeks an experienced adult educator to manage the work of the Information, Education and Training Department. This person will be responsible for:

- * managing the implementation of a three year programme which has the objective of building the capacity of community based organisations
- * ensuring the effective operation of an eight person department and supervising the work of department staff

- * controlling the department budget and liaising with donors
- * playing an active role as part of Planact's management team
- * networking with other development oriented non-governmental organisations, and
- * developing the capacity of Planact staff to deliver the best quality service to clients

Applicants for this position should have the following skills and experience:

- * at least 3 years experience of developing and managing a large education programme at a senior level
- * team building skills
- * practical education and training skills
- * an understanding of the challenges and constraints facing community based organisations in the urban development process
- * good communications skills and the ability to work well under pressure, and
- * advanced writing, reporting and programming skills

Education and Training Officer:

Planact seeks an experienced education and training officer to develop and deliver a comprehensive education and training service.

This person will be responsible for:

- * conceptualising and designing curricula and courses in co-operation with Planact's clients, programme managers and partner organisations
- * planning and managing the delivery of training courses
- * developing clear briefs and commissioning consultant educators and trainers to meet project training needs
- * assisting with materials development and ensuring education and training materials are tested and evaluated, and
- * assisting teams and units within the organisation to develop effective workshop methodologies

Applicants for this position should have the following skills and experience:

- * at least 3 years experience of education, training and workshop design
- * an understanding of urban development issues and the political context in which Planact works, and
- * initiative, creativity and excellent communication and language skills

Applicants for this position should be prepared to work after hours and must have a valid driver's licence. Please apply in writing for the above positions, including a CV and the names of two contactable referees, to:

The Acting Chairperson, Planact, P O Box 93540, Yeoville 2143. Fax: 648-6919
Closing date 20 October 1993

PLANACT IS AN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EMPLOYER

Africa relies on foreign aid

JOHANNESBURG.

Africa's problem was its reliance on foreign aid, the US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, said yesterday. Addressing DHL's Networking Africa conference, Mr Lyman said relying on aid to do things that are beyond its capabilities is a worsening problem for Africa.

He appealed for greater regional cooperation for the continent to grow more effectively. — Sapa

Burundi ① coup — lessons for South Africa

CT 2/11/93



BURUNDI refugees from previous clashes between the ruling Tutsi minority and the Hutu at a settlement camp in Tanzania.

By COLIN LEGUM

CAN WHAT has happened in Burundi — where a minority in the army carried out a coup, killed the president and other key figures — also happen in South Africa during or after the planned democratic elections in April?

Several parallels as well as some differences exist between the situations in the two countries.

What has happened in Burundi is not just another of those all-too-familiar "African coups" — it is the most serious setback the continent has experienced to a genuinely democratic process.

To appreciate the full shock and dangers of the post-coup situation in Burundi one should imagine waking up one morning in South Africa to hear that either Nelson Mandela or President De Klerk had been shot or taken hostage by minority activist units in the army.

Same way

The most striking similarity between Burundi and South Africa is that relatively small minorities had ruled both countries for centuries — the Tutsis and the two white communities, each of whom comprise only between 15 and 20% of the total population.

A second similarity is that minority rule was maintained through heavy repression, often violent. For every Sharpeville or Soweto massacre, there have been even larger scale killings in Burundi in 1965, 1969, 1972, 1988 and 1991.

The victims, the Hutu, who form over 80% of the population, recite these dates as evocations of their suffering in the same way as black South Africans recall 1960, 1961, 1976 and 1977.

But — and this is the unique parallel between the two countries — their ruling minorities, yielding to internal and external pressures, embarked on a negotiating process to establish a democratic parliamentary system based on a universal franchise.

The elections in Burundi a few months ago resulted in an overwhelming victory for an electoral alliance among predominantly Hutu parties. The result was accepted by the defeated, mainly Tutsi, ruling party, and, notably, by the military leader, General Buyoya, the top ranking Tutsi leader.

Army hotheads

The new president, Melchior Ndadaye — a Hutu who was forced to seek safety in exile for many years —

shared Nelson Mandela's qualities of tolerance, lack of bitterness and desire for reconciliation. His first acts on becoming president were to include Tutsi in his government, appoint a woman prime minister, and promise a new bill of human rights.

Within a few weeks of the installation of the new government, a few army hotheads attempted a coup which was snuffed out by the army itself. But that was to be only a prelude to a more serious effort, this time encouraged by earlier defeated military president, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza — an unforgiving figure rather reminiscent of P W Botha.

The full extent of the army's involvement in the coup is not yet clear, but early indications are that it was spearheaded by only two military units and a small number from a tank unit and para commandos. But the army as a whole appears not to have been involved although its composition is 99% Tutsi.

Blundering crime

Those responsible for the coup killed President Ndadaye and set about arresting all those prominently associated with his party.

Apart from trying to destroy Burundi's new democracy, their blundering crime — as would be the predictable

consequence of any similar attempt in South Africa — was that the coup unleashed the forces of revanchism. What the Hutu lack in military power, they make up for in numbers and possession of machettes — a situation not very different in South Africa.

It should come as no surprise that the Hutu's response to the call to "defend democracy" has taken the form of killing Tutsis, thus setting up a chain of further revenge killings of Hutu by Tutsis.

Nor is it a surprise to find that, having brought off their temporarily successful coup, the rebel soldiers have been forced to appeal to the former government ministers to return to their posts. They recognise, belatedly, that without representative Hutu leaders, no government can rule.

Full tragedy

It is still too soon to know the cost of this wildly irresponsible military intervention to block a democratic process, already 300 000 Hutus have fled across the borders for safety; hundreds, possibly thousands, of Burundians (mainly Tutsis) have been killed.

But the full tragedy is still to unfold, its ultimate damage depends on the role that will be played by the Tutsi political and military leadership to reverse the coup and identify themselves with the process of restoring the democratic system.

One important lesson appears to have been learnt by the international community when faced with aggression against democratic political systems: the need to isolate the usurpers promptly through economic sanctions, beginning with the cut-off of aid. Within 24 hours of the coup in Bujumbura, Burundi's three major aid donors — Belgium, France and the United States — announced the cut-off of their support.

Anybody contemplating a coup in South Africa could do well to mark these two points: the horror of revanchist killing, and the international throttling of the economy.

While Burundi doesn't foreshadow future developments in South Africa, it holds several important lessons about the dangers of coup attempts, assassination and, especially, of extremist armed minorities.

□ Colin Legum is the publisher of Third World Reports

Anger as teens rampage

By DALE GRANGER

At the Burundi beach resorts last night called for riotous to be banned after police in a series of "no dance" hand-to-hand encounters with young men who were dancing late and late off fireworks.



"Of course I entered into the spirit of the occasion. He tricked my car with gold paint and shaving cream and I treated him to a thick ear."

War, locusts, bad harvests ① ARG 17/11/92 threaten food in Africa

ROME — Bad harvests, desert locusts and civil strife threaten food supplies in parts of Africa, the United Nations food agency has reported.

The agency, in its November report, expected world cereal stocks to decline by 12 percent following an anticipated production drop next year.

But the decrease is not likely "to threaten world food security", the report added.

The report also concluded:

● Bad harvests in Kenya have created the need for a major increase in food aid.

● Civil strife has cut into food supplies in Angola and Zaire.

● In Sudan, harvests have been plagued by desert locusts and a lack of rain.

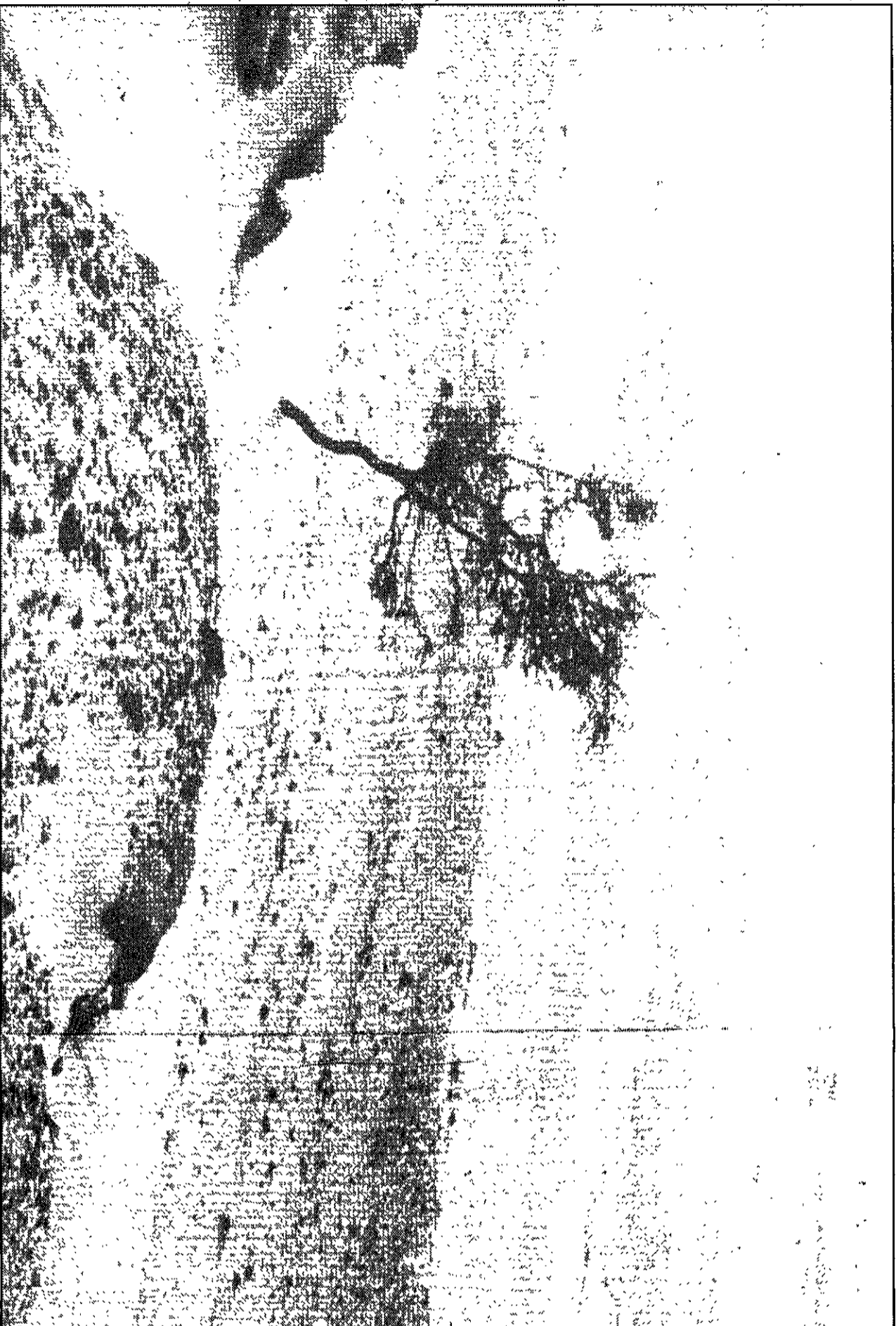
● Large population movements are expected to affect crop production in Burundi;

● Sierra Leone and Liberia are expected to have poor harvests. — Sapa-AP

Man's contribution to changing the Earth's climate, and in the process turning arable land into deserts, has been outlined at a conference in Pretoria. Norman Chandler looks at the theories

Star 26/11/93

Land abuse means deserts for Africa



Spreading Sahara . . . once there was grass and forest in this area of Mauritania, now there is only sand and a lone, struggling tree. PICTURE: AP

Africa's great deserts — the Sahara, Kalahari and Namib — may soon be joined by others as man, caught in a circle of poverty, continues to abuse productive land.

It is estimated that in sub-Saharan Africa alone, 650 000 sq km of formerly productive land have been transformed into desert at a rate of 70 000 sq m a year through community activities, political interference, and mismanagement of land.

Worldwide, 70 percent of 5.1 billion hectares of potentially productive land is threatened.

Desertification and drought is man's fault, declared Kenyan scientist Mary Omosa, and she added that the fight against desertification was a fight for survival for all.

Speaking at a conference on global change and social transformation in Pretoria, she said attempts aimed at combating drought and desertification needed to be people-centred, and focused on local communities.

"The inability of man to control or adapt to his immediate environment has resulted in a vicious circle of poverty which further weakens Third World economies, and particularly those dependent on agriculture," Omosa said. "We cannot aim at conservation without making it possible for the poor to meet their basic nutritional needs for themselves and their offspring."

The occurrence of drought and desertification is linked to global climatic changes, but the state of the soil is mainly altered as a result of human activities.

The depletion of the ozone layer — South Africa is now taking a more active role in combat-

ing this phenomenon — is a clear illustration of what people can do to the climate.

Scientists say the so-called hole in the ozone layer is getting larger, with international organisations instituting more research to see what can be done.

Global climatic changes have resulted in significant new weather patterns. The most recent example is the freezing weather which blanketed Europe.

"Drought and desertification are caused by changing agricultural patterns, resulting in serious land degradation and severe climatic conditions," Omosa said.

Over-exploitation of available natural resources has made soil vulnerable, lowered the water table, and prevented natural regeneration of vegetation.

Survival

"African economies depend on the continent's forests, pastures and croplands for survival.

"These sources of livelihood have, however, been mismanaged through land activities that remove too much and return too little, if any," Omosa says.

"This is reinforced by the fact that development policies have not been geared towards reducing poverty.

"The poor receive little support in breaking the vicious circle of poverty that forces them to over-stretch land, one of the few resources that they tend to have access to."

Nearly half of Africa's people live in abject poverty, and it is projected they will increase by 100 million within seven years. One of the primary causes of

environmental degradation and loss of forest cover in Africa is tenure of land.

Omosa said that when politicians interfere with rights of tenure, catastrophe can result.

The ending in some countries of traditional customary arrangements for land use has in many cases resulted in land management projects being shelved.

A failure by governments to appreciate the complex relationship between local communities and land management is the cause of major problems.

Omosa sees South Africa as falling into the same trap in the absence of land reforms.

"That 84 percent of the land is owned by a minority with privileged access to other resources and infrastructure, and that the apartheid policies have resulted in the concentration of a majority on just 14 percent of the agricultural land, has negative environmental implications," she said.

The importance of trees to all-matic patterns and economies cannot be under-estimated. By the turn of the century, 7.5 million hectares of tropical forest will have been cleared in the interests of progress.

"At this rate, an eighth of all the world's tropical forests would have gone . . . resulting in increased soil erosion and rapid surface run-off."

Omosa said that unless deforestation was halted, there would be no tropical forests in 177 years.

An indication of the seriousness of the issue is that Africa will, by the year 2000, need 100 times more than the continent's existing 19 million hectares of fuel wood plantations.

Investors wary of sub-Saharan Africa

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AUG 30/11/93

□ 'Need to streamline, retrain bureaucracies'

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Staff

MANY potential investors believe that "sub-Saharan Africa is a basket case and South Africa is going down the tubes."

Goldfields chief executive Robin Plumridge emphasised this was not his opinion, but he added: "If one is realistic, one has to concede that sub-Saharan Africa has not lived up to its great potential over recent decades."

"We have been bedevilled by political and social dogma which in its application has led to deteriorating decisions."

Mr Plumridge was addressing an international conference on Sub-Saharan Oil and Minerals in Cape Town.

He said an economic sub-Saharan trading bloc could not survive unless it understood it was part of a highly competitive global village.

The region had to make difficult choices about the development of long-term relationships. He advised the region should no longer look to Europe but east and west to Asia and Latin America where "we find the great success stories of recent years".

There were a number of lessons and unpalatable truths that could be learned from the two areas. These included:

- The financial muscle will seek to invest in those projects and those countries where the greatest security and potential reward is offered;

- A host country for foreign investment must have as a primary pre-condition stable and legitimate government which can maintain law and order and "which respects the sanctity of contract" and will not seek to change the rules of the game at the slightest whim; and

- Political violence and un-

controlled criminal activity were not compatible with rapid economic development.

Mr Plumridge said the command structures which had permeated all sub-Saharan African countries had to be swept aside and governments had to recognise "their primary economic role is to create a framework which will enable the entrepreneurs of the world, whether large or small, local or foreign, to develop their economic activities in a competitive and responsible manner."

Bureaucracies had to be streamlined and retrained.

He said standards barely affordable in the first world could not be set as preconditions with the region, particularly when they were a disguised way of protecting industries.

There was also a need to recognise the acute shortage of high level professional, technical and financial skills.

Reviving East African ties

Sowetan

11/2/93

①

ARUSHA—Leaders of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania met in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday to sign an accord paving way for the revival of regional co-operation — 16 years after the collapse of the East African Community.

Presidents Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi met in Arusha, at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, to sign a protocol on new areas of co-operation.

The heads of state will sign a "tripartite accord" which urges regional co-operation in trade and industry, health, agriculture, finance, transport and communications, research and fisheries and animal husbandry, officials said.

Priorities in the accord include the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within East Africa as early as 1994.

The commission is mandated to seek ways of reviving full regional cooperation and later integration. Kenya's Musyoka said he wanted the commission to start work "immediately".

With the revival of the regional bloc, average annual growth was expected to rise to more than eight percent from the current five percent, greatly helping in the management of their average R36 million foreign debt, economists said.

East Africa once had a joint airline, railway and ports administration, postal and telephone services, and provided a framework for regional trade.

But it broke up in acrimony. Uganda and Tanzania complained that wealthier Kenya was deriving disproportionate benefits from the bloc to the detriment of its partners.

Economic imbalances were exacerbated by personal differences between

Tanzania's leftist founding president Julius Nyerere and Kenyan pro-Western Jomo Kenyatta.

Nyerere sought to turn his country into a Third World socialist beacon while Kenyatta steered Kenya towards capitalism.

Nyerere and Kenyatta also refused to negotiate with military dictator Idi Amin after he seized power in Uganda in 1971.

Tanzanian delegates have urged members to curb violence in their countries and increase security to create a peaceful environment where economic cooperation will thrive.

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda together with 15 other eastern and southern African states signed a treaty early this month calling for the establishment of a common market by the year 2000.

— Sapa-Reuter.

11/2/93 11

'Funds will soon flow into Africa'

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CFZ/12/93

Business Editor

HUGE sums of money owned by Africans overseas are likely to come flooding back when their owners think the time is right, says Colin Goodwin, president of the Meridien BIAO network of commercial banks in sub-Saharan Africa.

And investment from the US is likely to encourage local investment, too.

Goodwin was speaking at the Sub-Saharan Oil and Mineral Investment Conference at the Cape Sun this week.

He said the key to investment from overseas was "the current interest by the worldwide investment community in emerging markets."

"In the first half of this year US investors alone placed more than \$4bn in emerging markets."

"This trend is equally strong in Europe and is accelerating."

So far, Goodwin said, this trend has passed Africa by. "At the recent IMF/World Bank meetings in Washington one of the numerous documents circulated was a booklet on emerging mar-

kets which contained detailed reports on about 40 countries seen as interesting targets for the investment community. Only one of these was in sub-Saharan Africa.

"But there are signs that Africa is now starting to get on this bandwagon."

Goodwin said that getting risk capital from domestic sources might be more difficult but "the greater use of African savings in productive investment is the best way for the continent to achieve real long term growth from the grass roots up."

"My definition of African savings includes the funds which are ready to come home when the circumstances are right. The amounts are large."

"Last month the Bank of Zambia estimated that Zambians have \$500m in bank accounts abroad and Zambia is far from being the largest or richest country south of the Sahara."

Some of these funds were legitimate, owned by Africans working abroad. Africa had no shortage of cross border entrepreneurs who promoted business outside their own countries.

Many African states 'foment ethnic violence'

WASHINGTON. — Nigeria, South Africa and other African governments are guilty of fomenting or condoning ethnic violence to further their political ends, according to Human Rights Watch.

"The governments of Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa and Zaire, as well as Angola, Liberia and Nigeria have been implicated in either encouraging or condoning ethnic-based violence," the US-based human rights group said in its annual report.

There is a mistaken tendency to see ethnic violence as unavoidable in the post-Cold War world, Human Rights Watch executive director Kenneth Roth said.

"But 1993 shows the opposite; that it is the deliberate efforts by governments and political groups to foment violence for short-term political gain."

In South Africa, the report criticised violence by rightwing whites and by black groups, but said "government action taken to address fears raised by attacks on white South Africans remained more forceful than the response to violence in the black townships".

"Abuses of human rights continued to be committed by the security forces, including detention without trial and torture and ill-treatment of detainees," the report said. — Sapa-AFP.

① ARCT 10/12/B

dan Milosevic and Bosnian
with Serbia's Federal Army



Mubarak hails new African⁽¹⁾ bank

CT/13/12/B

CAIRO. — President Hosni Mubarak yesterday met the head of the newly created Cairo-based African Bank for Import and Export (ABIE) to review activities of the nascent institution.

Mubarak, who currently chairs the 50-member Organisation of African Unity, hailed the new bank and during an African mini-summit in Cairo called on nations to support the creation of an African Economic Community.

Emerging from the meeting with Mubarak, bank head Christopher Edordu, a Nigerian national, said the idea of the bank began in 1987 and that it has a capital of \$750m.

Edordu said the bank has three types of shareholders — governments, financial institutions in African states such as central and commercial banks, and shareholders from non-African countries. — Sapa-Reuter

Africa likely to be worse off

① ARG 14/12/93

GENEVA. — African countries are stepping up efforts to make deals with big powers to limit problems they fear from the opening up of world trade.

All studies of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks aimed at expanding and liberalising world commerce have concluded that Africa, accounting for only 2.6 percent of world trade (1.9 percent without South Africa), will not gain any net benefit at all from the trade agreements the world is rushing to complete by tomorrow's deadline.

In fact, it will wind up a net loser, unlike all other continents. According to the World Bank, in the year 2002, when all Uruguay Round agreements will be in force, Africa's terms of trade will be more than 4 percent worse than now. In other words, its exports will have lost relative value and its imports will be relatively more expensive.

The countries expected to be hurt worst by all this are the poorest ones, which have to import large amounts of agricultural products to feed their populations. — Sapa-AFP.

Bongo voted into power after years of dictatorship

□ Return of Gabonese ruler may be boost for SA

① ARG 17/12/93

AFTER a quarter of a century of often harsh and autocratic rule by President Omar Bongo, the voters of Gabon have put him back into power in the first democratic election since independence in 1958.

It was a surprising development but one which has also occurred in several other African countries since the era of dictatorship and one-party rule began to crumble before the rising tide of democracy: Daniel arap Moi being returned in Kenya, Felix Houphouët-Boigny in Ivory Coast, Jerry Rawlings in Ghana ...

Confounding his critics and opponents, including 11 other candidates for the presidency, Mr Bongo won nearly 52 percent of the votes in Gabon's presidential election on December 5. The results, delayed by logistical problems, were released on December 9.

The only other candidate who made a worthwhile showing was Paul M'Ba Abbesole, a Roman Catholic priest who spent 16 years in exile because of his opposition to Mr Bongo. He won only 28 percent of the votes in a poll of 80 percent.

Even before the results had been announced, Mr Bongo's opponents had been crying foul but since there was no credible foreign monitoring of the voting he was able — initially, at any rate — to override their objections, apparently with the backing of the army and certainly with the support of his Presidential Guard.

After initially staying aloof, the security forces moved in to stop rioting that broke out in the streets when the results were delayed.

The election was preceded by rising tensions as Mr Bongo faced his first legitimate electoral challenge in over a quarter of a century in his small but relatively wealthy republic.

Gabon's riches make it a prime target for South African businesses seeking to expand into Africa. Unlike the poorer countries, it has the means with which to buy South African goods and services.

Relations between the two

The return to power of President Omar Bongo in Gabon may be good news for South Africa in that it appears to signal an era of stability in a country rich enough to make it potentially an important trading partner. A special correspondent of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Libreville.

countries have long been closer than those between Pretoria and many other African capitals. While opposing apartheid, Mr Bongo displayed a pragmatic readiness to deal with South Africa.

If the result eventually announced in the presidential election was not rigged, it was a remarkable verdict by the voters. Perhaps they had accepted that there was a basic truth in Mr Bongo's election campaign boast — or was it a threat? — that without him Gabon would cease to exist on the map of Africa.

That is doubtful, given that this equatorial country of only about 1 250 000 people and about the size of the Cape Province is sub-Saharan Africa's richest in terms of gross domestic product per capita.

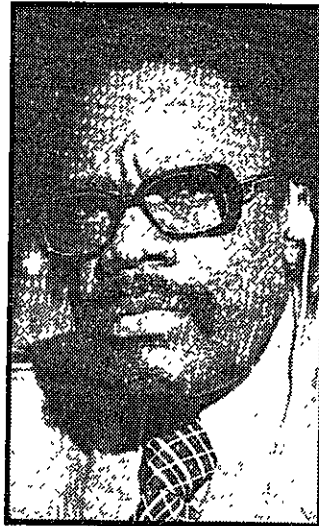
In addition to producing more than 14.5 million tons of oil a year, Gabon is rich in manganese and timber, 80 percent of the country still being covered in virgin forest.

It is against this background of economic plenty that the drama of democratisation and the evolution of Mr Bongo's survival instincts have been played.

He was among the first of Africa's former one-party state dictators to invite opposition parties to a national conference, and to form a transitional government. The process was started in 1990 and by October of that year a parliamentary election left Mr Bongo's ruling Parti Democratique Gabonese with a small majority.

It seems to have been enough to allow him to lay the foundations for his re-election in the presidential vote this month.

Mr Bongo was able to frustrate Mr Abbesole's efforts to exploit the tribal divisions that play a significant part in Gabonese politics. Originating from the province of Haut Ogooue, Mr Bongo is a Bateke. He has been accused of



President Omar Bongo ... confounded his critics.

sidelining members of the largest tribe, the Fang, and preserving power and prestige for his own people.

His supporters were quick to deny accusations of tribalism. A coalition of pro-Bongo parties, the Alliance for Democracy and Change, denounced the allegations as racist and reactionary.

Jean de Diue Mengome, spokesman for the Gabon Socialist Union, said: "By saying Mr Bongo wants only non-Fang in power, the opposition are behaving like the white rightwing in South Africa. We say the time for tribalism in Africa is over."

Mr Abbesole had more than the tribalism issue in his arsenal. His Rassemblement National des Bucherons, the Woodcutters, represent one of the nation's key industries: timber.

Until oil exploration began in the '60s, the country's economy depended almost entirely on timber. The Ogue River, which continually spills felled trees into the sea for export, was also the main communication route. It was on the Ogue that Albert Schweitzer founded his hospital at Lambaréne a few hundred kilometres south of Libreville.

In spite of the country's huge oil reserves, mainly exploited by the Anglo-Dutch Shell company and French Elf, much of the country remains as it was when Schweitzer began his pioneering work.

Once part of French Equatorial Africa, Gabon became an overseas territory of France in 1948. At independence in 1960 the prime minister of the territory, Leon M'Ba, was elected president and when he died of natural causes in 1967 he was succeeded by his prime minister, Albert Bernard Bongo.

Mr Bongo converted to Islam and became Omar but Gabon's French connection persists. About 50 000 French citizens still live in Gabon and French is the official language.

Wealthy Gabonese women — and there are plenty — wear Parisian chic, the road traffic signs are imported from France and French television is beamed in by satellite.

But like most post-colonial, post-cold war African leaders, Mr Bongo can no longer rely implicitly on French support for his regime should a popular revolt occur.

And anti-foreign feeling in Libreville is running high. Non-Gabonese African nationals have been stoned and menaced. During the friction at the time of the presidential election whites were attacked in the streets, all whites being viewed as French, who are accused by Mr Bongo's opponents of keeping him in power.

Yet the impressive vote for Mr Bongo in the presidential election suggests that the opposition is not as strong or widespread as it had seemed.

His supporters hailed what has been termed "Bongostroika". A vote for Mr Bongo was a vote for unity, they said, a vote for peace and stability and a new democratic future.

Most of the voters appear to have accepted this, but the degree of peace and stability will probably depend largely on what seems still to be a sizeable, if splintered, opposition.

Development bank urges co-operation

ABIDJAN. — The African Development Bank says integration of post-apartheid South Africa into the regional economy is likely to boost its neighbours' development.

Oct 18/12/93
In a statement yesterday, the Ivory Coast-based bank urged more co-operation between southern African states. It said a meeting of heads of the ADB, the Organisation for African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa in Cairo last week had recommended southern regional projects in many fields. — Sapa-Renter

ON NOVEMBER 17 in Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, General Sani Abacha, the country's seventh military ruler since independence, simply showed the whole flimsy structure of democratic institutions aside. He announced that he would be running the country personally for the indefinite future.

"Every military administration justifies its take-over with claims to have the ability to clean up the society," declared the country's now-defunct Senate as Abacha dissolved it, "but ends up being more corrupt than the preceding one." The statement would apply equally in half the countries of Africa but the malady goes even deeper than that.

The bits of Africa's tragedy that make the news are the coups and wars and famines. The headlines this year have been Angola (a civil war killing a 1 000 people a day), Burundi (a failed coup, an attempted genocide, over 150 000 massacred, and 800 000 refugees), Liberia (civil war, famine and massacre) and Somalia (all of the above, plus a war with the UN).

Genocide
The details differ from year to year but the picture is always the same. Africa, with under 10% of the world's population, has accounted for at least one-third of its war-related deaths and almost all of its famine deaths for several decades. Matters are often

Reviewing a tragic round of coups and slaughter in 1993, GWYNNE DYER
sees a continent in steady decline.

Africa's year of torment, war, famine

①
CT29112/93

worse in countries that don't make the headlines. The continent's largest country, Sudan, is the scene of an under-reported civil war that involves both genocide and famine in the remote southern region.

And Zaire, the second most populous country after Nigeria, is dropping out of the 20th century entirely, as dictatorship Mobutu Sese Seko Kibangu Ngbendu has fallen by almost 2% a year — and the rate of decline is accelerating.

Cold War
All the other statistics show the same trend. Food production per capita has been dropping

in Africa for 15 years. Since 1970, sub-Saharan Africa's share of world trade has dropped from almost 4% to under 1%. And the proportion of African children in primary school is falling steeply, from 79% in 1980 to 67% in 1988 and certainly even less by now.

Nothing like this is happening in any other part of the world. You can't blame Africa's dismal political and economic failure on the after-effects of colonialism or it would be happening all over Asia and the Middle East too.

You can't blame it on falling world commodity prices or it

would be happening all over Latin America and in much of Asia. You can't blame it on the Cold War, or the World Bank, or any other factor that has operated on a global scale.

This suggests that in some way or other the Africans themselves are to blame — which is the point in the argument at which the le-gions of the politically correct start looking up synonyms for "racist" and the wise take cover.

Let us be unwise, however, and pursue the question a little further. The brutal truth is that sub-Saharan Africa has failed to develop viable states that can care for the basic needs



GENERAL SANI ABACHA: Announced he would be running the country personally.



MOBUTU SESE SEKO: Clinging to power as the remaining infra-structure collapses.

of their populations. The dictatorships, the coups and the civil wars like the accelerating decline in the economies and social services, are all consequences of this fundamental failure.

before the colonialists arrived. There were occasional ephemeral empires such as Mali and Songhai in the southern Saharan region before the imperialists arrived. There were some tribal kingdoms of considerable size along the West African coast, such as the Yoruba and the Ashanti. But basically, there is almost no pre-colonial tradition in black Africa of impersonal, bureaucratic states that rise above kinship ties.

In Asia and throughout the Muslim world, there were large, competent states long before the Europeans arrived. With their temporary technological edge, people there are just picking up where they left off.

In Australasia and parts of the western hemisphere, the pre-colonial situation more closely resembled that

in Africa — but the conquerors never left. The colonists, aided by their lethal Old World microbes, became the local majority and it is their European cultural traditions that prevail.

No quick fix
But in Africa, the Europeans left and the local political traditions are not appropriate for running the kind of states they left behind. And there are no signs that a more user-friendly model adapted to African cultural norms is emerging to fill the gap.

Nobody knows why Africa never independently developed the kind of states that long ago became almost universal elsewhere in the eastern hemisphere. But if this is really the core of the problem, then the solution is not likely to be quick or easy.

focus on the future

Sowetan 4/1/94

AFRICA'S UNSTEADY march towards democracy and free enterprise continued in 1993, but with some bad stumbles. It is likely to become more unsteady in 1994 as the burden of the economic reforms demanded by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other aid donors becomes more painful.

There is growing resistance to the reforms by African communities because of the hardships they impose, at least in the beginning. Yet the donors are increasingly making their aid conditional on the reforms being implemented. And their tolerance of Africa's seemingly unending demands for aid has grown thin as they have received more calls for help from Eastern Europe and other regions at a time when their own economies were restricted by recession.

So any African country that fails to maintain the reforms risks being abandoned by the donors, who largely control the international agencies, leaving it with little hope of ever escaping from poverty and oppression.

It was not all gloom in Africa in 1993, however. Politically, it was quite cheering. Several countries made progress in attaining or preserving human rights despite their economic woes.

The Mozambican peace process lurched fitfully forward. Lesotho saw the military return government to the civilians and the first free election in more than a quarter century. Swaziland, long ruled absolutely by the monarchy, had the nearest thing to a free election in 20 years. Malawi headed for democracy at last after the voters were given a chance, in a referendum, to reject the dictatorial regime of Kamuzu Banda. And hopes of peace glimmered again in ravaged Angola as the combatants resumed negotiations.

Among the positive factors must be counted the fact that those countries in the region that have attained a measure of democracy and free enterprise — Zimbabwe, Zambia and Namibia — preserved them despite deep economic troubles.

Further north, Tanzania and Uganda moved closer to multi-party democracy and Kenya retained at least the major elements of the democracy that had come with its adoption of a multi-party system in 1991 — enough to persuade the Western donors to resume their suspended aid.

In the Indian Ocean, Madagascar and the Seychelles held elections after years of autocracy.

On the mainland, elections — some less democratic than others but still an improvement on military dictatorship or one-party rule — were held in Gabon, Central African Republic, Niger, Togo, Burkina Faso, Senegal and newly-independent Eritrea. Similar elections are due in 1994 in Ethiopia, Chad, Guinea Bissau, and

South Africa stands out as Africa's biggest success story in 1993 and carries the hopes of much of the continent into 1994, writes **Gerald L'Ange**, editor of *Sowetan Africa News Service*: ①



Mobutu Sese Seko ... greed over democracy.

possibly also Sierra Leone and Guinea.

Multiparty systems remained in place, though shakily in some cases, in Cameroon, Congo, Benin, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Comoros, Mauritius, Djibouti, Algeria, Egypt and Tunisia.

That left only a small minority of states still denied democracy of any worthwhile kind. Zaire continued to be shackled in political and economic impotence in order to satisfy Mobutu Sese Seko's personal greed. Somalis were still held hostage by their warlords despite United Nations intervention. Sudan remained in the grip of a civil war so bound up with religion and ethnicity that a solution seemed impossible. Liberia had been given only a measure of relief by a flimsy ceasefire in its civil war. Libya remained the ideological fiefdom of Muammar Gaddafi and Western Sahara was still being contested between its nationalists and Morocco.

As the old year went out, Africa still had more wars than any other continent, but fewer of them than before. It had the world's worst one, though — in Angola, bringing misery and death to scores of thousands while the politicians continued stubbornly to haggle. Africa nevertheless entered the new year more democratic than it had been since colonialism ended and with the spirit of free enterprise more widely entrenched than ever.

This situation had been brought about largely

Donors' tolerance of Africa's seemingly unending demands for aid has grown thin as they received calls for help from Eastern Europe when their own economies were restricted by recession

by two different pressures: first, grassroots demands from people fed up with dictatorship and unworkable ideologies and, second, external pressures from the donor governments and international agencies who have been given an extraordinary influence over Africa's governments because of the havoc wreaked by those same dictators and ideologies.

But now these pressures are beginning to clash as Africans become weary of biting the bullet in order to implement foreign prescriptions for economic recovery. The danger that donor governments, themselves weary of filling Africa's begging bowls, might turn their backs on the continent portended irony as well as tragedy, considering that it has done so much to right itself — politically, at least. Democracy and development obviously cannot flourish in poverty in Africa any more than they have anywhere else in the world. The collapse of the exercise to restore civilian government in Nigeria caused dismay across Africa, for it set a bad example at a time when the continent badly needs some success stories to give encouragement not only to the millions of Africans struggling to escape from oppression and poverty but also to the donor governments.

These hopes now rest largely on South Africa, which is being seen as Africa's biggest success story. For much of the continent, a great deal depends on what happens in South Africa in 1994. If South Africa can make it, other countries might too. And the developed countries might be better disposed to help them to keep trying.

Prices double after African franc fall

JAMES TOMLINS, The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — The 50 percent currency devaluation in the 14-African-nation CFA franc zone last week is having dire consequences for the region's economic stability.

Reports from the capitals of the French-speaking region spell out a pattern of chaos and confusion.

Many supermarkets have closed down, while governments struggle to hold down prices of imported goods, now twice what they were.

Lebanese traders are bearing the main brunt of a general atmosphere of fear, suspicion and cries of treason against France for permitting the devaluation.

Ivory Coast has always been the proud flagship of the CFA zone, but those days are over.

One banker said: "We have been orphaned twice within six weeks — our longtime leader, President Houphouët-Boigny, died last month and our former colonial power, France, has deserted us in our hour of need."

"Ten years ago our capital, Abidjan, was regarded as the Manhattan boom city of Africa. Today our status is little more than that of a provincial village."

① ARG 19/11/94

Light in 'darkest' Africa for foreign investors

Star 19/11/94

WILL 1994 be Africa's year, one in which international investors finally get the virgin continent into their sights? Certainly there is a growing body of opinion, both in Africa and beyond, that believes this will be the case.

Indeed, it can be argued that this trend is already under way. On the Johannesburg Stock Exchange foreigners were prominent throughout 1993, initially in the gold and bond markets and later as buyers of industrial stocks, as well.

Figures supplied by Baring's Securities show that for the foreign investor, who benefited from a 13.3 percent strengthening in the financial rand — the investment currency for overseas investors — the overall index rose by 63.4 percent, the gold index by 184.1 percent and the industrial index by 41 percent.

They have also been evident in Botswana, while foreign buying on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange between late June and December was enough to cause the Industrial Index to more than double.

Miles Morland of Blakeney Management, the London-based adviser to many of the world's largest emerging market funds, is one who believes the continent's time has come: "Looking at Africa is very much at the top of their emerging market funds agenda. There is a terrific willingness to believe in the African story."

This can be traced to three important structural changes. Clearly the catalytic event has been South Africa's rehabilitation as a respectable investment destination.

This has caused great excitement in the US and the re-examination of the JSE has inevitably rebounded to the benefit of other regional markets.

Since ANC leader Nelson Mandela called for an end to financial sanctions against South Africa in September, there has been a veritable stampede of US visitors to Johannesburg. Significant investment flows have followed and the outlook for 1994 appears even more cheery.

Morland reckons that the first half of 1994 will see at least five South Africa or Southern Africa funds launched. Taken together with other African funds and country funds, he believes there will be at least 10 funds channeling money into South Africa next year.

The second important change concerns Africa itself. If the 1960s saw the political winds of change blow through the continent, then the 1990s are witnessing some equivalent economic changes as governments increasingly embrace market economics after costly socialist experiments.

The catalyst for these changes has been the end of the cold war, meaning no more eastern European bloc handouts, and the inexorable impoverishment of African economies through deteriorating terms of trade and poor economic management.

Now, as Morland comments: "You either eat at the IMF's table, or you don't eat at all." This has led to a huge shift in economic orientation, including a more favourable outlook towards equity markets. In 1983, for example, Bernard Chidzero,

THE 'VIRGIN' continent has been the latest object for overtures from the foreign investment community, and 1994 should be the year that overseas money men decide whether it is boom or bust on African markets, writes Philip Gawith

the Zimbabwe finance minister, was able to extravagantly denounce the ZSE as the positivist of the economy.

Ten years later the same Chidzero used his budget to introduce reforms aimed at encouraging the development of the ZSE: foreign investors being allowed to buy up to 25 percent of companies listed on the ZSE, reductions in capital gains tax on share market investment to 10 from 30 percent and the withholding tax on dividends declared by quoted companies to 15 from 20 percent.

The final change concerns the burgeoning emerging market movement, particularly in the US, with an increasing portion of assets earmarked for emerging markets and offshore investment.

A November survey by the US firm Kleinman International Consultants found that international institutional investment in emerging markets had risen from 10 to 13 percent of international funds in 1993, with allocation over the past five years rising more than five-fold.

Even within this trend, Africa has a lot of catching up to do. A recent survey by Micro-pal of global emerging market funds found that the 54 largest of these funds had invest-

ed only about \$40 million out of \$11.5 billion, or 0.35 percent.

Clearly, if Africa in general and South Africa in particular becomes a focus for emerging market funds, then this in itself will be a good reason to be invested there.

To this rosy scenario, however, some cautionary caveats about Africa must be entered. Even by emerging market standards, Africa is an unusual beast.

On the one hand, the JSE with a market capitalisation of about \$105 billion is much larger than the \$20 billion to \$60 billion average for emerging markets.

On the other hand, most of the other African markets Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria and Zimbabwe (with Zambia, Malawi, Uganda and Tanzania all on the point of opening) are minuscule.

A recent survey by Michel ZhuParris of Morgan Stanley Asset Management found that between them Africa's newly emerging markets had only 12 liquid stocks with market capitalisations greater than \$100 million (with seven of these trading in Morocco).

Second, although Africa is fairly cheap compared with many world markets, it has been cheap for a long time and for good rea-

son. A major factor here is that investors are, with the exception of the Botswana pula, dealing in very weak, devaluing currencies.

Another problem is that the markets are shallow, illiquid and small. Also, in some cases, not the JSE, there is a dearth of domestic investors to piggyback on, which can cause liquidity problems.

Mark Turner, chairman of the ZSE, comments: "Our big problem is that we've got all the demand but nothing to sell."

He reckons that if the ZSE had been able to satisfy demand, foreign flows would have been four to five times larger. This problem has also affected the JSE, where buyers have had to get used to the idea that filling a big order can take more than a week.

These liquidity problems should, however, ease over time. If markets do enjoy a bull run this will stimulate new issues and rights

issues, thereby increasing the amount of stock in circulation.

A further factor to consider is that African markets are much more dependent on commodity prices and politicians than many other emerging markets. Investors not fully apprised could well burn their fingers.

On the commodity front, developments are good as gold, cocoa and coffee have broken out of long bear cycles. The politicians may be behaving better, but in some cases the depth of commitment remains to be tested.

In the final analysis, what happens in South Africa will probably determine the extent to which other regional markets flourish. In themselves they are probably too small to warrant attention. If South Africa works, though, they are likely to cling grimly to its coat-tails. — Financial Times.

African currencies go into a tail-spin

Harare — The shock of devaluation now hitting most of Francophone Africa for the first time in 45 years is a familiar jolt for many other Africans, giving rise to bitter jokes about the vanishing value of the continent's currencies.

The Zimbabwe dollar, on a par with the US dollar 10 years ago, is now worth 12 US cents — leading cynics in Harare to describe it dismissively as the "Zimkwacha".

This is an insult to both Zimbabwe and neighbouring Zambia where the unit of currency — the kwacha — has long been in a tailspin against the world's hard currencies.

But Zimbabweans can still boast of coins — from a dollar down to a cent — which provoke curiosity among visiting Zambians as relics from a distant past.

Coins are a rarity there because a 10 kwacha piece will

Star 24/1/94
not buy a child a sweet and a 50 kwacha coin falls far short of the price of a loaf of bread at 400 kwacha.

This is in a country where the kwacha was worth one British pound at independence in 1964 and where one pound will now buy you more than a thousand kwacha.

As in the 14 West African countries where the CFA franc was devalued by 50 percent against the French franc last week, the International Monetary Fund is seen to be behind the devaluations — and the spiralling inflation which often results.

Thus the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe, known by its initials SAP, has given rise to a number of reinterpretations.

SAP, say the Zimbabweans, stands for "Suffering African People". Even serious economic commentators have been driv-

en to a slightly manic levity by the latest devaluation, which saw the Zimdollar drop 17 percent against the US currency on New Year's Day.

"The one comfort available is the knowledge that once it reaches a zero value it is unlikely to fall any further," jokes Erich Bloch, columnist for Zimbabwe's Financial Gazette.

He goes on to a more serious analysis in which he points out that a massive devaluation in 1991 resulted in devastating inflation of nearly 50 percent in 1992.

It is fear of those kinds of figures which is sending shudders through West Africa.

But for the women waving huge wedges of currency on street corners in the Angolan capital of Luanda in a daily drive to exchange millions of useless kwanzas for a hundred useful US dollars, the benefits might not be so apparent.— Sapa-AFP.

Africa finally succumbs to hungry investors

ARGENTINA

LONDON. — Africa, long considered the basket case of the investment world, is the last region to succumb to the wave of institutional and retail investors hungry for high returns and apparently willing to take on any risk.

Analysts say fund managers in major financial capitals are seeking out the hefty margins available in "pre-emerging markets". Africa is regarded now as at the stage many Latin American countries were in the early 1980s.

Michael Howell, global strategist at Barings Securities, is optimistic, despite enormous problems. In north Africa, Tunisia and Morocco are already firmly on the investment map.

"There are a number of significant markets — Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe... that could benefit from the shift out of South-East Asia," Mr Howell told a conference in London organised by International Money Marketing.

Elizabeth Morrissey, managing partner of US-based Kleinman International Consultants, said three Africa funds — from Morgan Stanley, James Capel and Alliance, have recently been registered at the US Securities and Exchange Commission and "as many as half a dozen more are in the works."

Two Nigeria debt funds are due shortly, based in New York.

Kleinman's research shows that Africa exposure as a percentage of global funds grew from 0.2 percent in 1990 to around four percent in 1993.

Sub-Saharan Africa comprises 30 countries with vast natural resources and 600 million people. Many nations have adopted structural adjustment and privatisation programmes.

"Some are beginning to attract back the flight capital and the brightest who fled in search of work," Ms Morrissey said.

The International Monetary Fund estimated that flight capital to date equalled up to 80 percent of the region's gross national product, she added.

"Offshore" nationals temporarily living and working abroad are reinvesting, undaunted by the dire lack of information. "They know the companies — they don't rely on data-dependent models to tell them 'Invest in beer and cement,'" she said.

There are new single-country vehicles, like Zimbabwe's Elephant and Leopard funds, which look at small-capitalisation equities, and the Luxembourg-based Trans-Zambezi, which invests in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Barings' emerging markets director Thomas Maier said a "bottom up" approach of stock picking, as opposed to "top down" country allocation, was more vital in Africa than elsewhere.

"There is a desperate need for information. We have the macro-economic picture, we need reliable micro-economic detail," Mr Maier said. "There is no problem with these markets' attractiveness — you just have to manage the risk."

There are around 12 funds aimed at Nigeria and Ghana, and hundreds more at South Africa, with six concentrated on mining.

"South Africa is the main interest," noted Ms Morrissey. Many "global" emerging markets funds had significant exposure there.

"Now that the US ban (on investment) is lifted, we find some clients have held some very long-term South African paper."

Many African countries considered capitalist models in the 1970s and 1980s have fallen from favour — Kenya and the Ivory Coast among them, fund managers said.

Others still battle poor infrastructure and population growth of over three percent. The debt/GDP average in sub-Saharan Africa is estimated at 100 percent.

"Privatisation is glacial in pace and there remains commodity dependency which leaves producers at the mercy of world markets," Ms Morrissey said.

Governments in Africa have still not found the balance of liquidity, security and access that foreign investors need, fund managers say. — Sapa-Reuter.

Spectre of famine stalks Africa

①
ARL 8/2/94

22-m will need aid

NAIROBI. — The spectre of famine is once again stalking Africa.

The World Food Programme — the food agency of the United Nations — said yesterday that up to 22 million people would need emergency food aid.

The WFP said that, although the severe drought of 1992/93 was over, dry conditions persisted in many countries, leading to crop failures in the Horn of Africa and in east and southern Africa.

The WFP said emergency food requirements would amount to 3,08 million tons.

"The needs may increase during the year due to the recurrence of drought in several countries and the continuation or escalation of civil strife in many countries," said WFP Executive-Director Catherine Bertini.

She added: "This dramatic estimate of increased emergency food means that the international community needs to redouble its efforts to provide the assistance needed."

An assessment by the WFP forecast a huge cereal deficit for the Horn of Africa, with an estimated 30 percent increase

in its cereal import requirements from 1993.

"Only in Somalia — where the main season crop was better than last year's — are food aid needs expected to fall in 1994 if violence does not break out," the statement said.

Ms Bertini divided emergency needs in 1994 into two parts — operations for refugees, returnees and internally displaced people; and assistance to those affected by food shortages caused by drought.

She said up to 5,8 million people affected by civil strife would need some 810 000 tons of food aid — mostly in Sudan, Zaire, Liberia, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Ethiopia.

A further 2,5 million tons of food will be needed for 16,2 million people. These include more than 1 million refugees and returnees, 7,6 million displaced people and 7,4 million affected by drought-induced crop failure.

Bertini said civil war continued in many countries — such as Liberia, south Sudan and Angola. In addition ethnic violence erupted in Rwanda and Burundi, forcing more than 1 million people to flee to neighbouring countries.

WHICH of the world's emerging markets can boast an investment fund where a \$1 000 stake a year ago has risen to nearly \$1 500? Surprisingly, the answer is Africa. Even more surprising, the country concerned is Nigeria, where the economic reform programme has collapsed — but a shrewd purchase of Nigerian debt is paying off for investors.

The New York-based International Asset Transactions (IAT) decided in 1992 that Nigerian promissory notes (issued in the mid-1980s to clear \$4.2bn in trade arrears) and par bonds (which discounted commercial bank debt at 40c to the dollar in a 1991 settlement with the London Club) were underpriced.

Gus Udo and Donna Young of IAT noted that servicing these deals cost Nigeria comparatively little — about 14 days a year of the country's 1.4-million barrels a day production of oil. They reckoned no sensible government would alienate the banks and the trading houses by defaulting on the terms of the two settlements.

So, in January 1993 they launched the Nigeria Emerging Market Fund, an open-end mutual fund registered in the Cayman Islands, with about two thirds in Nigeria Central Bank promissory notes and most of the balance in Brady par bonds. The results have been remarkable.

Behind the general view that Africa's debt instruments are generally undervalued lies a fundamental re-appraisal of the continent's prospects. "Africa is poised for growth," declares Morgan Stanley, which has launched a \$40m Africa Investment Fund. Its bullish 50-page appraisal of the continent argues that the economic and political reforms underway for the best part of a decade are bearing fruit. Prices for the region's exports such as cocoa, coffee and gold are recovering, and industrial metals are bottoming.

Africa, argues the report, which includes a useful guide to the dozen stock markets operating and the 20

Opportunity and hazards in Africa's emerging markets

MICHAEL HOLMAN

B/Sony 91294



others being developed, "harbours undervalued assets, particularly in the natural resource and manufacturing sectors".

"Where stock markets are up and running," says Morgan Stanley, "investors can find attractively priced issues, both on a price to earnings and price to book basis." By international standards the African market — excluding SA, which ranks just outside the world's top 10 — is tiny. Its exchanges have a combined market capitalisation of around \$12bn compared to India's \$91bn.

Nevertheless, the belief in the resurgence of Africa's fortunes, led by hopes for a thriving post-apartheid SA, has caught the imagination of international fund managers.

Miles Morland, of London-based Blakeney Management, calculates that at least \$3bn of foreign money is being targeted at SA and a further \$1bn at the rest of Africa in 1994. "Peanuts in Mexico or Hong Kong, but they are liable to blow the African market apart at the seams."

The total amount of stock available in the whole of Africa (excluding SA) is about \$2.2bn, he believes. "If almost half of this turns over in 1994, a huge increase on the 1993 levels, there will still be only \$1bn of African equities to be fought over by

local investors, global investors and all the new Africa funds."

The continent's heavyweight is SA. With a market capitalisation of about \$150bn, SA is not so much an emerging market but a re-emerging market, comments Nigel Scheckel of Micropal, the Boston-based fund performance measurement service. But "the true float is tiny relative to the wave of US gilt money that will elbow its way into the market this year", says Morland.

Foreign buyers have already made their mark on Diagonal Street. Figures supplied by Baring Securities show that for the foreign investor, who benefited from a 13.3% strengthening in the financial rand, the investment currency for overseas investors, the overall index rose 63.4%, the gold index 184.1% and the industrial index 41%.

"The market is the best one-way ticket I can think of, barring the 20% bloodbath prospect" — a reference to fears that the April elections may trigger destabilising violence.

Elsewhere, Morland singles out Ghana, a tiny market but likely to grow rapidly as the privatisation

plan led by Ashanti Gold moves ahead; Zimbabwe, where foreign buying in the second half of 1993 helped to more than double the industrial index; Morocco and Tunisia.

Is the excitement warranted, are the risks appreciated, and how well do the analysts know Africa? Morgan Stanley's upbeat view of the continent does not overlook the problems — pointing among other things to weak management, and what it calls Africa's "fear and distrust of foreign business influence".

But the overall picture that emerges may strike some readers as too rosy. The assertion that "tribal tension in most of black Africa is probably less of a problem than racial tension in the US" may be simply an unorthodox view. More serious is the assertion that 28 of Africa's 50 states "have economic reform programmes in place".

This list is based, says Morgan Stanley, on World Bank evaluations — not always, it should be said, the best judge of its own reform efforts.

Some examples of reform listed by Morgan Stanley are risible — such as Zaire, where the political and economic malaise deepens by the day. Also on the list is Burundi, where the recent coup (which took

place after the report's publication) illustrates the volatility of the African condition. The inclusion of Sao Tome, little more than a dot in the ocean, trivialises the list.

Nigeria — "a powerhouse waiting to happen, perseveres with its structural adjustment programme, launched in 1986", writes the analyst. At the time the report was published (October 1993) it was clear that Nigeria's erratic attempt to implement the programme was the reason an IMF agreement lapsed about two years ago. Any hopes that Nigeria's military regime would revive the lapsed programme were set back last month, when it fixed the exchange rate and local interest rates at unrealistic levels.

Africa's performance in general has been weak. As Prof Tony Hawkins of the University of Zimbabwe writes in a recent paper: "More than a dozen years after the launch of aid-funded structural adjustment programmes, it is impossible to identify a single mainland sub-Saharan country that has made a success of economic reform."

"The best that can be said is that in countries such as Ghana and Uganda, the spiral of decline has been reversed, but it will take well into the next century before earlier living standards are regained."

A somewhat tougher investment appraisal comes from the Meridian BIAO group which runs a network of banks in 30 countries across Africa. The investment climate is improving, says group president Colin Goodwin, "but by nothing like enough".

"Investment through individual African stock exchanges is not the best route for the emerging market fund," he adds, "as these exchanges are still too small and surrounded by too many restrictions."

The response of Africans with resources abroad may prove the acid test of whether an African investment makes sense: if the continent's politicians, businessmen and public servants are not risking their capital, foreign investors may suspect that Africa's elite knows something they do not. — Financial Times.

Will a new SA become dominant in Africa?

B Bay

10/2/194

①

WILL a new SA government make a substantial shift in our involvement in Africa? Will SA come to dominate the continent? Who will benefit?

These were some of the questions raised at a conference in Windhoek last week. Most African countries were represented, including Egypt and Nigeria, as well as the UN Conference on Trade and Development and other agencies. Three possible scenarios were suggested: SA as a continental superpower, SA as a major power point (the others being Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya), or non-hegemonic mutually beneficial relations across the continent.

The conference was opened by Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob who stressed the need for new inclusive relations across Africa. He was followed by Prof Adeleji, former head of the UN Economic Commission, who argued that the marginalisation of Africa in the new global system made it imperative that SA was integrated into the continent on the basis of mutually beneficial relations. The removal of apartheid meant that the entire continent was now free, opening up a vision of a transition to new economic, political and social relations. The

ANC representative shared this vision and reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to being part of the continent on an equitable basis.

However, the debate on race relations disclosed a different legacy. The Kenyan participant showed that in 1991 Kenya imported goods worth R150m from SA and exported only R24m. This ratio is roughly the same for most African countries and there is no sign of change. So would the further integration of SA, including membership of the OAU, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Southern African Development Community and Preferential Trade Area make matters any better?

The Egyptian delegate said his country expected that democratisation of SA would bring an end to the Angolan civil war and to instability in the region. In anticipation, Egypt has facilitated an exchange of business delegations, and Eskom has signed an agreement with the Egyptian electricity authority on technical co-operation with a view to establishing a continental network. Since Eskom has already established a grid reaching to central Africa, this perspective is not unrealistic. The rest of North Africa is also in-

BEN TURK

creasing its trade — with Morocco's trade volume with SA at \$50m last year. However, all these countries have a trade deficit with SA.

Taking a positive view, which areas of co-operation could be mutually beneficial? Prof Onimode of Nigeria suggested that SA's integration could help increase security across the continent, there could be improved diffusion of technology, SA could increase Africa's manufacturing capacity as well as providing skills and entrepreneurship.

Several speakers argued that more emphasis should be placed on two-way benefits and that Africa could meet certain needs of SA. Africa remains richly endowed in most natural resources. Shared use would go a long way to making it less dependent on external sources.

Others argued that more research was needed on continental trade, capital and labour flows. Research is also needed on the kind of institutions an integrated continent will require beyond present regional organisations, which will also need

restructuring. Mechanisms will have to be established which can draw civil society institutions such as churches, non-governmental organisations and trade unions into building regional links and not simply depend on inter-governmental relations. It was felt that too much had been left to governments and that people-to-people relations had not been encouraged. Europe, for example, has social contacts across a wide range of activities.

The approach of mutually beneficial relations was seen to produce benefits for all on the continent. But this kind of co-operation was also seen as a means of strengthening Africa's external relations as a whole. This is especially important in a period when, according to the ANC, regionalisation of the global economy has underscored protectionism in the north.

The theme of a declining role for Africa in the new global system was taken up repeatedly, particularly in the context of the completion of the Uruguay Round of GATT. Most speakers thought this would have a negative effect on African economies since, in the name of a global drive for the liberalisation of mar-

kets, it created conditions for the unparalleled penetration of one country by another.

Curiously the conference also resolved to revisit the ideas of pan-Africanism, which was originally conceived as an ideology of liberation from colonial rule, but which has fallen into disuse. Pan-Africanism will be reviewed as a basis for discourse and as a basis for policy in the coming period when it is hoped that Africa can become more united and move towards transformation.

The foundations for this process have been laid by the OAU and the ECA in the moves towards regional integration and the formal creation of an African common market leading to political union.

Much of this debate was futuristic in character, but given the substantial progress being made in Europe, North America and Asia in creating integrated trading blocks and closer union, it may be a mistake not to give these moves due consideration. The conference resolved to set up research teams to take central issues further, and we can expect to hear more from this worthy undertaking. □ Turk is director of the Institute for African Alternatives.

LETTERS

more certain of hat it common-lan-
 dling jointly v-
 ernment are
 aims on alliance

Within the AVF, powerful pressure groups sup-
 port General Viljoent's approach —
 which is, in essence, to cut a deal that guarantees
 serious consideration of Volksstaat proposals by a
 new government. In return for participation in
 the election. The general genuinely does not want
 war, and nor do the established Afrikaner inter-
 est groups that back him. He knows it is unwin-
 nable and he understands that the election is un-
 stoppable.

A special bureau was set up in the Ke-
 nya administration's legal affairs depart-
 ment for the sole purpose of bringing Mr
 Kenyatta to trial. In 1953 he was convict-
 ed of managing the Mau Mau rebellion.

Sir Evelyn Baring, governor of Kenya,
 could not detain Kenyatta and other Mau
 Mau leaders without trial as they would
 acquire the status of martyrs. So, at a tri-
 al in a schoolroom in isolated Kapen-
 guria, Kenyatta was found guilty in a
 case tried by a Supreme Court judge. All
 the accused were found guilty and sen-
 tenced to seven years' hard labour at a
 remote place.

"The government did its best to erase
 the memory of Kenyatta," wrote Guy Ar-
 nold in *Kenyatta and the Politics of
 Kenya*. Despite this, Jomo Kenyatta,
 more than anyone else, awakened African
 political consciousness and became a
 symbol of unity.

PASTIMES

Bridge for Alliance, Cape Town

ing more than 150 pairs on a
 Wednesday morning — will con-
 tinue to play at the temple in the
 large upstairs hall.

While the move will have sup-
 porters and detractors it is iron-
 ic that re-location remains so vir-
 tual a problem when, looking
 back, the club's committee nar-
 rowly overruled a move to buy a
 Green Point property more than

Biderman will tell the club that
 caution is required this year, but
 that the financial situation re-
 mains secure.

Results:
 CTWBC (Institutional Teams, final plac-
 ings): Blue Section: Kaplan +74, Sher +48, Di-
 anmond +46, Abel +41; Green Section: Malach
 +136, Abramson +94, Cruise +58, Bernan
 +57; Orange Section: Biderman +137, Caplan
 +104, Reid +95, Shortland +94.

CTOBC (Graded Pairs): A Section: Bob John-
 son-Nel van Rensburg 63, 18%, Henschel-Lille
 Paves 57, 73, Kees Catelein-Mary Symmonds
 55, 91. B Section: Miriam Dick-Hocky Rosen-
 meyer 68, 18, Jill-Les Lazard 56, 82, Lydia Ben-

In 1938 Mr Kenyatta published an an-
 thropological study, *Facing Mount Ke-
 nya*, in which he expressed such senti-
 ments as: "The African can only advance
 himself to a 'higher level' if he is free to
 express himself, to organise economical-
 ly, politically and socially, and to take
 part in the government of his own coun-
 try."

In 1946 Kenyatta returned to Kenya,
 welcomed by crowds from Mombasa to
 Nairobi. Within a year he was president
 of the Kenya Union Association, the first
 intertribal nationalist movement.

The British were accused of taking
 away what rightfully belonged to the Af-
 ricans. Kenyatta said: "We are the true in-
 habitants of Kenya and the land is ours
 completely."

In Kenya, too, the more youthful mem-
 bers of nationalist organisations were the
 ones to become frustrated, impatient and
 hot-headed. The young Kikuyu were the

Jomo Kenyatta, the most charismatic
 of leaders, had been sent to London as
 their representative and to agitate for lib-
 eration.

Important being a constitutional arrangement
 guaranteed that regional powers cannot be under-
 mined — has no resonance for other IFP offi-
 cials. Some, like the former DP MP Mike Tarr,
 have already gone public with their frustration
 about the boycott tactic. Others, like Kwazulu
 cabinet minister Chief Simon Gumede, have the
 option of resigning from active politics. Put an-
 other way, Chief Buthelezi might not take the
 IFP into the election, but he might not be able to
 keep all of it out.

Bophuthatswana appears to be the most sus-
 ceptible of all to the latest approaches. Mma-
 batho's response to the new package, in contrast
 to Uindi's, leaves the door to accommodation
 wide open. This, with intensive bilateral discus-
 sions with the ANC at the moment, suggests the
 possibility of an understanding being reached
 with the Bophuthatswana government. A related
 element is the fear among some officials that a
 future government might seek to have them pun-
 ished for repressive acts in the past: it is possible
 that these figures might seek and receive assur-
 ances about their personal futures, and undertake
 not to participate in active resistance against the
 election. Some might find other political homes,
 and it would surely be an attractive option for
 President Mangope to retire gracefully from
 politics rather than face a bruising battle against
 the ANC in his region — provided that his per-
 sonal and financial security is guaranteed.

In this context the Mandela package, offered
 just before the ANC leader's departure for Eu-

Mr Mandela was tried for treason, as
 a militant African nationalist, as
 important being a constitutional arrangement
 guaranteed that regional powers cannot be under-
 mined — has no resonance for other IFP offi-
 cials. Some, like the former DP MP Mike Tarr,
 have already gone public with their frustration
 about the boycott tactic. Others, like Kwazulu
 cabinet minister Chief Simon Gumede, have the
 option of resigning from active politics. Put an-
 other way, Chief Buthelezi might not take the
 IFP into the election, but he might not be able to
 keep all of it out.

After Sharpeville, where police shot
 dead 69 people and injured 180 on March
 21 1960, and subsequent events, ANC and
 Pan Africanist Congress leaders fled into
 exile and set up military wings. As in Ke-
 nya, a state of emergency was declared
 and thousands of arrests followed.

Mr Mandela's life sentence — after the
 Rivonia trial — began in 1963, the year of
 the inception of the Organisation of Afri-
 can Unity (OAU) and at a time when Mr
 Kenyatta was out of prison and prime
 minister of Kenya.

The ANC, with offices and representa-
 tives abroad, deliberately used Mr Man-
 dela as a unifying force. He was turned
 into a symbol of resistance against the
 unjust white government and system of
 apartheid in South Africa. His support
 continued to grow.

By the time Mr Mandela walked out of
 the Victor Verster prison at Paarl, after
 years of imprisonment on Robben Island
 and in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, he
 was almost a god-like figure to many of
 his supporters.

Newsreaders differed their view-
 points. Pro-government propaganda pre-
 sented Mr Mandela, the one of the best-
 known people of our time, until the late
 eighties as a communist, traitor and sabo-
 teur whenever he was mentioned. His or-
 ganisation was banned, and so was any
 favourable publicity. The security legisla-
 tion that curbed freedom of expression
 curbing Press freedom.

Nevertheless, publicity built up
 Mandela's image into mythological pro-
 portions. The apartheid movement
 formed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston
 in London contributed much to this.

In earlier times, like Jomo Kenyatta,
 Mr Mandela and the African National
 Congress had emphasised peaceful protest
 for a long time. However, when they in-
 formed the Youth League in 1944, they in-
 tended to change the fruitlessness of past
 campaigning and were intent on revitalis-
 ing sagging morale and action.

UNBORN BABIES

Abortion challenge for churchman Boes

IN response to your article
 (Weekend Argus, February
 12/13), I agree wholeheartedly
 with the stand Cape Christian
 Action took for the right to life
 of the unborn.

How dare the Rev Allan Boes-
 sak, a clergyman, support abor-
 tion when he claims to believe
 the Bible. If he does believe it,
 why doesn't he obey the Lord
 God in holding human life sac-
 red?

The Bible says in Proverbs
 6:17 that the Lord God hates
 "hands that shed innocent
 blood", yet the Rev Allan Boe-
 sak supports the ANC, a group
 that wants to legalise abortion.

ANC, he is the leader
 ANC in the Western C
 "If you say, 'But
 nothing about this', do
 who weighs in the heart
 it? Does not He who
 your life know it? Why
 repay each person
 what he has done?"
 24:12.

The Rev Allan Boes-
 say that he did not
 abortion is murder.
 unborn baby's head
 beating at 18 days. The
 born's lifelong bra-
 starts at six weeks. The
 born baby is a unique
 from the moment of co

AFRICAN countries are awaiting South Africa's impending membership of their community with a mixture of hope and fear.

Some, realising that they must achieve some kind of unity if they are to compete in a world increasingly dominated by trade blocs, see South Africa as a touchstone for this unity.

But others fear domination by a South Africa whose economic power dwarfs all others on the continent.

Recent attacks on their own government by Zambian manufacturers seeking protection from "unfair competition" from South Africa and Zimbabwe are indicative of the pressure governments in the region will face once South Africa joins the community of African nations.

Plans for a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, which would involve the joining of 20 countries with a combined population of more than 240 million, were approved at a meeting last November of members of the Preferential Trade Area, which represents 20 countries in East and Southern Africa. Comesa is due to be operational by the year 2000.

At a recent conference in Namibia, Professor Bade Onimonde of Nigeria argued that the integration of South Africa into the region could spread technology, increase Africa's manufacturing capacity, provide skills and encourage entrepreneurship.

But the fear of domination by South Africa is strong in the region, where it is acknowledged that South Africa's vast technological superiority will give it a competitive advantage in exports.

Nairobi Seminar

At a recent seminar in Nairobi the Deputy Director-General of the South African Chamber of Business, Mr RF Haywood, said Africa had to share resources.

"As has been spelt out loud and clear by many leaders ... Africa has to provide a far more united front in order to become a more powerful international competitor," he said.

But even as regional economic barriers are being dismantled in both Europe — the traditional market for African products because of colonial links — and the Americas, African countries have resisted economic co-operation.

The SADC was founded in Lusaka in 1980 with the aims of reducing the region's dependence on apartheid South Africa and boosting intra-regional commerce and investment. However, the founding countries — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — have all had problems implementing both aims. Their economies have been hit by population growth, poor export earnings, low foreign and domestic investments, drought and, in some cases, civil war.

By 1990, the SADC claimed that half of all its members' trade went through SADC rather than

Sowetan 25/2/94
As South Africa moves towards democracy, her Southern African neighbours are watching apprehensively, fearful of economic dominance of the region. **Joe**

Latakomo reports for the *Sowetan Africa News Service*: ① ~~25/2/94~~



Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

South African ports. Telecommunications, power and transport links had been improved.

But the costs have been substantial, and the benefits few. In reality, countries like Botswana had increased their ties with South Africa. And, largely as a result of civil wars in Mozambique and Angola, 80 percent of the region's trade traffic passed through South African ports by the mid-1980s. Roughly three fifths of Zimbabwe's traffic was going through South Africa, and 90 percent of Malawi's traffic was routed through Durban.

The former executive director of the SADC, Mr Simba Makoni, points out that the organisation was not formed solely to reduce dependence on South Africa. Rather, its formation was based on the inequity of the relationship between countries of the region and their southern neighbour.

"We also record that past dependence of our region on South Africa is not the result of the

“If we do not act together within our region we shall continue to be the traditional producers of raw materials whose value on the international market will continue to decline”

normal flow of market forces, but a deliberate political policy going back to Cecil Rhodes," he says. "What we want is to establish a state of mutually beneficial interdependence."

South Africa's acceptance into the African community could well mean that her relatively large and sophisticated economy would dominate new investment and growth throughout the whole region, pushing SADC into a peripheral role. The SADC has admitted that South Africa is winning the battle to secure markets and trading links in the region.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, as chairman of the PTA, has warned: "If we do not act together within our region we shall continue to be the traditional producers of raw materials whose value on the international market will continue to decline."

But observers like Dr Erich Leistner, former director of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, have warned against South Africa rushing into membership of either the PTA or the SADC as, in his view, it could carry high risks with little benefit.

While the 12-nation European Community trading bloc is a reality, and free trade agreements have been sealed in the Americas and the Pacific Rim, in Africa the abolition of tariffs might only be achieved in the next century because member states are afraid of losing critical customs revenue.

Economic realities may well dictate that countries in the region come to terms with South Africa's dominance. But it will nevertheless remain a bitter political pill for many to swallow.

Taking sides in Africa's deadly Aids war

wm4-10/3/94



①

Catholics in Ivory Coast are divided over the use of condoms. Henri Tincq reports

De Monde

IVORY Coast is one of the five African countries that have been hardest hit by the Aids epidemic: 640,000 out of its population of 12 million were HIV-infected in 1993, and that figure is set to rise to one million by the year 2000; 15 per cent of people over 15 are already affected.

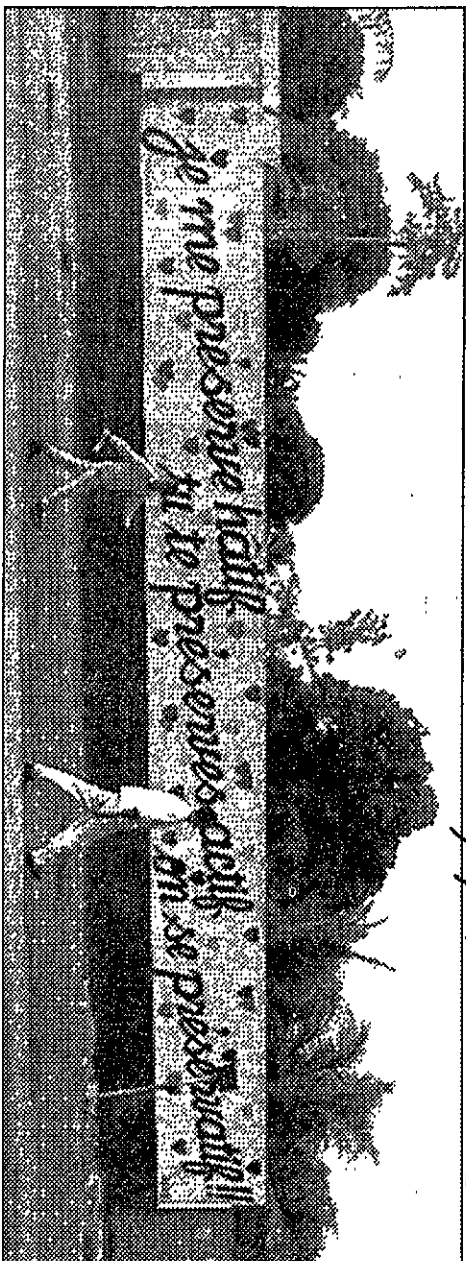
The first two Aids cases in Ivory Coast were recorded only in 1985; today 50 per cent of hospital beds are occupied by Aids sufferers. When symptoms appear, victims are rushed to one of the big hospitals in Abidjan, Treichville, Cocody or Yopougon.

But sufferers are soon sent home to make way for the next batch of patients. "Try visiting the Aids wing in Treichville," says Father Louis Alibé, a French priest. "Two days later, you'll see a different set of faces."

Young people have been the hardest hit. Hundreds of children hang around at night under the two bridges of Abidjan's cliff road, where drugs and sexual favours are haggled over. On the Cocody University campus, young male students boast of having nine or ten partners at the same time.

The government points to a wide range of possible reasons for this disastrous state of affairs: fate, the worsening economic situation after the sharp fall in coffee and cacao prices, the collapse of the infrastructure and public utilities, immigration from neighbouring countries like Burkina Faso.

The National Committee to Fight Aids has stepped up its information and prevention campaign in schools



Getting the message across: Anti-Aids publicity in Abidjan

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANCIS CHAVERON/RAPHO

and on radio and television. The local brand of condom, Prudence, is cheap (the equivalent of 12p) and widely available.

The real problem lies elsewhere: ingrained, rigid attitudes are common; sexual relations take place at an early age; people have many partners; men expect to be obeyed, forcing their wife (or wives) to have sex even when they (the men) are infected; they regard sex without a condom as vile.

Abortions are still carried out secretly. The luckier patients are treated in local infirmaries or hospitals, but then only at special times of day and by young interns in need of a bit of extra cash. The consequences of bungled operations can be seen every morning in the pages of *Fraternité-Matin*, Abidjan's main paper — the death notices of teenage girls or young women who have died "after a brief illness", as the accepted euphemism has it.

The efforts of the Christian and Islamic churches to make Ivorians more "responsible" in their sexual behaviour are widely recognised. Parishes, Christian schools, boy scout groups, Catholic and Muslim student

associations, and mosques have all become centres of communication and prevention.

Information and assistance centres have even been opened by communities of nuns in Alépé and Gouty, by a Protestant hospital in Dabou, and by a Baptist congregation in Ferkessé-dougou, in the north of the country.

The main message put across by the various churches is the need for high moral standards and absolute faithfulness between partners. Preists often mention Aids quite openly in their Sunday sermons. "First I ask them not to have sex before marriage — 80 per cent of young offenders in prison were raised by single mothers," says one priest. "Then I advise them to have only one partner. In the last resort, if they feel they can't refrain from sex or be faithful, I tell them to use Prudence condoms."

But the religious communities have strong reservations about prevention campaigns that advocate the use of condoms. Dr Emmanuel Gnaoré, head of the National Committee to Fight Aids, says: "It's the job of the churches to urge a return to certain moral values. And it's a job they do

well. But they can't at the same time ban condoms. There's no incitement to depravity involved. All we're saying is that a barrier must be used to prevent transmission, and for the moment the only barrier is the condom."

It is the Catholic church that has the greatest misgivings about such arguments. Bishops and representatives of Caritas, the Ivory Coast health authorities and various NGOs met at a seminar in Yopougon in May 1993 aimed at "mobilising the church in the fight against Aids".

In his opening address Monsignor Agré, Catholic bishop of Yamoussoukro, stressed that every possible channel — verbal, written and audio-visual — should be used to put across precise information and make young people take responsibility for themselves.

He went on: "Claims that young people are so weak and depraved they reflect self-discipline have often come from adults who are immersed in the permissive society, and who project on to them and want to 'protect' them by offering, through aggressive advertising, contraceptive methods that often

offend their young sensibilities and local culture."

This marked the beginning of a campaign by the anti-condom brigade, which argued that accidents often happen with condoms, that they do not guarantee 100-per-cent protection against infection by HIV, that they encourage promiscuity, and that the rich countries, while casting themselves in the role of saviours, are interested only in opening up new markets for pharmaceuticals.

But such arguments are not approved by everyone in the Catholic church. An Italian priest has organised Aids-prevention teams of young laypeople and nurses in Port-Bouet, a working-class district near Abidjan airport. He is not afraid to advocate the use of condoms: "One philosophy is to stick to principles, and the other is to look the facts in the face. When I see all these young people constantly infecting themselves, I say to myself there's no other way of fighting the disease."

Professor Klemens Ochel and the Medical Institute of Würzburg in Germany have just carried out a very extensive study of Aids in Ivory Coast. Their report strongly criticises the Catholic church's attitude, which it sees as too non-committal.

It claims that the church encourages an atmosphere of "dissimulation" and "stigmatisation" where Aids is concerned, gives priority to the "charitable assistance of the sick and the dying", is "prejudiced against condoms", and forces priests and nuns who are actually fighting Aids on the ground to do so "clandestinely".

But can the Catholic church change its spots? The first synod of African bishops is due to be held in Rome in a few weeks' time. The bulky preparatory document that has been drawn up for the meeting devotes precisely one line to the disease that is cutting cruel swathes through the population of Africa.

Initiative forged on regional trade unity

①
5/4/3/94 (27/11)

By ARI JACOBSON

THE southern African region moved a step closer towards a common market yesterday with academics and economic representatives at a regional conference voting unanimously to form a task force to work on unifying the area.

The conference being held at UCT's Graduate School of Business' Breakwater Lodge, has brought together 15 economic representatives from the Southern and East African region aimed at developing a strategy towards effective regional integration and trade support.

Previous attempts at regional co-operation did exactly the opposite with economic trade in the region, having shown a

marked decline. The move towards co-operation had come via the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) — both of which excluded SA.

The one success story, the SA Customs Union (SACU), included SA and the neighbouring areas of Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

The delegates decided that co-chairman of the conference and executive director of the Africa Institute for Policy Analysis and Economic Integration (AIPA), Professor Bax Novete, and University of Natal's Economic Research Unit Professor Gavin Maasdorp, would select this task force.

The task force, in turn, would select work committees which would tackle is-

ues ranging from the feasibility of regional integration and co-operation, to the rationalisation of the current three Southern African trade unions and the possibility of a monetary union.

The selected task force would meet in six months time in Durban, to report on the findings.

Nomvete added that "Gavin Maasdorp and I will be consulting with government, business and trade unions in the various countries, in the near future, to canvas views on regional issues".

Mozambique's representative, Ruy Baltazar of Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University, pointed out the importance of internal acceptance of co-operation saying that in Mozambique "trade between provinces has also been restricted".

Africa ravaged by civil wars and famine

ARG 9/3/94

□ Report slams luke-warm response by world

LONDON. — Africa is plagued by civil wars and famine but the world's response all too often "has been partial, self-interested and brief", according to a study.

The report by the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, an independent think-tank, said recent foreign interventions in Africa had been limited — and failed to halt fighting, except in Liberia.

"The international community has played a relatively insignificant role given the scale of the African crises," said Stephen Riley, an African expert at England's Staffordshire University, who wrote the report.

"In Burundi, an external military force arrived in December 1993, very belatedly, and well after the horrors of the conflict unleashed by the murder of the newly elected president in October," Mr Riley wrote.

Call to probe Burundi massacre

LONDON. — Amnesty International urged Burundi to set up an independent inquiry into a mass killing and called for urgent steps to prevent a recurrence.

The London-based human rights organisation said the Burundi government and security force commanders should "ensure that the armed forces are prevented from carrying out reprisal attacks on civilians".

About 200 people were shot and stabbed to death in the Burundi capital, Bujumbura, on Sunday and Monday and some residents

Savimbi 'ready for ceasefire'

PARIS. — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi made a plea for peace "after 30 years of war" in a leading French newspaper.

"I am aware that continuing this war while negotiating peace is just nonsense," he said at his headquarters in Huambo.

He told Caroline Dumay of Figaro: "We know the harm being done to Angola. Thirty years of fighting is too much. We must prevent further bloodshed."

"Our country has never been so near to peace as at this moment. We have almost got there. I am ready to declare an immediate ceasefire." — The Argus Foreign Service.

"In Angola, the UN operation and establishing an uneasy peace continues to be hard-pressed. It finds it difficult to continue monitoring," he wrote. "but at a considerable cost in terms of lives lost and military expenditure," it said.

In Somalia, US intervention had been "costly but counterproductive" and the UN force "has gradually lost effective control of Mogadishu and Somali territory it controlled last year," the study said.

Only in Liberia has the Nigeria-led West Africa intervention succeeded in halting the civil war

In the 1980s, Mr Riley said, many African observers believed that the spread of democracy and the liberalisation of economies "would put right many of Africa's problems".

But many authoritarian leaders remained in power.

Mr Riley's 28-page study said war was a more important factor in causing African famines than drought, economic hardship or government policies.

In Angola and southern Sudan "civil wars continue unabated, while famine threatens to engulf their populations," Mr Riley said.

Between 1982 and 1992, about two-million people died in the Horn of Africa, primarily because of war and famine, "and more famine threatens," he said.

"There are two culprits: the national governments which seek to avoid being toppled and act to defend themselves, as in Liberia, and the rebel or secessionist groups which can simply destroy, as in Mozambique," he said in the report. — Sapa-AP.

blamed the army, dominated by the minority Tutsi tribe.

Aid workers said most of the victims were members of the majority Hutu tribe.

The army denies being involved, but Amnesty said the killings "appear to be a show of strength by the army following the refusal by some Hutu civilians ... to be disarmed by policemen".

Earlier, several policemen had been killed in a shootout with civilians, Amnesty said. — Sapa-Reuters.

Regional trade body dissolved

OUAGADOUGOU

Seven West African countries, all former French colonies, agreed yesterday to dissolve a moribund and debt-ridden regional economic organisation.

The five presidents and two prime ministers said in a statement they had "agreed the principle of the dissolution of the Economic Community of West Africa".

The CEAO, founded in 1974, grouped Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal.

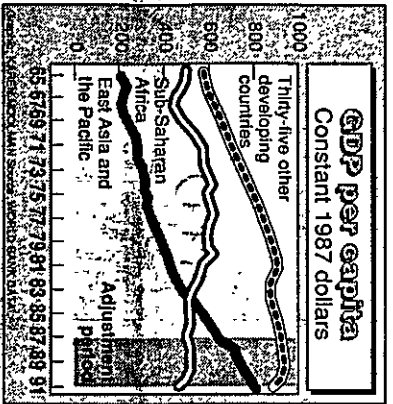
The organisation's 460 staff are owed up to 15 months salary.

Africa's policies drive it deeper into poverty

Review 17/3/94

MICHAEL HOLMAN

UNLESS sub-Saharan Africa's "poor" economic policies improve, it will be 40 years before the region returns to its mid-1970s per capita income, warns a World Bank report. Even Ghana, rated the best of Africa's reforming countries with a real growth of about 5% a year, is still among the world's poorest countries. "At this growth rate, the average Ghanaian will not cross the poverty line for another 50 years," says the report.



The report is the most sombre in a series that goes back to the early stages of Africa's economic crisis. Past studies have combined tough appraisals with upbeat expectations of reform. The latest study warns that success will not come easy, but cautions against "undue pessimism" pointing to the fact that Asian countries which had almost no growth between 1930 and 1960, now enjoy "stunning" growth.

Structural adjustment is essential but not sufficient if sub-Saharan Africa is to achieve sustained growth, says the bank.

Of the 29 countries studied, the six with the most improved macroeconomic policies between 1981-86 and 1987-91 enjoyed the strongest resurgence in economic performance, with an average annual GDP growth

of 2%.

By contrast, says the bank, countries that did not improve their policies saw their GDP growth fall to -2% a year, in all likelihood increasing the number of poor.

Although the outcomes are "encouraging" they are not as positive as they might be. Growth rates among the best African performers are still too low to reduce poverty in the next two or three decades.

The report examines the relationship between economic policy and growth in sub-Saharan Africa by comparing the performances of 29 countries during two periods: 1981-

86, when the region was in economic crisis but few countries were implementing economic reforms, and in 1987-91, when most governments had adopted World Bank-supported structural adjustment programmes. The six leading reformers reduced budget deficits, curbed inflation and introduced competitive exchange rates, tariff reforms and agricultural incentives.

Countries that liberalised their pricing and marketing of agriculture saw a resurgence in domestic production of food and export crops.

The study also shows that it is not true that devaluation always results in higher inflation rates, provided there are complementing policies of wage, fiscal and monetary restraint. Such policies have "reaped the benefits in terms of competitiveness on the world market".

Export volumes increased significantly, despite declining terms of trade, if exchange rate, agricultural pricing and marketing liberalisation policies were implemented. Comparing Africa with other de-

veloping regions, the bank says: "It is worrisome that even the best performers in Africa do not come close to matching the good macroeconomic policies typified by Chile, Malaysia, Mexico and Thailand, where inflation is close to 10% a year, but get balances range from deficits of 2% of GDP to small surpluses and currencies are fully convertible...."

African governments are criticised for slow progress in privatisations in Nigeria between 1986 and 1992 was less than 1% of that in Argentina, Malaysia or Mexico, even after adjusting for Nigeria's smaller GDP," the bank says.

Africa's financial sector "is still heavily burdened" by public sector demands for credits. Central government (excluding public enterprises) absorb more than 30% of domestic credit.

"There is substantially more room for improving policies," said bank vice-president for Africa Kim Jaycox. "Macroeconomic policies deteriorated in a third of the countries, and no country has achieved a first-rate macroeconomic policy stance — low inflation, very low budget deficit and a competitive exchange rate." Africa performs particularly

poorly in comparison with other developing countries. In 1965, Indonesia's GDP per capita was lower than Nigeria's. Today, it is three times higher. Thailand's income per head in 1965 was lower than Ghana's, now it is one of the fastest growing economies in the world.

Africa's share of developing-country exports of food and agricultural products is declining. It halved between 1970 and 1990 (from 17% to 8%) with Asia increasing its market share. The high rate of population growth — more than 3% a year — strains the limited resources.

Adjustment programmes can establish a framework for sound investment and efficient resource use, but they are no substitute for long-term development efforts to build the capabilities of Africa's people by putting adequate resources into education and strengthening weak management capacity. "Emphasis on universal primary education is the key to achieving rapid growth in the best performing Asian economies," says the bank.

It says reducing Africa's external debt and maintaining aid flows "is essential, but debt relief and aid only make sense if sound economic reform programmes are in place". — Financial Times.

LETTERS



Pluralism call^① from business to African govts

CTZ1/3/94

ARUSHA. — African business leaders yesterday urged governments to cast off the shackles of state control and embrace sweeping reforms to spur growth.

"Pluralism and competition, in both the economic and political spheres, hold the key to a free and prosperous future," said Babacar Ndiaye, president of the African Development Bank (ADB), said at a meeting of 300 business leaders in Arusha, Tanzania.

"Adjustment can be a difficult and painful process and the benefits not immediately apparent, making it politically difficult for governments to stay the course of reforms. But reforms are the only way forward."

Ndiaye, founder of the African Business Round Table (ABR), said 35 African states had implemented economic reforms which encouraged private investment, achieved sound macroeconomic management and liberalised their economies in the last decade.

Twenty others held pluralist polls since 1989.

Ndiaye said countries fully committed to economic reform such as Mauritius, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and even Mozambique — one of the world's poorest states — had realised impressive rates of growth in the last few years.

Additional resources

The ADB estimates that to achieve an annual rate of real economic growth of 4% to 5%, Africa needs some \$60bn a year in additional resources throughout the 1990s.

The ABR said a full dialogue between governments and the private sector was required and authorities should nurture business with consistent and fair rules applied equally to all.

ABR vice chairman James Onobiono said investors chose lower returns in developed states instead of higher and faster returns in Africa because its business environment was unpredictable.

"Compared to Asia, Europe and North America, the business environment in Africa is made plainly hostile and precarious by public bureaucrats with ill-conceived measures and regulations or an absence of coherent and pragmatic economic measures and rules," he said at the close of the four-day ABR annual meeting.

He said the discreet but effective hand of policy makers was barely noticed in developed economies but the heavy and arbitrary grip of bureaucrats was present everywhere in Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

Sub-Saharan water 'deplorable'

GENEVA — Drinking water and sanitation in sub-Saharan Africa are the "most deplorable" on earth.

More than half the 500 million people who live in the region lack safe drinking water, and 344 million live without adequate sewer systems, a World Health Organisation statement said Monday.

"In some of the worst drought-affected countries, renewable fresh water per person has dropped by more than 65% over the past 40 years," it said.

The UN agency released the statement to coincide with an international conference on drink-

ing water under way in the Netherlands and World Water Day yesterday.

The UN Development Programme said 80% of common diseases in the Third World were caused by dirty water or lack of sanitation. Such diseases killed 25 000 people a day.

In another environmental development, the UN convention on climate change went into effect on Monday giving industrialised countries, the major emitters of greenhouse gases, until September 21 to submit plans to reduce levels of carbon dioxide and other gases. — Sapa-AP

OCT 23/3/94

'Coup in Burundi, president flees'

① ARG 24/3/94

DAR ES SALAAM. — Tanzania radio quoted unconfirmed reports today as saying the government of Burundi had been overthrown and the whereabouts of the president were unclear.

The radio quoted reports from the Burundian capital of Bujumbura and Tanzanian border town of Kigoma as saying 5 000 soldiers had overrun the capital, killing about 2 000 people.

"Unconfirmed reports say the Burundi government has been toppled," the radio said. "The reports say thousands of people

have fled to Zaire and a number of ministers have been killed."

The whereabouts of President Cyprien Ntaryamira was unclear but reports said he had fled to Muscat in the presidential plane. There was no immediate independent confirmation of the reports.

Western diplomats in the Burundian capital denied the reports.

They said the reports appeared to be grossly exaggerated because the president and prime minister were still sched-

uled to receive foreign visitors in Bujumbura today.

"To the best of my knowledge the government is still in place and the president and prime minister are still in town," said one of the diplomats. "The situation is bad but not that bad."

He said many troops were on the streets throughout Bujumbura today after overnight clashes between members of the Hutu majority and units of the minority Tutsi-dominated army. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See page 3

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Ethiopians have known hunger and hardship and for them there will be much more suffering because of the continuous drought*

Wealth of courage amid grim poverty

Sowetan

28/3/94

Story and pictures by Hadley and Lynette Towel

ON A STREET CORNER sits a solitary figure, his skeletal frame bearing grim witness to the recent dark days of famine.

On a litter-strewn sidewalk, two men crouch alongside a burst waterpipe to wash their meagre belongings, seemingly oblivious to the slimy buildup of sewage and human excrement barely inches away.

Through the open window of a taxi, a beggar, stricken with leprosy, thrusts his ravaged hands forward in a desperate appeal for alms.

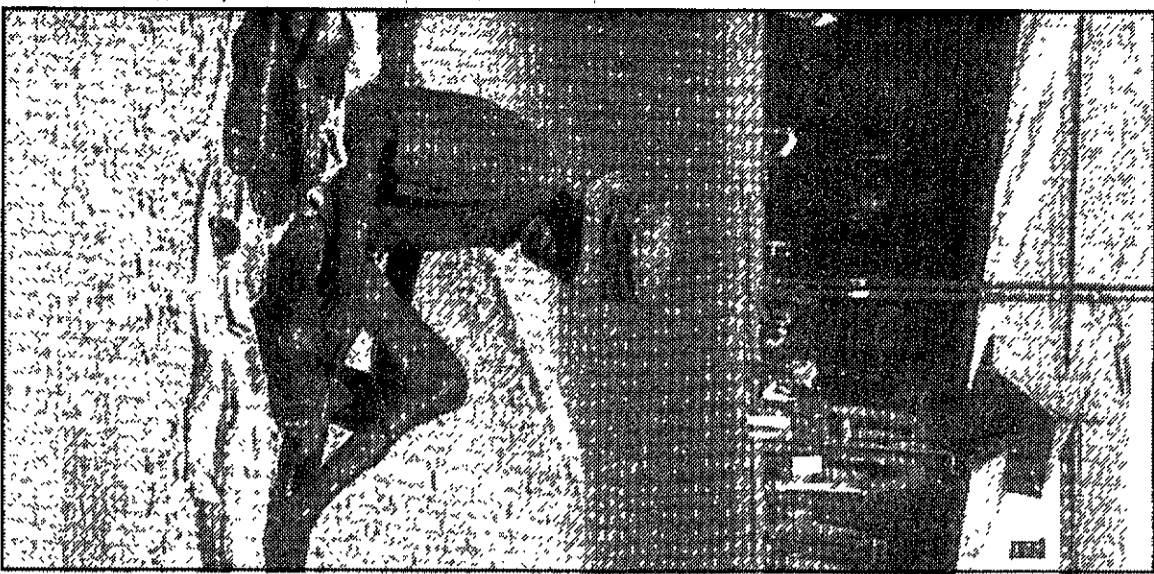
"Money, please, mister, money please..." comes the despairing plea from little children who have unwittingly joined the relentless struggle for survival.

Constantly in view, on street corners, near government buildings, uniformed men wielding AK-47 rifles and handgrenades provide protection for the state.

This is a glimpse of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, where the hearts of some five million people beat ... a beautiful people who have been immobilised in the grip of poverty. And yet, remarkably, these same people, so impoverished in the physical aspects of life, portray an inner strength and wealth of courage in the midst of their suffering. And for the people of Ethiopia, there has been, and will be, much suffering.

The relief and Rehabilitation Communion (RRC) has predicted that nearly 4.5 million Ethiopians, out of a population of 52 million, will suffer from food shortage during 1994, as a result of drought.

Politically and economically, the country has been subjected to much hardship over the past two decades. In 1974,



A beggar stricken with leprosy begs for money through the window of a taxi.

RELENTLESS STRUGGLE Ethiopians

immobilised in a desperate fight simply to survive:

Emperor Haile Selassie's government was overthrown by the military. After a series of further coups, military rule culminated in 1984 in a single-party Marxist-Leninist system, under a new president, General Haile Mariam Mengistu. In 1991, Mengistu's military government was defeated, and a 87-member Transitional Council of Representatives was installed, comprising various political groups but dominated by the Ethiopian Democratic Front, led by interim President, Meles Zenawi. Free multiparty elections have been postponed to 1994.

Although the interim government espouses freedom of the Press, the *Addis Tribune* reported on February 18 1994 that 18 journalists were imprisoned in jails around Addis Ababa ... seven more than the previous week.

In Ethiopia, it is now 1986. This is because, unlike South Africa, Ethiopia uses the Julian calendar, which is seven years and eight months behind the European (Gregorian) calendar. New Year falls on September 11, and Christmas on January 7.

The hours of the day are also determined in a unique way, starting at one in the morning instead of 7am, and ending at 12 o'clock instead of 6pm.



The face of a pretty girl in Addis Ababa.



For this little boy home is just next to the street.

Ugandans cast their vote for a new constitution

B/Day 29/3/94

KAMPALA — Ugandans cast ballots yesterday in their first election in 14 years, hoping to have a say in the drafting of the country's new constitution.

The business centres of the Ugandan capital, Kampala, were largely deserted as people stayed in the suburbs to vote at their local polling stations yesterday, which had been declared a public holiday.

A high turnout of about 70% was expected among the East African nation's 7-million voters, election officials said.

From more than 1 100 candidates, voters were electing a constituent assembly of some 200 members to approve a constitution. Among the important issues to be debated by the assembly are whether the country should have a multiparty system and how much power Uganda's four former kingdoms should have.

After a constitution is approved, Ugandans will be able to vote for a parliament and president later this year.

Some people were confused about the reason for the balloting, did not seem to understand the concept of a constitution or thought that they were voting for the presidency.

"It's so interesting. I really do not know why I am voting," said 19-year-old John Mubiru.

"Candidates have been dishing out gifts like this cap I am putting on." He wore a hat that said "Vote Ken Loukymu", a candidate for an assembly seat representing a southern part of the capital.

Others were clear about their goal — in some quarters to assure a constitution with

powers for the individual kingdoms.

"I want to put my vote in the box for my candidate who will force the government to accept federalism," 70-year-old Abbas Musaka said at a suburban polling station. "It's the only system I want."

Before British colonialism began a century ago, Uganda was split into four kingdoms, where monarchs ruled with supreme power over law, taxation and life and death issues of their tribes.

Before independence in 1962 Uganda negotiated a constitution in which the kingdoms became semi-autonomous.

The rival kingdoms frequently clashed with one another and the central government until their powers were abolished and a stronger central authority was set up in the current constitution, approved in 1987.

President Yoweri Museveni has said that he thinks the country is not ready for a multiparty system that would probably be based on religious and tribal differences among the people.

When he took power in 1986, Museveni suspended activities by political parties. Two years later he appointed a commission to gather opinions on what a new constitution should say.

The last election was a general election in 1980 in which Milton Obote was voted in as president to replace ousted dictator Idi Amin. Obote was overthrown in 1985 in a military coup.

Museveni, had who waged a five-year bush war against Obote, overthrew the generals the following year. — Sapa-AP.

2 African presidents murdered

UNITED NATIONS. — The presidents of both Rwanda and Burundi were killed when their plane was fired on as it was landing at Kigali, Rwanda, a senior UN official said yesterday, quoting Rwanda's UN envoy and an independent UN source.

The plane burst into flames. 5/7/94 ①

Under-Secretary-General Mr. Chinmaya Gharekhan said Rwanda's UN ambassador told members of the Security Council that "it was not an accident. It was an assassination. There was rocket fire at the plane. The plane was brought down as it was landing and the presidents were killed."

Gharekhan also said he had been informed of the death of Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi President Cyprien Ntaryamira by the UN special representative in Rwanda, although he had not spoken of an assassination.

Radio-Télévision Libre de Mille Collines (RTL) earlier said unidentified gunmen shot at the plane shortly after it landed there. It was carrying the two presidents back from a summit in Tanzania.

Residents in the centre of the capital said they heard six loud explosions followed by sporadic shooting after dark and a small plane could be heard circling, apparently unable to land. — Sapa

(1) 7/4/94

Bloodletting, ethnic turmoil as Rwanda loses control after assassinations

EDMUND KWENA
Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Events in Rwanda are in danger of spinning out of control as the old enmity between Hutus and Tutsis explodes again into violence that is increasingly dragging in uninvolved outsiders.

As heavy fighting rocked the capital of Kigali for the second day yesterday, 19 Catholic priests and nuns were reported to have been abducted and killed by rampaging mobs. Earlier at least 10 Belgian paratroopers were killed.

There has been no news of the fate of three cabinet ministers reported kidnapped by the Hutu-dominated presidential guard. The death of acting Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was confirmed today by Rwanda's ambassador to Kenya, Cyprien Ntaryamira.

The ambassador said he was unable to reach Kigali by telephone as the lines appeared to have been cut. He understood, however, that a meeting was taking place between the leaders of the political parties and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) in a bid to end the fighting.

The RPF is made up mainly of old tribal animosity between the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi. About 600 of its fighters had been guarded by United Nations peacekeeping troops at a compound in Kigali under a UN-brokered peace accord.

They broke out after hearing of President Habyarimana's death and that of Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira when their jet aircraft was shot down on Wednesday.

After leaving the compound the RPF men fought with members of the Hutu-dominated presidential guard. At the same time, civilians were reported to be fighting each

other in the streets in a flare-up of old tribal animosity between the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi. Fires were reported to be burning in Kigali as soldiers and rebels battled each other around parliament, while other soldiers conducted house-to-house searches for RPF supporters and their Hutu sympathisers.

Refugee organisation officials in Nairobi predicted heavy casualties in Kigali if more RPF fighters made their way to the capital to help their outnumbered comrades.

Roger Winter, director of the United States Committee for Refugees,

told journalists the RPF's in northern Rwanda had a "substantial military capacity". There were fears that the fighting could spread throughout Rwanda.

Last December the RPF members accompanied their leaders from their headquarters in northern Rwanda to Kigali as part of a peace accord reached in Tanzania last year which sought to establish an all-party interim government.

It was in an effort to firm up this accord and parallel peace efforts in neighbouring Burundi that the two presidents had gone to Tanzania for

talks. The implementation of the accord had been delayed several times by President Habyarimana, raising tensions among the political players.

Latest reports from Burundi said President Ntaryamira's death had not led to any serious clashes so far.

In a failed coup attempt in Burundi last October the first democratically-elected president, Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu, was assassinated. About 100 000 people were killed in ethnic clashes in Burundi after he was killed.

Terror in Kigali as hospitals overflow

Mayhem and slaughter are again wracking the former German and Belgian colonies of Rwanda and Burundi, terrorised by years of fighting between the minority Tutsi and majority Hutu tribes.

NAIROBI — Gunfire and explosions echoed across Rwanda's capital Kigali again yesterday in a convulsion of violence led by rampaging soldiers and gunmen who reportedly killed the acting premier, 11 UN peacekeepers, about 20 priests and nuns, and dozens of aid workers.

Three Cabinet ministers and two human rights activists also were reported abducted during the bloodshed in Kigali, which erupted on Thursday several hours after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi died in a plane crash. The Rwandan government said the aircraft was shot down by unidentified attackers.

President Juvenal Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart, Cyprien Ntaryamira, were returning from talks in Dar es Salaam on ending decades of strife in their nations between the majority Hutu ethnic group and minority Tutsis. Both presidents were Hutu.

Witnesses reported hearing heavy-weapons fire moments before the plane crashed, the French embassy in Kigali said. UN officials said UN peacekeepers were prevented from going to the crash site to check

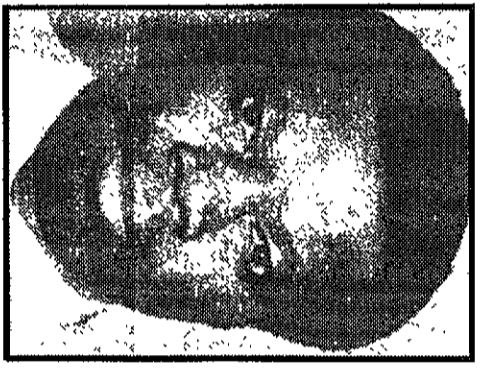
on the cause.

Communications with this beautiful African country were difficult and it remained unclear if any group was in control of Kigali. Much of the city was reported as being without electricity overnight.

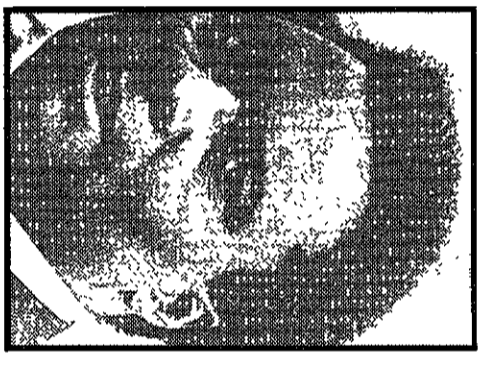
Many of the killings were blamed on the Hutu-dominated presidential guard, but armed bands of young men also were seen roaming the streets. In addition, UN sources said members of a former rebel movement that was mainly Tutsi broke out of a UN compound and reportedly were fighting presidential guards.

A European speaking by telephone yesterday said gunfire had raged nearby non-stop since dawn on Thursday. "It's out of the question to go into the streets, because there are too many armed gangs," he said.

Tracers lit up the sky overnight and heavy arms were being fired, he said, speaking on condition of anonymity. French Cooperation Minister Michel Roussein said in Paris that more than 50 Rwandans, including ministers, high-ranking civil servants and their families have taken refuge in the French embassy, where they are being protected, by



President Ntaryamira of Burundi



President Habyarimana of Rwanda

about 30 French soldiers.

The Paris office of the humanitarian group Doctors Without Borders said that its teams in Kigali reported that the city's hospitals and clinics were overflowing with wounded. Other teams reported ethnic fighting in southern Rwanda, the group said.

Acting Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was dragged from a UN compound and killed by presidential guards in front of UN volunteers on Thursday, UN sources said. She had escaped to the compound after soldiers disarmed her UN guards when she left home, the sources said.

Ten of the slain UN soldiers were Belgians guarding Ms

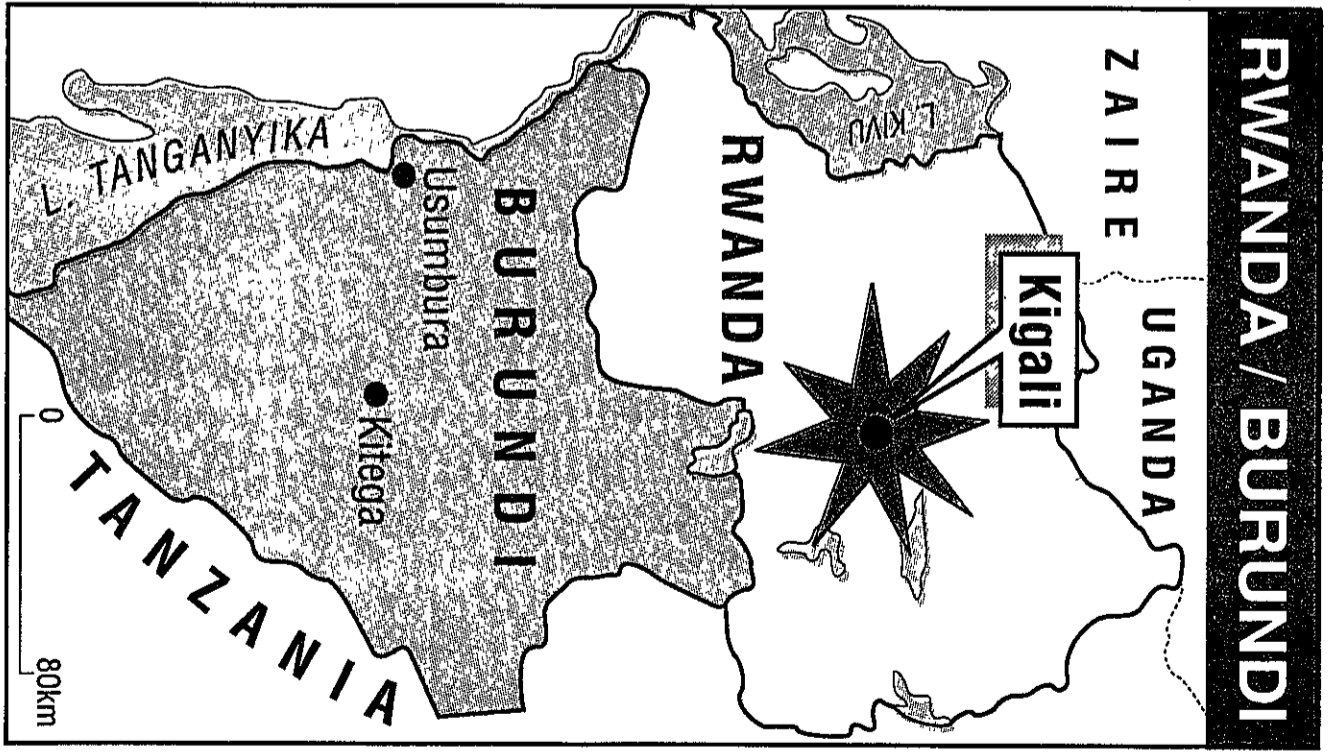
all of them African, said Jose M de Vera, a spokesman at Jesuit headquarters in Rome. Three Belgian Jesuits were spared, he said.

Sources from the UN Development Programme in New York said there were reports that two Cabinet ministers and the president of the Supreme Court had been killed. Radio France Internationale cited unidentified diplomats as saying that Labour and Social Affairs Minister Landonald Ndasungwa had been killed.

Human Rights Watch in Washington said rights activist Monique Mujawamalya had been taken by troops and expressed fears for her life. It said she had been threatened by security police previously because she exposed abuses.

Activist Charles Shanukiga was also abducted, London-based Amnesty International said. Rwanda has been torn by divisions among ruling Hutus over the peace accord that Mr Habyarimana signed in August calling for a new, more broadly-based government. Ms Uwilingiyimana was made acting prime minister after the peace accord.

A radio broadcast by the rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front, monitored yesterday by the British Broadcasting Corporation, said its forces would intervene in the killing of Rwandans did not stop. — Sapa-AP.



Priest tells of the slaughter of the innocents

BRUSSELS — A Belgian priest has described how eight Rwandan priests, nine young women on a spiritual retreat and another two Rwandans were slain by Rwandan troops at a Jesuit mission in Kigali.

Quoting survivors' eyewitness accounts, Catholic priest Fernand Butz said Rwandan soldiers had burst into the mission and herded all the Rwandans they could find into one room.

They locked all the foreigners in the mission's dining room some distance away.

Among the foreigners were three Belgian Jesuits, three Spaniards accompanying the young women during their Kigali trip, and an official of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

When they were let out hours later, they found the 19 bodies — the Rwandan priests and nuns plus the cook and a social worker who had been slaying temporarily at the mission, Father Butz said.

The toll could have been much higher. The Belgian religious-oriented Press Information Centre said the nuns and sisters of the neighbouring St Vincent mission were not disturbed.

Church officials in Kigali said another six priests and a nun had been killed at the town of Nyundo, in the northwest province of Gisenye, in a wave of violence that started on Wednesday.

The victims have included the presidents of Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana, and of Burundi Cyprien Ntaryamira, killed with another 10 people when their aircraft crashed near Kigali, reportedly shot down over a military camp.

The incident triggered anxiety in Rwanda. Among the victims were Rwandan Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, reportedly killed by ethnic Hutus of the Rwandan presidential guard.

Ten Belgian members of the 2 500-strong United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda, who had been guarding the prime minister, were executed. A Belgian aid organisation said many Rwandan employees of foreign aid workers had been slaughtered. — Sapa-AFP.

FLASHPOINT: Violence has swept Rwanda's capital Kigali following the deaths of presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi in a rocket attack on their aircraft.



KILLED
Juvenal Habyarimana



KILLED
Cyprien Ntaryamira

Premier dies in Rwanda riots

CS8/4/94 ①

KIGALI — Rwandan Prime Minister Ms Agathe Uwilingiyimana was among more than 20 people killed as troops, presidential guards and gendarmes rampaged through the capital yesterday, following the killing of the presidents of Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi.

Belgian BRTN radio said several ministers and top officials had been killed and the Tutsi-dominated army had been mutinied.

Gangs of youths bent on settling tribal scores joined the soldiers or roamed the streets of Kigali hacking or clubbing civilians to death with machetes, batons and knives or simply shooting them, diplomats or witnesses said.

Three government ministers — Information Minister Mr Faustin Rucogoza, Labour and Social Affairs Minister Mr Frederic Ndasigwa and Agriculture Minister Mr Landuard Ndamuramba — were taken hostage while three Belgian UN military observers and 17 Rwandan priests were killed by troops.

Observers missing

UN spokesman Mr Joe Sills said a number of other UN observers were missing.

Ms Uwilingiyimana was the most senior Rwandan government member confirmed killed in the fighting since the killing of President Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi President Cyprien Ntaryamira when a rocket hit their plane as it approached Kigali on Wednesday night.

Mr Ntaryamira's predecessor was murdered by the Tutsi in October.

A government statement said two Burundi ministers and five senior Rwandan officials had also died on the plane.

● There was a "very strange, dead quiet" over Burundi's capital, Bujumbura, and no one had reported for work as residents absorbed the news yesterday that their second president in 10 months had been killed. — Sapa-Reuters

Rwanda 'out
of control: ①
French plan
rescue mission

The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — French and Belgian paratroops are expected to drop over Kigali, Rwanda, to rescue 4 000 of their nationals.

French troops were placed on alert yesterday at their bases in the Central African Republic and Djibouti.

Troops cannot be airlifted as the international airfield at Kigali is regarded as militarily "unsafe".

Eleven Belgian soldiers were killed there yesterday and two are missing. Law and order has broken down completely as Hutus and Tutsis battle each other, even attacking the Belgian military base at Kigali.

The prime minister, a woman, and three of her ministers have been hacked to death.

Seventeen Jesuit missionaries are reported to have been slain, while Europeans remain but stay out of sight.

There are 3 500 Belgians and 600 French in Rwanda, mostly in Kigali, as well as about 400 foreign aid workers.

● See page 3

Rwandan PM killed as war grips capital

KIGALI — Soldiers killed Rwanda's woman prime minister and at least 11 Belgian United Nations peacekeepers as the country's capital plunged into civil war two days after a plane carrying the president was shot down by a rocket.

With the country in a power vacuum, the scream of mortar bombs and crackle of rifle fire could be heard today in parts of Kigali, including the rebel-held parliament building.

UN officials feared that tribal violence between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority would spread outside the capital, battered by its worst battles since the start of civil war four years ago.

President Juvenal Habyarimana, a Hutu who took power in 1973, and

□ Belgian peacekeepers 'executed'

Cyprien Ndayimirwa, president of Burundi, died on Wednesday night when an aircraft bringing them back from regional peace talks in Tanzania was hit by a rocket.

UN officials said casualties from fighting and a rampage by unruly government forces after the president's death were "surprisingly high". Deaths are due to be issued today.

A UN spokesman in Kigali said at least 11 Belgian peacekeepers were killed after being disarmed by presidential guards on their way to the airport to investigate the crash.

He said the bodies of 11 of 13 Belgian soldiers detained had been recovered with bullet wounds. "You

□ Casualties 'surprisingly high'

The UN Security Council denounced the violence and the attacks on the Belgian peacekeepers.

The council took no fresh decision on whether to leave UN troops in place. It asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to gather information as soon as possible and reported a threat issued on Tuesday that it would pull out UN troops unless peace agreements were implemented within six weeks.

United States president Bill Clinton said he was horrified that "elements" of the Rwandan security forces had murdered officials.

Commanders of the rebel Rwanda

Tutsi, the former feudal overlords, predates Rwandan and Burundi independence from Belgium in 1962.

Tens of thousands of Tutsi and Hutu have died in ethnic slaughter in both countries over the years. The death toll in Burundi was estimated at up to 50,000 since renegade troops killed its first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, last October.

A UN official said the prime minister, a Tutsi, was "evidently" murdered by members of the presidential guard. Her husband, two children and prime minister-designate Faustin Twagiramungu were said to be under UN protection.

Mrs Uwilingiyimana was appointed last July and was one of Africa's first woman prime ministers. — Saps-Reuter.

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Guards abduct Rwandan ministers, UN officials

KIGALI — Presidential guards abducted three Rwandan government ministers and three UN military observers in the Rwandan capital of Kigali, UN officials said yesterday.

They said the three ministers and their families and the UN observers were seized by elements of the presidential guard amid widespread insecurity since the killing of the Rwandan and Burundian presidents in a rocket attack on their plane.

"This is a very serious breach and the UN leadership is raising it at the highest level. Our military leadership (says) they are being held hostage," the UN mission in Rwanda said.

It is also reported from Bujumbura that the killing of the presidents of Burundi and Rwanda threatens to unleash a new tide of tribal slaughter in the two tiny neighbours, bedevilled for decades by ethnic savagery between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority in both states.

Diplomats said the deaths of Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira and Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana came at the worst possible time as both states were making renewed efforts with international help to stop the killings.

Bujumbura was quiet following the

deaths of the two presidents on the Rwandan presidential jet which officials said was hit by a rocket as it approached Kigali airport. The plane was returning the two leaders from a peace summit in Tanzania.

A week of clashes and massacres in northeastern suburbs of Bujumbura between the Tutsi-dominated army and mostly Hutu gunmen last month killed hundreds of people and drove tens of thousands from their homes.

Up to 50 000 Tutsis and Hutus have been killed in Burundi since renegade troops killed its first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, on October 21 last year in a failed coup.

The Hutu account for an estimated 85% of the estimated 5.6-million population. The Tutsi, feudal overlords before colonial days, make up less than 15%.

Neither has a defined territory and they speak the same language, but the Tutsi has control of the government and army.

Tribal hatred has exploded repeatedly since Burundi became independent from Belgium, with an estimated 100 000 people, mainly Hutu, killed in massacres in 1972. In August 1988 Hutu farmers along the border with Rwanda staged an uprising. About 5 000 people died. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Ceasefire in Rwanda today ^{07/4/94}

BRUSSELS. — The commander of the Belgian UN peacekeepers in Rwanda said yesterday that a ceasefire was being negotiated between the warring sides and ought to come into effect this morning.

In an interview with Belgian state radio Colonel Luc Marchal said: "A ceasefire is in negotiation and ought to come into effect at the latest by 6.30am tomorrow (this) morning."

He said fighting between government forces and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels continued yesterday afternoon.

He said meetings "on a political level" were still going on.

Two Belgian paratroop battalions were last night preparing to fly to Rwanda.

British special forces are also on standby.

Soldiers terrorised the capital, Kigali, for a second day yesterday in an orgy of bloodletting apparently tied to a decades-old ethnic conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi.

Rwanda's military command broadcast a warning that "angry soldiers"

were attacking people in "shameful criminal acts", and promised to arrest the renegades.

The United States and other Western countries also made contingency plans for evacuations.

Rebel leaders blamed the government for the violence and threatened to launch a military offensive.

The cold-blooded slaughter of the nuns and priests, all Africans, which followed the earlier murder of 10 disarmed Belgian UN soldiers, has caused outrage in Belgium and fears for the safety more than 1 500 Belgian and other foreign nationals in Kigali.

The UN men were reported shot down when they attempted to protect Rwanda's woman prime minister, Mrs Agathe Uwilingiyimana, as she was seized and murdered by soldiers of the Presidential Guard, along with her children.

A senior Red Cross official, speaking from Kigali, said last night that "thousands" of people had died in the fighting since Wednesday. — Own Correspondent. Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP

Convulsion of violence grips Kigali

MULINDI (Rwanda) — Soldiers terrorised the Rwandan capital of Kigali for a second day yesterday in an convulsion of bloodletting apparently tied to a decades-old ethnic conflict.

An International Committee of the Red Cross spokesman said its workers reported "hundreds and hundreds of dead". "The situation is very anarchic. There are injured everywhere in the streets."

Troops have killed the acting premier, about 20 priests and nuns and dozens of aid workers, according to reports, and have tortured and killed 10 and possibly 11 UN peacekeepers.

Rwanda's military command broadcast a warning on Rwanda Radio that "angry soldiers" were attacking people in "shameful criminal acts". It urged Rwandans to protect those at risk and promised to arrest the renegades.

Rebel leaders yesterday blamed the government for the violence.

"We must take military action given the fact that the crisis is deeping,"

Theogene Rudasingwa, secretary-general of the insurgent army, told reporters in rebel-held Mulindi, 10 km south of the Uganda border.

Witnesses said gunfire and explosions

UNABATED bloodletting by rampaging soldiers, gunmen and gangs rules the Rwandan capital Kigali, reports

PAULINE JELINEK. ①

could be heard across Kigali in what appears to be fighting between Rwandan troops and members of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, a former rebel group.

Rwanda's soldiers are mainly from the majority Hutu group, while the rebel movement is dominated by minority Tutsis. The two groups have been locked in ethnic conflict for decades, and Rwandan Hutus have been divided over a peace accord reached with the Tutsi rebels in August.

In New York, UN spokesman Fred Eckhard said a ceasefire agreement had been reached between the army and the rebel group, but the presidential guard did not go along. Much of the bloodshed was blamed on the presidential guard, whose 700 soldiers are dominated by Hutu hard-liners opposed to concessions to Tutsis.

Fighting erupted at dawn on Thursday several hours after Presidents Ju-

venal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprian Ntaryamira of Burundi died in a plane crash while returning from regional talks on ending the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. Both men were Hutus.

The Rwandan government announced that the plane was shot down by unidentified attackers, but UN officials were prevented from going to the crash site.

Belgium, which gave Rwanda its independence in 1961, put paratroopers on alert for a possible evacuation of Belgians and sent a plane to neighbouring Burundi to help with any rescue.

The US said it would close its embassy in Kigali, but Canada's government said it was too dangerous to move the 200 Canadians in Rwanda.

The Paris office of the humanitarian group Doctors Without Borders said its teams in Kigali reported hospitals and clinics overflowing with wounded. It said other teams reported ethnic fighting had broken out in southern Rwanda.

Communications were difficult because of jammed phone lines and much of Kigali was without electricity.

A spokeswoman for Doctors Without Borders, said "several dozen" of the group's local employees and other aid workers were slain by Rwandan sol-

diers, many in cold blood in front of other aid workers.

Acting Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was dragged from a UN compound and killed by presidential guards in front of UN volunteers on Thursday. The 10 Belgian peacekeepers guarding Uwilingiyimana were also slain. The UN soldiers were surrounded, disarmed, then tortured and killed, their commander, Belgian Colonel Luc Marchal, said. An 11th body was unidentified but could be a peacekeeper.

The UN soldiers were part of a 2,200-man peacekeeping force sent to administer the peace accord between Habyarimana's government and Tutsi rebels.

Rwandan soldiers also killed eight Roman Catholic priests and 11 nuns.

Sources at the UN Development Program in New York said there were reports that two Cabinet Ministers and the president of the Supreme Court had been killed. Radio France Internationale cited reports that Labor and Social Affairs Minister Landouald Ndasisingwa had been killed.

Diplomats said it was calm in Burundi's capital, Bujumbura, where the government proclaimed a three-day period of mourning. — Sapa-AP.

Violence ravages Rwanda, Burundi tense after premiers killed in crash

Presidents' peace effort is shot down

STIWA 10/14/94

THE powder-keg had long been primed and was begging for a spark to set it off. It came this week when Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana's executive jet crash-landed and burst into flames — probably shot down by a missile — at the international airport near his capital, Kigali.

Also killed were the president of neighbouring Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, the aircraft's three-member French crew and aides to both heads of state.

They had flown back from neighbouring Tanzania, where they talked optimistically about peace between warring factions in their tiny, former Belgian protectorates.

But news of the jet's crash plunged Kigali into a wave of bloodletting, looting and civil chaos that claimed the lives of scores of mainly Belgian United Nations peacekeepers, Catholic nuns and priests, aid workers and civilians caught in crossfire.

The acting prime minister, Miss Agathe Uwilingiyimana, a member of the Hutu tribe, was butchered after being dragged out of a UN compound where she had sought sanctuary.

Several other Hutu cabinet ministers — who, like the acting premier, were from opposition parties — are missing, feared dead.

And while Burundi, Rwanda's southern neighbor, remained uneasily calm, diplomats feared a new upsurge of violence there as well.

"We have our fingers crossed," said a Western envoy in Bujumbura, the Burundi capital. "But we could have another Kigali here."

Just who shot down the jet is unclear. Troops from a 2,500-strong UN contingent in Rwanda were prevented by the 700-man Presidential Guard from entering the airport, 15km from the capital, to investigate the cause of the crash.

By JOHN EDLIN
Special Correspondent

perplexing even to the local people.

The minority Tutsis, believed to be of Ethiopian or Somali origin, invaded the two territories around the 16th century and stamped a benign feudal rule over the indigenous Hutus.

For four centuries, Tutsis and Hutus lived together, inter-married and shared the same tongue, Kirundi, and culture.

The Germans colonised the two countries over a century ago, along with Tanganyika, before they

became Belgian protectorates. But when Brussels granted the countries independence in 1962, the tribal partnership broke up.

Hutus assumed total power in Rwanda as the 90 percent majority.

In Burundi, the Tutsi elite ruled as a 15 percent minority until last June, when a Hutu was elected president through democratic reforms urged by Western donors.

Tutsi repression in Burundi resulted in Hutu crackdowns in Rwanda over the years, and in both

CIVIL TURMOIL . . . members of the minority Tutsi tribe in Rwanda are in the firing line again as the country is plunged into chaos

countries, there were awesome massacres between the two groups.

Hundreds of thousands of people, mainly civilians, have been killed, maimed

or uprooted in these tribal conflicts.

The worst bloodshed was in Burundi, where Hutus were massacred in their thousands, villages

torched, and communities numbering 700,000 were forced into exile.

Many settled in Rwanda, where they sought revenge on the under-privileged

local Tutsis. It has happened time and again.

It is doubtful that Tutsis shot down the presidential jet this week. Their Patriotic Front has been under

UN surveillance in the country since an accord last autumn promised power-sharing with Hutu opponents of the late president.

More likely, it was the Presidential Guard, whose officers feared that, under power-sharing, they might lose the riches they've so long enjoyed as watchdogs for the head of state.

The big question is who they have in mind as their figurehead guardian angel, if they have one at all.

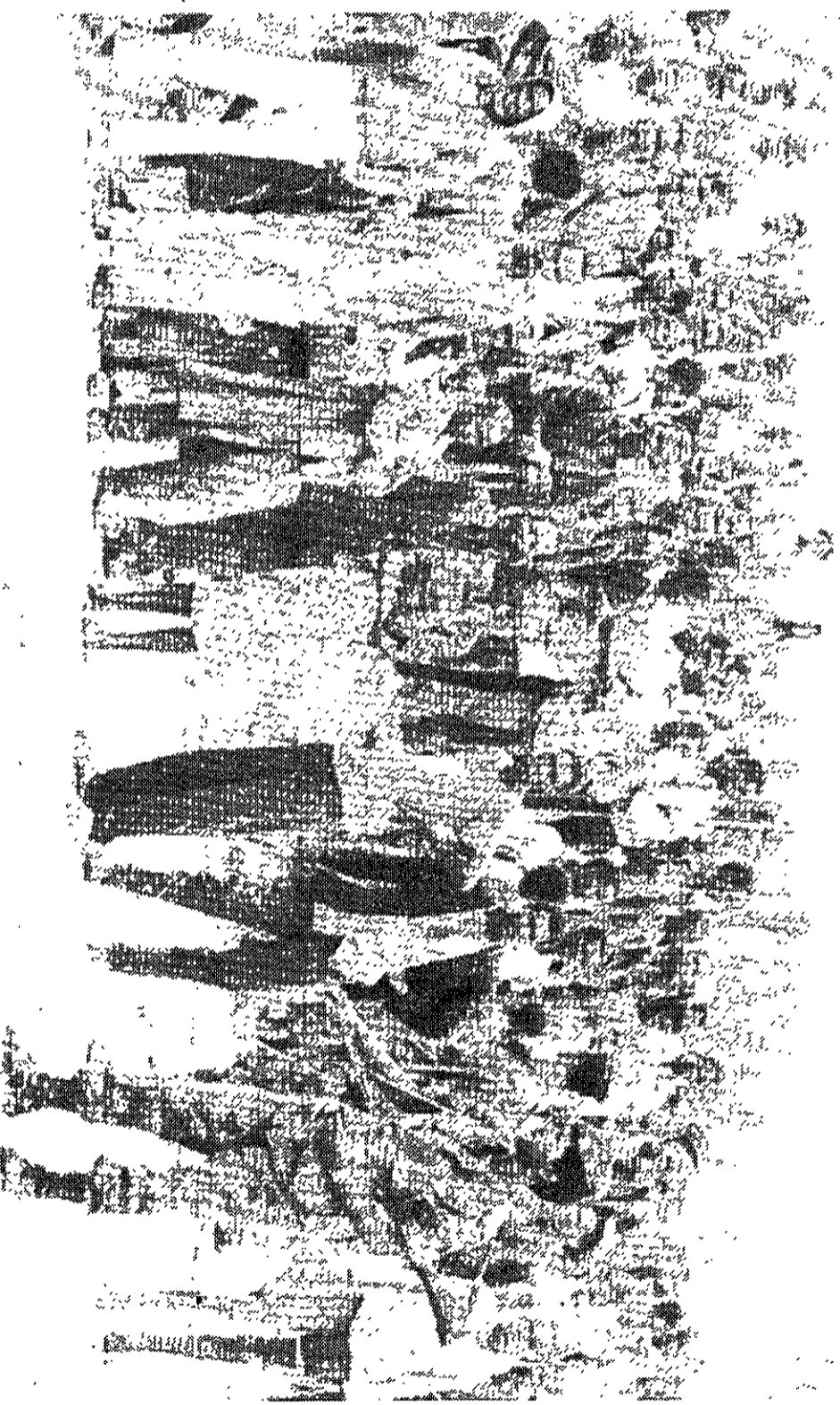
So, what next? Given the past, there is likely to be a violent reaction in Burundi, where the Tutsi-controlled army can take power any time it wants.

And in Rwanda, security forces named an interim government and reached a fragile ceasefire with rebels in a desperate attempt to restore order.

All the UN Security Council could do was condemn the slayings of its peacekeepers — at least 10 Belgians and an unknown number of Ghanaians and Bangladeshis — and urge the panicked authorities in Kigali to restore order.

"If the UN can't sort out a problem in such a small country, it really doesn't have much future as a global policeman," said an Asian UN agency official. "We've got UN corpses here, but no UN role."

In nearby Somalia, the world body has had mixed successes and failures. But Rwanda and Burundi have long been ethnic battlegrounds, whose roots are



JUVENAL HABYARIMANA

Rwanda's JUVENAL HABYARIMANA

RWANDAN President Juvenal Habyarimana, 57, was born to an aristocratic Hutu family in northern Rwanda, and studied medicine before joining his country's military officers' school in 1960.

He was a top student, graduating in 1961 and becoming army chief of staff in 1963. He entered the government in 1965 as minister of the national guard and police.

He became a confidant of President Gregoire Kayibanda, who named him major-general in January 1973. But in July that year, Mr Habyarimana ousted the president for failing to take adequate steps to end tribal and regional conflicts.

After taking power, he opened the door to multi-party politics and sought to end the country's isolation and improve ties with the West.

The supreme ruler in Rwanda for the last 17 years, Mr Habyarimana was re-elected in 1989 for a third five-year term as the only candidate.



CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA

Burundi's CYPRIEN NTARYAMIRA

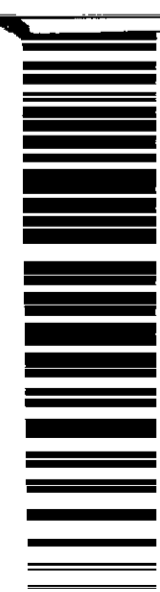
BURUNDI'S President Cyprien Ntaryamira, a 39-year-old Hutu, fled his country for Rwanda in 1972 to avoid massacres by the rival Tutsi tribe.

When he returned to Burundi in 1983, he became a senior official in the foreign ministry. He was also one of the founders of the Front for Democracy in Burundi, the party of President Melchior Ndadaye, the first Hutu to lead the nation.

Educated as an agricultural engineer, Mr Ntaryamira was minister of agriculture and ranching in Mr Ndadaye's government until last October's coup attempt that resulted in the president's assassination.

After Mr Ndadaye's assassination, about 100,000 people died in ethnic violence and one million fled to other nations.

In his inaugural speech as president on February 5 this year, Mr Ntaryamira set as priorities "the return of peace and security and the repatriation of refugees."



Thousands of Rwandans die

07/11/4/94 ①

KIGALI, Rwanda. — Fighting abated yesterday in the capital of Rwanda, but the streets were strewn with bodies, residents hid in fear and foreign troops scrambled to transport their nationals away from the carnage.

Thousands — perhaps tens of thousands — have died in the latest outbreak of slaughter between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in one of Africa's longest and bloodiest feuds.

The Hutu-dominated army and the mostly Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front reportedly agreed to a ceasefire yesterday, but its effectiveness was in doubt.

Kigali was gripped by savage chaos within hours after the

Mass graves as morgue overflows

presidents of Rwanda and neighboring Burundi, both Hutus, died in a plane crash on return from a peace meeting.

Residents were dragged from their homes and shot dead or hacked to pieces. The acting prime minister was slain as she sought refuge. Aid workers, priests and nuns were killed in the massacres.

Mr Patrick Gasser, deputy head

of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kigali, spoke of more than 1 000 bodies piled at the city's central hospital.

"The morgue is overflowing at the hospital," he said. "We've asked people to dig mass graves."

Mr Gasser, a Swiss national, said the death toll throughout the country could be as high as 20 000.

Mr Mark Billot, of the Belgian branch of the humanitarian organisation Doctors Without Borders, said 8 000 people had been killed in Kigali alone.

Foreigners generally have been spared the bloodshed.

Reports surfaced yesterday of a massacre at a mission of the Roman Catholic Franciscan order, but details were sketchy. — Sapa-AP

Slaughter continues in lawless Rwanda

Kigali — Lawlessness, looting and fighting were still the order of the day in Rwanda's capital today as Western nations raced to evacuate their nationals.

Drunken soldiers and gangs of panga-wielding youths shared the streets with piles of mutilated, rotting corpses after an orgy of tribal slaughter sparked by the killing last week of the president of this small Central African country.

Many victims were buried alive because there were not

enough doctors to check whether they were actually dead. Some were unconscious while others had their throats cut and could not speak.

Yesterday fires burned on the outskirts of devastated Kigali and hundreds looted aid warehouses. At a city hospital, doctors claimed, soldiers slaughtered at least 100 patients in their beds.

The army said rampaging troops from the majority Hutu tribe had been called back to barracks and it supported the

interim government's efforts to regain control. ①

"A small number of men in the army left their barracks and with anger, maybe seeking revenge, killed some personalities and people," said the interim chief of staff.

Red Cross workers believe tens of thousands of civilians may have been died since Wednesday, when President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a rocket attack on his plane.

His death re-ignited age-old strife between the Hutus and the minority Tutsi tribe.

Western nations stepped up efforts to repatriate their citizens. About 390 French men, women and children left by plane late yesterday.

About 150 Belgians and other foreign nationals said they were desperate to get out. ■ The Star Africa Service reports from Nairobi that a strong force of the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) was reported advancing on Kigali.

Radio Kigali reported yesterday that about 20,000 guerrillas of the Tutsi-dominated RPF were advancing to help their comrades against the Hutu-dominated Rwandan army. — Sapa-Reuter.



Armed to the teeth . . . a Rwandan Patriotic Front rebel holds a rocket launcher and rifle before an attack on government troops.

PICTURE: AP

► Westerners flee carnage — Page 4

Rwandans flee into nearby Zaire

Sowetan 12/14/94
■ **BLOODY REPRISALS** Over

KINSHASA — More than 1 000 Rwandans have crossed the border into neighbouring Zaire to escape bloody reprisals back home, an international aid agency reported yesterday.

The International Committee for the Red Cross said the flood of refugees, most of them from the minority Tutsi tribe, started on Thursday, the day after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in a rocket attack on their airplane.

The refugees are streaming into the far eastern Zairean town of

1 000 Tutsis cross border to Zaire: ①

Goma, where they are being met by aid organisations such as Medecins sans Frontieres, Oxfam and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

A spokesman for the ICRC said he was hearing confused reports of fighting just across the border from Zaire, but had no confirmation of what was happening.

The French, Belgian and British em-

bassies in Kinshasa were trying to organise the evacuation of two groups of Western nationals who fled into the Zairean lakeside towns of Goma and Bukavu.

They are due to be ferried by plane to the Burundi capital of Bujumbura, where they will join the main evacuation being organised by the Belgian government. — Sapa-Reuter.

Rwandan rebels and B/Day 12/4/94 army resume fighting

KIGALI — Dawn broke over the Rwandan capital yesterday and brought with it bursts of heavy machinegun fire echoing through streets soaked with the blood of rotting corpses and patrolled by roving bands of drunken soldiers.

UN sources said a shell hit a Kigali hospital late on Sunday, killing 27 people and injuring more than 100, during renewed fighting between Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels and government forces.

Top Rwandan rebel leaders said their forces, consisting of two battalions, were closing in on Kigali from three sides to take over and restore order in the chaotic city.

"Those two battalions on the outskirts are just a vanguard of a much larger force," an RPF commander, Wilson Rutayisire, said.

Reports said tribal bloodletting sparked by Wednesday's killing of the president had also spread to the countryside, where RPF rebels have relaunched a three-year civil war.

Spanish missionary nuns in the western Rwandan town of Kibuye said the town's hospital had been attacked and gangs were "killing all over the place."

"They have already killed some of our patients," said a nun.

She said the gangs, thought to be members of the majority Hutu tribe,

had moved on to the parish church to kill terrified members of the minority Tutsi tribe who had taken sanctuary there. "They are also killing refugees in the town hall."

Residents in Kigali, where thousands have been killed in five days of tribal slaughter, reported the city relatively calm overnight on Sunday. But they awoke to the sound of fighting near the international airport on the city's outskirts.

"Talk of a ceasefire is absolute rubbish; it's complete mayhem here," said one resident.

An RPF commander said the rebels were determined to topple the "government of killers", and appealed to army units not involved in the ethnic slaughter to desert.

The interim government was announced a few days after the slaying of President Juvenal Habyarimana, but was rejected by the rebels.

Many victims of the violence were buried alive because there were not enough doctors to check whether they were actually dead. Some were unconscious while others, their throats cut, were unable to speak.

The army said rampaging troops from the Hutu tribe had been called back to barracks. It said it supported the interim government's efforts to regain control. — Sapa-Reuter.



CITY OF FEAR . . . a terrified woman is rescued by Belgian paratroopers in Kigali this week as violence between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes continued after Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a rocket attack on his plane Picture: AP

Thousands die as atrocities continue in Kigali

A BILLBOARD on the road to Kigali airport shows hands grasping a single beer beneath the legend: "The power of love."

But it is the power of hate, fuelled by beer and a mass thirst for blood, that now rules the Rwandan capital.

The city has been transformed into a killing ground after the death of the country's President Juvenal Habyarimana, 57, in a rocket attack last week.

Rebels of the Rwanda Patriotic Front and government troops are waging an all-out war for Kigali in an orgy of ethnic violence between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi tribes.

More than 100 000 Rwandan refugees have trekked to the neighbouring states of Tanzania, Zaire and Burundi to escape the carnage in one of Africa's worst outbreaks of tribal violence in decades.

But, as the UN got a 24-hour reprieve on Friday from both rebels and regular troops to evacuate trapped foreigners, it was not known how many were still trapped.

A spate of massacres swept Kigali, and bodies piled up at makeshift checkpoints manned by

Tribal strife plunges city into a bloody orgy of hate

STimes 17/4/94

Reports by **SCOTT PETERSON** in Kigali and **JOHN EDLIN** in Harare

down last week. Now aid workers are leaving the country en masse.

Before being evacuated from Kigali, Eric Bertin, co-ordinator of the French organisation Doctors Without Borders, said: "We have decided it is no use to work here anymore."

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in the chaos that followed, it was never clear who blew up the plane, but fingers of suspicion pointed to Mr Habyarimana's own presidential guard — a crack force of some 700 Hutu troops.

Perhaps they feared the Tanzanian talks would bring more Tutsis into government, the security forces and business, and rob them of infinite power

The Tutsi had previously held total power, and army generals weren't happy to relinquish it.

It was not surprising that the first Hutu president and several of his cabinet ministers were assassinated by Tutsi troops late last year.

And, with the attack on the jet from Tanzania, a second Hutu president has been killed.

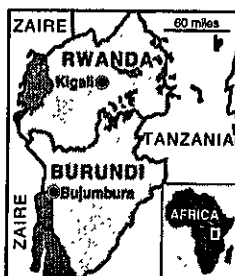
"Tutsi re-assertion in Rwanda is going to bolster the Tutsi resolve in Burundi," said a Western diplomat in Bujumbura, Burundi's capital. "It's quiet now, but it could explode at any moment."

Meanwhile, 10 Belgian paratroopers murdered in Kigali a week ago were buried with full military honours in Belgium this week.

And, as the country began two days of mourning, Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes announced the immediate recall of the dead soldiers' 440 comrades serving with the UN peacekeeping force.

Belgium's wealth was built on its African protectorates — Congo, Rwanda and Burundi.

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A spate of massacres swept Kigali, and bodies piled up at makeshift checkpoints manned by men armed with clubs, screwdrivers and Uzi sub-machineguns.

In one incident, thugs at a checkpoint dragged six wounded people from a Red Cross vehicle and slaughtered them.

In another, government troops held back UN peacekeepers as a gang with machetes hacked 18 victims to death.

A government radio station, run by Hutu extremists, fuelled the ethnic violence by broadcasting a message summed up by one listener: "The only good Tutsi is a dead Tutsi."

Tens of thousands of Rwandans from both tribes have been killed since the president's plane was shot

plunges city into a bloody orgy of hate

Reports by SCOTT PETERSON in Kigali and JOHN EDLIN in Harare

down last week. Now aid workers are leaving the country en masse.

Before being evacuated from Kigali, Eric Bertin, co-ordinator of the French organisation Doctors Without Borders, said: "We have decided it is no use to work here anymore."

He and his colleagues had been holed up in their compound for the first two days of fighting last week before visiting a hospital to help treat the wounded.

But then they were told that at least 100 patients had been killed in their hospital beds. "It is no use to cure someone who is going to be killed the next day," said Mr Bertin.

And the slaughter is far from over. Moreover, similar carnage can be expected in Burundi, whose President Cyprien Ntaryamira, 39, was killed in the same rocket attack as Mr Habyarimana.

Both Hutus, the two men were killed on their way back from Tanzania, where they had discussed ways of defusing tribal conflicts in their countries.

In the chaos that followed, it was never clear who blew up the plane, but fingers of suspicion pointed to Mr Habyarimana's own presidential guard — a crack force of some 700 Hutu troops.

Perhaps they feared the Tanzanian talks would bring more Tutsis into government, the security forces and business, and rob them of infinite power.

What is known is that the Rwanda Patriotic Front, a Tutsi-led rebel army of some 20 000, seized a strategic advantage after the rocket attack to march on Kigali.

By last Friday, they had evidently routed most of the regular Hutu soldiers and Kigali had been plunged into the current orgy of bloodshed, looting and pillaging.

Police vanished from the streets, and UN peacekeeping troops were also set to pull out this week, leaving the capital as an open battlefield.

If the rebel Tutsis actually seize Kigali, as seems likely, the whole tribal balance of Rwanda will be



radically changed.

The Tutsis, after all, are no more than 15 percent of the population, and, even with Hutu surrogates, it will be difficult to hold power — or create a new political order — as a minority over a majority.

Equally ominous, in neighbouring Burundi, the Tutsi-dominated army has long been spoiling for a fight since Western-dictated reforms led to the country's first free elections last year.

The elections brought the first Hutu president and Hutu-dominated government in the country since independence from Belgium three decades ago.

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Belgium's wealth was built on its African protectorates — Congo, Rwanda and Burundi.

But its hurried withdrawal in 1962 from all three, milked for profit but shamefully under-developed, left a legacy of civil war, dictatorship and poverty.

A Belgian daily newspaper referred this week to Kigali as Belgium's Saigon, and the comparison is fair. American policy failed in Vietnam largely because it was based on propping up a series of unpopular regimes.

Belgian rule in Rwanda was based around the Tutsis, who were outnumbered by the Hutus nine to one.

When Belgium left, centuries of repression, latterly connived at by the colonists, had to be paid for.

The cycle of revenge has gone on ever since. — *The Telegraph, London.*

Victims of Rwanda's insane war

By ARTHUR ALLEN
in Kigali

AT a hilltop compound for treatment of the insane, a group of Belgian nuns and lay brothers abandoned 200 of their patients this week in a rush to escape Rwanda.

The 18 foreigners picked up by an armoured Belgian convoy had no illusions about the fate of their patients or of the 500 Tutsi refugees camped out in buildings on the bullet-riddled compound.

"They're finished. A huge number will be killed," said Gerard van Selst, the Belgian administrator of the psychiatric hospital.

For the week since Rwanda's ethnic warfare began between the majority Hutus and minority Tutsis, the compound had been surrounded by bands of Hutu men armed with rifles, machetes and clubs. Sometimes they fired on the buildings, but they did not storm them.

Mr van Selst, 72, and the other foreigners locked themselves in the compound with some of the Rwandan staff. Two Belgians were shot in the legs trying to run from one compound build-



NO HELP OR HOPE ... refugees and patients hold up their hands and ask for help from Belgian soldiers who arrived at a psychiatric compound outside the Rwandan capital Kigali to evacuate foreigners

Picture: AP

ing to another to get food on Sunday.

On Wednesday, Belgian paratroopers loaded the wounded Belgians aboard litters and pushed them into a pickup truck. They were expected to survive.

The heavily armoured

convoy that left for the airport also included Mr van Selst and four other lay brothers of the Belgian Charite order, two nuns and the families of the injured Belgians.

A mentally disturbed Italian woman, left at the

hospital months ago by her Rwandan husband, was also part of the group.

Everyone else was left behind.

"We threw away the keys to the hospital, but they'll get in," said Jef Debere. "With the whites gone, the

people have no more protection. Most of them will be killed."

Some of the 500 refugees had camped in a half-finished hospital that the Charite order planned to use to house the criminally insane.

Some refugees with machete wounds hid in a home for long-term patients during the siege, Mr Debere said. The Hutu bandits entered the building but didn't kill anyone, he said.

"They opened the door and said, 'Are you crazy?' And the people answered, 'Yes,' and then the men went away."

Mr Debere, slumped in despair at a refugee evacuation centre at the Kigali airport later, said he most lamented leaving behind the Rwandan doctor he knew only as Bonaventura.

"In the last days he has worked day and night doing what he could to cure the ill," Mr Debere said. "I don't think he will survive."

Dr Bonaventura's identification papers say he is a Hutu, Mr Debere said, but he is actually a Tutsi "and these people can tell who is who." — *Sapa-AP*

By SCOTT PETERSEN in Kigali and JOHN EDLIN in Harare

UN pulls out as Rwanda faces some battle to control

THE UNITED NATIONS' blue helmets began hastily withdrawing from tiny Rwanda's blood-drenched capital of Kigali this week, leaving behind no one but marauding, murderous gangs in control of the devastated capital.

The first terrified UN soldiers scrambled aboard aircraft evacuating Kigali on Wednesday as the UN mission in Rwanda neared total collapse amid bloody chaos.

Shouting at each other and mumbling prayers, 252 Bangladeshi peacekeepers squashed themselves into aircraft loaded with dozens of UN military observers and refugees. Many, reaching verses from the Koran, had to stand.

The force originally numbered 2,500 — mainly from Bangladesh and Ghana — but had been reduced to 1,500 even before the Security Council ordered a large-scale retreat by today.

A skeleton staff of 270 UN work-

ers will remain in Rwanda in an attempt to broker a ceasefire.

Relief agencies and human rights groups — including the Red Cross, one of the two agencies remaining in the capital — said they feared even worse bloodshed after the UN pullout.

The killing began two weeks ago when death squads of government forces, mostly from the Hutu tribe, rampaged through Kigali after President Juvenal Habyarimana's aircraft was shot down. The fighting devolved into a free-for-all between rival ethnic tribes that drew in the predominantly Tutsi rebel forces.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said it had rarely seen a human tragedy on the scale of the Rwanda massacres. The death toll could run into hundreds of thousands.

The Organisation of African Uni-

ty this week accused the UN of abandoning the people of Rwanda.

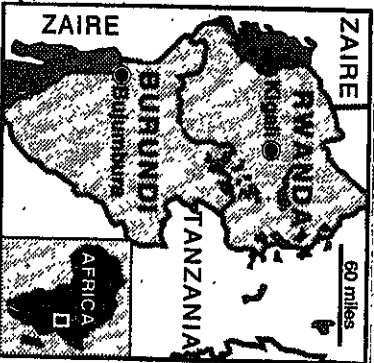
"The UN decision to pull out troops from Rwanda is a sign of a lack of sufficient concern for an African tragedy," said OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim.

He added to criticism from African diplomats of the UN's double standards in reducing its forces in Rwanda and bolstering its involvement in Bosnia.

And two of Britain's biggest aid agencies — Oxfam and Christian Aid — called the decision "short-sighted" and "callous".

Those most at risk will be some 5,000 refugees at the Amahoro national stadium in Kigali, which was protected by UN troops, but came under heavy shelling by government forces. The refugees threatened to commit suicide if UN troops pulled out.

They were among 25,000 Rwan-



"The situation appears desperate — they have no food or water," a spokesman said. "About 150 of the people held in the stadium in Cyangugu have machete wounds. They have been attacked, obviously, in the stadium."

The French disaster aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres reported that police and militiamen were preventing people from leaving the stadium. This week they dragged 60 people out and executed 16.

Despite criticism of the UN pullout, the presence of blue helmet troops has done little to stem the slaughter. Officers said their men had witnessed many massacres, but had been kept from intervening by the army or armed gangs.

The original UN mission was to monitor peace accords signed last August that brought to an end three years of civil war. That mandate dissolved on April 6 when President

Habyarimana's jet was shot down, sparking rival factions in the armed forces into a spate of ethnic fighting, re-igniting the civil war.

UN forces have not been directly threatened and government and rebel forces say they respect UN attempts to mediate a ceasefire.

The rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) declared a unilateral ceasefire yesterday in fighting with government forces. It would come into effect at midnight tomorrow.

Theogene Ruidasingwa, RPF chief delegate to peace talks in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha, said the ceasefire had been declared under pressure from the international community and would allow for the delivery of humanitarian aid to victims.

No response from the government side was available. Delegates from the interim government had not yet reached the venue for the

peace talks, to be hosted by Tanzania's President Hassan Ali Mwinyi.

The UN reported sporadic fighting in Kigali this week and said reinforcements of the RPF, dominated by the minority Tutsis, were seen advancing by road on the capital from the east.

They said RPF units were consolidating positions in the city, and it appeared as if the government and RPF were fighting it out.

Confirmation of the scale of the slaughter came as the UN confirmed that the RPF had captured the strategic northern town of Byumba, and controlled much of the north.

The UNHCR said 16,870 people had been killed in nine villages around Cyangugu, in south-western Rwanda during two weeks of fighting. "The massacres were indiscriminate. Most of those killed were men and children."

The tales of atrocities continue to mount. Aid organisations reported massacres in the southern town of Butare. And UN officials said they had fresh reports of massacres of civilians near the southern towns of Gitwama and Gikondoro.

UN officials say that an unknown number of refugees were killed at the Rwanda-Burundi border, when thousands of them tried to storm the checkpoint. Already, two million people — a third of the population — have fled their homes.

UN officials said 90,000 refugees had fled Rwanda, among them 50,000 from neighbouring Burundi who fled their own tribal battles last year.

Burundi has the same tribal imbalance as Rwanda and shares a history of ethnic bloodletting, but so far it has been spared ethnic violence. Burundi's President Ntaryamira was killed in the same jet crash as Rwanda's president.

© The Telegraph, London, with additional reporting by Sappo-
Reuter-AP

Burundi coup prevented

NAIROBI — A coup attempt was foiled in Burundi yesterday, where the Hutu-Tutsi rivalry that has devastated neighbouring Rwanda has so far been held in check.

"A group of soldiers from a barracks in Bujumbura planned a putsch, but they were stopped by loyalists when they left their post to execute their plans," said army chief of staff Colonel Jean Bikomagu Bikomagu.

Meanwhile, heavy shelling echoed round Rwanda's blood-soaked hills yesterday with rebel forces battling

government units blamed for one of the worst mass killings of innocent civilians this century.

The Tutsi rebels say the Hutu-dominated army has slaughtered thousands of people since the Hutu presidents of Rwanda and Burundi died in an aircraft hit by rocket fire on April 6.

① CT 26/4/94
Aid agencies say as many as 100 000 people may have been slaughtered and two million displaced since the rocket attack. — Sapa-Reuter

focus on Rwanda

Sowetan 13/5/94

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers may soon find themselves in a peace-keeping role in the Central African enclave state of Rwanda if discussions between this country and the United States are anything to go by.

Following a meeting between President Nelson Mandela and US Vice-President Al Gore on Wednesday, the two men said they had discussed the civil war in Rwanda, and had agreed on a US proposal.

This proposal involves sending a multinational force which would safeguard civilians caught in the crossfire of the war that has so far claimed over 200 000 lives.

It is understood the US is reluctant to send in its own troops, preferring instead to help finance an African force. This is to avoid a repetition of Somalia, where US marines were eventually evacuated after failing to restore stability to the Horn of Africa country.

The US proposal has been given to the United Nations secretary-general, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the secretary of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim.

Ghali is understood to favour an African force while Salim wants the UN to send an external force. Gore has been drumming up support for the US position, and has so far received a nod from Mandela and Namibian President Sam Nujoma.

The UN however already has troops in Rwanda helping with food distribution and the protection of people.

If South Africa does eventually send in troops, which ANC insiders have said is a remote possibility, it will be the first multinational peace keeping role for the country and Mandela may need to prepare himself for a long involvement.

This is because the situation in Rwanda, far from being the simple tribal warfare that the media makes it to be, has its roots in the depressed economic conditions in the country and its neighbour, Burundi.

In an interview *Sowetan* had with a Rwandan veterinary surgeon who was visiting South Africa for a conference, Dr Jean-Marie Vianney Nzabakwana, the complexity of the situation was sketched.

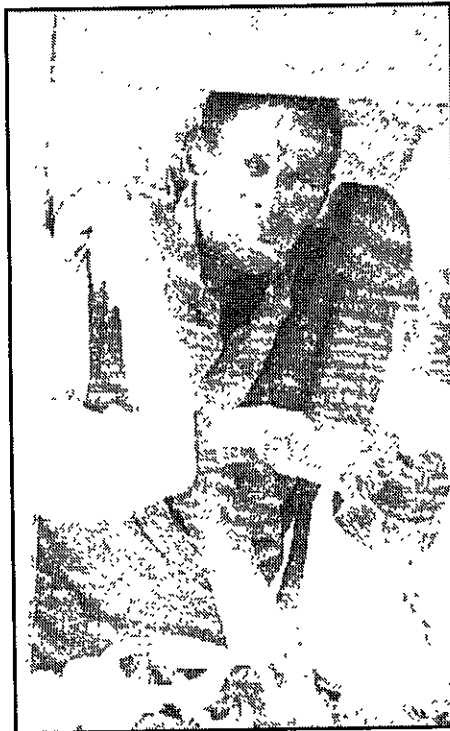
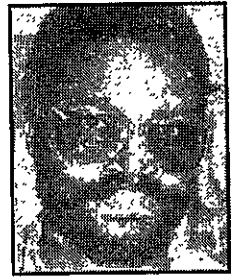
Nzabakwana, who lives in the capital Kigali, said the present spate of violence started in 1990 when the Patriotic Front based in Uganda was armed by Western powers.

The PF is led by Tutsis and claims to represent them. Nzabakwana said Rwanda has three tribes, composed as follows: Hutus 90 percent, Tutsis 9 percent and Twa 1 percent.

The Tutsis, although in the minority, had ruled Rwanda through a monarchy until 1962. The social status of the Tutsis during the reign of the monarchy was high, and Tutsis were proud of being identified as such, while Hutus were generally poor and did not identify themselves publicly as Hutus.

During this time, Nzabakwana said, it was

South Africa rejoined the world a bare three days ago and is already being wooed to assume a decisive and perhaps long-lasting continental role, writes Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**



An elderly Rwandan man takes shelter under a table at the refugee camp set up in a Kigali stadium. Thousands of Rwandans have died since fighting began on April 7, a day after the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in a plane crash. PIC: AP

only the rich Tutsis who benefited from the monarchy, with the poor peasants on both sides of the tribal divide suffering.

Referendum

The end of the monarchy came through the agitation of trade unionists and priests, mainly Hutus, who had been educated in mission schools run by the Catholic Church.

When a referendum was held in the country in 1961 under UN supervision, the people voted for a republic, led by the Hutu intelligentsia in the unions and church leadership.

But the rich Tutsis, who had been enjoying life during the reign of the monarchy, rebelled and mobilised on a tribal ticket, arguing that the Hutu leaders of the republic were starving Tutsis on a tribal basis.

"The poor Tutsis, who were hoping for a better deal, supported this and many went to Burundi, Zaïre and Uganda as refugees. It was during this phase that the PF was formed in

Uganda, financed by Western powers," Nzabakwana said.

When the first attacks came in October 1990, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had just started financing the Rwandan government through huge loans.

"This money was used by the government to buy arms to defend the country against the aggression financed by the West. Instead of the money being used for economic activity that would generate interest and profit and benefit the people, it went to arms.

"This led to a cycle of more loans that could not be repaid and negotiations with the IMF for rescheduling debt repayments. This is the cycle that has now depressed the economy to such an extent that over 70 percent of the country's gross domestic product goes towards debt repayment," Nzabakwana said.

As this happens, the Tutsis see their deteriorating conditions as manifestly from a Hutu government. The price of tea and coffee — the major exports — has gone down, through manipulation by Western powers who control the price fixing, Nzabakwana said.

8 million people

The population of over 8 million people is crammed into the 26 338 square kilometre space. This population is equal to that of Lebowa and KwaZulu homelands combined, while the space is just 4 000 square kilometres more than the size of Lebowa. South Africa's land size is 1,22 million square kilometres.

As poverty grew, tribalists exploited the situation and engendered the hostility that saw the ongoing massacre of unprecedented proportions. Tutsis were told they were victims of ethnic cleansing, while Hutus were told the resources of the country were being expended on the Tutsis.

Nzabakwana asserted that while military intervention was necessary to stave off the killings, the country needed to be extricated from "the claws of the IMF and World Bank and help its economy to develop so as to be able to respond to the needs of its people".

Nzabakwana said international media found the intricate details of the war too boring for their readers and viewers, and simplified the war into a pure tribal killing orgy between the tribes, with no linkage to the poverty that underlies the tensions.

Given this scenario, South Africa's entry into the multinational force to protect civilians may turn out to be a long-drawn-out affair.

Africa's last colony fights on

By Tyrone August
Political Reporter

Mohamed

"The freedom fighters of Polisario and the Saharawi people had no choice but to continue their resistance."

WHEN South Africa celebrated the birth of a new democracy this week, it left behind one last colony in Africa: the Saharawi Republic (also known as Western Sahara).

The former Spanish colony is still locked in a battle for independence with its neighbour Morocco.

A delegation from Saharawi, headed by its president Abdelaziz Mohamed, was in South Africa this week to witness the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President.

"We hope the Moroccan government can learn from what is happening in South Africa," said Mohamed. "They have to understand that right is right and nobody can defeat it."

Mohamed is also the chairman of the Polisario Front, the liberation movement formed in 1973 to fight against their Spanish colonisers.

"Polisario was created to lead the armed struggle against colonialism," said Mohamed. "It is still fighting for national independence and freedom."

In 1975 Spain withdrew from Western Sahara, but it was then invaded by Morocco and Mauritania. "They shared the territory between them," said

Saharawi 12/15/1974

of a free referendum on self-determination under the supervision and control of the UN, in co-operation with the OAU."

Both Saharawi and Morocco accepted the peace plan, and agreed to a ceasefire.

"Unfortunately, the Moroccans denied their commitments," said Mohamed. "Until today, they are trying to create obstacles to avoid conditions for a free referendum."

For example, he said, they introduced 170,000 Moroccan citizens into Saharawi to swing the results of the referendum in their favour.

Last month Mohamed proposed an international conference to break the deadlock. "It is in the interests of peace and security in the north of Africa and the whole continent," he said.

"It is the last colonial problem in Africa."

The parallels between the struggles of Polisario and the ANC are obvious. Both suspended their military struggles in order to wage war in the political arena.

In South Africa, this culminated in a new government. Polisario, on the other hand, is

still waiting to achieve similar results.

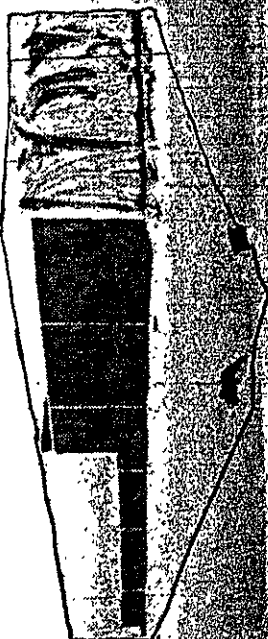
The parallels are not lost on Mohamed. "My presence here adds a lot of hope that what is happening here can have a positive impact on the north of the continent," said Mohamed.

"We appreciate the capacity of the South Africans to deal with their problems to get democracy and freedom."

Abdelaziz Mohamed



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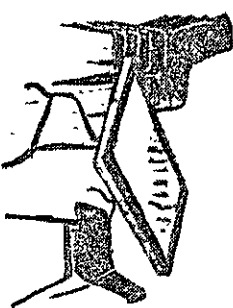
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Experts: Keep out of Rwanda

ARG 14/5/94
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JEAN LE MAY

Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA should keep out of Rwanda at all costs because the new government should avoid high-risk foreign policy options, according to **Anthoni van Nieuwkerk** of the South African Institute for International Affairs.

It was reported from New York this week that South Africa had offered a contingent to help the United Nations in Rwanda if the Security Council decided to beef up its peacekeeping operation there.

Diplomats said UN Secretary-General **Boutros Boutros-Ghali** raised the question in talks in Pretoria this week and had a positive reaction.

And, United States Vice-president **Al Gore** said in Windhoek that the US was seeking African support for an international military force to stop the violence in Rwanda.

"The Rwanda question is likely to be the first major foreign policy decision for the new South African government," Mr Van Nieuwkerk told Weekend Argus.

"Deputy president **Thabo Mbeki** has said that South Africa should take an activist part in peacekeeping in Africa, which could mean non-military action.

"On the other hand, mention of sending a contingent to Rwanda could mean military action.

"Does South Africa really want to maintain the role of a dominant military force on the continent? It got us into trouble before and would be better avoided.

"There are other considerations: Which force will be sent in? The de-

■ The new South African government should not risk becoming involved in another African country's battles, according to an expert in international affairs.

fence force? The national peacekeeping force? A medical unit? And, the cost undoubtedly will be enormous.

"And, there are political risks to this high-risk option. Is South Africa ready to risk becoming embroiled in another African country's affairs? Domestically, are South Africans prepared to risk lives in somebody else's battles?"

There were more practical issues as well, said Mr Van Nieuwkerk.

South Africa was not yet fully rehabilitated into the UN, although "this was probably a matter of weeks".

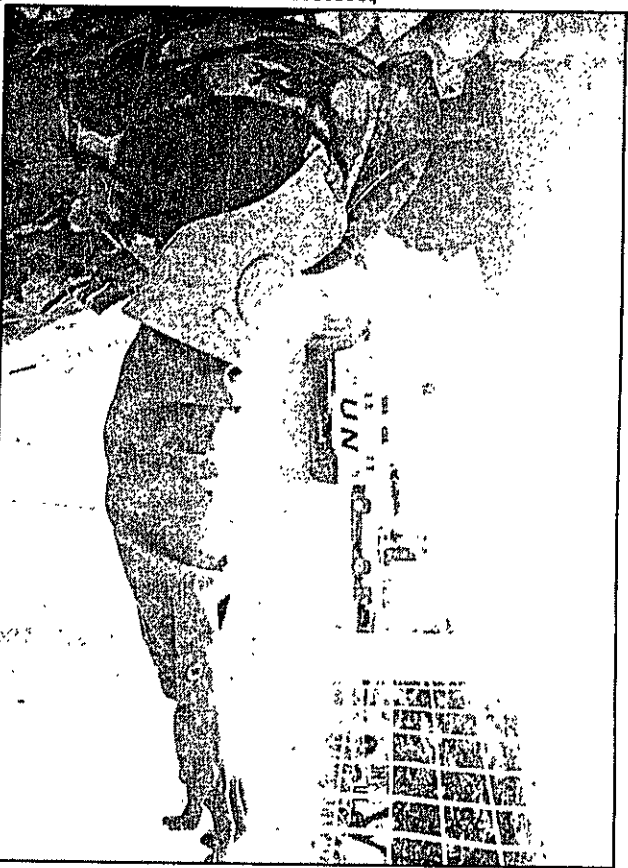
It was not yet a member of the Organisation of African Unity nor of the Commonwealth, so it could not go into Rwanda under their auspices, he said.

"We see all sorts of problems if South Africa were to rush into military conflict in another African country."

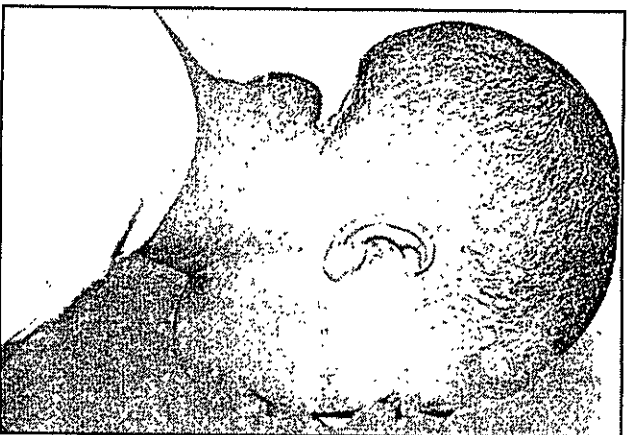
A retired army officer who asked not to be named said that, in his view, South Africa would be "extremely foolish" to take part in any operation in Rwanda, "peacekeeping or otherwise", at the behest of the US.

"We went into Angola after certain assurances from the US and they dumped us," he said.

"The US itself has not done too well in its intervention in Somalia. We don't need to end up with great loss of life, limb and reputation the way they did there," he said.



WATCHFUL: A UN soldier stands guard in Kigali. Soldiers serving with the international peace-keeping body have been patrolling Rwanda's capital in an attempt to stem the tide of blood that has engulfed the country in recent weeks. PHOTOGRAPHY: AP



WALKING WOUNDED: This woman was among about 250 000 Rwandans who have fled to Ngara, Tanzania, during the past fortnight.



FALLEN SOLDIER: Rwanda Patriotic Front rebels look at the body of a Rwandan soldier killed in an offensive on barracks housing 900 government troops at Kanu, near Kigali. Captured soldiers were forced to carry weapons seized in the raid back to rebel-held territory.

Where is the genocide in Rwanda heading? RICHARD DOWDEN takes a peek into the future

Bloody orgy in the heart of darkness

Star 14/5/94

IT IS August 1994 and the killing is still going on. It is impossible to count the dead but some put the figure at more than a million. Most of them have been murdered with machetes, spears, knives, even hoes.

In Rwanda there are almost no Tutsi civilians left alive. The rebel movement, the Rwanda Patriotic Front, which is mainly Tutsi, drove the mainly Hutu government forces out of the capital in May and took over the rest of the country. This sent the defeated government army and its Hutu militias into a new killing frenzy. The RPF was stretched too thinly to stop them. Its military victory is turning to ashes.

The Tutsis have all been massacred and the Hutus have fled from the RPF into neighbouring countries. Hutu militias are launching a guerrilla war against the RPF and the renowned discipline of its soldiers is cracking as they make reprisal attacks.

By the end of August 2 million Rwandans are in exile, a quarter of the population. Most of them are Hutus afraid to return to their homes in areas ruled by the RPF. They try to survive in vast camps over the border in Tanzania, but the camps are inaccessible and UN blunders and bureaucracy are turning a disaster into a catastrophe.

The death rate in the camps is the worst ever recorded. But Rwanda's genocide is overshadowed by events in its twin state, Burundi. In late May 1994 thousands of Rwandan Tutsis fled across the border to seek the protection of their fellow Tutsis in Burundi. There the local Hutu people felt threatened by the influx into their already-crowded land, and Tutsis were killed.

In reprisal the Burundi army, which is exclusively Tutsi, started killing Hutus in the capital Bujumbura. By June this had sparked another exodus of refugees into Zaire and Tanzania. Finally, in Zaire, Rwandan exiles have become embroiled in a

War with the local people and hundreds of thousands are being killed.

The UN, already overstretched, is unable to protect or feed any more refugees. In the vast, unmanageable camps in Tanzania and Uganda the death toll is about 10 000 a day. Many more refugees are cut off in Zaire. It is the worst human catastrophe of the late 20th century.

How much of it we will be shown is another matter. In early May, television news editors across the globe were already telling their crews that they wanted no more pictures of bodies.

SA wary of AfDB membership offer

S Times (Buss)

1515194

By SVEN LUNSCHÉ: NAIROBI

SOUTH Africa has poured cold water on suggestions by the African Development Bank (AfDB) that its membership is a foregone conclusion and will come about speedily and easily.

SA has presented the AfDB with only a letter of intent to enter into negotiations which could lead to its membership.

The cautious approach contrasts with AfDB enthusiasm at its annual meeting this week for SA membership.

What should have been a celebration of the AfDB's 30th anniversary turned sour with the release of a damning report outlining its serious financial problems.

The AfDB frequently offered to process a SA membership application within a week. Vice-president for Southern Africa Adewale Sangowawa said: "We are very keen to have SA join us and can facilitate membership very speedily."

However, he is likely to be confronted with difficult year-long negotiations and strict demands from SA.

"We want to make an investment because it is worth our while, not just because we're part of the continent," said the Department of Finance's Eltie Links, who presented the letter of intent with Development Bank of Southern Africa chief executive Andre la Grange.

In an attempt to dampen AfDB enthusiasm, he rejected Mr San-

gowawa's suggestion that consensus had been reached on conditions for SA membership.

The new Government would first have to approve SA's strategy, which was drawn up by a Transitional Executive Council committee, headed by Mr la Grange. That alone could delay the start of negotiations by about two months.

The AfDB is ready to make SA one of its top African shareholders by offering it between 8% and 12% of its shares.

At 10%, SA would have to pay about \$275-million over five years. The rest — \$1,9-billion — would be on call.

Initially, SA would be a net borrower, according to the AfDB. It projects that SA would receive between \$300-million and \$400-million annually for the first five years of its membership.

With gross domestic product a head of \$2 600, SA is well over the threshold of eligibility for soft loans from the AfDB. But even the AfDB's direct market rate offers more favourable terms than most European and US funds and capital markets.

The SA delegates are not surprisingly concerned about the AfDB's \$700-million liabilities, which could force it to draw on call money sooner than SA might expect.

Mr Links says: "Once we join, we would shoulder responsibility for li-

abilities which were built up over the years when we weren't members. It is something we will have to look at in the negotiations."

SA will call for long repayment periods at favourable rates and denominated in rands.

Mr la Grange says: "We will be reluctant to take up loans in currencies against which the rand is likely to depreciate."

AfDB's management is also of serious concern to SA. Mr Links says: "Being a large shareholder brings with it responsibility for management of the bank. We will take this seriously."

SA is likely to get a seat on AfDB's executive, possibly one of the four vice-presidents, and an overall staff allocation in line with its shareholding. Development Bank staff are receiving training in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, headquarters of the AfDB.

But the timing is of secondary consideration for SA. For one, donor aid is flowing in in the aftermath of Nelson Mandela's inauguration, providing concessionary funding of up to R2-billion.

Furthermore, SA's capital markets are super-liquid now.

Mr la Grange says SA needs to identify its requirements as outlined by the reconstruction and development programme.

Observers believe that SA holds the upper hand, particularly when viewed against the AfDB's financial and managerial problems.

'Rwanda not armed by SA'

① CT 16/5/94

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — SA-manufactured arms sold to the Rwandan government prior to the outbreak of civil war in 1992 were primarily of a technical nature, Armscor head of corporate communications Mr Abba Omar said at the weekend.

Mr Omar was responding to speculation that SA National Defence Force (SANDF) troops might face locally manufactured arms if they became part of a joint UN-OAU peacekeeping force to the area.

On Friday the UN Security Council agreed in principle to deploy 5 500 troops in the war-ravaged country.

Mr Omar said supplies to Rwanda were terminated as soon as its central government collapsed and ethnic-driven hostilities between the majority Hutus and Tutsi minority laid waste to much of that country.

He said no detailed breakdown of sales to Rwanda prior to 1992 was available, but much of the SA-made ammunition had by now exceeded its shelf life.

It was reported at the weekend that arms worth R18 million, including R4 rifles and Z88 9mm pistols, were shipped to Rwanda at a time when the civil strife had

960 Tutsi burned alive

BUTARE, Rwanda. — Swiss businessman Mr Claude Sonier told how he saw men, women and children burned alive in pits full of blazing tyres in Rwanda's southern "city of death".

Among the victims of the tribal slaughter that destroyed the city of Butare was his wife's mother, a member of the Tutsi tribe. He estimated the victims at 960.

He said the presidential guard arrived, dug holes and filled them with burning tyres.

"I saw men, women and children

thrown into the pits — including the mother of my wife. They were still living when they put them in the holes"

A 60-year-old priest near Butare said mobs of peasants started by burning Tutsi-owned homes on April 14 in his parish before 300 Hutu militiamen with guns, grenades and machetes slaughtered refugees in the church and schoolhouse.

"The church was full of women, up to 2 000 of them. They killed everyone in the church and the bodies fell down and they set it on fire." — Sapa-Reuter

already broken out in 1992

President Nelson Mandela was last week quoted as being in favour of an SA contingent to the international peacekeeping force provided the situation at home was normal.

However, the SANDF said on Friday it could not handle a major logistical effort in support of an international peacekeeping operation because of constraints caused by the integration of the country's armies.

A SANDF statement said any decision on SANDF participation would, however, have to be made by the government.

The statement said, however, that several factors could influence a decision on SANDF involvement beyond SA's borders.

One was the strain being placed on manpower, logistics and funds by the integration of about 30 000 people into the force.

Another was the SANDF's reliance on its part-time forces, which had been called up in support of the SAP before, during and after the election.

"These forces are currently in the process of clearing out and returning to their civilian occupations. It is not possible to call them up again this year."

Any sizeable force operating beyond the borders of the country would need a major logistical effort to support it, which would prove extremely costly.

"The SANDF is not in a position to handle an operation of this nature at present."

African bank's cupboard is bare

8/5/94 16/5/94
NAIROBI — The African Development Bank ended its annual meeting in Nairobi on Friday with crucial reform of its lending policy left up in the air and its soft loan fund bare.

Western countries declined at the three-day meeting to top up the African Development Fund until the bank implemented internal reforms recommended by independent experts and adopted policies to tackle mounting arrears on loans to member states.

"Certain steps have to be taken following the report and certain policies adopted on resource allocation before we can commit new funds," Britain's senior representative Barry Hudson told the meeting.

The bank's problems are believed to be behind the caution shown by SA in joining the bank, now that political objections to its membership have been removed.

The meeting was attended by two SA observers, Eltie Links of the Finance Department and Development Bank of Southern Africa CE André la Grange. They presented a letter expressing SA's interest in negotiating membership, but indicated this would take some time.

SA's caution is linked to the bank's parlous financial position — it has liabilities of \$700m — and the cost of the shareholding being offered, which is reported to be \$275m over five years, with close to \$2bn on call.

Representatives of the African and non-African members agreed to meet

again, probably towards the end of June, according to incoming chairman, Nigerian Finance Minister Kalu Idika Kalu.

In talks that ended late on Thursday, the two sides came close to agreement on a replenishment worth around \$2.6bn to the Development Fund. However, at the last minute some African states, led by Nigeria, rejected the country categories wanted by the Western countries, which would distinguish creditworthy countries that could borrow from the bank from others eligible only for interest-free loans from the fund.

As a result, the replenishment pledges were withdrawn.

Donor countries are alarmed at the mounting arrears on loans given by the bank, now more than \$700m. The donors say only those countries with per capita income of more than \$1 054 a year should be deemed good credit risks. SA would easily qualify on these terms.

Countries with per capita income of \$543 would be able to borrow only from the fund.

Kalu told reporters the per capita income criterion was too rigid, especially at a time of fluctuating economic conditions in Africa. Members should look at supplementary indicators of economic health.

□ The bank's vice-president for southern Africa, Adewale Sangowawa, is due to visit Johannesburg later this month to tie up arrangements for a conference on the bank in the city in October.

5 500 men earmarked for job

UN force set for Rwanda

Star 17/5/94

①

New York — The UN Security Council authorised 5 500 peacekeepers to protect Rwandans yesterday from slaughter, and ordered the immediate dispatch of 150 military observers and about 500 troops, most of them to Kigali.

The resolution on the troops was adopted unanimously by all 15 council members, including the US. But it was not certain when the first soldiers would arrive to curb the killings aid workers believe have cost half a million lives.

The Ghanaians, who must be supplied with armoured personnel carriers, might not get there for at least a week or two, UN officials said. It is also uncertain how many African nations are willing to contribute troops to the main operation.

The first contingents are to go to Kigali to bolster the

THE UN Security Council unanimously votes to send 5 500 peacekeeping troops to strife-torn Rwanda

current small UN operation of about 400.

The US submitted last minute amendments that would have committed the council to making a new decision on each phase of deployment, which is not the case in other peacekeeping operations.

As a compromise the resolution speaks of "further review and action as required" on future phases. Washington wanted the troops to guard refugees in border areas that are more peaceful.

The resolution also includes a mandatory arms embargo. Rwanda voted

against this section of the resolution but approved the sending of peacekeepers.

Travellers returning from Rwanda's southern border areas between Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi said guerillas were advancing quickly towards the roads around Gitarama, seat of the rump government set up in early April.

Rebel commanders have said the southern town of Butare, where thousands of minority Tutsi clansmen are thought to have been massacred by Hutu death squads in recent weeks, is an important target for their advancing troops.

With a major push of the Tutsi-led rebels, thousands of members of the majority Hutu tribe could flee south across the border, creating a huge burden for international relief groups. — Sapa-Reuter.

African protection force plan for Rwanda

NEW YORK. — The United Nations Security Council decided at the weekend to send an all-African force to Rwanda to protect civilians and aid workers in the slaughter that has claimed some 200 000 lives.

America is expected to supply much of the finance and logistics for the action, but just which states will take part is uncertain.

A 5 500-strong force is being contemplated to create "secure areas" for refugees.

Western states have been against being drawn into a terrible quagmire, after the failure in Somalia. — Sapa-Reuter

Rwanda: SA troops plan

□ Would be new government's first part in UN force

Aug 17/5/94

PRETORIA. — South Africa has drawn up plans to take part in the United Nations peace-keeping mission to Rwanda, but a political decision still has to be taken, a foreign affairs spokesman said today.

If South African troops go to Rwanda, it will be the first time the newly democratic government will take part in a UN operation, the previous white-minority government having been excluded from the world body's activities in 1974.

The UN Security Council today approved the staged deployment of 5 500 troops in the strife-torn central African country.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Roland Darroll said plans had been formulated for South Africa to join the mission should it be asked to do so.

He said the plans had been submitted to the country's political leaders.

"It is under very active consideration," said Mr Darroll, adding that sending troops to Rwanda would be an "excellent initiative" for South Africa.

President Mandela has committed South Africa to playing a role in African affairs.

● Meanwhile men armed with machetes have hacked 10 small children and a UN employee to death in the heart of the Rwandan capital Kigali, in an area controlled by government troops.

"It is horrible. It is appalling," said Abdul Kabia, executive director of the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (Unamir).

"None of the children was above seven years old."

Mr Kabia said the bodies were discovered last night by a UN Children's Fund employee delivering food to the house.

The dead included a Rwandan employee of the UN Development Programme, her five children and five children who sought refuge at her home because she was a UN employee, Mr Kabia said.

Neighbours told UN officials that men in civilian clothes with machetes kicked in the door and butchered the woman and the children.

The UN force in Rwanda has appealed for planes, armoured vehicles and trucks to move reinforcements ordered by the Security Council to end six weeks of slaughter.

But officials said the 5 500 troops approved by the council would not intervene between warring government troops and rebels and a ceasefire was essential to end a campaign of genocide.

"We welcome the decision of the Security Council for the expansion of the force in Kigali," said Mr Kabia.

"The main consideration now is that countries provide airlift capability. We need armoured troop carriers and transport," he said. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

Rebels 'surround state forces' in Rwanda's capital

①

ARC 18/5/94

□ Interfere and risk attack, peacekeepers warned

MULINDI. — Rwandan rebels claim they have completely encircled thousands of government forces in the capital Kigali, and have warned United Nations peacekeepers they will be attacked if they come between the warring parties.

"Kigali is encircled," Rwanda Patriotic Front's spokesman Wilson Rutayisire said at rebel headquarters in Mulindi in the hilly north of the country.

Mr Rutayisire said RPF forces had gained control of the road between Kigali and Gitarama, seat of Rwanda's rump government, 45 km to the south-west, but that fighting was still raging.

"Government forces have been fighting to retake control of it without success," he said.

If true, rebel control of the road would leave thousands of government army troops and Hutu militias stranded in the city, which the RPF has surrounded, but has not entered.

Aid workers said Hutu civilians and government forces would probably flee south to-

wards the Burundi frontier if the rebels took Gitarama.

The RPF welcomed a UN Security Council resolution ordering the deployment of fresh peacekeeping forces in the country, but said it had communicated conditions to the UN in New York — without getting a response — on the terms of the mission.

RPF deputy vice-chairman Denis Polisi said: "We will accept the force only if its mission here is humanitarian."

The 5 500-strong contingent called for by the UN is authorised to use force only in self defence, but the council has resolved that peacekeepers will have to secure "humanitarian areas", which may have to be protected.

A rebel official said the RPF wanted to reach bilateral agreements with nations contributing contingents to the UN force, and ruled out a role for neighbouring countries, or France, which it accused of being pro-government.

The RPF strongly denied accusations by UN High Commissioner for Refugees officials in

Tanzania that rebels were torturing and killing people.

The UN officials based their allegations on interviews with refugees. Human rights workers and aid officials travelling in Rwanda said they had no evidence of widespread abuses, but that the guerrillas were trying to root out "infiltrators".

"It isn't true that we have been torturing and killing people," said Dr Emmanuel Ndahiro, a military adviser to RPF military commander Major-General Paul Kagame.

Meanwhile evidence continued to emerge of massacres, and that soldiers and Hutu death squads had killed an estimated 500 000 Tutsi people since President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a rocket attack on his aircraft on April 6.

Jean-Paul Mari, a correspondent for the French weekly magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, said rebels took him on Sunday to the recently-captured village of Kibagabaga north of Kigali, and that it was strewn with corpses. — Sapa-Reuter.

Malawi results show no majority

ARG 20/5/94

□ President-elect Muluzi 'won't hesitate to seek an alliance'

JASPER MORTIMER, Argus Africa News Service
BLANTYRE. — While Malawians celebrated the defeat of Kamuzu Banda, results indicated the new president would not have a parliamentary majority.

With more than 95 percent of the votes counted, the United Democratic Front (UDF) of president-elect Bakili Muluzi had 86 seats — three short of a majority. Dr Banda's Malawi Congress Party (MCP) had 55 seats and Chakurwa Chihana's Alliance for Democracy (Aford) 36, according to Malawi Radio's electoral team.

Provisional tallies in the presidential race gave Mr Muluzi 49 percent of the vote, Dr Banda 29 percent and Mr Chihana 22 percent.

At a Press conference yesterday afternoon, Mr Muluzi said he would not hesitate to approach Mr Chihana to form an alliance if necessary.

"He is a friend of mine. We have fought together in this exercise," Mr Muluzi said, referring to the two-year campaign for democracy.

In any event, the regionalisation of the vote obliged the UDF to make a move towards Aford, which had taken every seat in the north.

"We will have to offer some appointments to people from the northern region, whether in the cabinet or the civil service," said Mr Muluzi.

Mr Chihana has been quoted as rejecting an alliance, but yesterday an Aford spokesman said the party would consider the idea.

Mr Muluzi said his priorities would be the alleviation of poverty and the improvement of health care and education.

Asked how he would treat Dr Banda, whose 30-year rule was marked by severe repression, Mr Muluzi paid tribute to him as the founder of the nation.

There would be no witchhunting, Mr Muluzi said. "If there is evidence that Dr Banda acquired money through illegal means, then definitely the state will take action."

Turning to South Africa, Mr Muluzi said he wanted to strengthen relations.

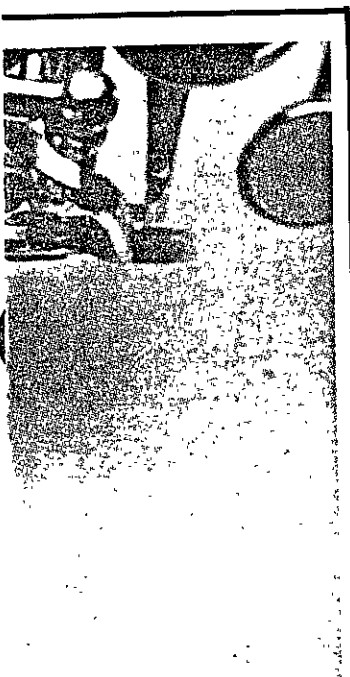
"South Africa is a very important partner in this region, economically and otherwise."



RINGS: This picture, taken by the Hubble Space Telescope this week, shows three rings of glowing gas from a supernova which exploded in February 1987.

Hubble eye proves supernova is 'a gas'

WASHINGTON. — The Hubble space telescope has photographed for the first time clear images of



FOCUS

AfDB feuding as continent bleeds

S Times (Buss)

22/5/94

By SVEN LUNSCHÉ

FOR decades the African Development Bank (AfDB) stood out like a shining light among the ruins of failed economic policies in Africa. No longer.

The collapse of national economies has finally caught up with Africa's premier lending institution.

But analysts say that the bank's malaise has deeper roots than the impoverishment of its borrowers.

A task group, commissioned by the AfDB, describes it as a "top-heavy and chaotic bureaucracy", which is "riddled with intrigue and suspicion".

The task force, headed by former World Bank vice-president David Knox, warns that the AfDB may end up "destroying itself if it is not strengthened".

The Knox report clouded last week's annual meeting in Nairobi of the AfDB which coincided with its 30th anniversary celebrations.

The meeting was characterised by bickering among its major shareholders, disorganisation, cancelled meetings and indecision.

One of the victims was SA's delegation. After waiting for almost two days, it handed over a letter of intent to start negotiations about SA membership of the AfDB.

The Emerging Markets publication, which appeared daily during the conference, quotes one insider at the

meeting as saying: "In the old days we used to have disagreements. But this is vicious and destructive."

Three groups are at loggerheads: the rich Western donors, which own a third of the bank; management, headed by president Babacar Ndiaye; and a group of shareholders mainly from North Africa.

The Western countries refuse to top up the bank's soft loan facility, the African Development Fund (ADF), by the required \$2,6-billion until reforms recommended in the Knox report are implemented and the bank tightens up its lending criteria.

The donor nations say the AfDB is owed more than \$700-million on a disbursed loan portfolio of \$8,4-billion.

Under their proposals, only a handful of solvent governments would receive AfDB loans at market-related interest rates. The rest would qualify for ADF money.

The proposals were rejected by the African shareholders, who argued that they left many countries without any meaningful access to funds.

"Africa's economic decline means more members are eligible for soft loans from the ADF, but the fund is empty," lamented one delegate.

The board of governors is due to meet again in the next few months to

seek a compromise. ①

The North African shareholders have started a no-nonsense campaign against Mr Ndiaye, one of Africa's respected financiers.

He is due for re-election at the annual meeting in Nigeria next year when his second five-year term ends.

The irony is that the campaign is led by executive directors who themselves have acquired the "status of dinosaurs", as one observer put it.

Pierre Moussa, the director from Chad — a country with a per capita gross domestic product of \$250 a year — has been on the board for 19 years and says he always flies first class.

This contrasts markedly with the attitude of Susan Levine, the representative of the US (per capita GDP: \$22 000), who puts up with economy class.

The AfDB's development report says Africa's per capita income shrank in 1993 for the third year running.

Its GDP grew only 1,4% in 1993, less than the average 3% rise in population.

External debt climbed from \$278,8-billion in 1992 to more than \$285-billion last year.

AfDB general secretary, Heli Meliane, told Reuters that the effect on the bank was declining income and worrying debt arrears, Zaire topping the list of bad payers.

Malawi coalition talks begin today

JASPER MORTIMER
Argus Africa News Service

LILONGWE. — Malawi's two main pro-democracy parties begin crucial talks today on the formation of a coalition government. — as final results have confirmed a hung parliament.

A cabinet could be announced tomorrow, the secretary general of the United Democratic Front, Harry Thomson, said.

Mr Thomson, who will lead the UDF in the talks with the Alliance For Democracy (AFORD), said discussions on the telephone had gone well so far.

But a source close to the parties said the negotiations could be scuppered by an ex-

pected AFORD proposal that Malawi become a federal state.

Malawians view the talks not only in terms of a parliamentary majority, but as a means of bridging the division between the south, which voted overwhelmingly for President Bakili Muluzi's UDF, and the north, which voted solidly for Chakufa Chihana's AFORD.

Meanwhile, the electoral commission yesterday ordered fresh voting in two southern constituencies. There were irregularities in Nsanje North, the seat of ex-vice president Gwanda Chakuamba, and Nsanje Southwest.

Both seats had been awarded to the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) of ex-president Kamuzu Banda.

Ballots and ballot-counterfoils had disappeared, and figures kept by election monitors did not tally with those officially recorded, the commission said.

This is the first evidence of fraud in the elections, which foreign observers had found to be free and fair.

Giving the final results, the commission said the UDF had won 84 seats — five short of a majority — the MCP had won 55, and AFORD 36.

In a further development yesterday, President Muluzi, who was sworn in on Saturday, dissolved the boards of the more than 40 parastatals. New appointments are to be announced soon.

① ARG 23/5/94

Rwandans observe two-day ceasefire

Sowetan 24/5/94

NAIROBI — Rebel and army guns waged an intensive overnight duel near the centre of Rwanda's capital, but fell silent early yesterday at the start of a two-day truce.

"The truce came into effect at 8am. The shooting has stopped," said Abdul Kabia, the deputy director of the UN mission in Kigali.

"There is still the usual occasional shelling. But in our view, it is holding," Kabia said.

UN officials requested the two-day truce to allow Iqbal Riza, the UN secretary-general's special envoy, to talk with both sides about the expanded UN mandate that will bring 5 500 peacekeepers.

Prepare troops

Both the mostly Tutsi rebels and the Hutu-led government army appear to be using the ceasefire to prepare troops for new attacks in Kigali.

After weeks of fighting, an estimated

■ SHAKY TRUCE Suspicion that

both camps plan major counterattacks:

three battalions of rebel troops overran the airport and the army's adjacent Kanombe camp on Sunday.

Rebels also secured the road between the airport and their main strongholds on the edge of the city centre.

Resume offensive

UN officials expect the rebels to resume their offensive for the capital soon with attacks on the barracks of the presidential guard and the gendarmerie and on Kigali camp, the main army stronghold in the capital.

Government radio said its troops withdrew to those three locations from the airport and Kanombe camp.

It said they were preparing to launch a major counterattack.

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A UN official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said government troops appeared demoralised.

Counter attacks

He said it was doubtful they would be capable of launching a major counterattack.

"It seems unbelievable, but there are reports of serious ammunition shortages among government forces," said the UN officials.

"They seem to have vacated their positions at the (Kanombe) camp in a hurry.

"One could see a lot of personal effects left around. I don't think the plan was to gradually withdraw and regroup," he added. — Sapa-AP.

Peace role seen for S Africa

□ Mbeki's commitment at UN

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has firmly committed the South African government to playing a role in international peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

He told the United Nations Security Council on Africa Day yesterday as it lifted the last UN sanctions against South Africa — the 1977 arms embargo — that the country would help the world as it had been helped in its hour of need.

Mr Mbeki also said South Africa could reclaim its seat in the General Assembly almost immediately.

But the government would first hold discussions with the UN on the legal implications of restoring the credentials which South Africa lost in 1972.

Another matter that needed to be discussed was South Africa's outstanding UN membership dues, totalling more than R360 million.

But Mr Mbeki said he did not foresee any problem. "I think an agreed solution will be arrived at. Everyone has agreed we should start functioning as a full member of the UN as soon as possible."

Mr Mbeki told the Security Council: "We firmly commit our country, as a member of the United Nations and as a responsible citizen of the world, to live up to its obligations ...

and to contribute what it can to the making of the peaceful world which is the right of the peoples.

"We are ... ready to begin discussions with the OAU, the UN and all concerned with regard to what can and should be done concerning the tragic situation in Rwanda."

Mr Mbeki said at a press briefing there was a general expectation that South Africa would now play a role in peacekeeping and peacemaking, especially in Africa.

But there had been "no prior determination" to contribute South African troops to UN peacekeeping missions.

Mr Mbeki noted that South Africa was already playing an international role through its diplomatic intervention in the Lesotho conflict and its humanitarian and mine-clearing help to Mozambique and Angola.

Referring to Rwanda, Mr Mbeki said American Vice-President Al Gore had told the South African government that because of its history it would bring "a certain moral authority" to international conflicts either by adding its voice "or whatever else it could add".

Until the government's discussions with the UN, OAU and others were complete, he could not say whether South Africa would become involved in Rwanda.

He appealed for help in converting South Africa's military technology to civilian purposes.

New SA flag flies in Addis Ababa

ADDIS ABABA (Ethiopia). — The new South African flag took its place alongside those of 52 other African nations at the Organisation of African Unity's 31st anniversary gathering in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa.

Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim presided over the flag-raising ceremony in a square outside OAU headquarters yesterday.

Congolese president Pascal Lisouba, Ethiopian foreign minister Syium Massfin, and the entire diplomatic corps in Addis Ababa attended the proceedings.

Warmly welcoming the South Africans, Dr Salim said the country's membership marked the end of Africa's decolonisation. — Sapa.

Smell of death lingers at the president's mansion

THE wreckage of the president's plane — shreds of lightweight alloy and bits of engine — is scattered across a field of corn, and his mansion garden, finally spilling into an empty swimming pool.

Burnt beyond recognition, President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda died when Hutu extremists within his military shot down his Falcon plane seven weeks ago, according to United Nations witnesses.

This is where Rwanda's holocaust began. UN investigators have yet to examine the site and journalists only gained access after rebel forces took control of the area this week.

Within 45 minutes of the crash, Rwandan soldiers from the majority Hutu tribe began moving through Kigali's suburbs, rounding up Tutsis and massacring them.

That night, throughout Rwanda, militias formed by Mr. Habyarimana to eliminate the minority Tutsi tribe took up their machetes and rampaged through their villages, burning Tutsi homes and killing the inhabitants.

The death toll seven weeks later has reached 500,000 and the slaughter has not ended. UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros Ghali has described it as "genocide."

The president's mansion reeks of death, although the corpses are gone. Until the rebels took control, army units would not allow the UN to visit the site. Mrs. Habyarimana was here when the plane crashed, but French troops are believed to have immediately evacuated her to Paris. The couple's eight children were also flown out.

As the killing of Tutsis and moderate Hutus intensified, rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front forces, who are mostly Tutsi, advanced

Leader who played off Rwandans and lost

STimes 29/5/94



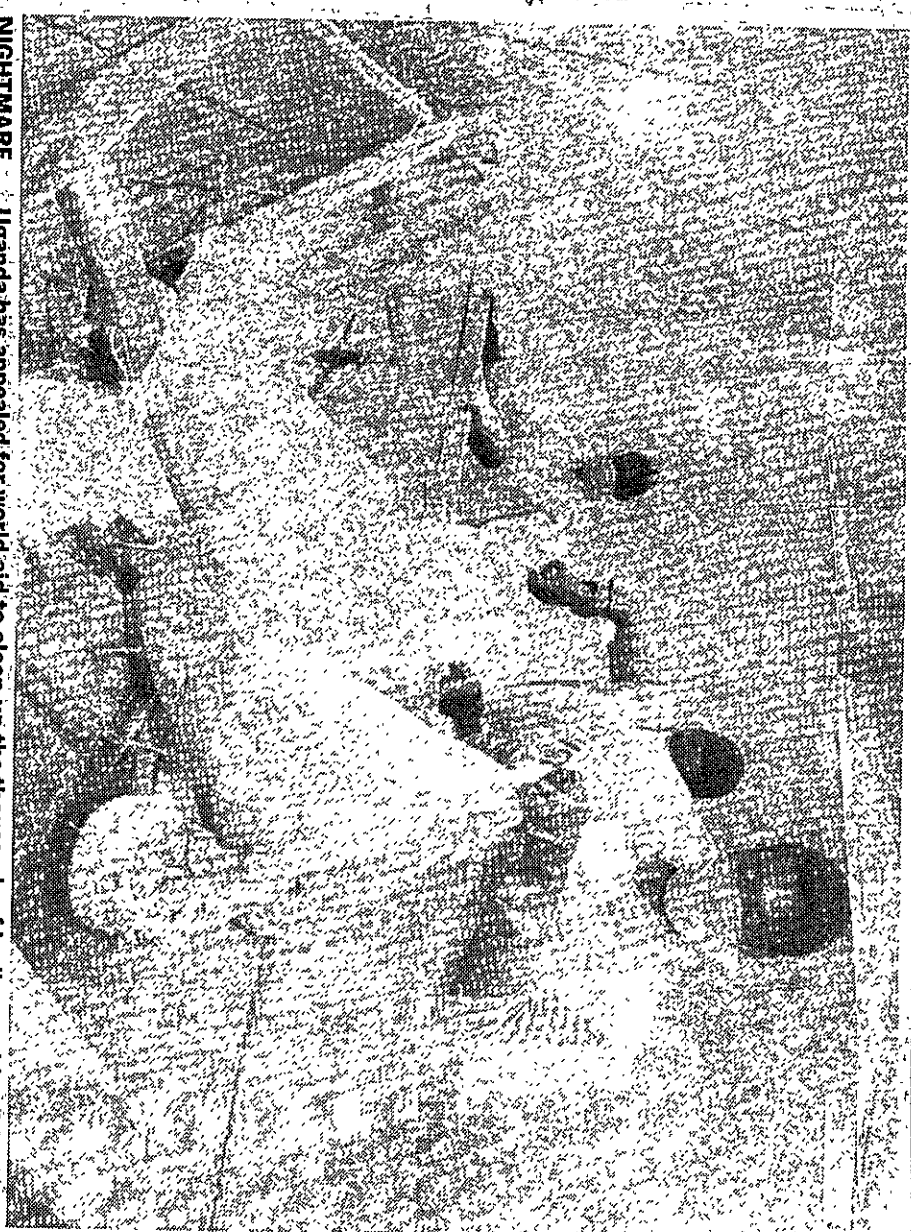
By SCOTT PETERSON in Kigali

from the north to try to end the carnage. Now on the verge of taking Kigali after sweeping the army from the airport and nearby Kanombe barracks, the RPF is examining the president's house for the first time.

Laden with crucifixes and littered with personal photographs, the mansion hides the sinister intentions of a man caught between Hutu extremists — who insisted on a "final solution" in dealing with the Tutsis — and those who begged for a reconciliation with the Tutsi rebels.

Trapped in a dangerous game, the man who seized power in a coup in 1973 played both sides and lost.

Mr. Habyarimana signed a peace deal with the RPF in August last year, ending three years of civil war and agreeing to share government with Tutsis. But there is growing evidence he armed and trained extremist Hutus for genocide. A picture in his living room is from a scene in the



NIGHTMARE . . . Uganda has appealed for world aid to clean up the thousands of bodies washing into Lake Victoria from Rwanda's killing fields. It is asking for R756 000 to recover the 40 000 corpses, many of them mutilated, said to be in the lake. A government spokesman said: "The situation is horrendous." Picture: AP.

"revolution" of 1959, when Hutus came to power for the first time, ousting generations of Tutsi rule. It shows Tutsi huts burning. The RPF has not looked at the mansion, but portraits of the late president have been attacked; his eyes are scratched out or riven with bullet holes.

The bedroom of the first lady is ransacked with perfume and rotting food. Beside the president's bed are pictures of Christ, crucifixes and a small altar. His hunting weapons have been taken from the adjoining study, but rifle rounds carpet the floor. A hidden door leads to an inner sanctuary which has been turned into a 30-seat chapel. Pictures show meetings with popes and attest to a spiritual life — in public.

"Thumbing through a family photo album, RPF bed are pictures of Christ, crucifixes and a small altar. His hunting weapons have been taken from the adjoining study, but rifle rounds carpet the floor. A hidden door leads to an inner sanctuary which has been turned into a 30-seat chapel. Pictures show meetings with popes and attest to a spiritual life — in public.

Lieutenant Patrick Kayira, anga remembered his own family, massacred by the president's death squads in the town of Nyarumambo. "I saw them, but I could do nothing, not even bury them," he said. Before joining the rebels in 1990, Mr. Kayiranga studied law in Canada for four years.

But he said: "After the war, after the liberation of my country, I will leave it. I could not live here." Later, at the Kanombe barracks — the Presidential Guard units are believed to have shot down the plane from there — Mr. Kayiranga displays captured hardware.

Some of the material is labelled in French as "Parts for Agriculture Machines". Mortars, ammunition and new uniforms fill rooms, attesting to the rebels' new strength, though UN commanders say the army may have taken the best when it withdrew.

The RPF rebels will now use the weapons and ammunition to try to end the civil war.

● UN troops transferred about 480 refugees across Kigali's dangerous front line to safety on Friday, running the gauntlet of rebel shelling and angry militiamen guarding checkpoints.

The refugees, from both sides of this divided capital, had been living for more than six weeks under UN "protection" in a hotel and at a sports stadium. — © The Telegraph, London.

Peace-pipe offered in war-torn Rwanda

Star 3/15/94

GUNFIRE rocks Kigali and evacuations resume as rebels and government troops agree during talks to principle of ceasefire

Kigali — Rwanda's rebels and government troops agreed to the principle of a ceasefire during talks yesterday but rebels said they wanted to discuss issues relating to mass killings at another meeting this week, participants at the talks said.

The rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) delegation said it wanted the government army to say at further talks on Thursday what it would do about massacres, mainly of Tutsis, widely blamed on the army and Hutu militias.

Rebels also want a reply on their demand for the closure of the extremist Hutu radio RTLM, which has incited the mass killings and which yesterday again urged people to take up arms against the smaller Tutsi clan.

These issues and details of a draft ceasefire proposed by the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda, (Unamir) discussed at UN headquarters in the capital, Kigali, could then be worked out, rebels said.

The two sides agreed that UN evacuation of refugees across battle lines should continue.

"The main goal of the talks is to arrive at a ceasefire to improve conditions for the Rwandan people and allow aid to reach them," said Brigadier-General Marcel Gatsinzi, heading the government side.

As the representatives of rebel and government armies met, gunfire echoed round Kigali, where the guerrillas have gained an upper hand.

The advance by the Tutsi-dominated rebels has sent about 500 000 Hutus fleeing the city in fear.

They are now cut off near the town of Gitariama, the International Committee of the Red Cross said yesterday.

"It's become extremely serious. It's very difficult for aid agencies to cope with this sort of situation," ICRC spokesman Tony Bungenyer said. "They have little food or water and the medical situation is very serious."

Rebel radio yesterday said the



RPF had captured Nyanza camp, close to Gitariama.

The talks in Kigali started with Colonel Frank Mugambage leading the RPF side. The rebels say they will talk with the military but not the government, which they do not recognise.

UN sources said that after three hours, the two sides agreed to resume evacuation of civilians trapped behind front lines in the capital a day after the operation was suspended because of security problems.

"The evacuations have resumed and hundreds of civilians have been ferried across the front lines," a UN source said. The source said the two warring

sides had given sufficient guarantees about the security of UN convoys.

Diplomats in Kigali said resumption of the evacuations meant the talks were going well. UN officers had said earlier the evacuation would not resume yesterday because the warring sides had not given enough security guarantees for the convoys.

Opening the talks, Unamir deputy force commander Brigadier-General Henry Anyidoho said the meeting should build on the impetus given to the peace process by UN special envoy Iqbal Fiza, who visited Rwanda last week.

Volleyes of RPF small-arms fire

crackled over UN headquarters, in a rebel-held eastern part of Kigali, before the talks started. And despite UN calls for a truce to be observed during the talks, sporadic mortar fire could also be heard.

RPF forces pressed their offensive overnight, fighting to control their enemies' last exit road to the south-west of Kigali.

Fighting in other parts of the city resumed at daybreak and a mortar bomb exploded outside the hotel in a rebel-held area where journalists stay.

Aid officials estimate that 450 000 people have been killed in the past two months of savage fighting. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tragedy in the heart of Africa

Star photographer Gary Bernard returned this week from war-torn Kigali in Rwanda and the refugee camps in neighbouring Tanzania. The picture above is of the Benacco refugee



camp in Ngara, where tens of thousands of men, women and children have fled from the massacre taking place in their homeland. Aid officials estimate that 500 000 people have been killed and more than 1.5 million have been left homeless in the ethnic fighting tearing Rwanda apart.

African wars and hunger blamed on overpopulation

① APR 1/6/94
NAIROBI. — A top United States official trying to rally world efforts to prevent another famine in eastern Africa says overpopulation is partly to blame for civil wars and hunger in countries like Rwanda.

"Population growth has outdistanced food supply. The gap between population growth and food supply represents instability, conflict, pain and death," Brian Atwood, head of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), said yesterday.

"We have seen the worst manifestation of that in Rwan-

da. Overpopulation in Rwanda and the lack of food contributed to the problem (of war). That did not excuse the extremists who undertook this," Mr Atwood told a news conference in Nairobi.

Mr Atwood was sent to the region by President Clinton to look at ways to combat a looming famine.

Today Mr Atwood flies to Rome and other European capitals to try to rally support from aid agencies and Western countries to respond to the renewed famine threat. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Atrocities continue in Rwanda

□ Troops and mob block the escape of 300 civilians in a UN convoy

NAIROBI. — Four weeks of atrocities in Rwanda show no signs of abating as the killers hunt down the living with increasing ferocity, ignoring foreign calls for a halt to the violence.

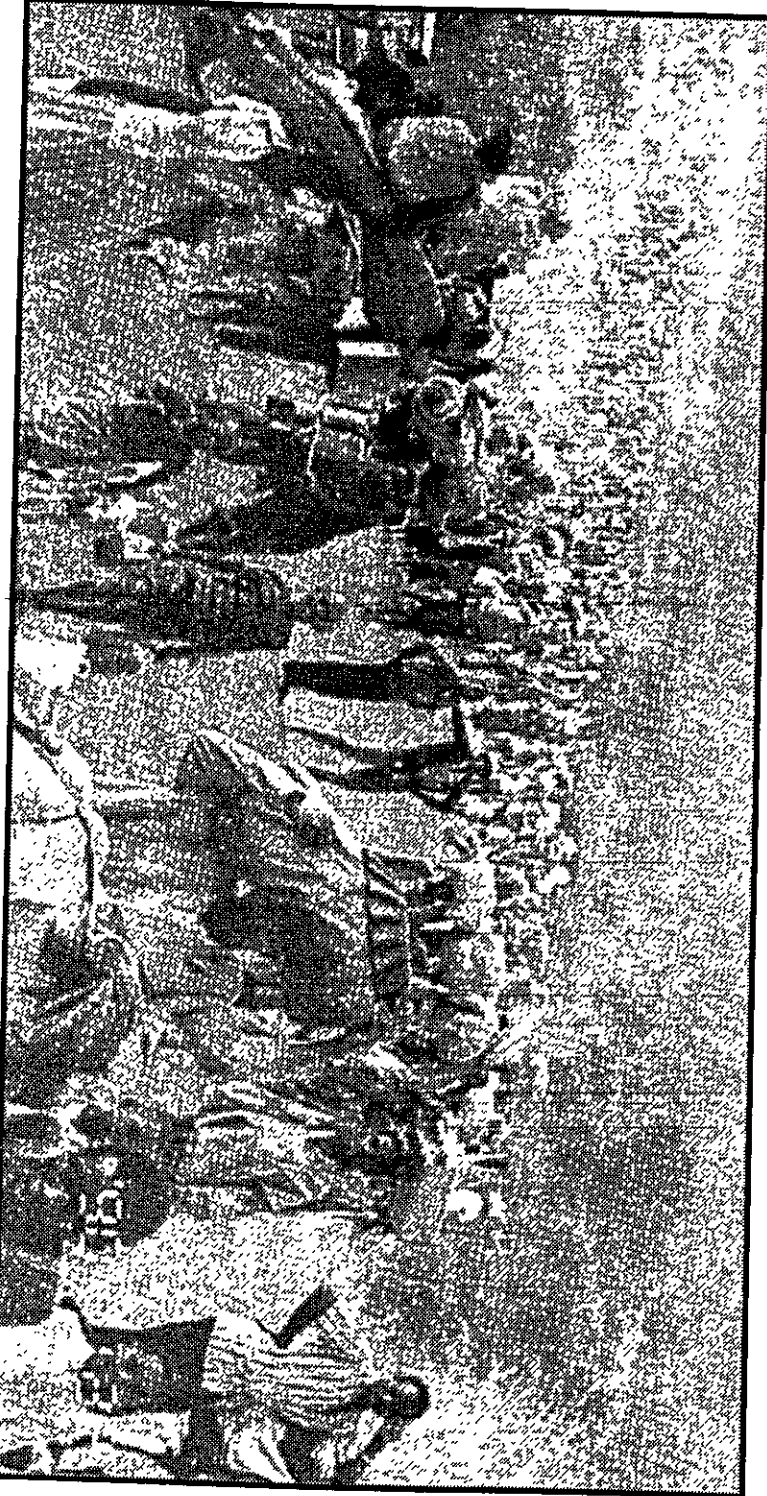
Hundreds of Rwandan government troops, militiamen and a mob armed with grenades and knives blocked the escape of 300 civilians, who had been threatened with death yesterday, aboard a United Nations convoy in the capital Kigali.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reported 21 children were slaughtered at a Red Cross orphanage in the southern town of Butare, along with 13 Red Cross volunteers on Sunday.

Three UN peacekeepers were wounded when mortar bombs hit Kigali airport yesterday during bombardments between the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and government forces across the bloodsoaked capital.

The worst tribal massacres in generations continued while United States and UN pressure grew for action by African states to halt the bloodbath in which an estimated 200 000 people have died.

But a second Tanzanian bid to convene peace talks between the RPF and the government in the northern Tanzanian town of Arusha fell foul of the rebels insistence that they would never meet face-to-face with what they term the "clique of killers".



HUMAN RIVER: Hundreds of thousands Rwandan refugees head for the Tanzanian border town of Rusumo where there is a United Nations relief camp. UN officials have been overwhelmed by the estimated 250 000 refugees who have fled from the Rwandan bloodbath to the safety of Tanzania.

Tanzanian foreign ministry officials said the separate talks with RPF Chairman Alexis Kanyarengwe and an interim government team would continue as long as necessary to secure a ceasefire.

In Kigali, troops, militiamen and the mob blocked a road to the airport to stop the UN

evacuation and threatened to kill the 300 civilians including many from the Tutsi minority, who have formed the bulk of those slaughtered in the past month.

The UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (Unamir) said it would hold more talks today with army commanders to al-

low the safe evacuation of the 300 from the Hotel Des Mille Collines.

Members of the armed forces and Hutu militiamen vowed last week to kill the people trapped at the hotel, to which they fled during early massacres after Hutu Pres-

dent Juvenal Habyarimana died in a rocket attack on his plane over Kigali on April 6.

Kigali residents say they believe most Tutsis in the city have been killed so the killers have to hunt more widely to find victims for what aid workers have said is genocide. — Sapa-Reuter.

APR 4/5/94

(1)

Bank hit by continent's woes

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ABIDJAN — The African Development Bank hits 30 next week feeling only marginally healthier than the sickly continent it was conceived to help.

Africa's conflicts and deepening poverty are taking a heavy toll on the bank's operations and its finances.

Power struggles inside Abidjan headquarters have affected staff morale and a task force of outside consultants is urging a radical shake-up of policies, projects and people.

Many of the non-regional bank members, led by Western nations, are demanding reforms before stumping up the cash.

After nine years as president, Senegalese Babacar Ndiaye is undeniably in a hot seat as he prepares for the bank's annual meetings opening in Nairobi on May 11.

One-third of the bank's 51 members are in a state of war, such as Angola and Rwanda, or stricken by acute political instability.

"All this has an impact on the bank, on our operations, on the quality of our portfolio, and on our financial situation, which prevents us from adequately accomplishing our mission," he said this week.

"But we are operating in terrain which is much more difficult than the terrain of other regional banks," he said.

\$700m in 1993. Some are "chronic" debts from broken countries such as Zaïre, Liberia and Somalia. Others are from members who are simply sinking deeper into poverty. Excluding SA, the continent's GDP grew by only 1.4% last year — less than half the galloping rise in population.

To keep its international credit rating, the bank has had to cut lending for the third year running. As more countries join the "poorest of the poor group," they become eligible for loans from the bank's African Development Fund.

But the ADF kitty is empty and Western donors are being "tough" about replenishing it. With the US taking a strong position, they want Ndiaye to clean up the bank first.

"It's clearly the worst run of all the regional development banks, so there's a case for punishing it. But it's Africa... one non-regional source said, leaving his thought unfinished.

There will be no quick relief from democratic SA, the richest economy south of the Sahara, which was barred from membership because of apartheid.

Nelson Mandela's new government needs to borrow, not lend, to improve life for his people. A minor "earthquake" shocked staff at Abidjan headquarters this week. The directors of personnel and of computer services were dismissed, bank sources said, following an investi-

gation into allegations of misconduct which surfaced last year.

In another timely move before Nairobi, the bank appointed a non-regional replacement for its highly-regarded treasurer Kofi Bucknor of Ghana, who had resigned without public explanation.

Ndiaye has promised a 32-point action plan to respond to recommendations made by a task force, chaired by former World Bank vice-president David Knox.

Its confidential report, obtained by Reuters, urged changes in the bank's organisation, staff and "culture".

Some senior staff believe Ndiaye, as the man at the top since 1985, got off lightly. Knox said he had "much authority but no power" and his role should be clarified.

Ndiaye chose not to interpret the report as a personal attack.

"We did not ask for a certificate of satisfaction — for them to say 'everything's fine, we are happy, thanks very much'."

"These were positive criticisms — observations which open your eyes even to obvious things," he told Reuters.

As for Africa, he sees "light at the end of the tunnel" for Liberia, Togo, Congo and even Somalia. — Sapa-Reuters.

Abridged balance sheet

have been declared in

SA troops for Rwanda mooted

□ Boutros-Ghali 'gets positive reaction' in talks in Pretoria

① ARG 12/5/94

The Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — South Africa has offered a troop contingent to help the United Nations in Rwanda if the security council agrees to beef up its peacekeeping operation there.

If true, as reported by African diplomats in New York, it would be the first evidence of the new government's eagerness to be a major African player in the UN.

It would also be the first time that South African troops had served under the UN flag since their heroic role in the "police operation" in Korea in the 1950s.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali did not mention South Africa as a possible troop contributor for the proposed 5 500-member force in remarks he made at a press conference in Paris yesterday.

But diplomats in New York said that he raised the question in talks in Pretoria this week and received a positive reaction.

The security council is expected to reverse its decision to cut back the UN operation in Rwanda following the bloodletting there.

But the UN force's mandate would most likely be limited to protecting the delivery of humanitarian aid.

US ambassador Madeleine Albright told security council members in a private session that the UN should first send troops to Rwanda's borders to help refugees and perhaps move to the centre of the country gradually when fighting ended.

"Under the circumstances, it is not a wise idea to begin in Kigali unless there is a ceasefire," a United States envoy said, referring to UN plans for a force in the Rwandan capital.

Nigerian ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, this month's security council president, said members hoped to reach a decision tomorrow authorising some kind of force.

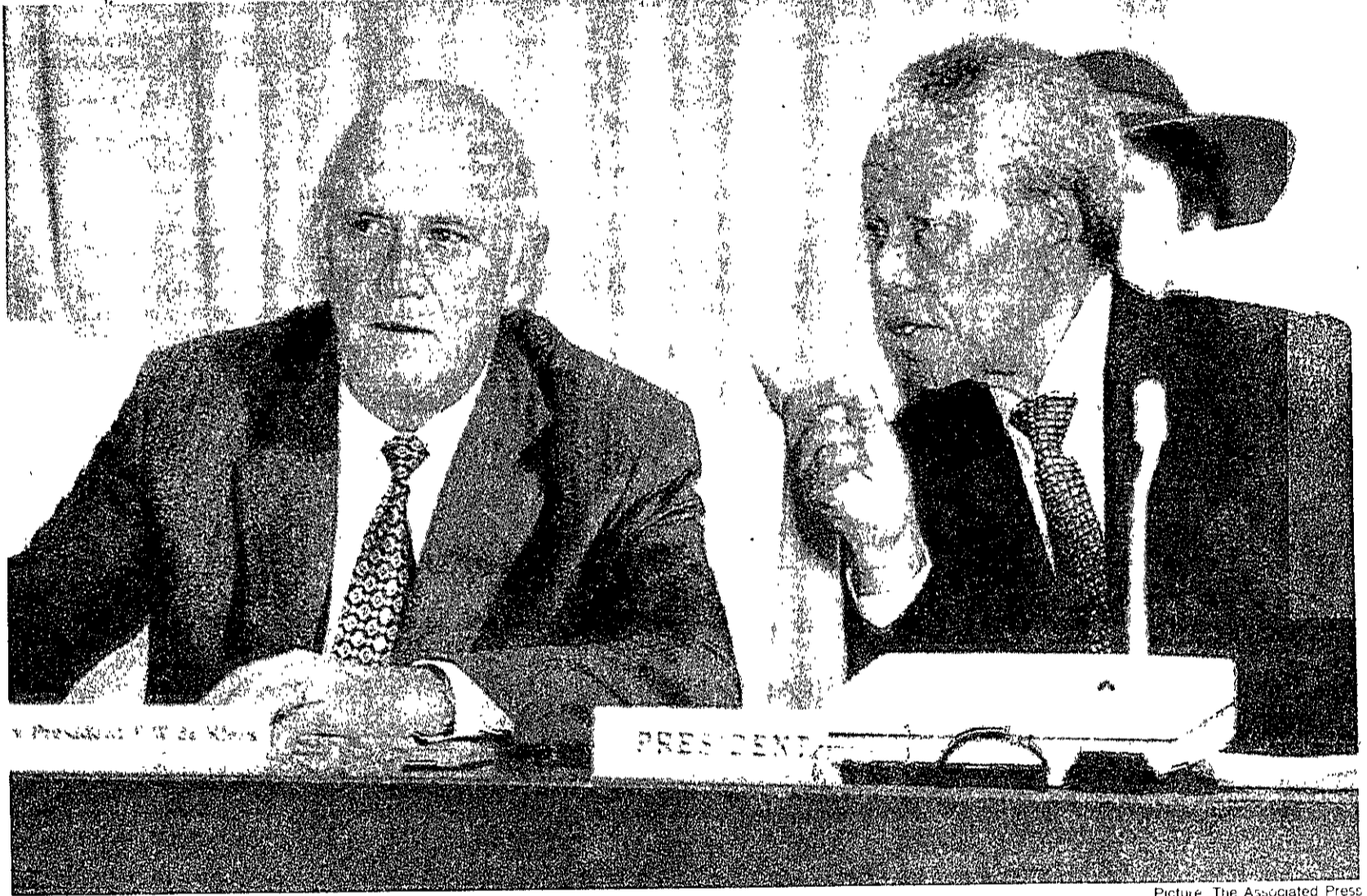
A draft resolution combining several points of view still calls for 5 500 troops but leaves it vague where they would be deployed.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Kigali that battered and demoralised Rwanda government troops fought fiercely to stall a rebel advance that threatened to overrun the key Kanombe Camp army stronghold.

"It appears the rebels are still advancing on the camp, but meeting stiff resistance," United Nations spokesman Abdul Kabia said yesterday.

The Tutsi-dominated rebel force, driving to take the capital, has attacked along several fronts but has centred the thrust of its offensive on the camp beside the airport and on the road leading to it. Taking the camp would give the rebels control of the airport.

● See pages 3 and 4.



Picture: The Associated Press

FIRST DAY: President Nelson Mandela makes a point to deputy FW de Klerk during the cabinet's first meeting in Pretoria. Mr Mandela has named the 27 members of his cabinet, 18 from the African National Congress, six from the National Party and three from the Inkatha Freedom Party. **More reports, pictures on page 11.**





Destitute . . . Rwandan refugees collect water at the Benaco refugee camp in Tanzania on Monday. The small lake is the only source of fresh water for 250 000 people who have fled the civil war.

PICTURE: AP

Of course, 5 500 wouldn't get involved in fighting, says UN

Rwanda peacekeepers

Star 11/5/94

①

New York — The United Nations proposed a new peacekeeping force of at least 5 500 troops for Rwanda yesterday to support relief operations and protect civilians in the country's devastating civil war.

A report to the Security Council said the troops should be able to defend themselves but not take part in military enforcement actions against feuding Rwandan armies and militia.

It is unclear who would take

part in any such force, with the Security Council having been unsure what action to take a month after the bloodletting in the central African country.

Initial reaction from Security Council members was scepticism that the type of troops and equipment required could be raised at short notice.

The report was prepared as an informal paper by the UN Secretariat in consultation with UN officials in Rwanda.

"It is imperative that a further deterioration is prevented and that the basic humanitarian needs of the huge numbers of Rwandan civilians be addressed," the report said.

"The deployment and logistic support of a force of 5 500 would be an ambitious undertaking," the report added.

Specifically, the report suggests that Ghanan troops, currently in Rwanda, be brought back to their full strength of an

800-strong battalion and equipped with armoured personnel carriers within a week after adoption of a council resolution.

This force should secure the airport in the capital Kigali.

Within a month, the report proposed that the rest of the force, including two other infantry battalions, be deployed and establish bases in the west and north to assist civilians in these areas. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA named as 'supplier of flood of weapons to Rwanda'

① ARG 10/5/94

WASHINGTON. — France, Egypt, South Africa and Uganda have been named by a private United States human rights organisation as main suppliers of a flood of weapons entering Rwanda, where ethnic massacres and civil war have claimed up to 200 000 lives in the past month.

The purported major weapons sources were identified in Arming Rwanda, a survey issued by the Arms Project of Human Rights Watch.

Arming Rwanda warned at

the time that "the possibility of renewed fighting is very real" because a peace accord concluded last August in Tanzania by the Rwandan government and rival Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) rebels was not being implemented.

The author, Human Rights Watch consultant Frank Smyth, visited Rwanda and Uganda in May and June 1993.

After the RPF's 1990 invasion of Rwanda, the government expanded its armed forces from 5 000 to at least

30 000, arming them with "a wide range of light arms, heavier guns, grenade launchers, land mines and artillery," Mr Smyth said.

"France, Egypt and South Africa supplied the vast majority of weapons" for the expansion, he said. France, which posted military advisers in Rwanda, was described as the government's main military patron after 1990. That was when Belgium, once Rwanda's colonial ruler, ended support.

The "flood" of weapons in-

creased human rights abuse and "contributed to thousands of civilian casualties and the displacement of hundreds of thousands more," the report said.

Arms dealings listed by Mr Smyth included:

● A wide range of light arms, machine-guns, grenades, mortars and ammunition invoiced for \$5.9 million (R21 million) to Rwanda on October 19 1992 by South Africa, and 3 000 Rwanda army soldiers equipped with South Afri-

can R4 automatic rifles.

● After the 1990 invasion, France supplied the government with mortars, light artillery and spare parts and helped maintain dozens of French-made armoured vehicles.

● Egypt in March 1992 sold Rwanda \$6 million (R21 million) worth of light arms, including at least 450 Egyptian-made Kalashnikov automatic rifles, infantry support weapons and ammunition. — Sapa-AP.

Fear stalks refugee camp as carnage goes on in Rwanda

S Times 8/5/94

By SCOTT PETERSON in BENAKO CAMP,
near Ngara, Tanzania

THE earth shook with the sound of 250 000 refugees running and screaming, riven with fear, in the dark.

Even in daylight, tempers had frayed in this refugee camp, the largest in the world, filled with people who fled the slaughter in Rwanda last Friday. Refugees had fought over chunks of meat and porridge, rioting in places.

But at night, in the Red Cross Federation compound at the camp — with 20 tonnes of food laid out as a sitting target for thugs — we were protected only by two strings of barbed wire and a length of twine.

Every day brings the possibility that the lethal conflict between the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi tribes that has bled Rwanda will spill into this border camp, and that refugees will wake to renewed horror.

Already, with hundreds of new refugees arriving every day, conditions are deteriorating and people are being killed by disease.

As the night din from the camp increased, the Tanzanian Red Cross workers momentarily panicked, aware that among the refugees are many who took part in the ethnic blood-letting that has left up to 200 000 dead in four weeks.

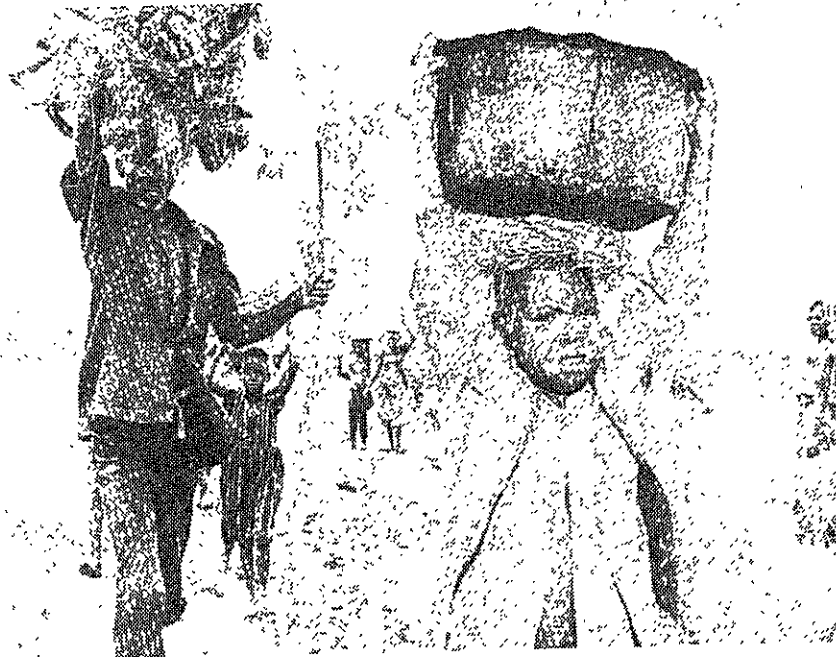
Rwanda's continued carnage is evidence that for some, killing comes as easily as waking up each day.

Beneath the border bridge at Rusumo — which the refugees crossed en masse last Friday — corpses flow down the river at a rate of about one every minute, according to relief workers.

The night "stampede" rumbled down the length of the camp and back, as the screaming refugees built high their smouldering cooking fires. In otherwise total darkness — for there are no lights in this city of people in the wilderness — we trembled.

The clamour eventually died down, enough for Tanzanian Red Cross officials to mount a brave journey to quieten the refugees.

"You are safe — you are in Tanzania," they told the smoking fires through a



SURVIVAL ... refugees carry firewood and water at the camp Picture: AP

megaphone. The refugees hid in the shadows.

Then the Red Cross established the cause of our fear: a lion had been spotted, and the refugees — all of them — pounded on their plastic jerrycans.

The incident inexplicably recurred twice more in the night, underlining the fragile vulnerability of peace and the risk taken by relief workers who stay here. But a pre-dawn downpour washed out any further agitation.

With the coming of day, the refugee camp returned to sodden normality, like a mass cluster of worker ants struggling to provide the bare necessities to survive.

There is chaos at a lake below the camp, fouled by five days of cows drinking and crowds of refugees dipping muddy jerrycans and blackened pots into the water.

Many drink directly from the brine. This week, the medical charity Medicins sans Frontieres provided a pump and huge

bladders for water, and banned herds of cattle — simple steps which could save the lives of many.

Relief officials say they are finally beginning to get a grip on their overwhelming task, and that, within two weeks of the start of the crisis, all will have the bare needs to survive.

"There is a form of control," said UN spokesman Maureen Connolly. "But there are so many things that can go wrong if we are not careful."

If anything does go wrong, the tempers of the Rwandan refugees could explode, with lethal results in this camp.

Meanwhile, a battle for control of the Rwandan capital, Kigali, continued yesterday ahead of ceasefires announced by both the government forces and the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front.

Abdul Kabia, of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda, said there was sporadic shooting on Friday night and fighting be-

came violent at dawn yesterday, trailing off as the morning wore on.

A ceasefire agreement signed by the interim Rwandan government in the Tanzanian town of Arusha was due to take effect at midnight yesterday, while another agreement by the Tutsi-dominated rebels, signed on Thursday in Zaire, was due to come into force at midnight today.

"We are in permanent contact with the two sides and hope the hostilities will end," said Mr Kabia.

As tension mounted over the ceasefires, the UN's new Human Rights Commissioner said the organisation's small peacekeeping force in Rwanda would have to be boosted to stop the killing.

Commissioner Jose Ayala Lasso was speaking at a news conference before his departure today for a tour of the region, which he hopes will take him to Kigali.

"It is obvious that to stop the killing, it will be necessary to increase the presence of troops in Rwanda," he said.

He hoped this would be approved by the UN Security Council, which last month reduced the force of 2 500 to 270 after peacekeepers were killed in the violence which swept the country after the deaths on April 6 of the presidents of Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi.

Earlier in the week, the beleaguered peacekeepers in Rwanda sent out a desperate appeal for reinforcements as battles between army troops and rebels hit their most vicious level.

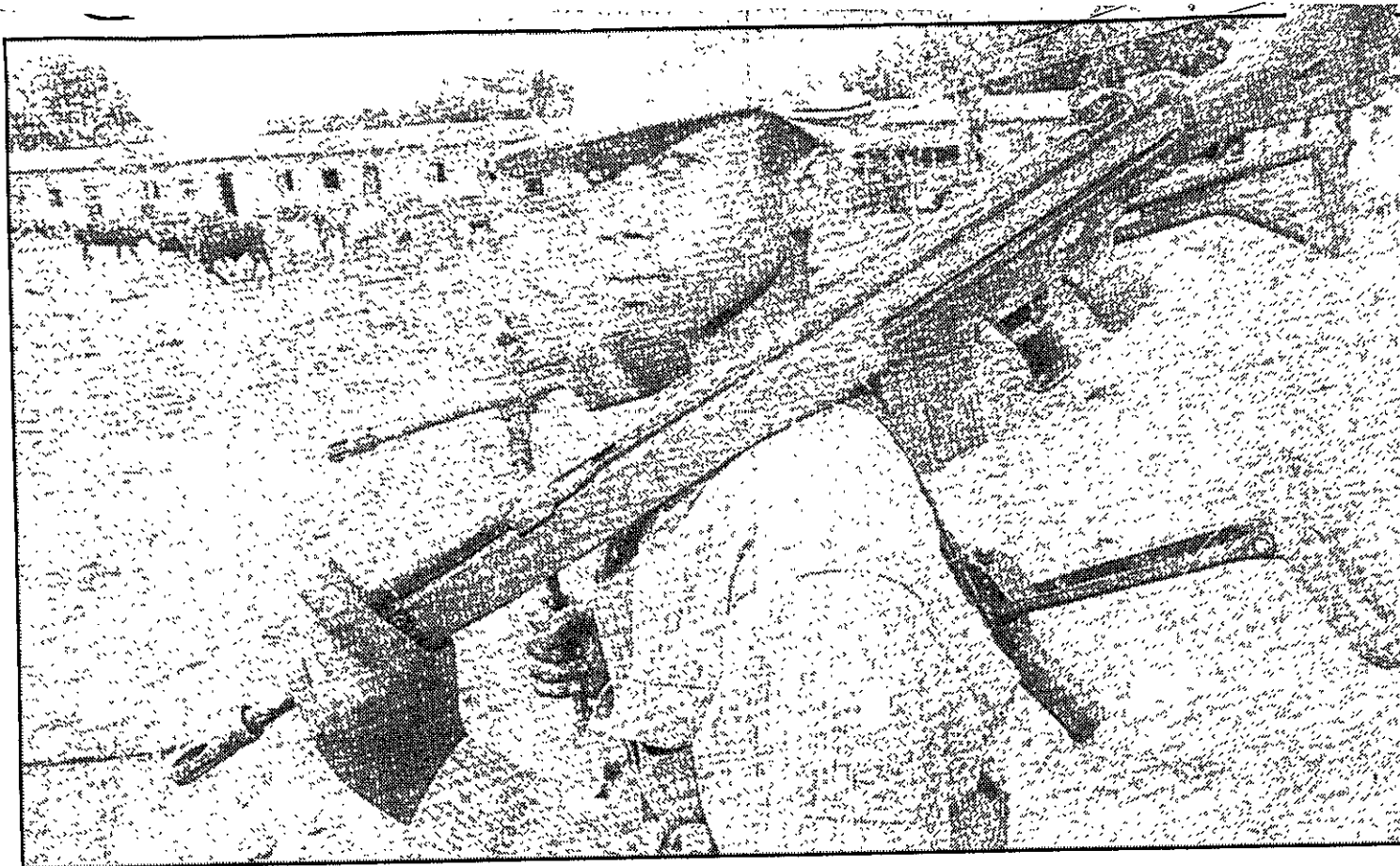
At the same time, gangs of tribal supporters of the Hutu-dominated army kept up their slaughter of civilians.

And as mortar bombs hit the airport in Kigali, wounding another UN soldier, officers said they were worried a mysterious "third force" was intent on driving them out.

"We protested to government forces and the rebels about the airport shelling, but both deny being responsible, which raises the possibility of a third force," said an officer.

"It might consist of renegade units which want us out. But we don't know for sure who they are." — © The Telegraph, London

● Additional reporting by Sapa-
Reuter-AFP



Heavily armed . . . a young soldier of the Rwandan Patriotic Front carries captured weapons taken from the Rwandan army base near the capital, Kigali.

PICTURE AP

Slaughter in the hills of Rwanda

Star 12/18/94

High on a ridge above Kigali, Rwanda's capital, a group of Tutsi officers of the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) watch the progress of battle through binoculars.

All the RPF's officers and most of its fighters are Tutsis, the minority tribe in Rwanda. The majority are Hutus.

Across the valley from the observation post, you can see the airport, held by the UN, and the main barracks next to it, the last stronghold of government forces.

This city is ringed with hills and the RPF controls them. It also controls all the roads out of the city except one.

Frontal assault

Every minute you can hear the boom of heavy artillery and the occasional crackle of machineguns but the rebels are not yet mounting a frontal assault.

The advance has been hampered by the heavy rain which falls daily, and each officer has his own batman carrying his golf umbrella; their conspicuousness does not seem to worry them.

The officers, tall, brown-skinned, are relaxed, pointing out landmarks. As usual they are taking their time.

They know that the last road out of Kigali, the road south to Butare, is being cut by an ad-

vance some 80 km south. It is only a matter of time before the city falls.

The RPF is refusing to negotiate with the government and is opposing the deployment of a UN force to stop the fighting.

"It is possible to discuss with the armed forces how to stop the killing of civilians, but we should not negotiate with a government which is destroying its own people," said Patrick Mazimhaka, the RPF's first vice-president.

"There is no one who we trust in the government . . . we had a peace agreement which we believed they accepted. A ceasefire now would simply stop us dealing with the government killing machine."

It is difficult to find words for the enormity of this killing. The actual fighting has been drowned out by the massacres.

It is like a football match in which the spectators have been slaughtered, making the game a sideline. But only the end of the game will end the killings and the RPF knows unless it takes over the country quickly the killings will continue.

In the piles of bodies — in churches and scattered around villages and along the road south — there are babies and children and women and men and the old. Approach any settlement and you smell the sweet

THE stench of corpses is everywhere, reports Richard Dowden from the outskirts of Kigali

and rotten stench of corpses.

Whole families have been wiped out by the gangs of killers armed with grenades, rifles, spears and machetes. In the church near Gahini, a small mission station and hospital, the bodies lie three or four deep.

The people had taken refuge, but grenades were thrown in and the survivors finished off with machetes. Many of the corpses have the backs of the heads hacked off, others have had their feet chopped off and been left to die slowly.

This was not a spontaneous outburst of ethnic violence: Hutu against Tutsi. It was planned a long time ago.

After the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement in August 1993, President Juvenal Habyarimana was supposed to form a coalition government with the RPF. But he dodged and delayed, meanwhile setting up local militias through the youth wing of the *Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique* (CDR), a party which believes in Hutu exclusivity.

"We told the UN about these militias at the end of 1992," said Mazimhaka. "The UN did nothing."

Since then, the Hutu extremists have tried twice to spark the militias into action. Last year, they tried, and again in February after the killing of the Prime Minister.

A few killings took place but it did not spread. Then Habyarimana died when his plane was shot down on April 6, and the country ignited. The *Interahamwe* — "those who attack together" — went into action throughout Rwanda, targeting all Tutsis as well as anyone known to be sympathetic to any other political party.

Everyone in Rwanda has to carry an identity card which names his ethnic group, Hutu or Tutsi.

The *Interahamwe* were co-ordinated by local commune heads and those that refused to carry out the killings were replaced.

A blank-eyed 12-year-old boy, who had crept back into Rwanda alone from Tanzania, told me how a gang had come to his home armed with machetes, clubs and spears.

They killed his parents and all his brothers and sisters. He had escaped with an uncle whose family was also wiped out.

He thought they were the only

survivors from five Tutsi families in the commune.

In areas near rivers, people were simply tied up and thrown in. Their bodies have been swept eastwards, and at Rusumo Falls they were coming at the rate of about one a minute. "It has died down," said one RPF guard. "It was about 20 a minute."

The figure of 250 000 is not hard to extrapolate from the known evidence, but the sheer physical effort of killing so many people is hard to imagine.

What will the RPF take over when it wins the war? Its politics are non-sectarian, despite its Tutsi predominance.

Liberating force

The Hutus who have fled before the RPF advance believe it will kill them or drive them out. However disciplined the RPF is, it not seen as a liberating force by the Hutus.

At one time the Tutsis were thought to make up between 10 and 15 percent of the population of 6 million: who knows how many are now left?

As they advance, the Tutsi officers of the RPF may find the Hutus continue to flee before them. They may also find that all their fellow Tutsis are dead. — The Independent News Service.

Major role seen for SA in Africa

□ Country will strengthen continent's bargaining position — OAU chief

GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service

① ARG 13/5/94

A MAJOR role — including peacekeeping operations in Africa — is envisaged for South Africa in the Organisation of African Unity by its secretary-general, Salim Ahmed Salim.

He also hopes President Mandela's government will help to counter the threat of Africa becoming marginalised and to get a better deal for the continent in international economic exchanges.

He believes South Africa's admission to the "African family" will strengthen Africa's bargaining position in dealing with an international community that is forming into economic blocs.

Mr Salim made these points in an interview in which he predicted "enthusiastic support" for South Africa's admission to the organisation at the OAU summit in Tunis next month.

The OAU chief, who was in South Africa for Mr Mandela's inauguration, strongly criticised the United Nations for turning its back on African crises such as in Rwanda while paying close attention to Bosnia and other parts of the world.

Mr Salim, rejecting the view of Africa as a bottomless pit for foreign aid, said more wealth was being taken out of Africa than was being put in.

On South Africa's part in the OAU, he said: "We would expect South Africa to bring to the organisation its immense influence and authority and to play an important role in the promotion of stability, security and development on the continent."

He envisaged South Africa playing an important part in both "peacemaking and peacekeeping" efforts in Africa.

Mr Salim emphasised that while the OAU had played a leading part in the fight against apartheid, "the struggle was against a system — it was never against people."

"It has been won as a result of the collective solidarity of the South African people — black, white, coloured, Indian. It was a collective struggle and therefore what we are celebrating now is a collective triumph on the part of the people of South Africa."

The OAU was looking forward to South Africa becoming part of the solution to Africa's problems rather than being part of its problems.

He was not especially concerned that South Africa would dominate Southern Africa economically, for its leaders knew from their own experience that domination did not work.

"I see South Africa more as a partner with the rest of Africa," he said.

"I view South Africa's mission in Africa as one of reintegration into the African family, as constituting a powerful addition to Africa's efforts to meet the challenges — not only of Africa, but the challenges of the world."



Salim Ahmed Salim ... South Africa will boost continent.

Africa joins forces on peace for Rwanda

HARARE — Fourteen African states, buoyed by the presence of South Africa's Nelson Mandela, offered yesterday to send troops to Rwanda to help end the bloodbath there.

They also voiced concern that Lesotho's armed forces were threatening the civilian government.

Mandela said South Africa had not been asked to provide troops for the Rwanda operation, but would provide a field hospital and 50 armoured personnel carriers.

The 14 African leaders, meeting at twin summits dealing with political and economic issues, said they were prepared to send their soldiers to stop Rwanda's war, which has killed 500 000

people and displaced 2 million others since April 6.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who chaired both meetings, said the leaders had agreed to urge Rwanda's warring government and rebel troops to halt hostilities and observe a truce to allow elections to take place.

Rwanda's civil war was "genocide", he said, adding that a joint statement to be issued last night would "announce the readiness of our countries to provide troops for Rwanda or any other aid that would go towards the attainment of peace".

He gave no figures of numbers of troops likely to be deployed, but the United Nations says it wants 5 500.

Star 4/16/94
Mugabe spoke after Mandela jetted into Zimbabwe's capital Harare and held urgent closed-door talks on Rwanda's crisis with other heads of state or officials representing them.

Mugabe noted that the Organisation of African Unity would discuss Rwanda at its summit in Tunis next week, but said the Harare talks felt urgent action was necessary nevertheless.

"Our statement will condemn the genocide, urge the parties to stop fighting and observe a ceasefire and enjoin the parties to engage in dialogue."

On the security of Lesotho, Mugabe said: "The situation in Lesotho is a serious cause for concern to all of us. It would appear that both the army and

police forces have become internally destabilising instruments, threatening the life of the present government and even the lives of ministers."

Mugabe saluted Mandela for winning South Africa's election and taking charge of Africa's richest nation. "We cannot avoid to cheer and salute you and the people of South Africa whom we wish success as they embark upon a programme for the reconstruction and development of their country," he said.

He urged the Frontline club, set up in the 1970s and composed of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, to review its role now apartheid was dead. — Reuter.

5 Southern African presidents arriving for regional summit

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Editor

① ARLT 7/6/94

SOUTHERN African presidents begin arriving in Cape Town today for a regional summit held under the auspices of the Swiss-based World Economic Forum.

First to arrive will be President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. He will be followed by presidents Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania.

Senior ministerial delegations are due from Angola and Botswana.

Virtually all the senior South African cabinet ministers will take part, underlining the importance being accorded to the summit.

There will also be representatives from the United States, the European Community, World Bank affiliates and the African Development Bank, as well as senior members of top international companies.

The two-day conference will concentrate on the economy of the region.

The forum is known internationally for the meeting of world leaders it holds annually in the Swiss

mountain resort of Davos to discuss trends in the world economy.

The conference will be opened on Thursday by President Mandela. The other presidents will speak at an open session of the conference immediately after the opening.

Most of the conference will be held behind closed doors and will deal with a wide range of topics — from political and economic strategies to boost economic recovery in the region, to the changing business environment in South Africa.

The conference is one of a series that has been organised over the past five years by the forum. Until last year the conferences had been held in Europe.

This will be the first of the series to have summit status.

Forum associate board member Frederic Siere, who has organised the conference, said today: "All South Africans have taught the world a lesson in achieving what seemed to be impossible.

"But Southern Africa is still in a honeymoon transit zone.

"In a new reality, the daunting task of national reconstruction and the need for regional co-operation emerge."

Victims, killers at same begging bowl

Illustrations of water-bearing women and children move in an endless procession through a cloud of smoke tinged by the orange glow of the setting sun.

Since the early hours of the morning, the loop has moved steadily between the small lake, upon whose purified waters 250 000 people depend, and this sprawling refugee camp on the lush green hills of the Rwandan-Tanzanian border.

Benaco, in north-western Tanzania, is the largest refugee camp since the fighting between government troops and rebel soldiers of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) broke out on April 7. Within three weeks, the camp

'The situation (in Rwanda) is a failure not only for the United Nations but for the international community — and all of us are responsible.'

grew to become Tanzania's second largest city.

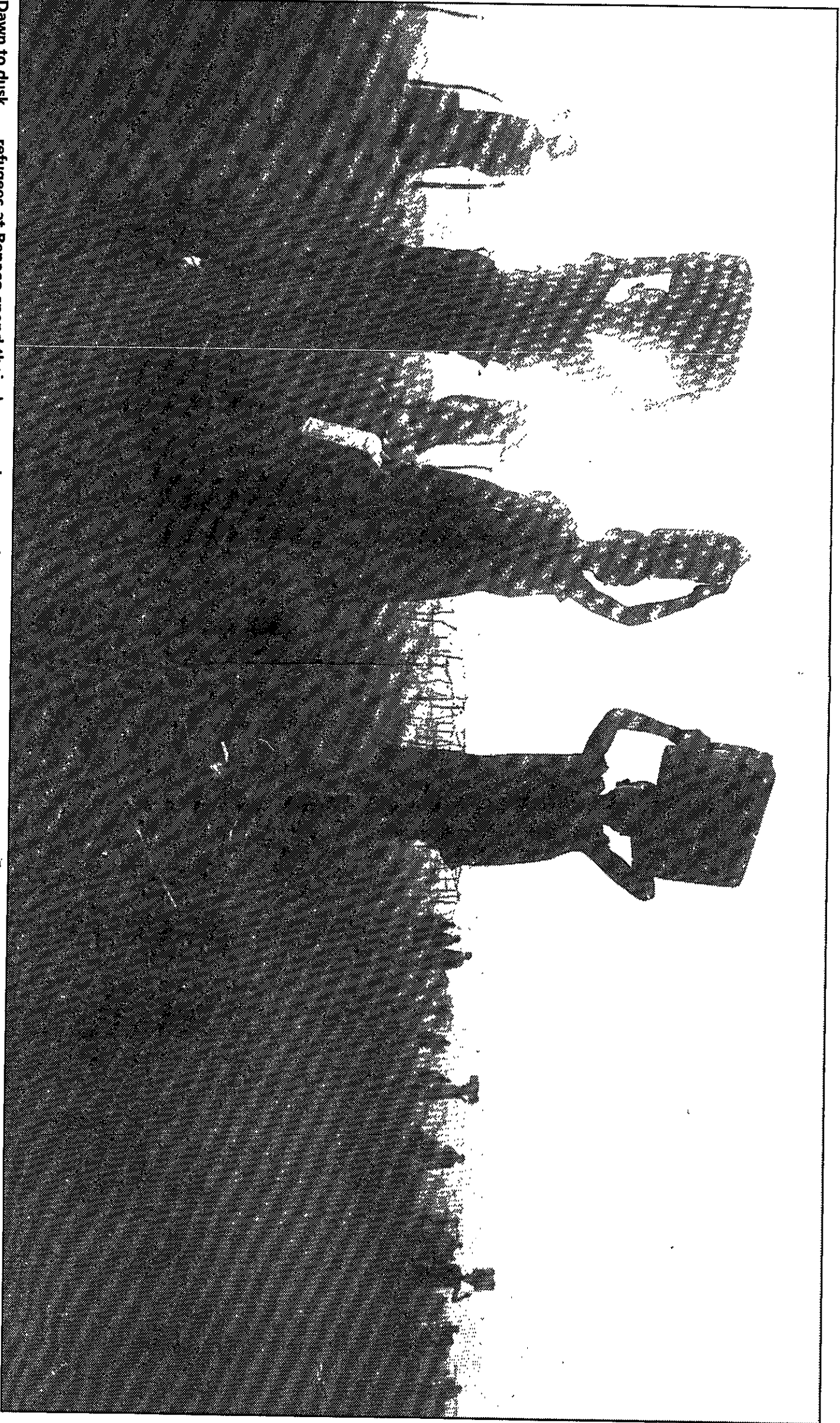
A thriving market lines the main road at the entrance to the camp. Envelopes, soft drinks, lemons, bicycle parts, and plastic shoes are for sale by entrepreneurial Rwandan refugees.

Some whisper that these items were looted by the refugees on their way out of the country.

This largest and most publicised of camps is occupied by Hutus — the majority tribe in Rwanda that has been held responsible for some of the most vicious atrocities the world has witnessed this decade. At least four killers involved in massacres of Tutsi churchgoers have been positively identified by witnesses.

Today, they, like everyone else at Benaco, receive a daily allowance of 1 900 calories consisting of maize, beans and soya flour. The numerous aid agencies at Benaco are aware of the men's presence but are powerless to act.

"(The situation in Rwanda) is a failure not only for the United Nations but for the international community — and all of us are responsible," UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has said.



Dawn to dusk . . . refugees at Benaco spend their days carrying water in every conceivable container from a small lake of purified water in the camp.

PICTURE: GARY BERNARD

Just who is responsible for the shooting down of the plane carrying, among others, the Rwandan president Juvial Habyarimana on April 6 which triggered the carnage, is still a case of mutual finger-pointing.

The government blames the RPF, which had a battalion stationed in Kigali in the weeks leading up to April 6. The RPF accuses the presidential guard,

a special force of between 700 and 1 000 specially trained men, of conspiring to kill the president.

But there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Hutu extremists were responsible for the shooting down, possibly in collaboration with certain elements in the presidential guard. The extremists opposed the

implementation of the Arusha Agreement, signed by Habyarimana on August 3 last year, which gave the Tutsi minority greater powers in the government and army and signalled a move towards democracy in Rwanda.

The role of the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda (Unamir) at the time of the shooting is also in question.

"To this day, the Belgian general in command, who was responsible for the security of Kigali and the airport, has not given a clear statement on what happened on that night," says Cyprien Habimana, a Hutu married to a Tutsi.

He is convinced that the peacekeeping forces withdrew

too soon from Rwanda. "The worst began when the foreigners and Unamir pulled out. The population was left on its own, without witnesses, and the rampage began."

Recent estimates put the death toll at an incredible 500 000 people, most of them Tutsis. Rwanda, say those who return from there, reeks of death.

Every day between 2 000 and 4 000 refugees arrive at the camp. Benaco groans under the pressure that rests on its fragile structure.

The daunting task of the aid workers is greatly helped by the "communes", a rigid village structure headed by commune leaders whose orders are strictly obeyed. It explains the remark-

able discipline with which the refugees live together in such a confined space. But it is also these commune leaders who, witnesses say, gave orders to kill Tutsis.

The family of a 10-year-old Tutsi boy, now staying in an orphanage 20 km south of Kigali, was massacred by his Hutu neighbour with a machete. As the neighbour attacked him, an RPF soldier shot the neighbour — and immediately executed the man's wife and children.

It is stories like these, repeated with minor variations by the thousand, which demonstrate that one must speak of degrees of evil and good in this war, that no one wears the black hat and

'Headless corpses float down rivers, children are hacked to death with machetes, people are rounded up for mass executions.'

no one the white.

In a situation where headless corpses float down rivers and wash up on lake shores, where five-year-old children are hacked to death with machetes, where people are being rounded up for mass executions and where Hutus and Tutsis alike, regardless of ethnicity or political leanings, murder their compatriots purely for material gain — who then can point the finger at whom?

The fighting in Rwanda is yet another chapter in a long history of violence and strife. Most recently, in October 1990, 10 000 RPF troops launched attacks on northern Rwanda from Uganda.

Tens of thousands of Rwandans, mostly Hutus, were displaced. Tutsis were murdered in revenge killings. "Really, this is the same war, just another phase," says Benedict (26), a student of English literature who was among the 250 000 who fled to Tanzania at the end of April.

Ambassador Habimana fears that should war also break out in neighbouring Burundi, where Tutsis are in the majority, an endless cycle of destruction will begin. "I think," Habimana says, "we are embarked on something that will last a long, long time."

Every day almost 300 000 refugees line up for a pitiful 1 900-calorie ration at Benaco Camp, Tanzania. Many have fled for their lives in Rwanda. But among them are a few identified mass-murderers, reports Christina Stucky

Nzo offers conflict mediation

①
2/13/94
TUNIS. — Offers to export SA's negotiating and constitutional expertise to strife-torn African countries have been made by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo.

Numerous experts in the ministry of constitutional affairs could be sent as mediators and arbitrators, Mr Nzo said in his meetings with several African foreign ministers attending the biennial conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

Senior foreign affairs officials said several requests for SA assistance in resolving conflicts were made and Mr Nzo expressed SA's willingness to assist if it were called upon to do so, for example, in Rwanda, Mozambique and Angola.

However, he was adamant that these countries would have to find internal solutions to their problems. — SA could only act as mediator.

Africa's external debt ^① rockets

CT 13/6/94

From LINDA ENSOR

TUNIS — Africa's external debt in 1993 ballooned to \$285.4bn, representing 96% of its GDP and 289% of its exports of goods and services, a United Nations official told a conference of the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) council of ministers last week.

"While actual debt service, as a percentage of exports, was estimated at 24.4% in 1993, the average ratio of debt service obligations is as high as 32%, thus pointing to substantial increase in arrears, in spite of the rescheduling efforts of Africa's main creditors," he said.

UN under-secretary general and Economic Commission for Africa executive secretary, Layashi Yaker, noted that net official development assistance amounted to only \$22.8bn in 1992 or \$7.2bn short of the UN's objective.

"Even more disturbing is the negligible level of foreign direct investment of only \$600m in 1992," Yaker said.

Gross Domestic Product growth averaged only 1% last year, bringing the average for the last four years to a mere 1.3%, compared with an average annual population growth of over 3%. Per capita income declined by more than 1.7% per annum since 1990.

Loan wells drying up for Africa

JAMES TOMLINS ①
The Argus Foreign Service

ARG 14/6/94
PARIS. — African governments are running into major difficulties in obtaining foreign loans owing to "rampant Afro-pessimism", the monthly Jeune Afrique Economie (JAE) reported.

"Presentation of the financial dossier is all important these days, unlike a few years ago," the monthly noted.

"Because of the current rampant Afro-pessimism, African governments must take greater care in drawing up and planning their loan bids, as it is imperative for them to underline their stability and creditworthiness.

"The bid must be made at the highest levels by presidents, premiers, finance ministers and central bank heads."

Recently the media here reported that some African countries had become lawless "non-state States". They listed Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Zaire.

But a number of other countries are facing such political, social and economic upheaval that they have no hope of attracting foreign investment or loans.

JAE named Republic of Congo, a former French colony, as a major example. The country has been racked by political and social instability for months.

BUSINESS The poorest African countries will be

GATT hits Africa

By Mzimkulu Malunga

■ **TRADE AGREEMENT** Call

AFRICA stands to lose over R9 billion a year following the signing of an "historic" trade agreement under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is the view expressed in the latest edition of a United States quarterly publication *African Farmer*. The journal is published by the non-governmental organisation Hunger Project. While the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of GATT last December is expected to inject about R700 billion into the world economy many of the poor countries of Africa which are the importers of food will be the "net losers".

In many countries, particularly

for more help for ailing economies:

south of the Sahara, farmers will not be in a position to take advantage of rising grain prices because they do not have the means to boost their productive capacity, says the publication.

The publication quotes a representative of a United Kingdom charity organisation, Christian Aid, as saying: "The poorest nations of the world should not have to bear the cost of a trade deal from which it seems every other country will benefit."

The *African Farmer* calls for increased help for ailing African economies, so that they can diversify and

offset higher food prices. (1)

Attempts to put this issue at the top of the agenda was brushed aside during the GATT negotiations.

Also, the 69 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries which have favourable market access to the European Union are likely to lose the advantage in the light of the trade agreement.

However, a handful of African countries will benefit from the GATT breakthrough. These include Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast and Mauritius as they are producers of textiles and will be able to gain new outlets to markets.

Mandela 'no' to mediation

PRETORIA. — President Nelson Mandela is "not keen to be an additional person" trying to resolve the conflict in Rwanda.

With three experienced presidents already trying to mediate in the conflict it was not advisable to bring in a newcomer, he told a media conference here yesterday.

It had not been possible for him to mediate because of the large number of bilateral meetings in which he had participated at the Organisation of African Unity's summit in Tunisia.

Mr Mandela said the cabinet had decided to give humanitarian aid to Rwanda through medical assistance and funds.

The question of supplying 50 armoured personnel carriers with drivers for UN use in Rwanda would "have to be investigated".

With regard to Angola, Mr Mandela adopted a similar position, saying that "as a newcomer I can-

Personnel carrier request to be probed

not take over initiatives started by others".

President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique had already assisted Angola.

Mr Mandela said he had met Mr Chissano, Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and President Mabuto Sese Seko of Zaire on Wednesday.

"It seems there is a realisation that they (Angola) should form a government of national unity," he said.

Intervention in Lesotho was

① CT 17/6/94

also being investigated by a task force appointed to investigate the situation in that country.

"We are discussing the matter and co-ordinating with the secretary-general of the UN, the secretary-general of the Commonwealth and the OAU," Mr Mandela said.

"As soon as our investigations are completed we will announce the decision," he said.

● Institute for Defence Policy analyst Dr Jakkie Cilliers said yesterday that if South African aid to Rwanda included 50 Mamba armoured personnel carriers and a field hospital, South African troops would be needed to run and maintain them.

● Rwanda's warring factions battled in the deserted capital Kigali yesterday, ignoring an African-brokered ceasefire agreement and obliging the UN to put off scheduled peace talks.

The truce held for only about four hours on Wednesday, and hostilities resumed overnight. — Sapa-Reuter

New OAU head plans to lobby rich countries to help

TUNIS. — Tunisia, newly installed at the head of the Organisation of African Unity, plans to lobby rich countries for a "Marshall Plan" for Africa on the grounds that it is in their interest to help rescue the continent's economy.

Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia, setting the agenda for Tunisia's chairmanship of the OAU, said that this month's OAU summit in Tunis had laid the groundwork for actions rather than words.

"During the summit most heads of state highlighted the fact that the

page has been turned once and for all on decolonisation and apartheid," said Mr Ben Yahia.

Conflicts and crises in Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia and Burundi highlighted a need to address the challenges of development, democratisation and stability.

"The new phase is one of development to complete political independence through economic progress," he said.

He said Tunisia, which took over the OAU chairmanship from Egypt at the summit, would press for an

African version of the Marshall Plan, which channelled US aid to rebuild Europe's shattered economy after World War 2.

Such a plan, he added, could harness African debt repayments to help solve economic and environmental problems in the context of the world economy.

Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali would put the idea to a meeting of the Group of Seven leading industrialised nations in Naples, Italy, on July 9, he said.

The message, he added, would ask

them to examine their consciences.

Mr Ben Yahia said OAU trade and finance ministers would meet in Tunis in October.

"The Tunis meeting will consider Africa's place in the new world economic and trading order following the signing in Marrakesh of the Uruguay Round pact," he said.

"We will not be meeting to philosophise and hold idealised talks on Africa's place, but to look at ways of defending African interests in a world in which competition will be

fierce."

OAU foreign ministers will meet at the end of the year to discuss the development challenge faced by African countries.

"The solutions have been identified — it will be mainly a question of finding the missing ingredient, how to mobilise national, regional and international resources and to identify priorities," said Mr Ben Yahia.

He expressed satisfaction that 42 African heads of state had agreed on an African approach to the crisis in Rwanda.

But he stressed that Rwanda was not an African problem alone, saying that the UN Security Council had a responsibility to ensure a ceasefire.

Asked whether Tunisia backed French calls for foreign intervention, he said: "The challenge is so great that the intervention of all nations is needed."

Mr Ben Yahia said that Tunisia, as OAU chairman, would strive to translate words into action.

"We did not adopt resolutions that merely catalogued the problems," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

① Afr 20/6/94

rescue Africa

'1 000 medics for Rwanda?' ^① CT 20/6/94

LONDON. — South Africa will send a force of 1 000 doctors, nurses and other personnel from the SANDF Medical Service to Rwanda, the Sunday Telegraph reported yesterday.

The newspaper said among the senior and non-commissioned officers going will be many who served in Angola with the SA military in the 1980s.

The SANDF officers and Department of Foreign Affairs officials have just returned from a reconnaissance mission in Rwanda and neighbouring countries.

The Medical Service personnel are ready to leave with a military field hospital to care for refugees the moment Rwanda's neighbours, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi, together with the UN, decide where on the border they

Govt denies reports

should be located.

Foreign Affairs spokesman Mr Jacques Malan denied the story, saying no decision had been taken.

"I don't know where the newspaper got their information from because the story was not sourced," he said.

SANDF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said he also knew nothing

about it, adding any decision about aid outside South Africa's borders was made by the government.

Meanwhile, leader of the Rhema church Mr Ray McCauley, who is chairman of Operation Mercy, announced several tons of food had already been collected following President Nelson Mandela's appeal for aid for the war-torn country.

Heavy fighting between rebels and government forces erupted in the centre of the capital Kigali before dawn yesterday after the rebels said the country did not need French help to stop further massacres of civilians.

The rebels were bombarding the administrative centre of the city with mortars and artillery and small-arms fire boiled in street clashes. — Sapa-Reuter, Staff Reporter



Reign of terror ... a rebel patrol passes a legless Rwandan in Gitarama, where civilians have been killed by government militias.

PICTURE: AFP

Africa pulls itself out of the mire

Star 20/6/94

When British aid agencies launched an appeal for Rwanda a month ago it seemed likely that they would be embarrassed by the result. Once again Africans were killing each other in large numbers and with singular brutality for no comprehensible reason. Many predicted that people would not be induced to write out another cheque for another man-made disaster in Africa, and that the piles of bodies in Rwanda would lead to further marginalisation of the continent.

After Somalia, Angola and Mozambique, Rwanda seemed to confirm the worst fears of the most cynical Afro-pessimists. And no one could argue that events were hyped by the media. Cameramen I met there had been told by their editors to stop taking pictures of corpses. Why should people be told another story of inexplicable murder in Africa?

Realism

Rwanda even seemed to cancel out the optimism generated by the election of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa. Since the killings began more than a month ago, many people have felt — and some have said — that's what Africa is really like. How long before it happens in South Africa?

To suggest at such a time that Africa is about to get its act together may sound far-fetched, but Mandela's call for a new birth for Africa at the meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Tunis last week reflected a new African realism about itself.

Giving his first address to the OAU, Mandela said: "We must ... say that there is no obstacle big enough to stop us from bringing

THE carnage in Rwanda belies a continent set on rebuilding itself, says Richard Dowden

about a new African renaissance."

He did not blame or demand from Western countries, the usual fare of OAU speeches. There was no list of grievances and no demands for more aid. His message was that Africa must solve its problems.

Stranger things have happened. Mandela is one of them. To think that Africa can find solutions to its wars, refurbish its economy, and find food for areas of drought and famine, is to indulge in the euphoria that swept South Africa in April. But that euphoria grew out of real change and real hope. And however unreal the expectations it might have engendered, it is no less real for that.

If it has fired some self-respect and idealism in Africa and optimism in the rest of the world, so much the better.

For five years at least the continent has seemed to be drifting away from the rest of Planet Earth. As the rest of the former Third World — most of Asia and South America — began to turn their economies round and even take off, African countries sank deeper and deeper into debt and depression.

The continent seemed to be refusing to develop. So why should the outside world pay any attention? Africa is no longer of any strategic importance. The marginalisation of Africa seemed irrevocable.

So what has changed? Nothing in the

macro sense. It will still take 40 years at present growth rates for the standard of living of most Africans to get back to what it was in the early '70s. The flow of aid is diminishing, the terms of trade are worsening, per capita income has fallen by 25 percent in most of Africa in the last decade. The debts increase and so does the population. What has changed is perception and some straws in the wind.

South Africa's emotional return to the human race was shared by millions watching on television. Suddenly, everyone could identify with a country that used to be untouchable and a long way away. When South Africa came closer to us the huge expanse of continent in between seemed no longer so distant either. It was squeezed into our consciousness.

And we will see more of it. Next year has been designated Africa '95 by the Royal Academy, essentially an art and music festival, which is also spawning television programmes about life in Africa. These will at least keep Africa on the map.

Springboard

Far more significant is the new commercial interest in Africa. Capitalism fled Africa in the '80s. Direct investment in sub-Saharan Africa failed to rise. The flight of capital was probably five times that over the same period. Despite a huge outflow of capital from South Africa after the elections, there is renewed interest in southern Africa by overseas funds after the political change.

Dr Rob Weinberg of brokers SG Warburg says: "I believe mining houses will use the First World facilities of South Africa as a

springboard for new ventures in Africa, which is a cornucopia of mineral resources. This could lead to much higher than expected growth all over the continent."

Warburg's has also noted the success of the new stock exchanges in Ghana and Zimbabwe.

One country which is already quietly booming is Uganda, a land that looked like Rwanda less than 10 years ago. This year, the Ugandan shilling began to rise against the dollar. It has been helped by aid which now provides over half its income and a booming coffee price, but these have generated new confidence and vigorous economic activity.

Politically, Uganda does not score highly in the democracy stakes because it does not allow multiparty democracy, but President Yoweri Museveni has tried to include in the political process anyone who has support in the country.

Mandela is pursuing the same policy, a new departure in Africa where the political winner has tended to take all and slam the door on every other contender. The criteria of political good behaviour in Africa should perhaps not be democratic in the Westminster sense but inclusive.

All these disparate factors suggest that in the right conditions African countries can pick themselves up remarkably quickly. The right conditions include the attitude of the rest of the world. And the British public seems determined not to abandon Africa.

The Rwanda appeal by the Disasters Emergency Committee has raised £4.25 million (R23.3 million) in a month. This is four times as much as the appeal for Yugoslavia in March. — The Independent News Service.

Rwanda rebels turn on peacekeepers as French move in

APC 23/6/94

KIGALI. — French troops massed to enter southwest Rwanda today on a risky mission to stop tribal massacres, and Rwandan rebels, who have vowed to fight the intervention, said they would probably expel the remnants of a UN peace-keeping force.

"I am sure the RPF will be asking the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (Unamir) to go now," said a lieutenant of the Rwanda Patriotic Front.

The RPF said before yesterday's UN Security Council vote narrowly approving the French intervention that if it went ahead the 400 UN peacekeepers based in Kigali should be pulled out.

France started deploying troops in eastern Zaire overnight in "Operation Turquoise". French military sources said transport planes landed troops overnight at airfields in Bukavu and Goma in eastern Zaire. French Jaguar warplanes also landed at Kisangani in north-east Zaire.

French sources said when there were enough troops they would probably cross into Rwanda from Bukavu, heading for Cyangugu, where thousands

of refugees from the Tutsi minority are said to be in danger.

France is deploying 2 500 troops to prevent further slaughter of the kind that has seen an estimated 500 000 people killed, most of them Tutsi civilians massacred by Hutu soldiers and militiamen, in the past 11 weeks.

The Tutsi-based RPF, which now controls two-thirds of the country and is contesting the capital, says the French operation is aimed at saving the interim government holed up in the southwest from defeat.

Unamir military spokesman Major Jean-Guy Plante declined to comment on the UN Security Council vote.

Asked whether Unamir was preparing to evacuate its personnel because of RPF opposition, he said: "In the military, we have plans for everything. Unamir operations are already virtually paralysed.

It evacuated 42 French-speaking military observers from Senegal, Togo and Congo to Uganda yesterday, saying there were signs that they were no longer welcome in RPF-held territory. The RPF also summoned six



YOUNG BLOODS: Government militiamen on lookout duty in a hidden lorry in Kigali.

journalists working for French organisations in the capital today to its northern stronghold town of Byumba.

Major Plante said he assumed they were going to be expelled. The RPF has vowed to fight the French deployment but French officials say their forces will not come into contact with the rebels.

For the first time since fighting broke out in April, RPF fighters started checking the identity cards and passports of foreigners on the deserted, shell-wrecked streets of Kigali.

On the government-held side of the city, drunken militiamen gave the thumbs-up sign when they asked if foreigners were French.

RFLM, the radio of extremist Hutus which has helped incite the mass killings, said government forces should gain new hope as the French were coming to fight on the government side and were bringing in new weapons.

Major Plante said that Unamir still planned to deploy Ghanaian reinforcements, part of the 5 000 extra troops for the

UN force authorised in May by the UN Security Council, next week.

US military transport planes started flying in to Entebbe airport in Uganda today from a US air base in Germany with the first of 47 armoured personnel carriers for Unamir.

The 400 UN troops in Rwanda are the remnants of a 2 500-man force deployed last year to help implement a pact ending three years of war between the government and the RPF. — Reuter.

CIA plans to close 15 posts in Africa

WASHINGTON, — The Central Intelligence Agency is to close 15 of its posts in Africa because of budget cuts, the Washington Post reported today.

One result of the proposed CIA action would be to reduce the United States presence in more than a dozen African countries, the paper said.

Another would be to cut off relationships with local intelligence services and police, the Post said, citing a top retired CIA official with covert experience in the area.

A senior CIA official, not identified by name, was quoted as saying: "We have to rationalize our activities along with everyone else.

"We have never been in Africa to report on Africa.

"We went into Africa as part of the covert activity of the Cold War, to recruit (as spies) Soviet, Chinese, Eastern European and sometimes North Korean officials under circumstances that were easier to operate under than in their home countries."

① A723/6/94
The Post said the proposed CIA cutback was drawing criticism on Capitol Hill and from retired members of the intelligence community.

The move "will be seen by the locals" as "part of the withdrawal of this country from the world scene", a retired CIA official was quoted as saying.

● A White House conference on Africa due to take place on Sunday and Monday has left the Congressional Black Caucus and other members of Congress in an uproar, the Washington Post reported.

It quoted several sources as saying the White House made the final decision to go ahead with the conference on Tuesday night after the Black Caucus withdrew a boycott threat.

"Even without a formal boycott, most members of the caucus will skip the conference ... because they are upset over the Clinton administration's Africa policy, or they feel they were treated rudely in preparations for the conference," the Post reported. — Reuter.

Mandela calls on US to spur Africa revival

□ 'Turn away or take up cudgels'

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Nelson Mandela has urged the United States to take the lead in developing an international assistance project for Africa "more novel and challenging" than any since the Marshall Plan.

Mr Mandela made his call in a videotaped message to a White House conference on Africa that started yesterday.

President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore and other senior administration officials are addressing the conference, which aims to boost American involvement in Africa. It is the first time the White House has held a conference on the problems of a specific region.

Mr Mandela said the US had two "stark options". One was to succumb to the pessimistic view that Africa was in permanent decline. The other was "to take up the cudgels and become a leading partner in the most novel and challenging international project since the Marshall Plan".

This project would not be based on narrow Cold War security considerations. Instead, world leadership would be motivated by concern for the well-

being of nations — "poor and downtrodden, yet determined to become a full and equal part of humanity".

Mr Mandela said that after this month's OAU summit in Tunis, it was clear that Africa was determined to sustain an enduring renaissance.

"There is a sense of urgency among African leaders to take full responsibility for the continent's woes.

National Security Adviser Anthony Lake said there was unprecedented interest in Africa. The ethnic massacre in Rwanda and South Africans patiently waiting to vote offered sharply contrasting pictures of the continent's future.

It was now time to take this greater interest in Africa and convert it into action.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George Moose said its economic prospects were improving because of increases in commodity prices. But drought and population growth made the future "sombre".

Mr Brian Atwood, head of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), said with the coming to power of a new generation of leaders, Africa had a potential for development not seen since the first wave of independence.

Mauritius 'an example to Africa'

ALIDE DASNOIS
Business Staff

THE economic success story of the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius was an example to Africa, Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel has said.

From a "sundrenched island holiday destination for rich South Africans", the country had transformed itself into an exporter of manufactured goods, outgrown its dependence on sugar and shown a capacity for sustainable growth estimated at 7 percent this year.

Speaking at the opening of a Mauritian trade exhibition in Cape Town yesterday, Mr Manuel said while one in two economically active South Africans were unemployed, Mauritius was a net importer of labour.

"This testifies to what people can do when they act together."

Mauritius would be pivotal in any attempt to strengthen regional integration in Southern Africa and in the Indian Ocean rim.

South Africa would be seeking to join the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) within the next few months.

"Our challenge is to broaden our horizons. We have to show that Africa can develop," Mr Manuel said.

Mauritius would try to correct its trade deficit with South Africa, Mauritian minister of Industry Jean-Claude de l'Estrac warned.

He said in 1993 Mauritian exports to South Africa totalled only R17 million while imports from South Africa reached

R860 million. The ratio of imports to exports had deteriorated from 30:1 three years ago to 50:1.

The Mauritian government was hoping tariff barriers against Mauritian imports would be lowered. Volumes of exports of knitwear, garments and footwear from Mauritius were too low to represent a threat to South African manufacturing, Mr de l'Estrac said.

New areas of trade could be opened up.

"The Mauritian textile industry imports \$55 million worth of cotton and cotton yarn each year — South Africa could be a source for this if prices are competitive."

The minister said Mauritius intended to apply to join SADC and hoped South Africa would support its candidature.

Clinton pledges new African approach

CT 29161944
From NEL LURSSER

WASHINGTON. — President Bill Clinton yesterday pledged a new US approach to Africa now that apartheid and Soviet-style communism have collapsed.

It will be an approach aimed at sustainable development, conflict and crises pre-

vention, stopping environmental degradation and keeping population growth at a reasonable level.

None of these goals will be easy to achieve, Mr Clinton told a two-day African conference which ended at the White House last night.

One approach the US is

looking at is easing Africa's enormous debt to the industrialised nations — which consumes funds that might be used for development.

He said the US will continue its policy of writing off 50% or more of the debts faced by African countries with the heaviest debt burdens. But American budgetary law

made this process difficult and new solutions were being sought for the debt problem.

Mr Clinton warned Rwanda was an extreme example of the "tensions that can destroy generations". A new policy should be based on the idea that the US could help African nations identify problems before they erupted.

He said South Africa had given the world a great cause for hope but now the hard work was beginning.

The \$35 million (about R126m) spent to help the S.A. elections succeed was one of the best American expenditures in years, Mr Clinton said.

Tutu on peace mission

① CT 4/1/94
MONROVIA. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu arrived in Liberia yesterday as the latest in a long line of foreign mediators trying to bring peace to the West African country.

"We come not as those who are instant experts but to assure Liberians that many in the world are praying for them to achieve peace, justice and stability," Archbishop Tutu said at the airport here, where he was given a rousing welcome. He arrived from Ivory Coast.

Liberia's peace process is badly derailed with disarmament of fighters at a complete stop and the United Nations starting to warn that it will withdraw peacekeepers.

There are fears that low-level fighting between at least five factions could erupt into full-scale war.

"From what has happened in South Africa, we may be able to say that nobody in the world can ever again say that their problem is unsolvable," Archbishop Tutu said. — Sapa-Reuter

'Rwandan rebels to form govt'

① CT 6/7/94

KIGALI — The commander of the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) said yesterday it would form a broad-based government within days and would then declare a unilateral ceasefire.

"The RPF should now be considered as the government and the former government should be considered as rebels," said

RPF commander Major-General Kagame.

He said that as soon as the government of national unity was formed the RPF would declare a unilateral ceasefire.

Gen Kagame also hit out at France for what he said were "threats" after French forces were ordered on Monday to

stop an RPF advance westwards by force if necessary.

President Francois Mitterrand said on the last day of his two-day official visit yesterday that South Africa had "enough problems of its own to solve" without becoming militarily involved in Rwanda. He said France was "not at war" or taking sides in the

Rwandan conflict and in fact "was waiting with great impatience for the United Nations to take our place in Rwanda."

President Nelson Mandela emphasised that any action taken by South Africa in Rwanda would only take place as part of a UN or Organisation of African Unity initiative. — Sapa-Reuter, Political Staff

Executions, political arrests and torture continue in Africa

JOHANNESBURG. — Political killings and "disappearances" were the predominant human rights violations in Africa, though political arrests and torture continued in 1993, Amnesty International said in its annual report released today.

Amnesty said hundreds of extrajudicial executions and disappearances were reported in 20 African countries, including Angola, Chad, Liberia, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo and Zaire.

Elsewhere in the region, the governments of Cameroon, Nigeria and Sudan held prisoners of conscience. Foreshadowing this year's genocide

in Rwanda, Amnesty said about 300 unarmed civilians were extrajudicially executed last year by Rwandan government forces, while the rebel Rwandese Patriotic Front killed more than 300 people.

In neighbouring Burundi, a coup attempt in which the newly elected president was killed triggered widespread killings by members of both Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups, as well as the armed forces, in which thousands of people died.

The London-based human rights group's 32nd annual report covers only 1993, and so does not include the

recent bloodletting in Rwanda. But deputy director Derek Evans noted that Amnesty has reported on political massacres in Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi four times in the past three decades.

A grim toll of death and torture — page 13

"In each case more than 100 000 people (were) killed," he said.

"These things are not inevitable. They are not flukes. They are not simply disasters that befall certain countries at certain times.

Mr Evans said the United Nations

was told of political killings, repression, disappearances, torture and incidents, but action was very rare.

Amnesty's report said hundreds of critics of the Nigerian government were detained as prisoners of conscience, while in Sudan thousands of civilians and prisoners were reported to have been killed by government and opposition forces last year.

In Zaire, soldiers extrajudicially executed hundreds of unarmed civilians during riots, attacks on protesters and reprisals against citizens.

At least four people were killed by

police in Zimbabwe in circumstances suggesting they may have been extrajudicially executed, Amnesty added.

Its report said more than 20 000 suspected opponents of the Ethiopian government were released after being detained without charge or trial since 1991 and 1992, but several thousand continued to be held.

The organisation said torture and ill-treatment remained common in Africa with more than 1 400 cases of torture documented in 29 countries.

In South Africa, 39 detainees died in mysterious circumstances while in police custody. — Sapa.

Nzo steps up efforts for peace in region

PRETORIA. — South Africa intends stepping up its role as a regional peacemaker after its successful mediation in the Angolan civil war.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo said this yesterday.

Coaxed by President Mandela and threatened by a United Nations blockade of Unita supply lines, principally through Zaire, Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko agreed to reopen talks with Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The leaders have not spoken since 1989. Their mutual animosity led to Mr Mobutu's open support for Unita which is fighting to topple Mr Dos Santos's government.

Speaking at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday after talks with Swaziland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Solomon Dlamini, Mr Nzo ruled out South African military intervention in the region as a first option.

He said South Africa believed in talks rather than military intervention.

"The (Angolan) discussions that took place indicate that we think the best way, rather than the military marching into countries, is to discuss and have these problems resolved around a table."

He said that Mr Mandela wanted peace in southern Africa so that the region would have more impact on African and world affairs.

Mr Nzo said closer regional co-operation would be vigorously pursued in the coming weeks.

"Part of our policy is to ensure there is stability and co-operation and that peaceful relations are built among neighbours as a stepping stone to broader regions of the world."

Other initiatives planned include visits by Mr Nzo to Mozambique and Namibia next week and a meeting between Mr Mandela and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

South African officials said a South African-led peace initiative to bring an end to conflict in Lesotho was also planned. — Sapa.

Hello, neighbour

ACU 11/7/94 ①

THE AFRICAN TRAVELS OF MINISTER NZO

The Argus
Correspondent
in PRETORIA

BOOSTED by his government's growing status as a world player, South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo this week makes a series of neighbourly visits to his counterparts in Mozambique and Namibia.

Mr Nzo and his foreign affairs team have seen as much frontline diplomatic action this past week as any super power might.

It began with their vital ancillary operation during the State visit of France's President Mitterrand. The French leader pro-

gion and aims to build a strong bloc.

This will carry increased political and economic weight in international forums like the United Nations, the Non Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth.

Clearly fired by the success at the summit the previous day, Mr Nzo reaffirmed his government's belief in talks rather than military intervention.

"The best way, rather than the military marching into countries, is to discuss and have problems resolved around a table, he said.

"A lot of people think that does not succeed. But I'm sure that rather than have our people shooting bullets in other countries, it is better if issues are handled as we are doing."

United States, Britain and Portugal.

All three countries have considerable political and economic leverage in Mozambique.

"These are countries which tend not to allow peoples to choose their own destiny. They continue to believe that Africans are unable to conduct their own affairs", Mr Chissano told the newspaper.

Should power sharing turn out to be the only means of achieving free elections and ensuring the 16-year-old war with Renamo does not re-ignite, Mr Nzo could face his first really prickly regional issue. With its own thustar fa-

vourable experience of power sharing, South Africa might be inclined to this common-sense approach.

But this would entail siding against a brother African with Western nations, including former colonial powers.

This is exactly the sort of decision South Africa as a regional power will have to face, a senior Western source said at the weekend.

We have no doubt they have the political will to do the right thing on foreign policy and the expertise to do it well. We are very impressed at what we have seen so far. Given the sophistication and skill they have shown so far, we are confident the for-

ign policy experts realise the magnitude of what faces them.

We hope they will take all the time necessary to acquaint themselves with the country's new and important place in the world.

South Africa would probably soon be offered the African seat on the United Nations Security Council.

We hope they will not take this up too quickly, the source said. To properly perform the functions of a security council member a country needs top frontline officials exposed to tough multilateral questions for a number of years. It also needs vastly experienced research and support staff.

Expanding on regional plans, Mr Nzo said: "Part of our policy is to ensure there is stability and cooperation and that peaceful relations are built among neighbours as a stepping stone to broader regions of the world.

"In the next few days, the process continues of meeting our brothers in the region.

"It is important for South Africa to build relationships of trust with the region. Our brothers in the region must see that there is a change.

"It is not like before when people were terrified of our country because of its practice of dropping bombs and sending in troops."

South African officials said a South African-led peace initiative to bring an end to conflict in Lesotho was also planned.

Mr Nzo's regional efforts appear to be directed at mending fences damaged by the previous government rather than digging up any old bones of contention.

With Mr Dhlamini, for example, he did not even raise the matter of the disputed territories Ingwavuma and Kangwane which has previously been a thorn in the side of realtions with Swaziland.

Thus when Mr Nzo starts his regional travels in Maputo, he may be expected to skirt the increasingly contentious issue of power sharing after the October elections in that country.

An angry Mr Chissano however denounced those foreign governments pressing to agree to a power-sharing deal in advance of the poll.

"There are some people saying that even those who lose the elections should govern alongside those who win," Chissano told a rally in Maputo.

While he did not say which countries were pushing for a coalition government, a newspaper there has identified the

tioned success.

For Mr Nzo it brought membership of yet another organisation: the Franco-African group. This comprises more than 30 African nations speaking French, Portuguese and English.

Exactly how membership will interface with South Africa's activities in the Organisation of African Unity and among the considerable number of African members of the Commonwealth remains to be seen.

Observers believe it is time Mr Nzo takes stock of the number of organisations South Africa has joined or re-joined, with a critical eye to cost, benefits and responsibilities.

Next, DFA officials were encouraged by the initial success of President Mandela's intervention in the Angolan peace process.

But their work has been cut out by the decisions taken at last Thursday's summit of Presidents Mandela, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, of Angola, Mobutu Sese Seko, of Zaire and Joaquim Chissano, of Mozambique.

While officials from Angola and Zaire meet to prepare a summit of their two presidents - which is seen as the achievement of Mr Mandela's initiative thusfar - South African and Unita officials will meet in Pretoria to continue the process.

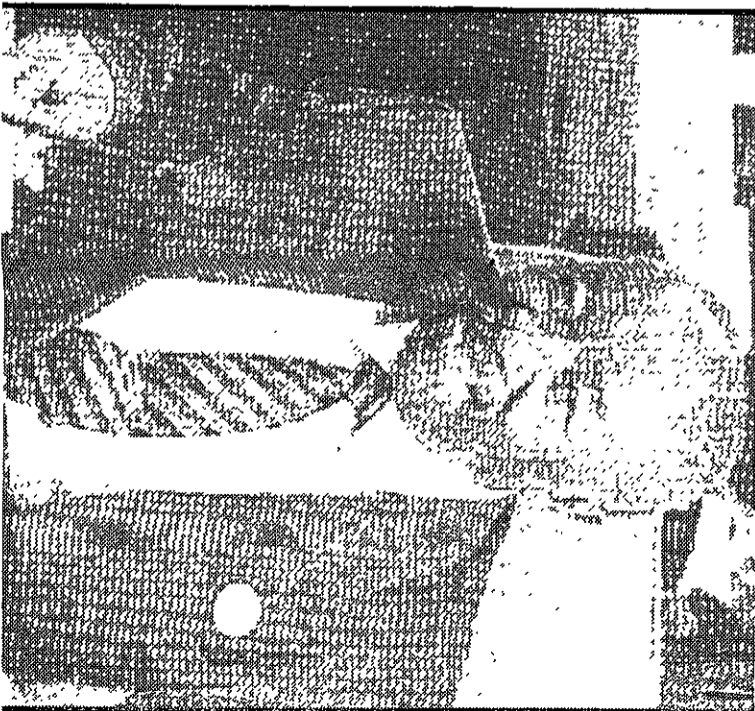
Their objective is a meeting between Mr Mandela and Dr Jonas Savimbi where pressure could be applied to the rebel leader to return to the negotiation table.

Mr Nzo fully briefed his Swazi counterpart, Mr Solomon Dhlamini on that summit when the two met in Pretoria on Friday.

That bilateral, however, was primarily designed to strengthen neighbourly ties.

South Africa has taken up its leadership role in the re-

PACKING BAGS: South African Foreign Minister, Mr Alfred Nzo heading into Africa. His expertise is in great demand.



Africa like the 'old wild west', says academic

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Zaire is in a catastrophic state — and Africa is like the "old wild west"; a leading Zairean academic has said here.

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, professor of African studies at Howard University in Washington DC, and a leading member of the democratic movement in Zaire, said the Mobutu regime remained viable "only as a repressive force and an international actor".

He told a seminar of the Africa Institute here yesterday that "total collapse like in Liberia, Somalia and Rwanda cannot be excluded in Zaire."

Mr Mobutu was unable to command the loyalty or obedience of the citizenry. Several provinces were totally ungovernable, Dr Ntalaja said.

"Mobutu is not an honourable man. But it is open season now for warlords and dictators in Africa. They are getting away with murder. It is like the old

wild west where power is respected and democracy is only a game."

The so-called "friends of Zaire" — the United States, France and Belgium — intervened there only in their own interests, Dr Ntalaja charged.

"The US believes Mobutu should remain an important player, although he should relinquish control of Central Bank and let his prime minister rule.

"Of course it doesn't work

that way," Dr Ntalaja said.

"Mobutu clings to the Central Bank and other essential items of power. He reassumed executive power only three months after accepting an American-brokered deal to become ceremonial head of Zaire."

In response to a question, Dr Ntalaja said France had a long term strategy of regional domination in central Africa. This was why it was now supporting its "loyal client Mobutu."

Destabilisation cost R360bn

WINDHOEK. — Economic damage to Southern Africa through South African aggression and destabilisation during the apartheid era is conservatively estimated at \$100 billion (about R360bn), a seminar on peace, security and democracy was told here this week.

The seminar was arranged by the Southern African Development Community.

Mr Abdul Minty, of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South

Africa, told the seminar the region could plan for balanced and equitable development.

This would aid regional self-reliance and conflict resolution. An option was the joint training of security forces and a common policy to acquire and maintain weapons systems. ET 13/7/94

He said the legacy of apartheid remained an obstacle to democracy, peace and security in Southern Africa.

A strategy for disarmament and

demilitarisation was urgent.

"If this is not done, democracy will be constantly at risk, peace and security threatened, and any prospect of promoting development and growth seriously jeopardised."

Although national resources were needed to provide adequate security and defence, the new atmosphere of peace and co-operation would enable all countries to allocate more money to civilian projects, Mr Minty told participants. — Sapa

Rwanda's new nomads flee advancing gunfire

① DM 15-21/7/94

Packing roads by day and hillsides by night, thousands scramble to keep a step ahead of the soldiers, writes **Chris McGreal** in Nyenga

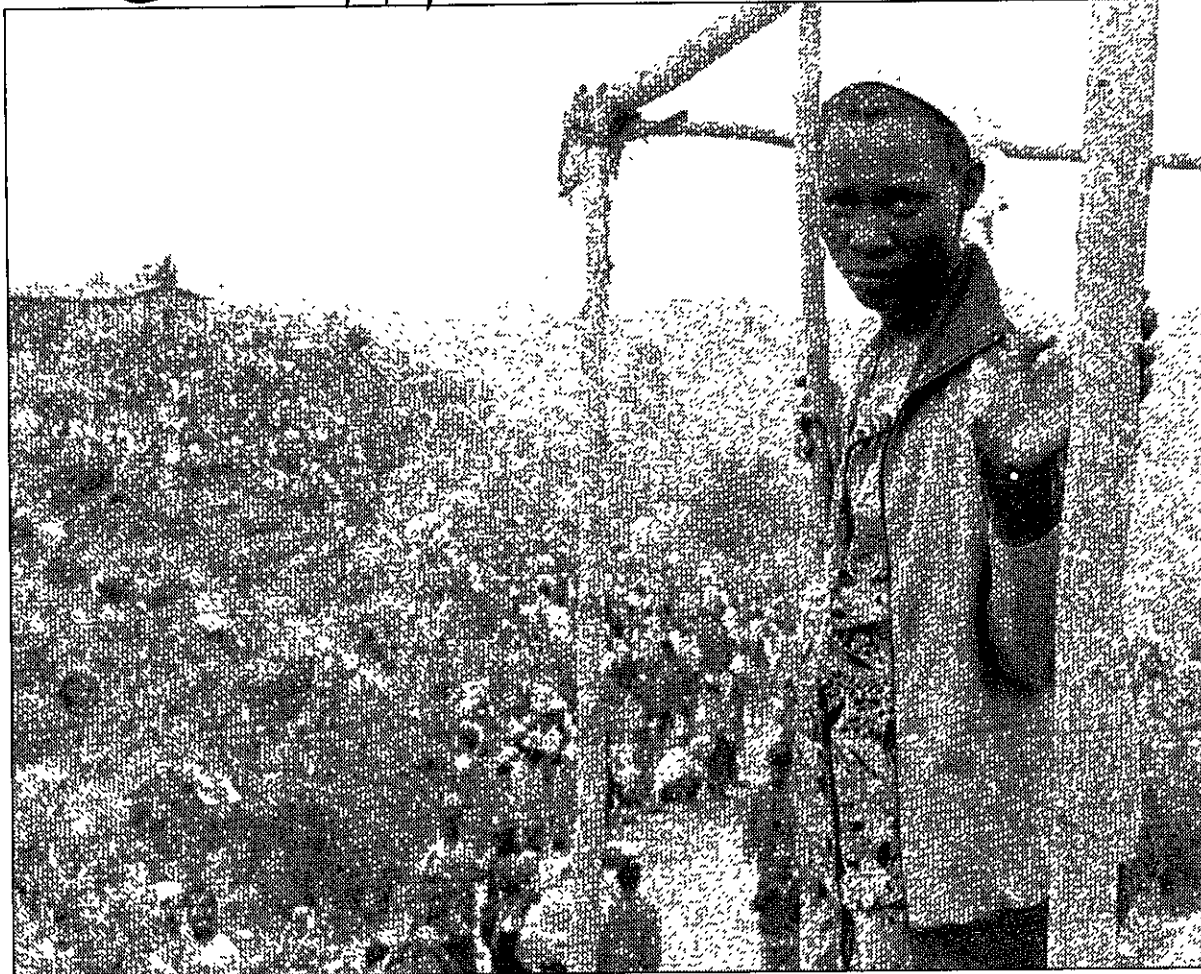
RWANDA'S new nomads are crowded on to a Nyenga hillside with a swift decision to make. There may be no more than a few hours left to consider whether to move on again or risk being swallowed up in the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) advance to the west.

The 3 000 refugees are squeezed into an abandoned school, and under plastic sheeting, on a hillside far from established settlements. Their nights are disturbed by gunfire, probably no more than five miles away now. Although the camp leadership says people are uncertain whether to leave, most are convinced they will be murdered by the RPF, so there is little doubt they will join the exodus.

As eastern Rwanda empties, so the west fills. The RPF is driving the civilian population before it into one side of what was Africa's most densely populated country. International aid agencies say half a million Rwandans have taken flight.

Hundreds of thousands of people pack roads by day and blanket hillsides by night. Some, like those at Nyenga, have stayed put until the last moment. Others, like those trailing north towards Ruhengeri from the capital Kigali, are perpetually on the move. Soldiers mix with civilians, everyone at a loss.

The greatest movement is in the north-west, where the RPF advance is concentrated and hardship grows by the day. The first wave of refugees stripped the crops from the fields. Those following behind must often make do with roots, bulbs and leaves that make them sick.



Where to next? A Rwandan refugee holds the frame of a half-built hut at a refugee camp by the road between Gitarama and Kibuye in western Rwanda. Refugees are fleeing the camp ahead of the advancing RPF soldiers, who are pushing tens of thousands of refugees westward

PHOTOGRAPH: ARMANDO FRANCA

Oxfam emergencies officer Anna McCord, who has just completed an assessment mission of the region, says the refugees need help, but that while fighting continues it is almost impossible to get it to them.

"There's this absolutely huge population movement and no assistance whatsoever. They need food and water, and they need shelter," she said.

"It was so sad. When we arrived at one place, everybody was clapping

and cheering because they were so happy that someone had finally come. But the front is advancing so rapidly that it's very difficult to get aid to people."

As the war's final battles near, it often takes no more than a brief burst of gunfire to set tens of thousands of people in a panic. Some 30 000 people crowded a hillside in Ngorolero a few days ago. They all disappeared in a single night.

Forced to uproot itself yet again,

the mass takes to the road. As the refugees move on, the RPF moves in to claim the depopulated land.

Scrambling to keep beyond the front line, some are fortunate enough to find temporary shelter in schools, churches and abandoned buildings. But the majority make do with rough shelters of branches and leaves, or sleeping in the open.

Sometimes, paths cross, one group of refugees having heard one direction is safe, another a different route.

But as an Oxfam worker, Maurice Herson, says, the real driving force is fear. "The camps are so unstable because there's no way anybody is going to stay in a camp where the RPF are coming ... People are absolutely terrified. They are convinced they are going to be massacred. Everybody who can flee, flees," he said.

Most refugees are headed for one of two destinations. A steady stream is making its way toward the French protection zone in south-western Rwanda. There they seek sanctuary, and a little stability, beyond the RPF's grasp.

But the latest RPF advance is closing the southern escape route, forcing large numbers toward the government's *de facto* capital, Gisenyi, and the Zairean border. Gisenyi is already filling with the more mobile refugees. But those on foot are not far behind.

If the RPF continues pushing west, hundreds of thousands of refugees are likely to pour into Zaire, which has its own dangers. Several thousand people were killed in Zaire's border region a year ago, in clashes between native Zaireans and people of Rwandan descent. Hatred and suspicion linger, and the arrival of thousands of refugees may rekindle violence.

● The French foreign minister, Alain Juppé, said on Tuesday that France would withdraw its 2 500 troops gradually from Rwanda in time for the United Nations to take over, despite RPF demands that they pull out earlier.

"There is a legal buffer to our intervention. August 22 is the deadline for the two-month period granted by the Security Council to states, that is France, who wanted to intervene in Rwanda," he said.

French radio quoted Jacques Bihozagara, head of European affairs for the RPF, as demanding that France leave by July 31.

SA in peace pact

① 21/7/94
CT 21/7/94

Own Correspondent

MAPUTO — President Nelson Mandela started his three-day state visit to Mozambique yesterday by signing a joint co-operation agreement covering security, trade, agriculture, transport and the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

The agreement confirms the Nkomati Accord, signed in 1984 between former SA President P W Botha and former Mozambican President Samora Machel, but it is expected the new security commission will strengthen security arrangements.

Shortly after arriving yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela held talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, after which the agreement was signed.

The main aspect of the agreement deals with security matters, and includes a provision for a joint security commission to oversee illegal immigration, and arms and drugs smuggling between the two countries.

Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise visited Mozambique last week to negotiate the security aspects of the deal.

The agreement will also confirm other international co-operation agreements already negotiated between the two governments, including that on the Cahora Bassa scheme.

Officials expect the supply of electricity from Mozambique to SA will be restored following the deal, but no dates have been set for the resumption of supply.

SA officials expected the Mozambican government to discuss the quota of Mozambican migrant workers on SA mines.

Mozambican authorities would prefer an increase in the quota, but SA

officials were reluctant to reach any agreements at this stage.

The Mozambican government would also like tariff-free entry of some goods into SA.

This too will be part of further discussions.

Mr Mandela's entourage was welcomed at Maputo airport by about 5 000 people.

A 21-gun salute was fired as the national anthems of both countries were played, after which Mr Mandela inspected a guard of honour.

It took Mr Mandela the better part of half-an-hour to work his way

through the dignitaries and impromptu praise-singing performances conducted in his honour.

"I'm very excited to be here," Mr Mandela told Mr Chissano.

The two leaders were taken from the airport in a cavalcade headed by about 12 motorcycles.

The entourage brought central Maputo to a standstill as thousands of people lined the streets waving South African flags.

Mr Mandela is also expected to meet President Quett Masire of Botswana and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe during his trip,

which coincides with a science and technology conference in Maputo.

Mr Mandela is being accompanied by Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Dr Ben Ngubane, Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Rusty Evans and presidential adviser Professor Jakes Gerwel.

Sapa reports Mr Mandela said at a state banquet here last night South Africa wanted to help build a prosperous Southern Africa to "compete with dignity in the rest of the world".

He said Southern Africa had felt the "shockwaves of international events which have changed the world".



STATE VISIT . . . President Nelson Mandela, accompanied by Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano (left) is greeted by crowds of Mozambicans waving South African flags. Mr Mandela is on his first official state visit since his inauguration.

Picture: AP

SA expected to play lead role

From LINDA ENSOR

LONDON. — Peace in Southern Africa and South Africa's role in achieving this was a key topic of discussion between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and British Prime Minister Mr John Major yesterday.

Trade and Industry Minister Mr Trevor Manuel, who participated in the talks, said last night that Mr Major had emphasised the importance of peace being achieved in Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho.

"It is expected that South Africa will play a dynamic role to secure peace and provide moral leadership in the region," Mr Manuel said, noting however that there were limitations on the time and resources that South Africa could make available.

"What emerged from the discussions today is that the UK sees a very important role for South Africa in securing peace," Mr Manuel said. "We of course have a vested interest in peace as that becomes the precursor to economic development."

① CT 22/87/94 Quest for peace in Southern Africa

Mr Manuel, who arrived in London after taking part in an investor conference in New York, said there was a prospect of South Africa joining the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) as early as August.

It emerged from discussions with officials that during his talks with government ministers Mr Mbeki agreed that Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Mr Aziz Pahad would come to Britain soon with technical experts to lay concrete project proposals on the table.

The British government was said to be willing to assist with aid projects but needed to know what South Africa wanted. High on the list of aid requests is likely to be training in various forms, an area where the British have developed particular expertise.

"They want us to formulate a proposal," Foreign Affairs director Mr Vic Zazeraj said.

Arms sales were apparently discussed between Mr Mbeki and British Defence Minister Mr Malcolm Rifkind, and Mr Mbeki was informed about the success of the trade mission by Board of Trade president Mr Michael Heseltine.

Mr Zazeraj said concrete investment decisions were expected to flow from the visit, adding that Mr Heseltine had reported back in glowing terms to the British government about his visit. The British businessmen had been very positive about opportunities in South Africa.

"Those who already have a small presence in South Africa plan to increase it, and those with no presence plan to establish themselves there," Mr Zazeraj said.

focus on Rwanda

KIGALI — UN officials, worried that world attention is focused solely on Rwandan refugees massed in neighbouring Zaïre, hope the Rwandan capital Kigali will soon become the nerve centre for relief aid.

US troops began a massive operation to deliver aid to Zaïre on Sunday for Rwandan refugees, a move which aid groups and UN officials hope will not deter people from moving home.

"We hope that the focus will soon be on Kigali," said one UN official in the Rwandan capital.

"The situation may be bad in Goma, but the real resources should come to Kigali after the Zaïrean crisis is over."

While US troops began their massive mission in Zaïre, Washington sent its ambassador back to Kigali on Sunday in a bid to show US commitment to rebuilding Rwanda, devastated by three months of civil war and massacres.

"The fact that I am here indicates that the United States is putting attention on Rwanda," said US Ambassador David Rawson, who was evacuated from Rwanda in April.

While not committing US troops to Rwanda, the US ambassador was emphatic about his government's bid to help reconstruct the central African country, where basic services have been destroyed.

"Rwanda is the core of the picture here. Goma is the periphery where there are tremendous problems, but we have to create a situation in Rwanda where people feel safe in their own homes," Rawson told reporters.

As refugees begin to move back into Rwanda, aid agencies and the United Nations hope the US operation will move to Kigali.

About two-thirds of Rwanda's population has either been displaced or are refugees as a result of the civil war which was sparked off by the assassination on April 6 of President Juvenal Habyarimana.

UN military officials say the situation in Rwanda appears to be stable enough for people to return, going so far as to say they have some faith in the new government's promises to assure stability for returnees.

"I have never been duped by any of them (the new government) and now that they are in power I don't see why that should change," said Major-General Romeo Dallaire, the UN force commander in Rwanda.

The rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front announced a new government last week after declaring victory following three months of civil war and massacres which claimed more than 500 000 lives. Opening up Kigali airport is a key aim of the UN mission. There have already been discussions with Sabena, the Belgian national carrier, to resume normal flights.

"We need fire trucks, navigational systems. These are nuts and bolts things, but if someone gave me that I'd open the damn thing tomorrow," said Dallaire.

Meanwhile Michael Christie reports from

Sowden 26/7/94
The USA has mounted a huge effort to rebuild Kigali and persuade Rwandans to go back home and leave the refugee camps in Zaïre, say **Sue Pleming** and **Michael Christie** of *Sapa-Reuter*.



Rwandan refugee orphans sit in the sun at an SOS Children's village outside Goma, Zaïre. More than 3 000 live cheek by jowl in the home and about 30 die each day from disease.
PIC: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bonn that the US military hailed its first air drop of humanitarian supplies to stricken Rwandan refugees a success — but aid workers branded it a time-wasting stunt.

Aid workers in the region immediately criticised the drop as a stunt and said the aid missed its target. But the US military denied this, saying the load hit the chosen target.

The C-130 planes aimed for an airstrip near Katala refugee camp but reporters there said that instead of flying along the strip they flew across and dropped their load all over the countryside, as far as 1.5km off target.

In a statement, the US army's European command said airdrops had proved their worth over Bosnia, where an international operation led by Germany and the United States has been delivering humanitarian aid for some two years.

Responding to a call from US President Bill Clinton to put an action plan into force, the US military is setting up a centre at Uganda's Entebbe airport.

This will be the hub of the American contribution to an aid relief operation for more than one million Rwandans who fled strife at home and took refuge in Zaïre.

US Air Force planes have been pouring into Germany, bound for Uganda and Zaïre with

military personnel and supplies.

Colonel Edward McPhillips, senior officer at the US army's Rhein-Main air base in Germany, said the first stage of the US mission in central Africa was nearing completion with the logistics in place to mount a major relief operation.

"You have to establish the infrastructure first because none of it is available there. It doesn't do any good to have food in there if you can't get it off the aircraft and distribute it."

He added: "I think we are just about over the hump of the initial investment. And I think tomorrow will see predominantly food and humanitarian relief being flown out."

Four C-141 transporter planes were due to fly to Goma or Entebbe early on Monday. Two giant C-5 galaxy aircraft were also scheduled to fly water purification equipment on Monday.

The aircraft flying from Rhein-Main have been carrying military personnel charged with running Entebbe airport. They have also delivered forklift trucks needed to handle cargo, communications equipment and other logistical supplies. When the US operation switches from delivering mainly military hardware needed to support the operation, much of the relief aid is expected to reach the Rwandans through airdrops.

Frontline States now take back seat

JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH
The Argus Foreign Service

FOREIGN Minister Alfred Nzo had his work cut out when the Frontline States put up their "Going Out of Business" sign here. **0 AUG 18 1994**

With the death of apartheid, this grouping of countries established by the Organisation of African Unity to support the liberation movements as a front against South African aggression was put out of work.

Indeed, South Africa has become the eighth member of the alliance, which also includes Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Namibia and Botswana.

Mr Nzo knew the direction he wanted the group to take when its foreign ministers gathered in the Namibian capital at the weekend.

First, it had be enlarged to include Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland, previously considered to be too close to the old South African government. Second, he wanted the alliance to assume responsibility — in a non-military sense — for regional security.

But a South African representative has to take account of sensitivities in dealing with regional friends.

The threat of military aggression from south of the Limpopo has long gone. Replacing that in the minds of other southern African nations is the fear of domination by the regional giant.

"Technologically, economically and infrastructurally we are so much larger than others in the region that we cannot join their organisations without changing them," said an official source.

"There is concern in those countries that South Africa will dominate them."

The Frontline chairman, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira, told a news conference: "With South Africa democratised, the word of the Frontline States is over."

"But co-operation must continue in the context of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)."

Next month South Africa will join the SADC, which is committed to forming an economic community over the next two decades.

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Frontline States agree to dissolve

CT 1/8/94
The Frontline States organisation, which for years lobbied for the liberation of South Africa, has decided to dissolve as its work is complete.

At a South African Development Community meeting at the weekend it was resolved that the Frontline States grouping would instead serve as a wing of the SADC to solve political problems, especially inter-state conflicts and threats to regional security and stability.

President Nelson Mandela will join the leaders of 10 other southern African states at the annual summit of the SADC in Gaborone, Botswana on August 29. The dissolution of the Frontline States is expected to be ratified at the summit.

South Africa is expected to join the regional economic grouping, which, ironically, was established in 1982 to lessen the region's dependence on apartheid South Africa.

SADC, previously named the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Committee (SADCC), comprises Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. — Sapa

African money for SA

Star 3/8/94

The African Development Bank (AfDB) said yesterday it would spend \$1 billion (R3,65 billion) in development programmes in South Africa over the next five years.

AfDB president ^①Babacar N'diaye said in a statement that the money would be channelled through South African companies involved in development programmes.

"To assist South African companies access these project funds, the African Development Bank will bring a group of their

procurement and economic specialists to South Africa later this year to the AfDB Johannesburg conference to be held in conjunction with the South African Foreign Trade Organisation," N'diaye said.

He said the AfDB had invested \$3,6 billion (R13 billion) in east and southern Africa between 1989 and 1993. About \$3,5 billion (R12,7 billion) had been allocated for 1994.

"South African businesses could attain 25 percent of this," he said. — Reuter.

OAU body meets to discuss six wars

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Organisation of African Unity conflict resolution committee meets in Tunis today with six wars on its agenda.

South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo is at the meeting with OAU Secretary General Salim Salim of Tanzania.

ARG 3 4/8/94
Rwanda, where half-a-million people have died in fighting, tops the agenda. Other conflicts under discussion are:

● Burundi, Rwanda's neighbour, where clashes between Hutus and Tutsis have cost 2 000 lives.

● Liberia, where 140 children are dying of starvation

every day.

● Angola, where South Africa has moved in to help United Nations peace brokers.

● Mozambique, where banditry and political in-fighting threaten a 1992 peace accord.

● Somalia, where inter-clan fighting threatens to reignite a civil war.

African leaders told to stop moaning

ABUJA. — West African leaders ended a regional summit in Nigeria dogged by the growing divide between anglophones and francophones, the stalled Liberian peace process and economic stagnation.

Ghana's President Jerry Rawlings, elected president of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) for the next year, said in a frank acceptance speech that members should stop lamenting their problems and get on with solving them.

"We must compete and stop be-

moaning our lot. The world, incidentally, has stopped listening to our moaning," he said.

Francophone heads of state virtually boycotted the two-day summit in Nigeria's inland capital Abuja.

Ivory Coast, Senegal, Togo, Mali and Mauritania sent ministers. Burkina Faso had no representative until minister of state Hermann Yaméogo arrived for the closing session.

Benin's Nicephore Soglo came to hand over the Ecowas presidency.

Guinea's Lansana Conte came to talk about Liberia. **ARL 8/8/94**

Divisions within the community have become more apparent since a 50 percent devaluation in January of the CFA franc used by seven francophone Ecowas members.

They are now working on integration in the West African Economic and Monetary Union, while just six Ecowas members have ratified the revised Ecowas treaty on greater political and economic union signed at last year's summit. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA now has ties with 30 African countries

CT 9/8/94 (1) (3044)

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA now had representation in 30 African countries, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo told Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the debate on his budget, Mr Nzo said normalisation of relations with Africa had been a priority of the new government.

High commissions were being established in Tanzania and Nigeria and an embassy accredited to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) would be opened soon.

Mr Nzo said relations with coun-

tries of North Africa and the Middle East were also "improving rapidly". An embassy was being opened in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and "high level visits" in the near future to Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Sudan were envisaged.

Mr Nzo also announced that President Nelson Mandela would visit Tanzania later this month. He will visit Namibia this week.

Mr Nzo said his department was investigating all international covenants, treaties and conventions to identify needs and obligations.

to institute criminal proceedings.

Schneeberger, employed by the association for 27 years and known for his flamboyant lifestyle, resigned just before the investigation began.

The audit committee tracked claims ranging from tobacconists' accounts to amounts for "uniforms." Schneeberger, it is understood, countered that he is owed at least 17 months' leave pay. He would not comment on the association's statement. ■

DEVELOPMENT

Continental scenario

FM 12/18/94
SA has an important role to play in Africa. And, though domestic problems are the priority on the political agenda, relations with neighbouring states are under discussion. ①

Babacar Ndiaye, president of the African Development Bank (ADB), recently met Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals, Finance Minister Derek Keys, Trade & Industry Minister Trevor Manuel and Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo to discuss SA's membership of the ADB.

Pretoria has not committed itself to membership because of the organisation's



Ndiaye ... financial standing not in question

financial difficulties and uncertainty on SA's obligations if it joined. SA would like to negotiate a deal whereby it won't share responsibility for existing liabilities. At its annual meeting in Nairobi, the ADB presented a report which showed its loan account US\$700m in arrears.

Ndiaye says this amount fluctuates monthly and the financial standing of the bank is not in question. "We have asked for a review of our AAA rating by Standard & Poor's, Moody's and a Japanese rating agency," he says. "A report to be issued

FM 12/18/94
 sometime this month will confirm that our rating remains the same."

Ndiaye says \$250m of the \$700m is in "chronic, long-standing bad debts," most owed by Zaire and some by Somalia and Liberia. He adds that \$700m is a small percentage of the bank's total authorised capital of \$22,25bn in December. ①

The bank would like to have SA as its 53rd African member. Loans to SA would redress geographical imbalances — most recent lending has been to creditworthy north African countries. The bank would also like some SA expertise on its management, staff and board.

When SA becomes a member of the ADB — for it is *when* not *if* — it will have to subscribe to the equity of the bank. SA's stake will probably be equal to or just below that of Nigeria, the largest shareholder. Nigeria has 10% of the shares while Egypt, in second place, holds 6%.

For its equity stake, SA will have to pay 12,5% of the total subscription — probably about \$275m. It would also have to make available callable capital of about \$2bn to replenish ADB capital if necessary. But Ndiaye says no shareholder has yet been asked to pay up from a call account.

"In return," Ndiaye adds, "SA companies would be able to tender for ADB projects throughout the continent." And SA would be able to get loans from the ADB. "We would probably be able to invest \$200m-\$350m in SA each year, for the next five years," Ndiaye says. Interest rates are expected to be about 7.4% for 15-20 years. The ADB provides loans of \$3bn in the continent annually.

SA may need ADB funds to help finance the RDP as they are likely to be cheaper than funds raised on international capital markets. The ADB's Triple A rating allows it to borrow at lower rates than SA would be able to with its expected BB rating.

In addition, Ndiaye says, depending on its level of subscription, SA will be able to nominate an executive director on the board. He will be one of 18 members — 12 from African countries. Executive directors represent groups of countries on the board and this qualifies them to provide staff in the bank. SA could also qualify for one of the four regional vice-presidential positions. A post for a vice-president from central or southern Africa is vacant.

The ADB is expected to use the Development Bank of SA as an intermediary to extend credit lines to banks or sublend to businesses.

Development Bank of SA CE Andre la Grange and international finance chief director Eltie Links delivered a letter of SA's intent to become a member of the ADB in May. A decision will be made by the Cabinet.

□ The ADB was sent a copy of this report. A representative requested that changes be made to it but one week after receiving it was unable to specify what changes were necessary. ■

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London 25813

Africa has a record of reconciliation almost as long as its record of brutality, but an early return to peace in Rwanda is sadly unlikely, writes Richard Dowden.

Star 15/8/94

No peace now or for a generation

Africa has a record of reconciliation almost as long as its record of brutality and war. But Rwanda — and also Burundi — may sadly be beyond reconciliation.

It is not a question of drawing or redrawing boundaries. The relationship between Hutus and Tutsis is unique: they live on the same hills, in the same valleys and in the same villages, in a subsistence economy of low-lying land and fear of death.

For Hutus and Tutsis the whole world and all that is in it is disputed. It is a war in the mind. It cannot be ended by agreeing a new map.

Cadogan gives birth to fantasy. When the world becomes too ghastly to contemplate rationally, people turn to dreams and conspiracies for explanations and answers. Rwanda is no exception.

Recently, several documents have appeared in the region and among its exiles, which purport to show that there is a Tutsi con-

spiracy to take over the whole of central Africa.

One document circulating in London is headed "The Tutsis Dynasty - The Tutsi Colonisation Plan". It is the African equivalent of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and claims to have been drawn up on August 6 1962.

"When the control of all important positions is achieved", it says, "we must remove all our Baruti enemies, especially Hutu."

Complete mastery

"Every Tutsi civil servant must use terror in order to get respect and authority from the uneducated Hutu populace. We must master completely all the members of the other ethnic groups whom we manage to control... and make them promote our interests."

These fantasies are believed and circulated by Western-educated professionals, some of

whom live and work in London. If that is what intellectuals believe, what fears and fantasies are circulating among the ordinary people of Rwanda in the camps in Zaire and Burundi?

Reason and reconciliation stand little chance in such poisonous waters. In Kigali, the new Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) government may be trying to reassure relatives they are safe to return. President Pasteur Bizimungu says his government, which includes some moderate Hutus (the is one), wants to heal the wounds opened between Hutus and Tutsis in the bloodshed.

But he also talks of justice. "Reconciliation cannot be built on impunity. Justice must be the pillar of national reconciliation." On the other side of the border stalk the Hutu leaders of the remnant of the old Rwandan army, preying on the refugees and waiting for revenge. One of them, Jean-Paul Dyaeraga, was quoted this week as saying: "We

will return to Rwanda with guns and knives, and give no mercy."

These men spread hysteria among the Hutu refugees in Zaire, persuading them they will be butchered if they go home. The refugees repeat the scares spread by the officers and an extremist radio station.

Endless refrain

"They will pluck out your eyes and slit your bellies," they say, and endlessly repeat the refrain: "Hutus in this country will never accept rule by a Tutsi-controlled government."

The Tutsis tend to be tall, fine-featured people who imposed themselves on the Hutus and other Bantu-speaking farmers of the region 400 years ago. A cattle-keeping aristocracy, they founded kingdoms in the rolling mountains of Rwanda, Burundi, eastern Zaire and south-eastern Uganda.

In Burundi there are about 800 000 of them, some 15 percent

of the population. In Rwanda there were 1 million, but that figure may — horrible to contemplate — have been halved.

In Uganda there are another 1 million, and in eastern Zaire, where they form 80 percent of the population, there could be more than 1 million.

With the coming of independent nation states 30 years ago, their systems were destroyed, and in Rwanda they lost power. Those who believe in the Tutsi conspiracy, mostly Hutus and opponents of President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, say it has already succeeded. Tutsis and members of their ethnic group rule in Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda, and are dominant in eastern Zaire.

The believers say President Museveni is the prime agent of this conspiracy. They claim he is a Tutsi (his ethnic origins are related to the Tutsis), and that he created, controlled and armed the RPF.

The former Ugandan presi-

dent, Godfrey Binaisa, now a London-based lawyer, is one believer. In an open letter he accused President Museveni of using the RPF to further the aims of the Tutsis in the region.

Binaisa says Museveni — and the media — support the Tutsis for racial reasons.

Nazi theory

"His socialism quickly turned into fascism similar to Benito Mussolini with a little mixture of the Nazi's *Lebensraum* theory based on birth and looks."

"The tendency in the Western media is to look at the situation in Rwanda as if it were a beauty contest whereby the Tutsis, with their aquiline noses and thin lips and height win the contest over the short, dark-skinned Hutus."

Burundi, Rwanda's southern twin, waits like a powder keg. It suffered a similar genocidal war last October after the first ever Hutu president, Melchior Ndaye, was murdered by Tutsi of-

ficers shortly after his election victory. Hutus turned on Tutsis and the army, which is largely Tutsi, murdered thousands of Hutus in revenge. UN officials say 250 000 died.

Now the different ethnic groups lurk in their separate areas. Mike Doerridge of Amnesty International, who has just returned from a 10-day visit to Burundi, said he was unwilling to warn of catastrophe for fear of helping to bring it about.

"The two communities have completely separated out," he said. "In the towns, 'ethnic cleansing' has turned districts into either Tutsi or Hutu. And in rural areas it has also cost a lot of lives."

In areas where Hutus and Tutsis can attack each other, the bloody killings continue. The political parties continue to block as they have done for 10 months about who is to have which portfolio in a government of national unity.

Last Thursday, the talks

broke down because the opposition wanted a say in the appointment of a new security chief.

The national government is Hutu-dominated but poorer less with the mostly Tutsi army. Is it possible to imagine a political solution that could re-create nation states in Burundi and Rwanda and allow Hutus and Tutsis to live together again?

Fury, despair

Even if justice could be delivered, and those responsible brought to trial, would it relieve the fury and despair? Would it end the passion for revenge, for the organised extermination of whole families?

The killings — hacking, chopping, beating, stabbing — have been carried out not only by soldiers but by civilians, and often by neighbours who are well known to their victims.

Unhappily, there can be no peace in the region for at least a generation. — The Independent News Service.

African countries lose the economic race

WPM 19-25/8/94

The collapse of most African countries can be traced to years of bankrupt policies, reports **Steve Coll**

In the jungle-enclosed city of Yamoussoukro, birthplace of the former president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, stand the monuments to his grandiose ambitions, both for himself and for Africa's economic future.

In the 1960s and 1970s, under his firm hand and lifted by French investment and expanding cash crops, Ivorians' personal incomes soared.

In Yamoussoukro, the newly declared underpopulated inland capital, no expense was spared on avenues wide enough for jumbo jets, three universities, the world's largest Roman Catholic basilica — a replica, but on a far grander scale, of St Peter's Basilica in Vatican City — and a presidential family palace guarded by crocodiles and stone walls more than a kilometre around.

Yamoussoukro was "the ultramodern, prefiguration of the Africa of

tomorrow", exhorted a hotel brochure from the early 1980s. But long before Houphouët-Boigny's death last December, the dream had begun to sour. Since 1980, personal incomes in Ivory Coast have shrunk by a staggering 50 percent. Debt has soared to about \$18-billion, leaving the country with one of the highest rates of per capita debt in the world.

And Yamoussoukro's extravagance, far from the crowning symbol of Houphouët-Boigny's miracle, today looks to have been "a terrible economic step", said Joseph Yao, director of the Ivorian Centre for Economic and Social Research. "One of the basics of economics is that you create before you distribute. In Africa, we started distributing and figured we would create later."

Across sub-Saharan Africa, more than two dozen countries and tens of millions of impoverished people are paying the price for years of misdirected investment, unbalanced development, squandered savings, government mismanagement and corruption.

grammes, falling commodity prices and the brutal imperative of a global economy that is leaving Africa behind while it races toward the next century. To many African economists, politicians and businessmen, the decline is especially galling because it has occurred while other areas of the developing world have expanded economically, in some cases rapidly.

To a majority of Western economists at lending institutions such as the World Bank, and to increasing numbers of their African counterparts, the cause of this disparity boils down to disastrous economic policies.

Most African governments intervene heavily and inefficiently in nearly every economic sector. Hundreds of uncompetitive state-owned monopolies smother business competition. High taxes and tariffs throttle international trade and foreign investment. Unsustainable price subsidies and welfare benefits for city dwellers lead to heavy government borrowing and, in some cases, high rates of inflation.

Artificially high exchange rates for many African currencies, which make

it easier for urban elites to buy cheap luxury imports, smother exports and punish farmers in the countryside, where most of Africa's poorest live. Corruption and theft by government leaders and their allies sap national savings that might otherwise be reinvested in productive businesses.

"This is my country too, so I have the right to work without giving someone money underneath the table," said Bergson Koffi, a United States-trained Ivorian businessman who has spent about \$1-million since 1986 trying unsuccessfully to get licences for a new cellular phone company.

Koffi asserted that government employees involved in potentially competitive deals were blocking his progress. "They're trying to make me waste time so I will give up," he said.

Many businessmen do just that. As the pressures of failed economic policies have caused African economies to shrink, political instability and ethnic conflict have risen, frightening off foreign investors and crippling local businesses.

multilateral agencies sometimes reinforce failure in Africa with poorly designed or self-interested loan aid programmes, according to some critics, both Western and African. And lately, the economists argue, there are signs of new commitment to economic reform in many sub-Saharan African countries. Indeed, while the region's overall economic picture is gloomy, there are pockets of exception where governments have aggressively pursued free market-oriented reform programmes and have been rewarded with persistent economic growth.

In Ghana, where President Jerry Rawlings has struck with painful reforms for a decade, the economy has grown by an average five to six percent each year since 1983.

The World Bank, which desperately needs an African success story to serve as a model for its economic prescriptions, praises Ghana as a regional leader. As with the Ivory Coast, the question is whether Ghana's achievements will last. — *The Washington Post*

Minerals commission proposed

HARARE — The African Development Bank has recommended the establishment of a regional southern African minerals and mining commission to co-ordinate and revamp mining activities in the region, Ziana news agency reports.

In a summary of its study on regional integration in southern Africa, the bank said the commission would comprise all southern African countries. *B/Daw*

Zaire would function as the main data-gathering and information exchange body on the mining industry. *25/8/94*

The commission would also promote and attract foreign investment in the development of the region's mineral resources, the bank said.

The study noted the lack of knowledge across the southern African region about changes that countries were making to their mineral legislation, investment codes, depletion allowances and royalties, controls on foreign exchange usage and exploration activities. *(D)*

The formation of an adequately funded regional mining commission was expect-

ed to bridge this information gap.

"The commission proposal is a major institutional recommendation which should not be acted on without due deliberation," the bank said.

It said a feasibility study must be undertaken to determine what sort of body the commission should be and how it should be constituted, staffed, financed and governed.

The study would require extensive consultations with governments and private mining companies in the region, including Zaire, it said.

The study also recommended that SA and Zimbabwe should commission a study to review the possibility of promoting the development of gold jewellery and platinum manufacturing in the southern African region.

Local manufacturers could be permitted to enjoy discounts or rebates on gold purchased for value-added exports, the African Development Bank said in its recommendation. — Sapa.

Warlords are running Mogadishu

WIM 29/7-4/8/94 ①

Julie Flint in Somalia

MOHAMMED, a war orphan aged 13, had killed three men by the time he arrived in Mogadishu from the town of Baidoa, five months ago.

Of the gang of 15 boys with whom he looted a living in Baidoa, only one is still alive. Mohammed narrowly escaped after a botched attack on a heavily guarded merchant and fled to the anonymity of Mogadishu's teeming streets, selling his gun to pay for transport.

He found Mogadishu very different from Baidoa, controlled by armed groups who excluded him from their clan-based cliques. For four months he slept rough, eating whatever odd jobs raised enough to buy a bit of bread.

Earlier this month, he found his way to the "Gunnman Project". In a sprawling compound, an electrician, aged 28, is attempting to rehabilitate hundreds of youths who have agreed to disarm. The only requirement for recruits is that they destroy their

weapons and agree to stop smoking and chewing the narcotic leaf *qat* with which Mogadishu's warlords buy allegiance.

After six months training in a variety of skills, from welding to carpentry, the youths "graduate" in groups of 10 with a basic kit to set them up in business.

Weapons are multiplying on the streets of Mogadishu under the noses of peacekeeping troops of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (Unosom), whose most recent orders prohibit any intervention except in the event of "hostile action" against themselves.

A sense of despair was evident this week in the UN secretary-general's report to the security council. Boutros Boutros-Ghali said deteriorating security and rival clan leaders' refusal to abandon their ambitions for power did "not permit the force to make a sufficiently effective contribution to security to justify its presence size and cost". International patience had run out.

The Clinton administration also appears on the point of pulling US

diplomats and a small Marines contingent out of Somalia because of the rising violence.

The UN has 19 000 people in Somalia, more than half of them in Mogadishu. On the busy road outside the heavily-fortified Unosom headquarters, Pakistani troops the headquaters, Pakistani troops the their guns to their belts to prevent them being snatched by children and watch impassively as armed vehicles race past.

Inside the vast encampment, mental jobs that might have provided employment for Somalis are filled by imported unskilled labour. So great is the mistrust of Somalis that Somali staff of international relief agencies are not permitted on UN planes — though travel overland is often impossible — and are subject to separate security checks.

In the 18 months since the first UN troops were sent to Somalia to protect humanitarian supplies at the height of the country's war-induced famine.

UN troops now face increasing difficulty in keeping even themselves alive. In the bloodiest incident in

many months, armed men this week attacked three UN vehicles carrying 13 troops.

Two Malaysian soldiers were killed; the gunmen escaped with the UN vehicles — each worth about \$4 500 on the black market — weapons, flak jackets, watches and the contents of pockets.

Civilians too are coming under attack. An American journalist was released from three weeks of captivity in Mogadishu earlier this month after clan elders bought her freedom for a reported \$3 000.

She was one of a dozen foreigners taken hostage this year — victims of the conspicuous spending that has brought air-conditioning, international telephones and a \$6-million sewage system to foreign soldiers, but little of lasting value to those they came to help.

Unosom has failed either to disarm the factions or provide an alternative to the gun. It is doomed to be an impotent spectator.

It is 18 months now since the first UN troops were sent to Somalia to protect humanitarian supplies.

Bankrupt Rwanda pleads for R23m to unlock new aid

① APR 15/9/94

KIGALI. — Rwanda needs R22,75 million to pay its international debts and thereby free R980 million in aid credits, Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu said here.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had offered Rwanda loans of R980 million with R122,5 million earmarked for a structural adjustment programme, but this depended on repayment of R22,75 million in arrears, Mr Twagiramungu said at a news conference.

The remainder would be spent on a range of economic projects, over a period he did not specify.

Rwanda would have to approach "countries with which we have bilateral relations" to make the repayments, Mr Twagiramungu said, adding that no country had so far come forward with offers of money.

"The economic situation (in Rwanda) is deplorable ... the national bank has nothing in its coffers ... we need more assistance from outside," the new prime minister said.

The Tutsi-led government had been able to recover R3,15 million when it blocked the transfers of funds held by the Rwandan embassy in the United States to a private bank account after the fall of the last Hutu-dominated administration.

The new government, which came to power two months ago after ethnic massacres in which up to a million were killed, has still not been able to pay its civil servants.

The government itself was trying to restore the country while working in "ruin" conditions, with all government buildings bombed and looted by the ousted Hutu regime before it was forced out of the capital in July, said the prime minister.

The government would never accept a general amnesty for hard-line Hutus accused of the recent massacres.

The Rwandan administration is dominated by the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) but contains moderate Hutus, such as the prime minister. — Sapa-AFP.



LONG WAIT: A Hutu mother, one of a million Rwandans in refugee camps near Goma, Zaire, queues with her child for a consultation at Kibumba camp's Red Cross dispensary.



and about the abduction of popular singer Lounes Matoub. Kidnappers, the Berber Cultural Movement cancelled its nationalist militants unless Matoub was freed unharmed.

Africa 'should have permanent UN seat'

NEW YORK — Military-ruled Nigeria says Africa should have a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and has reasserted its own candidacy to join the exclusive club of world powers with a UN veto.

Foreign Minister Baba Gana Kingibe also used his speech to defend his military government's commitment to democracy, which he said had been misconstrued.

"The resolve and commitment of the Nigerian people and government to democracy remain firm and unshakeable in the full realisation that the task of democratisation is primarily our responsibility, and is for the good of the nation," Mr Kingibe said.

ARG 29/9/94
His speech coincided with the swearing-in in Abuja of a new and exclusively military ruling council by the country's military leader Sani Abacha, who sacked the council's only civilian members but still pledged to move towards civilian rule.

General Abacha seized power in a military coup in November.

Some members of the Security Council have expressed reservations over extending permanent membership to Nigeria because of the absence of democratic rule there.

Mr Kingibe said activities by political parties leading to general elections would begin next year, but he offered no date for elections. — Sapa-AFP.

Legal experts will seek to reinstate Moshoeshe

MASERU. — Lesotho's restored prime minister said legal experts from South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe would arrive in the kingdom this week to help find a viable way of reinstating deposed King Moshoeshe.

Ntsu Mokhehle told parliament in its first sitting since the ex-monarch's son, King Letsie, sparked a crisis in the

southern African mountain state by dissolving his government, that the restoration of Moshoeshe would take time.

"The restoration of the former king is not purely a political matter capable of accomplishment within a short time," Mr Mokhehle said, adding that the three neighbouring states had the expertise

and commitment to help the impoverished kingdom of 1.6 million people.

Mr Mokhehle was restored to power almost a month after his August 17 sacking by the king, which sparked protest marches in which five people were killed, strikes that paralysed the kingdom, international condemnation and threats of sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter.

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235 (1) ARG 29/9/94
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Energy warning to 'inefficient' African countries

① ANC 15/10/94

ADELE BALETA
Weekend Argus Reporter

AFRICAN governments whose energy infrastructures were "wildly inefficient" must loosen their grip on energy operations.

This was the warning uttered by World Energy Council (WEC) secretary-general Ian Lindsay yesterday.

He was speaking at a Press conference at the WEC's southern and east Africa Regional Energy Forum at the Good Hope Centre. Attended by representatives and ministers from 22 African countries and 29 other member countries, it was held to explore ideas on how development should proceed in the region.

Mr Lindsay said many African countries lost up to 50 per cent of their potential energy supply because of a lack of maintenance, finance and management.

"These governments must separate themselves from the day-to-day running of oil depots, transmission companies, electricity utilities and hydro-electric projects. They must get out. There must be deregulation. Unless this happens they will not attract capital for development and they will then be in for a rough ride," he said.

Finance remained the key issue, he added.

The WEC and the World Bank estimated that global energy development would cost US\$30 trillion (more than R100 trillion) over the next 25 to 30 years. A mere 20 per cent of this amount would come from international sources, but the source of the other 80 per cent remained a problem.

The way forward was through non-governmental organisations, he said.

Mr Lindsay believed only a third of the delegates to the forum "fully understood the implications if their countries increased energy requirements over the next 20 to 30 years. There has been little long term planning. Energy projects need long lead times. Establishing an oil field in the North Sea needs 12 years of planning".

"Governments by nature are elected for a short term but energy needs to be planned for the long term."

He said there were "very speculative" but exciting proposals for an electricity grid that could link southern Africa through the Straits of Gibraltar to Europe and through Egypt to the Middle East and Russia.

Chairman of the South African national committee of the WEC, Ian MacRae of Eskom, said less than 10 per cent of the approximately 200 million people south of the equator had access to electricity.

But Africa had excellent primary resources, he said. The continent needed political structures to identify energy issues and establish policies. Membership of these structures should be open to all, he added.

The time had come to inject new players into existing structures, and the time was appropriate for South Africa to play a bigger role in the Southern African Development Community and the Organisation of African Unity.

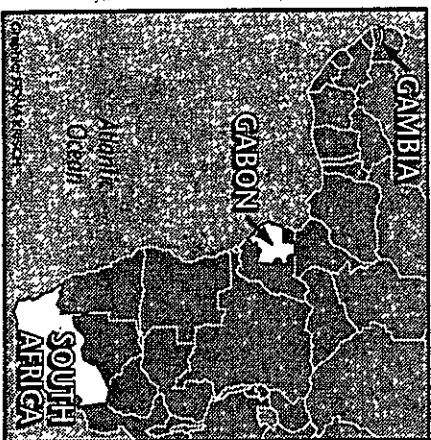
Farmers look to the north for new homes

THE "Second Great Trek" by South African farmers may soon reach equatorial Africa — Gambia and Gabon.

This week officials from the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions and the Southern African Development Corporation (Sadeco) left on a week-long state visit to the West African countries.

The mission forms part of a Sadeco initiative to develop the agricultural potential of the continent. More than 200 South African farmers have already settled in Zambia and a few in Zimbabwe. Sadeco director Johan van der Westhuizen said this week that his office handled hundreds of inquiries every day. The group, including the presidents of the two agricultural unions and the South African ambassadors to Gambia and Gabon hoped to finalise deals for South Africans to emigrate. They would also visit the land which would be available to the settlers, Mr van der Westhuizen said.

He said criticism that this "Second Great Trek" was just modern imperialism was unfounded and unfair. Sadeco ensured that the farmers who emigrated had the knowledge and the experience to farm successfully and to make a contribution to the local communities. They also had the full blessing of those governments. Agricultural develop-



By DIRK VAN EEDEN

ment not only meant a much-needed capital injection into these communities, but may be the only way to provide the continent with enough food, Mr van der Westhuizen said.

really suited for agriculture. Only 12 percent of South African land can be used for agriculture, while only four percent has a high agricultural potential. Just one percent of the land is under irrigation.

"Even though conditions in the rest of Africa are sometimes vastly different to that in South Africa, ex-

perience has shown that South African farmers in Zambia yielded up to three times as much as their local counterparts.

"Land in South Africa is also highly overpriced. This is not the case in the rest of the subcontinent," Mr van der Westhuizen said.

According to Sadeco, the emigration of farmers would not be another "brain drain". South Africa had more qualified farmers than could be accommodated on the little land suitable for agriculture, while some African countries had a dire need for people experienced in scientific farming.

"It is basically just a redistribution of skills throughout the continent in a bid to keep our people fed," he said.

For South Africa there are also a number of spin-offs. If the farmers could

provide employment and food, it could drastically improve living conditions in Africa. This could help solve the problem of illegal immigrants, Mr van der Westhuizen said.

"Where there are successful farmers, there are soon needs for other services — shops, schools and churches. Sound agriculture can be at the heart of a sound community," he said.

Another reason why Africa's agricultural potential should be developed was the poor quality of food which foreign countries often dumped on the continent. Much of the grain imported from the US, for example, had to be classified as cattle fodder, but Africans often had no choice but to eat it in times of drought.

According to statistics from the Department of Agriculture, South Africa produced 73 percent of Africa's wool and 52 percent of Africa's maize. If South Africa experienced a drought the entire continent suffered.

If the rest of Africa's farming potential is developed, it will lessen the burden on SA farmers' shoulders.

Mercury's lover is HIV positive

FREDDIE MERCURY'S lover, Jim Hutton, has been tested HIV positive. Hutton, who lived with the late pop superstar for seven years, has revealed he has twice tested positively for the virus.

Irishman Hutton, 45 — called "my husband" by Mercury — makes the revelation in a book about the Queen singer, *Mercury And Me*, due to be published next month.

It is the only time that the name of the person who has been tested has been revealed.

Bleak hopes for growth in Africa.

GRAND BAY, Mauritius. — Finance ministers and central bank heads from eastern and southern Africa said at the weekend that a host of problems had wrecked hopes of growth in most of Africa.

"Hopes for the reversal of the adverse conditions of the '80s and a resumption of growth in the '90s have not been realised in most African countries," they said in a report.

"African countries continue to face acute problems at both economic and social levels that include balance of payments problems, inadequate inflows of foreign capital and long spells of drought which have manifested themselves in economic stagnation," they added at the end of a week-long conference.

① CT 24/10/94
They said other problems for their 22 nations included high unemployment and widespread poverty, and a rapid deterioration in social welfare, especially public health, education and housing.

Their grim outlook followed a meeting of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), formed in 1981 to promote regional development. — Sapa-Reuter

Africa

Economic woes have led to the decline or collapse of more than 100

'Academic suicide' of

Star 29/10/94

IN UGANDA, a university lecturer earns about R67 a month, according to a World Bank study, and in Ghana the total annual income of a college professor equals the price of a single refrigerator, reports HUBERT KAHL.

NAIROBI — Decaying laboratories, rotting lecture halls, and libraries containing outdated books — Africa's neglected universities are on the verge of collapse. Computers are rare, telephones have been disconnected due to unpaid bills and many institutes of higher learning have been shut for months because of striking lecturers or students.

A Kenyan historian, Professor Ali Mazrui, feels Africa is on the verge of committing what he describes as "collective academic suicide".

Internationally renowned professors once taught at Uganda's Makerere University, which is considered the African equivalent of Oxford or Harvard.

Today, half the positions at Makerere are vacant because a university lecturer earns only about \$19 (R67) a month, according to a World Bank study. In Ghana, the total annual income of a college professor equals the price of one refrigerator.

While European Union member-states spend an average annual amount of R1 050 per citizen on research projects, Nigeria spends only 77 cents. According to the United Nations, there are 22 scientists and engineers for 10 000 European citizens, whereas in Africa the ratio is 1 to 10 000.

When the countries of black Africa attained independence around 1960, there was a total of six universities in all the states. Even a gigantic country like Zaire had only 16 academics.

The decline of the more than 100 universities in Africa today began in the 1980s, when the continent first began to feel the impact of its economic woes. Research and teaching grants were cut drastically, even as the number of students increased by more than half to 550 000. There are 35 000 students registered at the university in Yaounde, Cameroon, which was originally conceived for 5 000 students.

Migration abroad

In Dakar, Senegal, 20 000 students crowd into lecture halls originally meant to accommodate only 3 500.

A shortage of funds and a decline in scientific standards have forced many African scientists to migrate to the United States or Europe.

African governments hold the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and their structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) responsible for the decline.

SAPs force them to drastically curtail their expenses, including their education budgets, the governments argue.

But World Bank officials counter the accusation by saying most African states, with their battered economies, are in no position at all to run their universities on public funds.

They suggest that Africans should lobby for private funding for their institutions of higher learning, but that many countries are reluctant to do that for fear of losing control and influence over the universities.

In Kenya, for instance, every research proposal has to be approved by the office of the state president.

Academic self-destruction in Africa is going from "bad to worse," observed Mazrui. "The only factor that is somewhat halting the exodus of African experts to the West lies, paradoxically, in the West.

"The West is no longer as attractive as it was to Africans because foreigners are not that welcome anymore. Immigration laws in the United States, Britain and France have been tightened, while racism is on the rise in Europe," the professor added. — DPA.

African Development Bank beckons

BY THABO LESHILO

South Africa could soon join the African Development Bank (ADB), the continent's premier financial body, in order to enhance growth and development, says International Financial Relations chief director Elias Links.

He said yesterday access to concessional financing from the bank could lower the cost of borrowing by SA, indirectly releasing resources that could be used for prioritised expenditure.

However, a worry was the continuing decline in the bank's net disbursements.

There had been a conversion-adjusted decline of 8,1 percent from 1992 to 1993.

Another concern was that only one structural adjustment loan was made in 1993.

These two indicators, though also resembling a

worldwide trend of declining official financial flows, nevertheless worry us," said Links.

He was making the keynote address at the Safto/ADB conference in Midrand.

The government, he said, could not advocate good governance at home while, through becoming a member of ADB, supporting unsound operational and management policies.

However, because of the importance of the private sector to the RDP, the government would try to negotiate the sector's participation in projects financed by the bank, even before full membership had been granted.

The high-powered delegation from the bank urged South African companies to take advantage of the enormous business opportunities available elsewhere in Africa.

"The investment climate (on the continent) is better than it

22/11/94
has been in many years," said AR Awl, head of the bank's private-sector development unit.

Many countries were implementing deregulation and large-scale privatisation schemes, unleashing the energy of private initiative.

"The cumulative effects of structural adjustment, liberalisation, orderly devaluations, increasing democratic and transparent government are providing attractive investment opportunities," said Awl.

He said the continent had become a target for international investment funds and that African stock markets were providing spectacular returns for investors.

In 1992, for example, stocks had soared 41 percent in Nigeria, 67 percent in Mauritius, 116 percent in Ghana, 117 percent in Kenya and 161 percent in Zimbabwe.

Africa's politics in the grip of moral amnesia

ARG 25/11/94 ①

Why is it that violent and cruel organisations involved in civil wars are given legitimacy and drawn into parliament?

Eddie Koch and Joe Hanlon look at Renamo's triumph

A MOVEMENT that carried out "one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War II", according to a United States official, has just been elected the official opposition in Mozambique's new parliament.

This reflects a disturbing pattern — Renamo did remarkably well in the parliamentary vote in Mozambique's first multi-party elections — that has set into the politics of Southern Africa. Violence, often of the most extreme kind, can be used along with constitutional processes, often of the most exemplary kind, to gain access to political office.

Official results announced this week show that President Joaquim Chissano comfortably defeated Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama in the presidential poll by 2.6-million votes to 1.7-million. But Renamo won 33.7 percent and Frelimo 44.3 percent of the parliamentary vote.

The result was, in fact, shaped by a moral amnesia that operated at three levels: in the foreign policy of the Western powers; in some of the media reports that covered the event; and, more importantly, in the collective attitudes of the people who voted in the poll.

Take the Western powers first. The British Foreign Office commissioned a study in the late 1980s which showed that Renamo insurgents in the southern provinces of Mozambique habitually cut off the genitals, lips, tongues and ears of people they suspected of being Frelimo supporters. The rebels regularly dragooned young boys into their army and initiated them by forcing the children to kill their parents, cut up their body parts and eat these.

A study conducted by US State Department official Robert Gersony came up with similar findings. His report noted Renamo was more brutal than the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia. Yet these governments, along with other European powers, backed the idea that Renamo should be

turned into a credible political force so that it could share power with Frelimo. They pumped at least US\$20-million — including money diverted from humanitarian political aide to the victims of war in Mozambique — into a special election fund for this purpose.

While the Western governments were helping to set up a war tribunal in Bosnia, they were actively encouraging the people of Mozambique to forgive and forget. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone jetted off to Europe this year to head the search for Yugoslavia's war criminals. Yet he could have been kept busy in our backyard. This is nothing less than global apartheid in the application of human rights.

Then there's the moral amnesia of the media. Faced with the complex reality of Mozambique, some journalists resorted to comfortable stereotypes about African bush wars to explain why people supported Renamo.

A recent article in this newspaper, based on interviews with a foreign UN policeman, a Catholic priest and a local official in a Mozambican town, suggests Renamo was more benign than its detractors have suggested.

The US State Department and the British Foreign Office must have been misled. Renamo could not have been as bad as is made out. Some atrocities were clearly committed on both sides and, for this reason, there was no unusual hostility towards Renamo. "After all," says the article "the people have spoken."

Yet there are *mutilados*, people without lips and eyes, on the streets of Maputo. In the refugee camps of the eastern Transvaal, just a few hours drive from Johannesburg, there are thousands of women and children who have had first hand experience of Renamo's atrocities. It would have been easy to have spoken to these people for a different perspective. But this is Africa, where less effort is required to understand the

politics of civil war than in Ireland or Bosnia.

It is the voices of ordinary men and women that explain the most mysterious aspect of moral amnesia — one deeply embedded in the popular psyche — that shaped the outcome of Mozambique's election. People repeatedly told observers that they voted for Renamo, quite simply, because this was the way to prevent retribution and new outbreaks of violence.

No doubt superstition, of the type specific to rural areas of Africa, played a part. Election observers in Renamo-controlled areas say they were told the ballot was not secret because spirit mediums could see how they voted and would tell Renamo. But less than 10 percent of the population live in Renamo areas so this could not have been a major factor.

The Catholic church encouraged the collective amnesia especially in the heavily populated central provinces. It called on people to split their vote, to choose Chissano for president and Renamo for parliament, in the hope that this would enforce a post-election peace pact.

Fear of an Angola-style return to war played a great role. Thousands of people voted for Renamo because they know intuitively that constitutional politics — along with the moral fickleness of the international community — will not guarantee peace in their country.

Dhlakama's campaign was designed to encourage this kind of response. It was widely known that Renamo had large arms caches and more than 1 000 men ready to resume fighting. During his campaign, Dhlakama frequently stated he could paralyse the country in 24 hours if he did not win. People voted for Renamo in the hope of keeping the guerrillas in parliament rather than in the bush.

There was also clearly a defensive psychological mechanism at play. The testimony of Maria Chauke, a war fugitive in the eastern Transvaal, shows a reluctance to remember the trauma of the past — another reason why there was no demand for retribution against Renamo.



Poverty stricken and desperate for peace, Mozambicans, faced with the threat of the resumption of the civil war, split their vote PHOTO ALEXANDER JOE

After the rebels attacked her village, they shot her husband, refused to allow her to bury the body and then frogmarched her to their base, where she was kept captive for three years and raped every night.

"The worst part was when we were marching to the Renamo camp. There was a place where there was a big bundle of people who were killed and stacked together. The Renamo cut leaves of trees and put on the pile of bodies and set them alight. I cannot get that out of my mind. What worries me is that I must go

back (to vote) ... Can I bear to see think about that place again? I do not think I can."

This type of collective response is not unique to Africa. Researchers conducting an oral history project in Turin found a similar reluctance among their informants to remember and condemn the period of Italian fascism. They concluded this form of self-censorship was evidence of a profound emotional scar — rather than evidence that the black-shirts did not carry out their atrocities.

ABIDJAN. — The board of the African Development Bank has voted a new credit policy which bank sources say is unacceptable to the non-African members who put up the cash for loans.

The decision means the bank's African Development Fund soft loans arm, which has not functioned for nearly a year, will remain paralysed for the time being.

The fund normally lends \$1 billion a year on easy terms. But it has not functioned since last year as donor countries and African members wrangled over new lending conditions.

"Negotiations will have to be suspended until we have a credit policy acceptable to the shareholders and contributors," said one bank source. "It is most unlikely there will be any more meetings for the time being."

The board, on which African members have a majority, voted the new credit policy on Monday in the absence of bank president Babacar Ndiaye who was out of Ivory Coast.

The policy classes countries into three categories on the basis of annual per capita national product.

Countries with a per capita income of more than \$1,050 will have access only to non-concessional loans from the bank.

Those with an income between \$540 and \$1,050 will be eligible for a blend of bank and fund resources.

Countries with incomes less than \$540 per capita will have access only to the fund, if they are assessed as being non-creditworthy, though they may get bank cash if they are deemed creditworthy.

ET 24/11/94 ①

Row over ADB lending conditions

"Assessment of creditworthiness to determine access to bank resources would take into account debt servicing capacity, macro-economic performance, foreign exchange earnings potential, downside and non-commercial risks and the record in respect to servicing bank loans," the statement said.

"Countries would in general have to satisfy key thresholds in regard to the ratios of debt servicing to exports, debt to exports, and the value of debt to national product."

Bank sources said the new policy contained most elements of an agreement reached at talks on the fringes of last month's IMF meeting in Madrid but failed to take into account several issues donor members felt were important.

These included the question of whether countries had had a recent concessional rescheduling of their debt by the Paris Club of official creditors, and the degree of compliance with the three key thresholds.

The sources said the new credit policy would give countries that donors considered uncreditworthy access to concessional financing and could damage the bank's AAA credit rating.

CT 9/11/94
Africans
plan to end
conflicts

SA 'has military
role in Africa'
CT
9/11/94

From LINDA ENSOR

NAIROBI. — Military and police chiefs from eastern and southern Africa meet this week to discuss a plan to end regional conflicts and prevent the kind of genocide that savaged Rwanda this year.

The African plan involves joint training and co-ordination among military and police forces to prevent and resolve conflict, Tanzanian Minister of State for Defence Mr Abdulrahman Kinana said here.

The 11-nation talks over three days in Tanzania's resort of Arusha from today will also involve security officials from South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

BIARRITZ, France. — South Africa, as a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), would eventually have to send troops into Africa to assist in the continent's peacekeeping effort, Foreign Minister Mr Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

Admitting for the first time that South Africa would have to play a military role in Africa, Mr Nzo emphasised however that its intervention would be to bring about stability. South African troops would not be engaged in operations.

Mr Nzo, who with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki is attending the Francophone Africa summit in the south west of France, said there was an understanding within Africa that South African participation in peacekeeping would not happen immediately because South Africa, and its defence force, was going through a process of transition.

"Eventually we will have to join in," Mr Nzo said, noting that South Africa would not be able to implement its plans if the rest of the continent was unstable.

His attendance at the summit came at the end of a three-week trip which included visits to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Czechoslovakia and Paris.

Moves to combat corruption

JOHANNESBURG. — Judicial representatives from southern and east Africa have met in Pretoria to establish ways to fight corruption in their countries.

The meeting, held last week under the auspices of the United Nations and the SA Ministry of Justice, resolved to encourage political leaders and decision-makers to disclose their interests in an attempt to prevent the abuse of power.

CT 21/11/94
Under the proposed agreement, politicians and civil servants would have to disclose their assets, donations to political parties would have to be openly reported and bank secrecy would be revised.

Countries also committed themselves to enacting legislation needed to deal with drug trafficking.

Private sector growth can cure Africa's ills ①

ABIDJAN. — The World Bank's "Mr Africa", Edward Jaycox, says that in spite of all the stories of massacre, civil war and political chaos the continent is on the move economically.

But Mr Jaycox, World Bank vice-president with special responsibility for Africa, added that African countries would make foreign investors sit up and take notice only if they succeeded in building a thriving private sector.

"Africa is on the move. There is no question about it," he said yesterday at the end of a visit to Ivory Coast.

"Unfortunately some of the largest countries are in big trouble — Angola, Zaire, Nigeria, Sudan and several small countries like Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia — but actually the ills for which Africa has become famous seem to be concentrated in these six or seven countries."

Mr Jaycox said the continent offered investors the promise of a good return —

Sapa-Reuter. ARG 11/1/94

Standard Bank group senior GM Graeme Bell and securities and services head Tony Strutt explain the benefits of the US Securities and Exchange Commission appointing the bank custodian for US investors in Africa. Picture: CHRIS COLLINGRIDGE

Sutton or Turner cinemas by vestgate and present Star-Kinokor, but also in- nal report to Mannel.

Economic integration plan for southern Africa

JOHN DLUDLU *R/S*

THE African Development Bank was planning regional economic integration which would beef up industrial capacity and competitiveness in southern Africa, vice-president Adewale Sangowawa said yesterday. Sangowawa said at a joint conference with Saito in Midrand that intensive consultations on implementation strategy were taking place with task forces in relevant countries, including SA. The strategy was based on recommendations of the bank's 1991 study. **22/11/92**

Sangowawa, leading a high-level delegation to SA, said regional integration would strengthen productive capacity, increase trade, financial potential and improve the region's general economic welfare.

"These benefits will come through production specialisation in areas of comparative advantage, economies of scale and cost reductions as well as enhanced efficiency resulting from harmonised legislation, practices and standards."

Apart from the benefit of an enlarged market, SA's membership would reduce the bank's project investment costs.

Sangowawa said the bank expected a large portion of its capital injection in SA would finance the development of small to medium-sized enterprises with labour-intensive components.

"The bank intends targeting those borrowers because they are particularly adept at employment creation and in broadening income distribution."

However, the bank's strategy on SA would be guided by the priorities of government's reconstruction and development programme.

Talks on SA role in African bank schemes

JOHN DLUDLU

GOVERNMENT would push for an early entry by local companies into projects financed by the African Development Bank to maximise the advantages offered by the bank, Finance Department chief director for international financial relations Elias Links said yesterday.

Addressing a bank/SA Foreign Trade Organisation conference in Midrand, Links said the possibility of an early participation by local companies would be discussed this week with the bank's delegation led by vice-president Adewale Sangowawa.

Participation of SA companies would also benefit SA's neighbours, he said, while non-participation would increase the cost of certain projects up to 30%.

"Opportunities for growth and employment can be created in SA and the countries hosting the projects."

To influence development decisions in the region, Links said, SA needed to get representation on the bank's board of directors.

Board representation would enhance co-operation through institutions such as the Southern Africa De-

velopment Community and would encourage the private sector linkages in sectors such as telecommunications, power and postal services.

Board representation and subscription options would also be discussed in this week's meeting.

Cabinet recently approved in principle SA's membership of the Abidjan-based institution, and appointed a negotiation team.

Although membership discussions were continuing, Links expressed some concerns.

These included the fact that SA had not been part of the bank's founding process, and the continuing decline in the bank's net disbursements — disbursements less repayments.

Although no decision has been taken on SA shareholding, the bank's president recently indicated that SA should subscribe to 10% of the bank's shares.

The cost would be R8,7bn at the current exchange rate, but only about R1bn of this had to be paid up over a period, Links said.

Japan waits for SA to take up aid

EDWARD WEST

CAPE TOWN — The Japanese government was still "waiting patiently" for signals from SA on taking up the R1bn aid package offered earlier this year.

Japan's ambassador Katsumi Sezaki said yesterday that negotiations were under way, but progress had not been made towards a concrete plan for the package, announced in July.

"Unless government takes action, we cannot do anything. It is up to them to arrange meetings. We can only wait patiently."

Spokesman for the ministry overseeing the reconstruction and development programme, Fred Oberholzer, said although foreign aid offers were still being "unpacked" to assess influences on macroeconomic balances, officials were in constant negotiations with Japan.

Sezaki hoped details would be finalised during his government's financial year to March 1993, after which "the whole process would have to be renegotiated."

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The decision by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund not to enforce debts that in any event have no chance of ever being repaid, will make a significant difference to the lives of thousands of poor African and other Third World farmers, reports Winnie Graham

Debt write-off a blessing

Peasant farmers tilling the earth in remote corners of Uganda, Tanzania or Zambia probably couldn't care less, but an announcement that the World Bank is to consider writing off 80 percent of the debts owed it by the Third World could have a major impact on their lives.

The announcement (in a short six-line paragraph recently) followed the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Madrid in early October.

Although debt relief was by no means a major issue at the meeting, the sympathetic approach of Michel Camdessus, MD of the IMF, and Kenneth Clarke, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, who suggested Africa's debt burden be relieved by selling IMF gold reserves, endeared both men to aid agencies.

The reason is simple: They know Africa is the poorest continent on earth and unlikely ever to meet its financial commitments in full.

United Nations procurement officers in South Africa earlier this year confirmed the extent of the continent's poverty. What they do not say, but what is also accepted, is that the poverty is closely linked to its enormous debt problem.

Finance experts estimate that sub-Saharan Africa owes about 15 percent of the total international debt of some \$1.3 trillion (about R4.55 trillion). The bulk of its loans in the past decade has come from the World Bank and the IMF. At the same time, Africa's ability to repay has diminished. The per capita income on the continent has fallen by 1.1 percent a year.

A finance expert writing in a Catholic magazine, *New People*, estimates that there are 4 billion people in the Third World.

"This means," he wrote, "that every one of them, including babies born while you read these lines, has a debt of \$3 250 (about R11 377). How will they ever be able to repay this debt if most of them have no possibility of earning this kind of money during an entire lifetime?"

While the income of the peasant people of Africa has dropped, so its debt burden has grown.

Two years ago, Ben Turok, then director of the Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA) and now co-ordinator of the PWV's RDP Commission, estimated that, between 1982 and 1990, the payment of interest and capital by the south to the north was a staggering R3 725 billion. During the same time, the flow of finance from the north to the south was R2 567 billion, leaving a reverse flow of R1 058 billion.

In other words, the rich are getting richer as they rake in the interest, while the poor are getting poorer in their efforts to repay their debt.

Debt build-up from accumulat-



Days of toil . . . with no resources or training these farmers must make a major effort for a minimal return. But if their countries don't have huge debts to repay, perhaps some funds will flow their way and make their lives both easier and more productive.

ed arrears has made debtor countries as a whole 61 percent worse off in 1990 than they were in 1982. At one stage the scale of debt came close to posing a threat even to the survival of US banks and the international banking system.

The foreign debt problem has deteriorated further during the past two years, prompting England's Cardinal Hume to appeal to rich countries to cancel more of their debt and so give the poor countries a chance of recovering.

"Over the past decade," he said, "the poorest countries have had to pay rich countries half as much again in debt repayments as they received in financial assistance."

The continent is caught in a web of debt for several reasons. During the past three or four decades, as African states

gained political independence, the First World poured literally billions of dollars into their reconstruction. Not all the money was "aid". Much of it came in the form of loans.

Problems started almost immediately. Some African governments, following the example of the colonial era, accepted Western models of development instead of devising schemes to suit the specific needs of their people. Some invested in unnecessary prestige projects, some in wasteful military spending.

In a nutshell, much of the borrowed money did not benefit ordinary people, too much was used on consumer goods and too little on capital investment and job creation. The problem was further compounded by an array of factors, including economic mismanagement and corruption.

Many of Africa's leaders reacted in anger, blaming the IMF and the World Bank for the continent's problems. The conditions imposed by the organisations, they claimed, were onerous, making life intolerable for the poor.

There are politicians, too, who believe that the colonialists' long and uncontrolled exploitation of the continent did enormous damage to Africa. Europe sold its people in slavery, raped its mineral riches (taking profits overseas) and divided the continent — factors, they say, which today are largely responsible for the civil wars, displacement of people and the ongoing border conflicts.

Rather than repaying their debts, they want reparation.

It's an argument unlikely to be resolved.

Certainly, ordinary African farmers, eking out an existence of the land, care little about the past. Their immediate concern is often AIDS and, perhaps, their ability to earn enough to give their children an education. Though they may not appreciate the benefits of a debt write-off, if or when it comes, they deserve a less punishing lifestyle, and an escape from debt which, in the final analysis, is paralysing much of Africa.

South Africa's long time pariah status when no one would lend it money probably saved it from enmeshing itself in the international debt debacle. Nonetheless, it will have to repay \$2.2 billion (about R7.7 billion) in foreign debt next year, wiping out the country's current exchange reserves.

Tony Twine, an economist and

a director of Econometrix, says current thinking on whether the country should "borrow to grow" is heavily divided.

"The problem is, can we grow without foreign capital?" he asked. "I would say yes, in the medium to long-term, but with growth at less than 3 percent per annum, we could not conceive of a 5 to 8 percent growth rate without recourse to foreign capital."

"However, very little of the money coming to South Africa is a hand-out. The assistance packages offered at the moment are nice, but there will be a bill at the end. What we need is not aid. We need foreign investment which will not only create jobs but encourage the export of our current account."

Comesa treaty forges closer ties

LILONGWE — Members of an African trade bloc yesterday ratified a treaty changing their organisation into one with closer ties, the secretary general of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) said.

“We are now a new organisation,” Comesa chief Bingu wa Mutharika told reporters at a summit of the grouping in Malawi.

The body was formed out of, and has the same membership as, the 22-state Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA).

“We are now waiting for our heads of state and government to formally declare the coming into force of the Comesa treaty,” wa Mutharika said.

“Comesa is based on the conviction that acting in unison, we can restructure our economies and overcome our economic development problems.”

Sapa-Reuter

Two conflicting camps threaten Africa's common market

LILONGWE. — A conflict of interest between two major African regional groups threatens to overshadow the formal launch today of a common market for eastern and southern Africa.

Bingu wa Mutharika, secretary-general of the 22-member Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa), said the problem arose in August when leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) sought to address the problem of overlapping membership of the two groups.

The 11 SADC members, all but two of whom are also in Comesa, agreed that Comesa — previously known as the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) —

should split into northern and southern sub-regions. "SADC has no right to split the PTA," wa Mutharika said after a marathon meeting on Tuesday night with Comesa ministers to try to thrash out a consensus on the issue ahead of the two-day Comesa summit starting in Malawi today.

"The PTA is saying that we don't need to break up this organisation. We need to consolidate it," he said, adding that Comesa was happy with the status quo under which the two groups co-existed and worked towards harmonisation and rationalisation of their operations.

SADC is made up of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho,

Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. All but Botswana and South Africa are members of Comesa.

Delegates from several SADC member states, notably Zimbabwe, Namibia and Swaziland, said they would not ratify the Comesa treaty until the issue had been clarified.

"Zimbabwe is bound by the decision taken by the heads of state and government of SADC but what's outstanding are the modalities of implementing that decision," Hebert Murerwa, Zimbabwe's acting industry and commerce minister, said yesterday.

Zimbabwe's Attorney-General, Patrick Chinamasa,

said Comesa ministers were recommending a joint SADC/Comesa summit to resolve the issue once and for all.

In an apparent effort to play down the significance of the conflict on the Comesa summit, Murerwa said most SADC members supported Comesa's aim of forging a strong common market. He cited Zimbabwe's shouldering of 13 percent of the group's total operational budget of around \$3m.

He and Chinamasa said SADC countries took "very great exception" to accusations by some non-SADC members that some European Union countries were trying to divide Comesa along regional lines.

Asked to comment on the issue, wa Mutharika said the accusations arose from a declaration by Germany in Berlin in September that it wanted to work specifically with SADC.

"It's an open secret. The first Berlin Conference of 1984 split Africa into the countries as we see them now. The second Berlin conference of 1994 specifically said Germany wants to work with SADC and nobody else, thus again partitioning Africa on a regional basis," said wa Mutharika.

"But in all fairness, it's not all the 12 EU countries which are doing this. It's only Germany which is fighting so hard to do this (divide us)."

common market

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'Genocide, torture rife in sub-Saharan Africa'

LONDON. — Amnesty International's secretary general said genocide, torture and oppression were widespread in sub-Saharan Africa and the international community was not doing enough to prevent them.

"There is a general perception that sub-Saharan Africa as a whole is a human rights disaster zone," Pierre Sane said at a lecture in London.

"The international community is critically failing to address some of the worst violations of human rights in Africa," he said. "There seem to be dangerous views being propagated ... that nothing can be done, that it's not the job of the international community to solve Africa's problems."

International action was necessary to monitor human rights violations in Africa and set up tribunals to bring to justice those guilty of crimes against humanity, Mr Sane said.

He said international support should also be given to African popular movements which fight oppression.

Mr Sane said United Nations intervention in Africa, for example in Rwanda and Somalia, had lacked a clear human rights mandate and UN forces had themselves violated human rights.

"Undoubtedly progress has been made, but there is still a very long way to go," he said, reviewing the African human rights situation over the last 46 years.

"You know the worst cases — Rwanda, Somalia and Liberia — but there are an appalling number of others to cite as well."

Mr Sane gave the lecture to mark International Human Rights Day on Saturday, the 46th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. — Sapa-Reuter

African states reach stalemate in trade summit

① CT 28/12/94 2798

HARARE. — Yet another meeting of African states has come and gone without progress towards resolving the problem of overlapping, competitive, regional organisations in southern and East Africa.

The December summit of the common market of eastern and southern African states (Comesa) held in the Malawian capital of Lilongwe ended with very little to show for itself other than partial agreement to restructure the organisation as Comesa from the former preferential trade area for eastern and southern Africa (PTA), and the admission of Zaire as the 23rd member.

The crucial issue of how to deal with the threat to its future posed by the rival 11-member Southern African Development Community (SADC) was postponed until early in the new year when a further summit will be convened. Last August, the SADC 11, nine of whose members are also members of Comesa, resolved to pull out of the larger grouping, thereby splitting Comesa into a northern (mainly East African) wing and a southern unit.

Complexities

None of the SADC states has yet carried out that threat, though its newest member, South Africa, has declined to join Comesa, while others have delayed ratification of the Comesa treaty pending a solution to problems of overlapping associations.

Two other regional organisations add to the complexities of restructuring economic relationships in sub-Saharan Africa.

Talks started last month to revise the southern African Customs Union (SACU), dominated by South Africa but including Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland. Some other states in the region — Malawi and Zimbabwe for instance — have shown an interest in joining an enlarged SACU, though officials say this is not yet on the formal agenda for treaty renegotiation.

Also in November, the presidents of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda formalised the re-emergence of the East African Community with the signing of a protocol setting up a secretariat for a permanent tripartite commission. Although members of both the Comesa and SACU groupings deny that this latest effort to revive the EAC, which collapsed at the end of the '70s, constitutes any kind of threat to their regional plans, the fact is that it does.

In setting up the commission, presi-

dents Moi of Kenya, Mwinyi of Tanzania and Museveni of Uganda agreed that, among other things, the community would eliminate trade barriers and promote the free movement of capital and people. A railways secretariat to resurrect East African Railways Corporation has already been established.

All three are members of Comesa while Tanzania is also a member of SADC. Clearly, if regional free trade — part of SADC's agenda — is to become a reality in the SADC region, then the EAC as well as Comesa will have to adjust its plans accordingly.

The revived EAC is seen by analysts as damage limitation on the part of Kenya, in particular, which fears the unravelling of Comesa should the SADC states go ahead with their threat to split the unwieldy 23-nation bloc into two.

The two bloc scenario certainly makes more sense economically and administratively, though it will force a country like Tanzania to make a choice between siding with its long-standing traditional partners in the EAC or looking south to closer links with already industrialised states like South Africa and Zimbabwe.

That decision is probably some way down the road given the reluctance of African political leaders to break up organisations, like Comesa. What is worrying some states — like Zambia and Zimbabwe — is the growing evidence that they are being deindustrialised to some extent as multinational companies restructure and relocate activities in the region.

SA favoured

South Africa tends to be the favoured location in the south and Kenya in the east. Businessmen and policymakers in Harare and Lusaka worry that the longer the uncertainty over future economic links persists, the greater the danger that new investments will go to South Africa which commands over 80% of SADC's buying power.

Zimbabwe, in particular, is anxious to renegotiate a bilateral trade deal with Pretoria, primarily to revive its clothing and textile sector which has been hit hard by punitive South African import duties. But first prize, some Harare businessmen say, would be a widening of SACU to include more — if not all — SADC states, rather than bilateral trade arrangements.

That goal may yet be reached, but only after tough political and economic decisions have been made in a dozen or more capitals. — Reuter